THE EXOTIC GIFT AND THE ART OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH REPUBLIC

By

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the intersection between art and the gifting of exotic objects in the seventeenth-century United Provinces, directing attention to a special class of imagery visualizing the remarkable extent to which Europe's first consumer culture became intertwined with foreign goods and influences. Its four chapters present representative case studies encompassing a range of media, including prints and paintings, and artistic genres, such as still life, portraiture, landscape, and allegory, from the mid- through the late- seventeenth century. These episodes of exotic gift exchange and their manifestation in art belonged to public and private spheres, the gifting of men and women, and multiple classes of society. In analyzing these images, my methodology draws on close readings; socioeconomic, historical, pictorial, and cultural contexts; gender; and issues in gift theory, including reciprocity, identity, personalization, and commodity/gift status, to explore the pictures' meanings or functions for their audiences.

Chapter one posits that Rembrandt van Rijn's 1650 print of a Filipino shell was designed by the artist to function as a gift necessitating reciprocation, and/or as a work of art for sale, in an effort to ameliorate his tenuous financial situation. Chapter two provides a cultural biography of two c. 1665 paintings depicting Brazil by Frans Post (São Paulo, Ema Gordon Klabin Cultural Foundation; Rio de Janeiro, Private Collection), which Johan Maurits van Nassau gave to (French king) Louis XIV in 1678, and considers the pictures' significance for their original Dutch audience, the giver, and the French court. Chapter three focuses on Nicolaes Berchem's c. 1665 *Harbor Scene* (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum) and proposes that the exotic gift exchange portrayed in the allegorical picture conflates trade and gift in the context of the burgeoning commercial city of Amsterdam. Chapter four highlights Gerard Hoet's c. 1678 *Portrait of Anna*

Elisabeth van Reede (Oud Zuilen, Slot Zuylen) that appears to make a statement about the noblewoman's role in her family and society by virtue of her wearing a garment evocative of Japanese robes gifted to the Dutch, which became a convention of male portraiture. This representative selection of pictures reveals the incorporation of the exotic gift into the fabric of Dutch art and culture, indicating the significant role the exotic played in the formation of Dutch identity.

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Introduction—
Gifts as Glue: Exotic Gifts and the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

This dissertation explores manifestations of the "exotic gift" in the visual culture of the seventeenth-century United Provinces, examining the role the exotic and its artistic conceptualization played in the Dutch gift economy. The four case studies presented exemplify the phenomenon of exotic gifting, in their focus on objects that possess in some way non-Dutch origins, including images with exotic subject matter that were given as gifts, others that portray actual exotic gifts, and a painting that depicts a moment of exotic gift exchange. Epitomizing the exotic thematically, this representative sample of pictures encompasses a range of media and artistic genres from the mid- through the late- seventeenth century, originating from a variety of localities. As such, this dissertation demonstrates the exceptional nature of the entrance of the "exotic" into the gift-giving practices of the Dutch Republic and its artistic visualization, indicating the significance of examining the category of the "exotic gift" and its relevance to the intersection of art and the gift economy of the United Provinces. Due to the prevalence of the exotic in Dutch culture of the Golden Age and its resulting entrance into the gift economy, the study of exotic gifts informs the creation of Dutch national identity. This introduction will establish the foundation for an analysis of exotic gifts and art in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic by discussing the significance of gifting and its usefulness for scholars, examining the history of research in gifting and gift theory, contextualizing the Dutch gift economy, exploring the exotic's place in Dutch culture and identity, and presenting the study's methodological framework.

Gift Exchange and Scholarship

Scholars in the social sciences have long been interested in the significance of gifting in the world's cultures. A sizeable body of literature dealing with the gift practices of many different peoples directs concentrated attention to gift economies and issues surrounding the exchange of objects. The sustained academic interest elicited by gifts likely derives from the ubiquitous nature of gift exchange and the voluminous information gifting can provide researchers about the cultures they study. Review of the pertinent literature delineates some of the key issues inherent in gift studies, describes the trajectory of gift theory, and identifies some European gift economies that have yet to receive scholarly consideration, including those of the lower and middle classes, women, and nations without strong monarchs, like the United Provinces. Further, art historians' infrequent attention to gifted objects receives some explanation.

As gift exchange is a universal practice, irrespective of time or geography, it forms a key element of the human experience and can provide scholars with great knowledge of the peoples they study.[1] In each culture, gifts act as social glue or cement, even being called a cornerstone of societies worldwide as they help people to form and maintain bonds with each other.[2] Through studying gifts and gift economies, scholars gain entrée to each culture's social structure, and better understand relationships amongst individuals and groups. As such, gifts act as physical

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[1] Almost every study of gifting begins with a comparable statement about the universality of the gifting impulse. Thoen similarly comments about the universal presence of gift exchange in the world's societies in her study of Dutch gift exchange. Irma Thoen, *Strategic Affection? Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 19. See also Mark Osteen's remarks about the worthiness of gift studies as informing scholars' understanding of the worlds' cultures, in "Introduction: Questions of the Gift," in *The Question of the Gift: Essays Across Disciplines,* Routledge Studies in Anthropology, vol. 2 (Routledge: London, 2002), 1-42.

[2] The discussion of gifts as social glue pervades literature about gift exchange. Karen Sykes, building on the contributions of earlier scholars, states, "the gift can seem a small thing, but the habit of giving and receiving gifts resonates through human lives because the gift is more than the material object. It establishes or confirms a relationship between people and in this way it has been described as a kind of cornerstone of society…it encapsulates the concern with what it means to be human," in *Arguing with Anthropology: An Introduction to Critical Theories of the Gift* (Routledge: London, 2005), 1, 4.

manifestations of social links.[3] The rich social network of each gift in having a giver, a receiver, and possibly also including groups within the exchange, like families or commercial, political, and religious entities, provides a multi-layered, even episodic story for each gift. As with any social practice, culturally specific rules govern gift exchange. To understand fully the significance and implications of gifting, scholars must first discover the regulations particular to each culture. Every gift exchange can provide important insight into a society's structure and value system, granting researchers helpful tools to better understand the cultures on which they focus.

Recognizing the profusion of information they could acquire through researching gifting, anthropologists and sociologists were the first to devote considerable efforts to the study of gift exchange. The most influential volume exploring gifting, sociologist Marcel Mauss' *Essai sur le don* (1924), purports the existence of a gift system in many ancient or non-Western cultures worldwide in which gifting created a continual series of exchanges that consistently reinforced societal structures and commitments between individuals.[4] Anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1972) reaffirms the give-and-take network Mauss illustrates, but also describes a spectrum of reciprocal acts from the altruistic to the selfish.[5] C.A. Gregory (1982) similarly emphasizes in his study of Papua New Guinea the network of obligation established through gift exchange while also drawing a rigid distinction between gifts and commodities.[6] Bringing to light significant issues in studying gifts, these scholars were primarily concerned with the reciprocation of gifts in societies that did not have capitalistic economies. For them, gifts had

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[3] Osteen states his belief that a gift is "a concrete representation of a social relationship," in "Introduction," 2.
[4] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls, with a foreword by Mary Douglas (W.W. Norton: New York, 1990, originally published in 1924). Many books and essays celebrating Mauss' contribution and the resulting voluminous literature in the field have been published. See, for example, Wendy James and N.J. Allen, ed., *Marcel Mauss: A Centenary Tribute*, Methodology and History in Anthropology, 1 (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999).
[5] Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972).
[6] C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* Studies *in Political Economy* (London: Academic Press, 1982).

functions distinct from those of goods in the modern day.[7] Further, they stress the inalienable character of the gift, as gifts necessitated reciprocation and entitled the giver to receive something in return.[8] They also emphasize the instrumental social function of gifts in the creation and maintenance of links between peoples.

Another group of scholars to consider gift exchange widened their inquiry to include Western cultures and contemporary societies, adding the voices of other theorists to the discussion. Structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1949) posits that gifts manifest the underpinnings of a society, revealing its power structure and helping to manage its social bonds.[9] Erving Goffman (1971) provides language to describe those links in his creation of the sociological term "tie-sign."[10] Like other researchers, Lévi-Strauss and Goffman discuss the integral social role gifts have, but better verbalize the types of bonds gifts help to form. In their studies, they distinguish more clearly between cultures and acknowledge that different societies have distinct rules and customs governing their gift economies. Taking up another key issue in gift studies, David Cheal's sociological study (1988) of modern gift giving underscores the complementary nature of the gift economy when existing along side a capitalistic system, arguing for similarities between gifts and commodities.[11] Historical anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1991) considers

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[7] In addition, refer to Lewis Hyde who argues that the modern, market economy and the gift economy cannot function in a symbiotic fashion. For him, market exchange does not create bonds between people, while gift exchange does. He also considers how works of art are essentially gifts because they are vehicles for the expression of artists' talents, in *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979)

[8] Issues of inalienability vs. alienability of gifts are particularly prevalent in the literature. Annette Weiner sheds light on this topic in her *Inalienable Possessions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). David Cheal explains the meaning of the two terms, stating that alienable objects retain no connection to the originator of the item and function as commodities. Inalienable objects remain linked to the source, necessitating reciprocation of some type in response to the exchange, and thus function as gifts, in *The Gift Economy* (London: Routledge, 1988), 10.

[9] Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Principle of Reciprocity," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,* ed. Aafke Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996): 18-26. Originally published in 1949.

[10] Erving Goffman defines a tie-sign as a gesture or physical act, like shaking hands or hugging, that indicates a social bond, in *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 194-99.

[11] Cheal, *Gift.*

colonial gift exchange, exploring how gifts helped in forming power structures in ethnographic subsets within cultures.[12] These scholars provide an alternative manner to approach the study of gifts in capitalistic societies, compellingly arguing for the merging of gift and commodity as categories for the cultures they study or at least for the parallel roles the two types of objects could play in societies.

Other scholars turn from considering the systems surrounding gifts and instead focus on how objects involved in gifting accumulate meaning through their role in transactions and their links to people. Barry Schwartz (1967) treats gift exchange as a generator of identity, as gifts impart identities to both givers and receivers.[13] Arjun Appadurai (1986) further argues for the production of meaning in gifting by examining the nuances of gifts' paths through societies, as to discover their meanings, scholars need to trace their trajectories and the varied functions imparting worth to the objects.[14] Aafke Komter (1996) emphasizes the significance of gifts as underlying the foundation of a shared culture, speaking to a people's cultural identity.[15] Avner Offer (1997) emphasizes the giver's tailoring of the gift to the tastes and preferences of a particular individual, as the gift emanates a "regard signal" that authenticates the transaction.[16] Komter (2005) argues that the things involved in gifting do not possess inherent value, but rather gain meaning through their involvement in gift exchange.[17] This group of scholars more clearly delineates the paths objects can be sent on to become gifts and acknowledges the shifting status

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[12] Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
[13] Barry Schwartz, "The Social Psychology of the Gift," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,* ed. Aafke Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996): 72. Originally published in 1967.
[14] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63.
[15] Aafke Komter, "Introduction," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,* ed. Aafke Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996): 5.
[16] Avner Offer, "Between the Gift and the Market: The Economy of Regard," *Economic History Review* 50, no. 3 (1997): 454.
[17] Aafke Komter, *Social Solidarity and the Gift* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 19.

of items exchanged as gifts. They also explore the degree of personalization of gifts in historic and modern societies, discussing how gifts express the identities of givers, receivers, and even cultures.

While many of the gift theorists discussed focused on aboriginal, pre-industrial, clan-based, or non-Western cultures, in recent years, researchers in medieval and early modern European history and literature have produced tomes considering the implications of gift exchange in their areas of expertise, drawing on key issues in gift scholarship and providing their own, culturally specific, contributions to the field.[18] Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld (1994-2006) builds his studies on the perception of gifts as facilitators of social bonds and religious and political tools in the medieval Low Countries.[19] Silvia A. Bedini (1997) employs the methodologies of cultural history in his study of the 1514 gift of an elephant to Pope Leo X from King Manuel I of Portugal.[20] Stephen D. White (2001) treats gifts as manifestations of medieval political leaders' largesse as they employed gifts to create political clout.[21] Tracing efforts to acquire social capital, Jason Scott-Warren (2001) examines book dedications by Sir John Harrington who actively used gifted books and dedications to garner favor in the courts of Elizabeth I and James VI in early modern England.[22] A 2003 collection of essays includes analyses of gifts in a variety of pre-modern contexts, including gifts and colonial exploration,

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[18] Even more examples of gift scholarship can be found detailing gifts of charity and informal means of support from the early modern period. As this dissertation deals with gifted objects and not less tangible gifts, those sources are not covered in depth here. See, for example, Ann McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age*: *Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[19] A collection of nine of Bijsterveld's essays written between 1994 and 2006 has been republished as *Do ut des: Gift-Giving,* Memoria*, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 2007).

[20] Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Manchester, England: Carcanet, 1997).

[21] Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Exchange: Gifts, Fiefs, and Feudalism," in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 169-88.

[22] Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harrington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

religion and gifting, gifts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, and inherited gifts, diversifying the landscape of European gift studies.[23]

Although many of these examples of gifting scholarship relate to European nobility, men, and monarchial nations, more recent studies by early modern historians provide innovative accounts of gifting in France, the Dutch Republic, and England. In her consideration of gift-exchange in sixteenth-century France, historian Natalie Zemon Davis (2000) argues that especially in the early modern period, systems of commerce and gifting existed side-by-side, rather than being antithetical.[24] She also stresses the existence of gifting throughout French society, rather than being confined to the upper echelons, finding evidence for her conclusions in an impressive selection of archival material. Irma Thoen's study (2007) of gifting in the Dutch Republic similarly strives to direct attention to a spectrum of persons involved in gifting, also considering issues of commodity and gift, identity, and reciprocity.[25] Even with the narrow range of gift economies considered in much of the literature, the array of studies discussed do draw on the methodological tools established by anthropologists and sociologists to aid researchers in understanding gifting episodes in their fields of study, showing the significant benefits that can come to scholars by turning to gifts in their research.

Art History and Gift Exchange

Even with the broadening interest in gifting and associated theories, art historians, in particular those dealing with Western art, only recently began considering gift exchange issues in their scholarship, though they used similar interpretive strategies in their research before they began studying gifts. While anthropologists and sociologists utilize the exchange of objects to

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[23] Gadi Algazi, Vanentin Groebner, Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).
[24] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).
[25] Thoen, *Strategic*.

help them understand cultures, they do not devote attention to the objects themselves. They believe that information about the societies they investigate is encoded within objects, but for them, the formal elements of items do not hold sway. Art historians, by virtue of their training, are object-oriented in their research and writing, concerned with both the visual characteristics and cultural import of the art they study. In recent years, they have begun to draw consciously on anthropologists' contributions in their scholarship, borrowing methodologies to support their inclination to treat objects as evidence of cultures' interests or concerns.[26] In many respects, anthropological practices were already familiar to art historians, although they have only lately begun to acknowledge the sources of the interpretive strategies they employ.

A few studies of the intersection between art and gifting during the medieval and early modern periods of Europe illustrate the new trend of attention to gift economies.[27] Genevieve Warwick (1997) explores the role of gift exchange in forming an art collection, emphasizing social ties in seventeenth-century Rome.[28] Brigitte Büttner's (2001) study of ritualistic gift exchange at the Valois courts draws on extensive primary documents to help in understanding gifted objects that, for the most part, no longer exist.[29] Dagmar Eichberger (2005) directs attention to the rarely addressed subject of women and gift giving in the context of sixteenth-century Northern European courts.[30] In a similar vein, Almudena Pérez de Tuleda and Annemarie Jordan Geschwend (2007) consider the role of a female monarch in gift giving.

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[26] See, for example, the anthropological approach of Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

[27] Some examples of the intersection of gift studies and art history not mentioned here are Cecily J. Hilsdale, "Diplomacy by Design: Rhetorical Strategies of the Byzantine Gift" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2003); Barry Shifman and Guy Walton, *Gifts to the Tsars, 1500-1700: Treasures from the Kremlin* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with the Indianapolis Museum of Art and the State Historical-Cultural Museum Preserve, Moscow Kremlin, 2001).

[28] Genevieve Warwick, "Gift Exchange and Art Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta's Drawing Albums," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (1997): 630-46.

[29] Brigitte Büttner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Court," *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (2001): 598-625.

[30] Dagmar Eichberger, "The Culture of Gifts: A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective," in *Women of Distinction, Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Leuven, Belgium: Brepols and Davidsfonds, 2005), 286-95.

They focus on a series of portraits including portrayals of animals presented as gifts by Catherine of Austria, highlighting an intriguing episode of gifting and its artistic manifestation.[31] Recent studies (2007) of the exchange of Meissen porcelain as gifts between European courts in the eighteenth century consider decorative art and its frequent historical usage as gifts, drawing on the rare survival of both objects and archival records detailing the presents.[32] Almost all of these studies focus on gifting within the context of nobility or on diplomatic gifts, as records and objects related to those gift exchanges are more likely to have survived than those connected to other contexts.

Although gift theory and art history seem like a perfect fit methodologically, the practical concerns of studying the intersection of art and gifting may act as a deterrent for art historians. In order to study gifts, art historians need two primary things: either a gifted object, a representation of a gift, or a depiction of a gift exchange, and archival or other evidence supporting the connection to a gift function for that item. These requirements, while similar to those demanded by all art historical research, necessitate more specific information about a particular object than is often available. Finding the necessary archival paper trails to support research about gifted objects can be nearly impossible, though letters, contracts, marginalia, and inventories mentioning gifted works of art do occasionally surface. The opposite situation, in which a researcher has archival documentation of a gifted art object or the representation of a gift, but the work of art is missing or did not survive, can be equally problematic. Royal treasuries that often housed gifts have for the most part been dismantled, distributing objects

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[31] Almudena Pérez de Tuleda and Annemarie Jordan Geschwend, "Renaissance Menageries. Exotic Animals and Pets at the Hapsburg Courts in Iberia and Central Europe," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts,* ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 419-47.
[32] See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Porcelain and Prestige: Princely Gifts and 'White Gold' from Meissen," in *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts, ca. 1710-63* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 3-23; Selma Schwartz and Jeffrey Munger, "Gifts of Meissen Porcelain to the French Court, 1728-50," in *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts, ca. 1710-63* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 141-73.

throughout Europe, making them difficult to trace, while other items from collections, especially those made of precious metals or stones, may have been melted down.[33] Further complications arise for art historians studying gifts when they can identity a gifted object or a work of art expressive of trends in a culture's gift economy, but find that the item may not be sufficiently visually compelling to warrant art historical attention.

Studies of gifts and art also tend to be skewed to the periods and countries that can best provide the objects and documentation associated with the gifts in question. Those with historically strong monarchs and vibrant courts or other sources of centralized authority often have archives housing surviving documents that provide information about gifts and art. Episodes of gift exchange from the nineteenth- through the twenty-first centuries are also easier to research due to a plethora of surviving gifts and information. In addition, a greater number of identifiable episodes of gift exchange and art relate to men, rather than women, as male givers and receivers were more likely to have their gifting activities recorded. In the same manner, wealthier and higher-class donors left a larger amount of egodocuments, including letters, journals, and memoirs, describing their gift exchanges than middle- or lower-class individuals.[34]

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[33] For examination of a particular treasury, its formation, dissolution, and attempts at its reconstruction, see Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ed., *Treasures of Florence: The Medici Collection, 1400-1700* (Munich: Prestel, 1997).

[34] The role of women in gift exchange has received greater attention from anthropologists and sociologists than art historians, though Brigitte Büttner, Dagmar Eichberger, Annemarie Jordan Geschwend, Almudena Pérez de Tuleda do address noblewomen in their studies. Thoen also considers the issues inherent in studying women and gift giving, especially in the context of a non-monarchial nation like the Dutch Republic, in *Strategic*, 30. Anthropologists address both women as givers, recipients, and as the gifts themselves. Historically, women, especially non-nobles, were more likely to have given gifts of service or charity than money. They did, however, sometimes bequeath their personal possessions in wills, including clothing and jewelry. See, for example, the following anthropological and historical studies, Annette Weiner, *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976); Annette Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping While Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Aafke Komter, "Women, Gifts, and Power," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,* ed. Aafke Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996): 119-31; Gabriela Signori, "'Family Traditions:' Moral Economy and Memorial 'Gift Exchange' in the Urban World of the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 188 (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 285-318.

The challenges of studying gift exchange and art skew the field towards the consideration of gifts in courtly contexts and patriarchal systems.

Gifting in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

The problems inherent in studying art and gifting in any period are especially applicable to a consideration of both the connections between art and gifts in the Dutch Republic and the country's general gift economy. The democratization of art in the seventeenth century, in which consumers often purchased prints and paintings at markets, fairs, or galleries rather than through formal commissions, heightens the difficulties of trying to study gifts and their appearance in art of the Golden Age. Works of art in Dutch collections usually lack the archival records, including contracts, which are more common in countries with strong centralized political or religious authority. In addition, Dutch archives do not include as many egodocuments as other areas of Europe, though a wealth of inventories survives. The lack of letters, journals, and other first-person accounts that would likely include mention of gift-exchange practices hampers consideration of gifting on the whole in Dutch society and in the possible manifestations of the Dutch gift economy in art. Still, even with the complications of researching Dutch gifting practices, in recent years, scholars have begun to explore more fully the exchange of gifts in the Dutch Republic, providing an essential understanding of the country's gift economy.

Of the few studies of gifting and art in the United Provinces, almost all consider diplomatic gifting.[35] A trio of articles related to the 1660 gift by the Dutch States-General to Charles II of England presents a list of the works of art included in the gift, as well as their

[35] A few mentions of gifted objects in the collection of Frederick Henry and Amalia van Solms appear in Peter van der Ploeg, Carola Vermeeren, and B. P. J. Broos, *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in the Hague* (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1997). An interesting recent study considers a group of objects gifted over hundreds of years to the Netherlands from Indonesia, in Rita Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia: Historical Bonds with the House of Orange-Nassau (1600-1938)* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995).

provenance.[36] Multiple scholarly discussions of Count Johan Maurits van Nassau Siegen's three major diplomatic gifts of Brazilian material, including furniture and natural history specimens, and art to European monarchs have been published, though none of these studies considers the significance of the gifts having been produced for a Dutch audience.[37] Rare examples of scholarship related to non-diplomatic gifts, recent contributions from Michael Zell, direct attention to prints and drawings possibly involved in the gift system, focusing on the social function of gifts in forming ties between individuals in Rembrandt's circle.[38] These few studies comprise the full extent of scholarly attention devoted to the connection between gifting and art in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

However, with the publication of a volume that for the first time delves into the nature and peculiarities of the early modern Dutch gift economy, the landscape of studies of Dutch gifting will likely change. Historian Irma Thoen's groundbreaking 2007 study delineates some of the defining features of the seventeenth-century Dutch gift economy.[39] By describing the

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[36] Denis Mahon, "Notes on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II: I," *Burlington Magazine* 91, no. 560 (November 1949): 303-05; idem, "Notes on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II: II," *Burlington Magazine* 91, no. 561 (December 1949): 349-50; idem, "Notes on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II: III," *Burlington Magazine* 92, no. 562 (January 1950): 12-18. See also Anita Boyd Morris, "Diplomacy and Art: The Three "Dutch Gifts" to the British" (MA thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2000).

[37] A small sampling of literature related to Johan Maurits' gifts to European monarchs includes the following, R. Joppien, "The Dutch Vision of Brazil: Johan Maurits and His Artists," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 297-376; Gerard Th. M. Lemmens, "Die Schenkung an Ludwig XIV und die Auflösung der brasilianischen Sammlung des Johan Moritz (1652-1679)," in *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679*, ed. Guido de Werd (Cleves: Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek Kleve, 1980), 265-93; Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Mogens Bencard, "Fürstliche Geschenke," in *Sein Feld war die Welt: Johann Mortiz von Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679)*, ed. Gerhard Brunn and Cornelius Neutsch, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur Nordwesteuropas* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008), 159-78. For further discussion of this literature and Johan Maurits' gifts, see chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[38] Michael Zell, "The Gift Among Friends: Rembrandt's Art in the Network of His Patronal and Social Relations," in *Rethinking Rembrandt*, ed. Alan Chong and Michael Zell (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2002), 176; idem, "Landscape's Pleasures: The Gifted Drawing in the Seventeenth Century," in *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, ed. Amy Golahny, Mia M. Mochizuki, and Lisa Vergara (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 483-94; idem, "Rembrandt's Gifts: A Case Study of Actor-Network-Theory," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3, no. 2 (2010).

[39] Thoen, *Strategic*.

context of gift exchange in the United Provinces, Thoen provides researchers the tools to improve their grasp of gifting in general and to analyze the possible examples of art and gift that come to the fore. She employs a small selection of egodocuments primarily related to middle- and upper-class men to give the reader an understanding of Dutch gift exchange in historic and contemporary periods. According to Thoen's analysis of seventeenth-century gifting, gifts were for the most part shared between family and close friends, but could also be part of professional relationships. Gifts were not typically employed to create relationships, but rather to solidify existing social links in accordance with the self-interests of the persons involved in the exchange. While the most common gifts were those of hospitality or support, including food, drink, money, and emotional assistance, objects exchanged also included books, drawings, poems, trees, and personalized objects with inscriptions like pots, silver vessels, glassware, and windows. The occasions for gift giving were usually specific rites of passage including funerals, christenings, and weddings. Thoen also finds evidence that other opportunities for gift giving arose when the giver wanted something from the receiver.

The altruistic gift system frequently discussed by anthropologists did not exist in the United Provinces, which, by contrast, had an explicit gift economy in which asking for and expecting to receive gifts was a socially acceptable practice. For the Dutch, reciprocity was a vital feature of their gift economy. Thoen cites Johan de Brune, a seventeenth-century Dutch emblem book author, who stated that "the first gift is the womb of the second, and of the third, and so forth," in an endless cycle of gift giving.[40] He also wrote that "benefit is the cement and solder of contemporary friendship," indicating that the Dutch acknowledged and were aware of

[40] Translated by the author and Thoen, *Strategic*, 227. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "De eerste ghifte is baer-moeder van de tweede, en die van de derde, en zoo voorts." Johan de Brune, *Bancketwerck*, vol. 1 (Middelburg, Netherlands: Jaques Fierens, 1660), 44.

the necessity of reciprocity in their gift system.[41] Expressions of thanks for gifts could take the form of gratitude, loyalty, beneficial behaviors, or material objects and were expected in return for presenting a gift. The value of a reciprocal gift was to be proportional to the reputation of the receiver. Thoen's exploration of the mores and context of Dutch gifting in the seventeenth century not only helps identify gifts and determine their social purposes, but also illustrates the essential role gifts played throughout Dutch society.

Thoen's study of a small sample of egodocuments, including letters and journals, indicates that the Dutch gift economy included a variety of different gifts and that native and foreign objects had common roles in Dutch gifting. She mentions the exchange of inscribed clay pots and silver cups, two examples of native, Dutch gifting traditions rooted in local production and materials.[42] By contrast, sugar boxes, silver or wooden containers that were filled with sugar from the West Indies, or amber jewelry from the Baltic region are examples of gifts that Thoen discusses with connections to non-Dutch areas of the world.[43] Gifts similar to the sugar boxes and amber jewelry in bearing obvious connections to foreign places can be denoted as "exotic gifts," especially in comparison to gifts of native production, like the clay pots that had an extensive history of production in Northern Europe. As evidenced by Thoen's study and the objects considered in this dissertation, exotic gifts played a significant role in the Dutch gift economy, parallel and complementary to those gifts with local or native origins.

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[41] Cited and translated by Thoen, *Strategic,* 227. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "De nuttigheyd is her siment en soudeerssel van de huydendaeghsche vriendschap." De Brune, *Bancketwerck,* 25.

[42] Refer to Thoen's discussion of earthenware cooking pots, *Strategic*, 110-15. For her explanation of *pillegiften*, or silver cups, boxes, or pots presented by godparents to their infant godchildren in the months following christenings, see *Strategic*, 116-21.

[43] Thoen also cites examples of godparents giving infants pounds of sugar, even without a container. Ibid., 121. For mention of an amber bracelet presented by Dorothea van Dorp, a neighbor of Constantijn Huygens in The Hague, to Lady Killigrew in London, in reciprocation for a gift of gemstones that Dorothea requested from Lady Killegrew, refer to Ibid., 9-11.

The Exotic in Dutch Culture and Commerce

In the wider European gift economy, exotic gifts like monkeys, parrots, or precious foreign commodities, such as chocolate, played a well-publicized, albeit limited, role, as they were usually exchanged in noble circles or between monarchs.[44] By contrast, as seen in Thoen's study and in the examples to be discussed in this dissertation, for the Dutch, exotic gifts could be quotidian, as they were widely employed by many classes, both genders, and for multiple occasions, while still retaining value due to their frequent status as valuable commodities and their function as gifts. The exotic was so firmly entrenched and integrated in Dutch society that extensive exotic gifting was a natural consequence of a new nation basing its success on trade with and control of non-European areas of the world. Examination of the Dutch Republic's pursuit of trade in foreign goods and the nation's subsequent incorporation of exotic influences in their language, cuisine, homes, art, and gift economy clarifies the extreme extent to which Dutch culture became intertwined with the exotic, which came to play an integral role in national and city identity.

