

Vermeer's house again and the Jesuit church

H.G. Slager, October 2024

Introduction

In his recent article *Finding Vermeer, back to the Molenpoort*¹ Frans Grijzenhout claims to have located Johannes Vermeer's house² on the Oude Langendijk in Delft. He opposes the author's analysis Vermeer's house most likely was Trapmolen on the western corner of the Molenpoort alley³ and returns to the previous view, the house named Groot Serpent on the eastern corner. In the article he also attempts to reason where the hidden Jesuit church was situated, again different from the author's reconstruction.

To locate Vermeer's house Grijzenhout relies heavily on the taxation ledger 'Groot Familiegeld' from 1674 (from here on Familiegeld) to place persons in specific houses in the Papenhoek (Papist corner), the area where Vermeer lived in roughly the last third of his life. The ledger is well known⁴ and does confirm names recorded in truly dedicated sources on housing⁵, but incompletely. Taxable house owners and non-owners (e.g. tenants) are listed alike but placing a non-owner into a specific house obviously needs proof (or strong clues) from secondary sources. But when absent, the assumptions used to fit the hypothesis⁶ result in shaky conclusions. In this paper it will be shown Grijzenhout's method provides no new solid proof to revise the likelihood of Vermeer's residence and that his confidence in stating Vermeer's house was indeed (sic) on the eastern corner of the Molenpoort is without ground.

Grijzenhout's second analysis on the precise location of the Jesuit church on the Oude Langendijk unfortunately is based on incorrect values of house widths and a faulty transcription of an old notary text (conversely, in his mind both aspects would be misunderstandings by the author). He uses the drawing of the church and surrounding houses by Ab Warffemius⁷ as (further) argument to pinpoint the church location. Misleadingly however, Warffemius' simulation is based linea recta- and solely on Abraham Rademaker's simple sketch from ca.1730 and cut & dried as it looks, archival data on the actual number of houses on this stretch of the Oude Langendijk, the factual widths and timeline of owners was never considered. Grijzenhout's conclusion the church was the 2nd+3rd house east of the Molenpoort will be shown wrong via schematic reconstructions and new archival data that unequivocally confirm the author's analysis (2017) the church was in the 4th+5th house east. Interestingly though, the new data also lead to a new idea how the initial church might have been enlarged around 1678.

¹ Grijzenhout, 2024. Web page publication. Commented version from July 2024.

² 'Vermeer's house' is used as a shortcut but he never owned a house on the Oude Langendijk.

³ Slager, 2017, 2018; Oude Langendijk 25 at www.achterdegevelsvandelft.nl 2020; Roelofs, 2023.

⁴ Kees van der Wiel has transcribed the entire Familie ledger several years ago.

⁵ Especially Huizenprotocol, Kadegeld, Verponding and notary deeds on house sales.

⁶ The hypothesis here being the location of Vermeer's house.

⁷ Warffemius 2001, 2005.

On the location of Vermeer's house

Grijzenhout's method to locate Vermeer's house is to couple names in Familiegeld to specific houses on the Oude Langendijk in a sequential fashion. Going through the list one-by-one, starting west of the Molenpoort and moving east to at some point encounter Maria Thins, Vermeer's mother in law. Seemingly straightforward, the method is flawed as several placements are guesswork and the few facts available actually disagree with some.

The first placement is a Jan Gerritsz van de Bergh⁸ who was put in the 5th house west of the Molenpoort. A Johannes van den Bergh (perhaps one and the same person, perhaps family), once owned a house there but this was actually the 6th house west⁹. The reason for the counting difference is the 3rd+4th house west were 'under one roof' but Grijzenhout counts them as one. In the year Familiegeld was compiled the owner of the 6th house may have been Jannetje Stevens (see below). The counting difference is relevant as one of the houses 'under one roof' was almost surely inhabited by Maria & Cornelia van Swieten who will be erroneously placed east of the Molenpoort by Grijzenhout.

Moving east, Herman Oem and his mother-in-law Machtelt van Beest (aka widow Van Nerven) are put in the next two houses (Grijzenhout's count 3rd and 4th house west; the author's count 3rd+ 4th under one roof and the 5th house)¹⁰. Setting aside the counting difference, this placement is correct as they were indeed the owner.

As the owner of the 2nd house west, Cornelia Dircks, would not have been listed in Familiegeld (it is agreed she was not wealthy enough to be taxed) this house may be skipped. Grijzenhout then needs to place four names, all women. The one we have the most information on is Jannetje Stevens¹¹. She is the most relevant as Grijzenhout simply puts her in the corner house Trapmolen, thus preventing Vermeer from having lived there. But her placement makes little sense as she may have owned the 6th house west at the time and evidently was not a stranger to the block¹². There is not a single clue she rented Trapmolen (owned by the widow Van Nerven) and moreover, not listed in Familiegeld but

⁸ Familiegeld p29v (not shown in Grijzenhout's figure 4).

⁹ Slager, 2017, p28 house OLD-W6.

¹⁰ Grijzenhout, 2024, figure 3. He names the two adjacent houses 'Swanenburg', but only the 5th house was named that way.

¹¹ Full name Jannetje Stevens van Swethoe(c)k. The other three ladies, Jannetje Suijkers, Isabella Hum and Neeltje Leenders Croeser are assumed to live inside the Molenpoort area/alley. We know next to nothing about these three; only for Neeltje Croeser we have a clue she lived in the area, at least in 1681. See Slager, 2018, p6, footnote18.

