

JUNE 5-7, 2014 BOSTON

# 2014 HNA + AANS

## International Interdisciplinary Conference

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### PAPER ABSTRACTS

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*historians of netherlandish art*  American Association for Netherlandic Studies

Dedicated to the Study of Netherlandish, German and Franco-Flemish Art and Architecture

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## THURSDAY, JUNE 5

### 10:00-12:00

Re-installing, Re-hanging... What's Next? .....	page 3
Art Beyond Painting in the Northern Renaissance .....	6
Rembrandt: Meaning and Interpretation .....	11

### 2:00

(AANS) Instructors of Dutch Workshop, part 2 (including one paper) .....	15
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## FRIDAY, JUNE 6

### 9:30-11:30

The Netherlands and the World, 1500-1750, part 1 .....	16
Dutch Classicism Revisited .....	22
Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Art, Open Session .....	27
(AANS) History of the Low Countries I, 1575-1700 .....	32

### 1:00-3:00

The Netherlands and the World, 1500-1750, part 2 .....	34
Technical Art History, part 1 .....	39
Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion in the Low Countries, 1400-1700, part 1 .....	44
Portraits and Politics, part 1 .....	49
(AANS) History of the Low Countries II, 1700-1900 .....	54

### 4:00-6:00

Technical Art History, part 2 .....	57
Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion in the Low Countries, 1400-1700, part 2 .....	62
Portraits and Politics, part 2 .....	66
Inside, Outside: Environments of Netherlandish Visual Culture.....	69
(AANS) Society and Literature .....	73

## SATURDAY, JUNE 7

### 1:00-3:00

The Production of and Market for Cheap Paintings in Seventeenth-Century Holland .....	76
Image Theology and Art Theory in the Low Countries .....	80
Rubens and His Legacy .....	86
Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Art, Open Session .....	91
(AANS) The Dutch in the Americas .....	95

### **Re-installing, Re-hanging...What's Next?**

Chairs: Sasha Suda, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

Yao-Fen You, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit

Albert Godycki, National Gallery, London

*Limitations/Possibilities: Displaying Dutch and Flemish Painting at the National Gallery, London*

The National Gallery in London houses a renowned collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings, a collection as vast in its quantity as in its scope of subjects, styles, schools and periods. With the exception of oil-sketches, it is a collection of finished paintings, and only paintings. As the repository of the national collection of Old Master paintings, the Gallery is obliged to display the majority of its holdings at any given moment. Simultaneously, scholarly custodianship over the collection must stay current with, if not lead, new research, translating discoveries and new interpretations to the public in an accessible manner. This is not a task always easy to achieve in the face of ever-increasing spatial limitations and a single-medium collection. This paper will present a series of past and present displays in the Dutch and Flemish galleries as case studies that reveal the challenges and possible solutions in displaying a coherent, informative and hopefully innovative history of Dutch and Flemish culture through the medium of painted images only.

A chronologically and geographically ordered hang is perhaps the most immediately associated characteristic of the NG's display. Historically, this model reflected both contemporary taste and the type of art historical narrative which, to some extent, it also informed. The ability to alter this format, to break "the canon" as it were (without constantly re-installing the entire Gallery), becomes the main prerequisite for introducing new displays. Hence, international artistic exchanges and influences between southern and northern Europe and between local regions can be presented explicitly in a single room as can stylistic continuities over several centuries. An active loan program, which seeks not only to showcase high quality objects but also to introduce into the collection seemingly atypical examples of artistic productivity, can expand conventional thinking about art historical narratives while maintaining traditional connoisseurial approaches to attribution and technique.

Themed displays such as "The Dutch Interior" and "Architectural Painting in The Netherlands," which featured both trans-historic and international objects, aimed to redistribute public awareness about the "historical context, function and display" of such objects *and* images. In addition to temporary

exhibitions, certain contemporary scholarly debates can stand as the impetus behind new displays and vice-versa: established displays feeding into scholarly debates. A recent example is the museological reaction at the National Gallery to a series of lectures hosted by the Courtauld Institute of Art in 2012/13 that examined the relationship between art and knowledge in the early modern Netherlands. Such events and corresponding visual presentations created an expanded forum for scholarly discussion and continue to foster new ideas and object-based research.

Jack Hinton, Philadelphia Museum of Art

*"A Room worthy in its quality and dignity of the country and its wonderful masters of art of that period": Contextualizing the Dutch Golden Age in the Philadelphia Museum of Art's Room from Het Scheepje, Haarlem*

An early seventeenth-century room from a brewery complex in Haarlem, known as *Het Scheepje* ("The Little Ship"), counts among the most complete and appealing period rooms within the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The room is associated with Dirk Dirick, a retired ship's captain who became the owner of the brewery and eventually rose to the rank of burgomaster. It is notable for its quality and rarity among American museums.

Enjoying a significance recognized long before its acquisition in 1928 by museum director Fiske Kimball, with the financial support of the Dutch-born Philadelphia publisher Edward Bok, the room was carefully installed with a mix of furniture, metalwork, ceramics, textiles, books and pictures designed to invoke seventeenth-century Dutch interior scenes. Plentiful documentation in the museum archives reveal Kimball's thinking behind the acquisition of the room, not least its integration within a series of period interiors intended to provide a historical and atmospheric context for the collections, through which visitors would circulate and more easily grasp the significance of chosen artistic styles and bygone periods. In the case of *Het Scheepje*, the presence of the highly important collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings given by John G. Johnson to the city of Philadelphia and displayed at the museum would lend further weight to the room's significance within Kimball's broader museological enterprise.

If *Het Scheepje* can be considered an early predictor of evocative display techniques intended to foster conversations and linkages between object categories and historic contexts, can an interrogation of its re-creation in Philadelphia (and subsequent re-installations over the past eighty years) be used to weigh the value of "new" mixed-media presentations? At the same time that

its evocative, integrated display of seventeenth-century Dutch art suggests the innovative nature of Kimball's approach, we can also trace the room's roots to an idealized—or romantic—notation of the past and identify inaccuracies and compromises that belie its authenticity and completeness. Or in the light of the imposition of interpretive and logistical challenges that rendered the room a static display, is *Het Scheeje*, if understood within the tradition of the period room, a less germane model to present considerations, despite the goals of its early twentieth-century advocates? If so, and in any case, how could we apply new interpretive models to create mutable and engaging encounters with seventeenth-century Dutch art, history, and culture for the contemporary visitor?

Lloyd DeWitt, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

*Beyond Kunstkammern and Period Rooms: Recovering the Pasts of Dutch and Flemish Art in the Museum*

Many museums are contemplating shifting to thematic installations of art, and elsewhere installation is increasingly assigned to education or “learning” departments. The very existence of museums and their encyclopedic collections are, in some cases, threatened as well. This presentation will review the history of, and meaning invested in encyclopedic installations of Dutch art in American museums through select examples in major cities, including the Johnson Collection, the Corcoran Gallery, and others to examine the persisting influence of the original installations.

Joaneath Spicer, Walters Art Museum

*Context is Everything*

One of the consequences of, on the one hand, the progressively more constricted footprint of the humanities at many universities and colleges — certainly of art history and most certainly of the history of Dutch and Flemish art—and, on the other hand, the increasingly more diverse audiences at many art museums, especially those such as the Walters Art Museums offering free admission, is that now, and in the future, a smaller percentage of visitors to museum installations and exhibitions of Dutch and Flemish art arrive with a clear idea of what they are seeing.

This is a problem for all of us. How are we to respond? There are about as many permutations on how to convey the significance of the discrete art object through its installation as there are through its publication. Focusing in

this panel on installation, I am particularly vested in two, complementary approaches.

The first is what is generally termed a contextual approach, explicitly aiming to place the object in a surrounding that contributes both to its meaning *and*, one hopes, to the viewer's interest in that meaning. My own experience at the Walters, most pointedly in the formulation of our seventeenth-century Flemish Chamber of Wonders, has been that this approach can be very demanding in terms of curatorial effort but also very rewarding in terms of response. "Context" can involve as many interpretive strategies as an article on that object might entail, i.e. style and aesthetics as well as the historical moment, or the relationship to material culture, but in my view the one thing that is really important is a story line that actively engages the viewer, not so much through the lecture format as through the elements of a conversation. The second approach is cribbed directly from my favorite source for "curatorial practices," Carel van Mander, and therefore surely needs no preliminary introduction here!

### **Art Beyond Painting in the Northern Renaissance and Baroque**

Chair: Ellen Konowitz, State University of New York at New Paltz

Martha Moffitt Peacock, Brigham Young University

*Visual Culture and the Various Imaginings of the Maid of Holland*

The Maid of Holland is a well-known *topos* in the history of Dutch art, and she was imagined in a variety of media throughout the Golden Age including paper, stained glass, stone, metal, and cloth. These distinctive materials helped signify a diversity of meanings circulating around the cult figure, which embodied religious, political, and gendered discourses. Her incarnation dates to the outset of the Dutch revolt at which time she came to symbolize the struggle for liberty against Spanish oppression. In these earliest representations, she is frequently depicted with provincial coats of arms in an enclosed garden setting reminiscent of traditional depictions of the Virgin Mary. This allusion and the frequent incorporation of a martyrs' palm and the Bible all reference a Christian sanction of their righteous rebellion. Thus, The Maid was quickly claimed by the political visual culture of the late sixteenth-century revolutionaries, and her very public presentation at sites such as the town gate of Dordrecht and the Sint Janskerk in Gouda helped to immortalize her. In these depictions, she

sometimes wore a hat stemming from the liberty symbol of ancient Roman; this reference added classical authority to Christian sanction.

The growing popularity of this inspirational figure is also witnessed by further transmutations in various media. For example, she appeared on some of the earliest coins of the new Republic. While earlier images had vacillated between representing the figure as a typical Dutch maiden in contemporary dress on the one hand and dressing her up in antique allegorical fashion on the other, it appears that the latter manifestation was deemed most appropriate to official coinage. In Buytewech's print, however, she reverts back to her contemporary appearance; indeed, she is at one with the ennobled Dutch citizens that surround her. Thus, in print form, she became more of a credible model for the woman of the new Republic. Her orderly *heerschappij* over her garden realm provided a role model for the housewife, whose rule over her own domain was so critical to the success of this nascent society.

Evidence of this cultural connection between The Maid and Dutch women generally can be found in her continued representation on products for the home. For example, she frequently decorated the surfaces of protective fire backs for the hearth by mid-seventeenth century. These objects of material culture would have been daily reminders of the Dutch struggle for independence and of women's importance in establishing this new society. Moreover, these new fashionings are much more violent than previous representations. Now, The Maid boldly grasps a lance with the hat of liberty at its tip, and the words *Pro Patria*, for the Fatherland, are inscribed overhead. She wears the hat of a soldier, and her fierce companionate lion has also become militarized as it brandishes a sword and clenches the seven arrows symbolic of the Dutch provinces. In fact, her new brave and militaristic persona has taken on the traits of the most famous heroine of the Revolt, Kenau Simons Hasselaer. By mid-century Kenau had become one of the most celebrated revolutionary heroes in art and text. Significantly, connections between the Maid of Holland and popular Kenau imagery become overt in end-of-the century textiles made by women. In personal and domestic needlepoint designs, for instance, The Maid is portrayed in Kenau's famous pose with one hand on her hip and the other grasping a spear. Thus, The Dutch Maid had increasingly become a signification of every Dutch maid who contributed to the glory of the Republic.

Heather Hughes, University of Pennsylvania  
*To Peace, Prosperity, and Empire: The Four Continents on Joan Huydecoper's Drinking Glass*

In 1660, a drinking beaker was crafted for Amsterdam *burgomeester* Joan Huydecoper. Traditionally, this type of short, wide-rimmed glass was filled with an alcoholic beverage and passed around during a toast, allowing each reveler to take a sip. Engraved on the outside surface of this beaker are personifications of Asia, Africa, and America, with Europe being represented by a portrait of Huydecoper. An inscription encircling the lowest register of the glass guides the leader of the toast: "Rich in treasures, people, and places, are the four parts that one sees; their welfare's in tranquility, the earth prospers in peace, 1660." This paper offers a two-part investigation of how this object participated in Huydecoper's ongoing performance of wealth, gentility, and political power.

First, I argue that the Four Continents, as they are uniquely represented here, generated proto-ethnographic knowledge about peoples residing outside Europe. When this beaker was made, the Four Continents had already been used to signify Amsterdam's position as the epicenter of international trade. In Artus Quellinus's allegorical relief on the tympanum of the Amsterdam Town Hall—which was erected under Huydecoper's leadership—Europe, Asia, Africa, and America approach the city of Amsterdam with goods from their various regions, thereby according with Abraham Ortelius's original commerce-driven allegory on the frontispiece of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). As in the tympanum, the beaker departs from iconographic convention by stripping the Continents of their classical attire and distinguishing them by regional clothing, weaponry, and localized landscape settings. Rather than merely embodying geographical entities, the personifications assume the task of representing the actual inhabitants of their respective homelands.

In acknowledgement of the beaker's ritual function, I then propose that the glass contributed to Huydecoper's self-presentation as an instrumental figure in Amsterdam's economic and cultural preeminence. As a pelt merchant-cum-Lord of Maarsse, six-term mayor, member of the VOC board of directors, and patron of Dutch poetry, architecture, and painting, he was one of the city's most powerful men. His social status is clearly advertised on the beaker, where he is portrayed on the grounds of his family's country estate. Yet, by forgoing the figure of Europe altogether, the beaker suggests even greater political aspirations for Huydecoper and the Dutch Republic in general. Deprived of their local wares, the three remaining Continents offer only their land and themselves for imperial conquest.

Nadia Baadj, University of Bern

*Enterprising Craftsmanship and Exotic Encounters in Seventeenth-Century  
Kunstkasten*



The *kunstkasten* produced in great numbers in Northern Europe, and especially Antwerp, in the seventeenth century epitomize the notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk* and challenge us to reconsider modern divisions between different media in early modern terms. These cabinets incorporate the materials and techniques of a diverse range of specialists, including engravers, silversmiths, ebonists, locksmiths, and painters, and showcase aspects of the fine and decorative arts, optics, mathematics, and architecture. The doors, drawers, and lids of *kunstkasten* feature carved panels of ivory and exotic woods, paintings, metalwork, embroidery, and inlaid designs made of semi-precious stones. Additionally, the interiors of the cabinets often contain miniature architectural spaces, complete with porticos, galleries, tiled floors, and concealed compartments for storing valuables. Many of these interior ‘rooms’ also feature mirrors and anamorphic and *trompe l’oeil* images that played to the early modern interest and delight in optical illusion.

In a variety of ways, the *kunstkast* functioned as a miniature, self-contained collection. Recent scholarship on early modern collections has emphasized their role as settings for accumulating, producing, and exchanging natural, scientific, artisanal, and connoisseurial knowledge. The collection was a repository for precious objects, *naturalia*, and *exotica*, as well as an important site of commercial, intellectual, and social interactions. Rather than approaching *kunstkasten* as static objects or pieces of furniture, as previous studies have tended to do, my paper considers these cabinets in the terms of the early modern collection—as complex physical settings and as active sites of contact, exchange, and innovation. In this talk, I examine the ways in which the physical and imagined space of the *kunstkast* acted as a catalyst for artistic invention, the generation and transfer of diverse forms of knowledge, and the emergence of novel commercial and collecting practices.

First, I will look more critically at the collaborative nature of *kunstkast* production, which brought together a wide range of practitioners and craft knowledge. The multimedia composition of these cabinets made them fertile sites for artistic ingenuity and invention and led to the establishment of complex networks between diverse individuals, media, materials, and places.

Second, I will explore the literal and figurative space of the *kunstkast*. Typically displayed in domestic interiors, these cabinets were inextricably linked to their physical environment. The illusionistic effects created by precious materials and optical devices depended upon their interaction with mirrors, windows, doors, light sources, and other objects (paintings, sculpture, *naturalia*, textiles) in the same space. Additionally, as sites of Baroque spectacle and

curiosity, *kunstkasten* constituted significant spaces of entertainment and social and intellectual interaction that stimulated the imagination of those who came in contact with them.

Third, I will address the ways in which *kunstkasten* served an important commercial function as arbiters of local and foreign styles, trends, and tastes. The materials and decoration of the *kunstkast* were adapted by dealers based on the clientele and export destination. The incorporation of exotic materials, fashionable craft techniques, or cutting-edge optical technologies in the cabinet promoted it as an innovative new product. At the same time that the *kunstkast* asserted its own novelty, it also advertised local (Flemish) pictorial styles and themes through painted, embroidered, carved, and inlaid surfaces that alternately featured copies, phantom copies, or variants of famous painted and printed prototypes.

Marlise Rijks, Ghent University and Max Plank Institute for the History of Science  
*Painters' Collections on Display. Materiality and Religion in Counter-Reformation Antwerp: Cabinets and Iconoclasts*

The Antwerp-invented genre of the painted *Collector's Cabinet* meant that painters played a key role in the conception and disclosure of collections. Strangely enough, artists' collections in general and painters' collections in particular, have rarely been studied – Rembrandt and Rubens are the exceptions to the rule. This paper discusses the culture of collecting among Antwerp painters in relation to their concepts on art, artifacts and their display. Objects and artifacts besides paintings are key to understand the culture of collecting in Antwerp in general and the genre of the *Collector's Cabinet* in particular. The Francken family is taken a prime example, because of the family's personal collection (documented in a probate inventory) and their role in the invention of the genre of the *Collector's Cabinets*. The several *Collectors Cabinets with Iconoclasts* from the Francken-workshop are my focal point, as they testify to the importance of 'art beyond painting'.

It is no coincidence that the Franckens depicted collections in association with iconoclasts. Quintessential to both iconoclasm and the display of collections were issues of materiality and the transformation of substances. The display of objects ranging from art and artifacts to naturalia, exotica and scientific instruments has puzzled many, and since Filipczak, plenty of interpretations were proposed. In this paper, the display of collected objects (both painted and as described in inventories) is understood in terms of the fierce debates about materiality and transformation, issues linked symbiotically

to artistic, scientific and religious developments. Through their paintings and their collection of objects, the Franckens played a role in these debates.

The transformation of substances was part of painter's artisanal knowledge and was related to a respect for Antwerp's large production of 'chymically' made (luxury) goods. Crafted and natural objects were put on display side-by-side; referring to ideas about Art and Nature - or the man-made and the God-made – and the related issue of intervening in God's Creation. Specific issues of materiality – the use of certain materials or objects - that had been central to the image debates, became key arguments for painters and collectors in Counterreformation Antwerp. In this way, collections were intimately related to contemporary debates in both natural philosophy and image theology. In short, painters' collections and the conceptual visualizations in *Collector's Cabinets* are about paintings as well as 'art beyond painting'. The combination of different types of objects in collections must be understood as the material evidence of this combined attentiveness to trade, art, natural knowledge and religion.

### **Rembrandt: Meaning and Interpretation ..**

Chairs: Perry Chapman, University of Delaware  
Erik Hinterding, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Jürgen Müller, Technische Universität Dresden

*Rembrandt's Wit: On Ellipsis, Dissimulation and Irony in The Jewish Bride*

Rembrandt's so-called "Jewish Bride" has provoked many interpretations. The most popular version, and the title by which the painting was popularly known, interprets the image as a depicting the farewell of a young Jewish bride to her father on the eve of her marriage. More recent interpretations focus on the possibility that the image contains historiated portraits. Christian Tümpel has argued that the subject of the painting is actually "Isaac and Rebecca," a proposition that is very plausible, when one takes into account the preparatory drawing, which also includes the King Abimelech. Tümpel offers a convincing attribution of the picture to Rembrandt's late work, which is characterized by reduction and condensation. Building on these findings, I will argue what has not yet been noticed – that in constructing his image of Isaac and Rebecca, Rembrandt refers to antique models, which can be found in François Perrier's "Segmenta". The Rebecca figure derives from the sculpture of the "Venus

Pudica", whereas Rembrandt adopts a satyr from the famous group of "Pan and Apollo" as a model for Isaac. If we recognize this reference, we the viewers play the role of Abimelech, who is not sure what kind of relationship Rebecca and Isaac share. Rembrandt shows on the one hand, sexual desire and on the other, innocence. His chief rhetorical technique, I argue, is that of ellipsis. This operation can be found in other compositions, too, which I also would like to present briefly.

Alison M. Kettering, Carleton College  
*Confronting Rembrandt's Slaughtered Ox*

Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox* (Paris, Louvre, 1655), long an iconographical puzzle, has been understood primarily as a painting with symbolic or at least extra-ordinary associations. Scholars have interpreted it as a *memento mori*, an allegory of human suffering, a meditation on the Prodigal Son or Crucifixion, and even related to Rembrandt's personal suffering. This paper asks what assumptions, expectations, biases, and approaches have prompted such interpretations. What cultural currents framed discussions of the picture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and how might we in the 21<sup>st</sup> century approach the picture differently?

Rembrandt's panel can be discussed alongside a related panel in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow, c. 1639, which was considered autograph until 1989, when the Rembrandt Research Project downgraded it to Rembrandt studio work.

Over a generation ago, Jan Emmens provided a sketchy historiographic analysis of the panels when he noted the speed with which different critical appraisals developed in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, each dependent on the current "spiritual climate." These could be subsumed under various rubrics: the picturesque, romantic realism, aestheticism, and expressionism. This last "climate" inspired Soutine to produce powerful paintings that pushed Rembrandt's tangible form to near abstraction and turned the carcass into something tragic. Soutine's pictorial response -- and the cross-like scaffold on which the carcasses hang—likely influenced many later 20<sup>th</sup>-century writers to see Rembrandt's in just this light. For others, Rembrandt's animal carcass symbolically communicated a moral lesson. One of the chief exponents of the so-called iconological school, Eddy de Jongh found support for his moralizing interpretation of many slaughtered animal images in the pig's bladder so frequent in swine pictures which he assumed to function as a *vanitas* symbol. Kenneth Craig's allegorical interpretation related Rembrandt's ox

pictures to the Prodigal Son parable. Robert Baldwin, on the other hand, examined the subject along secular lines, pointing first to its importance in courtly cosmic imagery and then in burgher imagery of family virtue, regeneration, and nature's abundance.

Few scholars (other than Baldwin) have recognized the pictorial tradition out of which Rembrandt's ox picture emerged, extending from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century (Aertsen, Beuckelaer) to farmstead pictures by such artists as Kalf, Sorgh, and Teniers (1630s into the 1650s). Nor have they examined the iconographical implications of Rembrandt's chiaroscuro and facture in the Louvre panel, its deviation from game pieces, and the deletion of all anecdotal elements but for a single middle-class onlooker. Nor have they recognized the distinctions between oxen and swine within the pictorial tradition no less than in economic and social history or indeed how knowledge of current butchering practices and, more broadly, early modern notions of animal and society relationships might have affected (and continue to affect) audience response.

Interpretation has already expanded beyond earlier assumptions about the painting as personally expressive. A 21<sup>st</sup> century iconographical approach must expand, too, beyond the picture as a carrier primarily of abstract Biblical and emblematic concepts cloaked by everyday reality. Equally pressing, it should investigate the huge variety of concerns that gave artistic direction and sustained viewer response to animal pictures, whether contemporary labor (butcher) practices, class associations with animals, philosophical and scientific attitudes toward human/animal hierarchies, agricultural and economic conditions, no less than Rembrandt's response to pictorial convention and, ultimately, the visual appeal of the picture itself.

Joanna Sheers Seidenstein, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University  
*Storylines: Narrative and Narration in Rembrandt's Diana at Her Bath*

Rembrandt's relocation to Amsterdam about 1631/32 coincided with an expansion of humanist activity in the merchant city. The inauguration in 1632 of the Athenaeum Illustre—an institute of higher learning in the humanities—and the opening in 1637 of the Amsterdam Schouwburg—the country's first modern theater and frequently a venue for productions of ancient plays—reflected and promoted a growing interest in classical antiquity. In this period an enormous number of Dutch translations of ancient texts also appeared in printed editions. The Haarlem painter Karel van Mander's often-cited 1604 translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was just one of the many publications that offered artists a fund of classical themes and topoi. Studies by Dutch writers of the ancient literary

theories of Horace and Aristotle, meanwhile, offered redefinitions of dramatic narrative that carried definite implications for history painting.

This paper presents Rembrandt's narrative paintings and prints of the 1630s as early contributions to this rich humanist culture and to the concurrent discourse on narrative. It focuses on the outstanding example of his *Diana at Her Bath with the Stories of Actaeon and Callisto* of 1634 (Isselburg, Museum Wasserburg-Anholt), a painting that depicts moments from two distinct Ovidian tales and that, as I will propose, treats storytelling itself as a theme. Building on studies of the painting by Eric Jan Sluijter, Amy Golahny, Stefan Grohé, and Werner Busch, the paper presents new observations about the picture, its visual and textual sources, and its relationship to humanist writings, framing it within an intellectual, rather than moralizing, literary tradition.