Even before the official founding of the United Provinces in 1648, the Dutch relentlessly pursued hegemony in world trade, dedicating the majority of their efforts to controlling commodities originating from foreign lands. In 1585, in the midst of the Eighty Years War in

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[44] In addition to sources cited previously, many discussions of gifted exotic animals, foreign peoples, and goods have appeared, though most are simply brief mentions, rather than insightful analyses of the gift exchanges. Paul H.D. Kaplan cites the King of Aragon giving a black servant named Jean Blanc to John the Good in 1354, in *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art*, Studies in the Fine Arts, Iconography, vol. 9 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 15. Multiple references to gifts, including elephants, rhinoceroses, emus, and a Japanese folding screen, in addition to mention of Albrecht Dürer's gift exchanges during his visit to Antwerp, appear in Donald F. Lach's *Asia in the Making of Europe*. 3 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. Refer to Ina Baghdiantz McCabe's recounting of a 1714 gift of a coffee plant from the United Provinces to Louis XIV of France in *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 205-06. Robert William Berger and Thomas F. Hedin cite the 1674 gift of gondolas and gondoliers from Venice to Louis XIV, in *Diplomatic Tours in the Gardens of Versailles Under Louis XIV* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 21. For discussion of Lorenzo the Magnificent's famous gifted giraffe, see Maria Belozerskaya, *The Medici Giraffe and Other Tales of Exotic Animals and Power* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2006); Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Lorenzo the Magnificent and the Giraffe as a Symbol of Power," *Artibus et Historiae*, 8, no. 16 (1987): 91-99.

which rebels sought to throw off the control of Spain and establish an independent nation, Dutch forces blocked up the estuary leading to Antwerp, then the trading capital of Northern Europe.[45] In doing so, they secured for Amsterdam a status as the new leading port by virtue of both its favorable geography and the huge influx of merchants attracted to the city by the promise of trade.[46] The formation of the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (United East India Company or VOC) in 1602, a trading company the sole goal of which was making profit for its investors through the control and trade of foreign commodities, allowed the Dutch to significantly further their efforts in securing commercial prowess for their fledgling nation.[47] The 1621 founding of the *West Indische Compagnie* (West India Company or WIC) again demonstrates the Dutch systematic establishment of the necessary financing and structure to pursue control over the global economy.[48] As a result of the VOC primarily and the WIC in part, the Dutch created the largest, most profitable, and first "true world entrepôt."[49]

The foundation of trading companies during the formative years of the Dutch Republic began the democratization of the exotic that came to so influence Dutch culture, and thus Dutch art and gifting. Even previous to the corporations' establishment, the populace voraciously consumed a large body of travel accounts published in the 1570s and 1580s, perhaps helping them to develop an interest in far-off territories and their commercial potential.[50] The VOC's earliest investors were not only members of the upper classes and merchants, but housemaids,

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[45] Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 30.
[46] Ibid.
[47] For an account of the founding and history of the VOC, see Els M. Jacobs, *In Pursuit of Pepper and Tea: The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers in association with the Netherlands Maritime Museum, 1991); J.L. van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1993).
[48] For information about the WIC founding and demise, refer to C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1966); Johannes Postma and Victor Enthoven, *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585-1817*, The Atlantic World, ed. Wim Klooster and Benjamin Schmidt (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
[49] Israel, *Primacy*, 414.
[50] Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-67.

clergymen, seamstresses, and spoonmakers.[51] Structural aspects of the trading companies, which were based in numerous cities of the Dutch Republic, brought the benefits of trade, and the inherent financial and personnel demands, to many different locales.[52] Dutch society on the whole accrued the prosperity that accompanied the VOC's success, including having a relatively high standard of living for much of the population, disposable income, and high literacy rates.[53] The demands of the trading companies on society to provide the sailors, soldiers, and merchants necessary to run the corporations brought a significant percentage of the population to exotic areas of the world and into interaction with non-European peoples and commodities.[54] Members of all classes and persons with varying skills, including shipbuilding, engineering, accounting, the military, botany, and mapmaking, contributed to the companies' missions and the creation of profit.[55] In addition, trade publications and a sizable amount of literature, including periodicals and travel accounts, were widely read by a public fascinated by the progress of their nation and the commercial activities that affected all of their lives.[56] The success of the VOC and the lesser

[51] Jacobs, *Pursuit*, 16-17.
[52] VOC chamber cities were Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, Rotterdam, Delft and Middelburg. WIC chamber cities were Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Middelburg, and Groningen. These cities provided the initial capital that funded the companies and had their own local registries of stockholders. In the case of the VOC, existing city-based trading companies merged to form the United East India Company, with each city becoming a department or chamber of the larger organization. Ibid., 15.
[53] For analyses of Dutch society in the Golden Age, see Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century,* trans. Diane Webb (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718*, Perspectives, ed. Jacky Colliss Harvey (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996). For specific discussion of wages in the Dutch Republic and the resulting consumerism, refer to Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 85-132.
[54] For analysis of the VOC and its labor force, see F. S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company. Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen, Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 2003); Vibeke Roeper and Roelof van Gelder, *In dienst van de Compagnie: leven bij de VOC in honderd getuigenissen (1602-1799)* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2002). Also refer to Gaastra's current project related to the labor market's fueling of VOC expansion, in which he and other researchers are compiling a comprehensive list of all persons who worked for the VOC. The project is hosted by the Institute for History at the Universiteit Leiden and associated with the Nationaal Archief in The Hague.
[55] Jacobs, *Pursuit*, 33.
[56] See, for example, Hochstrasser's discussion of the seventeenth-century periodical *Hollandsche Mercurius*, which provided descriptions of shipping and trading activities. She argues that the trade journal evidences the Dutch

success of the WIC derived from a population that was fully invested in bringing the Dutch dream of economic hegemony to fruition.

In addition to sustaining the country's commercial efforts with their skills and lives, the Dutch also expressed their support with their money by buying the goods brought home to the United Provinces on VOC and WIC ships. Textiles, porcelain, shells, tobacco, salt, pepper, sugar, cinnamon, and tea found an eager group of consumers, whose purchase of these items almost certainly brought exotic goods into every Dutch home.[57] Travelers' reports about Holland mention the huge array of foreign goods to be found in shops all over Amsterdam, including spices, shells, fine fabrics, and taxidermied animals.[58] Spices from the East Indies played the largest part in trade and were the fuel of the Dutch Republic's economic prosperity during the seventeenth century.[59] Pepper, cloves, mace, and cinnamon had particularly prominent roles in VOC efforts and were sold in huge amounts to an eager Dutch public. In turn, Dutch language came to reflect the preeminence of pepper as a commodity with the development

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population's global perspective and awareness of world trade, in *Still Life,* 234-41. Also refer to Schmidt's discussion of popular travel accounts and their consumption by the Dutch populace, throughout his *Innocence.*

[57] For mention of the prevalence of exotic goods and their purchase by Dutchmen, refer to Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1987); Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, ed., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Hochstrasser, *Still Life*; Leo Akveld and Els M. Jacobs, *De kleurrijke wereld van de VOC, Nationaal Jubileumboek VOC 1602-2002* (Bussum, Netherlands: Thoth, 2003); Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2008). For general European consumption of the exotic in the seventeenth century along with some history of the Dutch spice trade, refer to John E. Wills, Jr., "European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 133-47; Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (London: Routledge, 2002). Dutch women's interest in and purchase of exotic goods has yet to receive extensive scholarly examination, though Martha Peacock briefly considered the issue in her "Early Modern Dutch Women in the City: The Imaging of Economic Agency and Power," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

[58] For a compilation of descriptions of exotic wares for sale in Amsterdam shops, refer to C.D. van Strien, *British Travelers in Holland During the Stuart Period*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, ed. A.J. Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 138-39, 259-60.

[59] Sixty-percent of the goods shipped to the Dutch Republic by the VOC in Asia were spices. Jacobs discusses the lack of demand in Asia for cinnamon, which brought almost four million pounds of the spice into Dutch ports in the United Provinces each year, thus creating a steady supply of a commodity that became a mainstay of Dutch cooking, in *Pursuit*, 83-84.

of the term *peperduur*, to denote something as precious and valuable, or as expensive as pepper.[60] Seventeenth-century street names in Amsterdam include *Peperstraat* (Pepper Street) and *Foeliestraat* (Mace Street). Spices also became an integral part of Dutch cuisine in, for example, *peperkoek*, or spice bread, the popularity of which increased in the seventeenth century due to an influx of spices to the Dutch Republic.[61] Examining pepper's place as not simply a good, but as a highly influential commodity gracing not just the Dutch table, but also their language, indicates the exotic's high degree of integration in Dutch culture.

The place of the exotic in the United Provinces also comes to light in considering its literal presence in Dutch cities. Amsterdam had a prominent, centrally located East India House where company directors gathered for meetings, kept accounts, recorded, stored, and sold merchandise, received diplomatic visitors, presented gifts to government officials and other influential persons, and exhibited goods and gifts.[62] These buildings were used as showcases for the VOC's commercial successes. Also expressive of VOC might were the warehouses in chamber cities, such as the *Peperhuis*, or Pepper House in Enkhuizen, and the large VOC

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[60] Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Seen and Unseen in the Visual Culture of Trade: The Conquest of Pepper," in *The Low Countries and the New World(s): Travel, Discovery, Early Relations*, ed. Johanna C. Prins (Lanham: University Press of America, 2000), 93.
[61] Gaitri Pagrach-Chandra, *Windmills in My Oven: A Book of Dutch Baking* (Devon, England: Prospect Books, 2002), 67-68.
[62] Olfert Dapper's *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663) includes an account of Marie de' Medici's 1639 visit to the East India House, during which she was presented with gifts of food and treated to a meal of exotic delicacies, which, by this point, were relatively commonplace in the Dutch Republic. Dapper borrowed Caspar Barlaeus' description of Marie de' Medici's visit, which was originally published in *Blyde inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste koninginne, Maria de Medicis, t'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Johan en Cornelis Blaeu, 1639). This significant information about how the East India House in Amsterdam functioned was first mentioned by Siegfried Huigen, *Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, ed. Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong, Elmer Kolfin, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1. Amsterdam also had a West India House as a base of WIC operations. Delft, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, and Rotterdam had East India Houses, noted by British travelers to the Dutch Republic in their letters, as cited by van Strien, *British,* 225.

warehouse in Amsterdam.[63] The presence of these structures was not only felt economically and geographically, but also in the spice-laden scent of the air in certain areas of VOC cities.[64]

This array of appearances of the exotic in Dutch society and culture indicates that the interest in and consumption of exotic goods were not confined to a particular class, city, or gender. Engagement with the exotic was unavoidable, routine, and normal. In other European nations during this period, the most prominent manifestation of the exotic came through masques, balls, or theatrical performances featuring exotic themes, costumes, and goods, and which were intended for the upper classes, nobility, or monarchy.[65] By contrast, for the Dutch Republic, the exotic adopted a more everyday character, bringing it into Dutch homes in the form of blue and white pottery, spices, maps of foreign lands, silk dressing robes, and *kunstkamer* collections filled with foreign natural history items.[66] In addition to their presence in

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[63] For a picture and discussion of the VOC warehouse in Enkhuizen, see Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, 99. Refer to the chapter 3 of this dissertation for descriptions of the VOC warehouse in Amsterdam.

[64] The change in the smell and quality of Amsterdam's air that came as a result of its involvement in the spice trade is often mentioned in books intended for popular audiences. Michael Krondl cites the historic smells of Amsterdam, in comparison to the contemporary aromas of marijuana, in *The Taste of Conquest: The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2008), 200-06. Jack Turner mentions an eighteenth-century episode of the burning of nutmeg, in *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (New York: Random House, 2005), 291. Mike Dash writes that spices, especially pepper, changed the smell of Amsterdam from one of rotting meat to spices, in *Batavia's Graveyard: The True Story of the Mad Heretic Who Led History's Bloodiest Mutiny* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 55.

[65] Exotic masques were especially common in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English, Scottish, and French courts. Stuart culture, in particular, reveled in exotic entertainments, especially in portrayals of "blackness," though other European courts showed similar interests. For studies of exotic performances and balls featuring approximations of non-European persons, customs, and even scents, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 127-41; Esther Schreuder, "'Blacks' in Court Culture in the Period 1300-1900, Propaganda and Consolation," in *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas,* ed. Elmer Kolfin and Esther Schreuder (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008), 21-31; Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scene and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), chapter 2. In addition to the class of exotic entertainment intended for the nobility, there were also public processions featuring exotic content in many cities, especially in the sixteenth century. See mention by Michel Mollat and Paul Adam of these processions taking place in Lisbon, Antwerp, Rome, Marseille, and Rouen, in *Les aspects internationaux de la découverte océanique* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960), 24. For discussion of a 1550 Brazilian-themed festival, see Janet Whatley, "Introduction," in *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* (Berkeley: Los Angeles, 1990), xv-xix.

[66] For descriptions of the Dutch cabinet of curiosities, refer to R.W. Scheller, "Rembrandt en de encyclopedische Verzameling," *Oud Holland* 84, no. 2-3 (1969): 81-147; Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Early Dutch Cabinets of Curiosities" in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe,*

food, the scenting of the air with spices, the prominent trading companies as primary employers, and their influence on language, exotic objects and goods appear with regularity in Dutch prints and paintings, in portraits, still lifes, genre scenes, maritime views, landscapes, and images in books.[67] Although these works of art are not illustrations of Dutch life, they do demonstrate the integration of exotic objects into the fabric of Dutch culture.

The Dutch acknowledged and even embraced the pervasive presence of the exotic in their culture to such a degree that their national and city identities came to be connected to the exotic.[68] Scholars have long debated whether or not the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic formed a unified identity, or if they lacked a national sense of self in favor of city or regional associations.[69] In the midst of these academic discussions, however, some scholars agree that of

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ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 115-120; Bob van de Boogert, ed., *Rembrandt's Treasures* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1999).

[67] For analyses and examples of the visualization of the exotic in Dutch art, see *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst-en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992); Simon Schama, "Perishable Commodities: Dutch Still-Life Paintings and the 'Empire of Things,'" in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 478-88; Dawn Odell, "The Soul of Transactions: Illustration and Johan Nieuhof's Travels to China," in *Tweelinge eener dragt: Woord en beeld in de Nederlanden (1500-1750)*, ed. Karel Bostoen, Elmer Kolfin, Paul J. Smith (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 2001), 225-41; Mariët Westermann, "'Costly and Curious, Full of pleasure and home contentment' Making Home in the Dutch Republic," in *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2001), 15-81; Kees Zandvliet et al., *The Dutch Encounter with Asia, 1600-1950* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2003); Brienen, *Visions*; Hochstrasser, *Still Life*; Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2008); Carl Haarnack and Dienke Hondius, "'Swart' (Black) in the Netherlands: Africans and Creoles in the Northern Netherlands from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century," in *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas,* ed. Elmer Kolfin and Esther Schreuder (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008), 88-107; Elmer Kolfin, "Black Models in Dutch Art Between 1580 and 1800, Fact and Fiction," in *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas,* ed. Elmer Kolfin and Esther Schreuder (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008), 70-87; Rebecca Parker Brienen, "Dressing Up like the Cannibals? Adriaen Hanneman's Portrait of Princess Mary Stuart in a Tupi Feather Cape," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton, Australia: Miegunyah Press, 2009), 286-90; Elmer Kolfin, "Rembrandt's Africans," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art,* ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 3, part 1: 271-306. Also refer to the *Nederlands Kunsthistorich Jaarboek*, volume 53 (2003), dedicated to the issue of exoticism in the Low Countries. Artist-specific volumes also deal with the appearance of the exotic in Dutch art, including those focused on Frans Post, Albert Eckhout, and some still-life painters.

[68] For a discussion of Spain as an "exotic nation," the identity of which was imbued with Moorish influence, see Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

[69] In the seventeenth century, Holland dominated the Dutch Republic politically, economically, and culturally, exercising great influence on the development of a cohesive national identity. The question is whether or not a national identity was able to come into being for a provincially divided people. Virginia W. Lunsford provides a

all the possible culturally unifying characteristics that might typify the United Provinces, only the Dutch emphasis on garnering trade control over exotic goods and ensuring the success of their market economy through the creation of profit brought them together.[70] Numerous contemporary accounts report the Dutch obsession with money, describing a nation having an economically saturated culture.[71] Amsterdam resident, the French philosopher René Descartes, writes,

> In this large town where I live, everyone but myself is engaged in trade, and hence is so attentive to his own profit that I could live here all my life without ever being noticed by a soul.[72]

The perception of the Dutch that Descartes puts forth, as a self-interested people constantly engaged in trade, is reaffirmed in other contemporary accounts of their commercially-absorbed population. Two different mentions of episodes in which trading partners told the Dutch that money was the Dutch deity further confirm the perception that Dutch culture concerned itself

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helpful analysis of the scholarship related to issues of identity in the Dutch Golden Age, arguing that the United Provinces did possess a national identity because of their common history and the propagation of knowledge of their founding through printed sources. For her, widespread literacy created national identity. Virginia W. Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 72-74. She draws on the contributions of Benedict Anderson who focuses on transformations that occurred in the founding of the Dutch Republic, which created a base of cultural memories uniting the populace, in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991). J.L. Price, by contrast, expresses his belief that the Dutch Republic did not form a united national identity until two hundred years after its founding, as, from his point of view, provincial loyalties had greater significance, in *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 10. Curiously, Price almost completely ignores the influence of the exotic on Dutch culture in his study, which may explain, in part, his reluctance to believe that there was any sort of national communal identity in the United Provinces as he lacks awareness of an invasive and unifying characteristic of Dutch culture.

[70] Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude argue that economic success rooted in global trade was a universal reality in the Dutch Republic, in *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 172-92.

[71] Foreign visitors often note the money-hungry nature of Dutch culture, especially in their comments about the regent class. See Boxer, *Seaborne*, 205-06; Hochstrasser, *Still Life,* 13-21.

[72] Letter from René Descartes to Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, May 5, 1631. Translated in *René Descartes, The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, vol. 3, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, Dugald Murdoch, and Anthony Kenny (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 31. A slightly different translation reads as follows: “In this great town, where apart from myself there dwells no one who is not engaged in trade, everyone is so much out for his own advantage that I should be able to live my whole life here without ever meeting a mortal being.” Quoted by Boxer, *Seaborne,* 205-06.

first and foremost with economic success.[73] These primary accounts emphasize the Dutch desire for money and profit, which they were able to achieve through commerce in exotic goods. They pursued a leading role in world trade at the same historical moment in which they were defining themselves as a nation, making the formative period in which they created and established the priorities of their country coincide with their relentless pursuit of exotic goods.[74]

Dutch moralist Jacob Cats' 1636 poem verbalizes the shared economic identity of the nation in his praise for the country's economic might. After citing the United Provinces' small size, few friends, and lack of natural resources, he states,

> Here no sugarcane grows in the valleys,
> And yet the youth are troubled with sugar.
> The rich Indian plants of pepper, mace, nutmeg,
> Are here thrown out of cellars like grain:
> Here one picks no cinnamon, no other noble herb,
> Yet we distribute it by whole shiploads.
> Consider this, Dutch folk, consider what a high blessing
> Has been vested in you so wonderfully by the hand of God:
> Your fields are lacking in rich plants
> And yet what you don't have, you have after all.[75]

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[73] Pieter de Marées' account of Africa describes West Africans telling the Dutch "that Gold is our God (dat het Gout onsen Godt is)," in *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het gout koninckrijk van Gunea (Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea)* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz., 1602; reprint, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1912), 196. Translated by van Dantzig and Jones, in Pieter de Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1987), 191. Another episode describes Charles X of Sweden handing a piece of money to a Dutch ambassador and saying, "Voilà votre religion." Cited by Boxer, *Seaborne*, 128; Hochstrasser, *Still Life,* 18; E. Wrangel, *De Betrekkingen tusschen Zweden en de Nederlanden* (Leiden: Brill, 1901), 9.

[74] Schmidt emphasizes Dutch pursuit of trade in his discussion of their self-definition, saying, "The encounter with the New World granted the Republic a precious opportunity for self-exploration and even self-definition. America shaped Dutchness," in his book, *Innocence*, xxviii.

[75] Translated and cited by Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, 17. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Hier is geen Suycker-riet dat in de dalen wast,/ En noch wort hier de jeught met Suycker overlast./ Het Indisch rijck gewas van Peper, Foely, Noten,/ Wort hier, gelijck het graen, op solders uyt-gogoten;/ Men pluckt hier geen Caneel, geen ander edel kruyt,/ Wy deelen't evenwel met gantsche Schepen uyt./ Bedenckt dit, Hollandts volck, bedenckt den hoogen zegen/ Die u door Godes handt soo wonder is verkregen:/ In alle rijck gewas zijn uwe Velden Schrael,/ Ghy noch dit niet en hebt, die hebbet altemael." Johan van Beverwyck, *Schat der Gesondheyt* (Dordrecht: Hendrick van Esch, 1636), 133-34. While Cats does celebrate the Dutch role in global trade and the amazing foreign goods brought to the United Provinces, he also critiques those commodities in other publications, as do many other Dutch moralists. Perhaps their inclination to discuss the evils of those goods indicates not that they were rejected, but rather that they were wholeheartedly embraced by the Dutch.

For Cats, the exotic goods gracing the shops and tables of the United Provinces are blessings from Providence for a grateful, economically united nation.

Cities also expressed their own conceptions of their place in the global economy as centers of trade in exotic goods or as political entities wielding control over non-Dutch areas of the world. Amsterdam commissioned an extensive iconographic programme that cast the city as the allegorical focus of world trade, including a representation of a female personification of Amsterdam receiving exotic gifts from the four continents in homage to the economic might of the city.[76] Haarlem presented gifts of expensive stained glass windows to other Dutch cities, objects that conveyed to their recipients Haarlem's own version of a similar concept of city triumph and control over the exotic.[77] These examples demonstrate that to the degree to which there was a shared identity in the United Provinces, that self-concept was rooted in Dutch trade in exotic goods.

Other examples further show the place of the exotic in the formation of "Dutchness."[78] Tourists traveling to the Netherlands today often return home with tulip bulbs or blue and white faience ceramics called Delftware. Even in the seventeenth century, tulips and Delftware communicated their Dutch origins to a wide European audience. Although originally a late sixteenth-century import from China by way of the Levant, tulips came to be seen as a sign of

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[76] For discussion of allegorical representations of Amsterdam at the center of world trade, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[77] Haarlem commissioned windows depicting their city's triumph over the Damietta in Egypt during the Second Crusade. Samuel Ampzing, Petrus Scriverius, and Gerda H. Kurtz, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1628; reprint, Amsterdam: Buijten & Schipperheijn/Repro-Holland, 1974), 149-59; J.J. Temminck, "Haarlem: Its Social/Political History," in *Haarlem: The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Frima Fox Hofrichter (New Brunswick, NJ: Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, 1983), 20; Elisabeth de Bièvre, "Violence and Virtue: History and Art in the City of Haarlem," *Art History* 11, no. 3 (1988): 306. Also see mention by British sightseers of Damietta in the context of Haarlem's history and visual culture, in van Strien, *British,* 114, 171, 251, 259.

[78] The term "Dutchness" has become more common in the literature to indicate a national cultural identity for the United Provinces. See Schmidt's employment of the word, in *Innocence*, xxviii; Eddy de Jongh, *Dankzij de tiende muze* (Leiden: Primaver Pers, 2000); Christopher Brown, *The Dutchness of Dutch Art* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Centrum voor de studie van de Gouden Eeuw, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002).

the Dutch through the phenomenon of tulipomania and the lucrative Dutch export of bulbs.[79] Delftware began to be produced to satisfy a European demand for Chinese blue and white porcelain, as the Dutch modified local pottery techniques and styles to approximate the exotic import.[80] In the process, they created yet another marker of Dutchness derived from a foreign good, filtered through native traditions and brought into the Dutch economy. Despite their foreign origins, the Dutchness of tulips was so pronounced that the advisors to France's Louis XIV slighted the flower in their plans for Versailles' gardens by refusing to purchase Dutch bulbs. Moreover, the *Trianon de Porcelaine* at Versailles was torn down because its blue-and-white-pottery-covered exterior smacked too much of the distinctive Delftware of France's enemy, the Dutch Republic.[81] The assimilation stories for both of these types of commodities show how the Dutch brought the foreign into their culture and over a period of time adapted and transformed it by melding it with native traditions and, in the process, generated something new that spoke to their identity.[82] The pattern of merging the foreign and the familiar to create something that comes to typify the Dutch Republic appears not just in their exports, but also in their art in, for example, the many still lifes that portray foreign foods alongside those of Dutch production.[83] As manifested by overwhelming cultural and artistic evidence, I would argue that the presence of the exotic throughout Dutch society and culture was an essential component of Dutchness in the seventeenth century.

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[79] Ann Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 80-90.
[80] Ella B. Schaap, *Delft Ceramics at the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2003); Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Wisselwerkingen Redux: Ceramics, Asia and the Netherlands," in *Points of Contact: Crossing Cultural Boundaries*, ed. Amy Golahny, The Bucknell Review (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2004), 50-79.
[81] McCabe, *Orientalism,* 216. See further discussion of the French court's feelings about the tulip in chapter 2 of this dissertation. Andrew Zega and Bernd H. Dams, *Palaces of the Sun King* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 102-03.
[82] So thoroughly assimilated did tulips become that by the latter decades of the seventeenth century, they were no longer the most popular flowers, having lost some of their initial foreign fascination and having become Dutch. Goldgar says that they became boring and "less a source of wonder," in *Tulipomania,* 129.
[83] See many examples of this melding of foreign and native, in Hochstrasser, *Still Life.*

The Exotic and the Exotic Gift in Dutch Context

The Dutch cultural practice of assimilating the foreign into existing traditions and producing something new that still retained an exotic character informs the conception of the exotic that shapes my approach to the works of art and exotic gifts considered in this dissertation. As shown to this point, a key component of Dutch identity was their pursuit, control, and consumption of the exotic, which they transformed, assimilated, and modulated in their establishment of a selfhood rooted in their exotic foundation. What was once foreign became familiar for the Dutch; what was once exotic and separate from Dutch culture became domesticated. I propose that the term "exotic," when applied to seventeenth-century Dutch art, culture, and gifting, expresses a unique synthesis of native and/or familiar elements with foreign characteristics.[84] Each of the works of art explored in this study embodies my culturally specific definition of the exotic.

This definition departs from the predominant scholarly understanding of the term "exotic" as meaning "other" or anterior to the Western sense of self, a view propagated in post-colonialist literature and often in studies dealing with art history's evidence of European contact with the non-Western world.[85] Within the past few years, researchers have begun proposing other possible meanings for the term, in which exotic does not always imply an identity distinct from self, but rather can express familiarity.[86] Further, the term "exotic" necessitates a culturally

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[84] While I focus on the East and West Indies and the influence of trade with those areas on the formation of the Dutch exotic, I acknowledge that other peoples closer to home may have also been a part of that category, or their particular relationship with Dutch culture may necessitate a different definition of "exotic." For example, Jews, members of other minority religions, Gypsies, homosexuals, the mentally and physically disabled, and the transgendered may have been seen as exotic in some way in the early modern Dutch Republic, although they are not considered in my study.

[85] Edward Said builds a stark distinction between the Exotic/Other and the West/Self, in *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1978).

[86] John MacKenzie modulates Said's view by arguing that Europeans sought the familiar in their contacts with the non-European world, in *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1995), 55. Even so, MacKenzie's study is focused on the nineteenth century, rather than being directed to the

specific definition, as peoples reacted to contacts with non-European areas of the world in various manners and with different degrees of toleration and methods of assimilation. The place of the exotic in Dutch society, the function it filled, its intrusiveness, and its essential role in the founding and success of the United Provinces indicates that conceptions of the exotic, which equate it with otherness, do not accurately describe the pervasive appearance and acceptance of the exotic in Dutch culture.

In light of the exotic's significance for the Dutch as both familiar and foreign, the category of "exotic gift" and its intersection with Dutch art, on which this dissertation focuses, embodies the same mixed identity. Exotic gifts were manifestations in the Dutch gift economy of the highly interwoven nature of the exotic in Dutch culture and society. They bear marked connections to non-Dutch peoples or places, but these links to the foreign may be many degrees removed from their original, non-European, sources. In essence, exotic gifts, based on my conception, exist along a spectrum. For example, at one end of the continuum stands the literal donation of a gift from a foreign official to a VOC employee, while at the other end of the spectrum is the later portrayal of that exotic gift in a work of art by a Dutch artist. Both objects,

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context of the seventeenth century. At the Early Modern Globalization Symposium at the Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library in Chicago on February 8, 2008, a group of scholars who study early modern exploration and visual culture discussed the need for a theory of the exotic that helps explain European interactions with the non-European world during the early modern period, and even sheds light on interchanges with aspects of European society. For attempts at understanding the nature of the exotic and how the term and category are constructions, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Also refer to Schmidt who similarly argues for the exotic as familiar rather than foreign or other for the Dutch, saying "rather than exoticizing the New World, the Dutch expended a great deal of energy domesticating it; rather than perceiving the Indians as "strange," the Dutch did their best to see them as familiar, that is as 'brethren' and 'allies,' in *Innocence,* xxviii. Also consult his "Inventing Exoticism: The Project of Dutch Geography and the Marketing of the World, circa 1700," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Paula Findlen and Pamela H. Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 347-70; idem, "Geography Unbound: Boundaries and the Exotic World in the Early Enlightenment," in *Boundaries and their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands*, ed. Benjamin Kaplan, Marybeth Carlson, and Laura Cruz, Studies in Central European Histories, vol. 48 (Leiden, 2009), 35-62. My master's thesis attempts to define the exotic and make it culturally specific, in "The Familiar Exotic: The Palm Tree in Dutch Visual Culture," MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003. This dissertation is another effort on my part to create, implement, and test a definition of the exotic formulated to correspond to the unique, seventeenth-century Dutch context.

the original gift and the represented gift, are exotic gifts and engage the discourse surrounding that special class of gifting in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The process of visually representing exotic gifts according to the styles and trends of art in the United Provinces acts as a mechanism for assimilating the foreign into the familiar and further expresses the gift's connection to Dutch identity. Exotic gifts' intersection with Dutch visual culture aids their metamorphosis into cultural hybrids, possessing characteristics of both the foreign and the Dutch.[87] Studying the intersection between exotic gifts and art reveals the process of cultural transformation and the creation of hybridity, the end result of which is the making of culture.

Methodological Framework and Structure of the Dissertation

The four case studies included in this dissertation not only exemplify the phenomenon of exotic gifting, but they are also identifiable and representative examples of the intersection of exotic gifts and art. As described above, the exotic was a pervasive influence in Dutch society and culture, and thus in its gift economy, indicating that these case studies are but a small, representative group of objects demonstrating the cultural significance of the intersection between exotic gifts and art. Included in the dissertation are a print potentially created to act as both an exotic gift and a commodity; a body of paintings included in a diplomatic gift depicting a significant site of Dutch overseas commerce; a suggestive representation of an exotic gift exchange set within the aegis of Amsterdam's power as a center for global trade; and a portrait

[87] "Cultural hybridity" is a new term often used by scholars to describe the multi-faceted media age of the contemporary world. However, the study of the Dutch Republic, often seen as a precursor of the consumerist, melting pot of American society, would also benefit from the application of the term and its associated theories to the cultural changes taking place in the seventeenth century. Peter Burke's study of cultural hybridity and its applicability to today's world roots the term in the historic melding of cultures that has occurred throughout human history. In doing so, he argues for a two-way acculturation as cultures share with each other in the creation of hybridity, in *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2009). In early modern art history, this more nuanced way of examining the interactions between cultures is exemplified by Mia M. Mochizuki, "The Movable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan," in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900*, ed. Michael North (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 109-33. Her essay manifests increasing scholarly interest in eliminating old constructions of identity in favor of new approaches that better take into account cultural processes.

of a Dutch woman wearing a garment evocative of an exotic gift. The array of intersections between exotic gifting and art as demonstrated in these selections necessitates a varied and tailored approach to the print and paintings under analysis.

The works of art selected for the study have received no scholarly attention beyond cursory discussions in exhibition catalogues and almost all have yet to be associated with exotic gift transactions.[88] Mention of these works of art in art historical literature stress their anomalous nature in seventeenth-century Dutch art. They are also works of art that, to this point in today's scholarship, have been treated as on the fringes of what typifies seventeenth-century Dutch art and culture. While the group includes a still-life print, landscape paintings, an allegorical image, and a portrait, each example is exceptional and unusual in comparison to other contemporary works of art. Their peculiarity thus far has dissuaded scholars from attempting to broach their possible meanings or functions. I propose that one of the reasons for their exclusion from in-depth scholarship on seventeenth-century Dutch art is that they have never been considered in light of their full contexts, including treating them as embedded in the culture of exotic gift exchange in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

Each of the works of art considered in this dissertation manifests or evokes the practice of exotic gift exchange. This does not imply that each print or painting documents an exchange as defined in today's world, meaning the giving of an object from one person to another, and the presentation of a second item in return for the initial gift. As discussed previously, gift exchange in the United Provinces was governed by different rules and mores than the modern-day gift economy. "Exchange" in the seventeenth century did not necessarily imply only the physical trading of objects, but could also include gifts of obligation, social capital, extension of loan

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[88] Frans Post's paintings considered in chapter 2 have received scholarly consideration, though the two particular works on which I focus have not been analyzed in-depth, rooted in the context of Dutch culture, or studied in light of their place in the gift to Louis XIV.

deadlines, gratitude, titles, favors, or even political and economic stability, that is, reciprocal gifts that are difficult to visualize in a work of art.