¹² Grijzenhout, 2024, writes "*Given her [i.e. Jannetje Stevens] position in the register for the Familiegeld it is likely that she rented and lived in Trapmolen at the time; earlier, she had lived in a small house further west on Oude Langendijk [footnote to Kadegeld 1667 fol.132]*". The Delft archive has far more specific information than this. Jannetje Stevens is twice recorded in Kadegeld 1667; on fol.131 for the 6th house west of the Molenpoort as latest owner (Huizenprotocol 1648, fol. 325, bought from Johannes van de Berch; waarbrief 4X224v (lost); the notary deed is not yet found/indexed, therefore the exact purchase date is unknown) and on Kadegeld fol.132 for the 12th house west of the Molenpoort (i.e. the 2nd house west of the Jacob Gerritstraat) which she did not actually own (Huizenprotocol 1648, fol.236; the owner is Claes Pietersz Van de Werve, her brother-in-law). The Huizenprotocol shows after Jannetje's death in 1702 the 6th house west was owned/inherited by her in-laws (Van de Werve) and the newest date for a notary deed is 1711. In 1680 she owns the 8th house west (Huizenprotocol 1648, fol.324v; ONAD 2229, fol.283, 28 december 1680, purchase of the house named "*De vos met de crae(n)(i)*" (later "*De witte Engel*") from Susannetje Davids van Lee). Grijzenhout in his schematic (figure 3) erroneously labels the 6th house west as the one she bought in 1680. See also Slager 2017, p28-31 and 52.

relevant to the occupant of Trapmolen, Grijzenhout introduces three more names: Maritie Cley, Lysbeth Cornelis and Catrijntje de 'the seamstress' ("*naaister*"). They occur later in time (1686)¹³ and have been reasoned to have lived in certain houses via tax comparison and clues in the Jesuit texts¹⁴. The clue of interest is it was Maritie Cleij who rented Trapmolen (at least in 1686).

As every house west of the Molenpoort (and inside the alley as well) is spoken for, Grijzenhout can now only place Maria Thins/Vermeer in the house Groot Serpent on the east corner. Obviously this arrival might as well have been the departure for the central question: did Vermeer live on the east- or west corner ?

Next names after Maria Thins are Maria & Cornelia Van Swieten who –following the sequential placement method- would have lived east of Groot Serpent. Skipping the 2nd house¹⁵ Grijzenhout places them in the 3rd house east. No argument was given but it can only have been fuelled by the detail a namesake lady (*Juffrouw*) Van Swieten previously had paid quay tax (in 1667). But this namesake was the wealthy lady Maria Theresia van Swieten, widow of the Flemish Reinier Carlier¹⁶ with no family connection to Maria & Cornelia van Swieten (nothing was ever found in notary deeds or other sources). Maria Theresia never owned the house but as one of the sponsors she paid quay tax for the Jesuits who -being illegal- could not do so themselves.

So then who were Maria & Cornelia van Swieten ? Grijzenhout (his footnote 17) correctly refers to the primary source "Memorie 1686" and Slager 2017(p66-68) where names in "Memorie 1686" are analyzed in detail¹⁷, but he omits two crucial notes given by the Jesuits. The notes say they (i) live in a house owned by the lady Van Nerven ("*staet op mejuffrouw van Nerven*") and (ii) live next to Oem ("*neffens Elisabeth Cornelis et M.Oem*")¹⁸. It is certain Nerven/Ooms never owned a house on the Oude Langendijk east of the Molenpoort, so the house of the Van Swieten ladies has to be either the 3rd or the 4th (under one roof) west of the Molenpoort. We have a several facts to confirm this. On 16 January 1653 Van Nerven had bought the two houses 'under one roof' from the heirs of the late

¹³ In "Memorie 1686". A document compiled in 1686 by the Jesuits listing rents & taxes in the Papenhoek.

¹⁴ See Slager (2017) p66-68 for a analysis where Maritie Cley, Lysbeth Cornelis and Catrijntje de 'naaister' (seamstress) likely lived. Remarks in "Memorie 1686" and comparing taxes recorded by the Jesuits with official taxes provide the likelihood of their house. Lysbeth Cornelis lived in the 3rd house west of the Molenpoort and Maritie Cley lived in the corner house Trapmolen.

¹⁵ Grijzenhout, 2024 (with errors in footnote 28: ONAD2201 should be 2021 and 2 april should be 22 april). The house (by 1674) would be owned by Michiel van der Dussen (1600-1681) and his wife Wilhelmina van Setten (1605-1683), inherited from Adriaan Hendricksz Post (nn-1666) and Maria Gerritsz Camerling (c1624-1666). As Michiel van der Dussen was very wealthy (e.g. owned 16 houses in the Bagijnhof) his ledger entry would have been at his primary residence, not at the Oude Langendijk section.

¹⁶ Slager 2017, p12-13. Maria Theresia's father was Andries van Swieten (owner of the brewery De Passer, another hidden Jesuit church), her mother was Sophia van der Wiel. The 3rd house east was Jan Geensz Thins' house (per 1641) who had passed away in 1647. City records do not show who owned it after his death, nor do we know for a fact who lived there. Very likely it just silently remained part of the Jesuit station (as it may have been from the start). It is extremely unlikely Maria Theresia van Swieten would have lived here as she was wealthy (e.g. her mother sits in the top 3% of Familiegeld) and she owned houses: one on the Burgwal northside (just below the Jesuit Church), one on the northside of the Bagijnhof (incidentally also named Passer) and (an unknown amount of) property/lands in Antwerp.