Paul Crenshaw, Providence College

*Value and Judgment in Rembrandt's Hundred Guilder Print*

This paper reconsiders our understanding of Rembrandt's most complex print, *Christ Preaching (The Hundred Guilder Print)*. It has been recognized since Rembrandt's lifetime that the main vignettes in the print relate scenes described in Chapter 19 of Matthew's Gospel, but giving the print as a whole a concise title has long eluded its admirers. Hence, the nickname and its astounding indication of price has persisted as a convenient marker of value. Employing aspects of value theory, this paper examines different modes of the production of value that operate simultaneously within Rembrandt's production process and the print's reception in his complex and discerning Amsterdam milieu, seamlessly incorporating aspects that are typically considered separate in art historical analysis, including iconology, reception history and technical examination.

It is proposed that the traditional title of the print insufficiently describes the range of connections that the Rembrandt drew upon and that are generated by the components within the print itself. The artist made allusions to visual traditions that closely aligned with the interests of people in his immediate circle. In particular, themes of medicine and illness, and especially spiritual and miraculous healing, are vitally important to the visual depth of the composition. The theme of the woman with the issue of blood plays an unexpected role in the print (as this story was not part of Matthew 19), and the extant drawings make clear that Rembrandt tried several variations on ways to include this episode in his composition.

Finally, and most importantly, the overall composition and overarching theme of the print suggests an altogether new idea that changes our understanding of a proper title. It is suggested that Rembrandt paid close attention to the marginal notes of Matthew 19 in the States Bible of 1638 that leave no doubt that the final third of the chapter relates to a path to salvation and preparation for Christ's return at the Second Coming. The print's transition of light and shadow, separation of those who come to Christ from those who turn away, and the multivalent gestures of Christ himself make clear that the print was meant as an alternative to the pictorial tradition of the *Last Judgment*. The image is thus interpreted as a Protestant path to salvation through faith rather than a supernatural judgment at the end of time as the subject was more traditionally rendered in Italy, especially in the most famous version by Michelangelo. In Rembrandt's print, the technical virtuosity and pictorial density, as well as its theological viewpoint, were meant to appeal to a tight circle of Rembrandt's clients and like-minded collectors, and this understanding of the print is indeed confirmed by a poem by H. F. Waterloos inscribed on an impression in Paris. Ironically, its fantastic pictorial impact coupled with its scarcity in a frenzied market for rarities led this print to be known for the very feature—its worldly worth—that is repudiated in the image itself and its theme. A suggestion is made for a proper title to the image that accounts for both its range of activities and its lofty promise of salvation: *Christ's Earthly Ministry*.

**(AANS) Instructors of Dutch Workshop, part 2** (including one paper)

Chair: Wijnie de Groot, Columbia University

Thomas F. Shannon, University of California, Berkeley

*Who's on First? Comparing English, Dutch, and German Initial Elements*

It has often been claimed that Dutch stands somewhere between English on the one hand and German on the other (cf. Van Haeringen 1956, Shannon 1990, Hüning 2006). While no doubt few would dispute such a claim, what it actually means and to what it applies is still a rather open question. Doubtless a large part of the story here is a general drift away from the inherited Germanic system type, especially regarding grammatical inflection and word order. Looking just at English, already Sapir (1921: 178) observed "as the inflected forms of English became scanti- er ... position in the sentence gradually took over functions originally foreign to it." In a related vein, Van Haeringen (1956: 64) claimed "de

woordorde [wordt] strenger naarmate het vormen- systeem verarmt ... dan is het te verwachten dat de meest amorfe taal van de drie, het Engels, de strengste woordvolgorde heeft, en het Duits de vrijste. Dat is inderdaad het geval.” Furthermore, Hawkins (1986: 37) claimed that English has restricted the pragmatic (re)orderings which German still allows, but offers little empirical evidence in support of his claim. Subsequently, Burridge (1993) argued for a general typological shift from pragmatically to grammatically determined word order, which included a drift from topic prominence to subject prominence. In order to address these issues, this presentation focuses specifically on initial elements in main declarative clauses (so-called “topicalization” of “fronting”). The results of a text-based quantitative comparison of German, Dutch, and English will show that these languages form a cline in fronting, with a (proper) subset relation largely holding between them. English places subjects in initial position more frequently—and other elements less often—than German, while Dutch occupies an intermediate position between the two. For instance, some non-subject elements cannot be fronted at all in English as they can in German and Dutch, and where other frontings are possible they occur least often in English, most often in German, again with Dutch in between. Also, in line with Burridge’s claims, English—and to a lesser extent Dutch—uses special constructions such as clefts to achieve essentially the same pragmatic purposes that German accomplishes with word order alone. We will argue that these results provide good empirical evidence in favor of the claimed drift toward grammatically determined word order and subject prominence in Dutch and English.

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### **The Netherlands and the World, 1500-1750, part 1**

Chairs: Dawn Odell, Lewis & Clark College

Larry Silver, University of Pennsylvania

Thijs Weststeijn, University of Amsterdam

Stephanie Porras, Tulane University

*Maarten de Vos as Global Export*

Despite the fact that he was one of the most prolific artists of early modern Antwerp and one of the most globally influential, Maarten de Vos remains an understudied and underappreciated artist. De Vos’s biography reflects the international taste and broad reach of Antwerp’s art market – he travelled in Italy



in his youth, possibly working in Venice; he worked for a German Protestant prince; his sister and brother-in-law were art dealers and exporters; and de Vos had a key role in several prominent Counter-Reformation publishing ventures produced for the global project of conversion and re-conversion. While de Vos's name often appears in scholarship on the Counter Reformation, the global Jesuit network, and early modern cross-cultural contact in there is no substantial study of his works in English and only two dated German monographs discuss the artist (Zweite 1980, Reinsch 1967).

My proposed paper will focus on de Vos's activity as an export/ exporter. I argue that his early travels and career experience in Italy, as well as his familial knowledge of the Antwerp export economy, shaped his appreciation for the mobility of artistic styles and art objects. The diversity of his work prior to 1585 – primarily paintings and print designs of religious subjects alternatively traditional or sympathetic to Protestant Reformers' aesthetic concerns – reflects the artist's awareness of the changing local political climate, as well as shifts in the international demand for art. The artist himself converted to Lutheranism in this period and executed commissions for local Calvinist merchants, as well as a German Lutheran prince. Yet in the same period, de Vos also apparently sold paintings and print designs specifically aimed at local, European and even transatlantic Catholic audiences; there is a 1581 panel by de Vos depicting St. Michael the Archangel in the Mexican cathedral of Cuautitlán that has been there since the sixteenth century, for example. This is particularly notable as 1581 was the year of the so-called "Silent Iconoclasm" of Antwerp, when the Calvinist civic government removed prominent religious works from public view.

De Vos was able to maintain a living in Antwerp, even during the lean times of the war, due to his intellectual and artistic flexibility as export artist. One of only 8 artists wealthy enough to be taxed in 1585 (over 90% of the city was too poor to pay), de Vos had thrived despite the harsh political and economic climate. This was in part due to his family connections and, I would argue, his entrepreneurial awareness of art's migratory possibilities – particularly the role of print designs as a lifeline to international markets. After the return of Antwerp to Spanish dominion in 1585 and his own reconversion to Catholicism, de Vos's export activity rapidly expanded and was increasingly aimed at a global Catholic population. By staying in Antwerp, the artist had access to the Habsburg-controlled trade routes and further artistic and commercial opportunities.

De Vos's transformation into one of the most important global artists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was confirmed when he was commissioned to "translate" drawings by the Italian artist Bernardino Passeri

into suitable designs for engravings illustrating Geronimo Nadal's 1593 *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*. The book of 153 illustrations was published by Christopher Plantin and financed by the Jesuits both in Antwerp and in Rome. This project highlights de Vos's particular success as an export artist and his recognized ability to produce clear and stylistically "neutral" images that were imminently adaptable/exportable. De Vos's designs for Nadal's volume, promoted by the global Jesuit network, inspired indigenous artists in Japan, India and New Spain. The surprising embrace of the former Lutheran as a favored religious artist not only in the two Habsburg colonies, the Low Countries and Mexico, but also within the global Counter Reformation project, suggests that de Vos was able to market himself as particularly well-qualified to produce didactic and attractive devotional art to appeal to a global market. This paper seeks to understand de Vos's appeal as global export artist, identifying and discussing the artist's various commercial and artistic strategies, focusing on his unique stylistic flexibility and the notion of artistic "translatability."

Christine Göttler, University of Bern

*Connecting Worlds in Early Seventeenth-Century Antwerp: Peter Paul Rubens's Birth of Venus for the Portuguese Merchant Banker Emmanuel Ximenez*

Thanks to its dominant position in Portugal's sea-borne trade, Antwerp developed into a hub of world knowledge and world trade in the course of the sixteenth century. The many foreign merchant nations, settling in the city from the end of the fifteenth century onwards transformed it into a 'world city,' where new goods, new merchandise, new information, and new kinds of knowledge were circulated and exchanged. In turn, the flow of commodities from European and overseas markets, along with the competition among highly specialized artists and craftsmen, affected the city's material and intellectual culture and transformed it into a center of both commercial and maritime knowledge and artists' knowledge and expertise. While there was a shift of focus in the economy of Antwerp in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the marketing of luxury items such as silverwork, glassware, jewelry, and, above all, paintings continued to flourish. Moreover, in the 1610s new iconographies and subjects emerged in the visual arts – still-life paintings, markets, *constcamers*, representations of the elements and the senses – that linked the city of Antwerp to the marvels and markets of the Oriental and Occidental Indies. Using the rhetoric of novelty, these new subjects underscored Antwerp's interconnectedness with the world. In this paper, I investigate what I call the iconography of the world in early seventeenth-century Antwerp using Peter Paul Rubens's first maritime allegory,

a *Birth of Venus* (*Venus Anadyomene*) of about 1613-14 (formerly Sanssouci, Potsdam, lost since World War II) as my main example. A 1617 inventory locates the painting in the sitting room in the front part of the Antwerp residence of the wealthy Portuguese merchant-banker Emmanuel Ximenez (1564-1630), who most likely commissioned this subject. The Ximenezes were among the great Portuguese families who participated in the *carreira da Índia*, and whose overseas trade network extended to India, Africa, Brazil, and the Spanish Americas. Emmanuel Ximenez considered the members of the Portuguese nation to be the “natural protectors” of the crafts of herbalists, confectioners, diamond cutters, and pearl drillers, among others. Given the crucial importance of the maritime world for members of the Portuguese nation, it is not surprising that the learned merchant-banker wished to present his guests with a maritime allegory by Antwerp’s foremost painter, who by that time was already known as the Apelles of his age. In his *Birth of Venus*, Rubens re-staged the most celebrated painting by Apelles that showed the foam-born Venus “squeezing the sea water with both hands from her hair and face,” as described by Natale Conti in the *Mythologia*. The inhabitants of the sea welcome the goddess of love with the very goods Ximenez traded and collected: shells, corals, and ‘oriental’ pearls.

My discussion of Rubens’s maritime allegory will focus on how local, Portuguese, and ‘world’ values and identities were negotiated within the physical spaces of (Portuguese) merchants’ houses in Antwerp, and the physical and social spaces of early seventeenth-century Antwerp. In particular, I consider the use of ‘world’ imagery in three other spaces or contexts to which, I argue, Rubens’s *Birth of Venus*, can be linked: **first**, the decoration of the *Statenkamer* of the Antwerp town hall, which included Abraham Janssens’s *Scaldis and Antwerpia*, Rubens’s *Adoration of the Magi*, and Antonio de Succa’s portrait series of twenty-five dukes and duchesses of Brabant – remarkably, Ximenez possessed a copy of that series displayed in the same room as Rubens’s *Birth of Venus*; **second**, the ‘world’ imagery of the Antwerp Jesuit church, to which Rubens contributed; and, **third**, the ‘world’ iconography of the triumphal arch financed by the Portuguese merchants on the occasion of the Triumphant Entry of Archduke Ernst into Antwerp in July 1593 – and erected in relatively close distance to the Ximenez house.

In conclusion, the history of the painting will be briefly discussed. Rubens’s *Birth of Venus* remained in Antwerp until most of the Portuguese merchants had left. In 1633, after Ximenez’s death, it is documented in the inventory of the estate of another powerful Antwerp Portuguese, Felipe Godines, Seigneur of Cantecroy. In the 1650s, still in the possession of

Godines's widow, Sebilla vanden Berghe, the painting was estimated to be worth 2000 guildens; in 1677, it was acquired by Constantijn Huygens the Younger on behalf of William III of Orange in the year of William's marriage to Mary Stuart. The work thus carried its intricate web of cultural associations through local transfers and across national borders, linking it in various ways to the city's history and urban fabric.

Britta Bode, Freie Universität Berlin

*Globalizing Prints: Mapping the World in the Northern Netherlands around 1600*

The path-breaking maps executed by the Doetecum family (New Hollstein 1998) have been hugely influential for both, the global enterprises of the great Dutch overseas companies, and the style and technique of printed maps. The publisher of some of these maps, Cornelis Claesz (c. 1551-1609), while collaborating with one of the founders of the Dutch East India Company - the cartographer Petrus Plancius (1552-1622) - gained unique access to naval instructions, navigation charts and trade information, thereby laying the foundation for travelling beyond the boundaries of Europe (Schilder 2003). However, it was largely due to the innovative printing method employed by the brothers Joannes the Elder (d. c. 1605) and Lucas van Doetecum (active 1554-72-died before 1589) and Joannes' sons Joannes the Younger (d. 1630) and Baptista (d.1611) respectively, that these maps had a pivotal and long lasting influence on contemporary cartography (Woodward 2007, 1307; for the general importance of the Doetecums as "specialists in printmaking" see Cole/Silver 2006, 15). Maps such as, just to name two examples, the *Bird's eye view and plan of the isle and city of Goa* illustrating Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* from 1596 (New Holl. no 932) or the *Map of Africa With Arabia and part of the coast of Brasil* from c. 1595 after the cartographer Luis Teixeira (New Holl. no 963) were a complex combination of etching and engraving. According to the engraver and cartographer Mattias Quad (1557-1613) they " [...] invented a completely new and ingenious manner of etching, whereby they could, and still can, etch in copper pictures and maps with all the writing and lettering in them so neatly and smoothly, and with such gentle gradations, that it was long considered by many connoisseurs to be no etching, but pure engraving."

The paper aims at identifying both, the conditions that enabled the Doetecums to gain such authority in the context of global cartography and the causes of their artistic influence on printmaking. It is based on the central assumption that the production of globally relevant prints and the mapping of the world depended to a considerable extent on innovative techniques of

printmaking. So far, historians of cartography have focused on the Doetecums and their influence on Dutch mapmaking from a geographical point of view, thereby neglecting the intricacies of etching techniques and the historical circumstances of printmaking in general. Historians of art, on the other hand, with the notable exception of James Welu (1987), have not been very interested in maps as artefacts and in mapmaking as an attempt to define spatial relations (Bosters et al. 1989; for a recent exception see Michalsky 2009). The paper consist of two parts: firstly, it sets out to describe the collaboration between professional printmakers, cartographers, publishers, merchants, travellers and historians in their combined efforts of creating and charting a global perspective. Secondly, it elaborates on the way in which the Doetecum's ability to imitate the effect of the engraved line by using a much simpler and quicker technique of intaglio printmaking – etching – changed Dutch cartography around 1600. The results of this case study form part of a more extensive project of identifying the conditions of innovation in etching focusing on the role of professional printmakers.

Marsely Kehoe, Columbia University

*Imaginary Gables: The Visual Culture of Dutch Architecture Abroad in Batavia and Willemstad*

A diffusion of Dutch architecture and visual culture occurred as part of the global exploration and trade of Dutch East and West India Companies, as Dutch outposts were established around the world to facilitate this economic project. This paper focuses on the two capitals of these trading networks, Batavia on Java and Willemstad on Curaçao, where hybrid Dutch townhouses were built to house company employees and merchants. Most of Batavia's early buildings have been lost, while more of Willemstad's remain. Because of destruction or alteration of these historic buildings, the largest source of evidence for the appearance of these buildings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are representations of these cities in landscapes, cityscapes, and maps, images that mainly circulated among armchair travelers at home in Europe, allowing these viewers to imagine these exotic locales.

This paper questions the extent to which the images that circulated of these Dutch tropical cities, in printed books and maps, can be considered accurate representations, and what role they had in developing a sense of these far-away places as Dutch. My primary interest is in the representation of vernacular architecture, the Dutch-styled townhouses that filled these cities abroad, which are not generally the subject of cityscapes, but are rather

background or context for more prominent buildings, like the settlement's fort or unique religious buildings, or filler in cityscapes, or even a backdrop for images of exotic people and goods. Because these buildings are marginal in the images, they are easy to overlook, yet in many cases, it appears that it was important to the draughtsman or engraver to represent clearly Dutch-styled buildings, marked by step- and spout-gables, and later the imaginatively curvy gables of Curaçao, even as other visual details are hazy, or the buildings' placement seems haphazard. How and why do the gables stand in for a Dutch architecture abroad, and what do they emphasize?

This paper examines two main types of circulating images, the publications about Asia and the Americas by Johannes Nieuhof, and printed maps which in addition to describing shorelines and landmarks, often provide birds-eye view cityscapes or small vignettes of the city's architecture. Nieuhof provided his own eyewitness drawings to illustrate his texts to his publisher, suggesting a potentially high degree of accuracy, but in this paper I examine the alteration of his images as they underwent engraving in Amsterdam in preparation for publication. Additionally, in depictions of architecture on printed maps that generally don't provide the kind of information that would help one recognize or navigate the city, Dutch gable types appear as a synecdoche of the Dutch colonial city.

For the armchair traveler or map collector, among whom these printed images circulated, what function did these shorthand references to Dutch-styled architecture have? Did these images serve to confirm a sense of Dutch dominance in these far-flung regions, or a sense of the familiar in the exotic? This paper examines images of buildings in Batavia and Willemstad in comparison with extant buildings to question the function of the visual cultures of these cities circulating throughout the early modern world.

### **Dutch Classicism Revisited**

Chair: Judith Noorman, The Drawing Institute, The Morgan Library & Museum

Kerry Barrett, New York University

*Dutch Classicism Revisited*

Almost twenty years after the publication of *Gods, Saints, and Heroes*, Albert Blankert more fully developed an understanding of Dutch Classicism in the 1999 publication *Dutch Classicism in the Seventeenth Century*. In the introductory

essay Blankert's description of classicism in Dutch painting is based less on subject matter – biblical, mythological, and allegorical themes – than on style. He defines classicism as an 'anti-modern' impulse that sought to abandon the extremes of Spranger mannerism, Caravaggism, or Rembrandtesque realist styles in favor of more moderate, normal, and balanced compositions. A Dutch classicizing painter not only depicts historical subjects, but also must execute the painting in a bright and tight manner of painting. Blankert further delineates Dutch classicist painters in his section on baroque and classicism, where he argues that the southern Netherlands practiced a different kind of history painting from that of the north. Southern painters worked in a baroque manner that eschewed restraint and serenity in favor of vigorous movement and spectacular effects.

Although Blankert rightly challenges Jan Emmens's notion that classicism did not exist before 1670 and effectively re-established the importance of history painting in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, his characterization of classicism is also flawed. Blankert's analysis of Dutch classicism is purely formalist and derives from a modern understanding of classicism in keeping with Heinrich Wölfflin's visual characterization of Renaissance (i.e. classicist) and Baroque art: linear/painterly, plane /depth, closed form/open form, multiplicity/unity, and clearness/unclearness. Like Wölfflin, Blankert neglects to take into account social and cultural context.

This paper seeks to reposition the meaning of Dutch classicism, bearing in mind that the painters who have been labeled as classicizing were not working a collective 'ism' and there is no clear consensus on the seventeenth-century meaning of the term classicism. Using the paintings adorning the walls of the Oranjezaal and Amsterdam Town Hall as primary examples, I will challenge whether 'Dutch classicism' is an appropriate term, and instead suggest a more nuanced and holistic understanding of Netherlandish history painting. To do so, I will turn to 17<sup>th</sup>- and early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch chroniclers who were influenced by the classicist ideal of beauty, chiefly Jan de Bisschop, Arnold Houbraken, and Gerard de Lairese, to demonstrate that the meaning of classicism at a time when so-called seventeenth-century 'classicist' paintings were executed was quite different from Blankert's Wölfflinian understanding of the term. While these authors address painting techniques, their discussions of the ideal classicizing, or antique, form tend to be based on choice of subject matter and the physical qualities of the composition. Decorum, nobility, elegance, virtue, and grace are compulsory features of a 'classicist' work; no stylistic distinction is made that precludes southern Netherlandish 'baroque' paintings from being numbered among classicizing works. Indeed, there is no

clearly stated stylistic understanding of classicism that supports Blankert's formalist characterization of Dutch classicizing painters. This ultimately leads to the question of whether classicism is a conveniently modern term that is too exclusive for an understanding of Netherlandish history painting.

Tijana Zakula, Utrecht University

*Lower Genres à l'Antique: Patronage, Theory and Practice*

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch art market was dominated by a new breed of patrons. These *cognoscenti* belonged to the urban patriciate, which at the time emerged as a distinct group. Its members embraced more refined codes of behavior so as to differentiate themselves from the middle class, and the cultivation of a more classicizing taste in art was evidently an integral part of this process. This had long lasting consequences for the entire artistic production of the Republic, for the only mode to accommodate these new tendencies was the stylish *antique*, which many specialists were now keen to serve with greater or lesser success.

The concept of *antique* was central to the writings of Gerard de Lairesse, whose *Groot Schilderboek* reflected all the changes that occurred in the artistic situation of the Republic in the second part of the seventeenth century. *Antique* stood for De Lairesse's concept of supreme beauty and sophistication, in which morals and class played an equally important and inseparable part. Beauty was not only of the utmost importance in terms of its aesthetic merits, but also because it could only meet the Horatian wish that painting, like poetry, should instruct as well as delight in its very highest form, that is, in nature perfected in scenes from memorable narratives. This ethically-driven definition of the purpose of art was intertwined with the ever-elusive notion of ideal beauty and entrenched in concepts stemming from classical antiquity. According to these, the virtue of the content was inseparable from the virtue of the form, this virtue being beauty, and the interest in this quality was understood as an interest in perfecting oneself, that is, in the question of how best to live.

It should come as no surprise that De Lairesse started his project to reform Dutch art from his own specialty of history painting. However, even though the *antique* was primarily conceived as a style for the highest of genres, De Lairesse did not wish to restrict this beautiful manner of delightful instruction to history painting only. In history, it was of course mandatory, but in all other genres the *antique* could also provide a superior alternative to the *modern* mode, and the 'weak capacities,' i.e. the painters who could not venture beyond their limited areas of specialization, were also well advised to use it.



Using socio-political changes that took place in the Republic at the beginning of the 1650s as a point of departure, this paper will further examine the consequences these had on the artistic production, especially those linked to the shift towards a more 'aristocratic' idiom. Ultimately, it will show how De Lairese used these tendencies in order to propose further improvements that would ultimately secure a thorough reformation of Dutch art in the hitherto most comprehensive art theoretical treatise, the aim of which was to teach all branches of painting the silver-tongued language of the *antique*.

Jessica Veith, New York University  
*Classicism in Dutch Portraits Historiées*

Historiated, or allegorical, portraits flourished in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, peaking toward mid-century with the work of prominent history painters, including Gerrit van Honthorst, Ferdinand Bol and Jan de Bray. Although there were many *portraits historiés* that adopted Christian themes, the vast majority referenced classical antiquity. The most common and straightforward – predominantly individual rather than double or group portraits – featured women as the goddess Diana and men as Roman generals or rulers, these roles being applied to children's portraits as well. Also popular were pastoral and Arcadian motifs showing individuals and couples as shepherds and shepherdesses, in some cases cast into the role of Granida and Daifilo from a seventeenth-century Dutch pastoral play by P.C. Hooft. Already, these works suggest something of the ideals and values of their sitters and how they wished to be perceived, but more interesting still are the images of couples as Odysseus and Penelope or Meleager and Atlanta, which introduced greater narrative complexity. Some of these portraits are remarkably risqué, from bare-breasted women as Venus or Caritas, to the prominent examples by Bol of couples in the guise of *Bacchus and Ariadne*, and *Paris, Venus and Cupid*, let alone Goltzius' intriguing portrait of Johan Colterman as a monumental (and mostly nude) Hercules. Works like these raise interesting questions concerning identity and decorum. What does the choice of theme say about the artist and sitter, particularly in cases where it challenges issues of propriety, whether through one's physical appearance or by referencing a less than virtuous model (such as Jan de Bray's two versions of *The Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra* or Nicolaes Maes' many portraits of children as Ganymede)? Might we even see Rembrandt's and Arent de Gelder's purported self-portraits as Zeuxis to be a commentary on this trend for classicizing role-play in portraiture? The use of the classical past for public and private self-fashioning appeared in many forms,

including political allegories, the decoration of town halls, and prestigious official commissions like the Oranjezaal and the Medici Cycle, as well as more personal works, such as Heemskerck's *Self-Portrait with the Colosseum* and Jan de Bray's double profile portrait of his parents. Greek and Roman mythology and history provided Dutch artists and patrons with a wealth of reference points for articulating and presenting themselves. This paper will probe these facets of the *portrait historié*, looking at questions of patronage, theme and representation, and what they may tell us about the role of classicism in seventeenth-century Dutch art and culture.