In examining the episodes of exotic gift exchange included in this dissertation, my overriding methodology will be contextual, considering each work of art, according to the demands of the individual object, within its artistic, cultural, historical, social, political, and economic contexts. Study of these works of art also demands close readings, emphasizing each object's formal elements and iconography. In addition, issues of audience and viewership will be brought to bear on the pictures and prints discussed. Women's engagement with exotic gifting and the evidence of both their interest in the Dutch exotic and its employment in their visual statements of identity also play a role in this analysis. I will consider a range of possible meanings or functions for each work of art, emphasizing their multivalent significances, which were so pervasive in seventeenth-century Dutch art. The diverse audiences to whom artists sold their imagery necessitated a high degree of ambiguity in the works of art in order to appeal to such a varied group of viewers. Meanings in Dutch visual culture were fluid and changeable, and able to interrelate and coexist. Considering the print and paintings under scrutiny in this dissertation as potential manifestations of exotic gift exchange does not preclude other significances being at play, but rather adds to the study of Dutch art another dimension that has, as of yet, been unacknowledged.

Drawing on Thoen's study and an extensive body of scholarship on gifting and the formation of culture, I have tailored my approach to these works of art according to those elements of gift theory most pertinent to studying the Dutch gift economy. Considering the established importance of gifts as social glue for cultures throughout time and worldwide, I similarly treat these images as evidence of social links. A defining feature of Dutch gift

exchange is the necessity of reciprocity and the role of reciprocal gifts in forming such social bonds. Sometimes the benefits of gifting for the giver took the form of social or cultural capital, in addition to the more material expressions of thanks including money, titles, land, or gifted objects, all of which come into play in this study.[89] Original and reciprocal gifts also spoke to issues of identity in its generating or reinforcing a sense of self for both the giver and the receiver. The high degree of personalization in the Dutch gift system, in which gifts were matched to the interests and characteristics of the persons involved in the exchange, further allows the works of art under consideration to express personal and communal identities. Moreover, for the Dutch, gifts and commodities were synonymous. In such a profit-oriented, consumerist culture, gifts often included goods that were also for sale on the market, imbuing the donated objects with monetary value. The economic saturation of Dutch culture and their near-obsession with money likely caused them to view any exchange, be it a gift and/or a commodity, in terms of economic worth. Lastly, I will treat these gifted objects as expressive of a shared Dutch culture, which, while it was highly diverse in many arenas, was united in its pursuit and assimilation of the exotic.

The first chapter focuses on Rembrandt van Rijn's print of a Filipino shell from 1650, a work of art made during a turbulent period in the artist's life. I argue that Rembrandt designed the print to function as either a gift or as a commodity in the context of his private circle of male supporters in mid-seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Presenting the print to individuals interested in either collections of natural history, Rembrandt's *oeuvre,* and/or the Dutch trading enterprises,

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[89] For discussion of the types of capital, see Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education*, ed. Richard Brown (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1973), 71-112; idem, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72; idem, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

the artist suited the image to the tastes and preferences of his target audience. He likely hoped to receive the social and financial capital he needed to ameliorate his fiscal situation and bolster his status in the community.

The second chapter examines two c. 1665 paintings of Brazil by Frans Post that were part of the large group of Brazilian art and rarities that Count Johan Maurits van Nassau, a member of the House of Orange, presented to Louis XIV of France in 1678. Considering the paintings in three different contexts, including their creation for a Dutch audience, selection as diplomatic gifts by Johan Maurits, and their reception by the French court, demonstrates that the pictures accumulated meaning at each stage of their provenance history. Although their exotic character should have had great appeal for the French court, their cumulative significance ultimately came to influence negatively their success as exotic gifts and likely contributed to a lack of reciprocation on the part of the recipient.

The third chapter considers a unique c. 1665 painting by Nicolaes Berchem that depicts an exceptional scene of exotic gift exchange in which a man presents a gift to a female figure. By placing the picture in the context of 1660s Amsterdam, the contemporary creation of allegorical imagery hailing the might of the city's commerce, and pictures of love and courting, I posit that the artist conceives of economic trade in terms of exotic gift exchange. City identity and the Dutch conception of collective self as global merchants pervade the painting as the artist employs gifting to visualize the economic accomplishments of Amsterdam.

The fourth chapter highlights a c. 1678 painting by Gerard Hoet depicting a noblewoman from Utrecht wearing a garment evocative of exotic gowns gifted to VOC employees by Japanese officials. Focusing on exotic gifting in a private, female context, I postulate that in the employment of an exotic item, the portrait speaks both to the identity of the sitter, as well as to

the flexibility of the Dutch exotic, to communicate multiple messages to a wide variety of viewers. In this example, the artist and sitter drew on the unique abilities of a visualized exotic gift to make a powerful statement about the woman's role in her family and society.

Chapter 1—
Layers of Preciousness: Rembrandt's *Shell* as an Exotic Gift

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I focus on an exceptional print by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) that illuminates significant aspects of exotic gift exchange in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, including the gift's personalization, the giver's expectation for reciprocation, and the gift's commodity role. Rembrandt may have made the print with the intention of giving it to men whom he knew in the urban context of Amsterdam and who, in turn, valued his work. Once he presented the *Shell* as a gift, if he did do so, it could have been and likely was exchanged between men in Rembrandt's circle, perhaps being sold or again functioning as a gift. In this way, Rembrandt put the object into circulation, much like currency and other art objects. The probable degree of familiarity between the would-be giver and the receivers inflects this possible gift portraying an exotic subject with the identities of both parties. As a personalized gift, the print suited the tastes of the recipient and presented him with a glimpse of Rembrandt's *kunstkamer*. Further, the artist's dire financial situation at the time of the work's creation and his use of art to court economic aid indicate that he expected reciprocation, a key element of gifting in the Dutch Republic. In addition, the work of art illustrates the necessity of considering exotic gift and commodity as related and overlapping categories, since not only did the artist produce a work that would be salable in its status as a Rembrandt print, but he also may have created a valuable exotic gift that clearly engages with Dutch commercial ventures.

As Rembrandt's only still life print, the *Shell* (1650) exists as a unique and anomalous image in his *oeuvre*. Impressions of the three signed and dated states have similar dimensions of approximately three and a half inches by five and a half inches, a relatively small size in his body

of graphicwork. The shell portrayed in the print, a *Conus marmoreus* indigenous to Southeast Asia, is depicted at approximately lifesize, indicating that Rembrandt may have based his portrayal on an actual shell. In all three states, rather than observing the shell from above as in the manner of scientific illustration, the viewer sees it from the side. The oblique angle of the shell's portrayal and the careful attention to the detailed pattern and shape of the object suggest that the image resembles a portrait of a specific shell, rather than simply a description of a generalized type of object. The shell is showcased, as its attractive shape, lively pattern, and glossy, reflective texture are placed on view. Rembrandt clearly lavished great care in his representation of the precious, rare shell.

Because the small size of the print necessitated using only a portion of a larger sheet of paper, surviving impressions of the *Shell* do not normally have watermarks. Five examples are printed on paper with at least a portion of a foolscap watermark, a fairly common paper used for seventeenth-century Dutch prints.[1] Impressions of the first state depict the shell on a blank surface, with no trappings of setting (Figure 1-1).[2] A pattern resembling small hearts surrounded by black webbing covers the surface of the shell. The viewer sees the spiral end of the shell and the foreshortened aperture side extending back into space. Brightly lit from the right, the object casts a dark shadow, obscuring a clear view of the bottom of the shell and the pattern of the spiraling end, while also causing a shadow along the aperture to prevent the viewer from seeing the interior. A bright highlight near the apex exposes the curved nature of the object.

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[1] Nancy Ash, Shelley Fletcher, and Jan Piet Filedt Kok, *Watermarks in Rembrandt's Prints* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1998), 97-99, 236.
[2] Only five impressions of the first state are known, housed in the following collections: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; British Museum, London; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and the Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In the second state, an atmospheric setting suddenly shades the bright white space of the first state, seemingly placing the shell in a dark corner of a shelf or drawer (Figure 1-2).[3] Still lit from the right, the same highlight reflects the shell's gentle curve, now the brightest spot in the print. In the third state, the shell's spiraling end becomes more visible, less obscured by heavy inking (Figure 1-3).[4] The pattern along the side exposed to the light is brighter and the shadow is less severe. Continuing to occupy the dark space, the shell appears to sit on a narrow ledge, pushed to the edge to facilitate the artist's and viewer's examination of the object.

Despite the attention Rembrandt paid to the etching, the *Shell* has received little scholarly notice. Appearing in exhibition catalogues of Rembrandt's etchings, typical comments include mention of the print's relationship to Wenceslas Hollar's series of etchings depicting shells (1646), citing Hollar's series as the direct precedent for Rembrandt's print. Scholars also note the *Shell*'s existence as Rembrandt's only still-life print and discuss the value and collection of shells in the seventeenth century.[5] To my knowledge, art historians have produced no interpretive studies that direct attention to this singular image. Natural historians also mention the print, usually saying, as art historians occasionally do, that Rembrandt erred in his

[3] Impressions of the second state are more common than either the first or third states, belonging to the following collections: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam; The British Museum, London; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Dutuit Collection, Petit Palais, Paris; Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Teylers Stichting, Haarlem; Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; and the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. Within the past twenty-five years, according to Gordon's Print Price Annual, three impressions of the second state have come up for auction: 6/18/1992, Christie's London, sold for $122,496; 5/13/97, Christie's New York, sold for $135,700; and, an impression with significant foxing, 12/06/01, Sotheby's London, sold for $23,095.
[4] Only one impression of the third state is known to exist, which is in the collection of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
[5] Numerous catalogue entries deal with the *Shell*, though Holm Bever's entry is the most insightful. Holm Bevers and Barbara Welzel, *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop, Etchings* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with National Gallery Publications, 1991), 96-98. Paul Crenshaw does mention the *Shell* in a very perceptive discussion of the artist's collection habits, but he refrains from placing the print in a broader context, only indicating its rarity and depiction of a collectible shell that was likely owned by the artist. Paul Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy: The Artist, His Patrons, and the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 94.

presentation of the shell. Some even call the work a failure, as the spiral of the shell proceeds in the opposite direction as that of the actual specimen.[6] Clearly, notwithstanding the intriguing nature of this print and its beautiful representation of a rare shell, scholars in the arts and sciences discount it as a failed work of art, enumerate its inaccuracies, or shy away from providing incisive interpretive studies of the print.

However, the exceptional nature of the *Shell* indicates that it merits much more attention, including careful consideration of its possible function for the artist and a seventeenth-century viewer. Key aspects of the print magnify its extraordinary and rare nature, including its depiction of an uncommon, expensive shell from the Philippines. In addition, as each state is signed and dated, the print combines the portrayal of the shell with the name of "Rembrandt," transforming the image from simply a depiction of a rarity to a portrayal of a special object by the hand of a praised artist. Considering the remainder of Rembrandt's *oeuvre*, the unusual nature of the etching is further heightened, as the *Shell* is the only still-life print he is known to have made. Even for a seventeenth-century viewer, and especially a knowledgeable collector, the *Shell* may have been viewed as an anomalous print, as this image may truly be his only

[6] The *Conus marmoreus* usually has a dextral coil, with a right hand twist (clockwise), but the *Shell* depicts it with a sinistral coil, a left hand twist (counterclockwise), when viewed from the apex or looking directly at the spiral, as explained by S. Peter Dance, *The Collector's Encyclopedia of Shells* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), 28. Dance's personal opinion of Rembrandt's etching differs in his various publications. In 1966, he comments, "[the print] is an example of an artist's failure to recognize the asymmetrical nature of gastropod shells and the consequent need for engraving them in mirror image," in *Shell Collecting: An Illustrated History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 35. In his 1972 book, he says, "Rembrandt was content to reproduce a simple but elegant etching of a Marbled Cone (*Conus marmoreus*), now known as 'The Little Horn.' Since he forgot to reverse the spiral coiling of the shell on the metal plate, the etching shows a sinistral shell; but it scarcely matters," in *Shells and Shell Collecting* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group, Ltd., 1972), 122-23. In his 1986 volume, he states that, "then that giant among painters and etchers, Rembrandt, fell into the trap…his etching of a shell of *Conus marmoreus L.* portraying a dextral shell as a sinistral one," in *A History of Shell Collecting* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 17. Art historians who state that he made a mistake include Serge Alexandre who says, "Malheureusement, Rembrandt s'est trompé. Il a oublié d'inverser le dessin de la coquille sur la plaque (Unfortunately, Rembrandt made a mistake. He forgot to reverse the drawing of the shell on the plate)," in "Raretés d'Amboine et des Antilles: Impact culturel du coquillage tropical dans la Néerlande au XVIIe siècle," *Art & Fact: Université de Liège* 9 (1990): 84. Even in an exhibition catalogue jointly published by the Rijksmuseum and the British Museum, Ger Luijten declares that Rembrandt "overlooked" the direction of the spiral, while other artists "took pains to get the direction right," in Erik Hinterding, Ger Luijten, and Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Rembrandt: The Printmaker* (London: British Museum Press; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2000), 260.

venture into still life in print. Thus, the *Shell* exists as an object of dual preciousness, in its portrayal of a *Conus marmoreus* and in its status as an unusual Rembrandt print.

The purpose of this chapter is to direct attention to this extraordinary object and root it within the context of exotic gift giving in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. I suggest that Rembrandt may have created this print to act as an exotic gift, while, in tandem, made a work of art that could also be sold as a commodity. Shells were desirable objects in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and the *Conus marmoreus* may have held a role of honor in the contexts of artistic and scientific collections. Considering the image within the sphere of other shell depictions before and contemporary with Rembrandt's work further reveals the unique nature of his print, in addition to exposing an artistic heritage to which he may have been responding. Portrayals of *kunstkamers* and other images that visualize collections also help to illustrate the *Shell*'s pictorial precedents and the appeal a representation of a *Conus marmoreus* by Rembrandt may have had. Specific consideration of Rembrandt's cabinet of rarities suggests that the *Shell* may have documented an object acquired as part of his collection of precious objects. His print, then, depicts a rare shell that already had a role in the visual arts within the context of collections and rarities, establishing an artistic heritage for the object to which Rembrandt responded in creating his unique image.

In addition to reacting to the cultural and visual history of the shell, Rembrandt also may have suited the print to the tastes and preferences of a particular group. Based on the recent scholarship of Paul Crenshaw and Michael Zell, a discussion of Rembrandt's construction in the 1630s and 1640s of a circle of collectors to whom he appealed for financial aid at around the time the *Shell* was created, suggests a possible audience for this work. By systematically

considering some of the men within this circle, I will show the appeal the *Shell* may have had for them, and propose its potential function as a personalized gift and also as an object for sale.

Conus marmoreus

Although the object Rembrandt chose to depict is readily available and affordable in today's world, in the seventeenth century, such a shell would have been extremely rare and difficult to acquire.[7] As the mollusk only lives in the Indo-Pacific region and is not native to the Netherlands, its availability in the Dutch Republic was particularly exceptional.[8] A gastropod, *Conus marmoreus* lives in shallow water, often amid coral reefs, making its shell susceptible to breakage during life and following the creature's death (Figure 1-4).[9] In addition, collecting the specimen while alive is quite hazardous, as the gastropod has a stinger, allowing it to poison prey or ward off predators, who included shell collectors (Figure 1-5).[10] The characteristics of the living gastropod, including distance from Europe, hazardous habitat, and ability to protect itself from attack, preclude its being common in early modern Europe. In the seventeenth-century Netherlands, the geographic origins of the *Conus marmoreus* in Ambon in the East Indies' Moluccan Islands had special significance. The Dutch exercised exacting control over that area of Asia during the Golden Age, as cloves, an extremely valuable commodity traded by the United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC), were grown

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[7] A recent survey of E-bay, for example, included a dozen *Conus marmoreus* for sale at $3.99 to $59.99, varying in size from three to six inches in length. Even in Lawrence, Kansas, I saw a specimen of the same shell for sale in a downtown antique store.

[8] *Conus marmoreus* is found from India to the Marshall Islands and Fiji (See the OBIS Indo-Pacific Molluscan Database of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia). It is a carnivorous gastropod. Dance, *Encyclopedia*, 208.

[9] The *Conus marmoreus* was named by Linneaus in 1758 and is categorized as follows, Animalia, Mollusca, Conchifera, Visceroconcha, Gastropoda, Orthogastropoda, Caenogastropoda, Sorbeoconcha, Hypsogastropoda, Neogastropoda, Conoidea, Conus marmoreus. Crenshaw cites a shell formation specialist for information about the shell's habitat, emphasizing the "rough shallow surf" in which it lives. Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy,* 94.

[10] Some reports say that gastropod stingers can even kill humans, as discussed by Dance, *Encyclopedia*, 200. An interesting sidenote, though presented without evidence, occurs in a Christie's New York auction catalogue of 5/13/97 saying, "[Rembrandt's] knowledge of the poison that previously lurked within [the *Conus marmoreus*] imbues the shell in this vacated state, with a sense of frailty which extends beyond a mere depiction of a still life." This comment exhibits the types of misconceptions that pervade the literature about the print.

exclusively in Ambon.[11] Dutch holdings in Southeast Asia, the West Indies, and Africa allowed Netherlanders to bring home shells, such as the *Conus marmoreus*, to satiate the European desire to possess fantastic items from around the globe.

European Perceptions of Shells

Exotic and domestic shells, the exoskeletons of soft-bodied creatures called mollusks, had long been a part of European visual culture before Rembrandt focused his attention on a single example.[12] Conchology aficionado Peter Dance comments "few natural objects have been collected for so long or treasured so much as shells."[13] Indeed Rembrandt's image contributes to a heritage of European interest in shells, dating back to classical antiquity. Influencing Western culture, Pliny and Aristotle both wrote about shells, which frequently appear in classical art.[14] In the medieval period, scallop shells acted as a badge of honor for those who completed the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella. They were often depicted in representations of St. James and in portrayals of pilgrims.[15] The Renaissance brought a rediscovery of classical texts and an interest in shells' variations in shape, color, and pattern, inspiring comparison between an artist's capacity to depict a shell and nature's ability to create a shell. By portraying a shell, the artist, in essence, rivaled nature as a creator.[16]

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[11] J.L. van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1993), 71.
[12] I use the term "shells" to refer to the exoskeletons of mollusks. Rather than collecting the living creatures or preserving the soft mollusk bodies, Europeans found the beautifully formed exoskeletons to be attractive. For two exhibitions of shells in art, see: Vibeke Woldbye and Bettina von Meyenburg, *Konkylien og Mennesket* (Copenhagen: Kunstindustrimuseet and Copenhagen Universitet Zoologisk Museum, 1984); Museum Bellerive, *Die Muschel in der Kunst von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart,* (Zürich: Museum Bellerive, 1985).
[13] Dance, *Illustrated History*, 29. For a more current discussion of shells in European collection history with some discussion of their appearance in still life, see Karin Leonhard, "Shell Collecting. On 17th-Century Conchology, Curiosity Cabinets and Still Life Painting," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts,* ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177-214.
[14] Ibid., 30.
[15] See Ulla Haastrup, "Ibskal og pilgrimsveje," in *Konkylien og Mennesket* (Copenhagen: Kunstindustrimuseet and Copenhagen Universitet Zoologisk Museum, 1984), 61-68.
[16] For discussions of shells, nature, and artistry, see: Roelof van Gelder and Jaap van der Veen, "Collecting in the Time of Rembrandt: Art and Curiosa in the Seventeenth Century," in *Rembrandt's Treasures,* ed. Bob van den

In the hands of seventeenth-century Dutch moralists, shells could take on connotations of vanity.[17] As per the Dutch impulse to acquire large amounts of material goods in their burgeoning capitalist society, shell collecting developed into a popular hobby and, for some, an obsessive activity. In response to this proclivity, Roemer Visscher (1547-1620) included a shell emblem in his 1614 *Sinnepoppen,* entitling the emblem, "It's sickening how a fool spends his money" (Figure 1-6).[18] The accompanying moralizing verse considering shell collection reads,

> It is surprising that there are people who spend large sums of money on shells and mussels, whose only beauty is their rarity. They do it because they notice great potentates, even Emperors and Kings, commission people to look for [shells] and pay them well.[19]

Shells, then, could carry connotations of vanity and warrant connection to the over-acquisition of earthly goods, in addition to an acknowledgement of their rarity. Visscher endowed the habit of shell collection with some status as a kingly activity that requires significant funds. The scholar Eddy de Jongh relates Visscher's emblematic image to still-life paintings depicting shells and argues that the paintings warn the viewer not to engage in such a worthless, foolish activity.[20] Thus, shells could possess overtones of vanity and embody the squandering of money on luxuries. The preciousness of shells, in their rarity and beauty, however, underlies even these

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Boogert (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1999), 30-31; Sam Segal, *A Prosperous Past: The Sumptuous Still Life in the Netherlands, 1600-1700*, ed. William B. Jordan (The Hague: SDU Publishers, 1988), 77-92; Leonhard, "Shell Collecting," 186-87.

[17] Native shells, like oysters, and scallops, garnered qualities of aphrodisiacs and connections to love. Cone shells, such as that depicted in Rembrandt's print, did not occupy the same category. Other than a rare portrayal to accompany a depiction of Venus, cone shells remain void of love associations. In this chapter, I emphasize depictions of non-native shells, instead of oysters and mussels, as most often, the *Conus marmoreus* appears in art with non-native, exotic shells.

[18] The original Dutch text is, "Tis misselijck waer een geck zijn gelt aen leijt." Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen,* 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz., 1614), 1:4. English translation by Segal, *Prosperous,* 77. Other authors provide varying English translations of the emblem including Chong, Bergström, and Leonhard.

[19] As quoted in English translation by Segal, *Prosperous,* 77. The original Dutch text reads, "Het is te verwonderen datter treffelijcke lieden zijn die groot gelt besteden aen Kinckhorens en Mosselschelpen, daer niet fraeys aen en is als de selsaemheyd, en dat, om datse mercken datter groote Potentaten, ja Keysers en Koningen zijn, die sulck gedrocht op doen soecken en wel dier betalen." Visscher, *Sinnepoppen,* 1:4.

[20] De Jongh also expresses a belief that Goltzius's portrait of shell collector Jan Govertsz. van der Aar (Figure 1-21) helped inspire the emblematic outrage expressed in Visscher's emblem eleven years after the completion of the Haarlem shell enthusiast's portrait. Eddy de Jongh, *Zinne en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (n.p.: Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit and Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen, 1967), 68-70.

negative perceptions. Alan Chong posits that images of shells did not necessarily imply vanity, but rather praised the special nature of the objects depicted in shell paintings. He cites the utility of Visscher's emblem in "understanding contemporary attitudes because it embroiders a basic, widely held association of exotic shells: they were highly desirable collectibles…delightful, unusual, and sometimes expensive rarities."[21] The emblem, then, exposes the underlying societal belief that shells were rare, precious, and sought-after.

Philibert van Borsselen (c. 1575-1627), a seventeenth-century author, further clarifies the exceptional qualities of shells by rating them above the tulip in his 1614 poem, roughly concurrent with Visscher's denouncing of shell collecting, saying:

> Even the exotic tulips' varied hue, their white aflame with red, their long-sought blue, at last attained, their blazing cloth of gold, their marbled pattern, and the graceful mould that robes them cannot vie with seashells…Equal to porcelain, neither shaped nor formed by art of hand, but sent to man by the grace of Nature.[22]

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[21] Alan Chong, "Contained Under the Name of Still Life: The Associations of Still-Life Painting," in *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 18.

[22] Van Borsselen's poem is called "*Strande oft ghedichte van de schelpen* (Beach or poem of the shells)" and was published in Amsterdam, 1614. English translation quoted by Dance, *History,* 11; Segal, *Prosperous,* 78-79. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Geen Tulipa sagh m'oyt hier by te vergelijcken/ Hoe vremd sy wesen mocht door-adert end door-gloeyt,/ Haer goude laecken cleed, de Lap-rock so gegroeyt,/ De witte rood-gevlamt, end watter besonder,/ Ia blauw so langh gewenscht, en heft niet by dit wonder, (lines 218-222)/…Is t' Porceleyn gelijck, door geener handen konste/ Geplaestert noch gevormt, maer wt s'Naturen gonste/ Den menschem togeschickt (lines 752-754)." Reproduced in Paul Engelbert Muller, *De dichtwerken van Philibert van Borsselen* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1937), 20-21, 34-35. Van Borsselen supposedly wrote the poem in response to his visit to Cornelis van Blijenburgh's shell collection in Amsterdam. Contemporary sources report that Van Blijenburgh, van Borsselen's brother in law, was so obsessed with his shells that he passed many hours in a room of his home, spending time with the rare objects, "lost in a contemplation inspired equally by elevating reading matter and the wonders of his collection," as related by Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Early Dutch Cabinets of Curiosities" in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe,* ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 115-20. Also see Maria A. Schenkeveld who comments, "His poem consists mainly of more or less scientific descriptions of shells and sea creatures. The aim is, once more, the glorification of the Creator in nature," in *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1991), 111. Segal interprets the poem as a "challenge to a painter," in *Prosperous,* 79.

According to van Borsselen's poem, even such a privileged, valuable, and exotic object as the tulip receives a lower designation of preciousness in comparison to the shell.[23] Being ranked above the tulip, seventeenth-century moralists and writers indicate that shells could keep company with treasured, rare, exotic objects that were not only valuable, but also commodities.[24] In addition, shells also warrant comparison to imported porcelain, another obsessively acquired exotic item in European history. The etymological source of the word "porcelain" in English and *porselein* in Dutch is *porcellana*, the Portuguese word for a type of shell, heightening the connection between the prized invention of man, porcelain, and the extraordinary product of nature, shells.[25]

These examples establish the special nature of shells and their valued place as rare, precious objects and creations of Nature. Further, comparison to tulips and their formal and etymological association with porcelain strengthened the perception of shells as extraordinary items. Moreover, their multiplicity of patterns, colors, and types, in addition to their precious, fragile disposition, made them attractive as artistic objects, as man could compete with nature in his depiction of natural masterpieces. In its clear pattern and striking character, the *Conus marmoreus* likely held particular attraction for artists, who rivaled the creative powers of nature in their representations of shells.

Shells in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Still Life

Even with widely held cultural beliefs about the exceptional nature of shells, depictions of shells in print or paint were few before the early modern era, appearing only occasionally in

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[23] A moralizing emblem against tulipomania follows Visscher's shell emblem, expressing that priceless tulips fade and the investor loses his money. Exploration of early Dutch moralizing statements against exotic objects deserve further attention, especially in light of van Borsselen's statement that he views the tulip as less than the shell.

[24] For an insightful discussion of the frequent pairing of tulips and shells in inventories and literature, see Ann Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 80-90.

[25] Janet Gleeson, *The Arcanum: The Extraordinary True Story* (New York: Warner Books, 1998), 50.

medieval manuscripts and pilgrimage contexts. Rising interest in shells in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contributed to their more frequent appearance in European visual culture during that time. In particular, artists in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic began to incorporate shells into a variety of new types of still-life paintings, including flower, fish, and specialized shell still lifes. Many of these works of art departed from shells' long-standing associations with the Four Elements, classical allusions, and even *vanitas* and *memento mori* implications, allowing shells to function in new contexts in response to a mercantilist, consumer-oriented nation. The appearance of shells in Dutch still life, coupled with the frequent portrayal of the *Conus marmoreus* in particular, established an artistic heritage of shell depictions to which Rembrandt responded and contributed. Examples of still lifes including shells also suggest the existence of a market for representations of shells.

The appearance of the *Conus marmoreus* in Netherlandish art had its roots in the art of the Southern Netherlands, including the depiction of shells in allegorical and still-life images. Artists often incorporated shells to heighten allegorical settings related to water as one of the Four Elements.[26] They also appear in the new genre, the fish still life, which originated in the Southern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century. The first artist to create a fish still life, Flemish painter Clara Peeters (1594-c. 1657) includes shells, fish, and flowers, mixing native creatures with a *Conus marmoreus*, in a painting from 1615 (Figure 1-7).[27] In addition to the fish still life's representation of shells, flower still life paintings in the Southern Netherlands often depict a few shells accompanying blooms and other items, like lizards and bugs, sitting on a ledge, table, or pedestal. For example, a still life (1606) by Flemish artist Jan Brueghel the

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[26] For an account of the development of the fish still life and numerous examples that incorporate shells, see Fred G. Meijer, "Fish Still Lifes in Holland and Flanders," *Fish: Still Lifes by Dutch and Flemish Masters, 1550-1700,* ed. Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004), 16-22.
[27] Ibid.

Elder (1568-1625) portrays a large arrangement of flowers in a vase, to the right of which sits a group of four shells, including a *Conus marmoreus* (Figure 1-8). A painting (1650) by Jan van Kessel (1626-1679) similarly depicts shells on a pedestal flanking a vase of flowers (Figure 1-9). Both paintings originated from the Southern Netherlands and likely related to a tradition of the depiction of fragile, precious objects that wilt or break over time, such as shells and flowers, a convention particularly attractive to their wealthy Antwerp audience.

Paintings from the seventeenth-century Northern Netherlands depict shells in fish still lifes and *vanitas* or *memento mori* contexts, in addition to incorporating them into new types of still-life paintings, such as specialized flower, fish, and shell still lifes. The *Conus marmoreus* appears in many of these genres, indicating its familiarity to audiences and artists during the period. Pieter Claesz.'s (1597-1660) painting from 1624 portrays a watch, wilting flowers, a *Conus marmoreus,* and a large piece of *pronk* metalware, presenting a lavish display of expensive objects (Figure 1-10). In this example, a book almost fully obscures from view the skull that typically carries *memento mori* implications, directing the viewer's attention instead to the opulent objects shown. The message in these works encourages the viewer to take pleasure in luxury and expensive items, including the exotic shell within the privileged setting, but also prompts the viewer to meditate on the passage of time and the progress of life.[28]

Native Dutch artists and immigrants from the South also developed a genre exclusive to them, the shell still life, in which shells have been detached from flowers and fish, and allegorical, *vanitas*, or *memento mori* settings, to stand on their own as subjects worthy of depiction in paint. The primary center for still-life depictions of shells in the first few decades of the seventeenth century, the city of Middelburg functioned as a hub of the VOC. Its population formed close ties with the global trading enterprise, bringing to the town goods, such as shells

[28] Segal, *Prosperous,* 122-29.

and exotic items, in addition to commercial traffic and VOC employees. Revealing the influence of their city's commercial interests, two Middelburg artists, Balthasar van der Ast (1593-1657), who was born in Middelburg, and Ambrosius Bosschaert (1573-1621), who was born in Antwerp, almost always included shells in their flower still-life paintings, frequently depicting the *Conus marmoreus.*[29] Bosschaert highlights the marbled cone shell in a 1607 painting, as it is the only shell accompanying a vase of flowers (Figure 1-11). Van der Ast also depicts shells in his still lifes, as seen in a 1623 painting that portrays fruit, porcelain, and flowers (Figure 1-12). He incorporates a *Conus marmoreus* that occupies a privileged position at the edge of the table, its bright white pattern standing out from the other objects.