¹⁷ A revised and detailed transcription of "Memorie 1686" was provided by Paul Begheyn, S.J.

¹⁸ Herman Oem (Oom(s)) was Van Nerven's son-in-law (and heir). They owned (and lived in) the 5th house west of the Molenpoort, named Swanenburg. The neighbouring two houses 'under one roof' to the east were bought in 1653 (see next footnote).

Cornelis Jansz van Swieten¹⁹. Maria & Cornelia were two of his daughters²⁰, unmarried and under aged at the time (i.e. not yet 25). It is thinkable Van Nerven allowed the daughters to stay in their parental home under the condition of paying rent to the Jesuits, which was one of the methods of covert sponsoring. But regardless the exact financial arrangement it is clear from “Memorie 1686” the ladies lived west of the Molenpoort, not east.

The location of the Van Swieten sisters is an example the sequence of names in Familiegeld does not follow a cardinal direction (or some repeated walking route) to the letter as Grijzenhout assumes. There is a degree of jumbling; the Van Swietens come *after* Maria Thins in the list but as demonstrated they resided west of her.

In a later capital taxation book (1690-1702)²¹ (often abbreviated to “100e penning”) this kind of jumbling is even more clear; the order of names does not match the physical order of houses at all (Table 1). It demonstrates the collector of this type of tax wasn’t concerned with an exact orderly match of names and houses. Primarily it was about recording names living in a certain area, eligible for taxation on capital. Incidentally the 1690 tax book confirms the Van Swieten ladies were daughters of Cornelis van Swieten, the earlier owner of the the 3rd and 4th house west of the Molenpoort. Their capital (at least at the time) evidently originated from their brother Leendert. The last name in the table, Maria Hagemans, bought the 2nd house west in- or shortly after 1678²² and was the only house she owned in the Papenhoek area.

In conclusion, in the Familiegeld book taxable house owners are partly jumbled, it lists non-owners that could have rented (part of) any house, it omits house owners living elsewhere and it omits recorded house owners but too poor to be taxed. This all makes sequentially placing persons at exact houses a whole series of assumptions. Placing needs proof or strong clues from other sources and as this paper demonstrates some in-depth analysis already falsifies some of the assumptions. The ledger by itself therefore is no ‘smoking gun’ to reveal the location of Vermeer’s house.

¹⁹ Notary J.van Ophoven, ONA1951, fol.7, 16 January 1653. Sale of two houses under one roof on the Oude Langendijk. Machtelt van Beest, widow of Willem van Nerven purchases the houses for 2,400 guilders from Leendert-, Phillipe-, Maria- and Cornelia van Swieten (children of Cornelis Jansz van Swieten and Neeltje Leenderts, both deceased) and the children of some of their already deceased siblings (see next footnote). The document is signed (fol.10v) by: Leendert Cornelis van Swieten, Phillipe Cornelis van Swieten, Maria van Swieten and Cornelia van Swieten.

²⁰ Notary F.Boogert, ONA2000, fol.111, 21 May 1654. The estate account of Neeltje Leendertsdr, widow of Cornelis Jansz van Swieten. Her heirs are sons Leendert & Philip, her underaged daughters Maria (Maertge) & Cornelia (Neeltge) and the children of Arijen-, Cornelis- and Leentge van Swieten (deceased). The document is signed on fol.116 as in the previous footnote.

²¹ OA 4112, 1690-1702. Rekening van de burgemeesters over de 100e penning of personele quotisatie over Delft en Delfshaven, in 1690 aangelegd, afgehoord door de Rekenkamer 1702.

²² Slager 2017, p26, she is recorded in Kadegeld 1667. Purchase: Huizenprotocol 1648 fol.326. No waarbrief code but reference to a decree (3D101).

Folio	Name (order in the book)	House no. on the Oude Langendijk west of the Molenpoort	Status	Origin of capital (as mentioned in the book)
85	Gerrit van den Bergh	undetermined	tenant ?	father
85	Isaac van den Bergh	undetermined	tenant ?	father
85	Elizabeth van den Bergh	undetermined	tenant ?	father
85v	Jannetje Clein	undetermined	tenant ?	Gerard Franckensz Graswinckel
85v	Annetge Clein	undetermined	tenant ?	Gerard Franckensz Graswinckel
85v	Herman Oom x Anna van Nerven	1 st (Trapmolen), 3 rd +4 th , 5 th and the Molenpoort alley	owner	Machtelt van Beest (=mother)
86	Catharina van Nerven	1 st (Trapmolen), 3 rd +4 th , 5 th and the Molenpoort alley	owner	Machtelt van Beest (=mother)
86v	Jannetje Stevens	6 th , 8 th	owner	-
86v	Maria van Swieten	3 rd or 4 th	inhabitant	Leendert Cornelis van Swieten (=brother)
86v	Cornelia van Swieten	3 rd or 4 th	inhabitant	Leendert Cornelis van Swieten (=brother)
87	Cornelis de Bloem x Annetge Everts Langevelt	undetermined	tenant ?	father of Annetge
87	Maria Abrahams Berckel	undetermined	tenant ?	-
87	Maria Hagemans	2 nd	owner	-

Table 1: OA 4112, 1690-1702, "100e penning" taxable persons living on the Oude Langendijk west of the Molenpoort. Ownership/physical location of their house(s) does not correspond to the order in which names are listed.