Judith Noorman, The Drawing Institute, The Morgan Library & Museum  
*The Art of Standing Well: Classicism in Dutch Drawings of Nude Models*

It has long been known that artists drew models 'after life' (*nae 't leven*). In Amsterdam, Govaert Flinck, Jacob Backer, Jacob van Loo, and others gathered to draw nude models in what they called 'academies.' While their individual drawings have been studied in monographs, their joint practices have been generally overlooked as subjects for research. This is especially surprising because they present an excellent opportunity to study the collective artistic practices and aesthetic ideals of artists who have been conventionally labeled 'classicist.' This paper discusses shared artistic ideals, which are visible in their drawings and evident in how they organized the modeling sessions.

One example of a shared artistic concern is 'welstant,' a largely unknown aesthetic concept that advocates gracious pose, elegant proportions, and social decorum. In *'t Light der Teken en Schilderkonst* (1643), Crispijn de Passe II claimed that academies are the best place to study 'welstant' and offered written instructions, as well as an abundance of examples to copy. His ideals of pose and proportion also resonate in the model drawings of Flinck, Van Loo, and other 'classicist' artists. As opposed to Rembrandt, who aimed for naturalness and emphatic emotion when drawing nude models, their drawings are the picture of grace and decorum.

The concept of 'welstant' can also be connected to changing social and political ideas of the classicist artists' clientele. Since the end of the Stadholders' reign, the civic elite rethought its place in society and began to adopt the social codes and outward appearance of the international aristocracy. Physical bearing became increasingly important and demanded stricter discipline of the body. While the artists studied pose in academic drawing sessions, their clientele aimed for effortless grace in daily life. The ability to appeal to the social desires

of a well-to-do, art-buying clientele may well explain, in large part, the success of 'classicist' artists.

This paper not only discusses 'classicist' nude studies and its clientele, it also sheds new light on older questions, such as: Did these artists consider themselves a group? And should the term 'classicism' be replaced by 'academicism,' as suggested by E. Taverne and Eric Jan Sluijter?

### **Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Art Open Session**

Chair: Hugo van der Velden, Harvard University

Sandra Hindriks, University of Bonn

*The Netherlandish Saint Luke – Jan van Eyck's Modern "Icons" and the Notion of "Art"*

Jan van Eyck's memory was perpetuated in Bruges not only by his privileged burial site and his largest independent painting, the *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*, both originally located in the prestigious church of St. Donatian; it was also honored by the local painters' guild, who treasured a very private testimony of Jan van Eyck's art, the *Portrait of Margareta van Eyck*, in their chapel. First documented in the late 1620s, the painting was secured in a coffer with five locks, each of the five keys kept by a different official. In 1769 Jean Baptiste Descamps reported that the panel was only exhibited once a year on the feast day of Saint Luke and that it was attached to a chain and a padlock, because its "pendant" had been stolen. Karin Gludovatz highlighted this remarkable practice of display, emphasizing that the portrait became part of a pictorial "cult" that drew a connection between Luke, the first Christian painter and patron saint of artists in general, and Jan van Eyck, the founding father of Netherlandish painting. She suggested that such a "cult" may already have been initiated in the fifteenth century, when painters, most prominently Rogier van der Weyden, turned their pictures of *Saint Luke Portraying the Virgin* into powerful statements of artistic identity and professional pride. Those representations, James Marrow pointed out, functioned not only as tributes to the profession of painting in general, they also paid homage to the tradition of Flemish painting by displaying an awareness for the achievements and legacy of Jan van Eyck.

The idea of Jan van Eyck as new Saint Luke could have been stimulated by the painter's own reworking of venerated cult images. For the *Madonna of*

*the Fountain*, the artist altered and modernized a traditional Byzantine icon type ultimately deriving from Saint Luke's legendary portrait of the Virgin and Child. In his lost paintings of the *Holy Face*, he transformed the *Vera Icon*, the famous image-relic in Rome, into a fictive portrait likeness, pretending to capture Christ himself as the living prototype. By inscribing his signature and personal motto "ΑΔΣ.ΙΧΗ.ΧΑΝ" on the frames, Van Eyck explicitly claimed that these paintings were not *archeipoeitica* (images "not made by human hands"), but products of his own miraculous craft. In the past two decades numerous scholars have examined how Van Eyck's modern "icons" embraced and superseded the traditional legends of authority, fashioning the quasi-divine powers of his art. What remains to be discussed, however, is how this affected the master's posthumous fame and artistic reception. Both, the *Holy Face* and the *Madonna of the Fountain* were very successful and much imitated works. They have been repeatedly copied and paraphrased, especially around 1500, when painters like Gerard David, Quentin Massys or Joos van Cleve referred to them in both imitation and emulation. While the previous scholarship explained this retrospective tendency primarily with the religious significance of the icon, my paper seeks to integrate the notion of "art," the cult of the artist Jan van Eyck, into the discussion. I would like to argue that Jan van Eyck's creative reformulations of traditional icons as well as their subsequent citations should be understood (alongside their traditional roles as devotional works of art) as self-confident statements reflecting the capacity of Netherlandish painting to present viewers with particularly "true," lifelike views of Christ or the Virgin. The success of Van Eyck's modern "icons" may have prepared the way for the painter's cultification as the Netherlandish Saint Luke.

Heike Schlie, University of Basel

*The Space of an Altarpiece – Memling's Polyptych for the Greverade-Chapel in Lübeck Cathedral*

The paper explores one of the cases of Early Netherlandish painting which can be seen as a result of artistic and cultural transfer. When Hans Memling painted the altarpiece for the Greverade family in Lübeck a task hitherto unknown in Netherlandish painting had to be solved. He had to project the triptych with two pairs of wings because the altarpieces in Lübeck of these and previous times consisted of three views, mostly of a sculpted shrine with two painted outer views. Memling, who is often referred to as an epigone of Jan van Eyck or Rogier van der Weyden when it comes to questions of style and subjects, achieves an ingenious invention of a pictorial system forming and defining the altarpiece as a

whole. It can be shown that Memling was well informed about the future place and function of the paintings he worked on, and that he made of all these informations the key of his pictorial strategies and inventions. The inner view of the Greverade polyptych shows a detailed Passion cycle within one and the same pictorial space as does the *Turin Passion* by the same artist. As I have already shown, the *Turin Passion*, commissioned by Tommaso Portinari, was designed to combine Jerusalem as mnemotope with the Holy Blood Procession in Bruges. In the Greverade altarpiece, the design of the Passion cycle within one and the same memorial landscape is not only well suited to the form of the triptych but its arrangement on the three panels explains the altarpiece's strategies of revealing the central truth of salvation history in an ecclesiastic setting.

John R. Decker, Georgia State University  
*Embracing Adversity, Geertgen tot Sint Jans's Holy Kinship*

*Geertgen tot Sint Jans's Holy Kinship* (c. 1496/1501?) displays a homey scene of children playing in a church interior. What makes such a seemingly quotidian subject remarkable is not the location, but the identities of the children at play. They are Christ's relatives, future martyrs (Simon, James the Greater, and John the Evangelist), and they engage in (as Huizinga might term it) a serious game of make believe in which they play with the implements of their future torments and trials. Rather than solely being attributes for identifying each boy, or morbid prefigurations of the tests that await them in the future, the scene appears to show children absorbed in a harmless bit of recreation. While the concept of martyrs at play seems out of keeping with the seriousness their sacrifices demand, the game enacted at the center of the panel does not diminish their future dignity. In this paper, I argue that the motif of these boys engrossed in a game is an invitation to spiritual play that addressed the Knights of St. John Hospitaller in Haarlem and exhorted them to find joy in the austere business of being monks. This invitation, I assert, was pointed as it not only addressed the daily work of being a monk but also offered encouragement to the Haarlem knights during a controversial period.

Olga Vassilieva-Codognet, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris  
*Re-framing the Past: Revisiting the Haarlem Gravenportretten and Turning a Pictorial Eulogy into a Dance of Death*

The portrait series now hanging in the Haarlem town hall presents its viewer with the complete collection of Counts and Countesses of Holland, reaching from Dirk I to Maximilian I. It was the latter who commissioned a series which in all probability must have been realized circa 1490 and which was originally located in the Haarlem Carmelite convent. The series consists of nineteen oil on panel paintings which are of two different sizes: sixteen bigger accommodating two figures and three twice smaller accommodating only one figure. The series grandiosely opens with a herald in tabard who raises his baton and shows a large written scroll, it then displays a portrait of each Count or Countess below which can be found a few verses summing up the sitter's life and it closes with a representation of Death recalling all these rulers that they will ultimately be judged by God according to their deeds.

Although the Haarlem series has been the object of a thorough investigation whose results gave rise to an authoritative publication (Wim van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarmlemse gravenportretten. Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld*, Hilversum, 1997), it has not yet been observed that the series has no longer its original form. Indeed, the final and striking panel showing the Death was not originally an independent panel. On the contrary, the Death's panel was part of a twice larger panel which also included Margareta's panel (see the 'Reunion' picture in attachment). It is fairly easy to see that 1) the pavement tiles (which are different in almost all panels) are the same in both the Death's and Margareta's panels, and moreover the rows of tiles of both panels perfectly coincide; 2) from the point of view of perspective, each of these two panels is incorrect – it suffices to look at the parallel lines receding from the viewer – while the reconstructed 'Reunion' panel is geometrically correct. 3) Margareta's left-hand is inexplicably reaching out of the frame; 4) the sum of the width of Margareta's panel and the Death's panel is equal to the width of a 'normal' Count panel.

The previous statement, viz. the Death's panel and Margareta's panel originally formed a single panel, has the following unavoidable corollary: someone at some point of in the course of history cut the 'Reunion' panel into two halves. Who were the people responsible for this cutting? What were the date and motive of their action?

Before trying to answer these questions, we have to make some more observations regarding the original form of the Haarlem series. First, since we have successfully reunited Margareta and the Death – but will she appreciate it? – we are now left with only one 'small' panel, the one showing Countess Ada (see the 'Ada' picture in attachment). The attitude of Ada is very pathetic and unique in the whole series: Ada is shown gesticulating, pictured at the very

moment when she is raising her right-arm. Hers is a gesture of terror, for she has just discovered that Death is approaching her! It can indeed be surmised that Ada's original panel also had the same size as the other panels and that its right half contained yet another representation of Death. This last point will be difficult to prove since this right half has very probably been destroyed a long time ago; yet, it can be observed that the perspective construction of Ada's panel is incorrect and that originally this panel had to be balanced with another one – which probably had something very scary in it!

So, at this point, we can be pretty sure that the original series was made of eighteen panels of the same size. But then why did Margareta and Ada have to suffer the presence of Death at their sides? We will first observe that Ada's attitude is very reminiscent of the Empress's attitude in the Dance of Death that Bernt Notke had painted in Tallinn twenty or so years before. Actually, the Haarlem painter drew from Notke's Tallinn Dance of Death not only Ada's terrified attitude but also the general appearance of Death as well as the idea of a character introducing the whole series: indeed, the Haarlem painter ingeniously turned Notke's opening preacher into his own opening herald! So our Haarlem painter had a certain taste for the morbid, or rather for Notke's inventions, and in giving Ada and Margareta Death for companion, he obviously yielded to the morbid fashion of the day. But what was the intended meaning of these representations of Death amid genealogical portraits? This is not clear at all. Could this be the case that these representations of Death functioned as markers indicating that these two women had a special relationship with death? (One will recall that Ada was very young when she died and that Margareta initiated the deadly Hook and Cod wars.)

It is more than time to try and find who was responsible for the cutting of Ada's and Margareta's original panels. In 1578, on the eve of yet another siege by the Spanish troops, the panels were brought from the Carmelite convent (where they had been kept since their inception) to Haarlem town hall. In our view, when the panel paintings reached their new home they were still eighteen. However, sooner or later someone decided to cut Ada's and Margareta's panels in order to 'moralize' the whole series: one representation of Death was thrown away while the other one would – henceforth and for all eternity – explain to all Counts and Countesses that they would be accountable for their deeds and that wrongdoers would go to hell. As already noted by Wim van Anrooij (*op. cit.* p. 29-30), the verses on the Death's panel are not by the same hand as the other inscriptions. Indeed, these verses were completely new: written nearly one century after the eulogy Maximilian commissioned, they clearly bore the marks of a new sensibility – that of Reformation.

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## **(AANS) History of the Low Countries I, 1575-1700**

Chair: Herman de Vries, Calvin College

Jesse Sadler, UCLA

*Correspondence and the Creation of Early Modern Merchant Networks*

The movement of goods and capital across Europe and beyond in the sixteenth century was made possible through intricate correspondence networks. Improvements to the postal system through the course of the sixteenth century enabled the creation of networks of correspondence that were both wide and dense. In an age before the printed newspaper, the exchange of economic information pertaining to prices, demand, and supply occurred primarily through the means of letters. However, the letters that criss-crossed Europe did not only carry economic information. Merchant letters were also filled with the latest political news as well as discussions of family matters. This non-economic information along with the rhetorical strategies utilized by letter writers were essential components to the maintenance of relationships between merchants spread across large geographic distances. My paper will use the archive left by Daniel van der Meulen (1554-1600) and the over six thousand letters contained within it to investigate the nature of merchant networks created by Netherlandish merchants in the sixteenth century. Daniel van der Meulen was a wealthy merchant from Antwerp, who eventually moved to Leiden after the fall of Antwerp to Spanish forces in 1585. His archive contains letters from over 400 correspondents from at least seventy-seven locations. This vast archive presents an opportunity to examine the social relations that underpinned the expansion of the European economy in the sixteenth century.

Ad Leerintveld, National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague

*Dutchmen Abroad, 1575-1650: International Contacts of Dutch Students and Noblemen in Alba Amicorum Kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek*

The Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB) holds the largest collection of alba amicorum in The Netherlands. In this contribution I will show the importance of the handwritten, drawn and even painted signs of friendship in these books of friendship. I will pay attention to three aspects;

(1) Dutch students that studied at the Roman Catholic university in Douai.



(2) The group of Dutchmen that went to France and Switzerland in the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century to meet with great figures of the Reformation (Beza).

(3) Contacts with English scholars that often began at Leyden University and sometimes has been continued during a whole life.

My aim is to point the scholarly community to this source for cultural, cultural-historical and art-historical research. The alba amicorum up to 1800 are all digitized and available via the main catalogue of the KB.

Ineke Huysman, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, The Hague

*Rituals of the Order of the Society of Joy*

The Order of the Society of Joy (l'Ordre de l'Union de la Joye) was a society, founded in 1652 in The Hague, in the Dutch Republic, and ruled by grandmaitresse Amélie van Brederode, Countess of Slavata, whereas her youngest sister Anna Trajectina was her stand-in, or co-adjutrice. The two ladies were daughters of Wolfert van Brederode, fieldmarshal and first nobleman of Holland. This society was inspired by the French salons of the era and the Brussels' salon of Béatrix de Cusance, the Duchess of Lorraine.

The Order of Joy, which consisted of chevaliers and chevalières as members, had its own regulations, medals, ceremonies and diploma's. For instance, at the ceremony of admission, the candidates had to prove that they could laugh, dance, make fun and hop like a sparrow. The regulations of this Order, consisting of eleven articles, emphasize dance, music and joy as their main preoccupations, rather than literary activities. It seems as if in the rules of this Order the normal world order was reversed: the women were in charge and it was strictly forbidden to be serious. For example, when one of the rules had been disobeyed, one had to sit on a chair next to an open door in order to catch a cold.

Constantijn Huygens, the famous Dutch diplomat and poet, apparently wanting to become a member, offered the grandmistress his services for the Order as boy of the scullion (valet du marmiton). Only a month later he was promoted to chevalier, which must have delighted him, because he could now call himself the equal of other members like raadpensionaris (grand pensionary) Johan de Witt, the Frisian Stadholder William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz and even of Queen Christina of Sweden, who was also a member of the Society.

If we try to imagine how the rituals of this Order were performed, 'Monty Python-like' scenes come to one's mind. What to think of the Dutch

raadpensionaris and the Frisian Stadholder standing on one leg, with their little fingers raised in the air, swearing the oath to become a member of the Order? However, we must not judge too harshly on Amélie and her Order. On the contrary, it gives us a new and unexpected insight in the rituals and the social life of the Dutch elite in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Margriet Bruijn Lacy, Butler University

*Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba: What Was His Real Role in Europe?*

To this day, every child in the Netherlands learns in elementary school about the Duke of Alba, who was governor general of the Low Countries in the early years of the Dutch Revolt. The duke, whose full name most people do not even know, is invariably presented as an evil person who primarily insisted on oppressing the freedom-loving Dutch, while one of his major opponents – William of Orange – fared much better in our collective memory and became the *Vader des Vaderlands*.

There is indeed some truth to this superficial characterization but as one of the editors of a recently published book on Alba (*Alba: General and Servant to the Crown*) I have discovered that both the political situation at the time and the personality of the duke were, not surprisingly, much more complex than some of the one-liners we learned in school suggest.

In my presentation I would like to discuss the genesis of this book, review the topics that are treated in the various chapters, and emphasize that as a statesman and a military leader, and even as an art collector, the Duke of Alba played a much more extensive and complex role, in many parts of Europe, than is generally acknowledged. Sixteen scholars, from different countries, have contributed to this book, which aims to shed new light indeed on a man who manages to remain controversial more than four hundred years after his death.

## **The Netherlands and the World, 1500-1750, part 2**

Chairs: Dawn Odell, Lewis & Clark College

Larry Silver, University of Pennsylvania

Thijs Weststeijn, University of Amsterdam

Anja Grebe, University of Würzburg

*Pictorial Appropriation: Netherlandish Art in Mughal India*

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Jesuit missionaries, European merchants and diplomats made their contacts with India. Among the items European visitors recurrently offered to the Mughal emperors were Netherlandish works of art, especially prints. In the context of the Jesuit mission, pictures also served as devotional images or to spread the Catholic Christian faith. As can be seen from contemporary reports, from copies of Netherlandish art by Indian artists and from the collecting practices of the Mughal rulers, Dutch and Flemish art was much appreciated at the Mughal court during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps more than in other Asian countries, Netherlandish art enjoyed a long-lasting fame and had a significant impact on the style of Mughal painting, which could be described as “realistic turn”, especially with regard to the rendering of landscape, interiors, portraits and nature.

Instead of a mere imitation of European models, however, the reception of the foreign, usually Christian or mythological images resulted in a peculiar form of pictorial appropriation. Despite the disapproval of the Mughal court theologians, the Muslim Mughal emperors Akbar (1542-1605) and Jahangir (1569-1627) continued to publicly display Christian images in their palaces, reception rooms and even mortuary chambers. Beyond their personal religious and aesthetic interests, the imitation and adaptation of European Renaissance art in general stood for the openness and modernity of Indian painting. It was also a matter of prestige for the Mughal rulers. Under their aegis, Indian artists transformed Netherlandish prints into colorful miniatures or wall paintings, thus not only altering the size, but also the technique as well as the pictorial and cultural context of the image. The transformation usually implied an upgrade with regard to the prestige of the artistic medium, which was in accordance with the high status of the princely patrons. In addition, Mughal emperors collected Netherlandish prints in their albums (*Muraqqa'*), usually together with examples of calligraphies, Persian and/or Mughal miniatures, often set in elaborate painted borders.

In my paper, I would like to analyze the various ways Mughal artists copied and adapted Netherlandish models to their own art in order to contribute to the broader issue of cross-cultural artistic transfer in general. As to the Mughals, we witness a strong awareness of both artists and patrons of different styles and “foreign” motifs, which also becomes obvious in the collecting practice of Netherlandish prints in the *Murraqqa'*, which display a very sophisticated form of collage of images of different sources.

Nicole Blackwood, University of Toronto  
*Cornelis Ketel's Portraits of Kidnapped Inuit, 1576-78*

On 6 October 1576, an Inuk man violently captured on Baffin Island, now the Canadian territory of Nunavut, arrived in England following an expedition to find the Northwest Passage to China, otherwise known as Cathay. He was the first New World native to reach England alive in more than forty years and probably the fifth overall. Despite his triumphant display along the Thames, the man was suffering from a bitten-out tongue, fractured ribs, and the onset of a life-threatening illness to which he soon succumbed, just days after his arrival. According to the extensive payment records, immediately following the man's death his body was embalmed with the intent of being sent back to Baffin Island and the Netherlandish painter Cornelis Ketel was commissioned to produce a wax death mask of the man's foreign features, which then became the basis for multiple portraits intended for the Cathay Company and Queen Elizabeth, who had them on display in Hampton Court, and where they remained until the eighteenth-century. Ketel's multiple portraits of the Inuk man from 1576 predate by more than sixty years the series of full-length portraits of different ethnic groups in Dutch Brazil by Albert Eckhout, which are considered by many to be the earliest life-size paintings of non-Europeans. Still more remarkable is that Ketel not only painted the man wearing his native clothes, but also pictured him wearing English dress. Both of these full-length pictures were sent temporarily back to Baffin Island in 1577 in the place of the man's preserved body, where textual accounts record the presentation of these paintings to the Inuit. Despite their unique subject and locations, these multiple full-length portraits and, in particular, the artist who made them, have remained marginalised in the scholarship concerning the expeditions to the arctic, as well as in art historical or colonial discussions more generally. Even in Ketel's extensive biography written by his close friend Karl van Mander several years after these portraits were made, these paintings are surprisingly not mentioned. By examining the archival record and documents related to the expedition, this paper stands to remedy various oversights and correct several misunderstandings or confusions concerning Ketel's Baffin Island commission. More importantly, this paper rightfully puts Ketel's images of the Inuk at the centre of the representations related to the voyage, instead of the possible copies by Lucas de Heere and others.

As a final note, this paper will also include yet to be completed technical investigations on the sole surviving painting of the series, Ketel's portrait of captain Martin Frobisher from 1576. I will be examining this work along with

conservators at the National Portrait Gallery of London in January and am especially keen to include possible findings related to the series in my paper. This will be the first time Ketel's canvas portrait has been examined and may provide significant insight into his lost portraits of the Inuk from 1576.

Deborah Babbage Iorns, Independent Scholar, and Anne Harbers, University of Sydney

*Presenting Nieuw Holland and Nieuw Zeeland – the Dutch Quest for the 'Great South Land' and Seventeenth-Century Images of Encounters, Exploration and Disaster*

The Town Hall of Amsterdam, designed by Jacob van Campen in the mid seventeenth century, features a magnificent marble floor map depicting two hemispheres of the world as charted by the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman (1603 – 1659). A smaller copy of Tasman's map, based on its reproduction by Joan Blaeu for his *Atlas Major* of 1662, also exists on a distant floor, that of the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia.

One map represents the height of the Golden Age, an expanding Dutch empire reaching out to the furthest ends of the earth. The other signifies the origins of the country which Tasman dubbed Nova Hollandia through its now largely overlooked Dutch past. The north coast of Australia was first sighted by Willem Janszoon in 1606. The southern part of the country was discovered by V.O.C. captain Francois Thijssen in 1627, then Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) by V.O.C captain Abel Tasman in 1642 and 1644. New Zealand, which remembers Tasman's 1642 discovery in its Dutch name, forms the other part of the South Land sought by Dutch explorers but never fully explored.

This paper considers Dutch representations of these discoveries which were both successful in the charting of previously unknown lands, and unsuccessful in the failed attempts to explore inland or make contact with the indigenous peoples. The Dutch did not trade in material commodities from Australia and New Zealand, but brought knowledge to Europe, mediating the image of the new countries through a distinctly Dutch lens. The floor of the town hall embodies a physical point of murgence between artist, explorer and merchant, and the mapped image the combination of all three interests presented to a numerous and diverse audience. Amsterdam's unique position allowed for the introduction of the Antipodes to the European world through its own, particularly Dutch buildings, images, objects and especially through its flourishing publishing industry.

The Netherlands displayed through these images its new global status as a center of discovery, knowledge and commercial power as it expanded its interests throughout the world. The claim to ownership of the southern lands may be inferred immediately from the names of Nieuw Holland and Nieuw Zeeland. This paper also considers the imposition of a Dutch vernacular on foreign imagery in, for example, Tasman's multiple references to the 'lion-like' shapes of islands and rocks in his descriptions of Van Diemen's Land, evoking the *Leo Belgicus* popular in cartographic images of the Netherlands in this period.

Yet the first published images with which Europe was introduced to Australia and New Zealand commemorate not imperial power, but disastrous encounters: the 1629 shipwreck of the *Batavia* and subsequent mutiny off the west coast of Australia; and Abel Tasman's infamous 1642 meeting with the Ngati Tumatakokiri people in what would come to be known as Murderer's Bay (now Golden Bay). Illustrations to *Batavia's* Captain Francoys Pelsaert's publication, *Ongeluckige voyage, van't schip Batavia nae de Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1647), were the first published images of Australia received by the European public. The publication of Tasman's journals and maps in Melchisédech Thévenot's *Relations de Divers Voyages Curieux* (Paris, 1663) were accompanied by a fascinating set of images by Tasman's merchant-artist companion, Isaac Gilseman, relating to the ship's brief encounter with the Maori.