In the 1620s and 1630s, van der Ast developed the shell still life, an example of which is a c. 1620 painting that displays a collection of coral and shells on a cloth-covered table, together with a *Conus marmoreus* (Figure 1-13).[30] All of the individually delineated, carefully portrayed shells originally came from faraway locations, such as Africa, Cuba, and Southeast Asia.[31] This

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[29] Ambrosius Bosschaert was van der Ast's brother in law, with whom van der Ast lived after his father's death. Chong, *Still-Life,* 288, 290.

[30] In c. 1620s and 1630s, an unknown artist, though probably Balthasar van der Ast, produced a series of 483 watercolors depicting flowers, insects, and shells. The group of images was almost certainly used as an artist's source book, providing him visual references to consult while painting similar objects. One of the sheets depicts the *Conus marmoreus*, which is labeled "*Herts Horen*" or stag's horn, possibly a seventeenth-century nickname for the shell, though I know of no other sources that mention this as an alternative designation. Unknown artist, possibly Balthasar van der Ast, *Herts Horen (Stag's Horn) and Geel Belleken (Yellow Bell),* c. 1620s or 1630s, watercolor over black chalk, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, 31.4 x 20.3 cm. It is unlikely that this watercolor influenced Rembrandt's print directly, as, in all probability, only the artist who created the series and his students saw it. For discussion of these watercolors, refer to Luijten, *Rembrandt,* 260-61; Michiel C. Plomb, entry for Balthasar van der Ast, in *Vermeer and the Delft School*, ed. Walter Liedtke (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 444-46; William W. Robinson, *Bruegel to Rembrandt: Dutch and Flemish Drawings from the Maida and George Abrams Collection* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 230-31.

[31] See identification of the shells in Woldbye and von Meyenburg, *Konkylien*, 87. Also see the catalogue entry for the painting in Fred G. Meijer, *Stillevens uit de gouden eeuw* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1989), 52.

image appealed to an audience interested in exotic shells, possibly tempting the pocketbooks of a growing number of shell collectors, including those involved in VOC trade.[32]

The establishment of a tradition of shells in still-life paintings indicates the fascination Northern Netherlandish artists and their patrons or buyers had for these special, beautiful objects. For a culture bent on satisfying a desire to describe and delineate the world in a precise, detailed fashion, shells afforded Dutch artists the opportunity to explore a wide range of textures, colors, patterns, and sizes. Perfectly suited for depiction in Dutch still lifes, shells could illustrate the fragile nature of life in some cases, while also allowing artists the opportunity to create *tour de force* portrayals of the precious objects. Rembrandt's *Shell* engages with still-life paintings' pictorial history, descending from images intended for an audience interested in overseas trade and the luxuries of the Golden Age brought from far away to enter Dutch collections. In addition, the frequent appearance of the *Conus marmoreus* in still-life paintings may indicate that the shell held a specific place of honor or was particularly recognizable during the period. Its familiarity may have made it attractive to artists creating images of shells that could be sold to those with interests in the East Indies, in shell collections, in the magnificent abilities of artists as creators, or in some combination of these interests.[33]

Wenceslas Hollar and Shells in Print

Although seventeenth-century painters devoted attention to the portrayal of shells, Rembrandt's print exists as one of few printed depictions of them in Western art previous to the

[32] Dutch still lifes also depict native Dutch and European shells, including scallops, oysters, and mussels, though I have not found them to be common in Middelburg still-life images. The vogue for collecting shells, a notorious pastime in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, seems focused on exotic rarities like shells from the East and West Indies, rather than native European species.

[33] Julie Berger Hochstrasser observes that there is a possible and circumstantial connection between the products a collector traded for business and the sorts of painted objects that person chose to buy. She uses the example of a pepper merchant who also owned still-life paintings that depict pepper papers. Although nearly impossible to prove with certainty, the connection seems logical and has influenced my study. Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 121.

eighteenth century, when shell catalogues came into vogue.[34] Wenceslas Hollar's (1607-1677) series from 1646 remains, in essence, the lone printed precedent to Rembrandt's etching, and thus must bear comparison to the *Shell*.[35] While working as an artist for the earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard, Hollar likely accompanied his employer's *kunstkamer* when the earl of Arundel sent it to Antwerp from England during the civil war, giving him further opportunity to sketch the shells in the collection.[36] Although little is known about Hollar's shell prints, scholars believe that he probably created the images in Antwerp, rather than in England, a few years before Rembrandt dated his etching.[37]

The prints in the series depict thirty-eight shells, displayed as specimens on white backgrounds (Figures 1-14, 1-15, and 1-16). While almost all seem to float in space, presented as scientific illustrations, a couple of images do portray shells that exist in a more plausible three-dimensional reality, though none to the degree of Rembrandt's *Shell* (Figure 1-14). Four of

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[34] The form of the shell, especially the scallop, became a hallmark of the eighteenth-century Rococo, as furniture, grottos, and decorative motifs were based on the shell. See the exhibition catalogues, *Die Muschel in der Kunst* and *Konkylien og Mennesket*, for examination of the shell's usage in the eighteenth century. As seen in the rise of shell species catalogues, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became a great age for scientific investigation of shells. See Dance's *History* for a thorough outline, in addition to Serge Alexandre, "Les livres de coquillages aux temps modernes: Reflects de la conchyliophilie et de la conchyliologie," *Art & Fact: Université de Liège* 12 (1993): 90-107.

[35] A search for printed shell precedents by some of the artists Rembrandt emulated resulted in no examples. Neither Lucas van Leyden nor Dürer produced printed representations of shells, but Goltzius depicted shells in his portrait of Jan Govertsz. van der Aar (Figure 1-21). Although no scholar has yet been able to identify to which prints it refers, a record from the Spranger sale in 1638 includes mention that Rembrandt purchased "12 kockjes Alborduer (12 shells by Albrecht Dürer)," as reproduced in Dudok Van Heel, *Dossier Rembrandt documenten, tekeningen, en prenten* (Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis and Gemeentearchief, 1988), item 50, 72-75. Still, the possibility remains that Dürer depicted shells and that Rembrandt was influenced by the German master's yet unknown contribution to a history of shell imagery. While made by an artist who did not exercise great influence over Rembrandt, Jacob Hoefnagel's series of fifty-two prints based on the paintings of his father, Joris Hoefnagel, includes a smattering of shells depicted alongside insects, flowers, fruit, frogs, mice, and other small creatures. For an engraving from the series that includes a cone shell, see Part IV, Plate V, *Aenigma*, from the *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnageliii Jacobus F. genio duce ab ipso scalpta omnibus philomusis amice D. ac perbenigne communicat'* (Archetype and verses by Georg Hoefnagel, his father, are presented, engraved in copper under the guidance of his genius and communicated in friendship to all lovers of the Muses by his son Jacob), Frankfurt: Christoph Weigel, 1592. Thea Vignau-Wilberg discusses the series, in *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii 1592: Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600/ Nature, Poetry and Science in Art around 1600* (Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1994).

[36] Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607-1677* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982), xxix.

[37] Ibid., xxxi.

the individual prints depict two shells, each pair labeled "A" or "B," suggesting that the prints were intended to correspond in some way with a list of shell names and information, though such a document, if it did exist, has not survived (Figure 1-15). The scientific approach to detail and specimen-like presentation indicate that Hollar may have etched the shells from life, possibly from those in the Arundel collection.[38] Artists historically had been employed, including during the seventeenth century, to document the collections of wealthy, aristocratic patrons, who wanted to preserve their treasures, declare their ownership of those items, and sometimes even publicize their possession of such objects.[39] The responsibility to reproduce aspects of the earl of Arundel's collection fell on Hollar, which may have also included the task of portraying the shells in 1646.[40] The selection of a printed medium, rather than drawing or watercolor, could indicate that Hollar intended to duplicate the images, either at the command of his patron or for his own sale and profit. Today, only a few Hollar shell impressions still exist. Those sold at auction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries fetched high prices and reportedly only a few collectors of Hollar's works had shell prints in their possession, indicating that Hollar may not

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[38] Pennington debates whether or not Hollar created the images from shells in the Arundel collection, which may or may not have included them, and the possibility that the shells were taken to Antwerp. He suggests that Hollar may have sketched shells from the John Trandescant collection (the basis of the shell collection at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford), but cannot verify any contact Hollar had with Trandescant. Still, Hollar had continued access to Arundel's collection after his death. Ibid., xxx-xxxii.

[39] Refer to Dance's *History* and Henry Coomans's discussion of a tradition of artists portraying collections and collectors who documented their own holdings, such as Ole Worm in Copenhagen and Trandescant, both of whom had extensive contact with the Dutch. Henry Coomans, "Conchology before Linnaeus," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe,* ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 188-92.

[40] Pennington, *Catalogue,* xxii, xxiii. According to Pennington, George Vertue published *A Description of the Works of Wenceslas Hollar* in 1745 and 1759. In his account, he states that Arundel intended to have a catalogue of his collection made, including those items of John Evelyn, his grandson, a project that involved "several gravers." Pennington, *Catalogue,* xxii-xxiii. Hollar was one of the printmakers included in the project, though it was not completed. Arundel is known to have sold portions of his collection for financial reasons in the 1640s. Perhaps Arundel and his agents, even upon his deathbed, chose to document the collection in print before sale, or Hollar created the series from Arundel's shells following his death. Even so, Hollar also may have documented a shell collection of another individual.

have produced many impressions of them and that the few he made may not have been widely distributed.[41]

Traditionally, art historians and scholars of scientific illustration consider the Hollar prints as inspiration for Rembrandt's *Shell.* One scholar expresses the belief that the shell Rembrandt depicted also appears in Hollar's series, a supposition that is incorrect.[42] The question remains if Rembrandt saw the series or heard mention of it. Although thorough documentation of Hollar's travels does not survive, a few sketches he produced of ships in Amsterdam may indicate that he visited the city in 1647, possibly bringing his series of shell depictions with him.[43] Another report of 1649 proposes that Hollar had contact with Rembrandt, who, according to one account, sold Hollar an impression of his *Hundred Guilder Print*, in the year previous to the *Shell*'s creation.[44] Scholars have suggested other connections between the two artists, as Rembrandt owned a Hollar print and Hollar made copies of some of Rembrandt's work.[45]

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[41] Pennington, *Catalogue,* 337. Also consult the Royal Library microform of Hollar's shell series, *Etchings of Wenceslaus Hollar in the Royal Library.* Pennington reports that Hollar's shell images were exceedingly rare even in the eighteenth century in *Catalogue,* xxxi.

[42] For an early opinion about the relationship between Hollar and Rembrandt's prints, see J.Q. Van Regteren Altena, "Rembrandt en Wenzel Hollar," *De kroniek van de vriendenkring van het Rembrandthuis* 13, no. 5 (1959): 81-86.

[43] Pennington, *Catalogue,* xxxii.

[44] Pennington reports the comments of Johan Heinrich Heucher, curator of prints for Augustus III of Saxony, in 1744, saying that Rembrandt sold Hollar an impression of *Christ Healing the Sick* for one hundred guilders. I have not been able to find other accounts of this exchange to corroborate Heucher's report. Pennington, *Catalogue,* xxiii.

[45] Van Regteren Altena mentions a few instances of contact, as does Mariët Westermann in *Rembrandt,* Art and Ideas Series (London: Phaidon Press, 2000), 51, 58. Hollar copied Rembrandt's bust of Saskia (*Saskia with Pearls in Her Hair,* 1634 (B. 347); Hollar, *Bust of Saskia*, 1635 (P. 1650)), the *Nude Woman Seated on a Mound* (Rembrandt, 1631 (B. 198); Hollar, *Naked Woman Seated*, 1635 (P. 603)), and a figure from one of Rembrandt's paintings (Rembrandt, *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 1629, Private Collection; copied by Jan Gillisz van Vliet in *Grieving Man*, 1634 (B. 22); Hollar copied van Vliet in his *Heraclitus* (P. 285A)). In addition, the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's belongings mentions Hollar's work in number 235, an East Indian basket containing a multitude of prints by various artists, including Hollar. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Een Oostindies benneken daar in verscheijde prenten van Rembrandt, Hollaert, Cocq, en andere meer." Transcribed in Hofstede de Groot, *Die urkunden über Rembrandt* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1906), 202. See Kenneth Clark's English translation of the inventory record in *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: New York University Press for the Institute of Fine Arts, 1966), 203.

It is possible that Hollar sold his shell series in Amsterdam during his potential 1649 visit or that he may have shown it to Rembrandt. The similarities between the two artists' work, in depicting shells in a portrait-like manner, and the lack of printed precedents for representations of those rare objects before Hollar, indicate a potential influence. Rembrandt may have been intrigued with the simple presentation of a shell on a white background, though in his work, the *Conus marmoreus* seems to be placed in an ambiguous setting, rather than treated in a taxonomic fashion. He may also have been attracted to the idea of documenting a collection in print, an aristocratic practice about which he probably was already aware. Perhaps Rembrandt received a prompt to turn to his own collection as subject matter for his art as a result of having contact with Hollar's work.

Following upon Balthasar van der Ast's shell still-life depictions from the 1620s and 1630s, the series of shell depictions by Hollar acts as another contribution to the pictorial history of shells in Dutch art, and, as such, it may have further endowed shells with value and heightened the demand for portrayals of the exotic objects in the United Provinces. Additional instances of shells' appearance in Dutch art include Hendrik Goltzius's (1558-1617) portrait of shell collector Jan Govertsz. van der Aar (1603) (See Figure 1-21) and the tantalizing possibility that Rembrandt owned a set of shell depictions by Albrecht Dürer that has not survived, further substantiating shells' place of honor in society and in the work of artists whom Rembrandt admired. Such a venerable artistic heritage of shell imagery not only created a market for representations of the items and showed Rembrandt the status of the prized, rare objects, but also provided him a pictorial history to which he could respond. Finally, the Hollar prints may have inspired him to approach the subject of shells in a reproducible, marketable medium, appealing to a specific clientele, who may have already been purchasing the painted images of shells.

Shells in Cabinet Paintings and Collector Portraits

The people to whom van der Ast's still-life paintings and Hollar's shell series may have appealed were likely those who had interests in developing *kunstkamers,* collections occasionally documented in paintings. The pictorial history of shells during the seventeenth century includes cabinet paintings, depictions of portions of *kunstkamers,* and collector portraits, further showing the status of shells in Dutch collections in Rembrandt's time and helping to identify the intended audience for his print. Providing some background to European cabinets of curiosities and the particular features of Dutch collections clarifies the standing of shells as precious, rare, collectible objects, while also indicating the special role they played in Dutch collection images.

A desire to unite diverse objects under the aegis of one whole, which created a miniature version of the universe, inspired collection activities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.[46] In accordance with the early modern inclination to categorize and classify the world, the *kunstkamers* of the seventeenth century included items made by man (*artificialia*) and those produced by nature (*naturalia*) the category to which shells belonged.[47] Outside of the Dutch Republic, a few monarchs, nobility, and other extremely wealthy individuals gathered collections as humanistic pursuits and displays of status.[48] Inside the Dutch Republic, many merchants, artists, and others of the middle-class Dutch burghers, built collections on a smaller scale than did the wider European aristocracy.[49] They often amassed select items that piqued their

[46] Consult the introduction to Impey and MacGregor's *The Origin of Museums* for a sketch of basic principles of collection in the history of the European *kunstkamer* or cabinet of curiosities.
[47] For discussion of *kunstkamer* organization, see Impey and MacGregor, *Origin* and van Gelder and van der Veen, "Collecting," 17-18. Westermann mentions *artificialia, naturalia,* and *antiquitates* for "objects of historical (chiefly Roman) origin," dividing the cabinet into three categories in *Rembrandt,* 223.
[48] A handful of collections on the aristocratic scale did exist in the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic, including that of Amalia van Solms, Stadholder Frederick Henry, and Johan Maurits van Nassau. Van Gelder and van der Veen, "Collecting," 14-15.
[49] In seventeenth-century Dutch literature, a man who had a collection was called a *liefhebber,* meaning art lover or amateur. Rembrandt was referred to as a *liefhebber* in the seventeenth century. Ibid., 16. Carel van Mander used the term in his 1604 volume.

interests, rather than trying to collect from the whole of the earth, focusing their energies on certain categories of items, such as prints or remnants from classical antiquity. Bringing together objects as a hobby, they formed collections to be sold upon their deaths and then dispersed at auctions to other collectors, or occasionally were passed on in their entirety to heirs.[50] Rooms lined with shelves and or specially designed cabinets housed collections, as seen in this famous engraving of a *kunstkamer* in which shells categorized according to shape sit in trays and boxes (Figure 1-17).[51] Collections even in the Dutch Republic acted as markers of status, in addition to being used in professional activities for some, such as scientists and artists.

The practice of creating a collection of only shells, called the shell cabinet, first appeared in the Low Countries.[52] Northern Netherlanders garnered fame for developing shell cabinets, drawing together shells from diverse areas of the globe, brought home to the Dutch Republic through their vast trading network. Some shell collections may have come to the Northern Netherlands when refugees from the Eighty Years War fled Antwerp, a city known for shell cabinets in the sixteenth century.[53] Albrecht Dürer's receipt of shells from collectors in Antwerp during his 1520 visit to that city helps to illustrate the fame of those Flemish collections that may have been transferred to the United Provinces, in addition to suggesting the possibility that Dürer had a personal collection of shells.[54] Desiderius Erasmus, a humanist, and Bernardus Paludanus, a scientist, of the generations previous to Rembrandt both had shell collections, as did Christiaen Porret, an apothecary living in Rembrandt's hometown of Leiden during the artist's formative

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., 17-20. For more information about the specific display of Dutch collections, see the catalogue and volume of essays accompanying a 1992 exhibition at the Amsterdams Historisch Museum (now the Amsterdam Museum), in Ellinoor Bergvelt and Reneé Kistemaker, ed., *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992).

[52] Coomans, "Conchology," 189; Dance, *History*, 10-11; Leonhard, "Shell Collecting," 182-88.

[53] Van Gelder and van der Veen, "Collecting," 15.

[54] Dance, *History,* 11-12.

years.[55] Indeed, the list of well-known shell collectors of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic is quite lengthy. In seventeenth-century Amsterdam alone, more than forty persons actively collected and many had shell cabinets.[56] Visitors to Amsterdam describe the plethora of businesses selling items from the East Indies, including shells. John Evelyn, for example, in response to his August 1641 visit to Amsterdam, records in his diary, "At another shop, I furnished myself with some shells and Indian curiosities," showing the availability of such objects to the community.[57] The construction of the East India House provided a public forum for the display of shells and exotic paraphernalia, further engraining shell collection in the fabric of Dutch culture. Moreover, as mentioned previously, Visscher's emblem indicates his concern for the obsessive collection of shells, as his moralizing text lashes out against a societal problem. At the same time, however, he further popularized and gave voice to the hobby of shell collecting. In the combination of these factors, shells came to have a special place in Dutch cabinets.

While shells had a valued role in Dutch cabinets of curiosities, their appearance in art does not represent their literal place of honor in *kunstkamers,* but rather shows their integration into many aspects of Dutch pictorial history and culture. In the Southern Netherlands, cabinet paintings depict shells as one part of more diverse collections of art and exotic rarities in portrayals of lavish aristocratic collections. By contrast, in the Dutch Republic, *kunstkamer*

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Van Gelder and van der Veen also point out that "between 1600 and 1700 there were at least a hundred substantial collections [of curiosities] in the Northern Netherlands, principally in Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, The Hague, Middelburg, Utrecht, and above all, Amsterdam," in "Collecting," 31.

[57] First published in 1818, Evelyn's account actually dates from the mid-seventeenth century. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* ed. William Bray (London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1906), 17. As a point of reminder, John Evelyn is the grandson of Hollar's patron and likely shell collector, the Earl of Arundel. C.D. van Strien discusses numerous shops where foreign goods were sold in the Dutch Republic, including mentioning a British woman who purchased goods at the same place where Evelyn had bought his shells. C.D. van Strien, *British Travelers in Holland During the Stuart Period,* Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, ed. A.J. Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 138-39.

items appear in varied genres of art including still life, scenes of everyday life, and portraiture, rather than remaining confined to an illusion of a cabinet space. Depictions of the *Conus marmoreus* in Flanders and the United Provinces deepen its artistic roots and provide a foundation of imagery to which Rembrandt could respond in his *Shell*. Such imagery also heightens the exceptional nature of his print, giving the viewer a glimpse of a real, rather than imagined shell, which likely belonged to the artist.

In Flemish cabinet paintings, the *Conus marmoreus* figures so prominently that it became a stock element of collection images in the first half of the seventeenth century. Jan Bruegel's allegorical depiction of an art cabinet from 1640 portrays a large room, brimming over with paintings, sculpture busts, and a collection of shells, including a gold encrusted nautilus (Figure 1-18). Paintings by Frans Francken (1581-1642) and others often incorporate shells, including the *Conus marmoreus*, as part of a *kunstkamer* on view, portraying an actual or fictitious glimpse of a collection (Figures 1-19 and 1-20).[58] Now, not just seen as a trapping for fish, *memento mori* imagery, or flower still life, the *Conus marmoreus* receives further status as an object in being presented in a collection setting. Cabinets depicted could be imagined presentations or specific documents of certain collector's *kunstkamer* items, commissioned by a patron, such as a Hapsburg official or one of a handful of wealthy merchants. In either case, the *Conus marmoreus* receives continued association with impressive collections and other items of great rarity.

By contrast, traditional cabinet paintings do not appear in the *oeuvres* of Dutch artists. Rather, more often, portrait, still life, and genre images that do include imagined portions of collections integrate shells into the fabric of everyday life. Goltzius depicts Jan Govertsz. van

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[58] Refer to Ariane van Suchtelen's discussion of Francken's encyclopedic still lifes in "Room for Art in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp," in *Room for Art in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp*, ed. Ariane van Suchtelen and Ben van Beneden (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2009), 27-8.

der Aar with his collection of shells in a stunning 1603 portrait (Figure 1-21).[59] Abraham Susenier (c. 1620-1666) included a *Conus marmoreus* in his 1659 still-life painting of the van Beverwijck family's collection of shells (Figure 1-22). Gerard Dou (1613-1675), an early student of Rembrandt, depicts gatherings of commonly collected objects, including shells, in the trappings of his artist images, dispersed within the cluttered setting (Figures 1-23 and 1-24). Cornelis de Man (1621-1706) portrays a scene of a shell seller in a home presenting his exotic wares to two women (Figure 1-25).[60] A mid-century still life by K. Lux incorporates *kunstkamer* objects, including a *Conus marmoreus* and world globe, though the painting does not document a known collection (Figure 1-26).[61] In these examples, items commonly found in Southern Netherlandish *kunstkamers* and their representations enter the mainstream of Dutch art, as if the Northern Netherlanders wear their collections on their sleeves, incorporating them into images of everyday, middle-class life. Moreover, Dutch paintings that include shells usually depict imagined specimens, rather than grounding their representation in particular collections of certain individuals.

Thus, the widespread appearance of shells in Dutch art shows the public's awareness of and their interest in representations of such precious objects. Further, the frequent depiction of the *Conus marmoreus* in cabinet paintings from the Southern Netherlands and flower and shell still-life paintings from the North, endows the exotic shell with an extensive pictorial history, associated with valuable collections and VOC interests. Rembrandt's print isolates a frequently

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[59] Van der Aar also appears in an allegorical image by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, depicting the sitter with his shell collection (*Allegory of the Arts During Times of Peace,* 1607, oil on canvas, Sevenoaks, UK, Knole Castle). Goltzius's portrayal of van der Aar and his collection is unusual, as similar collector portraits do not appear until later in the century. Post-dating Rembrandt's print, in the second half of the seventeenth century, collectors began to have themselves shown with their shell collections in printed frontispieces. See, for example, publications of Seba, Rumphius, and Valentijn, which include portraits of the shell collectors with materials from their cabinets.
[60] I discuss this painting at greater length in Chapter 4, in which I connect this work to the rising consumer power of women in the seventeenth century and their early interest in the acquisition and exchange of exotic objects.
[61] As pictured and briefly discussed in *De wereld binnen handbereik,* cat. 10. Scholars know little about the artist who created this painting.

seen object within the artistic heritage of shell depictions, pulling the precious rarity out of a shell cabinet for presentation to the viewer. In doing so, he created a cabinet painting tailored to the tastes of a Dutch audience accustomed to the appearance of shells in relatively informal scenes, rather than in aristocratic collections, by providing the audience a view of an actual shell perhaps owned by the artist.

Rembrandt's Shells, *Kunstkamer,* and *Oeuvre*

The special nature of the *Shell* receives further corroboration as its preciousness adopts a decidedly personal significance for the artist. In the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possessions, three different entries of multiple items include shells.[62] Since Rembrandt owned dozens of shells, the group of expensive objects likely included a *Conus marmoreus,* a prized specimen in collections of this period. Acquiring his shells from auctions, dealers, and possibly through barter, Rembrandt obsessively sought after items he desired for his collection and purchased them on numerous occasions in the 1630s and 1640s.[63] Paul Crenshaw, a scholar specializing in Rembrandt's finances, writes, "collecting art and curiosities was a compulsion for [the artist]."[64] Even so, his *kunstkamer* was not a universal or encyclopedic collection. Like many Dutch collectors, Rembrandt focused his acquisitions on his personal interests, which in his case included paintings, sketches, prints, and sculptures, especially classical busts, musical

[62] Three entries likely included shells in Rembrandt's collection, as listed in an inventory of his estate: Item 175—"forty seven specimens of land and sea creatures, and things of that sort (47 stuks soo see als aert was en diergelijcken)"; Item 176—"twenty-three specimens of sea and land animals (23 Soo see al slant gediertie)"; Item 179—"a great quantity of shells, marine specimens, plasters, plaster casts from life and many other varieties (Een groote quantiteijt hoorens, seegewächse gietwerck op't leven afgegooten en veel andere raritijten)." As translated by Clark, *Rembrandt,* 200-01. Original Dutch text transcribed in de Groot, *Urkunden,* 199.
[63] For an outline of his collecting activities, see: van Gelder and van der Veen, "A Collector's Cabinet in the Breestraat," in *Rembrandt's Treasures,* ed. Bob van den Boogert (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1999), 37-42; Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, 89-109. Crenshaw, in particular, stresses Rembrandt's obsessive collecting habits.
[64] Paul Crenshaw, "Rembrandt's Declaration of Bankruptcy," in *Rethinking Rembrandt*, ed. Alan Chong and Michael Zell (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2002), 161.

instruments, weapons, artifacts from nature, and other exotic material.[65] Previous evidence illustrating the widespread collection of shells for inclusion in shell cabinets in the seventeenth century, and especially in Amsterdam, indicates that Rembrandt may have been emulating the activities of earlier individuals, in addition to augmenting his collection for reasons of gentlemanly status and professional activities.[66]

The *Conus marmoreus*'s venerable status in actual and painted collections, and still-life images likely made it an ideal addition to any Dutchman's cabinet, Rembrandt's not excepted. Rembrandt likely owned a *Conus marmoreus* when he used his etching needle to lavish attention on the shell's depiction. The *Shell* may document an encounter between the artist and a unique, precious object, as each specimen of the shell is unlike any other. The significance of portraying the shell's spiral in the opposite direction from which it normally develops may show that Rembrandt scratched its image on to the plate while studying the object, not concerning himself with scientific accuracy, but rather demonstrating artistic control over the object's representation. Mariët Westermann states, "as the signature certifies, nature's loveliness is now the artist's creation."[67] Indeed, he may have acquired the shell through purchase and then declared his possession of the portrayal of the object in the print, by signing the image. An experienced printmaker, Rembrandt would certainly have been capable of flipping the image of the shell to make it scientifically accurate after printing, but chose not to do so, thus heightening his artistic

[65] Van Gelder and van der Veen, "Cabinet," 43-48. In his article, Simon Schama parallels Rembrandt's acquisitions for his cabinet with the collecting activities of Rubens, an interpretation I find problematic, as do other scholars who find other motivations than competing with Rubens to be more compelling. Simon Schama, "On Rembrandt's House and the Collection of the Artist," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 99, no. 1-2 (1997): 8-15.

[66] Scholars debate whether or not Rembrandt's cabinet was related to some desire for status. In the recent publication *Rembrandt's Treasures,* Bob van den Boogert opposes the traditional view of R.W. Scheller who posits that the cabinet was created for status almost exclusively, an argument presented in "Rembrandt en de encyclopedische verzameling," *Oud Holland* 84, no. 2-3 (1969): 81-147.

[67] Westermann, *Rembrandt,* 225.

ownership of the shell and his role as creator of the print. Rembrandt acts as the originator of the shell's printed representation, subsuming the role of nature, and taking authorship of the object.

Still, one must ask if this view of an object possibly plucked from the artist's *kunstkamer* would have been significant to another seventeenth-century viewer. Since Dutch *kunstkamers* functioned as primarily private spaces, few visitors to Rembrandt's home saw the cabinet and his students also did not have unfettered access to the space. Due to a lack of contemporary descriptions, the most thorough extant account of his collection is the 1656 inventory of his possessions. The restricted access to his collection may have been due to the great emotional and psychological attachment the artist felt for his *kunstkamer* items.[68] His activities as a collector indicate that his motivations for forming such a collection likely drifted from the practical reasons of investment and status. Even after the sale of his cabinet and other belongings in 1656, Rembrandt began collecting again, whether or not his finances permitted such an expensive activity.[69] The *Shell* then could have spoken of Rembrandt's personal interests and concerns as a collector and an artist, possibly giving the viewer a glimpse of his *kunstkamer* and a *Conus marmoreus* specimen selected, owned, handled, and cared for by the same hands that created the print.

The exceptional character of the etching adopts a more multifaceted quality when considering the unique nature of the *Shell* in Rembrandt's *oeuvre*. Producing few still-life images in any medium, those Rembrandt did create typically show native Dutch objects commonly found in his everyday world, such as a slaughtered ox or guinea hens. Some works

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[68] Margaret Deutsch Carroll suggests that Rembrandt felt great attachment to the items in his cabinet, in "Rembrandt's Aristotle: Exemplary Beholder," *Artibus et Historiae* 5, no. 10 (1984), 35-56. Crenshaw indicates that Rembrandt may have had an emotional connection with his collected objects, or at least a psychological compulsion to acquire, in *Bankruptcy*, 108; "Declaration," 161. Other collectors had emotional relationships with their objects, including one who refused to sell a very rare shell for an extreme amount of money, as cited by van Gelder and van der Veen, "Collecting," 29.
[69] Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, 108-9.

by the artist portray objects from his cabinet. Rembrandt drew from his collection for costumes for sitters, self-portraits, and other elements in his paintings, including groupings of still-life objects. Furthermore, he depicted items from his collection in still-life sketches, such as his *Birds of Paradise* ink drawing in the Louvre (1639) that twice depicts the carcass of a Melanesian bird, while also including weapons and items of clothing from the collection in some prints (Figure 1-27). The *Shell*, however, exists as his only image focused on a single item possibly from his cabinet that was represented in a reproducible medium and thus intended for distribution.[70] As such, the print itself is an exceptional object in his *oeuvre*, possessing a uniqueness that would not have escaped the awareness of contemporary collectors. When revealed, layers of preciousness permeate the print, including its portrayal of a desirable, valuable, and rare shell probably in Rembrandt's personal collection, its status as a signed Rembrandt print, and its existence as a distinctive object in his *oeuvre*.