On the location of the Jesuit church

Grijzenhout writes (incorrect information underlined; footnotes removed):

“Before I conclude, a few words on the location of the Jesuit church. Until recently, researchers supposed the Jesuit church was located in the upper floors of the second and third house east of Molenpoort, next to Groot Serpent. Slager, however, suggests that the church was located in the fourth and fifth house, and several authors since have followed him in his opinion. This is, however, based on an erroneous reading of a document from 1642 and a misunderstanding of some of the entries in the register of the Kadegeld from 1667. The document involved has indeed, like Slager says, a bearing on the fourth and fifth house east of Molenpoort. However, it does not say, like he purports, that in one of them a "church" (kerck) was found; it says that "nowadays people of the church [live] in it" (daerinne tegenwoordich kerckl[ieden]), i.e., priests. In 1686, it is referred to as "kerckhuis," probably with the same meaning. In all likelihood, the fourth house gave the priests direct access to the concealed church, that was originally located in the third house east of Molenpoort.”

First, it must be emphasized locating the church was not just based on the two types of supposed errors submitted by Grijzenhout, but reasoned within the reconstruction of the *entire* Papenhoek. With regards to the 1642 document mentioned²³ the supposed error in reading is by Grijzenhout himself. To demonstrate this, a detailed analysis of the handwriting is given below (figure 1). It follows the sentence of interest reads “in which one nowadays goes to church” (“*daermen tegenwoordigh kerckt:*”) and not “nowadays people of the church live in it” (“*daerinne tegenwoordich kerckl:*”) as Grijzenhout claims.

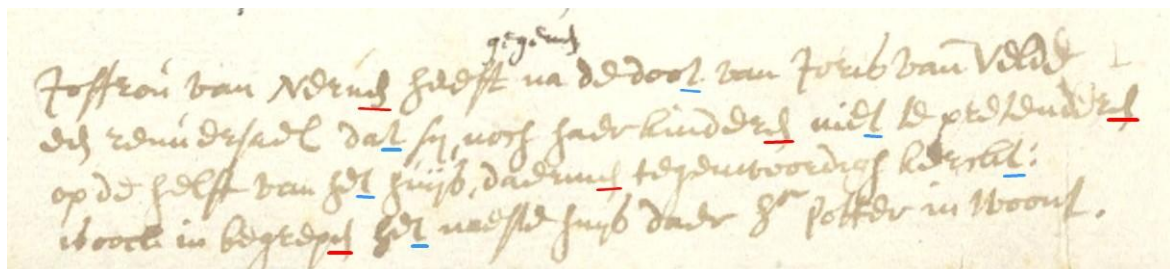


Figure 1. The text from 1642 regarding two houses on the Oude Langendijk east of the Molenpoort (i.e. the 4th + 5th house holding the Jesuit church). For analysis of the handwriting several words ending with ‘en’ are underlined in red and the letter ‘t’ is underlined in blue (Nb. the letter ‘t’ is also written with a horizontal bar). The sentence of interest (third from the top, right side) thus reads “*daermen tegenwoordigh kerckt:*” For more details see Slager 2017, p58-59.

But even if the word would have read “*kerckl:*” as an abbreviation of “*kercklieden*” or “*kercklui*” (both might mean clergy) there is no reason to just dismiss the idea the buildings also housed the physical church. Houses had several floors and very likely in 1642 a hidden church would occupy just a single floor. The other floors will have had several separate rooms, already exemplified by the large number of hearths (13 hearths for both houses in 1638) and there were structures at the back as well that may have had rooms (provided Kaart Figuratief is truthful²⁴). The last sentence in the 1642 document says ‘includes the adjoining house where Sr. Potter lives’ (“*is oock inbegrepen het naeste huys daer Sr. Potter in woont*”)²⁵. Roeland de Pottere (1584-1675) was a Jesuit priest and as his residence is specifically mentioned it too speaks against Grijzenhout’s notion as it would be twice mentioning

²³ Slager, 2017, p59

²⁴ See Kaart Figuratief 1675/1678; there are buildings at the back.

²⁵ This could either be the 4th or the 5th house east

priests' residence. In 1686 the houses were named "kerckhuis"²⁶ (church house) and to think this would mean a regular residence is strange. Simply put, a house is a house and a church-house is a church. This simplicity is further demonstrated by the description in "Memorie 1686" of the 6th house east of the Molenpoort as "the house between the church-house and the school" ("het huis tusschen het kerckhuis en de school")²⁷.

Regarding supposed misunderstanding by the author on house widths in Kadegeld 1667, again the misunderstanding is by Grijzenhout himself. He writes (incorrect information underlined; footnotes removed):

"In this part of Oude Langendijk, this project [ed. enlargement of the church from 25 feet to 45 feet] could only be realised in the third house east of Molenpoort, with a frontal width of twenty-nine feet, and subsequently in the adjacent second house east of Molenpoort, Klein Serpent, which was twenty feet wide. There are no other houses in this part of Oude Langendijk that match the measurements given. And there is no way, like Slager has suggested, that the enlarged Jesuit church with its total length of forty-five feet (14.13m) parallel to the street could have fitted into the structure of the fourth and fifth house east of Molenpoort, which had a total width of forty-one feet (12.88m) only".

The 3rd house east was not 29 feet, but 17 feet and the 4th+5th (combined) house was not 41 feet, but 29 feet²⁸. The 3rd+4th+5th house together were 46 feet, a perfect match for the 45 feet recorded for the church after its enlargement and it is exactly this trio of houses that was suggested by the author and not just the 4th+5th house as Grijzenhout phrases it²⁹. Obviously when using wrong values, further reasoning and conclusions go wrong too. In the next chapter they will be discussed together with schematic reconstructions.