The expected images of heroic discovery and empirical curiosity are replaced by these representations of danger and misfortune in almost inconceivably distant land. They present a complex account of discovery resulting from the brief interactions between the Netherlands and the rest of the world, mediated and disseminated in Europe by Dutch interpretation and publication.

Rebecca Parker Brienen, Oklahoma State University  
*Dutch Art from a Global Perspective (1600-1750)*

The Dutch Republic was a formidable global trading empire during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The vast economic networks created by the VOC and the WIC were highly favorable for the movement of objects, people, and ideas from around the world, both into and out of the major port cities of Amsterdam and Zeeland, among others. As the frontispiece to François Valentijn's 1726 *Oude en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* shows, the VOC (here personified by a woman) steers the world with her rudder, while the personifications of Asia, Africa, America, and Europe display their splendors before her. Indeed, it was

not just wood and grain from the Baltics that came flowing into the Netherlands, but porcelain and lacquer from Asia as well as sugar and tobacco from the New World, and all of these commodities impacted both the content and the materials of Dutch art. Even Persian miniatures and Chinese scrolls could be found in Amsterdam, and these also exerted an influence on Dutch art and collecting practices. The trade in black West Africans, while not exclusive to the WIC, grew in economic importance during this time period; although only a tiny percentage of blacks came to live in the Dutch Republic, richly dressed "African" servants become common in portraits as well as still lifes in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Dutch artists were also a highly mobile bunch, not only traveling to Germany, England, France, and Italy, but also taking advantage of the overseas trade routes to travel eastward with VOC ships and westward with the WIC fleet. Dutch artists could be found in Egypt, Constantinople, Persia, the VOC stronghold of Batavia in the Dutch East Indies, and on the sugar plantations of Brazil and Surniam. Like the sailors who enlisted in the WIC and VOC, artists were driven abroad by economic opportunities as well as curiosity about the world. Printed images created by Dutch artists and publishers were equally mobile, offering ideas for artists around the globe to engage with, assimilate or reject as they saw fit.

Viewing Dutch art and history from this more "global perspective," as briefly outlined above, has gained much popularity in the last few decades, with historians and art historians filling in many of the gaps in our knowledge about artist-travelers and the economic influence of the overseas empire on Dutch artistic production. While a complete overview of the myriad contributions made by scholars is beyond the scope of this paper, I will nonetheless attempt to synthesize what their work offers to the study of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Dutch art and suggest new avenues for research. What becomes clear is the exceptional degree to which Dutch art is implicated within a largely global context; our understanding of Dutch art as a whole is both impoverished and inaccurate when we fail to take this worldly factor into account.

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### **Technical Art History, part 1**

Chairs: Marjolijn Bol, University of Amsterdam

Arjan de Koomen, University of Amsterdam

Ron Spronk, Queen's University and Radboud University Nijmegen

Maximiliaan Martens, Ghent University, et al.

*Computer Processing of Digital Images and Mathematics in Support of Art Historical Research and Conservation Science; The Ghent Altarpiece*

Maximiliaan P.J. Martens,<sup>1\*</sup> Ann Doods,<sup>2</sup> Aleksandra Pižurica,<sup>3</sup> Bruno Cornelis,<sup>2</sup> Tijana Ružić,<sup>3</sup> Ljiljana Platiša,<sup>3</sup> Attila Fesus<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> UGent, Dept. of Art History, Music and Theatre, GicA&S

<sup>2</sup> VUB, Dept. of Electroics and Informatcis (ETRO), iMinds

<sup>3</sup> UGent, Dept. of Telecommunication and Information Processing (TELIN), iMinds

\* corresponding author

Computer processing of digital images in support of art historical research and conservation science is a growing field, bridging several disciplines like computer science, mathematics, and engineering with art history, conservation science and scientific conservation.

The last few years, our team has been working mainly on the Ghent Altarpiece by the Van Eyck brothers. Digital images consist of pixels, each of which has a Red – Green and Blue channel. The matrix representation of these numerical RGB-values facilitates numerical computations (e.g. wavelet decompositions) through which the structures present on the image can be captured, investigated, characterized and classified.

We developed a methodology that consists of five major steps:

1. A research question relevant to art historical analysis and/or to conservation purposes is clearly defined.
2. Relevant digital images are selected (such as from the website '*clostovaneyck*') or new ones taken (during conservation treatment).
3. The research question is 'translated' into measurable entities, which form the constituent elements of the eventual algorithm. Known algorithms are tested, combined, or new ones developed.
4. A second selection consists of choosing (comparable) 'patches', small details on which an algorithm can be tested and, if necessary, improved. Running the definite algorithm on the final selection provides the results.
5. The results are evaluated with respect to their relevance for art history or conservation.

Step 1 consists of a discussion among the team members, in which the art historians and/or conservators take the lead by explaining the necessity of finding answers to particular questions. These can be as widely divergent as



“Can the text in the book of the Virgin Annunciate be made more legible?”, “Do irregularities in crack patterns reveal specific characteristics of the material history?”, or “Can texture features, of e.g. jewels, be characterized as to determine their mutual statistical relevant similarity?”. During this discussion, ideas for computational approaches are exchanged. During step 2 the technical parameters of the selected images have to be well considered, as well as the physical condition of the work of art.

Steps 3 and 4 are the input of the mathematicians and engineers. (The purely mathematical or computational aspects of the research will receive less attention in the current paper).

Step 5 is again a mutual effort, which often leads to further improvement or validation of the results.

We propose to present new results on three aspects:

1. The analysis of improved ‘crack maps’, based on different registered modalities (VIS, IRR, XR), offers new possibilities of detecting interference of the original paint layers, such as e.g. areas of overpainting which are barely visible to the naked eye, nor in single technical documents such as X-radiographs or IRR-assemblies.
2. ‘Vocabularies’ of learned image atoms at different scales can be extracted from digitized paintings. The statistical properties of such hierarchical pattern descriptors, offers an appropriate tool in virtual restoration and the identification of painters’ idiosyncratic features and style characterization. They form the basis for digital signatures and may be helpful in validating the distinction of hands;
3. Manual manipulation of digital images through image processing software (such as Photoshop), e.g. to enhance the legibility of certain documents, can be improved and automated by writing more dedicated algorithms. Recently, success has been obtained in largely diminishing the interference of cradles in X-radiographs.

Robert Erdmann, University of Arizona, et al.  
*The Bosch Research and Conservation Project*

Robert Erdmann cs, Luuk Hoogstede, Rik Klein Gotink, Matthijs IJssink, Jos Koldeweij, and Ron Spronk, The Bosch Research and Conservation Project

The oeuvre attributed to Joen or Jeroen van Aken, aka Bosch (+1516), is technically exceptionally diverse. Not a single work from the relatively small group of paintings and drawings can be definitively connected to Bosch through

a documented commission. Therefore, a core of works that can be used as starting point for attributions does not exist. Moreover, a reliable chronology, critical for any description of a stylistic development, is also lacking, since dated works have not survived. Koreny (accepting only 11 paintings and 10 drawn sheets as autograph) recently argued that a large number of works should not be attributed to Bosch himself but to assistants working in the Bosch workshop. But also in this latest separation of hands, the remaining oeuvre remains unusually heterogeneous in regard to style and technique, and the same observation can readily be made of the new grouping of works that Koreny created. Spronk, in 2011, emphasized the fact that several immediate relatives within Jheronimus' own generation and in the two generations immediately preceding and succeeding him were also painters, and he suggested that multiple hands could well have collaborated on a single painting, either simultaneously or sequentially.

Since 2010, the *Bosch Research and Conservation Project* (BRCP) has been examining and documenting these paintings in a standardized manner, using the same equipment, equipment settings, and procedures. All paint surfaces are examined with binocular microscopy and documented with infrared reflectography and photographed in high resolution with digital macrophotography in the visible light and in the infrared; the available X-radiographs are also documented with macrophotography in the same way. After the completion of the project, art historians will have the possibility, for the very first time ever, to study truly comparable materials of a large group of paintings that are housed in different collections, and do this in microscopic magnification as well as in different areas of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Rob Erdmann will introduce this project and discuss the unique digital infrastructure that he designed to facilitate the study of these high-resolution images. The macrophotographs are 'stitched' into new, sometimes very large composite image files. The images of the same painting in different wavelengths are co-registered, to facilitate easy and precise study and comparison. The registered images are then placed online within a research web site, which can be accessed by the members of the research team and their colleagues in the collaborating museums. These images will form the core of a new comprehensive web application, which is scheduled to go on-line in February 2016 with the opening of the exhibition. A pilot website *Bosch in Venice* was launched in June 2013, highlighting the BRCP's documentation of the *Triptych of St. Uncumber*, the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, and the *Four Visions of the Hereafter*, for which a new suite of fast online viewers was developed.

Gero Seelig, Staatliches Museum Schwerin

*Shoestring-Budget IRR and an Unknown Composition by Hendrick ter Brugghen*

Often it is not known whether an IRR investigation on a particular object will produce meaningful results until it is undertaken. Smaller museums as well as research projects with a tight budget often lack the means to make the trial. Following an idea of the department for didactics of physics at Freie Universität Berlin, the Schwerin museum has experimented with manipulating simple, cheap webcams to give remarkable results. At least, the tests amount to an easy possibility to decide which objects would merit proper high-resolution IRR investigations. They may also be an interesting possibility for restorers and art dealers to recognise past interventions into a painting. Furthermore, the didactic potential of such an experiment may be useful not only in school (touching on different subjects like physics, IT and art history) but also in higher education. The paper ventures to demonstrate the necessary preparations and a few of the results from Schwerin.

The investigation of Hendrick ter Brugghen's "Liberation of St. Peter" in Schwerin has proven to be particularly rewarding. Hidden by the present painting another composition can be discerned by IRR. Ter Brugghen seems to have planned another version of the "Calling of St. Matthew" that is related to, but far from identical with his versions in Le Havre and Utrecht, dating from 1618/1619 and 1621 respectively. The composition discovered in Schwerin had grown fairly far before the artist gave it up in order to use the canvas (upside down) for the painting seen today. Altogether the composition has so much in common with Ter Brugghen's two other versions that a dating in their proximity would seem obvious. This seems even more significant as around 1624 Ter Brugghen's art takes a major turn. Starting with the Hague "Liberation of St. Peter", features emerge which are carried on until the end of his career (Franits/Slatkes, p. 129).

Dating, as it does, from 1629, the year of the painter's death, the composition finally executed on the Schwerin canvas, the "Liberation of St. Peter", is among his very last works. This raises a number of interesting questions: Would large canvases like the Schwerin painting be commissions? Was the first composition given up for extrinsic reasons or must it be seen as an artistic failure? Did Ter Brugghen keep the half-finished canvas for several years before, in the end, deciding to discard the composition altogether? What does that teach us about the functioning of his workshop? Is the well-known reappearance of his motifs after years not connected to a practice of drawn

"ricordi", as has been suggested, but rather resulting from unfinished paintings available in the studio over long periods of time?

Maartje Stols-Witlox, University of Amsterdam  
*Experience Will Be Your Best Master*

'Experience will be your best master' is what we read in the anonymous seventeenth century artists' manual, 'The Art of Painting in Oyle'. Indeed, should we not wonder whether artists or artists' pupils would feel the need to read recipe books, especially if they were working in a studio environment and could discuss technical matters with fellow artists or artist materials suppliers? This paper focuses on the relation between written recipes and actual practice as it has been examined in the context of PhD research on the topic of preparatory layers for oil painting. For this dissertation, a comparative analysis was carried out of a large number of historical recipes from North West European artists manuals and recipe books, dating from c. 1550 to 1900 (c. 650 recipes).

The context of a recipe within the source (author, nature of instructions, topics dealt with) revealed information about the intended audience and the societal role of recipes, reconstructions of recipes provided important indications about their "executability", i.e. their practical value, and comparisons between reconstruction results and phenomena observed in actual paintings yielded further information about the relationship between written recipes and painting practice.

Ground colour is a subject that occupied the minds of the authors of historical recipes throughout the time period investigated and texts on ground colour are given special focus in this paper. Authors described its role as a unifying base tone in the recently finished picture and its influence on painting technique, while also the aesthetical values of an aged painting were considered important. Through the analysis of authors' remarks regarding the role and function of ground colour, more insight was obtained into the motives and considerations of artists in their choice of preparatory systems. Through comparisons between ground colour trends described in recipes and those observed in actual paintings, the relation between written texts and paintings was further examined.

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**Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion in the Low Countries,**

**1400-1700, part 1**

Chairs: Walter S. Melion, Emory University

Bart Ramakers, University of Groningen

Marisa Ann Bass, Washington University in St. Louis

*The Siren's Two Faces: A Drawing by Lucas de Heere for Joris Hoefnagel*

A drawing prescient of devastating events to come reached the hands of Joris Hoefnagel sometime just prior to the Sack of Antwerp in November 1576. Sent as a gift from his fellow artist and poet Lucas de Heere and dated precisely to 2 August 1576, this impressively large sheet (now in the Rijksmuseum) executed in muted brown and blue pen attests to a close friendship wrought by the shared experience of the Dutch Revolt and pursuit of art amidst troubled times.

De Heere's exceptional work has never received more than passing mention in past scholarship despite its significance as a response to the contemporary political and religious turmoil in the Low Countries. As this paper reveals, De Heere conceived his unusual two-faced Siren as a personification of Spanish Treachery and as the antithesis to the kind of genuine communication between friends that the drawing itself embodies.

De Heere employed the siren as a recurring emblem, which he inscribed together with his motto "Harm teaches you" (*Schade leer u*) in the friendship albums of other colleagues. Yet his representation of the siren for Hoefnagel – singing beauty from the front and expectorating monster from behind – is by far the most elaborate. The drawing relates in ways previously unexplored both to Hoefnagel and De Heere's larger oeuvres. In particular, its unique Janus-faced iconography parallels the program De Heere designed for the 1577 triumphal entry of William of Orange into Ghent, which showed the Prince overcoming a two-faced female personification of Treachery and her companion Inquisition. It is striking that De Heere found this particular personification significant both in the context of a private gift and in the larger political sphere.

However, De Heere's drawing for Hoefnagel also conveys a distinct personal message about how both men found in their literary and artistic exchange a means to evade the siren and, by extension, the contemporary climate of inquisition and religious intolerance she personifies. Faced with a war that threatened to stifle creative pursuit, De Heere and Hoefnagel find solace in the reciprocity of true friendship. Ultimately, I argue that De Heere combats the siren's aural and visual snares – the cacophonous mingling of her song and screams of her victims – with the measured lyric of his own sonnet, his patient draftsmanship, and the sincerity of his gift itself.

Ralph Dekoninck, Université catholique de Louvain

*The Idea vitae Theresianae iconibus symbolicis expressa (Antwerp, 1686): How to Visualize Mystical Experience, between Personification and Incarnation*

In 1686 Jacob Messen published in Antwerp an intriguing book entitled *Idea vitae Theresianae iconibus symbolicis expressa*, a book that didn't received any scholarly attention, except one short article by Karel Porteman. Divided in five parts describing through one hundred engravings the ascensional path to mystical union, it offers one of the very first attempts to systematically "translate" into an allegorical language the ineffable mystical experience. The series alternates some personifications (always dressed in Carmelite clothes) of spiritual 'powers' (*spiritus, voluntas, passiones,...*), and 'processes' (*mortificatio, meditatio, contemplatio...*) or virtues (*fides, spes, prudentia...*) with figurations of special spiritual moments in the life of Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross, figurations which symbolize some spiritual states (for example the *vulneratio divina* inspired by the transverberation of Theresa). This mix of figurative and allegorical discourses or this oscillation between the personification of an abstract idea or phenomenon by a fictive body and the incarnation of a spiritual process in a existing person (Theresa or John) tends to blur the frontier between the literal and the symbolic, between a pure phenomenological approach of mysterious experiences and their literary expressions.

I would like to investigate this blurring effect and the way it tries to give an image of something invisible that occurs in the human soul or heart. I will especially pay attention to the visual sources for the *inventio* (Ripa, Wierix,...) and to the way this new type of *iconologia* for spiritual life tends to allegorize the mystical experience and to literalize the many metaphors used in the mystical literature, especially in the Carmelite one. I will also take into consideration how it resonates with the debate related to the *modus loquendi* of the mystics at a time of their decline. My analysis will be completed by the comparison with another book of the same type published in Augsburg in 1779 and clearly inspired by the *Idea vitae Theresianae: Ichonographia emblematica triplicis ad Deum tri-unum mystica viae*. Even if it has been produced in another cultural context, it is worth confronting it with the Antwerp series in order to reveal the important evolution that took place within a century in the way mysticism was conceived and perceived.

Walter S. Melion, Emory University

*Figured Personification and Parabolic Embodiment in Jan David's Occasio arrepta, neglecta*

In the prefaces and dedications of his four emblem books—*Veridicus Christianus* (ed. prin., 1601), *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* (ed. prin., 1605), *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae et Pancarpium Marianum* (ed. prin., 1607), and *Duodecim specula* (ed. prin., 1610)—as also in many of the emblems proper, the Jesuit emblemist Jan David propounds a general *doctrina imaginis* that construes sacred images as key instruments of spiritual reflection, instruction, and renewal. He characterizes meditative prayer—the process his emblems are designed to facilitate—as a method of fixing the *imago Christi* within the votary's mind, heart, and spirit. Just as a skillful painter diligently strives to express after the life (*ad vivum*) whatever he judges worthy of imitation, so a true Christian (*veridicus Christianus*) must steadfastly endeavor to portray within himself the life and teachings of Christ, thereby the better to imitate them, as if they had actually been seen, heard, and recorded *ad vivum*. The *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* fulfills this mimetic function by exploring a distinctive paradigm of the emblematic image: as David points out in his 'Preface to the Reader', the book's twelve emblems originate in the conversion of a pagan idol—the winged and changeable goddess Occasio, famously portrayed by Phidias and described by Ausonius—into a prosopoeic device capable of carrying a Christian meaning. The goddess is transformed emblematically into the personification of Opportunity seized (*arrepta*) or shirked (*neglecta*) as the occasion of doing good. In turn, this process of conversion is compared to that of converting the meditator into a true follower of Christ, capable of seizing every opportunity of imitating him.

David employs the term *schemata* (figurative images) to designate the emblematic *picturae*, thus emphasizing that the personifications are being used as 'figures' rather than 'idols'. They are inserted into narrative situations that David likens to episodes from a theatrical *spel van sinne*, a dramatized argument enacted by allegorical characters known as *sinneken*. (Indeed the book closes, by way of an appendix, with the full text of David's 'Occasio', the school play on which he drew for the emblematic *interlocutores, scenae, and schemata*.) The principal *dramatis personae*, the twelve-part story of whose mutual interaction and encounters with other personifications the *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* chronicles, are *Occasio, Tempus, Nutus Divinus* (Divine Will), and *Angelus Tutelaris* (Guardian Angel). These *personae* are seen repeatedly to engage with five youths who function as exempla rather than as personifications: they stand for the emblem book's morally and spiritually malleable users, and accordingly,

they are compared by David to parabolic entities such as the wise and foolish virgins in Matthew 25: 1-13. *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* is thus a new kind of emblem book, its *schemata* consisting of embodied exempla and personifications that enact dramatic arguments resembling those of an allegorical *spel van sinne*. My paper first examines the nature of the distinction drawn by David between pagan idols and Christian figures, asking how the former are turned into the latter. I then consider how and why he differentiates between parabolic embodiments and Christianized personifications, as also between their respective scope of action. Finally, I consider how the approach to personification differs in the *Veridicus Christianus* and the *Occasio arrepta, neglecta*.

Caecelie Weissert, University of Stuttgart

*The Perception of Caritas During the Sixteenth Century in the Netherlands*

Lambert Lombard (Eremitage, St. Petersburg), Frans Floris (Eremitage, St. Petersburg, um 1560), Jan Massys (Sammlung Ader-Tajan / Palazzo Bianco, Genua) oder davor schon Ambrosius Benson (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) malen Tafelbilder, welche die Personifikation der *Caritas* als Einzelfigur, umgeben von mehreren überwiegend männlichen Kindern, fast lebensgroß zeigen. Aus der Trias der theologischen Tugenden wird *Caritas* herausgenommen und als schöne, modisch oder antik gekleidete Frau, als Akt oder nur mit einem leichten Gewandt bekleidet, dem Betrachter frontal präsentiert. Dadurch nimmt sie innerhalb der Darstellungstradition der Tugenden eine Sonderstellung ein. Eine Erklärung der Bedeutung der autonomen Tafelbilder der Personifikation der *Caritas* ist Ziel des Beitrags.

An den großformatigen *Caritas*-Bildern lassen sich besonders zwei Aspekte der Personifikation zeigen: Erstens zeigt die visuelle Semantik, wie Vorstellungen und Wertigkeiten der Zeit in die inhaltliche und formale Gestaltung übergehen: Die christliche *Caritas* wird als fundamental erachtet für das Wohlergehen und das Überleben einer städtischen Gemeinschaft (vgl. z. B. Vives, *De subventione pauperum*). Die Idee eines Glaubens „der in Liebe tätig ist“ (Gal 5,6), wird zu einem tätigen Lebensideal, auf das sich die Bürger der städtischen Gemeinden verpflichten lassen. Zweitens zeigt die Umsetzung der *Caritas* in den großformatigen Ölgemälden besonders anschaulich den Prozess der Transformation eines ethisch-geistigen Begriffs in eine sinnliche Erscheinung, deren Belebung und Beseelung durch die sie umspielenden Kinder noch gesteigert wird. Die häufig auftretende enge Verzahnung von Bild und Text löst sich hier gänzlich in die Erscheinung auf. Die in den Textunterschriften



in den Graphiken immer wieder zur Sprache kommende Verbindung von göttlicher und irdischer Liebe (z.B. bei Floris: „Laudatae castus sis relligionis amator te iuuet alterius nescia vita thori“ oder bei Goltzius „Blanda Charis divina Agape, caelestis origo, / Aethera cum terris nodo constringit aheno“) wird hier nur noch visuell anschaulich. So befindet sich Floris *Caritas* über der die Flamme des Glaubens schwebt bezeichnenderweise vor einem Alkoven. Aber auch *Caritas* charakteristischer Blick zur Seite, ist weniger appellativ als reflexiv und lenkt die Konzentration von sich weg auf die Kinder, die ihrerseits unterschiedliche Tugenden verkörpern. Die bei Massys und Floris ostentativ entblößte Brust, lässt aber auch an Clément Marots Gedicht „Le Beau Tetin“ denken. Künstlerisches Ziel ist in jedem Fall ein glaubhaftes Bild, das Ratio und Affekt vereint. Um dies überzeugend zu leisten, greifen die Maler bei der Ausgestaltung auf die aktuellsten künstlerischen Strömungen zurück (Orientierung an Italien und Frankreich in Komposition und Motiv, kunsttheoretische Fragen wie *Varietà* oder die Reduzierung der Farbigkeit) und schaffen Gemälde, die neben den ethisch-religiösen Fragen auch die Ansprüche eines ästhetisch gebildeten Kunstliebhabers befriedigen, der, wie die Inventare nahe legen, Auftraggeber oder Käufer dieser Gemälde war (siehe das Inventar des Privathauses von Jean Noiro). Durch die ästhetisch befriedigende Betrachtung, werden die Betrachter immer wieder an eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben im sozialen Gefüge des städtischen Lebens erinnert: an soziale Verantwortung und aktive Nächstenliebe.

### **Portraits and Politics, part 1**

Chair: Stephanie Dickey, Queen's University

Bert Watteeuw, Rubenianum, Antwerp

Dienende voor patroonen: *Portraits of Rulers in Antwerp Inventories, 1600-1650*

Listed in the 1620 inventory of the estate of the Antwerp painter Anthonio de Succa are 'sessentachtich troniën van princen op papier dienende voor patroonen' (eighty-six heads of princes on paper serving as patterns). Further entries in the inventory list series of portraits which de Succa had finished and framed, and others which had not been completed by the artist: 'Noch thien dyergelycke affbeeldinghen van 't Huys van Bourgoigiën op doeck sonder lysten daeraff de sesse noch zyn onvolmaeckt' (Ten more such portraits of the House of Burgundy on canvas, unframed, six of which are unfinished) and 'Twelff

*dyergelycke affbeeldinghen op doeck van 't Huys van Oostenryck sonder lysten daeraff eenighe alnoch zyn onvolmaect'* (Twelve such portraits on canvas of the House of Austria, unframed, some of which are unfinished).

The de Succa inventory offers a rare insight into the production end of what was a sizeable segment of the Antwerp art market during the first half of the seventeenth century. A survey of Antwerp inventories of this period reveals that de Succa, specialized in the genre and of noble lineage himself, would have had no trouble selling his output. Countless series of emperors, dukes, kings, and popes reveal the popularity of such ensembles. They graced the walls of the patrician homes of merchants and art collectors but also those of quite modest households.