Constructing an Audience: A Circle of Collectors

Consideration of the specific circumstances that resulted in the creation in 1650 of this singular image helps to illuminate the possible audience for which Rembrandt intended the work. Aspects of his biography at mid-century may have compelled him to create the *Shell* to appeal to a group of people who could help Rembrandt alleviate his personal and financial difficulties as he dealt with a turbulent period in his life. Paul Crenshaw's recent reconsideration of Rembrandt's finances indicates that he was monetarily overstretched when he purchased a large, expensive home in 1639. His situation worsened in the 1640s as he faced an extreme lack of portrait commissions, resulting in a decrease in his income, ability to network, and the amount of

[70] Some other images from this period have formal similarities to the *Shell,* but do not depict items from his cabinet, such as a sketch of a lion and a print of a puppy, as the viewer approaches the subject from a similar observational angle and a single object acts as the focus of the image. Prints or drawings of single subjects that have some formal similarity to the *Shell* include: *Recumbent Lion*, c. 1650, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans van Beuningen; *Sleeping Puppy,* c. 1639, London, British Museum (B. 158); and in some respects *Reclining Woman*, 1658 (B 205, state II).

art he could create.[71] The 1640s also brought great personal trauma with his wife Saskia's death in 1642 and a dramatic, public falling out with Geertje Dircx, Rembrandt's housekeeper and mistress, whom he had committed to a *spinhuis* (women's workhouse) in Gouda in 1650.[72] In 1649, Rembrandt stopped making payments to Christoffel Thijs who owned the deed to the artist's house.[73] By 1650, the year of the *Shell*'s creation, Rembrandt had created a very treacherous situation that would come to a head with his official bankruptcy declaration in 1656. He was significantly in debt to merchants all over Amsterdam and still owed a substantial amount towards the purchase of his home. In addition, some scholars suggest that public knowledge of the scandal involving Geertje Dircx and his blossoming relationship with Hendrickje Stoffels damaged his reputation. His extended family did not have the means to help him meet his debts and keep his home. Rembrandt needed financial aid, in addition to assistance from respected men who might help him regain lost social ground.[74]

The artist went about solving his difficulties and recruiting aid in the manner with which he was most familiar and comfortable, and one which allowed him a great deal of control even in a tumultuous period. Rembrandt employed art as a gift in a variety of ways in an effort to save

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[71] Crenshaw, "Declaration," 161. Crenshaw disagrees with Westermann's assessment of the same period in many regards, including whether or not Rembrandt received decent commissions at the time. He also indicates that Rembrandt had stiff competition from students at that moment with many artists working in a Rembrandt-like style and selling their works for less than the master did. In regards to Rembrandt's finances, he had significant worth, but most of the estimated value of his estate was tied up in material goods like his house and collection.
[72] Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, 41-2.
[73] Crenshaw cites Simon Schama who postulates that Rembrandt may have been attracted to this specific house because the same family sold Rubens his house. Ibid., footnote 7, 48.
[74] Scholars have debated to what degree Rembrandt actually cared about his contemporaries' opinions of him. See, for example, Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings* (New York: Viking, 1985). Crenshaw concludes in an article based on his dissertation that Rembrandt "was focused solely on his art with little concern for life's social obligations" and that during the turbulent period in question in this paper he "tenaciously maintained his supreme autonomy over his artistic endeavors." Crenshaw, "Declaration," 171. Also see Svetlana Alpers for discussion of Rembrandt's cultivation of an artistic persona and his control over the production of his art, in *Rembrandt's Enterprise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

his home and possessions, endowing both new and existing works with functions as gifts.[75] Scholars suggest that Rembrandt made portrait prints to court financial aid from wealthy benefactors and he used art as currency to placate creditors.[76] In this turbulent period, he turned to those in his acquaintance for help, a group who Crenshaw labels, "a small cluster of genuine supporters."[77] Rembrandt may have created the *Shell* to appeal to this select group by virtue of the print's layers of preciousness and its degree of personalization, as it spoke of the artist's private interests and was also keenly suited to appeal to a particular group of men. It could serve as an appropriate gift for art collectors who valued the work for its status as a unique Rembrandt print, for the collectors who desired a printed specimen of a rare and valuable shell, or for the men who were interested in its artistic value, collectability, and scientific import. Rembrandt may have hoped to give the etching as a gift and receive aid, garner a financial reward from its sale, express gratitude for help by gifting it, or secure the extension of a financial deadline, mollifying his creditors by substituting art for payment. The *Shell* perfectly suited the group of men which was most able, and most likely, to help him in his crisis.

Composed of merchants, preachers, city officials, artists, and scholars, members of the circle surrounding Rembrandt had some characteristics in common.[78] They enjoyed a high

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[75] Crenshaw indicates that Rembrandt gave gifts to those who had helped him, normally out of obligation, dealing in the currency he knew best, art. For example, in 1639, he gave Constantijn Huygens a large painting, presumably *The Blinding of Samson* (1636, oil on canvas, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie), as a token of thanks for helping him receive a significant commission from stadhouder Frederik Henry. Crenshaw, "Declaration," 163, 171; *Bankruptcy*, Chapter 5.

[76] Crenshaw, "Declaration," 163; Michael Zell, "The Gift Among Friends: Rembrandt's Art in the Network of His Patronal and Social Relations," in *Rethinking Rembrandt*, ed. Alan Chong and Michael Zell (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2002), 176; Dickey, *Portraits,* 66-88. For an interesting discussion of letters Rembrandt wrote to Constantijn Huygens in which he discusses gifting his art, inscriptions on some prints that seem to indicate that Rembrandt gave them as gifts, and discussion of Rembrandt's portrait prints as gifts, see Michael Zell, "Rembrandt's Gifts: A Case Study of Actor-Network-Theory," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3, no. 2 (2010).

[77] Crenshaw, "Declaration," 163. Crenshaw states that Rembrandt sold his works to a small group rather than on an open market.

[78] I base my construction of a possible audience for the *Shell* on Crenshaw, Dickey, van Gelder, Montias, van der Veen, and Zell, and the circle of collectors as outlined in the *Rembrandt's Treasures* volume. My understanding of

degree of respect from their community and most had disposable incomes. Several attended auctions and bid for items along with Rembrandt, their names appearing in auction records together.[79] Moreover, many had cabinets and collected. Some focused their *kunstkamers* on art in print, drawings, or paintings alone, and others combined interests in art with amassments of *naturalia.* They frequented each other's homes, visited cabinets, talked about and traded art.[80] In addition, they seem to have admired Rembrandt's work, valuing their own impressions of his prints. Some were also willing to lend him money to pay his debts and expenses, knowing that they would not typically be repaid in a timely manner.[81] They may have extended help to him in the hope of securing art in payment of loans, as owning works by Rembrandt still manifested a significant degree of status and taste.[82]

A further commonality within this group is Rembrandt's creation of portrait prints of many of the men from 1646 to 1658, the period during which the artist created the *Shell.* One of the unifying characteristics of most of the individuals Rembrandt depicted is their interest in cabinets of curiosities, in addition to frequent activity as shell collectors or collectors of works on paper. Rembrandt may have presented the portrait prints as gifts that then circulated amidst the

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these men, including their visits to each other's homes, the contents of their collections, and their collection habits originates from this array of sources. See: John Michael Montias, "A Business Partner and a Pupil: Two Conjectural Essays on Rembrandt's Entourage," in *Rethinking Rembrandt*, ed. Alan Chong and Michael Zell (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2002), 130-58; Stephanie S. Dickey, *Rembrandt: Portraits in Print,* Oculi, vol. 9 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004).

[79] Van Gelder and van deer Veen, "Cabinet," 37, 64-65. Also see Appendix I of the *Rembrandt's Treasures* volume in which Jaap van der Veen mentions the names and provides brief biographies of many men who bid at the same auctions as Rembrandt.

[80] Van Gelder and van der Veen strengthen the premise that Rembrandt had significant contact with collectors, stating, "In the period when Rembrandt was amassing his collection, between 1635 and 1669, there were a few dozen of people who were actively collecting. Twenty of them were in contact with Rembrandt, and in most cases their relationship with the painter was demonstrably more than superficial…there can be no doubt that most of them knew one another," in "Cabinet," 64.

[81] For discussion of the many loans Rembrandt received from this group, see Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, chapter 4.

[82] See Crenshaw's discussion of Cornelis Witsen's motivations for the more self-interested reasons for loaning Rembrandt money. According to Crenshaw, Witsen may have hoped to get a painted portrait out of the deal, helping him to better his standing with the guild of St. Luke, as discussed in *Bankruptcy*, 52-3.

company, whether by sale or by gift exchange.[83] Although he did not make all of these portrait prints before 1650, they help identify the friends Rembrandt had made and define the group of men within his circle.

The significant presence of shell collectors within the artist's small circle is particularly striking. In 1632, Rembrandt painted a portrait of Jacques de Gheyn (Figure 1-28), a collector of paintings and owner of a fantastic shell cabinet, which Rembrandt may have seen.[84] He may have had further contact with de Gheyn's collection when it passed to the financial official Johannes Uytenbogaert. A shell collector and close associate of Rembrandt in the 1630s and 1640s, Uytenbogaert, was an ideal, possible recipient of the *Shell*, as Rembrandt presented him with a printed gift in 1639 and perhaps hoped to secure aid for the present and future.[85] Many other collectors in Rembrandt's circle may have also had shells in their cabinets, including Johannes de Renialme, a VOC investor from Middelburg; Gerard and Jan Reynst, whose collection Rembrandt visited in the 1640s or 1650s; Cornelis Witsen, who may have collected shells in his cabinet; Joachim van Wicquefort, who collected and sold East Indies material, probably including shells; Dirck van Cattenburgh, a moneylender, who collected *naturalia* and whose brother almost had Rembrandt etch his portrait; and Gulliaem Neurenburgh, who purchased shells at a 1637 auction, which Rembrandt attended.[86] The hobby of shell collecting had wide appeal in the group, and many, even those who were not shell collectors, visited

[83] Zell, "Gift," 176; Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, 142.
[84] A visitor to de Gheyn's collection in 1635 wrote that the cabinet included "various fine shells, large and small, in great number and of great rarity," as quoted by van Gelder and van der Veen, "Cabinet," 64.
[85] Rembrandt gave Uytenbogaert a portrait print (See Figure 1-29) in 1639 as an expression of gratitude. For further discussion of Johannes Uytenbogaert and Rembrandt, see Dickey, *Portraits,* 66-88. Dickey mentions that Uytenbogaert had works by van der Ast in his collection, so the recipient of the *Shell* may have already owned a painted depiction of it, in addition to a shell in his own cabinet. Also refer to Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, 142.
[86] See information about these collectors in Appendix I of the *Rembrandt's Treasures* volume and Montias, "Essays." Based on 1637 and 1638 auction records, Montias even suggests that a small group of buyers, including Rembrandt, participated in acts of collusion to control prices. Rembrandt met many collectors at auction who, based on the auction records, had similar interests as the artist, buying shells and works on paper. Montias, "Essays," 144-49.

Uytenbogaert's collection.[87] Considering the VOC connections of several members, they likely visited the East India House and its public displays of exotic rarities, almost certainly including a *Conus marmoreus.*

Many in the circle surrounding Rembrandt also collected works on paper, including drawings and prints by Albrecht Dürer, Hendrick Goltzius, Lucas van Leyden, and Jan Porcellis. In addition, numerous of these men had impressions of Rembrandt's prints in their cabinets, either portraits of themselves, friends within the circle, or other examples of the artist's work, such as the *Hundred Guilder Print*, which, according to Zell, Rembrandt presented as a gift to friends.[88] Jan Six, who became acquainted with Rembrandt in 1645, had many of the artist's works in his cabinet, including a portrait print from 1647 and a painted portrait.[89] In 1639, Rembrandt created a portrait print of Uytenbogaert, a possible collector of his prints, as a token of thanks for helping the artist secure payment for paintings in his Passion series (Figure 1-29).[90] Pieter de la Tombe, who knew Rembrandt very well, had two portraits of himself by Rembrandt in his collection.[91] These examples demonstrate that Rembrandt was well acquainted with people's collections and their preference for his work.[92]

The artist also was savvy enough to know who could be of assistance to him during financial and personal difficulties, calling on three gentlemen in 1653 to help him repay his debt to Thijs by asking them to loan him money: Cornelis Witsen, Jan Six, and Isaack van

[87] Van Gelder and van der Veen, "Cabinet," 85; Van der Veen, "Appendix I," in *Rembrandt's Treasures*, 142.
[88] Zell suggests the possibility that Rembrandt did not sell a single *Hundred Guilder Print* on the market, as it may have only been available to Rembrandt's friends, in "Gift," 186. See Zell for further discussion of this print as a gift.
[89] The two portrait depictions are: Rembrandt, *Jan Six*, 1654, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Six Collection; Rembrandt, *Jan Six*, 1647, etching, drypoint, and engraving (B. 285).
[90] Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy*, 47, 142; Dickey, *Portraits,* 66-88, 74-75; Westermann, *Rembrandt,* 142.
[91] Rembrandt's etching *Christ Preaching*, c.1652 (c. 1652, B. 67) is also known by the name *La Petite Tombe*, indicating further a close connection between Rembrandt's works of art and the collectors in the circle.
[92] Crenshaw states that Rembrandt "had a good sense of the types of people he could expect to buy his work," in "Declaration," 163.

Hertsbeeck.[93] When faced with catastrophic circumstances, Rembrandt secured the aid of a collector and friend, Jan Six, and that of an acquaintance and collector, Witsen, to ameliorate his crisis. Both Witsen and Six also had collections including the artist's work and van Hertsbeeck had connections to a Rembrandt patron, Eleazar Swalmius.[94] In addition, Abraham Francken, whom Rembrandt portrayed in a portrait print in 1657, and Pieter de la Tombe also assisted in Rembrandt's financial dealings in 1653.[95]

The *Shell*'s creation in 1650 may have helped bring about this aid, four years after Rembrandt stopped paying the debt on his home. Rembrandt possibly used the print as a gift to garner financial support from these individuals. As per the mores and rules governing Dutch gifting practices in the seventeenth century, the giver expected reciprocation of some sort from the recipient of a gift. With his properly personalized gift, Rembrandt could count on those who received the *Shell*, if in fact it was gifted, to return in kind, whether presenting him with money, more time to pay a loan, a commission, or an increase in social capital that allowed him to acquire help from another source. Possibly part of Rembrandt's effort to achieve solvency, the *Shell*'s calculated character, on account of its iconography, status as a Rembrandt print, and appeal for an array of individuals, may have allowed it to function as an exotic gift within the circle of men who collected prints and shells, had familiarity with the value of rare, exotic objects, and who likely found the *Shell* a remarkable addition to their collections.

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[93] Crenshaw, *Bankruptcy,* 51-56.

[94] See Crenshaw's lengthy note about van Heertsbeeck and further discussion of his connection to Rembrandt, including his motivations for lending the artist money, in Ibid.,53.

[95] Although Rembrandt did not have contact with him until after the *Shell*'s creation, apothecary Abraham Francken, a collector of works on paper, was also the guardian of Rembrandt's daughter, Cornelia. In November 1653, he agreed to help Rembrandt collect money owed to the artist, but did not loan him money. Pieter de la Tombe witnessed the legal proceedings endowing Francken with the power to receive money on Rembrandt's behalf. The artist's portrait of the collector and friend from 1657 depicts Francken in a cabinet, possibly studying a print. Ibid., 56; Van Gelder and van de Veen, "Collecting," 65.

Constructing an Image: The *Shell*'s Layers of Preciousness

Rembrandt's awareness of his audience may have permitted him to construct an image that would appeal to a circle of collectors. The *Shell* exhibits a high degree of personalization, a key characteristic of Dutch gifting practices, suiting the tastes and preferences of the possible recipients in Rembrandt's circle.[96] By carefully selecting the print's subject, making it an exceptional work of art in his *oeuvre*, and boldly declaring his authorship, Rembrandt tailored the work to a particular group of individuals, making the print attractive for purchase or as a treasured gift.

As a depiction of a *Conus marmoreus*, the *Shell* portrays an exotic object found only in areas controlled by the VOC. Members of Rembrandt's collecting circle had interests in the overseas activities of the Dutch and likely were aware of the shell's exotic origin. They attended auctions and often traded in exotic wares, and would have been apprised of the worth of shells, items whose monetary value often surpassed that of paintings or prints.[97] In its graphic depiction of the easily identifiable object, the print may also have functioned as a substitute for the actual shell in collections of *naturalia* in Rembrandt's circle.

Furthermore, the etching possessed a type of value that unadorned shells themselves did not have. While the transformation of nautilus shells into decorative showpieces increased their monetary value, Rembrandt's depiction of a shell is void of jeweled accoutrements. Rather, he encased the shell in a most valuable trapping for a seventeenth-century collector, the name of Rembrandt. More print collectors than shell enthusiasts existed in his circle. To them, a

[96] Thorough provenance is unknown for the surviving impressions of the *Shell*, so it is not possible to firmly connect the print to any specific collector's cabinet. Zell speaks of images that were distributed among the circle, though neither he nor Crenshaw speak of the *Shell* as a possible gift, or consider its specific function.

[97] Dance recounts the story of an auction in 1796 of a French shell collector's cabinet, in which a Vermeer sold for almost the same price as a rare oyster shell, in *History,* 53-54. How different is the valuation of the print and the shell today, as impressions of the *Shell* usually sell for more than one hundred thousand dollars and *Conus marmoreus* specimens cost only about four dollars.

Rembrandt print would have always been a significant addition to their cabinets. Further, the status of the *Shell* as his only still-life print could have heightened their desire to bring it into their *kunstkamers*. His production of multiple signed and dated states may have also sparked a collecting frenzy as, according to William Robinson, "even during the master's lifetime, collectors could not rest until they owned all the states of every print." [98] Rembrandt was undoubtedly aware of collectors' practice of acquiring all the states of his prints and maximized the profit he could make from one plate by issuing impressions in more than one state.[99]

A surviving account of the print's role in a collection makes clear that it could carry multiple types of value, including scientific and artistic, thus broadening its appeal for the men in Rembrandt's circle. An impression of the *Shell* appears in Martin and Anna Lister's *Scrap-Book* from c. 1680, demonstrating how the print may have functioned for two members of its audience in being pasted into an album with drawings of other shells. Interestingly, when the father/daughter team created their shell history, *Historia Conchyliorum* (London, 1685-92), they "corrected" Rembrandt's image to reflect the accurate direction of the shell's spiral. For these viewers, the print had value in its status as a work by Rembrandt and in its scientific and taxonomic import, as likely reflecting the artist's interaction with an actual specimen of the shell.[100] In a similar vein, the collectors to whose tastes and preferences Rembrandt probably directed the *Shell* may have found multiple types of value in the print, sparking their inclination to receive it as a gift or purchase it from the artist. By creating the etching, Rembrandt took a subject ripe for scientific illustration and transformed it into a powerful statement of his skill as a

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[98] William W. Robinson, "This Passion for Prints": Collecting and Connoisseurship in Northern Europe during the Seventeenth Century," in *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Clifford S. Ackley (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts and New York Graphic Society, 1981), xliii.
[99] The third state survives in only one impression in the Rijksmuseum. Most likely, the plate became worn from many printings in the second state and Rembrandt, or another artist, re-etched the plate to permit a third state.
[100] See Leonhard's discussion of the Listers, in "Shell Collecting," 196-203.

printmaker and his awareness of the pictorial heritage of shell depiction. [101] His students and present competition in Amsterdam could offer nothing that would trump the demand for the *Shell*.

A Gift or a Commodity?

The evidence presented bolsters the possibility that Rembrandt used the *Shell* as a gift and speaks to the market value of the work and its commodity function. As discussed in this dissertation's introduction, the Dutch drew virtually no distinction between the categories of gift and commodity, in large part due to the United Provinces' economically oriented culture. Further, as mentioned, reciprocation in Rembrandt's world could take many forms, including objects, money, or favors. In keeping with Dutch cultural practice, one gift initiated a sequence, creating a cycle of gifting that Rembrandt likely hoped would benefit him. The cultural conflation of gift and commodity came to influence Rembrandt's *Shell,* as he created a print that skillfully merged two valuable goods, a rare shell and a print by the artist, in a single object that could enter the gift economy and bring monetary relief through reciprocation, or be sold on the market to eager collectors.

In the context of gift-giving practices in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, the possibility exists that one of the men in Rembrandt's circle requested a depiction of a shell, in essence asking for a gift. Rembrandt could have fulfilled the request, knowing that doing so would bring the receiver into obligation to reciprocate and provide Rembrandt with something in return. A member of Rembrandt's group of supporters could also have asked him to produce the *Shell* as a

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[101] Scientific illustration of shells took off in the late seventeenth century with the contributions of Philippo Buonanni (1681), Martin Lister (1685), and Georg Rumphius (completed in 1690, published in 1741). Also indicating a further penchant for shell depiction following Rembrandt's print are Adrian Coorte's shell still lifes (1690s, Boston, Private Collection; Paris, Louvre) and three studies of shells hanging on strings casting shadows on walls by Bartholomeus Assteyn, a Dordrecht flower painter influenced by van der Ast (c. 1660s, Paris, Foundation Custodia, Institute Néerlandais). I believe that the *Shell* influenced the portrayal of shells in scientific literature.

commission of sorts, with the intention of paying the artist for the work. In either case, Rembrandt made a desirable and precious work of art, the origin of which could have belonged to the realm of the gift, the market arena, or both. In such a small circle made up of Rembrandt's primary buyers and collectors, knowledge of a new print would have spread quickly, and, regardless of its genesis, the artist could have sold the print to anyone within the group or beyond. Their varied interests in collections of rarities and art, natural sciences, and overseas trade provided Rembrandt a spectrum of tastes to which the print would appeal.

Further demonstrating the merging of gift and commodity in the *Shell*, Rembrandt treated his art as currency in his dealings with his financiers and in his business. While grappling with his greatest debt, he appeased his mortgage lender, Christoffel Thijs, with works of art as substitutions for payment to help extend his patience.[102] In 1651, Rembrandt's depiction of Thijs's estate in Haarlem likely satisfied a portion of the debt or helped stay the wealthy man's annoyance at a lack of payment for the previous two years (Figure 1-30). The *Shell* may have served a similar function a year earlier, as Rembrandt's art could act interchangeably as gift or commodity. Even the artist's *Christ Healing the Sick* or *The Hundred Guilder Print* (c. 1642-49) appears to have had both a gift and commodity function, as embodied in its nickname. Zell makes a compelling case for its use as a gift print, but at the same time, the print's nickname embodies market value.[103] In the possible role of the *Shell* to be sold as a print, given as a gift, or both, Rembrandt may have created the ideal work of art, which could help the artist avoid the bankruptcy that finally came to fruition six years after the print's creation. During a year of crisis, Rembrandt may have plucked a single item from his own cabinet and depicted it in such a

[102] Crenshaw, "Declaration," 163.
[103] Zell comments that some impressions of *The Hundred Guilder Print*, c. 1649 (B. 74) appear on rich Japanese paper or vellum, though they are also printed on more ordinary seventeenth-century paper, in "Gift," 188. I have not yet found *Shell* impressions printed on such luxurious paper.

way that he knew would be desirable to his circle. In all likelihood, by both selling and giving the *Shell*, Rembrandt could have profited and begun a chain reaction of gifting that would have brought him into financial and personal favor with men who could have alleviated his current troubles.

Conclusion

Rembrandt's *Shell* may have functioned as an exotic gift for a group of men who had the means and status to help Rembrandt during a financially tumultuous period of his life. The artist precisely suited the print to the tastes of its possible intended recipients by engaging shells' pictorial history and linking his own image of a *Conus marmoreus* to overseas trade, the appeal of art and exotica collections, and the status of the artist as nature's rival. The artist constructed an image laden with exceptional characteristics, including its display of a rare and expensive *kunstkamer* item from an exotic land, its singularity as Rembrandt's only still life print, and its three signed and dated states. In multiple ways, the artist designed the perfect item to court aid from a group of collectors of art, shells, and other rarities as well as Rembrandt enthusiasts.

If used as a gift, Rembrandt's print would have initiated a series of exchanges that may have benefited him personally and financially. The artist already gave gifts of his art to express thanks, receive extensions on loans, and build his social network, and he likely expected reciprocation as part of the exchange. As Dutch culture's gift-exchange practices frequently conflated gift and commodity, Rembrandt could also have employed the print as an object for sale, again helping to ease his financial circumstances. The merging of gift and commodity, as seen in Rembrandt's *Shell*, occurs as well among the circumstances of the exotic gifts considered in other chapters of this study, as they, too, may have functioned in the realms of gift and economic exchange. Like Rembrandt's etching, the other artistic objects to be discussed exhibit

richness and depth in their degree of personalization and suitability for the intended recipient, as the more cherished the gift, the more valuable the reciprocation.

Chapter 2—
Memory, Identity, and Gift Exchange:
Accumulating History in Frans Post's Views of Olinda

The second case study of this dissertation examines two paintings initially created for a Dutch audience, but eventually given as gifts to a European monarch. As such, in contrast to the probably function of Rembrandt's *Shell*, these works of art were not originally made to play a role in the gift economy and instead were purchased from their owners and subsequently granted new functions as exotic gifts. The stories of these two paintings demonstrate that the earlier lives of the objects affected their later functions, as the works' cumulative histories persisted in shaping the significance of those paintings for later audiences, including influencing the value they held for the giver, Johan Maurits, and the receiver, Louis XIV. While continuing to explore the employment of gifts in creating social capital and in garnering material reciprocation, this chapter also examines the ability of exotic gifts to speak to the identities of givers and receivers, as the gift becomes a vehicle for the expression of self and a visual statement of memory. Analysis of the cultural biographies of these two paintings shows the capability of exotic objects to adjust to individual tastes and be flexible in their adoption of multiple meanings or functions for a variety of audiences. While the Dutch and Johan Maurits celebrated these paintings, their later French viewers did not look on them with the same degree of appreciation, resulting in their being removed from public view and entering into obscurity. Although the gift ultimately did not achieve the reciprocation the giver desired, this chapter further demonstrates the adaptability of the exotic gift and shows that the previous life of an object continued to inflect the work of art with meaning in its new, and unforeseen, role as an exotic gift.

In 1678, Johan Maurits, Count of Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679), gave a significant number of paintings depicting Brazil to King Louis XIV of France (1638-1715), including two works by

landscape painter Frans Post (1612-1680): *View of the Ruins of Olinda* (c. 1665, São Paulo, Ema Gordon Klabin Cultural Foundation) (Figure 2-1) and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* (c. 1665, Rio de Janeiro, private collection) (Figure 2-2).[1] These two paintings evoke a similar tone or mood, each presenting the viewer with a glimpse of a quiet and peaceful land. *View of the Ruins of Olinda*, the larger of the two paintings, depicts an expansive scene of territory and sky. Dotted with man-made structures, including the ruins of a church and monastery prominently shown on a hilltop, a brown, green, and yellow landscape, which has likely darkened over the painting's lifetime, extends to the ocean bay and the horizon line.[2] Contrasting with the bright sky, a dark *repoussoir* in the left corner shows a profusion of Brazilian plants and animals, in addition to an inscribed stone clearly informing the viewer that she or he gazes on the ruins of the city Olinda. A road, populated with Brazilian peoples and a Portuguese man on horseback, extends away from the viewer's slightly elevated vantage point, incorporating staffage that busily occupy

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[1] In the gift to Louis XIV were forty-two paintings in total, consisting of fifteen by Albert Eckhout and twenty-seven by Post, counting *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda*. While fascinating paintings in their own right, their inclusion in the gift augments the interpretive richness presented by these two works. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyze the entire gift, focusing on these two paintings depicting the same city in Brazil allows for an in-depth discussion of a variety of functions for the works, affording specificity that is severely lacking in studies of Post's *oeuvre*. One other work in the gift also depicted Olinda, a painting made by Post in Brazil that depicts a panorama of the city, which has been lost. For discussions of the gift to Louis XIV, see: R. Joppien, "The Dutch Vision of Brazil: Johan Maurits and His Artists," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 297-376; Gerard Th. M. Lemmens, "Die Schenkung an Ludwig XIV und die Auflösung der brasilianischen Sammlung des Johan Moritz (1652-1679)," in *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679*, ed. Guido de Werd (Cleves: Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek Kleve, 1980), 265-93; Pedro Corrêa do Lago, "Le présent à Louis XIV," in *Frans Post: Le Brésil à la cour de Louis XIV*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Blaise Ducos (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2005); Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago, "The Gift to Louis XIV," in *Frans Post (1612-1680): Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2007), 50-67; Mogens Bencard, "Fürstliche Geschenke," in *Sein Feld war die Welt: Johann Mortiz von Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679)*, ed. Gerhard Brunn and Cornelius Neutsch, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur Nordwesteuropas* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008), 159-78.

[2] For examination of color changes in Post's paintings, including discussion of the darkening of the greens in the two paintings considered here and *blauwe ziekte* or blue disease in which the painting becomes increasingly blue over time due to the use of an unstable yellow pigment, see: George Gordon, "Frans Post: Style and Technique," in *Frans Post (1612-1680): Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2007), 76-77; Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago, "Frans Post: His Life and Work in Four Phases," in *Frans Post (1612-1680): Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2007), 44.

themselves in agricultural tasks or social activities. *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* exhibits many similar elements, including the *repoussoir,* or portion of the foreground that pulls the viewer into the painting, highlighting fantastic Brazilian species of flora and fauna and depictions of European and Brazilian peoples. The scene also portrays a wide view of the landscape, incorporating a vast blue sky occupying more than half of the painting, as a sugar mill and villages dot the landscape to the horizon line. Selective sunlight spotlights the prominent ruins at the left side of the painting, showcasing both their dilapidated condition and stately character. In exuding such a pronounced feeling of quiet and calm, the paintings are devoid of any turbulence that may remind the viewer of the cataclysmic events that created the prominently depicted ruins and brought together the peoples shown.

The actual history of the city of Olinda belies the calm environment Post depicts in the two paintings. Founded in 1537 as a Portuguese colony, Olinda's central role in the sugar trade prompted the profiteering Dutch to wrest control of the city in 1630 from their Iberian competitors.[3] In 1631, the Dutch burnt Olinda, destroying the many Catholic cloisters, churches, and monasteries in the town, the ruins of which Post depicted in his paintings.[4] When the *West-Indische Compagnie* (WIC), which had control over Dutch possessions in Brazil including Olinda, employed Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen in 1636 to be the Stadholder or governor of

[3] A variety of Portuguese sources consider the history of Olinda, including Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda restaurada: guerra e açúcar no Nordeste, 1630-1654* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Forense-Universitária, 1975). Refer to the more current Paul Meurs and L.G.W. Verhoef, *World Heritage Site Olinda in Brazil* (Amsterdam: IOS Press 2006). For a discussion of the foundation of the WIC and its mission to act as an offensive force "against the Iberian Atlantic empire," refer to C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), 25.
[4] C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford: University Press, 1973), 48-49; Meurs and Verhoef, *Olinda*, 29; Jonathan I. Israel and Stuart B. Schwartz, eds., *The Expansion of Tolerance: Religion in Dutch Brazil, 1624-1654*, Amsterdam Studies in the Golden Age (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 19; Caspar van Baerle, *The History of Brazil Under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636-1644*, trans. Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 144-45. For numerous mentions of Olinda in many catalogue entries, see Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago, *Frans Post (1612-1680): Catalogue Raisonné* (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2007).

the Dutch Brazilian territory, he established a new city, Mauritsstad, near Olinda.[5] As part of his tenure, he had numerous structures built to accommodate military forces, the WIC's commercial activities, and his own household, including diplomatic, scientific, scholarly, and artistic endeavors.