On Rademaker's drawing and Warffemius' simulation of the church

Grijzenhout writes (incorrect information underlined; footnotes removed):

"The above implies that the well-known drawing of "the Jesuit church" by Abraham Rademaker, done around 1730, represents indeed, like several authors have previously noticed, the first five houses on Oude Langendijk from the eastern corner of Molenpoort. To the right, one sees a part of Groot Serpent, where Vermeer and his family lived. Next to it, Klein Serpent, in which Maria Thins' relative Maria Camerling and her uncle Adriaen Hendricksz Post lived until 1666. Before 1678 the upper floors and attic of this house, twenty feet wide, were integrated into the Jesuit church that was already housed on the upper floors of the third house, twenty-nine feet wide, which had been purchased in 1641 by Maria Thins' cousin Jan Geensz Thins and that was later inhabited by Maria and Cornelia van Swieten. The drawing shows clearly the double saddle roof that had to be constructed over the enlarged church room in the upper floors of both houses. Next come the fourth and fifth house, together 41 feet wide and called the "kerckhuis" in which priests of the Jesuit church lived."

²⁶ Slager 2017, p66

²⁷ The school (entrance) is the 7th house east

²⁸ Slager 2017, see p43-44 and p51 (a schematic) for widths, in feet and in meters.

²⁹ Slager 2017, p15-16. The author offered a 2nd hypothetical thought (i.e. enlargement to the back) as well.

In this quote the errors on widths are as before and as demonstrated Maria-and Cornelia van Swieten did not live in the 3rd house east of the Molenpoort. The referral to several authors ‘noticing’ Rademaker’s drawing concerns ‘indeed’ the first five houses east of the Molenpoort is uncritically following a previous idea developed from incomplete- and partly erroneous data with fragmentary descriptions on the housing situation by J.M.Montias in 1989³⁰. Prior to 2017 authors did not know there was at least one extra house (Klein Serpent) between Groot Serpent and the church. They also did not know Jan Geenz Thins bought the 3rd house east and not Groot Serpent. Previously, the instant assumption was Jan Geenz’ cousin Maria Thins had to have lived in his house, and therefore Vermeer too. We now know Maria Thins/Vermeer rented a house from a third party³¹.

The evolution of the houses drawn by Warffemius³² is based on these old data missing the house Klein Serpent. His simulation is based on Rademaker’s drawing but the relative widths³³ evidently do not match with the factual widths in Kadegeld 1667 (Figure 2). Would he have known of the existence of Klein Serpent the fit would be better and like the author’s scenario (Figure 3, top).

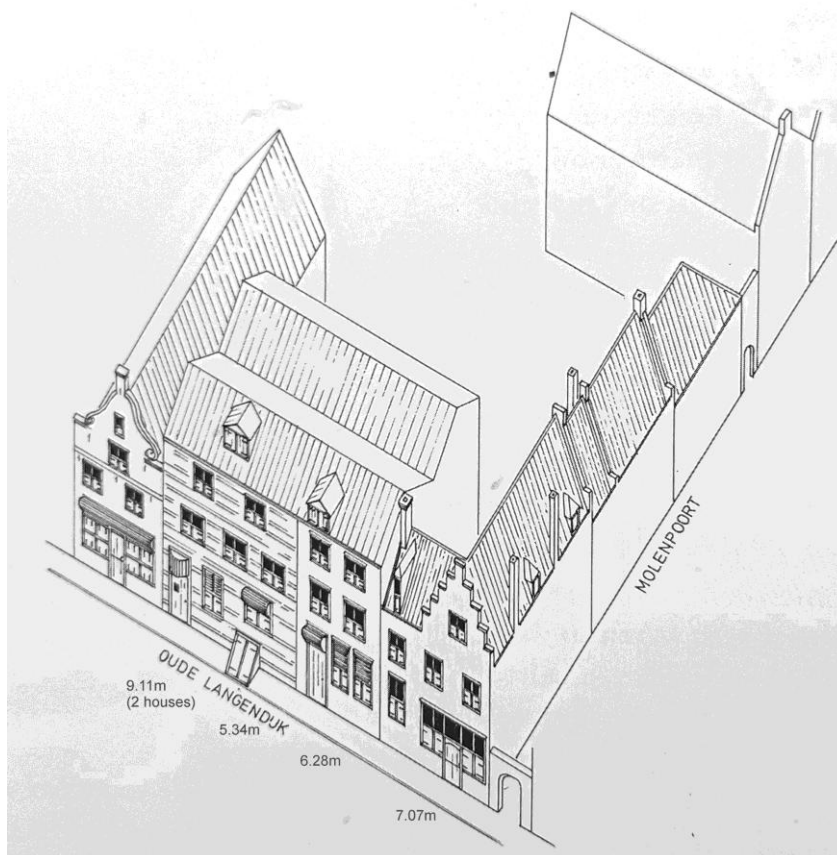


Figure 2. The reconstruction by Warffemius of the Jesuit Church and Vermeer’s supposed house Groot Serpent on the corner of the Molenpoort and the Oude Langendijk (reproduced from Warffemius 2005 with widths from Kadegeld 1667 added). The reconstruction is 1:1 with Abraham Rademaker’s drawing from c1730. The widths (as they appear in order in Kadegeld) evidently do not fit at all.

³⁰ Montias 1989, p176-178. Montias relied in part on data by others, notably those by van Peer. His fragmentary description of houses/owners are caused by not comparing several ledgers.