In rich households, the display of such series in close proximity to ancestral portraits reinforced the genealogical aspirations and claims of their owners. The accumulation of wealth by merchant families led to upward social mobility which was justified and shored up by symbolic means such as these series, some of which show rulers of foreign territories which had no direct political relevance to their owners. Other ensembles portray hostile rulers or unite rulers of competing houses. Rather than genuine expressions of fealty or patriotism, these series were often barely concealed attempts at social climbing by proxy. As a result, such blunt attempts by ambitious burghers at rubbing shoulders with the greats (in the hope that some of that greatness would rub off on them) were ridiculed by contemporary satirists.

In less affluent households, such portraits or portrait series did not complement the (non-existent) painted lineages of their owners. In many cases it seems likely that owners weren't very well aware of the exact identity of the portrayed 'sitters'. In a few cases the display seems outright disrespectful, as where a '*paustronie*' (a pope's head) hangs right beside '*Eenen boer die synen gevoch doet*' (a defecating peasant). In the less pretentious strata of society, portraits of rulers seem to function as generic '*exempla virtutis*' rather than as expressions of political allegiance, as *patroonen* in the sense of moral prototypes. This is illustrated for example by an anecdote in the 1649 *Het Masker van de Wereldt Afgetrocken*, in which the Antwerp moralist par excellence Adriaen Poirters relates how a man prone to drinking, *om noyt smoor-droncken te worden* (never to become completely inebriated) hung a series of portraits of Roman emperors in his *Salet*, taking to bed as soon as he saw them walking about.

This paper will chart the use of such portrait series in Antwerp domestic settings and it will show how series which had a propagandistic purpose were appropriated by their consumers for different reasons entirely.

Erna Kok, University of Amsterdam

*From Painter to Regent: Social Mobility and the Self-Portraits of Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680)*

As a newly established painter, Bol not only worked in Rembrandt's style, but he also adopted a particular market and socio-economic strategy from his master, by painting self-portraits. Over the course of his career Bol painted seven self-portraits that are significant in terms of their self-fashioning. This paper explores how these self-portraits marked three crucial moments in Bol's life and career, and show us the painter's ambition and strategy for upward social mobility.

In spite of his modest social status - Bol grew-up in a reformed surgeon milieu in Dordrecht - he became a well to do Amsterdam regent, among others by way of his career as painter. How did he manage to do so well, and particularly, did his self-portraits support him in his ambitions?

When Bol settled in Amsterdam in 1636, he did not have any prosperous *bloedvrienden* (blood-friends/family) to support him. His decision to study with Rembrandt was therefore of great importance. Not only to acquire the esteemed, modern style of the admired master, but also to profit of Rembrandt's status and relations in the Amsterdam network. After having left Rembrandt's studio, Bol painted in the course of three years (1646-1648) five self-portraits in Rembrandt's manner of the elegant gentleman-artist. In these years, Bol still had to position himself as a newly established painter on the Amsterdam art market. It is proposed here, that his method of self-fashioning was an effective calling card, one that may be perceived as being an expression of an artistic and socio-economic strategy: and one by which Bol established his reputation and hoped to attract customers.

Only in one self-portrait, his marriage portrait of 1653, does Bol represent himself as a painter. This self-portrait, accompanied by the pendant of his spouse Elysabeth Dell, marks Bol's new socio-economic status in the network of the influential Dell-Spiegel kinship (*maagschap*). The final painting that we know Bol produced is also his last self-portrait, *Self-Portrait with a Cupid* (1669, Amsterdam). In this, Bol presents himself in his new position as a well-established member of the Amsterdam elite, and, who no longer had to paint for a living.

In this case study I depart from the research tradition of *career criticism* in which every contribution to an oeuvre is seen as a building block in an artist's career [Cheney and Armas 2002]. A further point of consideration is the notion that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century a '*conterfeisel door hem zelf gedaan*' (self-portrait) was

painted with a well-thought-out program [Raupp 1984]. Indeed, the artist was well aware of the fact that his '*eygen conterfeitsel*' was to be understood as such by the viewer, and therefore purposefully loaded with meaning. When we look at a self-portrait we see the result of the choices that the painter made in the way he wanted to present himself. This specific manner of self-fashioning can be understood as being a socially *and* artistically constructed self-image, communicated by the painter to his public.

This case study examines how painters in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam art market used portraits for political purposes, in this case, how Bol positioned himself in an elitist class high above his original station.

Wayne Franits, Syracuse University

*A Mezzotint After Godfried Schalcken and Social Mobility in Late Seventeenth-Century England*

This paper examines the political motivations that underlie the creation of a curious mezzotint of Anna (Anne) Clarke, who had been immortalized by Godfried Schalcken during the artist's sojourn in London. Although the identities of the sitter and the patron, Francis Kynnesman, are boldly proclaimed in the inscription, the social and cultural circumstances under which the mezzotint was made have baffled art historians, historians, and even genealogists since the early nineteenth century. Thanks to notes that the mezzotintist, John Smith, made upon initial impressions of his prints, we now know that he executed this particular work in 1698. By that date, however, Schalcken had already been gone from England nearly two years and, more significantly, Anne Clarke was deceased. Her husband Francis Kynnesman was a merchant who had accumulated a small fortune through his dual livelihoods as a haberdasher and hosier to the court of William III; he had also been a neighbor of Schalcken's in London. The presence of a pair of superimposed coats-of-arms within the inscription, representing those of the Kynnesman family in Northhamptonshire—to whom Francis was only distantly related—and the Clarke family in Cambridgeshire, suggests that the mezzotint did not merely serve to commemorate the patron's late wife. Perhaps more significantly for Kynnesman—who had already remarried by 1698—it served as a propagandistic tool to proclaim his social status, namely, his rise from the son of a clerk to a wealthy landowner with ties to the gentry, thanks especially to Clarke family lands that had come into his possession when he married Anne.

Jacquelyn Coutré, Indianapolis Museum of Art

*Dido, Diana, and Venus, Oh My!*

Portrait Historié as Political Program at Schloss Oranienburg

In December 1646, Louise Henriette (1627-1667), the eldest daughter of Frederik Hendrik of Orange (1584-1647) and Amalia van Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675), married the Brandenburg Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (1620-1688). Less than four months later, her father died. His son Willem II (1626-1650) lasted only three and a half years in the position of stadholder before his unexpected passing. Willem II, whose successor was born eight days after his death, effectively died without an heir, creating the historical circumstances that would inaugurate the First Stadholderless Period (1650-1672). During these twenty-two years, Amalia took up the reigns as regent for her grandson, fighting not only for his rightful elevation to the office of stadholder but also for the greater legacy of the house of Orange in the United Provinces. It is against this political instability in the Netherlands that Louise Henriette settled in her newly adopted home of Brandenburg and began construction on Schloss Oranienburg in 1650.

I have suggested elsewhere that Louise Henriette's use of the classicizing architectural style favored by her parents signaled a deliberate attempt to continue the Orange taste popularized at the court in The Hague. In this paper, however, I would like to expand upon this argument by emphasizing the dynastic promotion visible in the palace as framed through "filiation", a concept of medieval political expansionism brought to seventeenth-century studies by Katharina Bechler. Drawing upon previous scholars' argument that the Stadholderless situation shaped the visual rhetoric employed by Amalia, I seek to link the political climate in Holland to the use of *portrait historié* at Oranienburg to posit the role of these paintings as an exciting filiative component of the architectural project.

It has been observed that Amalia popularized the historiated portrait in The Hague during the early years of her reign. In doing so, she introduced a new, playful riff on both the tradition that associated rulers with lauded figures from history and the promotion of *femmes fortes* as models of virtue. Amalia embraced the guises of Diana, Flora, and Judith to articulate her merits as Frederik Hendrik's wife; as his widow, she assumed the role of Artemisia.

Louise Henriette adopted this genre for three paintings of herself at Schloss Oranienburg. Her selection of female prototypes demonstrates affinities with, and marked contrasts from, those employed by her mother. This paper will explore her assumption of the roles of Dido, Diana and Venus at her palace, contending that her iterations of the *femmes fortes* theme advanced Amalia's Orangist program through the promotion of its female rulers. It will offer the

conclusion that in evolving the practice of historiated portraiture, Louise Henriette upheld the principles of Amalia's political agenda and confronted the First Stadholderless Period's challenges to the Orange dynasty in distinctly cultural terms.

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### **(AANS) History of the Low Countries II, 1700-1900**

Chair: Dan Thornton, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Ton Broos, University of Michigan

*Intriguing Emblemata in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic*

Although the popularity of Dutch emblem books of all kinds had reached its zenith years before, in the 16<sup>th</sup>- 17<sup>th</sup> century, there remained an interest in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Dutch republic. An intriguing example is Hermanus van den Burg's "Verzameling van uitgekorene Zin-spreuken en zinnebeeldige print-vercieringen" published by Johannes Marshoorn in 1743 in Haarlem. Questions about this work start with the title page: What does Peter the Great's portrait, surrounded by eight vignettes including Cyrillic script do in this publication? Why is the dedication, however, to Karel, Peter Ullrich, Duke of Holstein Gottorp? Who is this author Hermanus van den Burg, writing that the 840 emblems have been enriched with rhyming captions, from his hand?

The answers can be found in Peter the Great's incognito stay in Holland as part of his Great Embassy to the West in 1698. He granted permission to a Dutch publisher to print books for sale in Russia. One of them was the now famous "Symbola et Emblemata", published in Amsterdam in 1705. This forms the basis for the Zinspreuken as reworked and edited by Van den Burg. Hermanus van den Burg (1682-1752) was one of the early hackwriters in the first part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The amount of works from his pen count up to some hundred numbers, among which one must include many poems dedicated to famous people and festive occasions, several farces, a well known weekly called Amsterdam Argus, many pamphlets, and a large collection of poetry. Closer observation and research in the vast collections of emblemata shows that besides these 18<sup>th</sup> century examples, there was a long tradition of copying ideas, symbols and interpretations from French, Italian and 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch examples, and one should think of authors like Vaenius, Hooft, Cats, De Brune etc.

Van den Burg made his own interpretations and seems more interested in entertaining his reading public as he made his rhyming comments, not always relevant to earlier ideas. Comparison with a Russian edition of 1788, the first since 1705, can help us to interpret some of the pictures, although questions remain.

Wyger R.E. Velema, University of Amsterdam

*Republicanism Transformed: The Political Thought of the Batavian Revolution*

The Dutch Republic presents us with a rather unique case in the history of republicanism. It was, as is well known, one of the few powerful and successful republics in the period stretching from the late Renaissance to the American and French revolutions. Perhaps even more fascinating, however, is the fact that this venerable early modern republic played a leading role in the revolutions of the late eighteenth century and transformed itself, in the space of a few decades, from an *ancien régime* republic into a modern one. Although many historians - Robert Palmer, Simon Schama and J.G.A. Pocock among them - have pointed to the importance of this latter phenomenon, the political thought of the late eighteenth-century Dutch revolutionary republicans nevertheless remains seriously understudied.

It is the purpose of the paper here proposed to help remedy this situation by analyzing the nature of the transformation of Dutch republicanism in the crucial years between the fall of the Dutch *ancien régime* in 1795 and the adoption of the first written Dutch republican constitution in 1798. Whereas it has often been suggested that the republicanism of the Batavian revolutionaries constituted a complete break with early modern Dutch and European republican traditions, this paper will argue that in many important ways it remained indebted to the early modern republican heritage. It is, of course, undeniable that in Dutch revolutionary republican thought concepts such as inalienable rights and popular sovereignty were used in novel ways which were hard to reconcile with the language of balance and virtue prevalent in early modern republicanism. Yet in many respects, the Batavian revolutionaries - as did their American and French counterparts - remained wedded to theoretical concepts derived from *ancien régime* and classical republicanism.

That this was indeed the case may be shown in a number of crucial areas of Batavian political thought. In the first place, many Batavian revolutionaries remained convinced that a proper republic could only exist in a small territory and that therefore the Netherlands should remain a federal state rather than become a unitary one. Secondly, the Batavian revolutionaries were deeply

distrustful of any notion of representation in which the representative would become almost entirely divorced from the voter. They therefore insisted on the introduction of forms of representation in which the citizen did not just periodically cast his vote, but remained an active participant in the political process. Thirdly, most late eighteenth-century Dutch revolutionaries remained highly suspicious of the executive power, despite the fact that it could now be regarded as emanating from the sovereignty of the people. Finally, almost all Batavian revolutionaries were unable to conceive of parties as legitimate political phenomena. They insisted that the common good was not the outcome of the clash of opposing interests, but resulted from the exercise of selfless virtue by both citizens and their representatives. In these and other ways, to be explored in the paper here proposed, the political thought of the Batavian revolutionaries, although it most certainly contained modern and liberal elements, remained firmly rooted in early modern and classical republicanism. The Dutch case therefore seems to confirm the thesis recently advanced by Andreas Kalyvas and Ira Katznelson that 'political liberalism burst from the shell of a republican chrysalis'.

James Parente, University of Minnesota

*Nation and Cosmopolitanism in Conrad Busken Huet's Het land van Rembrandt*

Conrad Busken Huet's cultural-historical representation of the Dutch Golden Age *Het land van Rembrandt* (1882-1884) has engendered much controversy since its first appearance. When the first part was published in 1882, critical reactions were tepid because of Huet's sober assessment of Dutch history and Dutch contributions to European literature and culture. Dutch readers accustomed to the bombastic patriotic poetry of J. F. Helmers' *De Hollandsche natie* (1812), or the glorification of the Dutch revolt and the ensuing Republic in the essays of E. J. Potgieter, R. C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, and the popular historical writings of Willem Bilderdijk were understandably disappointed by Busken Huet's critical approach to the Golden Age that they had romanticized as the apogee of the Dutch nation. After the second part appeared in 1884, reviewers became more laudatory--some regarding the 1000-page work as essential reading for all Netherlanders--but later generations of academic historians (e.g., P. Geyl), though appreciative of the Huet's engaging, lively style, had serious reservations about Huet as an historian. The renowned Johan Huizinga, whose *Nederland's beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw* (1941) arguably replaced Huet's work as the cultural history *sine qua non* of the Golden Age, hardly mentioned Huet at all in any of his writings.



Today *Het land van Rembrand* is mostly remembered for its praise of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch art, and the central role that art, especially painting, was accorded in establishing the Netherlands' unique contribution to European civilization. Occasionally scholars of Golden Age historiography also comment on Huet's conservative representation of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century republic and its relationship to the Reformed Church. But both of these perspectives address only part of Huet's achievement. Art is accorded a relatively small place in Huet's work—indeed, as many readers have remarked, the section on Rembrandt is one of the shortest—, and the 17<sup>th</sup> century is only examined in the second half of the work.

I propose to take a fresh look at Huet's *Het land van Rembrand* as a whole. The first half of his cultural history is devoted to the Dutch Middle Ages and Renaissance (ca. 1200-1600), and my paper will draw connections between Huet's representation of these earlier centuries and the Dutch Golden Age. Huet's portrait of Dutch history breaks with earlier 19<sup>th</sup>-century representations of the Middle Ages and establishes a unique cosmopolitan approach for understanding the Netherlands' role in European, if not, global history. The unhappiness that earlier readers expressed about Huet as a historian of the Dutch nation was based on a misperception of the larger purpose of his work. In contrast to the patriotic ambitions of his predecessors, I argue that Huet's aim was to transcend the nationalist mode of thinking that diminished the achievements of the Dutch, and to establish a transnational framework for writing Netherlandic cultural history within the context of Europe and the world.

### **Technical Art History, part 2**

Chairs: Marjolijn Bol, University of Amsterdam

Arjan de Koomen, University of Amsterdam

Ron Spronk, Queen's University and Radboud University Nijmegen

Melanie Gifford, National Gallery, Washington DC, and Adriaan Waiboer, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, et al.

*Documenting Style: Technical Study of Artistic Exchange among Genre Painters 1650–1675*

Melanie Gifford\*, Adriaan Waiboer\*, Lisha Glinsman, Michael Palmer

Dutch genre painters of the period 1650–1675 were active in different cities in the Dutch Republic, yet many of their works show striking similarities in subject matter, style, and composition. These artists, among them Gerrit Dou, Gerard ter Borch, Jan Steen, Pieter de Hooch, Gabriel Metsu, Johannes Vermeer and Frans van Mieris, frequently drew inspiration from each other's works, which they then tried to surpass in verisimilitude, technical prowess and aesthetic appeal. This vibrant artistic exchange and rivalry contributed to the exceptionally high quality of their combined oeuvre. The fascinating exchanges of ideas and innovations will be the focus of a major travelling exhibition in 2017, organised by the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

A technical research program in preparation for the exhibition seeks evidence of genre painters' responses to each other's signature styles. Although the materials and techniques of a number of these artists have been studied individually, little research has been devoted to their interactions. The aims of this project are threefold: to document artistic relationships through similarities or differences in painting materials; to identify painting practices specific to individuals or to this group as a whole; to isolate style signifiers that artists used when referencing each other's work.

The first aim of the project is to identify specific pigments used by individual genre painters. The shared use of a distinctive material, such as the costly blue pigment ultramarine widely used by high-life painters, suggests that these artists not only aimed for the same visual quality, namely to achieve a particularly rich blue color, but also that they worked for clients who could afford and appreciated such as an expensive material.

Another goal of this technical study is to compare the painting practices used by artists to create similar visual effects. Here, technical study can distinguish between close artistic contact and more generalized emulation. Recently technical study has shown that the young Metsu used the same unusual combination of pigments as Jan-Baptist Weenix when imitating his style of painting faces, evidence that the two were in direct contact. However, when Metsu quoted Van Mieris's depiction of light shimmering on red velvet in a painting dating to the end of his career, he used a streamlined adaptation of his own technique rather than recreating the minutely handled scumbles found in the works of his Leiden contemporary.

Finally, the project aims to study pairs of paintings in which one artist explicitly appropriated another's composition. In such cases, the evolution of the composition as documented by *pentimenti* can offer telling evidence of the artistic thinking process. Metsu's *Woman Reading a Letter* (National Gallery of

Ireland, Dublin) is one of the artist's most striking evocations of Vermeer's style. Technical study showed that Metsu first painted the woman in a red velvet jacket, as seen in many of his works, but then repainted it to match Vermeer's recognizable yellow jacket. This alteration suggests that a yellow jacket, considered to be a signature element of Vermeer's work by modern viewers, had the same significance to a seventeenth-century artist.

This HNA presentation will frame the questions asked in this project, illustrated by some initial results as well as data gathered from previous studies.

Margriet van Eikema Hommes, Delft University of Technology  
*Changes in Content and Composition. Technical Investigation of a Ceiling Painting by Gerard de Lairese Made Before and During the 'Disaster Year' 1672.*

M. van Eikema Hommes, T. van Run, K. Keune, A. Wallert, L. de Moor

Since 1913 a tri-partite ceiling painting by Gerard de Lairese (1641-1711) has crowned a monumental assembly hall in the Peace Palace at The Hague, then recently finished. The three images together display a cloudy sky with a number of allegorical figures and objects. This ceiling series was originally ordered by Andries de Graeff, burgomaster of Amsterdam, for the reception room of his newly built house on the Herengracht (now no. 446). De Lairese signed his canvases in 1672, politically a tumultuous year that has gone down in history as the 'Disaster Year': as a result of the wars, the very existence of the Dutch Republic was under threat.

The recent restoration of the canvases provided the opportunity for a material-technical investigation. By means of infrared reflectography, X-radiographic investigation and paint cross-sections, an exceptionally interesting discovery came to light which, in combination with detailed (art) historical research, enabled us to an exceptional view into the genesis of the painting and the ideas of the artist and the commissioning patron. All three images in fact turn out to have been fundamentally revised: various significant figures and objects were either added or painted out. It can be demonstrated that these modifications were executed either by De Lairese himself or under his supervision, and moreover – and this is highly significant – that they date from the latter part of the Disaster Year 1672.

Beginning with the first (i.e. the subsequently considerably modified) version, the canvases celebrate the city of Amsterdam as the centre of world trade and the good governance of its burgomasters. This theme must have

originated in the period preceding the Disaster Year and must also relate to a specific historical event. In the second and final version of the canvases, various added objects and personages provide a commentary on the dramatic political situation in the Republic in the latter half of 1672, when she had lost a large part of her territory. For example, in the first version the figure of *Freedom* held a bunch of seven arrows, referring to the seven provinces, a well-known symbol in Dutch imagery. In the second version three arrows had been painted out with paint of the sky, in order to refer to the actual situation of the Disaster Year when three provinces had been conquered by the French army. Other alterations also relate to the changed personal circumstances of Andries de Graeff, whose political role was by then played out. This ceiling thus provides surprising new insights into the way the patriciate portrayed itself by means of interior decorations. One could refer to specific political events and, suggesting an extraordinary pressure to remain topical, decorations were sometimes even modified when the political situation called for it.

However, by far not all pentimenti do change the *content* of the depiction. In fact, most alterations appear to be formal changes: the position or form of limbs and draperies was modified; draperies and putti were added or painted away; the position of the clouds and colours in the sky was altered. What is the rationale behind those changes? Were they just prompted by the desire to achieve compositional balance and harmony, as such formal changes are usually interpreted in today's literature on seventeenth century painting? However, Paul Taylor has recently argued, on the basis of De Lairese's *Schilderboek* (1707), that for De Lairese, composition was not a matter of patiently balancing the different shapes and contours of a scene until they pleased the eye. Composition was first and foremost the attempt to tell a story clearly and logically.

This tri-partite ceiling painting - so rich in pentimenti, of which, we now know, a number was introduced on demand of the commissioning patron - now provides an excellent opportunity to compare De Lairese's theories on composition with his actual painting practice. This is even more so since De Lairese did make a series of drawings of the paintings (later put into print by Glauber) that represent the paintings in a stage wherein he had only *partially* carried through his alterations (a series of changes was made prior to the drawings; while others were made afterwards). This 'mid-stage' thus shows in which order De Lairese introduced his pentimenti, which turns out to be very helpful in understanding the rationale behind his compositional choices.

Elisabeth Berry Drago, University of Delaware

*Painting the Laboratory: Alchemical Pigments in the Art of Thomas Wijck*

The alchemical paintings of Thomas Wijck (1616-1677) represent one of the major sources for laboratory imagery in the early modern North, yet they remain misunderstood. Alchemy was more than an obsessive quest for immortality or gold—it was a set of tools by which individuals manipulated nature. Alchemists, however, were not the only experts in transformation. Artists' workshops—like alchemists' laboratories—were sites of experimentation where the boundaries of nature were tested. Comparisons between art and alchemy are not new, nor were they ever merely rhetorical: the line between artisanal and alchemical knowledge—particularly in the fields of metalworking, dyeing and coloring, etching, and other arts—was thin, permeable, at times nonexistent.

This paper will shift focus from an iconographical approach that looked for precursors either in Bruegel's mocking satires or in allegorizing alchemical emblems, to examine the materials from which Wijck's paintings were made. Through new XRF (x-ray fluorescence) analysis performed on Wijck's paintings, I will profile Wijck's use of pigments and demonstrate direct connections between these materials, the real laboratories and workshops in which they were created and used, and the painted laboratories they were used to depict. I argue that an analysis of Wijck's painted alchemists must incorporate the study of the artist's materials, as both artisanal and alchemical processes rely on experiential and experimental knowledge acquired through use. Wijck's characterization of the alchemist will be informed by comparison with the real practices of artists and their knowledge of material transformation. The current project is part of a larger re-examination of Wijck's place within the interlinked histories of Dutch art and science. Ultimately, I do not position Wijck as merely a recorder of alchemical process—nor as a fully fledged alchemist—but as an artist whose subject and practices both straddle the nexus of artisanal and scientific knowledge.

Ulrike Kern, Kunstgeschichtliches Institut, Frankfurt am Main, and Warburg Institute, London

*Reflections of Light in Netherlandish Art*

This contribution will discuss suggestions made in Dutch art treatises about the employment and rendering of reflected light in art works and compare them with ways in which they were actually used by painters. The phenomenon fascinated artists and writers on art alike, because of the subtlety of the painterly effect and the capacity of reflections to transport coloured light. Although the occupation with reflection originates in the discipline of the optics, in art theory

the meaning of the word was extended to problems concerning artistic technique. The questions that were discussed in art literature included considerations why and how reflections should be used, as well as criticisms of misuse of the light effect in art. Besides techniques of painting reflections, the paper will discuss excerpts from art literature, including book illustrations and diagrams, and compare them to ways in which painters employed reflections in their works of art.

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### **Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion in the Low Countries, 1400-1700, part 2**

Chairs: Walter S. Melion, Emory University

Bart Ramakers, University of Groningen

Gwendoline Demuelenaere, Université catholique de Louvain

*Personifications in Early Modern Thesis Prints in the Southern Low Countries: Noetic and Encomiastic Representations*

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the public defense of academic theses entailed the publication of a written presentation of the conclusions, printed in the form of broadsides or booklets distributed to the audience. Initially decorated with coats of arms and dedications to scholarly, religious or political personalities, thesis prints evolved progressively into copiously illustrated frontispieces, intended to glorify the applicants' protectors.