Johan Maurits brought artists, including the twenty-four-year-old Frans Post, with him to Brazil to help document the land, its peoples, animals, and plants.[6] After spending seven years in Brazil, Post returned to his native Haarlem in 1644 and established a career as the only painter in Europe specializing in depictions of the Brazilian landscape.[7] Based on his surviving output and inventory records, scholars believe that Post's work was wildly popular and greatly in demand, even after the Dutch lost their Brazilian territories to the Portuguese in 1654.[8] During the first fifteen years after his return to Haarlem, Post did not paint Olinda as suggested by his surviving works, but in the 1660s, over a third of the artist's *oeuvre*, including both of the paintings considered in this chapter, depicts that city and its ruins.[9] *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda,* which previously had adorned the homes of Dutchmen in Haarlem, Delft, and/or Amsterdam, found a new function by their inclusion in Johan Maurits'

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[5] Scholars devote a great deal of attention to Johan Maurits' life, career, and especially his Brazilian sojourn in, for example, Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead, *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil* (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979); Guido de Werd, ed. *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679* (Cleves: Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek Kleve, 1980); H. S. van der Straaten, *Maurits de Braziliaan: Het levensverhaal van Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, stichter van het Mauritshuis, gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Brazilië, stadhouder van Kleef, 1604-1679* (Amsterdam: Van Soeren, 1998); Gerhard Brunn and Cornelius Neutsch, eds., *Sein Feld war die Welt: Johann Mortiz von Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679)*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur Nordwesteuropas (Münster: Waxmann, 2008).

[6] For key accounts of Post's biography, including discussion of his recruitment by Johan Maurits, see: Erik Larsen, *Frans Post, interprète du Brésil* (Amsterdam: Colibris Editora, 1962); Joaquim de Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post, 1612-1680*, Painters of the Past (Amsterdam: A. L. van Gendt, 1973); Rebecca Parker Brienen, "Albert Eckhout and Frans Post: Two Dutch Artists in Colonial Brazil," in *Brazil: Body & Soul*, ed. Edward J. Sullivan (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2001), 62-74; León Krempel, *Frans Post: 1612-1680: Maler des verlorenen Paradieses* (Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof, 2006); Do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 21-32.

[7] Refer to mention of his specialization, audience, creation of a market niche, and possible commissions in do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 40-2.

[8] Ibid., 45.

[9] Ibid., 42.

gift to Louis XIV in 1678. The story of these two paintings, from their creator's experience in Brazil, their production to satisfy a Dutch craving for depictions of the distant land, their selection by Johan Maurits to be given as gifts to garner financial reciprocation, and their rebirth as items of consumption for the French court, presents an amazingly rich confluence of art history and exotic gift exchange centered around two captivating images.

To this point, scholars have devoted little attention to producing in-depth studies of Frans Post's work, as problems of connoisseurship have hampered their ability to ask and answer questions about the artist's production.[10] With the wide distribution of his paintings in the form of gifts from Johan Maurits to European monarchs, Post's known *oeuvre* was still being identified during the entire twentieth century, with further discoveries of his pictures coming to light since the year 2000.[11] Most publications about Frans Post originate from Brazil, where numerous large collections of his work are located, rather than the Netherlands. Although Dutch art historians tend to ignore his paintings, the past decade has seen a profusion of Frans Post exhibition catalogues from museums in Germany, France, and Brazil, as researchers continue to examine the composition of Post's work and begin to explore aspects of his paintings, such as his

[10] Erik Larsen and Joaquim de Sousa-Leão both published books about Post in the 1960s and 1970s, in which they each provide accounts of the artist's life and work, assessments of the composition of his *oeuvre*, and compendia of transcribed primary documents. Even with their contributions, issues of connoisseurship still pervade Post studies. The recent *catalogue raisonné* of Frans Post's work by writers Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago, a Brazilian couple who specialize in Brazilian history, more fully explores Post's career and provides a very helpful compilation of his body of work with an updated and more complete list of Post's production. They also present a clear outline of which works by Post were in the gift to Louis XIV, identifying the two paintings discussed in this chapter as part of the gift, and basing their conclusions on descriptions of the paintings sent with the gift and a group of gouache copies of the paintings by amateur French painter Thiéry in 1765. Only a single gouache corresponds to one of the nine paintings Cohen bought, copying *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral*.

[11] Studying the work of Frans Post entails many complications for scholars, owing to the presence of his works in collections worldwide with most of them being privately held. For mention of the challenges accompanying compilation of his *catalogue raisonné*, see Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago, "Introduction," in *Frans Post (1612-1680): Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2007), 8-13.

depictions of architecture and the natural world.[12] Rebecca Parker Brienen's 2006 volume delves more deeply into the artistic production of European artists in colonial Brazil, concentrating on the work of Post's contemporary and friend Albert Eckhout.[13] Exploring the cultural significance of Post's contribution is beyond the scope of her book. A breakthrough for Frans Post studies, the 2007 publication of Pedro and Bia Corrêa do Lago's *catalogue raisonné* presents a cogent, thoroughly researched body of work by the artist, and considers his biography and career in an analytical fashion, although the authors avoid concentrated consideration of the significance of Post's seventeenth-century Dutch context for his work.[14] One of the overriding characteristics of Post scholarship is its negligence in exploring his paintings' significance for a contemporary Dutch audience, especially those works made after Post returned to Haarlem. A variety of short articles or exhibition catalogue entries briefly discuss Post's paintings made upon his return to the Netherlands, though most resist analysis of the significance of Post's work for his contemporaries, often concentrating instead on his Brazilian production or on what one can learn about Brazil by studying Post's paintings.[15] Individual works by the artist, however, have

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[12] Refer to Bia Corrêa do Lago, *Frans Post e o Brasil Holandês na coleção do Instituto Ricardo Brennand* (Recife: Instituto Ricardo Brennand, 2003); Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Blaise Ducos, eds., *Frans Post: Le Brésil à la cour de Louis XIV* (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2005); Krempel, *Frans Post*; Hannedea van Nederveen Meerkerk, "De architectuur bij Frans Post in cultuurhistorisch perspectif," in *Frans Post: 1612-1680: Maler des verlorenen Paradieses*, ed. León Krempel (Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof, 2006); Dante Martins Teixeira, "Nature in Frans Post's Paintings of the New World," in *Frans Post: 1612-1680: Maler des verlorenen Paradieses*, ed. León Krempel (Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof, 2006).

[13] Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

[14] Do Lago and do Lago, *Frans Post*.

[15] Blacksberg's article comes closest to exploring a single work by Post in depth, as she discusses his depiction of a Brazilian landscape in the Dutch landscape style, while briefly mentioning the link between history and landscape, but she avoids exploring meaning for a contemporary Dutch audience. See, for example, Alan Chong, "Frans Post," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, ed. Peter C. Sutton and Albert Blankert, *Frans Post* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), 410-16; Leslie Ann Blacksberg, "In Context: *View of Olinda, Brazil* by Frans Post," *Bulletin of the Elvehjem Museum of Art* 1995-97 (1998): 83-94; Anton Rajer and Roberto Levy, "Frans Post's *Village of Olinda:* A Tropical Landscape of Dutch Colonial Brazil," *Bulletin of the Elvehjem Museum of Art* 1995/97(1998): 71-82; Tanja Michalsky, "Die kulturelle Eroberung der Fremde," in *Aufbruch in neue Welten: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679), der Brasilianer*, ed. Gerhard Brunn, et al. (Siegen, Germany: Johann Moritz Gesellschaft, 2004), 100-09; Susan Donahue Kuretsky, ed. *Time and Transformation in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, 2005), 247-48.

yet to receive any significant, in-depth scholarly attention that unearths the significance that his work may have had within the range of seventeenth-century contexts of which his paintings were part.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider how *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* accumulated meaning in a variety of contexts, thus informing their selection and function as exotic gifts. My approach to these works is indebted to anthropological scholarship that presupposes the intricate relationship between things and people, or objects and history, analyzing how such interaction between persons and their material culture forms meaning.[16] Embedded within this methodology is the belief that objects, in this case two of Post's paintings, cannot be fully analyzed by considering only one context of which they are part. As such, in employing an anthropological point of view in studying visual culture, the previous history of a work of art inflects its later function, as it garners meaning through the variety of social and cultural contexts of which it is subsequently enmeshed.[17] Post's paintings, then, accumulated value and resonance in each of their contexts, from their initial conceptual origins in Brazil, to their creation in Haarlem for a Dutch audience, to their acquisition by the nostalgic and egocentric Johan Maurits, to their exhibition at the Louvre for the French court. The paintings'

[16] Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (October 1999): 169. While considering how the relationship between material culture and people creates meaning has become common in art historical studies, the approach has its roots in anthropological scholarship.

[17] Refer to Kopytoff for an in-depth discussion of the importance of cultural biographies of objects in developing more complete pictures of the social and cultural roles objects play. In particular, relevant to a discussion of Post, Kopytoff argues that, "biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure," and that "what is significant about the adoption of alien objects…is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use," in Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 67. Gosden and Marshall say that according to Kopytoff "things could not be fully understood at just one point in their existence and processes and cycles of production, exchange, and consumption had to be looked at as a whole. Not only do objects change through their existence, but they often have the capability of accumulating histories, so that the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected…objects gain value through their links to powerful people and an individual's standing is enhanced through possession of well-known objects," in "Biography," 170.

significance in each context affected their later meaning for each succeeding audience, eventually resulting in their retreat into relative anonymity.

Post's Views of Olinda and Sixteenth-Century Conceptions of Brazil

Analysis of the pictorial history of Brazil in sixteenth-century Northern European art helps to illustrate the exceptional character of Post's views of Olinda in their focus on that landscape and at a particular time.[18] As the first artist to produce paintings of Brazil for a wide, diverse public audience, Post was influenced more than any other artist depicting that place to that point in European history by market factors and the tastes and preferences of his clientele.[19] No artist before Post had marketed paintings of the famed territory or produced them in large enough numbers for wide consumption. Depictions of Brazil in the sixteenth century appeared in travel accounts, in public performances, and in a single, extant painting.[20] These images emphasize oddities, bizarre behaviors of Brazilian peoples, and the economic potential of natural resources, but do so in a way that eschews temporal, geographic, or historical identity. In contrast, Post emphasized the landscape of Brazil, rather than the people and their customs.

Published in 1557 and based on eyewitness experience, accounts of Brazil by the German Hans Staden (c. 1525-c. 1579), who worked as a mercenary for the Portuguese, and the French

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[18] For the sake of variety, I will refer to Brazil as a country, territory, or region, though none of these terms accurately describes it in the seventeenth century. I will also use the phrase "views of Olinda" to refer to the two paintings by Post considered in this chapter.

[19] Some scholars identify Post as the first painter of the American Landscape, as in Robert Chester Smith, "Brazilian Landscapes of Frans Post," *Art Quarterly* 1(1938): 260; Luis Pérez Oramas, "Landscape and Foundation: Frans Post and the Invention of the American Landscape," in *XXIV Bienal de São Paulo: Núcleo histórico, antropofagia e histórias canibalismos*, ed. Paulo Herkenoff and Adriano Pedrosa (São Paulo: A Fundação, 1998), 107-10. For discussion of Post's stylistic uniqueness and "lack of obvious artistic debt to anything that precedes them in Dutch art," see Gordon, "Style," 69.

[20] See Hugh Honour for a helpful gathering of images and accounts of the Americas, to which my study here is indebted, in *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), 63-65. For a brief account of Brazilian imagery before Post, see Erik Larsen, "Some Seventeenth-Century Paintings of Brazil," *The Connoisseur* 175, no. 704 (1970): 123. Also refer to Wendy Ruppel, "Images of Discovery: Otherness and the New World in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1992). The perceptions of Brazil that permeate early travel accounts found a large audience in Europe, as Theodor de Bry's multi-volume account of the Americas, appearing from 1590 to 1634, synthesized earlier publications into an informative, albeit inaccurate, compendium of knowledge regarding Brazil.

Franciscan friar André Thevet (1516-1590), who traveled with a French colonial expedition, portray Brazil as a wild land, full of cannibals and savages.[21] An anonymous woodcut published in Staden's volume depicts a man, possibly the author, surrounded by dancing, nude Brazilians, placed in a crude landscape with little indication of setting (Figure 2-3). The artist focused his attention on the activities and bodies of the Brazilians, highlighting perceived strange customs and rituals. Reinforcing a conception of Brazilian peoples as uncivilized, a woodcut from Thevet's volume depicts similar unclothed Brazilians making fire, occupying an outdoor setting that includes a palm tree (Figure 2-4). These images fostered a perception of Brazil as a fantastic, foreign land full of frightening sounds and rituals, a place not suitable for Europeans.

The 1578 account by Jean de Léry (1536-1613), a Calvinist in Brazil who tried to establish a French colony as a refuge for Protestants, looks on the native peoples with more sympathy, treating Brazil as a paradise devoid of religious conflict.[22] While images and text in his account explore the perceived oddities of Brazilian people such as cannibalism, he spent most of his book discussing Brazilian culture in an ethnographic fashion, emphasizing their civility above their supposed savagery. A woodcut depicting a Tupinamba family corresponds to accompanying text that respectfully describes how Tupi peoples decorate their bodies (Figure 2-5).[23] Another image shows fantastic animals and palm trees as markers of an exotic landscape, but primarily focuses on scenes of evil spirits tormenting Brazilian peoples (Figure 2-6).

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[21] For discussion of Staden's and Thevet's accounts, see Honour, *Golden Land*, 64; Eve M. Duffy and Alida C. Metcalf, *The Return of Hans Staden: A Go-between in the Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

[22] De Léry's account, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, was originally published in 1578 (Geneva: Antoine Chuppin) with numerous subsequent editions appearing well into the seventeenth century. Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, trans. Janet Whatley, Latin America Literature and Culture, ed. Roberto González Echevarría, no. 6 (Berkeley: Los Angeles, 1990). See Janet Whatley, "Introduction," in *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* (Berkeley: Los Angeles, 1990), xv-xix. Calvin actually involved himself in this project to "organize Calvinism in the New World" as explained by Germán Arciniegas, *America in Europe: A History of the New World in Reverse* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 110-12.

[23] Léry, *History*, 63.

Another again deemphasizes the landscape and instead shows a battle between the Tupinamba and the Margaia tribes in Brazil (Figure 2-7). Like the other sixteenth-century authors, de Léry concentrated on the people and their unusual appearance and behaviors, not on the landscape.[24]

The only extant sixteenth-century painting of Brazil, Jan Mostaert's (c. 1475-1555) c. 1540 depiction of the West Indies, perpetuates the European interest in Brazilian peoples and deemphasizes landscape, but also eschews a representation of a temporal identity (Figure 2-8).[25] Mostaert set the West Indies figures engaged in battle in an expansive, fantastic landscape.[26] Identified as a West Indies scene by Haarlem resident Carel van Mander (1548-1606), early modern viewers likely understood the work as a depiction of Brazil or a similar South American locale.[27] The visual markers communicating that geographic identification were likely the figures' violent activities and their lack of clothing. The setting, however, bears comparison to Northern Renaissance artists' imagined landscapes, as seen in the works of Hieronymous Bosch (c. 1450-1516). Once again, the foreign peoples of the West Indies, as depicted in art, became the visual shorthand allowing one to identify their country of origin. The imagined landscape, by contrast, remains borrowed from European pictorial history. European lack of acquaintance

[24] Woodcuts in de Léry's volume establish visual precedents for the work of Post's contemporary, Albert Eckhout, who drew on de Léry's illustrations in his views of single figures made for Johan Maurits. Eckhout's paintings were given in 1654 to King Frederik III of Denmark. Quentin Buvelot, "Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Artist in Brazil," in *Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Artist in Brazil*, ed. Quentin Buvelot (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers: 2004), 31.

[25] At this point in history, the West Indies refers to all of the New World, including North and South America.

[26] For a recent assessment of the literature dealing with Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape* in the context of sixteenth-century depictions of the New World, see Ruppel, "Images of Discovery", 170-91. Also refer to James Snyder, "Jan Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape* " in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, Michael J. B. Allen, and Robert Louis Benson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 495-502. Benjamin Schmidt argues that the painting, "offers a pastiche of Netherlandish notions of the New World as they developed over the course of the sixteenth century, a pattern suggestive of assimilation rather than a singular paradigm or perception," in *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-5.

[27] Carel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, trans. Derry Cook-Radmore, ed. Hessel Miedema, 6 vols. (Doornspijk, Netherlands: Davaco, 1994-99; originally published in 1604), fol. 129r.

with the Brazilian landscape prompted the usage of a familiar, and yet fantastic, substitute for the setting of a West Indian scene emphasizing the extraordinary Brazilian inhabitants.

In addition to showing a fascination with the peoples of Brazil, sixteenth-century-accounts demonstrate Europeans' awareness of the potential profitability of the territory as a trading hub and source of exports, chief among them brazilwood and sugar. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Brazilian redwood, or *Caesalpinia brasiliensis*, was a valuable good, used in dying cloth or textiles and as a painter's pigment.[28] Both the French and the Spanish desired trading access to Brazil so that they could gather and sell brazilwood. Jean de Léry recounts at length the ferocious appetite of the French for brazilwood and their intrinsic belief that the commodity will make them rich.[29] Indeed, the derivation of the word "brazil" links the geographic term to the very commodity exported from its shores.[30] The connection between the people and goods of the country was so strong that a 1550 pageant in Rouen, the hub of the brazilwood trade in France, welcomed Henri II and Catherine de' Medici, with three hundred Brazilians wearing Tupi feathered garb, a recreation of a Brazilian village, and the exhibition of Brazilian plants and animals to heighten the festivities' effects.[31] This public manifestation of a knowledge of and an interest in Brazil prompted the French to redouble their colonization efforts, and, like the other conceptions of Brazil, the *fête brésilienne* emphasized the people and exotic goods that could be sourced from the foreign territory. The combined effects of the early

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[28] Erma Hermens and Arie Wallert, "The Pekstok Papers: Lake Pigments, Prisons, and Paint-mills," in *Looking Through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, ed. Erma Hermens, Lieds Kunhistorisch Jaarboek (Baarn, Netherlands: de Prom, 1998), 269-94.
[29] Léry, *History*, 100-02.
[30] Hermens and Wallaert mention that "brazil" relates to "braza" or glow in their discussion of brazilwood used as a pigment and dye, in "Pekstok," 275. Also see Arie Wallert, *Still Lifes: Techniques and Style: An Examination of Paintings from the Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 18. Whatley states that *brésil* was a medieval term for trees that produce red dyes, and thus resemble glowing coals. The word came to be applied to Brazil, called the *Terra do Brasil*, after its discovery by Europeans, subsuming the Portuguese term for the area, *Terra da Santa Cruz*. Whatley, notes and commentary for *History*, 241-42. Europeans also called Brazil "the land of the parrots," according to Larsen, "Paintings," 123.
[31] Whatley suggests that the pageant shows that "Brazil was already a consumer item," in Whatley, "Introduction," xxv. Honour, *Golden Land*, 63; Schmidt, *Innocence*, 36-37.

imagery depicting Brazil, public performances, and literary accounts describing the country and colonization efforts resulted in a European perception of it as a desirable trading hub, teeming with unusual peoples, but also unwelcoming to Europeans. In contrast, even as Post's views of Olinda do draw on the familiar themes of trade and depict Brazilians, they deemphasize the people, and instead direct attention to a distinct landscape and historical moment.

Post's Views of Olinda and Seventeenth-Century Depictions of Brazil

While sixteenth-century pictorial history does not account for the Post's particular iconography, the artist's focus on landscape, including land, ruins, economic sites, and man-made structures, in his views of Olinda may be attributable to his position as a court painter to Johan Maurits. According to a 1678 letter, Johan Maurits retained six artists to document Brazil and appears to have given each in his employ a sphere of responsibility, designating to what aspects of Brazil that man should direct his artistic efforts.[32] Based on this assumption, scholars surmise that Post was to paint the landscape and Albert Eckhout (c. 1610-1665), another court artist to Johan Maurits, was to paint people, plants, and animals.[33] While this arrangement partially explains the artist's emphasis on landscape imagery, further examination of pictorial history from the seventeenth century indicates that not only was Post's focus on landscape

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[32] Based on surviving documentation, scholars argue that Johan Maurits had between three and six artists, most certainly including Post, Eckhout, and Georg Marcgraf, a German natural historian, but possibly also including Zacharias Wagener and Caspar Schmalkalden. Marcgraf may have begun his work as the assistant of Willem Piso, Johan Maurits' personal physician in Brazil. In the December 1678 letter to the Marquis de Pomponne, Johan Maurits reports having "dans mon service le temps de ma demeure au Brésil, six peintres, dont chacun a curieusement peint à quoy il estoit le plus capable," or that he had six artists in his service during his time in Brazil, each of whom painted the curiosities to which he was most suited. Dossier No. 1478, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, as transcribed in Larsen, *Frans Post*, 254. Also informative is a 1643 list of who dined with the count, which includes Post, Eckhout, Piso, and Marcgraf, as cited and analyzed by Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, "Albert E(e)ckhout, Court Painter," in *Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Artist in Brazil*, ed. Quentin Buvelot (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers: 2004). Joppien provides an assessment of scholarly beliefs regarding who Johan Maurits' artists were in Joppien, "Dutch Vision," 296-97. For a different point of view see Erik Larsen, "Neu Entdeckte Brasilien-Bilder von Frans Post, Abraham Willaerts und Gillis Peeters I: Teil 1," *Weltkunst* 72, no. 2 (2002): 163-64.

[33] For discussion of the artistic division of labor, see Joppien, "Dutch Vision," 107-10; Oramas, "Landscape," 7-10; Brienen, *Visions*, 13-19.

depiction atypical, but also was his habit of endowing the subjects of his works with clear temporal and geographic origins. Post usually incorporated specific settings associated with particular moments in history, as in *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda*.

Of the few artists in the seventeenth century producing Brazilian imagery, almost all either traveled with Johan Maurits or came into contact with someone who had.[34] Scholars stress Post's originality among these artists, saying, for example, that he was the first painter of the American landscape.[35] His approach to depicting the Brazilian environment often included easily readable markers of time. While other artists tended to avoid landscape, some did use figures and their clothing to indicate time and place. For example, the Flemish marine painter, Bonaventura Peeters (1614-1652) included depictions of Brazilian peoples in his *Indians on the Shore,* likely drawing from the sketches or accounts of his brother or a friend who may have traveled to Brazil (Figure 2-9). Portraying a token palm tree and feather clad figures in a wooded setting, Peeters evoked Brazil without actually depicting anything geographically Brazilian.[36] Similarly, two paintings from the late 1660s by Utrecht-born Abraham Willaerts (1603-1669), who may have been part of Johan Maurits' retinue, show a knowledge of Brazilian people and goods, without emphasizing history and locale (Figure 2-10 and Figure 2-11).[37] Both images depict Dutchmen interacting with Brazilian peoples, as one barters with a South American man

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[34] For studies presenting an overall analysis of the significant body of visual imagery produced by Johan Maurits' artists, see: Joppien, "Dutch Vision."; P. J. P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Brazil: Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1989); Ernst van den Boogaart, Rebecca Parker Brienen, and Dante Martins Teixeira, *Dutch Brazil*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Index, 2001).

[35] Gordon states that Post's works lack "obvious artistic debt to anything that precedes them in Dutch art," in "Style," 69. For further discussion of Post as the first painter of the American landscape, see: Oramas, "Landscape," and Smith who says that Post's works are "the first real American landscapes," in "Brazilian," 260.

[36] Larsen, "Paintings," 130.

[37] Joppien is relatively certain that Willaerts was part of Johan Maurits' retinue, though more recent studies, such as Brienen, do not consider Willaerts a candidate. Joppien, "Dutch Vision," footnote 5, 297.

and another receives fruit from a non-European/Tupiwoman.[38] These two works do include Dutch men, thus giving the paintings' settings a temporal marker during the twenty-year period during which the Dutch occupied Brazil. However, to indicate time, he used figures and costume rather than the landscape or man-made structures, as seen in Post's depictions of Olinda.

An artist who directed greater and more specific attention to historical time and place than had most artists, Gillis Peeters (1612-1653), a Flemish landscape painter of European subjects and a possible employee of Johan Maurits, painted his *View of Recife* in 1637 (Figure 2-12).[39] His depiction of a panorama of the foreign harbor with a ruined church or building at the right side of the painting, is the most comparable of any of the seventeenth-century Brazilian scenes to Post's views of Olinda. The two artists may have been in Brazil at the same time, possibly accounting for the similarity. But Peeters' painting is an exception in his *oeuvre*, as most of his other works depict European, rather than Brazilian, landscapes. Pre-dating the pinnacle of Post's production in the 1660s by thirty years, it is possible that Peeters' view influenced the artist, though, considering the formal differences between the works, including Peeters' more panoramic vision of the Recife harbor in contrast to Post's more grounded view, factors other than Peeters' influence may have prompted Post's unique approach to his Brazilian landscapes.

Although Post's work seems to bear little similarity to that of his contemporaries, he did borrow from their bodies of work in his depiction of the flora and fauna of the New World, making emphatic his paintings' connections to Brazil, and specifically to the Pernambuco region of Olinda, rather than a generalized exotic locale. According to the painstaking research of Dante Martins Teixeira, the significant body of material documenting the flora and fauna of

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[38] For a discussion of Willaerts' paintings in the context of other Brazilian images and European art, see Larsen, "Brasilien-Bilder," 164.
[39] Gillis Peeters was Bonaventura Peeters' brother. Ibid.

Brazil, including paintings, watercolors, and sketches, had a direct and clear influence on Post's portrayal of the country.[40] *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* includes a coconut palm, iguana, birds, and other plants that bear comparison to the body of visual material Johan Maurits' artists produced.[41] Similar plants appear in the *repoussoir* of *View of the Ruins of Olinda,* along with a snake and parrot. For example, the red plant, called a *timacambiré,* a species of *Aechmea*, in the foreground of both paintings, can be seen not just in Post's work, but also in that of Albert Eckhout and in anonymous sketches by other artists in Johan Maurits' employ (Figure 2-13 and Figure 2-14).[42] This is not to say that Post's work is botanically, zoologically, or ecologically accurate, but rather that he drew from artistic precedents in his depiction of Olinda's flora and fauna.[43] In addition, rather than including only more generalized South American plants, such as the coconut palm and the pineapple, as did some of his contemporaries, he tended to emphasize those plants and animals native to the Pernambuco region of Olinda, Recife, and Mauritsstad where he lived during his Brazilian sojurn.[44] Like some of Johan Maurits' artists, Post incorporates elements of natural history that designate the locations he depicted as Brazilian, but his emphasis on landscape and structures that mark the temporal and geographic identifications of his settings, in addition to the pronounced local character of the flora and fauna he includes, distinguishes his production from those of other artists depicting Dutch Brazil.

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[40] Teixeira, "Nature," 45-52.

[41] Johan Maurits' artists clearly knew each other, as Post and Eckhout dined together at least twice a day. Brienen, *Visions*, 34.

[42] Scholars exhibit some confusion about the correct identity of this distinctive red plant. Buvelot's catalogue identifies it as a variant of a pineapple, while the *catalogue raisonné* and Whitehead and Boeseman call it a *timacambiré*, a plant native to the Pernambuco region. As Post clearly depicted pineapples in some of his paintings and Eckhout and other artists in Johan Maurits' employ also portrayed obvious pineapples, I agree with the assessment of the plant as a *timacambiré*, rather than a pineapple. Whitehead and Boeseman, *Portrait*, 189; Dante Martins Teixeira and Elly de Vries, "Exotic Novelties From Overseas," in *Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Artist in Brazil*, ed. Quentin Buvelot (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers: 2004), 93; Do Lago and do Lago, *Frans Post*, 214.

[43] His works are more botanically correct during his Brazilian period and then drift from accuracy in the years after he returns to Europe. Teixeira, "Nature," 46-7, 50.

[44] Ibid.

Post's Views of Olinda in the Context of the Artist's *Oeuvre*

While *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* bear many distinctions from the work of Post's contemporaries, they are very similar both to each other and to Post's *oeuvre* in the 1660s. As discussed previously, his concentration on landscape imagery seems logical based on his employment by Johan Maurits, but, in light of the trajectory of his career and his intended audience, his particular emphasis in these two paintings, and indeed in many of his works, on depicting a specific place at a particular time similarly makes sense. The formal elements of both *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* exemplify Post's high degree of specialization and typify his Brazilian landscape production in the 1660s, indicating the existence of a market hungry for the artist's unique body of work.

Born and raised in Haarlem, the birthplace of the Dutch landscape tradition, Post must have had some artistic experience before joining Johan Maurits' entourage, though no works from his pre-Brazilian period survive.[45] The paintings and sketches he produced while in Brazil express his eyewitness experience through their documentary character, made manifest in their low viewpoint, precise details, and identifiable historical locations, as seen in *Fort Ceulen* (1638) (Figure 2-15).[46] These works from the first portion of his career and before his return to the United Provinces employ, according to George Gordon, an "artistically isolated style," or one that is highly original, diverging, most likely unconsciously, from established landscape traditions.[47]

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[45] For discussion of Post's artistic influences, see Frederik J. Duparc, "Frans Post in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting," in *Frans Post (1612-1680): Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2007), 14-19. Scholars suggest a variety of possible influences for Post's production, including his brother Pieter Post who was a painter and architect in the employ of Johan Maurits. See, for example, Pieter Post's *Dune Landscape with Haystack* (1633, oil on canvas, The Hague, Mauritshuis).
[46] Gordon, "Style," 69.
[47] Ibid., 73.