³¹ Besides renting we cannot exclude Maria Thins may have lived for free (at times); besides the 3rd house the 2nd house east was also owned by family (Camerling).

³² Warffemius 2005, p24-25

³³ The widths how they appear relative to each other visually.

Grijzenhout only offers a textual description and a referral to Warffemius' drawing but supplies no image how the church would sit; with the correct widths it becomes clear his idea is impossible (Figure 3, bottom).

In addition, the widths used are different from the recorded values: prior to its enlargement in 1678 the initial church is recorded as being 25 feet but Grijzenhout's candidate house for the initial church, the 3rd house east, was just 17 feet (5.34m). And would the 2nd house east have been its enlargement as he proposes, their total of 37 feet is uncomfortably far from the recorded 45 feet.

In the author's scenario the houses with shared roof parallel to the street would be the 3rd (17 feet) and the 4th+5th house (29 feet). Together 46 feet, a perfect match to the 45 feet recorded. The assumption though is the house with the two persons in front was the 4th+5th house originally (i.e. in 1667 and earlier; quay tax was combined) and the façade was renewed, so by 1730 it looks one house. This assumption is supported by the fact in 1632 (Verponding 1632, property tax) they were taxed separately but in 1686 a single tax was levied for both houses combined³⁴.

Still, the author's scenario isn't fully satisfactory either. The 25 feet of the initial church is still quite far from 29 feet in Kadegeld and the 6th+7th house (42 feet combined) are a poor fit to Rademaker's drawing. In the next chapter new data will be presented that open up another possibility how the church may have been enlarged.

³⁴ Slager 2017, p68, house OLD-E4+5. Property tax (Verponding) in 1632: 15+7 guilders. Tax in 1686: 22 guilders.

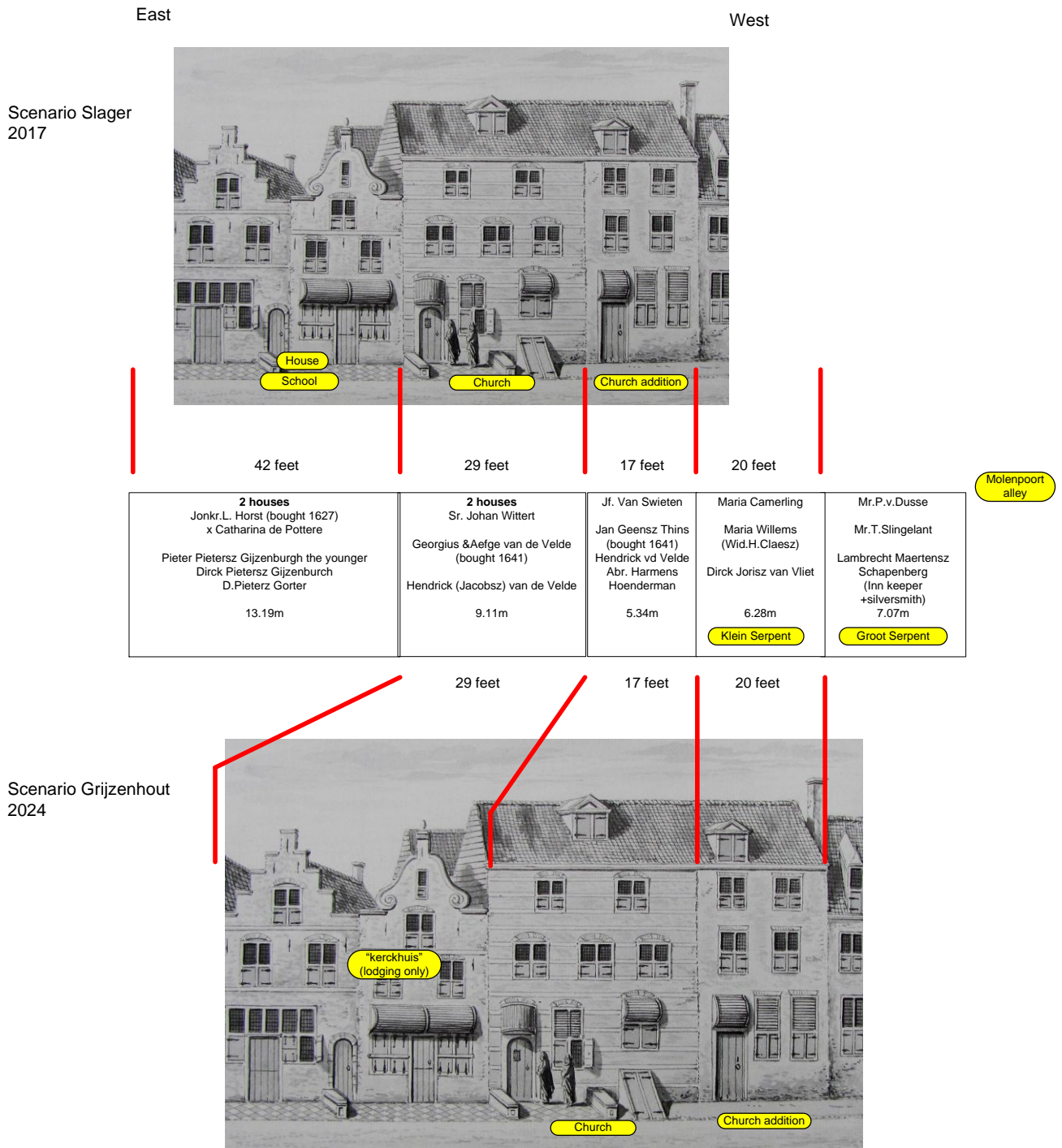


Figure 3. Two scenarios positioning the Jesuit church of Abraham Rademaker's drawing (ca.1730) on the Oude Langendijk east of the Molenpoort. The true widths from Kadegeld 1667 in the central schematic are drawn to scale. Rademaker's drawing is sized differently in the two scenarios because 'a' width needs to fit at least 'a' house, the other houses would automatically need to follow. In Grijzenhout's scenario the relative widths (i.e. how they appear in the drawing) are at odds with the true widths.