In the early modern Southern Low Countries, thesis engravings were mainly produced for students attending university in Louvain and Douai, or Jesuit schools established in these cities (particularly the Jesuit School of Mathematics, alternatively based in Antwerp and Louvain from 1617 to 1690). They are regularly populated by personifications of Science, Liberal Arts, Virtues, Wisdom, War and Peace, towns or countries, Time and Eternity, « images that operate in the physical world of senses by representing abstract ideas in embodied form ». In these broadsheets, they take the shape of women accompanied by attributes, either presenting the applicant to his patron, or standing by the latter's side. In the first case, personifications are those of scientific or philosophical subjects taught, and support the student by showing his conclusions written on medallions. The second iconography consists in the common representation of virtues praising the patron's qualities.

The paper I propose will focus on the two main functions of prosopopeia

in thesis broadsheets: they are either noetic images, related to the system of knowledge transmission, or encomiastic, linked to the sociopolitical purpose of the dedicatory practice. In order to understand these two dimensions in the intellectual context of higher education, I will especially investigate the personifications of Virtues and Liberal Arts which reflect conventional ideas about the different paths through which knowledge reaches mankind. I will also take into consideration the political issues related to this type of allegorical figures, which are designed to promote the dedicatee and assert the applicant's position in society. Therefore, this communicational device needs to be studied within its institutional and sociopolitical framework but also through the visual and semiotical means conceived to convey messages to the readers/spectators. From a corpus including artists like the designers Peter Paul Rubens, Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, Cornelis Schut, Erasmus Quellinus, Antoine Sallaert, Lodewijck de Deyster as well as the engravers Lucas Vorsterman, Michel Natalis, Richard Collin, Nicolas Lauwers, Adrien Lommelin and Arnold Van Westerhout, I will examine the ways in which the use of personifications facilitates the transmission of the message (scientific as well as rhetorical) and highlights the intellectual, sociocultural and political environment of this visual material from the Baroque period.

Arthur DiFuria, Savannah College of Art and Design  
*Maerten van Heemskerck's Caritas: Personification and the Rhetoric of Animating Stone with Paint*

Portraying a Christian virtue as an antiquity on the verge of animation, Maerten van Heemskerck conceived *Caritas* (ca. 1545, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemaeldegalerie, Vienna, Austria) for a humanist audience eager to discuss the sixteenth century's image debate and extol sacred art's centrality for worship.

Heemskerck's choice to portray the embodiment of this particular virtue establishes reform concerns as the painting's discursive axis. Reformers cited *Caritas's* antitype, *Avaritia*, when decrying the Vatican transgressions that prompted the need for reform. While theologians including St. Thomas Aquinas and Erasmus described *Caritas* as the most noble Christian virtue, Luther acknowledged the potential for being deceived when charitable, but argued for its exercise anyway; one could never become truly poor through charitable works.

I argue that Heemskerck's painting of the virtue engages the crux in Luther's observation to prompt discourse on the terms of the image debate. *Caritas* broadcasts its own transcendence of materiality to challenge the reform

contention that sacred art is only wood, paint, and stone that distracts from spirituality. Drawing from his first hand knowledge of sculptures from antiquity and Michelangelo, Heemskerck used his skill at mimicking surface textures to portray *Caritas* with exceptional illusionism. However, even as the painting presents its figures as antiquities hewn from marble, details suggest their animation; the virtue reflexively reaches to shield the children on her lap, who twist, climb, and crawl in the manner of toddlers observed from life. Portraying stone figures in lively attitudes elicits art's most problematic aspect for reformers: the "idol worshipper's" belief that the figure portrayed animates the object. But this same device broadcasts the painting's status as a manipulation of material, referring to its prototype rather than being animated by it.

Heemskerck's *Caritas* thus deployed the personification of the virtue to enact art's edifying capacity.

Caroline O. Fowler, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art *Abraham Bloemaert and Caritas: Pedagogy in Perception*

This paper takes as its starting point a personification of *Caritas* by the Utrecht painter and draftsman Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651). While the theological tradition of *Caritas* has a complex history going back to Augustine, it may be defined on the individual level as the love of one's neighbor as one's self, and on the societal level as the mediating role of charity in the Church's relationship to its community. This personification of *Caritas* (fig. 1) is one of seven chiaroscuro prints designed by Bloemaert for a *Tekenboek*, a drawing book that taught young artists to draw through copying a previous master's work. Yet this *Caritas* is striking in its sorrow. Bloemaert's rendition appears distraught, as the female personification cradles a child in her arms, who does not drink from her breast. Another child attempts to pull the female figure's flowing dress over his head, while a separate child stands to the side, looking sullenly down at the ground. The interrelationships among these figures exhibit discord, particularly in contradistinction to other contemporaneous images of *Caritas*, which are composed around a harmony of infants suckling breasts, falling drapery and romping children.

The chiaroscuro print of *Caritas* in a printed drawing book, a pedagogical genre devoted to teaching students how to draw and how to see, points not only towards the historical problem of "charity" in seventeenth-century Utrecht but also to theological discussions of "charity" as a mode of perception. As this paper will argue, the attention that Bloemaert gave to the personification of *Caritas* in his *Tekenboek* suggests that it is not just an inclusion of a popular



figure as a pattern for copying. Bloemaert's *Caritas* indicates another mode of perception beyond the sensory organs that structure his other lessons in the *Tekenboek* (fig. 2). His insertion of *Caritas* takes part in a discourse on the role of charity in seventeenth-century Utrecht, which shifted during the process of "confessionalization," in which churches and governments reconfigured their responsibilities to their communities. Moreover, the role of *Caritas* in pedagogy and perception may be seen in a variety of seventeenth-century works from Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) to popular emblem books, such as the Flemish painter and theorist Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615). This paper will examine how the personification of *Caritas* in a female figure offering milk to her young, promoted a form of embodied knowledge found not in the senses but in the heart. In a drawing book structured around learning to draw the body through the study of fragmented parts—from eyes and ears to legs and arms—Bloemaert demonstrates a pedagogy of drawing grounded both within a training of the "eye and the mind" and within an immediate intuitive knowledge realized by the heart. Using the personification of a cardinal virtue that was threatened in seventeenth-century society during the "Catholic Reformation," Bloemaert's *Caritas* demonstrates that artistic education was as much about the artist's role as a member within society as the artist's ability to visually represent his world.

Aneta Georgievska-Shine, University of Maryland  
*Vermeer and the Matter of Faith*

One of the most admired aspects of Vermeer's visual approach is his fine modulation of representational codes concerning well-known subjects or character types towards works that challenge received symbolic meanings and reward their beholders with endless interpretive possibilities.

Though his choices and ordering of objects (iconographic elements) fits the emblematic conventions of the period, he invariably subverts these conventions either by re-combining well-worn attributes associated with particular personifications (as in *The Allegory of Faith* or *The Art of Painting*) or by endowing the characters of his seemingly allegorical compositions with an exceptional sense of psychological autonomy or presence.

The ambiguities of meaning resulting from this approach are typically seen as a reflection of a broader cultural shift from the emblematic towards the naturalistic. I would propose that they also constitute a response to the theological and intellectual uncertainties of the period. Vermeer's sensitivity to these uncertainties, whether in terms of one's religious choices or even

concerning philosophical questions such as the human capacity to grasp the meaning of the phenomenal world, led him to cultivate a kind of skeptical fideism made manifest in pictorial compositions that seem perpetually unresolved between what can be known through the senses and the mind, and what must simply be believed.

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## **Portraits and Politics, part 2**

Chair: Stephanie Dickey, Queen's University

Maureen Warren, Northwestern University

*Mug shots avant la lettre: Printed Portraits of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and his Allies in 1619*

Prior to his arrest in on August 23, 1618, very few people in the Dutch Republic possessed a likeness of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who as Advocate of Holland was the chief elected official. Although Oldenbarnevelt's deeds were well known—he was either celebrated or reviled for his leading but controversial role in the negotiation of the Twelve Years Truce—his portrait had never been much in demand. Unlike his political rival, Prince Maurits, few print publishers had issued portraits of the statesman. Indeed, even Oldenbarnevelt's painted portrait (first created by Michiel van Mierevelt in 1614 or 1615) was not a best seller until after his arrest and trial, as the majority of these portraits date to 1618 and later.

After the arrests of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and his allies Hugo Grotius, Rombout Hoogerbeets, Gillis van Ledenburg, and Adolf de Wael, two publishers issued a series of portraits of these men, which also included a portrait of the Remonstrant minister Johannes Wtenbogaert. Whereas the portrait series by Crispijn de Passe evinces careful physiognomic study and refined engraving technique, Claes Jansz Visscher's series consists of rushed and uneven copies of De Passe's prints. And yet, Visscher's portraits survive in much greater numbers and probably were considerably more popular. This paper contends that the commercial success of Visscher's portraits of Oldenbarnevelt and his allies stems from his development of two novel and highly ideological marketing techniques: the creation of a 'mug shot' booklet and of an ensemble print. Based upon new archival research, I argue that Visscher, and perhaps also Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, sold some of these portraits in an innovative booklet format, which included the portraits of Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and Ledenberg,

copies of their criminal sentences, and images of their punishment (execution or imprisonment). Visscher also produced an ensemble print, made by encircling an image of Oldenbarnvelt's beheading with portraits of him and his allies.

Although mug shots—photographs of suspected criminals taken after their arrest—were not created until the advent of photography in the nineteenth century, Visscher's booklets and ensemble prints essentially served a similar function. When paired with the official sentence that outlined the offences allegedly committed by each man and images of their punishment, Visscher's printed portraits evince the guilt and criminality of Oldenbarnevelt and his allies. These portraits have previously been understood as part of the tradition of depicting famous (or infamous) men, and they certainly partake of that legacy, but within the visual and textual context of these booklets and ensemble prints the portraits take on a different meaning. Rather than testifying to the owner's political affiliation or merely documenting likeness, these portraits partake of the larger project of judicial retribution. They enhance as well as record the public punishment of some of the best-known officials from Holland and Utrecht. However, the booklets and ensemble prints could not prevent a more sympathetic reception of these portraits. Oldenbarnevelt's supporters were likely further incensed by these new formats and their attendant implications. Fearing that depictions of Oldenbarnevelt and his allies were only increasing factionalism, the States General banned these portraits and similar prints on November 7, 1619, citing the need to preserve peace in the land.

Vanessa I. Schmid, Blanton Museum of Art, University of Texas at Austin *Johan De Witt's Dapper Admirals: Political Considerations for Dutch Admiral Portraiture*

Scores of objects bearing the visages of Dutch Admirals attest to the popularity of naval heroes in the Dutch Republic. Dutch Admiral portraits appear on medals, prints, paintings, small portable objects, and sumptuous public monuments. Indeed, no other Dutch celebrities of the seventeenth century were portrayed in such prevalence. The range in quality of these objects also speaks to the wide public who purchased them. Trying to make sense of this dizzying array of objects is difficult and, partly as a result of the ubiquity of the Admiral's image they present, a critical approach to understanding the function and role of the Admiral in art in the Republic has been only vaguely suggested. This paper will first introduce and categorize the range of Dutch Admiral portraits to suggest the range of possible functions these images and objects held in solidifying social allegiances and political affiliations, bolstering a sense of unity

and pride in Dutch maritime wealth, and asserting authority and providing a figurehead in a stadholderless period.

Secondly, this paper will introduce an important observation concerning the production and popularity of Admiral portraits: that is, the remarkable increase in interest and emphasis in Admiral portraits at mid-century. Certainly, their heroic deeds in the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652-4) played a part in the Admirals' new found status, but I propose it was, rather, the political savvy of Johan de Witt that promoted Admirals for political exigency.

Known as Europe's first great statesman, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Johan de Witt, is well known for his wide-reaching influence in all aspects of Dutch political life during the stadtholderless period of 1650-72. At a time when urban factions and trade interests held unprecedented influence, de Witt's policies and States Party favored economic growth above all else, and its preservation defined the Republic's position within the European diplomatic sphere. De Witt's expansion and revitalization of the Dutch Navy was the most important means for advancing this agenda. As part of De Witt's complete restructuring of the Dutch Navy in response to the English threat, his reforms placed more emphasis on Admirals by conferring more real power to them and also attempting to solve the constant vexing problem of the uneven balance of power among the Admiralty Colleges, which reflected the real imbalance of power in the States General. De Witt used and forwarded Admirals as a way to negotiate political power and cope with internal divisions within the Republic's fractious political scene. Further, De Witt also focused on creating a cohesive public message of the navy's primary importance through the promotion of Admirals.

The marked production of objects, paintings and funerary monuments celebrating victorious Admirals precisely at the moment of de Witt's naval reforms must be situated in view of his strategies. I propose that the promotion of Admirals became central to successfully stabilizing and advancing De Witt's new naval agenda in tandem with urban trade and political interests. Furthermore, my research has established that extensive celebration of Admirals during the three Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century in the urban centers of Holland was guided and fostered by the Republic's merchant elite to forward their own political points of view, and those shared by De Witt. In light of this research we can understand how in tandem with Johan de Witt's naval policies Admiral portraits reinforced and catered to his States Party agenda.

At heart, this paper will demonstrate how all portraits of Admirals produced in the Republic were political in nature. While Dutch Admirals

represented so much of the Dutch spirit and achievement, their celebration was a heavily biased and intricately orchestrated affair.

Frans Grijzenhout, University of Amsterdam

*Memoria and Amnesia in Portraits of Johan and Cornelis de Witt*

During the final years of the eighteenth century, portraits of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius, Johan and Cornelis de Witt, and other self confessed or alleged 17<sup>th</sup>-century opponents of the stadholderian system were incorporated into a pronounced, coherent, patriot, anti-orangist ideology. Their images functioned within a debate on the history and the future of the Republic, in an atmosphere that evolved from a mild, broad patriotism in the 1770s into fierce mutual political opposition between patriots and orangists in the 1780, and a genuine Revolution in 1795.

The question, however, is, whether 17<sup>th</sup> century products, especially portraits and historical prints, that refer to the defendants of the so-called True Liberty ('ware vrijheid') in the Republic testify to the same, outspoken political ideology.

In this paper, I will take a closer look at contemporary imagery, especially portrait medals and portrait prints of Johan and Cornelis de Witt, brutally murdered by a furious mob in the Hague on 20 August 1672. I will argue that their memory in these media was not so much cherished in a political way, but that it was incorporated into a broader humanistic culture of political remembrance. Thus, the horrendous event of their death was inscribed into a culture of 'amnesia' ('forgetfulness') and reconciliation, as opposed -- and superior -- to unbridled political ambition ('staetszucht').

### **Inside, Outside: Environments of Netherlandish Visual Culture**

Chairs: Rebecca Tucker, Colorado College

Angela Vanhaelen, McGill University

Saskia Beranek, University of Pittsburgh

*Monuments of Memory: Garden Architecture at Huis ten Bosch*

Beginning in December of 2013, the Metropolitan Museum in New York mounted an exhibition examining obelisks in art. Among the exhibited items was a small painting by Jan van der Heyden of the gardens at Huis ten Bosch,

the summer palace built for Amalia van Solms, Princess of Orange. Central to this small view are a series of lattice obelisks supporting greenery and topped in reflective spheres. Generally regarded as decorative elements, these obelisks should instead be viewed as references to funerary practices and the glorification of the deceased Frederik Hendrik. Though Vanessa Bezemer Sellers has previously demonstrated that the gardens and house at this site are geometrically and symbolically related, the nature and extent of this relationship has not been fully explored. This paper will situate the garden features, including the obelisks and green pavilions within a broader framework, arguing that they are critical elements in the symbolic nature of the entire complex. Prints of political emblems which relate the country to gardens, garden manuals, Italian architectural theory linking elite spaces and identity, and an examination of the plans published by the architect, Pieter Post, are used to situate the garden within its cultural context. I argue that Pieter Post collaborated with the designers of the decorative cycle to produce a series of vistas of both house and garden that create twin sites of memory inside and outside for different audiences. Trends in scholarship that isolate the central Oranjezaal from this context have subsequently divorced one element from its symbolic role within the site as a whole. Amalia's use of the myth of Artemisia and the Mausoleum gives the house a dual role as a monument to the living dynasty as well as the glorious dead. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and the physical body of the widow Artemisia were partners in commemoration, one containing the dead remains and the language of the grave while the other embodied the living legacy. At Huis ten Bosch, this twin nature of commemoration is carried out not only through the body of the widow and the house as with Artemisia, but also through the relationship between the house and the garden.

Joy Kearney, Radboud University Nijmegen

*Gardens of Delight: Paradise on the Wall and Beyond in the Work of Melchior de Hondecoeter (1636-1695)*

The phenomenon of painted decorative schemes depicting animals, birds and landscapes showing classical gardens and parks, as depicted by Melchior de Hondecoeter, were produced on a grand scale in the seventeenth century with the intention of transcending the confines of the interior and linking the home interior with the garden theme. Gardens of the period, such as the garden at Paleis Het Loo, frequently contained features such as aviaries and pheasantries as well as stables and other enclosures for keeping animals. This theme became immortalized in the paintings of Melchior de Hondecoeter, whose large scale

decorative schemes were used to decorate the palaces of William III and other noble and aristocratic dwellings. The taste for the exotic, as a result of the conquests abroad, added a further exotic touch to the menageries and zoological collections and, in turn, to the paintings thereof.

The Dutch House of Orange amassed a considerable collection of artefacts and exotica over the centuries which were mainly housed at their palaces of Soestdijk, Het Loo and Honselaarsdijk. The Royal Palaces of the Netherlands have been the subject of many books and articles, which have reflected the importance of their decoration for setting trends and reflecting the fashions of the day. Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange, and his wife Amalia van Solms, created a lavish Royal court in the Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century and had a considerable impact on developments in architecture, painting and fashion in the early years of the Dutch Golden Age. Prince Maurits was also a collector of exotica, including live animals and birds, frequently presented to him by visiting dignitaries on official visits. These collections necessitated elaborate cages, aviaries and lavish gardens to house these collections of exotica and some designs still exist today which attest to the decorative nature of such structures. The aim of this paper is to address the key question of how artists introduced the exterior into the interior using such devices and how the 'furnishings' of the gardens and parks helped bridge the gap between exterior and interior.

Rebecca Tucker, Colorado College

*The Politics of Display at the Court of Frederik Hendrik*

Art historians have long studied individual objects, often with knowledge of, and attention to, the object's original location. This paper draws upon a concept from visual anthropology: that the display of a work of art carries as much interpretive weight as the object itself. It focuses on the unique display systems of the house of Oranje-Nassau, in order to establish the particular language of display (what is being conveyed by the ensemble within the space) and the potential meanings of that rhetoric (how display constructs and guides understanding).

In early modern European courts, no object existed in a vacuum. Paintings hung together in close quarters; decoration graced wall panels; textiles were found on walls, furniture, and floors; "decorative" objects, plate, porcelain, and furniture filled the spaces. This paper examines the unified and site-specific multimedia ensembles created by Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Oranje-Nassau and Stadhouder of the Northern Netherlands (1584-1647) for his

palaces around The Hague between 1612 and 1647. Focusing on the palace of Honselaarsdijk, the paper argues that Frederik Hendrik's development of a distinctive and consistent display system functioned not only as a "court style," a visual marker of places connected with the stadhouder, but also as a potent signifier laden with complex meanings. Wealth and family status were part of Frederik Hendrik's display systems, but other meanings encompassed areas more fraught within the Dutch Republic: the role of the aristocracy, the place of the stadhouder in the government, and the identity of the nation.

Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, *The New York Botanical Garden The Art of Garden Ornamentation and the Decorative Arts at the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Court*

The surprising discovery of various rare seventeenth-century prints and pattern books has prompted renewed examination of the relationships between garden ornamentation and the decorative arts at the Dutch Court of Orange-Nassau. The intent to create unified decorative ensembles connecting palace and garden is quite obvious when looking at William and Mary's building activities—as evidenced by Daniel Marot's print series of *Het Loo* (1690s). Such a unity is less apparent, however, in the early seventeenth-century building complexes of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia (1620-50). While the architectural history of the House of Orange is well-studied, significant gaps remain, especially when it comes to the identification of specific artists and craftsmen responsible for the Stadholder's garden decoration. It has remained unclear, for example, who designed the unusually rich garden embellishments of Palace Ter Nieuburch (Rijswijk, The Hague), containing large-scale parterres, pavilions, and sculptural groups. This paper will attempt to fill this hiatus in focusing on the work of a hitherto little-known artist by the name of Isaac Leschevin, a Flanders-born Huguenot. His multifaceted career both as embroiderer and garden designer spanned the decades between 1620 and 1650. Starting out in Heidelberg, Leschevin's activities can be traced through Germany (Heidelberg's *Hortus Palatinus* and the Hessen Castle gardens) and the Netherlands (Batestein Castle, Vianen) to the Stadholder's Court in The Hague. As this paper will demonstrate, craftsmen such as Leschevin merit further in-depth research. They deserve their own place among the group of international artists responsible for the development of the exuberant ornamental aesthetics characteristic of the Princely estates. Moreover, Leschevin's prints are unique documents for not only demonstrating the relation between interior and exterior decoration, but also the inextricable link between various media in the decorative arts and their close connection with the art of garden ornamentation.



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### **(AANS) Society and Literature**

Chair: Jenneke Oosterhoff, University of Minnesota

Ton van Kalmthout, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, The Hague

*Louis Couperus as an International Author*

The first part of this paper will focus on the different capacities of Louis Couperus as an international author – as a creative artist, a translator, a translated author himself, an ambassador of his own writings – and the fame these capacities have brought him outside the Netherlands and Flanders. Although his fame should be put into perspective a comprehensive overview of the ways in which his works have been disseminated and received in the course of time still remains a desideratum. The second part of the paper will address the question why research into the international circulation of his works exceeds the importance of the study of Couperus: this research provides insight into the ways in which Dutch literature is part of the world republic of letters, it clarifies how literary heritage is maintained and it fosters the understanding of the literary system in general. From the international dissemination and reception of Couperus' works, for instance, guidelines can be derived for research into the international circulation of Dutch literature – guidelines demanding for international cooperation of literary scholars.

Annemiek Recourt, University of Amsterdam

*"To keep the homefires burning" – Jan Greshoff and his Dutch Culture Task During World War II*

During World War II, the need for Dutch literature in occupied Holland was huge. After all, literature helps to give people a sense of their national culture and identity and often we see people fall back on it as, most times, war involves one culture trying to take over another. But what about Dutch people living outside of the occupied Netherlands? This paper wants to look into how the Dutch literati tried to make Dutch texts also available over land borders, so that Dutchmen could stay in touch with their own language and stories.

One member of that Dutch literati, and maybe the most important one, was Jan Greshoff. Born in 1888, Greshoff was a 20th century leading literary man in and

outside the Netherlands. As a poet, literary critic, publisher's advisor and editor of literary magazines, Greshoff established different literary networks and greatly influenced Dutch literature in the twenties and thirties. People had already started calling him the 'Ambassador of Dutch Literature'. In 1939 he moved to Cape Town, where he continued to promote Dutch literature. When World War II started, Greshoff for example made sure to reprint Dutch books in South Africa to serve the sailors on their trips via Cape Town. In 1941 he was invited to the Dutch Indies to inject the Dutch cultural life over there with his knowledge and enthusiasm.

When the war dried up Greshoff's sources of income in South Africa, he was forced to accept a job as a civil servant for the Netherlands Information Office in New York. This organization aimed to involve the neutral United States in the matters of the Netherlands and Dutch Indies. Its other goal was to keep the Dutch abroad informed and to encourage them. Greshoff was responsible for the radio broadcastings from Boston, that had many Dutch listeners. In the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, there are many letters from these listeners to Radio Boston showing the importance that the broadcasts had for them.

Soon after his arrival in America, Greshoff stated that the lack of Dutch literature was there present as well, just as it had been in the Dutch Indies and South Africa. He embarks upon several initiatives. To begin with, he connected the exiled Jewish former director of Querido publishers in Amsterdam, Fritz Landshoff, with another publisher in exile, M. Warendorf. Together, the three established a new publishing house called Querido New York, that published several Dutch books during war time. One of Greshoff's other projects at this time was to compose a rather extensive poetry anthology, "Harvest of the Lowlands", in order to make Dutch literature available for the American connoisseur and critic. This was not an easy job, since a lot of Dutch texts and good translators were not available or accessible because of the war. Greshoff also put together the volume "In de verstrooiing" ["In the diaspora"], that contains literary contributions by Dutch authors living outside the occupied territories. He also contributed to several (literary) magazines, among them "De Stoep" (Willemstad, Curaçao) and "The Knickerbocker Weekly", an organ of the Dutch Information Office.

Greshoff's tasks served the broader goal (in his own words): 'to keep the homefires burning'. In this metaphor, the 'homefire' represents Dutch civilization. In this paper I will not only show how the assignment Greshoff gave himself led to several publications and initiatives and how that was received by the Dutch readers, but also what 'Dutch civilization' meant in his opinion.

This paper will be part of a bigger project, called Jan Greshoff: literary intermediary in and outside the land borders. This PhD-project aims to cover and clarify the contributions of Jan Greshoff (1888-1971) and will eventually be published as a biography.