After his return to Haarlem, Post's style developed, absorbing artistic lessons from the trends of landscape production in that city while he was in Brazil and those that developed following his homecoming. His work in the first fifteen years after his Brazilian period retained the authentic, documentary quality of his Brazilian pictures, as he produced highly detailed works, likely painting only three pictures a year.[48] During this time, he never repeated a composition in paint, though he probably drew extensively from sketches he made while abroad. He still received commissions from Johan Maurits and likely from some of the count's acquaintances, but almost certainly sold many works to members of the Dutch public and those with whom he had traveled.[49] Printed versions of some of his sketches, including a 1647 bird's eye view of Olinda (Figure 2-16), appeared in publications about Brazil and Johan Maurits' governorship.[50] Cultivating a livelihood, Post carved out a niche for himself as a painter of Brazilian subjects, a role he would capitalize upon during the 1660s when he painted *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda.*

The character of Post's production changed dramatically around 1660, as the artist began repeating similar compositions, narrowing his iconographic field to just two or three Brazilian subjects for almost all of his pictures.[51] Most likely, Post needed a larger income and so altered his production to appeal to a wider audience. Having married in 1650, he was supporting a growing family during a recession. An economic downtown in Haarlem at mid-century sent many artists to Amsterdam, where the pocketbooks were deeper, perhaps leaving voids in the art

[48] Do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 39.
[49] Ibid., 41.
[50] This illustration from Caspar van Baerle's *History of Brazil* (1647) likely draws from a similar painting Post made of Olinda while in Brazil, as mentioned in footnote 1, that was included in the gift to Louis XIV and subsequently lost.
[51] Pervasive in Post scholarship is the perception that his later paintings from the 1660s are derivative and uninteresting, a belief that likely has contributed to the academic emphasis on Post's Brazilian works instead of those he painted in Haarlem. For example, Sousa-Leão states "removed…from the direct source of inspiration his art becomes, as a result, a repetitive one," speaking of "what might have been" in Post's work if he had not "given way to repetition," in Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 52.

market in Haarlem on which Post could capitalize.[52] As per the demands of the Dutch art market, specialization was key to the establishment of a successful career for a painter, and Post wisely concentrated his efforts on meeting the demands of a niche market for Brazilian scenes.[53] The increasing number of landscapes of all types being produced at the time brought down the prices, so, in order to make the living he desired, Post needed to work more quickly than he had previously.[54] He primarily depicted the two subjects of Olinda and sugar mills in the sixty-nine paintings that date from this period.[55] Although he avoided depicting Olinda in paint in the first fifteen years following his return to Haarlem, a third of his surviving pictures from the 1660s do depict the town and its many ruined religious structures, including both of the paintings under consideration in this chapter.[56]

In Post's 1647 depiction of Olinda, it is hard to determine if the city is ruined or intact.[57] By contrast, in his 1660s representations of the city including *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and an array of similar paintings, Post directed clear attention to the city's many decimated structures and its distinct landscape. For example, *View of the Ruins of Olinda* is one of three, almost identical, compositions depicting the city (Figure 2-17 and Figure 2-18). All three large-sized views of this subject include the ruins of the Carmo convent on the hill to the left side of the painting, the Franciscan convent and cathedral in the middle, and the

[52] For discussion of economic changes in Haarlem, see Pieter Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572-1745*, Documents for the History of Collecting, vol. 1, Netherlandish Inventories (Los Angeles: Provenance Index, Getty Research Institute, 2001), 7-12. It appears that Post likely did well financially, considering the relatively high value of his landscapes in comparison to other artists' production, and in his having his portrait painted by Frans Hals. Frans Hals, *Frans Post*, c. 1655, oil on panel, Worcester, MA, Worcester Art Museum.
[53] Refer to mention of Post's development of a market in do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 40.
[54] Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, ed. Peter C. Sutton and Albert Blankert, *Frans Post* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), 104.
[55] Do Lago, "Le présent," 118.
[56] Do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 42. While the do Lagos ask why Post focused so intently on Olinda after ignoring it as a subject for his first fifteen years at home, they do not provide an answer.
[57] The panoramic view of Olinda makes it difficult to see the ruins clearly, though the do Lagos argue that the print does indeed show the ruined churches. Do Lago and do Lago, "Gift," 60.

twin white towers of Vrijburg Palace, Johan Maurits' Mauritsstad home, in the distance.[58] Brazilian peoples and an occasional European figure populate the road extending from the viewer's space. Likewise, *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* bears remarkable similarity to seven other of Post's paintings from this period, in their depiction of the Olinda Cathedral in lush Brazilian settings, with staffage occupying the space in front of the structure (Figures 2-19, 2-20, and 2-21).[59] *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* also incorporates Post's other *leitmotif* from this period in portraying a view of a sugar mill just across the river. Through the structures shown, the plants portrayed, and even Post's notation on the left foreground of *View of the Ruins of Olinda*, both views identify the location depicted, giving the viewer a glimpse of the city while under the rule of Johan Maurits. The paintings exemplify the type of work Post produced and popularized.

The wildly varying sizes of Post's views of Olinda suggest that his artistic production had a diverse audience, attracting the attention not only of wealthy individuals with large homes, but also middle and even lower class persons who had a penchant for the type of Brazilian landscape he produced. Measuring three feet by four feet, *View of the Ruins of Olinda* is one of Post's largest such compositions, while *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* is approximately two feet by three feet, a significantly smaller picture, and others are even smaller at about thirteen by eighteen inches (See Figure 2-20).

In order to satiate what appears to have been a healthy demand for his works, Post developed a clear compositional and iconographic formula for his paintings. Having such an established method of composing a picture likely increased Post's output, as he produced ten to

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[58] Refer to discussion of these three works along with identification of the churches depicted in do Lago and do Lago, *Frans Post*, 246-49, catalogue entries 83, 84, and 85.

[59] Identifications of the structure shown in *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* vary. The do Lagos conclusively argue that the church shown is the Olinda cathedral, or *Sé* of Olinda, built by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, instead of being a depiction of one of Olinda's many Jesuit structures. Ibid., 269.

twelve paintings a year during the 1660s.[60] *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* illustrates many of these key pictorial elements, including the slightly elevated viewpoint looking down an incline to the central scene, a wedge-shaped *repoussoir* populated with identifiable Brazilian flora and fauna, the use of a coconut tree as a framing device, the tonal character of the landscape in his employment of a warm brown throughout the painting, the use of atmospheric perspective, the spotlighting of a man-made structure in bright light, a horizon line slightly below the picture's midpoint, a blue sky littered with white, puffy clouds, and a high degree of crisp detail throughout the scene. Correspondingly, *View of the Ruins of Olinda* includes the *repoussoir,* a comparable horizon line and sky, tonal character, a road extending from the viewer's space, and a viewpoint from the top of a rise looking down towards the central scene of ruins. Developing such a distinctive and recognizable style, especially in conjunction with the Brazilian landscape as his exceptional and unique subject matter, also likely helped him to obtain a hold on a market niche.

Post's Views of Olinda and the Dutch Landscape Tradition

In achieving a high degree of specialization, Post fostered a robust demand for his works and secured his ability to meet the expectations of his clientele. Contributing to his popularity, Post tailored *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* to the tastes and preferences of a Dutch audience. In part, he did this by engaging with the Dutch landscape tradition, both the way it was visualized in print and paint and the way it was experienced by the viewer. Post's development and employment of a style influenced by Haarlem landscape production shows that he directed his paintings to a Dutch audience by speaking a visual and iconographic language evocative of native traditions with which they were already familiar. In addition, by clearly identifying the location of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins*

[60] Do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 45.

of Olinda, Post connected the works with a rich tradition of landscape production in the Dutch Republic that allowed viewers to experience the locations shown by proxy.

As Post's views of Olinda are not stylistically related to previous and contemporary images of Brazil, another aspect of pictorial history likely influenced the distinctive appearance of the artist's paintings. Although associated with his earlier production, the style in which Post worked in the 1660s is more indebted to the Haarlem school of landscape depiction, which directly affected the development of the wider Dutch landscape tradition, than any other source. As Post was born and raised in Haarlem, was active in its art community, joined the city's Guild of St. Luke after his return from Brazil, and stayed there for the rest of his life, it seems logical to conclude that Haarlem traditions would influence his conception of the Brazilian landscape. Even so, scholars debate Post's style and question its connection to Dutch art, citing many different reasons and sources for its origins, ranging from the artist's naïveté to the Flemish Mannerists.[61] Still, numerous aspects of Post's paintings expose the influence of Haarlem landscapists, resulting in pictures which, according to Stechow, are like "an old bottle filled with new wine," as they use standard Dutch landscape conventions to depict Brazilian subject matter.[62]

Typical traits of the Haarlem landscape include the employment of elevated viewpoints, a unifying tonality in the painting, expansive skies occupying over half of the picture, and the use

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[61] Chong describes Post's style as "elusive," in "Frans Post," 412. In the *catalogue raisonné* alone, three authors express three different assessments of the formal influences on Post's work. Gordon believes Post's style and working method show the influence of Cornelis Vroom, but not the Haarlem school on the whole, as stated in "Style," 69. The do Lagos suggest that his work is more similar to Flemish landscapists, in "Life and Work," 44. Duparc argues that his paintings demonstrate the overriding influence of the Haarlem landscape tradition, in "Frans Post," 16-17. Mariët Westermann posits that the employment of such a Dutch style in depicting a foreign landscape manifests Dutch power and control overseas and Kuretsky echoes her views. Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718*, Perspectives, ed. Jacky Colliss Harvey (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 114-16; Kuretsky, ed. *Time*, 247-48.
[62] Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, National Gallery of Art: Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art (London: Phaidon, 1966), 169.

of *repoussoirs* in the foreground.[63] While Post's views of Olinda eschew some of these elements, in, for example, his avoidance of highly elevated viewpoints and an overall tonality as seen in Jan van Goyen's paintings, the artist still drew on common characteristics of Haarlem landscape depiction, especially those created after the 1630s.[64] Certain works in the *oeuvre* of Cornelis Vroom (1591-1661), Post's neighbor in Haarlem, show many similarities to the latter's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral*.[65] Vroom's *Pastoral Landscape* (c. 1650) warrants comparison to Post's view of Olinda as seen in the green and brown areas of color drawing the viewer into the landscape, the placement of distant landmarks at the horizon line, the careful delineation of foliage against a blue sky, and the darkened corner in the foreground (Figure 2-22).[66] Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/03-1670), another Haarlem artist and a key contributor to the development of the Dutch landscape genre, often used similar stylistic elements as found in Post's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* in his work. Van Ruysdael's *View of Egmond aan Zee* from 1640 includes the dark *repoussoir* in the left corner, as a brown landscape extends to a blue horizon line beyond (Figure 2-23).

Precedents also appear in Haarlem landscapes for the panoramic view of a city in Post's *View of the Ruins of Olinda.* Haarlem painter Jacob van Ruisdael's (c. 1628-1682) *Landscape with Ruined Castle and Church* (c. 1665) (Figure 2-24) similarly employs a panoramic view that

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[63] For discussion of the characteristics and history of Haarlem landscape production, see: Ibid; Christopher Brown, *Dutch Landscape: The Early Years, Haarlem and Amsterdam, 1590-1650* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1986); Peter C. Sutton, "Introduction," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, ed. Peter C. Sutton and Albert Blankert (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987); Duparc, "Frans Post," 16.

[64] Post's work is most similar to the so-called second generation of Haarlem landscape artists, including Jacob van Ruisdael and Cornelis Vroom.

[65] Based on what I have been able to determine, Post and Vroom lived on the same street in Haarlem, Smedestraat. Perhaps this proximity, in addition to guild involvement, facilitated their interaction.

[66] Due to color changes pervasive in Post's surviving production, both *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* have become increasingly brown over time, especially in the areas that previously appeared green. The golden tonality present in the central areas of both paintings likely employs a stable pigment, while the *repoussoirs,* especially in *View of the Ruins of Olinda,* have darkened considerably. Some scholars say that Post's work uses green, brown, and blue swaths of color that are similar to the paintings of Flemish Mannerists, but the way Post's paintings appear now is not how they would have initially looked. Post's use of color is much more similar to that of his Haarlem compatriots than his Flemish predecessors.

does not originate from an extremely high point, while the examples by Vroom and van Ruysdael substantiate the Dutch origins of Post's *repoussoirs.* In addition, Post incorporated the overall naturalism of Haarlem landscape images in his conceptions of Brazil, drawing on the depiction of everyday activities and atmospheric and lighting effects. Thus, Post drew on the visual language of Haarlem landscapes, borrowing aspects of that style from the previous thirty years of landscape imagery and merging those elements to create his formulaic approach to depicting the Brazilian landscape.

As well as drawing on stylistic elements of Haarlem landscapes, Post also relied on their common iconographic features, including depictions of landmarks like churches that give the images a clear geographic identification, ruins, woods, and everyday tasks of residents, all of which likely influenced his portrayal of the Brazilian landscape. Post's standard composition almost always includes a wooded corner with foliage set against the sky, drawing attention to his detailed depiction of the leaves and branches of the trees. In the same vein, Haarlem landscapes in particular emphasized the famed woods just outside the city, the *Haarlemmer Hout*, highlighting a feature much celebrated in Haarlem literature.[67] While the types of trees and plants differ, the impulse of identifying a place by including species endemic to it remains an integral part of Post's work and the Dutch landscape tradition. His incorporation of the *timacambiré,* a distinctive plant from the Pernambuco region, in addition to the calabash plant, the yellow gourd appearing in both paintings, endows his views of Olinda with a local botanical identity. Like Post's views of Olinda, Haarlem landscapes also tend to incorporate staffage engaged in everyday tasks occupying the foreground and middle ground of the paintings, providing an element of scale and adding to the naturalism of the images. The depiction of

[67] Walter S. Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 94.

woods, local plants, and everyday tasks in Post's views of Olinda attest to the relationship between them and Haarlem's landscape traditions.

The impulse pervasive in Dutch landscape images to which Post's work most clearly relates is the depiction of specific, identifiable ruins. By the time Post turned to Olinda as the most common subject in his work during the 1660s, ruins already appeared in landscapes produced in Haarlem in prints, city histories, and paintings.[68] Other cities, such as Delft, Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague, Leiden, and Dordrecht, also included ruins as part of their visual culture. The Dutch Italianate landscape tradition as well directed attention to ruins, though usually showing views of imaginary or fantastic structures from antiquity, rather than depicting identifiable and local architecture.[69] As a country ravaged by war that also suffered cataclysmic events like fires, explosions, and floods, the Dutch were well acquainted with ruins by experience and through their depictions.[70] Accounts abound of the Dutch preservation of ruins, not to reconstruct or repair them, but rather to honor and revere them, as they were treated as material remnants of significant events in history.[71] The inclination to further preserve and record ruins in print or paint is made manifest in countless depictions of ruins predating and contemporary with Post's views of Olinda.

[68] Refer to the only comprehensive study of ruins in Dutch art by Kuretsky, ed. *Time*.
[69] While Dutch Italianate artists did sometimes depict identifiable monuments, like the Coliseum or the Pantheon, most of their views were of more generic ruins. The effect of Dutch Italianate works on Post's paintings may be the sunny, warm atmosphere in many of his works, though such an impression of warmth and heat may more likely derive from his experience in tropical Brazil. Lynn Federle Orr, "Embracing Antiquity: The Dutch Response to Rome," in *Time and Transformation in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, ed. Susan Donahue Kuretsky (Poughkeepsie, NY: Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, 2005), 83-95. Also see Peter Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Artists in Italy* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2001).
[70] Erik P. Löffler, "Ruins in the Netherlands: The Present Situation," in *Time and Transformation in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, ed. Susan Donahue Kuretsky (Poughkeepsie, NY: Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, 2005), 96-110.
[71] Löffler cites an account from the fifteenth century in which a Netherlandish city acted to preserve a ruin, but not to rebuild it or recycle its materials, in Ibid., 99-100.

In 1612, Claes Jansz. Visscher (1587-1652) produced a series of prints depicting the Haarlem countryside, which, in combination with Flemish precedents and Hendrik Goltzius' (1558-1617) imagery, sparked the production of a handful of print series depicting ruins, people, waterways, and woods.[72] Visscher's c. 1611-12 view of the Huis ter Kleef, the Spanish headquarters during the Siege of Haarlem, shows the ruins amidst a bustling landscape, similar to the pairing of ruin, labor, and leisure in Post's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* (Figure 2-25).[73] Willem Buytewech's (1591-1624) c. 1621 print portrays a ruined church outside of The Hague that was destroyed by the Dutch in 1581 so as to prevent it from being used for Catholic worship, which also strikes an intriguing parallel with Post's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* in the depiction of a well-known monument, the destruction of which was determined and carried out by the Dutch (Figure 2-26).[74]

At the same time that Post's views of Olinda draw on the tradition of the portrayal of ruins in Dutch landscapes, they also embody Dutch interest in local identity and place. In the representations of ruins by Visscher and Buytewech, the artists included information in the series clearly informing the viewer of the identity and location of the structures shown. Post mimicked this practice in his *View of the Ruins of Olinda* in which he included an inscribed stone that ensures the viewer can identify the city depicted, saying, in the Dutch vernacular, "ruwin van de stadt Olindo in Brazilie (ruins of the city Olinda in Brazil)." Adding to the literate viewer's ease in identifying the location, Post used the ruined churches as markers of place in both his views of

[72] Refer to Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994*); Gibson, Pleasant Places.*
[73] Refer to Levesque's pairing of passages from Samuel Ampzing's history of the city of Haarlem with various of the prints by Visscher and others. She successfully shows how landscape and ruins embodied place, identity, and history in seventeenth-century Dutch culture. Levesque, *Journey*, 53-54; Catherine Levesque, "Haarlem Landscapes and Ruins: Nature Transformed," in *Time and Transformation in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, ed. Susan Donahue Kuretsky (Poughkeepsie, NY: Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, 2005), 52; Kuretsky, ed. *Time*, 115.
[74] Levesque, *Journey*, 81; Levesque, "Haarlem," 53.

Olinda, as early depictions of the town clearly label its destroyed churches (See Figures 2-16 and 2-30).

By depicting buildings associated with particular cities, Post engaged yet another common element of Dutch landscapes, as well as other trends in seventeenth-century Dutch art, including the cityscape genre and the development of an interest in the portrayals of churches, both of which were rooted in local identity. Post's Haarlem contemporary, Jacob van Ruisdael, includes buildings to indicate the locations of his paintings, providing place identification even if the structures were not depicted in an entirely accurate fashion. His many views of Haarlem, his *Haarlempjes*, often include structures in the distance that denote that city, including the towers of St. Bavo's, Haarlem's most prominent church (Figure 2-27).[75]

At the same time that Post's paintings manifest iconographic and stylistic links with Dutch landscapes, they also draw on the deep and rich tradition of Dutch landscape depictions potentially being used to allow viewers access to places that they could not visit in person.[76] Establishing a practice of "armchair travel" made possible by art, Claes Jansz. Visscher's *Pleasant Places (Plaisante Plaetsen)* series of 1611 depicts views of rural areas near Haarlem (Figure 2-25). Helping to establish a precedent for portraying the countryside in prints intended for city buyers, Visscher provided urban inhabitants the opportunity to travel through the country, if they did not have the time or means, saying on the frontispiece, "The Pleasant Places

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[75] Stone-Ferrier argues that Ruisdael's paintings must be seen within the context of painted cityscapes, maps, and topographical prints, in "Views of Haarlem: A Reconsideration of Ruisdael and Rembrandt," *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (1985): 427-28. Levesque discusses the similarities between the Haarlem print series and Ruisdael's views of Haarlem, arguing that to fully understand later paintings like Ruisdael's, we need to first grasp their origins in serial prints, in *Journey*, 120.

[76] For discussion of art being used for imaginary journeys, see: Ken Arnold, "Trade, Travel and Treasure: Seventeenth-Century Artificial Curiosities," in *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830*, ed. Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon, *Studies in British Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 263-86; Gibson, *Pleasant Places*, 83-84.

here you can contemplate with ease, devotees who have no time to travel far, situated outside the agreeable city [of] Haarlem or thereabouts."[77]

In 1648-50, Geertruydt (1625-1657) and Roelant Roghman (1627-1692), sibling etchers from Amsterdam, continued this trend in landscape depiction in their *Pleasant Landscapes or Amusing Scenes* (*Plaisante Lantschappen ofte vermakelijcke Gesichten*), published by Visscher. Each of the thirteen prints of the countryside surrounding Amsterdam, many of which include ruins, is clearly identified with its location, giving the entire series geographic specificity, as for example in *Kerck tot Sloten,* which depicts a ruined church in the village of Sloten (Figure 2-28). In the same fashion, Post's depiction of identifiable, recognizable landmarks provides his viewers with a similar sense of place.[78] Moreover, Geertruydt and Roelant's series gave residents of Amsterdam and others who did not live in the country, the opportunity to retreat to the rural landscape.[79] In the same way, removed from the WIC's base of operations in Brazil, Olinda had a similar rural, quiet character to the small villages outside of Amsterdam drawn and then etched by Visscher and the Roghmans, to which a viewer who could not travel far could retreat.

While these Haarlem pictorial precedents stem from print series rather than paintings, the comparison still attests to a tradition of art that mentally transports a viewer to a different and

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[77] Translated by David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century*, British Museum Prints and Drawings Series (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 50. Also see Gibson, *Pleasant Places*, 93. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Plaisante Plaetsen hier, meught ghik aenschouwen radt. Liefhebbers die geen tijt en hebt om veer te reijsen, Gheleghen buijten de ghenoechelijke Stadt, Haerlem of daer ontrent." Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Plaisante Plaetsen* (Amsterdam: Claes Jansz. Visscher, c. 1611), frontispiece. (H. 149).

[78] In Post's Brazilian production and images for van Baerle's text, he only showed areas in or around forts or fortresses under Dutch control. His shift to depicting views outside of fortified areas, in portraying Olinda, for example, may indicate a move away from emphasizing Dutch power and instead creating an array of possible meanings or functions to appeal to a wider audience.

[79] Stone-Ferrier further elaborates on the possible function of landscape etchings, by commenting in her discussion of Rembrandt's work that many of his prints are part of "the theme of imaginary rural walks in prints," in "Rembrandt's Landscape Etchings: Defying Modernity's Encroachment," *Art History* 15 (December 1992): 414. For discussions of the significance of the countryside in Dutch culture, see: Freedberg, *Prints*; Levesque, *Journey*; Stone-Ferrier, "Rembrandt's Landscape," 403-33; Kristina Hartzer Nguyen, "The Made Landscape: City and Country in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 1 (Fall 1992): 7-42.

clearly identifiable location, endowing landscape depictions with an experiential component.[80] These prints, as indicated in the title page to the Roghmans' series stating that the prints are *naar't leven* or "taken from life," presuppose the artist's personal experience of the landscape depicted (Figure 2-28).[81] Post's firsthand experience of the Brazilian landscape endowed his works with a similar *naar't leven* quality, legitimizing and justifying the viewer's ability to experience the far-off and lost landscape through the artist's eyes.[82] Stylistically, iconographically, and experientially, Post's two paintings of Olinda engage with the Haarlem landscape tradition, making a Brazilian, and by this point inaccessible, landscape as depicted by the artist, familiar, appealing, and consumable for a Dutch audience.

Post's Views of Olinda and Dutch Memory

In *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral,* Post constructed Brazilian landscapes that resonated with a Dutch audience steeped in their own native landscape tradition. Even so, the question remains what prompted Post to devote so much of his attention to Olinda, in particular, as a key element of his attempts to secure a market niche in the 1660s even after the Dutch lost their Brazilian holdings in 1654. Olinda's primacy in the press and publishing realm made its geographic location, historical events, and economic value well-known to the Dutch. In addition, the parallels between the history of Olinda and the founding story of the United Provinces may have also created a type of kinship for the Dutch between the two geographic and cultural regions, making the far-off city less foreign to them. Post's images of Olinda engaged

[80] For a brief argument extrapolating the trends of serial prints to paintings, see Levesque, *Journey*, 120.
[81] The phrase *naar't leven* defies a precise definition, though "taken from life" is a good approximation. For a helpful study of its etymology and significance, see Claudia Swan, "*Ad vivum, naer het leven*, from the Life, Defining a Mode of Representation," *Word and Image* 11(October 1995): 353-72. For a study arguing that Post sketched from a particular vantage point in making drawings used in composing a painting, see Rajer and Levy, "Village of Olinda."
[82] Post's sketches likely numbered in the thousands, though almost all are lost. Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 35-40; Do Lago and do Lago, "Life and Work," 32.

his viewers' historical memories of Brazil, hearkening back to a time of their political and economic success under Johan Maurits.

Post expected the viewer to recognize Olinda in both paintings and took great pains to ensure the audience could properly identify the location. *View of the Ruins of Olinda* includes a painted sign in Dutch clearly informing the viewer of the town shown; Brazilian flora and fauna; Johan Maurits' palace; and non-European peoples. *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* presents similar plants and animals, including the striking red *timacambiré*, identifying the location as Brazil, while the view of a ruined church, clearly not of native Brazilian construction, denotes the site as Olinda. Post's selection of Olinda as subject matter and his emphasis on known identifying markers of the city may have increased the paintings' marketability to and desirability for a seventeenth-century Dutch audience.

Based on a profusion of news and literature about Brazil and further documentary evidence, the Dutch were steeped in its current events and history. Ten inventories of homes taken in Amsterdam from 1642 to 1665 include maps of Brazil as part of their household contents, each of which would have certainly shown the city of Olinda and its location relative to Mauritsstad and Recife.[83] Although it postdates Post's work, a pamphlet from 1702, which invites the public to a tavern to view Brazilian rarities, including an iguana, may indicate a cultural tradition also existing in the 1660s (Figure 2-29).[84]

Olinda, in particular, held a preeminent place in the Dutch conception of Brazil, considering its status as the Portuguese capital city there, its lengthy and integral role in the foundation and loss of Dutch holdings, and its depiction on maps and in historical accounts. As a result of extensive media coverage, Olinda became a Brazilian touchstone for the Dutch in its

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[83] See the Montias Database of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art Inventories, hosted by the Frick Collection and Frick Art Reference Library.
[84] See discussion of this pamphlet in Teixeira, "Nature," 49.

geographic and historical familiarity as possibly the best known of the country's cities. Traders from the Low Countries had been in Olinda since the sixteenth century, working to export brazilwood and sugar.[85] From the founding of the WIC in 1621, the company targeted Brazil as a desirable conquest for the new organization. WIC military forces attempted to take Olinda twice, failing once in 1624 and finally succeeding in 1630.[86] Both of these operations found coverage in the Dutch press, in many pamphlets and broadsheets published in the 1620s and 1630s to keep the public apprised of Dutch efforts.[87] These publications did not simply mention Olinda, but focused on the city in their titles and text, carefully laying out the skirmishes and battles that secured Dutch control of the area. Claes Jansz. Visscher's 1630 broadsheet showcases Olinda, prominently depicting the unmarred locale and its many churches, labeled in the legend, while also including a vignette showing sugar production (Figure 2-30). The visual conception of the city highlights its churches, its role in military conflict, and its economic desirability, in addition to emphasizing its central role in major historical events. Such broadsheets and pamphlets identified Olinda as the locus of Dutch activities in Brazil and provided the Dutch public with knowledge of the city's location, churches, and former Portuguese identity.

Accounts of the 1632 destruction of the city at the hands of WIC forces also appeared in the press, deepening the Netherlanders' familiarity with the city through widely read descriptions

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[85] Ebert states that the Portuguese were so inundated by traders from the Low Countries in the sixteenth century that they began to feel xenophobic. Christopher Ebert, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550-1630* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 50.

[86] Michiel van Groesen systematically analyzes the news and pamphlet literature dealing with the two attempts at conquest, breaking down the narratives and talking about how the WIC manipulated the stories, in "Lessons Learned: The Second Dutch Conquest of Brazil and the Memory of the First," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no. 2 (August 2011): 167-93. Also see the account of Boxer, *Dutch*.

[87] See, for example, Samuel Ampzing, *Fasciculus epigrammatum, enz.: een bondelken Sin-dichten van wege de verovering van Olinda, de hoofstad van pernambuco in Brasiliën, door de vlote van de West-Indische Compangnie* (Haarlem: Adriaen Roman, 1630); Johannes Baers, *Olinda, ghelegen int landt van Brazil* (Amsterdam: H. Laurentsz, 1630); *Veroveringh van de stadt Olinda* (Amsterdam: H. Gerritsz., 1630); and D. van Weerdenburgh, *Copie van de missive, gheschreven byden generael Weerdenburch, aende Staten Generael, noopende de veroveringhe van de stadt Olinda de Pernambuco* (The Hague: Widow of H.J. van Wouw, 1630).

of its ruined state. Publications from the 1640s that discuss the history of Dutch Brazil include mention of the battles, and also the 1632 burning of Olinda and the destruction of its churches by the Dutch, who appropriated their stones and building materials for their own construction projects. Johannes de Laet's 1644 account of the WIC's efforts in Brazil from 1624 to 1636, for example, mentions the ruination of Olinda, while also chronicling the city's role in the company's military efforts.[88]

In addition to such practical accounts intended for a wide, general readership, a publication directed to the Dutch Republic's elite, *The History of Brazil* (*Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum, sub praefectura illustrissimi Comiti I. Mauritii…Historia*) (1647), directs attention to Olinda.[89] This publication hailing the achievements of Johan Maurits was initially published in Latin, with subsequent editions in French and German appearing in the 1650s, demonstrating that although it was initially intended for an elite Dutch audience, the book was widely read. The book's author, Caspar van Baerle (1584-1648), a Dutch scholar and humanist, provided an almost poetic description of Olinda's ruination, which reinforced the necessity of the city's destruction and the noble and almost sacral character of its damage.[90] So compelling was the story of Olinda, it seems, that although Johan Maurits did not arrive in Brazil until six years after its devastation, van Baerle still discussed it in his history of Brazil under the count's rule. In sentimental language, he directs attention to the ruins, stating,

> Because we are human and are touched by what is beautiful, dismantling Olinda was an unhappy task for those who were charged with breaking up the city,

[88] Johannes de Laet, *Historie ofte iaerlyck verhael van de verrichtingen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* (Amsterdam, 1644), 248-49. Also see Auguste de Guelen, *Brieve Relation de l'Estat de Pernambuco* (Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1640).

[89] A more complete translation of the original Latin title is *History of the Recent Activities in Brazil and Elsewhere over a Period of Eight Years under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits* (Amsterdam, 1647).

[90] Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning, "Preface," in *The History of Brazil Under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636-1644* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011).

> especially when the roofs of buildings sacred and profane, public and private, radiating with the last rays of the setting sun, were torn off and thrown down.[91]

Through his description of the ruins, the author establishes their nobility, even painting a visual picture for the reader of the injured structures that seems evocative of Post's views of Olinda. Further, van Baerle carefully charts the destruction of the city, saying, that

> it was doomed by fate to be pulled down, not by the furor of war but intentionally, and its buildings, monasteries, and churches wept at their ruins. This was not considered sacrilege by our people…[as]… the Dutch, who consider any place equally suitable for a sacred service, did not interpret this as a lack of piety, but as a prudent measure.[92]

He goes on to stress the security and pragmatic reasons justifying Olinda's destruction. Van Baerle emphasizes that the ruination contributed to the eventual flourishing society Post visualizes by the establishment of a more secure environment and the creation of a plentiful supply of building materials to construct Mauritsstad. In doing so, he further familiarized the Dutch with Olinda and popularized the public's perception of it as a ruined city, expounding upon features it had in common with many Dutch cities that were similarly ravaged by war.

The many accounts of Olinda's ruination, including van Baerle's description, emphasize the inescapable historical events that necessitated the destruction of venerable structures to bring about prosperity and success. In the same way, the history of the Dutch Revolt includes similar accounts of necessary demolition that paved the way for the establishment of the United Provinces, establishing a commonality between Dutch and Brazilian history. Both Olinda and the Northern Netherlands were under Iberian control, Portuguese or Spanish, respectively, but

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[91] Van Baerle, *History*, 144-5. The original Latin text is: "Nec tamen non, ut hominess sumus & pulchro afficimur, miserari urbis angustæ vastationem poterant ipsi, qui vastabant; subrutis exalto & deturbatis ædiú sacrarum & profanarum, publicarum & privatarum fastigiis, quæ Solis vespertini radiis, gratissimo adspectu, verberabantur." From the 1660 edition, 247-48.