The initial church: the 4th+5th house east of the Molenpoort

Around 1734 things changed quite a bit as a completely new church was going to be built. In 1733 the city of Delft had given building permission for a new structure; the first stone was laid on 17 July 1733. The date of completion is however unknown but given its size and preparatory work it must have taken a few years to complete³⁵.

Evidently preparations for the build had just started when the tax book Verponding 1734³⁶ was compiled. A later tax book, Verponding 1795³⁷ is still useful for confirmation as many names of long-deceased owners (or tax payers) in the Papenhoek are still being used. In these books every house has a unique number and the person's names can readily be coupled to specific houses in sequential order (see Table 2). In Verponding 1734 the church has no person's name coupled to it (the entry just states "Roomsche Kerk") but can still be placed at the 4th+5th house because of the surrounding names. A centrally held copy of Verponding 1734³⁸ (figure 3) confirms the 4th+5th house east were indeed the initial church as it lists three consecutive entries: (1) Jonker Lambert van de Horst (2) 'without name' ("sonder naam") and (3) Johan Wittert, followed by the all-telling remark:

These 3 properties above constituting the Catholic church, below the market square, with an estimated yearly rental value of 550 guilders ("*Welke 3 bovenstaande partijen uijtmaakende de Roomsche Kerk, agter de mark, 't geen bij ons in huure wert getaxeerd jaarlijks voor 550 gulden*")

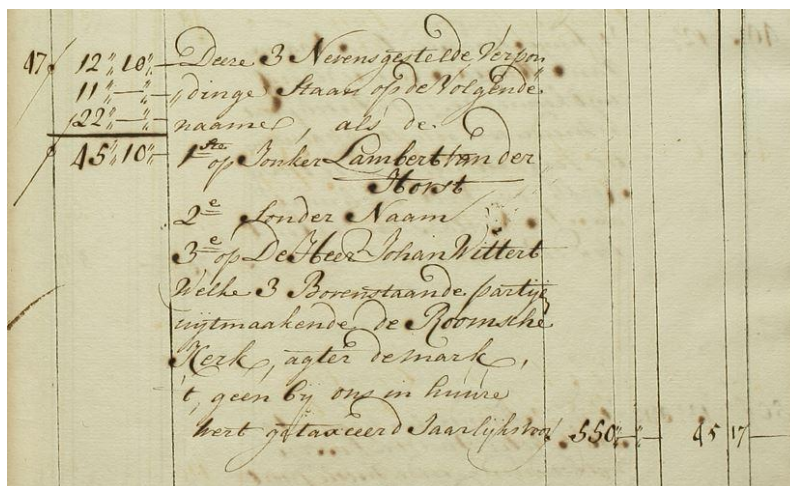


Figure 3. Nationaal Archief, archief van de Financie van Holland, no. 492, 1732-1734, fol. 144v.

³⁵ Warffemius 2005, p19. The church was to be 12.5m wide and 25m long and running behind the stretch of the 1st-5th house east of the Molenpoort. Its façade was in the Molenpoort alley, but the real entrance was at its northern long side in a new alley behind the first three houses. See also Archief van de Financie van Holland, no.492, 1732-1734. Unlike before, the first three houses east had direct access to the Molenpoort ("*van agter uijtkomende in de Molenpoort*") as their backsides had been demolished to make room for the new church ("*een gedeelte afgenomen tot vergrooting van de Roomsche kerk*") and to create a new alley in east-west direction.

³⁶ OA4043 Kohier verpondingen over huizen en andere gebouwen in Delft en Delfshaven, 1734, fol. 117v -118.

³⁷ OA4063 Kohier van de verpondingen van huizen en tuinen binnen de stad en in de buitensteden, 1795-1805, (pencilled) fol.309-311.

³⁸ Nationaal Archief, Archief van de Financie van Holland, no.492, fol. 143v-144v, 1732-1734. Scans kindly provided by Kees van der Wiel.

The name Johan Wittert can be confidently coupled to the 4th+5th house east³⁹ so here we have definite proof these two houses formed the church.

A new challenge rises because the name Lambert van der Horst is also amongst the “*Roomsche Kerk*”. In the 17th century he was owner of the 6th+7th house east that formed the catholic school for girls⁴⁰. Therefore the question rises if the 1678 enlargement actually was the 6th house (or a part of it) and not the 3rd house east as assumed before ?

The entry ‘without name’ (“*sonder naam*”) may have concerned this house going by its tax in 1686 and in 1734 (see Table 2). It is not that strange the current legal owner was unknown to the city or tax collector; this was the case for several other houses in the Papenhoek. Things changed rapidly at the time: in 1708 the Jesuits had been banned from Delft and the church (site) was taken over by the Franciscan order merely one week later, who, like the Jesuits, were never the legal owner. In 1709 both houses of Lamberts van der Horst had been sold to an heir of Dirck Diert, who with his wife Anna Waasdorp owned the 8th+ 9th house east of the Molenpoort⁴¹. Possibly such rapid changes caused a knowledge gap with the city administration but as long tax was being paid, legal ownership wasn’t that important. Ambiguity on ownership is consistent in this section of the Papenhoek demonstrated by the usage of names of long-deceased owners as late as 1795.