Henriette Louwerse, University of Sheffield, UK

Dat vindt toch iedereen? *The Challenge of Community in Contemporary Dutch literature*

Community, like culture, is a problematic, inaccurate and fluid term that nonetheless wields tremendous power in its ability to conjure up connotations of warmth, sharing, understanding, recognition and even healing. Community is often mobilized to give expression to an ideal, a promise of oneness, of 'a fusion of multiple individuals into one subject position' (Lee 2009: 2) However it is exactly this promise of fusion that is also suspect: warmth becomes stifling; sharing turns into suppression of difference; and oneness the embodiment of totalitarian logic.

Much contemporary fiction in Dutch responds to this universal tension between the need for individuality and the desire to belong. Rejecting postmodernism's assumed individuality, detachment and irony or unveiling the urge for connection within and through a postmodernist stance of superficial disenfranchisement, there emerges a need to give expression to an ambivalent human need to belong to and to distinguish oneself in opposition to others. It is the manifestation of this paradox of community – the concept of many becoming one, 'a body of individuals' – that I will take a closer look at.

I will focus in particular on writing in Dutch that stages an intercultural or transcultural encounter in a contemporary context. Within the Dutch and Flemish setting, the discussion of literary multiculturalism has often been led by the biographical make-up of the author and assumptions of identity politics have tended to reappear startlingly unchanged in literary criticism. In antithesis to this, I would like to break down the artificial barriers constructed on assumed cultural identifications by focusing on the expressed position of authors of various backgrounds towards and representation of community.

Jolanda Vanderwal Taylor, University of Wisconsin, Madison *Inside/Outside: Individuals, Families, Social Expectations in Novels by Gerbrand Bakker*

The Dutch nuclear family, along with its allied notion of the home persists in new forms even as it is substantially reinterpreted throughout time following its early

invention in the North Atlantic. This study considers contemporary Dutch novels by Gerbrand Bakker while attending to the place that society attributes to the family and that of the individual within this constellation. It thus traces reconsiderations and new roles for individuals in relation to families, taking the stage set by the fictional family as one on which we may interrogate transformations of societal norms and attitudes.

Fictional literary texts by their very nature employ memory, narrative and inquiry as they engage with questions concerning the values enacted by society. This study considers how recent literature can trace transformations in the roles of individuals' relationships with family and society, or can suggest change by presenting scenarios that expose shifting expectations. Novels by Bakker such as *Boven is het stil* (*The Twin*) and *De omweg* (*The Detour*) particularly foreground questions of delineation: inside vs. outside, that which counts as normal vs. the exceptional or unexpected. (A sideways reference to treatments of similar themes in paintings such as those by Pieter de Hooch is tempting in light of the presence of members of the HNA at this joint conference).

This study also comments on a long-standing discussion in Dutch literary studies in response to Ton Anbeek's famous remark (1981) that Dutch writers tended to focus too close to home, and his call for "more of the hustle-bustle of the streets." Since the boundaries of the domestic sphere are semi-permeable, the nuclear family exists in interchange with the world at large. This work is also informed by Ottman Ette's claim that "fictionality creates a space of experimentation in which readers, in serious playfulness, can test out different life situations, with which they can engage to collect experiences that they could not have in 'real life.'"<sup>1</sup> Thus a study of Bakker's literary texts allows one to trace shifts and continuities in literary developments as well as in social norms.

## **The Production of and Market for Cheap Paintings in Seventeenth-Century Holland**

Chair: Eric Jan Sluijter, University of Amsterdam

Jasper Hillegers, Salomon Lilian Dutch Old Master Paintings,  
Amsterdam *Second-Rate History Painting in Amsterdam: The Case of David Colijns (1581/82-1665)*

The 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam history painter David Colijns is unknown to the general public. In fact, not too many art historians are familiar with his name

either, and this is certainly not without reason. Colijns's work – some 50 of his paintings survive – can be characterized as conservative, old-fashioned, repetitive and, in general terms, of mediocre quality. Which is not to say that his work is without merit. In fact, Colijns enjoyed a certain level of success in his own day. Judging from the available sources, an average price for his work can be deduced of about 30 guilders, almost making him unsuitable for this session. Moreover, Colijns held a rather central place within the Amsterdam painters' community, being the Amsterdam Guild of St Luke's most recorded overseer of the entire 17<sup>th</sup> century, active in four decades.

This paper will first focus on Colijns's production of history paintings, his preferred subjects (no doubt overlapping those of his clients) and his working methods. A poem by Jeremias de Decker explicitly lauds the speed with which Colijns was able to handle his brush. As will be demonstrated, Colijns's apparent ability to work fast was not just caused by an often rushed technique, it was in large part funded by his strong reliance on 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century print production, quotations of which are recognizable in his oeuvre on numerous occasions.

In addition, attention will be paid to Colijns's work in Amsterdam inventories. Paintings by Colijns are found in no less than 31 Amsterdam inventories of varying levels of prestige, datable between 1636 and 1709. As early as 1636 we find his works hanging next to Rembrandt's *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts*, yet more often most of the other works in the sometimes very modest inventories remain anonymous. Following the analysis of the inventories, the paper will concentrate on a number of the owners of works by Colijns, who turn out to be not only mutually connected through a kinship network, but can also be related to the milieu of the painter himself. Questions to be addressed here are: who were these people and what was their socio-economical status? What might have been their incentive to buy a work by David Colijns? And how can Colijns's work be positioned within the context of the other works in the various inventories? Questions like these might help to shape a more adequate image of the lesser-known segment of the Amsterdam art market in which Colijns and many of his colleagues tried to position themselves.

Angela Jager, University of Amsterdam

*Not a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories: Social Class and Ownership of Cheap Paintings in Amsterdam, 1650-1700*

In this paper I would like to address two crucial questions proposed in the session description: Were certain types of subject matter especially popular in

this lowest level of production? Can we say something about the relation between specific types of cheap paintings and the audiences for whom they were meant? My research on three low-end art dealers active in Amsterdam, who had hundreds of paintings in stock with an average value of below 4 guilders, brought forth not only a considerable number of unknown painters who produced paintings *en masse* for these art dealers, but also a sizable number of subjects that seems to have been popular in this low segment of the art market - in particular history paintings with biblical subjects. Therefore, an important question is: who bought these paintings? Is it possible to acquire insight into the economic, social and religious background of the owners of such paintings?

Montias' 'Works of Art in a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories' (1996) demonstrated that landscape became the most dominant category of painting in the seventeenth century and that the ownership of history painting decreased rapidly. However, an earlier and lesser cited article by Montias (1991) showed that this trend - although clearly apparent in inventories with one or more attributions to painters (generally the more wealthy estates) - was not distinct in inventories with just anonymous works (generally the less wealthy estates). This last group displays, in contrast with the more wealthy collectors, a continuing ownership in history painting - unexpectedly, since in art history it is commonly believed that the appeal of history painting was limited to the intellectual elite. This paper will explore the ownership of paintings in different social classes in Amsterdam in the second half of the seventeenth century, and focus on the 'smalle burgerij' in particular.

In contrast with Montias' article of 1996, I will not select my inventories randomly but on social characteristics, such as profession (artisans and small shopkeepers vs. professionals, merchants and regents), address (Jordaan-area vs grand canals), and number of paintings owned (1-15 vs. 50 and more) in order to distinguish the paintings owned by the 'smalle burgerij' from those of the 'brede burgerij' and the 'grote burgerij'. Did the less wealthy prefer different genres and subjects than the well-to-do professionals, rich merchants and regent class? Which subjects were exclusively owned by one group only, and which subjects were owned by both groups? Were cheap, anonymous paintings also owned by the wealthier part of the population and if that was indeed the case, what was the role of such paintings in their households? Is there a difference in the place of the paintings in the household? Are the subjects that were abundantly present in the inventories of the art dealers in cheap paintings mentioned above indeed often recorded in our sample of less well to do households? If this is the case, what were their professions and religious

background? If not, do we find them elsewhere what does that tell us about the production and selling of such paintings and about the inventories consulted?

Piet Bakker, Technical University of Delft

*How "common artist-painters were reduced to the kladpot": Strategies at the Lower End of the Market in Times of Crisis*

Al zo lang er aandacht bestaat voor de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst uit de Noordelijke-Nederlanden, richt deze zich geheel op de productie van ezelschilderijen. En die was beslist indrukwekkend, zowel in kwaliteit als in omvang. Geen land ter wereld waar indertijd meer schilders werkten dan in de Republiek. Hun aantal moet ver boven de duizend hebben gelegen, gezamenlijk goed voor een productie van vele miljoenen schilderijen.

Deze oriëntatie betekende dat er voorbij werd gegaan aan andere vormen van schilderkunst, zoals bijvoorbeeld het schilderen van decoraties. Vreemd is dat niet, de meeste geschilderde decoraties zijn immers in de loop der eeuwen verdwenen. Maar of het negeren van de decoratieschilderkunst daarmee terecht is, is een tweede. Door de decoratieschilderkunst buiten de kunstgeschiedenis te houden, werd niet opgemerkt dat de grote neergang van de ezelschilderkunst na 1660 mede veroorzaakt werd door deze kunstvorm. Eindjaren 1650 tekende zich geleidelijk aan een hevige concurrentiestrijd af tussen ezelschilders en decoratieschilders met als inzet het opvullen van de beschikbare ruimte op de muren in de huizen van de stedelijke elites, een strijd die, mede door nieuwe opvattingen over woninginrichting, uiteindelijk glansrijk werd gewonnen door de laatste groep. Het aantal in de Republiek werkzame kunstschilders nam tussen 1660 en 1700 in een verontrustend hoog tempo dramatisch af, terwijl met het aantal schilders van decoraties precies het tegenovergestelde gebeurde, althans in Leiden, de stad waar de voordracht zich op richt.

Interessant aan deze snel groeiende beroepsgroep is onder andere dat deze deels bestaat uit kunstschilders die eerder werkzaam waren aan de onderkant van de kunstmarkt. Om iets te kunnen opmerken over hoeveel kunstschilders met deze keuze de armoe hoopten te ontlopen, wordt ingezoomd op de schildersgemeenschap van Leiden en het vizier gericht op de marktsituatie aldaar. De vraag is hoe in deze stad de schildersgemeenschap reageerde op de verslechterende marktomstandigheden na 1660. Het accent ligt uiteraard op de schilders werkzaam in het laagste segment die de overstap maakten naar 'de grote kwast', dus kozen voor een loopbaan als 'kladschilder'. Dit beroep behelsde in de zeventiende eeuw meer dan dat van de moderne

huisschilder, ook de werkzaamheden van de tegenwoordige sierschilder behoorden daartoe. Achttiende-eeuwse schrijvers als Houbraken en Weyerman beschouwden deze stap als een degradatie. In artistiek opzicht mag dit zo zijn, maar wie de overstappers volgt, merkt dat economisch gezien juist het tegenovergestelde het geval lijkt. De schilders aan de onderkant van de markt die kozen voor het beroep van kladschilder lijken de tekenen der tijd beter begrepen te hebben dan veel van hun getalenteerdere collega-kunstschilders die vasthielden aan hun oorspronkelijke beroep en daardoor niet zelden tot grote armoe vervielen (o.a. Toorenvliet). De ontwikkelingen na 1660 hebben tevens hun weerslag op de machtsverhouding tussen beide beroepen binnen het Leidse Lucasgilde. Werd dit gilde in 1648 opgericht louter ter bescherming van de belangen van de kunstschilders, aan het einde van de zeventiende eeuw waren de rollen geheel omgedraaid en had het Lucasgilde zich ontwikkeld tot een traditioneel ambachtsgilde waarin kladschilders nagenoeg geheel de dienst uitmaakten.

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### **Image Theology and Art Theory in the Low Countries**

Chairs: Koenraad Jonckheere, Ghent University

Maarten Delbeke, Ghent University / Leiden University

Kristen Adams, The Ohio State University

*Crossing the Threshold: Art Theory and Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century Garland Paintings*

An important component of the discussion about the role of images in Antwerp in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century is the way in which images structure meaningful experiences for the viewer. Circumstances demanded that art and artists in the seventeenth century both initiate and respond to new forms of consciousness regarding the role of images and their making. This new type of consciousness in reaction to societal circumstances, combined with seventeenth-century illusionism, is the central concern of this paper. Following the tumultuous decades resulting from the post-Tridentine strictures on religious art (1563) as well as the iconoclast riots that destroyed artworks throughout the Netherlands (beginning in 1566), both of which provided significant challenges for contemporary artists, a particular kind of image was developed in the first decade of the seventeenth century that responded to those challenges in compelling ways –the garland painting. A particularly interesting garland



painting that engages the art theoretical discourse of the time is the *Virgin and Child in a Garland of Flowers* produced around 1618 by Jacob Jordaens and Andries Daniels.

This collaboration presents a compelling example of an image that highlights painting's illusionistic qualities, and simultaneously provides the viewer with Counter-Reformation propaganda serving to justify the use of images by means of making visible the Church's most fundamental doctrine and mystery, the Incarnation of Christ and the representation of his sacrifice in the Eucharist. The collaboration combines two modes of representation: one that valorizes mimetic skill (the garland), and the other that celebrates the invention of the artist (the devotional image). This juxtaposition is the most basic of many binary relationships operating in the composition that all serve to highlight a new consciousness in image making. All of the binaries considered together make an argument for Catholic Reformation image theory, and thereby counter the iconoclastic sentiment and attacks against images promulgated in word and deed by the Protestants. As the New Testament makes clear, Christ is the image of the invisible God. The garland painting's construction underscores the role of the Incarnation and the Sacrament of the Eucharist in making Christ present before the viewer. More than other types of devotional images or religious narratives, the garland paintings operate in unique ways to engage the viewer in ways that move one to greater piety and devotion. This paper will show how Jordaens and Daniels created a complex and compelling visual argument supporting the fundamental foundations of the Catholic faith and in so doing – alongside literary texts and treatises - responded to the developing art theories and image theologies that permeated artistic discourse in Antwerp.

Sarah Joan Moran, Antwerp University

Naer het (Geestelijke) Leven: *Living Sculptures and Pagan Idols in the Art of the Seventeenth-Century Southern Low Countries*

Investigations into seventeenth-century Flemish art theory have long followed two largely distinct trajectories: those that concern themselves with the 'secular' tradition of art historical writing, with Van Mander standing as the most important and influential figure, and those looking at images in a religious context. Within the latter body of scholarship the focus has been on the Counter-Reformation reform of art and architecture, and its analyses have been based overwhelmingly on a few texts produced by the church authorities explicitly to effect and regulate change, such as the Council of Trent's 1565 decrees on imagery and Federico Borromeo's 1577 *Instructiones fabricae et*

*supellectilis ecclesiasticae*. These are indeed fundamental sources, but perhaps more historically relevant to seventeenth-century experiences of art are the discussions of artworks found in local and more current religious literature – discussions that have thus far been largely ignored by scholars. The present paper seeks to redress this lacuna by investigating this local ‘image theology’ as it pertains to miracle-working images, a particularly contentious subject in the face of Protestant attacks on Catholic ‘idolatry,’ and one in which Flemish religious writers often blurred the boundaries laid out by their Italian Tridentine forerunners.

As a lens through which to focus my arguments I take a little-known painting in the collection of the Royal Museum of Fine Art in Antwerp. Attributed to Theodoor van Loon, this work has been erroneously titled *Daniel Unmasking the Ba'al Priests*; in fact, it depicts Daniel revealing a deceit perpetuated of the *Bel* priests. Chapter 14 of the extended Book of Daniel (now considered apocryphal by Protestants) tells the story of how Daniel, resident at the court of King Cyrus, refused to participate in the local cult of *Bel*. This god took the form of a statue, before which priests nightly laid out food and drink that always disappeared by morning. Denying the king’s claim that the statue was a “living God” who “eats and drinks each day,” Daniel waited until the feast was set and spread ashes across the floor; the footprints left by the priests as they removed the victuals themselves proved to Cyrus that *Bel* was a false idol.

Very few depictions of this story exist, and both the version by Van Loon (which may actually be a copy by a close follower) and the better-known piece by Rembrandt of 1633 are loosely based on a print by Theodor Galle after Marten Heemskerck. The Van Loon composition is unique in depicting the moment at which Daniel begins to sprinkle the ashes, which thus emphasizes the means by which the ‘living’ nature of a statue might be tested. I interpret this work, whose large size suggests a public and ecclesiastical setting, as embedded within the efforts of local leaders to promote the cults of miracle-working images, which included the dissemination of miracle narratives to prove the blessed status of these objects. Whereas earlier Tridentine texts had defended miraculous images by insisting that they were in themselves inanimate objects, but conduits through which a saint or the Virgin might work, early seventeenth-century clerical writings often took things a step further by allowing the images to come to life. In his book on the Scherpenheuvel Virgin for example, Justus Lipsius described the statue’s lips bleeding, and a 1616 collection of sermons by Franciscus Costerus told of an image of the Virgin who reached out with her arms to save a painter from falling off a scaffold. If *Daniel and King Cyrus* is indeed by Van Loon, its relevance to such image cults is

underscored by the artist's execution of the seven altarpieces of the newly-built Scherpenheuvel basilica in the 1620s and 1630s. In addition to exploring these issues, I use the Antwerp painting as a springboard for discussing how religious accounts of 'living' images might have intersected with traditional 'secular' art theory, specifically in its ideas about nature and liveliness, to shape the form and content of Flemish religious painting.

Sara Bordeaux, University of Delaware

*Word Made Image in Emanuel de Witte's Sermon Paintings*

The sermon paintings of Emanuel de Witte (1617-1692), which depict the Calvinist faith community experiencing the sights and sounds of the service, are images of worship in a culture that banned images for worship. Because church interior paintings by De Witte and his contemporaries represent structures stripped of most Catholic accoutrements, most art historians have either treated them as secular or as spare spaces fit for a Word-based faith. However, just as De Witte's paintings of Reformed churches emphasize Catholic absence, they assert Calvinist presence by showing congregants at worship in these coopted interiors. His images introduce a new visual and aural vocabulary to represent an aniconic faith, and shed light on the ways in which religious images were becoming reconcilable with the *sola scriptura* Calvinist confession.

This paper examines De Witte's paintings as participants in an evolving Calvinist image theology that reflects the fluidity of Reformed faith in the Dutch Republic. Though the northern Netherlands was a bastion of Calvinism, the founding tenets of the Reformed Church took on a new guise in accord with local traditions and culture. For example, the ecclesiastical organ, a "papist" instrument disdained by Calvin, was gradually integrated into the Dutch service during the seventeenth-century as a result of a heated campaign waged by music lovers convinced of the organ's capacity to elevate the soul. Similarly, the production of religious art, including church interior paintings and Biblical subjects, speaks to the sustained power of images among the populace. Although largely absent from public churches, religious subjects were displayed in homes, conceived as *kleyne kercken* (little churches), where the family gathered to augment the sermon through Bible readings, prayer, and psalm singing. That De Witte's church interiors adorned the walls of domestic spaces suggests these sermon paintings played a role in articulating the home-as-*kleyne kerck*. Continued attachment to religious images precipitated a new kind of religious art in the Dutch Republic: De Witte's sermon paintings depict the

sacred spaces from which devotional images were prohibited, and feature the imageless act of Reformed worship through the vehicle of the image.

The immersive, experiential quality of De Witte's works may be glimpsed in his *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam* (c. 1660, London, National Gallery), which draws attention to the communication and reception of the Word through aural and visual means. De Witte juxtaposes the preacher with the organ, both instruments of God, which emphasizes the aurality of Reformed worship. By evoking the sight of sound, he asserts the usefulness of images in communicating that which is "heard"—a fundamental aspect of the Calvinist service. The spiritual activity of the space is figuratively and literally illuminated by transitory light, its dynamic nature conveyed through De Witte's characteristic loose brushwork, as it highlights the foreground figures, sweeps along the floor of the aisle, and casts a vertical ribbon on the pier at right. By asserting in his *Institutes* (1536), "At the very moment when God said, 'Let there be Light,' the energy of the Word was immediately exerted," Calvin demonstrates the galvanizing force of light, which translates God's Word (and His Being) from the celestial to the earthly realm. Calvin's conception of light as the Word finds visual expression in De Witte's painting.

De Witte's paintings indicate the popularity of a new aesthetic palatable for a Reformed audience. As images that depict Calvinist practice in sacred spaces, they contribute to the discourse on the acceptability of religious art. Their suggestive spirituality signifies the expansiveness and incorporeality of a God who may be perceived and experienced through faith but not described or delimited through form. Considering the Calvinist Church's mutability during the seventeenth century, it is possible that De Witte's church interior paintings, as part of a broader adaptation of images to Calvinist concerns, legitimize artistic expression of Calvinist belief. His painted "sermons" represent the Word made image.

Ivana Rosenblatt, The Ohio State University

*Glimpsing the Spiritual Beyond: Visionary Moments in Maarten de Vos's Program for the Celle Schlosskapelle*

My talk will consider Maarten de Vos's program for the Celle Schlosskapelle, which, designed between 1565-1576, is the only surviving Protestant chapel from the sixteenth century whose complete pictorial and decorative program has survived almost entirely intact. This chapel is the subject of a recent 2012 book that considers the program as a whole in light of Duke Wilhelm the Younger's patronage, and argues that the chapel operates as a visual

representation of the Duke's belief, supporting the Augsburg confessional and the spread of Protestantism in Germany. However, the 2012 book fails to fully consider the difficulties facing de Vos in developing a new pictorial language for the Duke, overlooking details in the program that clearly attest to the artist's struggle to develop new visual strategies designed to engage in thinking about the nature of religious imagery and its connection to the divine. Connecting this work to recent scholarship that has begun to push back against the negative assessment of the archaism and Italianism of mid- and late-sixteenth-century Antwerp art by showing that works of this period includes subtle but important changes in the iconography that radically altered the meaning of traditional subjects and created new and innovative works that spoke directly to the contemporaneous debates regarding the use of religious images, I will show that the Celle program participates in a similar sort of painted theorization of the image.

In this vein, my talk will focus on two works in the Celle program whose unique representations of orbs have been ignored. These include a *Salvator Mundi* with an illusionistic glass orb filled with a watery landscape and a painting of *God the Father Creating the Animals*, which shows God the Father floating in a cloud realm with image of the creation of the animals held between his outstretched hands. Considering these orbs in light of recent scholarship on the *Weltlandschaft*, and in relation to landscape-filled orbs in other works, from the orb on the exterior of Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* to Fra Bartolommeo's *Resurrected Christ*, I will argue that these globes reveal a complex investigation of the status and function of images. Of particular importance to this argument is how both of these works, which draw on previous compositions, alter the iconography and style of the rendering of their globes. For instance, the *Creation of the Animals* clearly draws on print images of the *Creation of the World* from Luther's Bible, but rather than showing the world as a *mapa mundi* at the center of the cosmos, de Vos's globe reads as a telescopic peephole on to the world, emphasizing its status as an image. This emphasis on the representational status of the image is also cultivated through the duplicate image of God the father, who is shown at the center of the image, and thus placed both "inside" and "outside" the image. These effects and others like them are, I argue, designed to encourage the viewer to read the Celle globes as pictorial lenses, encouraging a critical and self-aware viewing process that acknowledged the tension inherent in contemplating representations of an invisible divine. Finally, connecting these globes to ones in de Vos's later work, for example the orb in de Vos's 1590 *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* and a globe-like form near St. Luke's face in de Vos's 1602 *St. Luke Painting the*

*Virgin*, I will argue that in the Celle globes we see de Vos developing a structurally disjunctive pictorial strategy that he would use repeatedly throughout his career to call attention to the representational status of his paintings and encourage his viewers to consider the relationship between the worldly and heavenly spheres and the boundaries of physical sight.

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### **Rubens and His Legacy**

Chair: Nico Van Hout, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

Adam Eaker, Columbia University

*The Pretext of the Portrait: Rubens, Van Dyck, and the Gallery of Beauties*

In 1603, the young Rubens declined a commission from his patron, the Duke of Mantua, to travel to Paris in order to paint portraits of beautiful women at the French court. Rubens claimed that he would embrace the “pretext of the portraits...as an introduction to greater things,” but declared that the paintings themselves were “works distasteful to me, and which anyone can do to the Duke’s taste.” Rubens’ letter about the portraits is a famous example of the painter’s commitment to history painting and his assertion of autonomy in the face of a courtly patron’s demands. In this paper, I argue that Rubens’ attitude toward the commission also reflected an epochal shift in the status of portraiture and of female portraits in particular. Images of beautiful women had been at the heart of Renaissance aesthetic debates that elevated the status of painting. However, an examination of Rubens’ relationship to the genre and of the reception of his own female portraits reveals the increasing marginalization of the beautiful woman’s image over the course of the seventeenth century.

The Duke of Mantua wished to add the French portraits to his collection of portraits of the most beautiful women in Europe. From the time of Petrarch and Simone Martini, the likeness of the beautiful woman had been a stand-in for the art of painting itself and its astonishing power to delight and persuade. But by the seventeenth-century, art theorists increasingly associated these portraits with the meretricious charms of *colorito*, as opposed to the greater art of arranging heroic male bodies in history painting. Collectors like the Duke of Mantua continued to seek out female portraits, assembling whole “galleries of beauties,” but their interest in such portraits’ mimetic claims paradoxically undermined these paintings’ prestige as works of art. By declining the duke’s commission, Rubens sought to distinguish himself from courtly rivals like Frans

Pourbus, whose output consisted almost entirely of portraits made at his patrons' behest. Despite this celebrated moment of refusal, Rubens would continue to reformulate his approach to the female portrait throughout his entire career, from his images of Genoese noblewomen to the *Medici Cycle* and his celebrated portraits of his second wife, H el ene Fourment.

This paper restores the female portrait to its centrality within Rubens' oeuvre and explores how Rubens' images of women have affected his reception on the part of both artists and art historians. I argue that Rubens' greatest disciple, Anthony Van Dyck, attempted to emerge from his master's shadow by embracing precisely the type of courtly, commissioned female portrait that Rubens had avoided. Even as the female portrait declined in academic prestige, Van Dyck founded an alternate tradition built on the image of the beautiful, fashionable woman. Critics have responded to portraitists working in this tradition, such as Lely, Gainsborough and Sargent, with many of the same accusations of superficiality and frivolity that were leveled against Van Dyck. By contrast, art historians celebrate Rubens' private portraits as an apotheosis of domestic bliss, playing down the public function of these paintings as advertisements of Rubens' ennoblement. As this paper demonstrates, the highly contrasting receptions of Van Dyck's and Rubens' portraits of beautiful women are emblematic of their divergent critical fates and of the contested status of portraiture in both seventeenth-century art theory and modern scholarship.

Marloes Hemmer, Utrecht University

*Rubens' Legacy in Dutch History Painting (1609-1630)*

Balthasar Gerbier's *Lament of the Death of Hendrick Goltzius* published in The Hague in 1620 contains a glowing literary tribute to Rubens and qualifies him as the foremost and most talented painter north of the Alps. This homage indicates that already during his lifetime Rubens enjoyed great renown in the Northern Netherlands. Although today Rubens' fame in the Dutch Republic is commonly recognized, knowledge about the precise circumstances and artistic consequences of this high reputation is still lacking. Who were Rubens' chief admirers in the Northern Netherlands in the first decade after his return from Rome in 1609? In which circles did they move? How did they become acquainted with Rubens and his work? What kind of knowledge did they have about the artist and how did all this contribute to Rubens' legacy in Dutch history painting? These and other questions will be dealt with in this paper. The aim of the paper is twofold. First, it will shed light on a network, which was concentrated in Leiden and Haarlem and consisted of scholars, artists and

admirers who appear to have been closely connected with each other and with Rubens. Within this network, knowledge about Rubens was shared, and as such facilitated the dissemination of his reputation in the Dutch Republic.

The second part of this paper will focus on how this transmission of knowledge contributed to the various ways in which history painters from within this network in Haarlem and Leiden responded to particular aspects of Rubens' reputation and art. By analyzing works of art by Hendrick Goltzius, Frans Pietersz de Grebber, Pieter Fransz de Grebber, Pieter Soutman, the young Rembrandt and Jan Lievens from approximately 1609 until 1630, this paper will assess what kind of knowledge about Rubens was picked up and how it was assimilated.

It has been widely accepted that Rubens' legacy in the Northern Netherlands was considerable, but we still know very little of how this took shape. This paper intends to change this.

Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, Williams College

*Mexican and Peruvian Artists' Diverse Responses to Prints after Rubens.*

Oil paint and canvas became the preferred materials as the influence of European art during the colonial period largely eclipsed the ancient mural traditions of Mexico and Peru. Patrons often furnished artists with European models in the form of specific prints, with Flemish examples being the most common: engravings by the Wierixes and reproductive engravings after Maerten de Vos and especially Rubens. The Plantin-Moretus press in Antwerp proved a reliable exporter. In addition to the attraction of Rubens's dynamic compositions, his images conveyed a religious message with clarity, insuring iconographic correctness.

Copying carried no stigma but was openly accepted. The new works that resulted from such cultural encounters vary greatly in style, size, and degree of closeness to the original print. Mexican as well as Peruvian artists and patrons favored certain subjects by Rubens, among them his Assumptions, *Deposition* (engraved by Vorsterman), and the *Holy Family* (Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert). In style their works range from naturalistically modelled examples to decoratively flattened, patterned ones, and in size from huge to intimate. *The Woman of the Apocalypse* painted for Freising Cathedral likewise became a favored source, its complex composition simplified or changed, all except for the gracefully twisting figure of Mary with Christ (e.g., Andres Lopez's life-sized version in the apse of Iglesia de la Enseñanza, Mexico City, D.F.)



As is well known, Rubens preferred “to execute very large works than small curiosities,” and although the print medium shrunk his compositions, they remained open to monumental re-enlargement because of their carrying power in public spaces. Different types of originality could emerge in new architectural contexts. One of the first Latin-American artists to expand a borrowing to monumental scale was Baltasar de Echave Rioja. For the large sacristy of the Cathedral of Puebla in 1675 he closely copied three of Schelte A. Bolswert’s engravings of the *Triumph of the Eucharist* series for three large walls. In each work, however, he made compositional adjustments that let the central painting dominate and the ensemble look designed for its location in the expansive sacristy.

Probably a pupil of Echave, Cristobal Villapando took different liberties with his borrowings from Rubens. In his *Triumph of St. Peter* from 1686 for the sacristy of Mexico City’s cathedral he united his own inventions with motifs taken from two of Rubens’s *Triumph of the Eucharist* series as well as a design by Maerten de Vos. In a more robustly Rubensian painting for the sacristy of Santa Prisca Church in Taxco de Alarcón, Guerrero, Villapando based his *Assumption* on Paulus Pontius’s engraving but accommodated a window by giving his version an inverted U shaped format. Well above eye level, his strongly foreshortened life-sized figures in the foreground catch viewers’ attention. Rubens’s prominent standing man, reversed, dominates the group on the left of the window whereas a kneeling man borrowed from a print by Schelte A. Bolswert after a different *Assumption* by Rubens stands out on the right. Above this dramatic split the scene reunites as angels lift Mary heavenward. Villapando glued his canvases directly to the wall, a form of compromise between oil painting on canvas and traditional murals. A unique borrowing exists in Peru at the *Convento de la Merced, Cuzco*, where *Fray Francisco de Salamanca* translated Pontius’s engraving of the Presentation into a technically naive but ingeniously sited fresco. It occupies both walls of a corner and works with the actual architecture in ways that complement the narrative. His choice of subject -- the aged Simeon holding the infant Christ -- is telling, since from the age of fifty until his own death twenty-seven years later he lived alone within this subterranean hermitage. Painted for an audience of one, *Fray Salamanca*’s borrowing unites a traditional mural technique with a composition by Rubens.

Joao R. Figueiredo, Lisbon University

*Courbet's Borrowings from Rubens: The Deep Meaning of Quotation*

Rubens's overwhelming influence on French painting can easily be accounted for by the presence of the cycle of twenty-four canvases with episodes from the life of Marie de Médicis in Paris, from the 1620s. A hotbed for artistic geniuses throughout the 18th century whilst *in situ* at the Palais du Luxembourg and brought to the Louvre after the Revolution, the series remained an artistic feat to be reckoned with and a powerful resource for technical apprenticeship, repeatedly copied by art students, in spite of the whims of changing tastes. The centrality of Rubens in academic debates over colour and drawing and his importance for the work of artists such as Watteau, Boucher, Fragonard and Delacroix has been widely acknowledged and analysed. A case for the relationship between Rubens and France's foremost 19th-century realist painter, Gustave Courbet, is still to be made – and can be made.

To do so goes beyond the cataloguing of stylistic similarities, e.g., between Courbet's female nudes and Rubens's plump, fleshy women. The link lies deeper and could be described as structural. Michael Fried, for instance, has argued for a strong connection between Caravaggio's and Courbet's realist aesthetics. I claim, however, that it is Rubens who offers Courbet the means to go realist in a Caravaggian (as distinct from Caravaggesque) sense. The art historical case to be made requires close study of the various quotations from Rubens's *oeuvre* (namely the Médicis cycle) in some of Courbet's more ambitious paintings (I am thinking of *The Burial at Ornans* as the most complex example). The way Courbet borrows from Rubens shows that, in spite of the baroque theatricality associated with the latter, it was the assiduous study (and emulation) of the Flemish master that enabled Courbet to accomplish his realist enterprise. Such a treasure-trove of quotations helps us to establish new, wider, limits for Rubens's legacy in French painting, a territory hitherto unexplored and bound to offer plenty of fresh insight into yet another major offspring of the Médicis gallery. By assimilating some of Rubens's rhetorical and compositional modes, Courbet becomes part of a Northern tradition, which is not overshadowed by his indebtedness to less epic, more straightforward spokesmen of everyday life. This is somehow synonymous with saying that Courbet, the Communard, in his Realism, is indebted to the counter-reformist, baroque Rubens, who resorts to classical mythology and to fantastic beasts to convey the uneventful sequence of Marie de Médicis' joys and misfortunes, in a way art historians have not yet taken notice of.

Merging and tweaking Rubens's models, Courbet ended up by paying

tribute to Roger de Piles's advice (the best he could give, so he said) to painters: "visit the Luxembourg Gallery once every week for the period of a year, do it at all costs: surely that will be the best spent day of the week." (*Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture*)

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### **Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish and German Art Open Session**

Chair: Jeffrey Chipps Smith, University of Texas at Austin

Dagmar Eichberger, University of Trier

*Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish and German Prints for the Cult of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin*

Recent research into the newly promoted cult of the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* has shown that artifacts played a significant role in popularizing this Marian cult and in visualization the key issues. This applies in particular to the numerous brotherhoods that formed in Abbenbroeck, Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, Delft, Haarlem, Mechelen and Reimerswael at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This religious movement was started on behest of Emperor Maximilian I and his son Philip the Handsome with the support of two clergymen, Jan van Coudenberghe and Michel François. In many respects the movement parallels the creation of the Rosary devotion that was fostered a few years earlier by the two Dominicans Jakob Sprenger and Michel François but developed a different iconography. The cult lost its significance during the reformation period; new life was put into the devotion during the reign of Albrecht and Isabella.

The phenomenon of communal devotion in public spaces is quite different to the better documented individual acts of patronage by rich citizens or high-ranking nobility. Several sculptures of the Virgin and son were made for the chapels of these confraternities, paintings were commissioned to decorate their altars; illustrated pamphlets were designed to distribute the basic information among the adherents to the new cult. A significant role was played by the ornate theatre stages that were erected in the annual processions and in mystery plays. In my paper, I will concentrate in particular on the engravings and woodcuts that were designed in great numbers in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, both in the Netherlands and in Germany. Time permitting, I will also look at the transformation of two popular icons of St. Luke (Santa Maria del Popolo/ Santa Maria in Aracoeli) by the workshop of Quentin Massys that were favored by the two theologians responsible for the cult in the Burgundian-

Habsburg Netherlands. This analysis will show how unrestrained the use of older models was and how new iconographic conventions were formed with the growing popularity of this cult.

Jeroen Stumpel, Utrecht University  
*Dürer and the Lure of German Drapery*

Clearly there is something distinguishing in the way drapery was rendered in German art of the 15th en 16th centuries. An amazing intricateness of the patterns was sometimes achieved by painters en sculptors from the German lands, differing both from the manners of the Netherlandish masters and those of the Italians.

Oddly, German drapery forms did not receive too much scholarly attention. (For a very recent contribution, see: 'Dürer's Folds', by Christopher P. Heuer.) The patterns have been described and determined mostly as means for authorship recognition, but much less as deliberate trademarks of artists or signs of virtuosity, or even as hallmarks of typically German craftsmanship.

In Dürer's oeuvre a definite struggle with pattern of drapery is discernible, and this is reflected in the striking development of Dürer's rendering of textile folds. It is also a topic he referred to in some of his art theoretical writings.

Famously, Vasari admired the drapery of Veit Stoss in the Ssa Annunziata, but he did not hesitate to call the style of drapery *bizarra*. Such judgments will have been determined by a general inclination towards antique models. Drapery is one the features of sculpture that must invite comparison with antique examples to a high degree, as it is a motif definitely shared by such different traditions of art. It is very similar in its subject in both periods, but very different in its treatment.

In this paper I will demonstrate how Dürer's approach towards the rendering of drapery changed, and how such changes were related to his ideas of what *antikisch sei*.

I will argue that his famous words to Melanchthon about nature, simplicity and the training of German artists, may be related in particular to drapery, an interpretation that might perhaps have the virtue of delivering us from more contrived readings of this enigmatic and yet important statement by the older artist. The importance of simplicity (instead of complexity) of folding had become part of Dürer's artistic creed - as can be seen in the Heller altarpiece for instance, or in his pictorial testament, the so-called *Apostles* now in Munich.

I will also address the main developments of the historiography of drapery in Dürer, from Wölfflin to Baxandall, as compared to the drapery of both Italian and Netherlandish masters.

Dan Ewing, Barry University

*Jan de Beer's Lifetime Reputation: Lievin van Male, Lambert Lombard and Other Evidence from Archival and Sixteenth-Century Sources*

When Max Friedländer in 1915 and 1933 undertook the difficult task of reconstructing the oeuvre of the Antwerp painter Jan de Beer (c.1475-1527/28), the artist's reputation rested principally upon the testimony of Guicciardini's *Descrittione*. In 1567 Guicciardini had included *Giovanni di Ber* in the list of famous Netherlandish artists he had assembled over the years, the first published canon of Dutch and Flemish artists.

This paper will consider the evidence for the artist's earlier reputation, during a career that ran from 1504-1528. The indicators include, firstly, his youthful election to the important guild office of elder (*ouder* or *ouderman*), a short five years after joining the guild as a master. This distinguishes De Beer from his fellow elders and officers that year, who on average had been guild members for 24 years. The guild also requested of De Beer three extant designs: for a painted canvas of St. Luke at work and for two glass roundels of scenes from Luke's life. The only Antwerp contemporary who enjoyed a comparable record of repeated guild commissions was the glass designer Dirk Vellert. Vellert, like De Beer, was additionally given the prestigious commission for a window in Antwerp Cathedral, the largest Gothic church in the Netherlands. Vellert's window does not survive but the central portion of De Beer's window does, as the oldest extant window in the 1521 church.

By far the two most important signs of De Beer's lifetime reputation concern his reputation outside Antwerp. A key document, newly discovered and (essentially) unpublished, is a contract ratified by the aldermen of Ghent in 1516. The contract was entered into by Lievin van Male, a guild-registered painter in Ghent, with Jan de Beer in Antwerp, for two years of instruction in the art of painting. Not only the fact that this concerned advanced training after Lievin's guild mastery, but that it is the only known document to specify both the fee for training and the penalty for breaking the contract, make this a unique document of artistic practice during the period. Relative to a partially comparable document, De Beer was paid at a rate six times what the miniaturist Gerard Horenbout was paid for initial apprenticeship training at this period. This is analogous to the elevated fees paid by Rembrandt's pupils in the seventeenth

century. Moreover, the contract required the collateral of Lievin's mother's house and rear-house, plus the financial guarantee of two Ghent merchants. The reasons why Lievin likely undertook such an expensive arrangement, plus other details of his career, will be analyzed.

A future artist, the young Lambert Lombard from distant Liège, also learned of De Beer's reputation and traveled to Antwerp for training in the art of drawing. Previously it was thought that Jan's son, Aert de Beer, had trained Lombard, but Godelieve Denhaene has demonstrated that this could not have been the case. An examination of the 1565 edition of Lampsonius's biography of Lombard solves the mystery of where this mistaken notion arose.

The Van Male case demonstrates that De Beer had a significant reputation as a painter outside Antwerp, while the Lombard example testifies to his extended reputation as a draftsman. Collectively, these multiple indicators establish the artist's important lifetime reputation. Together with the aesthetic quality and the inventions of his art, they shed light on Guicciardini's inclusion of De Beer in his canon – in the select company, it should be stressed, of his better-known Antwerp peers: Quentin Metsys, Joos van Cleve, and Joachim Patinir.

Anna R. Hetherington, Columbia University  
*Bruegel's Melancholics*

The violence is striking. In a vast, desolate landscape, armies of skeletons brutally annihilate the living. A skeletal executioner raises his axe, a figure of death on a gaunt stallion scythes the living, and dead soldiers unwaveringly advance from land and sea to claim all of the living into their ranks. No one is spared. Among many episodes, one scene stands out as the composition's most poignant: a newly-dead mother cradles her still-living babe, while a skeletal dog licks its face. The detailed representations of horror are innumerable, stretching into the very far background of the painting, where men are decapitated, shot with arrows, stretched on wheels and hung from gallows by the relentless dead. A group of skeletons dressed in white togas stands on an Italianate loggia overlooking and possibly directing the slaughter. The last skeleton on their platform sits, naked, on the far left with his head on his hand and his back to the massacre. His legs are bent in immobility and his eyeless gaze is directed towards a dead bird. We recognize the distinctive pose of melancholy. This detail of the introspective skeleton is striking in its incongruity; a mark of the melancholic is his inwardness, the ability to perceive what others do not, and to seek answers within himself. However, there is nothing to be found inside this

mass of bones: we see straight through the skeleton's ribs. To what end, then, is the skeleton melancholy?

High above the main center of the frenetic action that defines Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* sits a man with a vantage point from which to see all the proverbial goings-on. His eyebrows are raised in distress, his brow is furrowed, and he gazes out into nowhere, despite ostensibly watching a cluster of birds. He, too, is in a pose of melancholy. Among the hundreds of characters that inhabit Pieter Bruegel's paintings, melancholic figures appear only twice – once in the *Netherlandish Proverbs* and again in the *Triumph of Death*. In both instances, the melancholic character is observing a bird. The inaction of the body coupled with the support of and therefore focus on the head creates the affective structure that defines melancholy, a temperament that also carries much historical weight. The pose has been employed to signify ancient seers, captured cities, mourning figures, the pensive Virgin Mary, sleeping Saint Joseph, and even Christ. Each of these characters — when in the pose that in the Renaissance was immediately associated with melancholy — is taken out of their narrative moment; they become simultaneously insiders and outsiders, thereby relating to the viewer in a unique yet constant manner. While there are many different possibilities for the use of the pose, its expressive meaning and affective implications are consistent.

This paper will investigate relationships between previously unassociated images. I will explore the connection between Bruegel's two melancholy figures as well as the thematic affinity between figures of melancholy and folly in the way they are used by the artist. I will offer a new reading for the *Triumph of Death*, suggesting that mankind continues its life pursuits even in death, that these pursuits tend toward the destructive and foolish, and that all are ultimately as futile as the actions of people in the *Proverbs*. Is it, then, truly the triumph of death? Or is it about the futility of even death to alter the fundamental nature of foolish people? What is the purpose of the skeletons re-enacting their life roles? In "Bruegel's Melancholics" I will argue that the *Triumph of Death* functions as an allegory of self-destruction through human folly, and is thus directly related to the *Netherlandish Proverbs* both in theme and in Bruegel's specific inclusion of a melancholic figure at a time when artists personally identified with the temperament.

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**(AANS) The Dutch in the Americas**

Chair: Annemarie Toebosch, University of Michigan

Nicholas J. Cunigan, University of Kansas

*Dutch Environmental Aesthetics in the New World, 1609-1674*

The common perception of early European colonization in the Americas portrays Europeans in a rapacious struggle for control over and commodification of the New World's natural resources. How did Dutch colonists, however, during the height of the Dutch Golden Age perceive the environment and landscape of the Americas? This paper uses Dutch West India Company records, personal manuscripts, colonial descriptions, travel narratives, and artistic drawings and renderings of New Netherland and Dutch Brazil to reveal the diverse array of environmental sensibilities held by individuals associated with the mercantilist-oriented Dutch West India Company. While colonial directors and private merchants projected dreams of wealth and riches in New World's rivers, bays, forests, and fields, colonial boosters, settlers, and artists envisioned and depicted beauty and security in modest, agrarian lives. This paper argues denizens of the Dutch colonial project in the Americas did not perceive natural resources simply as commodities that could be driven to the marketplace, but instead formed a unique Dutch environmental aesthetic that blending the beauty of the natural world with its ability to aid them in establishing new lives in foreign lands.

Paul R. Sellin, UCLA

*Giving Dutch Its Due I: Some Observations Regarding the Value of the Dutch Translation of Sir Walter Raleigh's The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana, 1596-1625*

As might be expected, Anglo-American scholarship on Raleigh pays no attention to the Dutch translation of 1598, in large part because of ignorance of the language. Worse still, it does not seem at all to realize that the *Nederduytsche* is not only the earliest translation of all those to follow but that the famous Latin version published by Theodoor de Bry at Frankfurt am Main in 1599 did NOT translate from Raleigh's English text of 1596 but from Cornelis Claesz.'s *Waerachtighe ende grondighe beschryvinge* of 1598 at Amsterdam. One essential difference between the English text and the Claesz. translation are that the Dutch volume translates TWO complementary books together: Namely, Raleigh's *Discoverie* AND Lawrence Keymis' *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (also published in 1596). As the title page shows, Keymis is presented not merely as Raleigh's subordinate but as "den vermaerden Zee vaerder



Capiteyn Laurens Keymis" in his own right. Even a shallow examination of the Dutch text against the English indicates how indispensable it is in understanding Raleigh's *Discoverie*. Raleigh's English is unclear about the exact values of the ores assayed, whereas the Dutch text cuts the knot simply by adding the word "sterlinx" to the weights specified. Raleigh's text hides the precise date on which Raleigh entered the Orinoco delta, without which it is impossible to trace his route upriver, whereas the Dutch text specifies he entered it on a Sunday—and that in the morning! One can now count back and determine that he entered the delta about Thursday, April 17/26, 1595 -- Maundy Thursday by the Julian calendar he was using, about which holiday and Easter Raleigh's text keeps wholly mum. It has also long been a mystery as to what kind of a sea-going vessel he used to carry men and supplies upstream, but the Dutch text specifies that it was a galleass, a really sensible choice. Even though Amsterdam was on the Gregorian calendar, the Claesz. text faithfully retained Raleigh's Julian dates, even though Raleigh's text suggests he was using Gregorian even though he wasn't. Brief speculation of textual implications with respect to printed or manuscript sources follows this material, and the presentation closes with questions about who translated what? Arthus Dantiscus for De Bry, to be sure. But Emmanuel van Meteren for Claesz.?

Christine P. Sellin, California Lutheran University

*Giving Dutch Its Due II: Illustrating Sir Walter Raleigh's The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana, 1596-1625*

This paper will take an inventory of the engraved images that have come to be closely associated with Raleigh's 1595 expedition along the Orinoco River and his 1596 publication *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. Raleigh's text appeared the same year as *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana*, authored by Laurens Keymis, Raleigh's trusted captain – both English-language publications were text only, that is, issued without illustrations. Two years later, Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Claesz bundled the Raleigh and Keymis texts into one volume; only a single illustration enhances the title page of each author. Soon after, the Claesz Dutch translation was used by the Nuremburg publisher Levinus Hulsius to produce a German language "edition" in 1598, enhanced by additional illustrations. A year later, in 1599, Frankfurt publisher Theodor de Bry produced the internationally famous illustrations of Raleigh's expedition in his Latin translation based on the Dutch text (not on Raleigh's English), adding a final image in the 1625 edition. It is the De Bry engravings that current Anglo-American literary scholarship use to illustrate

Raleigh's expedition, but, in the context of *The Discoverie*, are not these images actually anachronistic? Are they exact? This paper considers this puzzle of engravings, by undertaking a pictorial expedition, as it were, to untangle the various strands of influences, borrowings and inventions in context. And, how does cartographer Jodocus Hondius fit into this puzzle?

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*Ray Nies' Character Sketches of Dutch Americans*

Ray Nies (1877-1950), was the son of immigrants from the Netherlands, but was born and raised on a farm outside Saugatuck, Michigan. Because he grew among American playmates and was educated by English-speaking schoolteachers, Nies spoke little Dutch when as an adolescent he moved with his family a few miles north to Holland. But Nies' ability to understand and portray Dutch American was unparalleled.

In the late 1930s, after the death of his beloved wife, Nies set to paper many of the stories of his life in Holland, Michigan. In a 300-page unpublished manuscript held in the Holland, Michigan Museum Archives, Nies tells stories of his father's involvement in the Civil War, his childhood games along Lake Michigan, and above all, his involvement with uncanny local Dutch immigrants.

Nies' writing is peculiar because he chooses not to describe politicians or other well-known men. His subject persons range from customers at his hardware store, to acquaintances at the barbershop. He writes about such characters as Piet Ver Liere, the habitual drunkard veterinarian, and Mr. Baily, the "World Famous Swimming Teacher," who himself could not swim a stroke. Nies's ability to introspect and sympathize with his subjects strengthens his writings, and in the end allows him to respect others.

This Ray Nies Manuscript is imported as a source of folk culture history among the Dutch Americans. In my paper presentation, I will relate the life story of Nies, provide examples of his writing, and argue for the future publication of his work. The works of Ray Nies should be included with those of Peter DeVries, Arnold Mulder, and Frederick Manfred, as best examples of Dutch American writing, and the best literary reflection of Dutch American culture.

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