We do not know the width of the 6th house as it was taxed combined with the 7th (Kadegeld 1667, 42 feet) so we cannot tell whether it would match the 45 feet of the church after enlargement.

Another possibility is that the title ‘Church’ should be taken in the conceptual sense rather than a physical structure. So perhaps the 6th house was the parsonage as mentioned in 1795 (Table 2)⁴².

In general, the history/map of the 6th to 9th house east of the Molenpoort is largely unknown. We know about their quay side widths but we know very little on what lay behind or how they were connected to houses at the Burgwal, some of which also belonged to the Jesuit community. We do know there was school and likely the entrance was at the 7th house.

At the moment there are too many unknowns and too little archival information to investigate the possibility the church enlargement would indeed concern the 6th house east (versus the 3rd). Also, to match the idea with Rademaker’s drawing is already a challenge, it would only fit when the drawing is mirrored⁴³. Regardless how we should see the drawing, at least it is certain from the archival records the 4th+5th house were indeed the initial church.

³⁹ Slager 2017, houses OLD-E4+5. Johan Wittert (van der Aa).

⁴⁰ Slager 2017, houses OLD-E6+7. Van de Horst was married to Catharina de Pottere, sister of the Jesuit Roeland de Pottere.

⁴¹ From Slager 2017, p19: “*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 Rijswijk; 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*”.

⁴² Grijzenhout in footnote 27 (with wrong referral to house no.1771: fol. 307v should be fol. 117v in OA4043, for OA4063 it is fol. 309v) guesses the parsonage is the structure painted in Kaart Figuratief 1675 between Groot Serpent and the house Rode Meebael (Burgwal-eastern corner Molenpoort).

⁴³ This is not the only thought experiment possible. Another is the drawing concerns the second Jesuit hidden church in Delft (the Passer brewery on the Noordeinde).

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Abbreviations

OA-Oud archief stadsbestuur Delft (Old Archive city council Delft)

ONAD- Oud Notarieel Archief Delft (Old Notary Archive Delft)

Tax in 1686 (Memorie 1686)	House nr.	Tax in 1734	Tax in 1732-1734 (Nat.Arch. 492)	Tax in 1795	Location on the Oude Langendijk relative to Molenpoort
6-0 Widow Diert (=Anna Waasdorp)	1769	20-17 Anna van Waasdorp	20-17 Anna Waasdorp	20-17 Anna van Waasdorp	9 th house east (former brewery 't Heck)
-No house/name was identified-	1770	25-0 Juff. Bentema	25-0 Dirk Diert, Juff.Bentema	25-0 Juff. Bentema	8 th house east. NB. Possibly in 1734 the tax includes (parts of) the 7 th house/school
	1771	45-17 Catholic Church	45-10 total	66-13 Catholic Church **	
12-0 Lambert vd Horst*			12-10 Lambert vd Horst		7 th house east (school)
11-0 Lambert vd Horst. " <i>House between the church and the school</i> "			11-0 " <i>without name</i> " (likely originally Lambert vd Horst)		6 th house east
22-0 "Kerckhuis" Wittert + other sponsors			22-0 Johan Wittert		4 th +5 th house east
-No house/name was identified-	1772	6-13 Maria van Swieten	6-13 Maria van Swieten	6-13 Maria van Swieten	3 rd house east
12-14 Nic.Post/' <i>klijnen</i> ' Corn.vd Dussen	1773	5-17 Maria Kamerling	5-17 Maria Kamerling	5-17 Maria Kamerling	2 nd house east (Klein Serpent)
13-8 Pieter van der Dussen	1774	7-10 Pieter van der Dussen	7-10 Pieter van der Dussen	7-10 Pieter van der Dussen	1 st house east (Groot Serpent)
15-0 for 5 houses Widow Nerven	1775 (1e – 5e)	11-18 for 5 houses Harmen Oom	11-18 for 5 houses Harmen Oom	3-10 +2-0 +1-10 + 2-14 + 2-4 Maria Jacqueline Joanna Tiarck (next: Pieter Tijsman)	1 st house west (Trapmolen) (the other 4 inside the Molenpoort)
-absent; was never donated to the Jesuits-	1776	8-7 Jacob Oprust	8-7 Jacob Oprust	8-7 Pieter Oprust	2 nd house west
5-0 Widow Nerven	1777	3-3 Harmen Oom	3-3 Harmen Oom	3-3 Pieter Tjark	3 rd house west (with 4 th)
6-14 Widow Nerven	1778	5-17 Harmen Oom	5-17 Harmen Oom	5-17 Pieter Tjark	4 th house west (with 3 rd)
-absent; was never donated to the Jesuits-	1779	20-3 Boudewijn van Leeuwen	(Not checked)	20-3 Dr.Theodorus van Leeuwen	5 th house west (Swanenburg)

Table 2. Verponding 1734 and 1795. Tax values in guilders-stuivers (20 stuivers in a guilder) to verify houses. *12-10 is the tax from an earlier date (Verponding 1632). In 1686 the tax of "*the house of the school*" (i.e. recorded by the Jesuits) was much higher, namely 38-10; it must have been combined with other properties. **Nb. In 1795 this concerned the new church behind the quay side house; also now a parsonage is mentioned and taxed separately. Names have been identified previously and situated at specific houses⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ Slager 2017, Slager 2018.