[92] Ibid. The original Latin text is: "patuit excidio suo pulcherrima Olinda, & veluti fatis damnata, flebilis apparuit. Dejecta, non bellifurore, sed cósilio, ædes, monasteria, Templa, ruinæ suæillachrymavére. Nec sacrilegia hæc…Belgæ, quibus omnis locus æquè adorationi idoneus sacerque habetur, non impietatem hoc omne sed prudentiam intetpretabantur." From the 1660 edition, 247-48.

overthrew that domination through military operations, destroyed cities to ensure their security, and then rebuilt under an aegis of Dutch power that created peace and success.[93] The story of the city of Leiden during the Dutch Revolt exemplifies van Baerle's justification of the damaging of Olinda, as in their efforts to prevent the Spanish from taking the city, the Dutch broke the dikes and flooded the surrounding countryside.[94] While the circumstances at Olinda were different, in that the Dutch had partial control over the city when they destroyed it and did so to reuse building supplies and root out guerilla groups, the belief still predominates that ruining venerable structures was necessary to create a better society. Almost every Dutch town has a founding story of destruction during the Dutch Revolt, only to be restored, rebuilt, and renewed under the new order.[95] Indeed, ruins littered the seventeenth-century Dutch landscape. Many were preserved in part or in their entirety, as the structures embodied the historical events that created their ruined states.

In essence, the Dutch were culturally attuned to finding history in their native environments. Scholars successfully argue that part of the increasing interest in Dutch landscape depictions throughout the century may be due to their evocation of place and time, as the city or countryside views visualize elements of local history and identity.[96] The familiarity of Olinda's history to a Dutch audience, by virtue of decades of press coverage before Post's work in the 1660s, gave Dutchmen a knowledge of the far-off landscape, including its story and geography.

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[93] Seventeenth-century literature, including Caspar van Baerle's poem *Mauritius redux,* tends to pair the successes of Johan Maurits against the Portuguese in Brazil with those of the Dutch against Spain in the Dutch Revolt, as discussed in A.J.E. Harmsen, "Barlaeus's Description of the Dutch Colony in Brazil," in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Schlarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. Zweder von Martels (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 158-69.
[94] Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806*, ed. R.J.W. Evans, Oxford History of Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 181.
[95] For example, a third of Haarlem was destroyed by fire during the Dutch Revolt. For accounts of portions of Dutch cities being ruined during the Eighty Years War, see Ibid.
[96] See, for example, Stone-Ferrier, "Views," 417-36; Levesque, *Journey*; Catherine Levesque, "Landscape, Politics, and the Prosperous Peace," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (1997): 222-57.

Post's creation of a historically saturated landscape in his views of Olinda likely heightened their suitability and desirability for a Dutch audience, which already read in landscape depictions the effects of past and current events.

In *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral*, Post portrayed a partially ruined Italianate structure, clearly not built by the Dutch, but by the former Iberian occupier. Publications citing the destruction of the city make clear that the Dutch caused both the decaying state of the church and its partial repair, as Johan Maurits allowed some Catholic structures to be rebuilt as part of his practice of establishing religious freedom.[97] The unmistakably ruined state of the structure, even while still being used for church services, also provides the scene shown an apparent temporal identity, as by the 1660s when Post painted this work, the churches of Olinda were already being razed and rebuilt under the Portuguese or fully restored.[98] The unfinished state of the church communicates the continued power of the Dutch at the point in time at which the scene is set, evoking a memory of Olinda when it was held by the Dutch.

View of the Ruins of Olinda similarly presents a glimpse of the city at a particular time, as the historical events that shape the landscape are made manifest in Post's panoramic view. Well known in the press as a city dotted with every variety of Catholic church, a veritable array of religious structures appears throughout Post's scene including Carmelite, Jesuit, Franciscan, and Benedictine convents.[99] Spotlighted against the green and golden brown Brazilian landscape, the structures stand as testament to their Catholic builders and their Dutch conquerors. Moreover, the provincial nature of the scene belies the town's large population when under Portuguese

[97] Do Lago and do Lago, *Frans Post*, 256; Van Baerle, *History*, 67.
[98] Meerkerk repeatedly mentions the rampant reconstruction and renewal of Olinda by the Portuguese as soon as they took over the city in 1654. Hannedea van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Recife: The Rise of a Seventeenth-Century Trade City from a Cultural-Historical Perspective*, trans. Cecilia M. Willems (Maastrict: Van Gorcum, 1989).
[99] Van Baerle, *History*, 40. For discussion of the various churches, their initial construction, destruction, and rebuilding, see Meerkerk, *Recife*. Meerkerk mentions Johan Maurits using the Benedictine church Sao Pedro Mártir, which was destroyed and then partially rebuilt by the Dutch as a hospital during a smallpox outbreak, in Ibid., 277.

control in the 1620s and the significant increase in its population since the Dutch left in 1654. By showing the city without a substantial number of inhabitants, Post places the scene during the short period of Johan Maurits' tenure. Another historical marker, the twin towers of Johan Maurits' home, Vrijburg palace, in the distance indicate his leadership and his role as a powerful figure who created the environment allowing the peaceful scene to exist.[100] Further illustrating the history that shaped Olinda, Post employed a warm, golden color throughout both paintings, which evoked for a seventeenth-century audience the type of soil favorable for growing sugarcane.[101] In inscribing the landscape with a color expressive of its fecundity and in depicting a sugar mill, he expressed Olinda's economic desirability and thus deepened the paintings' visualization of the setting's history. An artist thoroughly steeped in the Haarlem landscape tradition, Post painted a Brazilian scene with a precise historical character, as *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* depict landscapes that embody the histories that molded them.

Post showed Olinda as it existed under the rule of Johan Maurits, rather than a timeless or nebulous city. No artist depicted Olinda in its ruined condition until Post began painting the city in 1660, six years after the Dutch had lost their territorial possessions in 1654, and around the time the Dutch officially relinquished their Brazilian designs in 1661 by signing the Treaty of The Hague.[102] Post's *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* clearly show specific scenes of particular landmarks in Olinda and Mauritsstad that depict the city at the time

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[100] Constructed as his home during Johan Maurits' time in Brazil, Vrijburg was significantly altered during the period from 1645 to 1654, losing its stables, outhouses, and trees. The structure stood until 1784 when the top story was removed, as cited in Ibid., 148. Even so, in my research, I have found varying reports of its demise, including those who say that the Portuguese destroyed it as soon as they had control of Dutch Brazil in 1654. It is hard to determine what the Dutch of the 1660s knew about its fate.
[101] See footnote 142 for a description, most likely written by Johan Maurits, of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* in which the author discusses the yellow color prevalent in the painting as related to sugarcane production. As translated by and transcribed in Do Lago and do Lago, "Gift," 66.
[102] Boxer, *Dutch*, 253.

of Johan Maurits' tenure as the governor-general of Brazil some twenty years before Post painted them.

Changes in the discourse about Brazil in the Dutch press and literature help to explain Post's careful temporal siting of his views of Olinda during the time of Johan Maurits' authority, as Post showed the Brazil of the past and engaged the memories of his Dutch audience. By the time the artist started depicting Olinda, the Dutch had lost their Brazilian possessions to the Portuguese. No longer did publications discuss any current activities of the Dutch in Brazil, but rather a stark polemic developed as the press reflected on the brief period of Dutch hegemony in the region. The floundering WIC, the fortunes of which declined about the time Johan Maurits returned to the Dutch Republic, published propaganda stressing the transgressions of the Portuguese to justify their efforts in fighting them. At the same time, some Dutchmen produced anti-WIC literature that cast their countrymen as the tyrants of Brazil, criticized their treatment of the Tupi and other Brazilian peoples, and accused the WIC of financial mismanagement.[103] Both sides of the debate, however, agreed on one thing: Brazil under Johan Maurits was well managed, peaceful, and profitable.

Publications praise Johan Maurits for his significant accomplishments including the establishment of freedom of worship, expanding the economic success of Dutch Brazil, and managing the various peoples there with an almost Solomonic ability.[104] Paralleling the praise in

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[103] See Schmidt's analysis of the two trends in Dutch accounts of Brazil after 1654 in *Innocence*, 281-91.

[104] See van Baerle and other seventeenth-century publications praising Johan Maurits' accomplishments, especially Franciscus Plante epic poem, *The Mauritias,* as analyzed by R.A. Eekhout, "The Mauritias: A Neo-Latin Epic by Franciscus Plante," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 377-93. Even more recent publications discuss Johan Maurits in a mainly positive light, see, for example, G. Freyre, "Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen from a Brazilian Viewpoint," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979); Jose Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, "Vincent Joachim Soler in Dutch Brazil," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe*

such written accounts, Post's paintings exude a quiet, peaceful tone, depicting a functioning society, not one torn by war or conflict. No where does Post present the misbehaviors of the Dutch, instead showing the viewer evidence of religious freedom, in figures exiting a partially reconstructed Catholic church after services, highlighting one of the primary successes of Johan Maurits' governorship.[105] He depicted slaves imported from Africa happily performing their tasks, even engaging in leisure and social activities, and accompanied by their seemingly benevolent Portuguese masters.[106] A society like the one Post presented must have been successful economically and brought the profit the Dutch desired. He depicted the Brazil of Johan Maurits' governorship, showing glimpses of a lost Brazil that existed in the memories of his Dutch audience.

The Dutch *de facto* loss of Brazil in 1654 and the official relinquishment of their Brazilian holdings in 1661 may have placed Post in a bit of a predicament, as no longer could his paintings propagandize current WIC success. Instead, he had to alter his body of work to broaden its appeal and increase its popularity, thus making views of Brazil that could still be relevant for a Dutch audience after the loss of the territory. Post adapted his approach by capturing nostalgic depictions of Dutch efforts in Brazil to create a demand for something that no longer existed by engaging the memories of those who had once consumed it. Post succeeded in selling Brazil in paint to such a degree that his career reached its peak of production and profit

and Brazil, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 247-55; Meurs and Verhoef, *World Heritage*.

[105] While seventeenth-century publications typically praise Johan Maurits' establishment of religious freedom, they also mention some anomalies in his behavior, including his favoring of Calvinists. Boxer cites Johan Maurits having given permission to the Portuguese to rebuild a chapel at Olinda, only to have that building be taken over by Calvinists, thus displacing the Catholics, in *Dutch*, 123. Also see van Baerle, *History*, 314. There exists a significant body of literature dealing with religious freedom in Dutch Brazil, in particular a recent reassessment of religious tolerance there that appropriately tempers the scholarship's tendency to praise Johan Maurits, in Israel and Schwartz, eds., *Expansion*.

[106] For discussion of distinguishing characteristics of Portuguese structures in Post's work, see Ernst van den Boogaart, "A Well-Governed Colony: Frans Post's Illustrations in Caspar Barlaeus's *History of Dutch Brazil*," *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 3 (2011): 244.

between 1663 and 1665.[107] By creating views of Brazil that represent a specific place that had many parallels to the Dutch Republic, and showing that place at a particular time of WIC success, Post was able to market his works to a wide audience at home. The Dutch public had devoured Brazil in the form of text, imagery, and goods, like sugar. Post's views of Olinda perpetuated their consumption of the memory of the lost Dutch Brazil. Olinda's similarities to aspects of the history of the Dutch Republic's cities and Post's depiction of Brazil at a particular historical moment of Dutch success all suited the tastes of ravenous Dutch art consumers, who, from all appearances, snatched up his paintings and proudly displayed them in their homes.

Multivalent Meanings: Post's Views of Olinda and Their Popularity

Inventory evidence and contemporary reports support the view that Post's paintings were highly valued throughout the United Provinces. The ease with which Jacob Cohen, Johan Maurits' agent, acquired nine canvases by Post from Dutch collectors to complete Johan Maurits' gift to Louis XIV underscores the abiding and widespread Dutch interest in the artist's views of Brazil. The varied group of collectors that owned Post's paintings suggests that *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* had multiple types of often interconnected possible meanings for their diverse Dutch audience, which contributed to the paintings' accumulated history.[108]

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents substantiate the popularity of Post's paintings. The prices Jacob Cohen paid in 1678 for the artist's paintings show their continuing monetary value and desirability, as he disbursed 180 guilders for one and 100 guilders for

[107] Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 44.
[108] For discussions of multivalent meanings as characteristic of seventeenth-century Dutch art, see Linda A. Stone-Ferrier, "Pretty Ornaments and Clever Images: Interpretations of Dutch Art," in *Dutch Prints of Daily Life: Mirrors of Life or Masks of Morals?* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, 1983), 2-35; Ann Jensen Adams, "Review of *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting,* by Peter Sutton," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 2 (1992): 337.

another, though others of the nine were less expensive.[109] Seventeenth-century inventory records indicate the frequent presence of Post's paintings in Dutch collections and rank his works as some of the more valuable Dutch landscapes during the period.[110] In the eighteenth century, Arnold Houbraken reports the existence of a number of Post's works in private collections, decades after Post's death, citing their popularity and praiseworthy nature.[111] French art critic Jean-Baptiste Descamps, also writing in the eighteenth century, commends Post's paintings and extols his reputation.[112]

Women and men, the very wealthy and the middle class, decorated their homes with Post's works. Owners of his paintings, as identified in Cohen's letters and in inventories, included those connected with trade in Dutch Brazil, previous associates of Johan Maurits, and those who had never traveled to Brazil. When Jacob Cohen sought Post's paintings, he found worthy examples for sale in Delft, Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Zeeland. The variety of people from whom he purchased nine Post paintings, including *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda*, illuminates the range of possible meanings these paintings had for a broad spectrum of viewers. He acquired two works in Amsterdam from the widow of Willem Piso, Johan Maurits' personal physician while in Brazil with whom Post dined on a daily basis at Vrijburg. He also bought two paintings in Haarlem from the widow of Post's nephew, Maurits Post.[113] Both of these purchases were from those either connected to Johan Maurits' Brazilian

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[109] For information about Cohen's shopping trip, refer to the letters between Cohen and Johan Maurits in the collection of the Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, selections from which are transcribed in Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*; Larsen, *Frans Post*; Thomas Thomsen, *Albert Eckhout, ein niederländischer Maler und sein Gönner Moritz der Brasilianer* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1938), 126-56. Also see the comments of do Lago and do Lago, "Gift," 64.
[110] Chong, "Market," 115-17.
[111] Arnold Houbraken cites the existence of a large work by Post at Huis Honselaarsdijk, the country home of Frederick Henry and William III, in *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 2d ed. (The Hague: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, and M. Gaillard, 1753; reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1976), vol. 3, 344.
[112] As cited by Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 44.
[113] Do Lago and do Lago, "Gift," 64.

expedition or those in the artist's family, sources that make sense considering the nature of Post's work, his friendship with Piso, and his family connections. Cohen's acquisition of five additional landscapes in Delft from those unconnected to Post's family or Johan Maurits indicates the wide, mainstream audience Post targeted in the 1660s with *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral.*[114]

Examination of Haarlem inventories, which list many works by Post in eight different homes, further illuminates the diversity of individuals who purchased his paintings.[115] Households typically had a variety of works of art in their collections, of which the artist's depictions of Brazil were just one of many possible types of paintings.[116] Post's landscapes were clearly identifiable as Brazilian or West Indies scenes, sometimes described in inventories as "westindisch landschap van Frans Post (West Indies landscape by Frans Post)."[117] Those owners whose inventories include Post's paintings were neither in the employ of the WIC nor had Brazilian interests.[118] They worked in local trade, in brewing or linen production, or for the city government. Although most were persons of means, they did not gain their fortunes through global trade and investment, but rather earned their money in inter-European business. Most of the eight inventories in Haarlem list one or two Post paintings, but the 1685 inventory of Judith

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[114] Although Delft did not have a WIC chamber, it was a VOC city and had a significant and important identity as a producer of blue and white faïence. For discussion of cabinets of curiosities in Delft and the extensive collections of its inhabitants, see Ellinoor Bergvelt, Michiel Jonker, and Agnes Wiechmann, *Burgers verzamelen 1600-1750, Schatten in Delft* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2002).

[115] The inventories date from 1672 to 1707, transcribed in Biesboer, *Collections*, inventory numbers 68, 71, 72, 77, 88, 98, 99, and 102.

[116] Chong states that, for the most part, seventeenth-century Dutch art collectors had no overarching schema governing their acquisition of works of art. They seem to have bought what they liked. Chong, "Market," 117.

[117] See the inventory of Maria van Strijp, June 3, 1707, as transcribed in Biesboer, *Collections*, 323-26.

[118] In contrast to residents of some other Dutch cities, in particular WIC chamber towns, Haarlem citizens did not have comparable opportunities for overseas investment in the WIC.

Loreijn's possessions includes nine pictures by Post, but no more than one or two images by any other artist, which reveals an unusual emphasis on collecting the artist's work.[119]

By creating paintings that evoked familiar elements of Dutch economic, political, and pictorial history, Post likely hoped to attract the attention of a wide cross-section of buyers and increase the likelihood of their sale. His depiction of the Brazilian landscape in a fashion akin to the Dutch landscape tradition's iconography and style probably allowed a domestic audience to feel comfortable with the foreign landscape. The employment of ruins, woods, and naturalistic details also heightened the paintings' appeal for the Dutch viewer. While these characteristics clearly attracted a Dutch audience on the whole, individual viewers likely found more specific meanings in the works.

Men who had traveled to Brazil like Piso, whether working for the WIC or Johan Maurits, had an obvious potential interest in Post's work for its evocation of their time abroad and the authenticity inherent in Post's representation of a landscape that they also knew well. *View of the Ruins of Olinda*, in its large size, may have been a commission from one of these men who wanted to remember his time in Brazil through such a vivid portrayal of the country. Botanists and natural historians would find the depictions of flora and fauna in both paintings to be intriguing and informative. For those who had never traveled to Brazil, Post's views of Olinda could have been imaginary visual journeys, building on the existing experiential components of the Dutch landscape tradition. The paintings could even function as symbolic investments, rather than literal monetary backing of the WIC, for those who were not able to provide financial support for the company's efforts.

For devotees of Johan Maurits, Post's views of Olinda could have spoken to the accomplishments of the Dutch Aeneas in a nationalistic and even self-congratulatory fashion.[120]

[119] Loreijn was the daughter of a linen merchant turned brewer and the wife of a burgomaster, as stated in Ibid., 285.

Ruins of Olinda Cathedral and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* may have engaged memories of Dutch Brazil through their visualization of information provided by the press in memorializing the period of Johan Maurits' rule. Both WIC detractors and supporters were in agreement that Johan Maurits was an effective leader of Brazil during his tenure, after which the situation in the territory deteriorated. In depicting Brazil under Johan Maurits' rule, *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* had wider appeal than a timeless image would have had.

Viewers particularly interested in history would have enjoyed the pictorial melding of the Brazilian landscape with the Dutch landscape, as both had been ravaged by war and siege. Post's attention to ruins in his paintings of Olinda created a commonality between the Dutch and Brazilian landscapes that was both visual and historical. Viewers steeped in publications like van Baerle's were likely intrigued with Post's lavishing attention on historically saturated structures. Persons who devoured publications dealing with Brazil probably relished the specificity of Post's views of Olinda, while others may have enjoyed them for their evocation of a fantastic, far-off landscape.

The strong religious component of both of Post's paintings may have also suited a Dutch Catholic audience who otherwise infrequently purchased landscapes.[121] Perhaps Post hoped to broaden the interest in his works by showing churches, which may have catered to the religiosity of a Catholic audience. Even so, the ruined churches could also appeal to the nationalism of the Dutch and the praiseworthy accomplishments of Johan Maurits. There may have even been a melancholic and *memento mori* element to the images, prompting the pensive or religious viewer to meditate on the passage of time and the insecurity of man's creations in the face of the power

[120] Post had practice honoring Johan Maurits in his art, as seen in his illustrations for van Baerle's *History.* See van den Boogaart's discussion of Post depicting a pacified Brazil in his illustrations for van Baerle's volume, in which he argues that Post tends to gloss over violence and conflict in his work, honoring and memorializing the accomplishments of Johan Maurits, in "Colony," 237-69.
[121] Chong, "Market," 113.

of God and nature.[122] The wide variety of possible meanings *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* may have had for a Dutch audience indicates Post's clear success in cultivating a market niche for his paintings and selling his work to his fellow Dutchmen, for whom he created popular, in-demand depictions of a Brazil that could never be regained.

Johan Maurits van Nassau's Gift of Post's Views of Olinda

About fifteen years after Post's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* entered Dutch collections in Haarlem, Delft, and/or Amsterdam, Johan Maurits presented the paintings as part of a large gift to Louis XIV in 1678.[123] The cumulative history of Post's paintings evinced their significance for Johan Maurits: their connection to WIC efforts in Brazil; their personal links to Johan Maurits; their origins as consumer goods for a Dutch audience; and their lives adorning the walls of Dutch homes. While all the Brazilian items he gifted spoke to his experience in Brazil and of his accomplishments, the two works under study here were acquired from Dutch private collections and thus expressed continued Dutch interest in and appreciation for Johan Maurits. As objects accumulate meaning by virtue of their links to people and places, the gift not only communicated his sense of self-identity, but also the Dutch public's conception of his contribution to their overseas enterprises, perhaps even confirming for the aging man that his career was still honored by his contemporaries. Examination of Johan Maurits' lifelong granting of exotic gifts with Brazilian origins to curry favor, fortune, and titles from monarchs throughout Europe demonstrates the interrelationship between his gift-giving activities and his self-identity. Although Dutch Brazil and the successes of Johan Maurits were fading from living memory, Post's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* preserved in paint the high point of the elderly leader's career, endowed with the appreciation

[122] Schmidt adopts this interpretation in his discussion of Post's work in *Innocence*, 290.
[123] Refer to the first footnote of this chapter for an outline of Johan Maurits' gift to Louis XIV.

and memory of the Dutch due to the works' long-term display in the homes of the United Provinces.

Called the "Brazilian" by his contemporaries, Johan Maurits embraced and encouraged a personal and public persona rooted in his tenure as governor of Brazil by drawing from his collection of Brazilian art and objects in gift exchange to further his own ambitions and reinforce his pan-European public persona.[124] While abroad, he amassed a considerable collection of Brazilian material, including a menagerie of live animals and birds, prints, paintings and drawings documenting the country, furniture, weapons, and innumerable other objects with exotic Brazilian origins.[125] When Johan Maurits resigned his post and moved to The Hague, he took much of his collection with him and proceeded to dedicate his home as a display space. He even brought to The Hague eleven native Brazilians who gave dance performances at his home, the Mauritshuis, which was nicknamed the sugar house.[126]

As a German count, Johan Maurits was well-schooled in the gift-exchange practices of the upper classes and nobility, making him aware of the importance of the selection of an appropriate gift and the necessity of reciprocation. Practicing these principles of exchange during his time in Brazil, he received many gifts from native peoples, the Portuguese, and other

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[124] For key sources related to Johan Maurits, refer to footnote 5. For further discussion of Johan Maurits' cultivation of an identity rooted in his Brazilian sojourn and his active propagandizing efforts in disseminating the view of himself as a peacemaker in Brazil, refer to Virginie Spenlé, "'Savagery' and 'Civilization': Dutch Brazil in the Kunst- and Wunderkammer," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3, no. 2 (2011).

[125] For discussion of Vrijburg, his gardens, and his collection of animals and exotica, see: Van Baerle, *History*, chapter 7; Wilhelm Diedenhofen, "Johan Maurits and His Gardens," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 197-236; J.J. Terwen, "The Buildings of Johan Maurits van Nassau," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 54-141; Maria Angelica da Silva and Melissa Mota Alcides, "Collecting and Framing the Wilderness: The Garden of Johan Maurits (1604-79) in North-East Brazil," *Garden History* 30, no. 2 (2002): 153-76; Quentin Buvelot, *Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Artist in Brazil* (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2004), 131-33; Brienen, *Visions*, 54-55.

[126] TH. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Mauritshuis as Domus Cosmographia," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, H.R. Hoetink, and P.J.P Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979): 143-96; Buvelot, *Eckhout*, 137-40.

persons who desired his assistance, monetary reciprocation, or other advantages possibly due to them as a result of having made a presentation.[127] Contemporary accounts report that *moradores*, local colonists of Portuguese descent, who visited Johan Maurits' court at Vrijburg "knew his taste and inclination [so] each one brought him whatever rare bird or beast he could find in the back-lands," thus suiting their gifts to the tastes of the receiver, while also selecting items that spoke to the givers' Brazilian origins.[128] While in Brazil, Johan Maurits reciprocated by providing favor and assistance. According to a Portuguese friar, he "showed himself so grateful and favored the Portuguese so much, that it seemed as if they had a father in him, and he greatly lightened the pain and grief they were in at seeing themselves captives."[129]

After Johan Maurits returned to the United Provinces and set up house in The Hague, he proceeded to cast himself as the giver, the supplicant asking for favor of monarchs and other rulers.[130] Always short of funds, he hoped to receive land, titles, honors, or money for his gifts of Brazilian material. In essence, Johan Maurits employed his Brazilian collection as currency in attempting to solidify and improve his status and means. His gifts of portions of his Brazilian collection to Friedrich Wilhelm I, Elector of Brandenburg, in 1652 and King Frederik III of Denmark in 1654 brought him rewards of membership in chivalric orders, status as a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, an estate at Freudenberg, and a team of seven horses. In need of funds in 1678, he hoped Louis XIV would present him with a monetary award in reciprocation for his kingly gift of Brazilian imagery, as evidenced by one of Johan Maurits' letters outlining his

[127] Boxer, *Dutch*, 116; Brienen, *Visions*, 54-55; 194-95; Van Baerle, *History*, 72-73.
[128] Comments of Portuguese Friar Manuel Calado, *O valeroso lucideno e triunfo da liberdade* (1648), as quoted in translation by Boxer, *Dutch*, 116.
[129] Ibid.
[130] See numerous studies of Johan Maurits' royal gifts in Joppien, "Dutch Vision"; Lemmens, "Schenkung"; Do Lago, "Le présent"; Brienen, *Visions*; Do Lago and do Lago, "Gift"; Bencard, "Geschenke."

expectations.[131] Scholarship dealing with Johan Maurits' giving activities purports that not only was he interested in these types of material benefits from the recipients of his Brazilian presents, but he was also desirous that his offerings would act as propaganda broadcasting his significant successes as governor of Brazil.[132] The items he gave exemplified not just the peace and civility he brought to the region as seen in his views of Olinda, but also made manifest his knowledge of its plants, animals, and peoples.[133] He encouraged the recipients of his gifts to create tapestry cycles based on some of the paintings he presented, which would support his desired public image as a Brazilian.[134]

In portraits he commissioned, Johan Maurits also pursued expression of his conception of self as a gift-giver and recipient. Jan de Baen's (1632-1702) c. 1668 *Portrait of Johan Maurits, Count of Nassau-Siegen* visualizes the interconnected nature of his gift-giving and self-identity (Figure 2-31).[135] One of many examples of paintings that manifest Johan Maurits' self-fashioning, the portrait depicts the assertive sitter clad in the armor signifying his career as a military leader and wearing medallions and awards. A distinctive view of his estate at Freudenberg in Cleves appears in the background, showing the garden structures designed by

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[131] Thomsen includes a portion of a letter from Johan Maurits, translated into German from the French, written on December 4, 1679 to Monsieur de Beauvan, one of Louis XIV's financial secretaries, in which he plainly confesses his desire to receive cash instead of jewels as reciprocation, in *Albert Eckhout*, 143.
[132] Spenlé briefly traces Johan Maurits' gifts, discussing them as a "self-aggrandizing propaganda strategy." Spenlé, "'Savagery.'" A lost portrait of Johan Maurits by Eckhout that depicts him surrounded by Brazilian peoples expresses his self-identity. He gave the portrait to Frederik III of Denmark in 1654. Brienen, *Visions*, 206.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Any person who had spent time in Brazil, including Johan Maurits and WIC employees, was given the title "Brazilian." In a letter from February 8, 1679 to Louis XIV's emissary the Marquis de Pomponne, Johan Maurits says that with the gift's depiction of the wonders of Brazil, "on pourra former une tapisserie la plus rare, qu'on aye jamais veu, pour en meubler une grande salle ou gallerie (one [the king] could commission a special tapestry, unlike any ever seen, to furnish a room or gallery)." Document 4/1478, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, transcribed in Larsen, *Frans Post*, 255. Johan Maurits and the Elector of Brandenburg commissioned two sets of tapestries, one for each of them, after Eckhout's images (which were based on cartoons Johan Maurits gave the Elector of Brandenberg in 1652 that were returned to him to be used in tapestry production) from Maximiliaan van der Gucht in The Hague, while Louis XIV took Johan Maurits' advice and commissioned the *Tentures des Indes* series from Les Gobelins in 1687. A second set was commissioned in 1735 after Louis XIV's death. See Joppien, "Dutch Vision," 353-61; Whitehead and Boeseman, *Portrait*, 110-11; Spenlé, "'Savagery.'"
[135] At least three versions of this portrait by Jan de Baen exist, in the collections of the Mauritshuis, The Hague; Siegerlandmuseum, Siegen; and São Paulo Museum of Art, São Paulo.

Jacob van Campen and Maurits Post.[136] While the painting represents a typical view of an aristocratic sitter who proudly displays worldly honors and lands, the painting also clearly expresses his identity as both a giver and receiver. In wearing the Maltese cross of the Order of the Knights of St. John and the blue ribbon signifying the Order of the Elephant, Johan Maurits proudly bears evidence of his gift-giving, as his elevation to the chivalric orders came as reciprocation for his Brazilian gifts to European kings.[137] Similarly, the Elector of Brandenburg presented the estate shown, and another reciprocal act resulted in his appointment as stadholder of Cleves. Even the portrait's sculpture of Pallas Athena alludes to Johan Maurits' place in the gift economy, as the city of Amsterdam gave him the fountain and sculpture in 1660.[138] His self-fashioning in the portrait is inscribed within a matrix of gift exchange, and especially exotic gift exchange, as his public presentation of self is encoded within a network in which he is both the giver and the receiver. Clearly, he conceived of himself as one involved in the gift economy and cultivated that persona in his visual statements of identity. His portraits proudly show how his gift exchange activities allowed him to not only acquire objects, titles, and land, but also connections to powerful rulers.

In light of the close relationship between his ego and his gift-giving activities, Johan Maurits' 1678 present to Louis XIV, including *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda,* likely expresses and reinforces the former's sense of self-identity. Correspondence, including letters and written descriptions of the paintings that accompanied them to Paris, underscores Johan Maurits' view that Post's depictions of Olinda spoke to Maurits'

[136] For discussion of the Freudenberg garden, see Wilhelm Diedenhofen, "'Belvedere,' or the Principle of Seeing and Looking in the Gardens of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen at Cleves," in *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. John Dixon Hunt, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 1990), 49-80.
[137] Most exhibition catalogues and publications about Johan Maurits and his artists discuss this portrait, see, for example, Werd, ed. *Soweit*, 369-70; Buvelot, *Eckhout*, 130.
[138] Eymert-Jan Goossens, ed. *De fonteijn van Pallas: een geschenk van Amsterdam aan Johan Maurits* (Amsterdam: Stichting Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam, 1994).

accomplishments.[139] He takes great pains in his letters, as he offers his gift to the French ambassador, to describe the paintings' visualization of the whole of Brazil in their depictions of wonders and rarities that had never been seen, and which he, alone, can present to the king.[140] Descriptions of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* state Johan Maurits' interpretation of the scenes and indicate how he wanted the gift to be understood. In the descriptive text for each painting, he stresses its connection to him and often indicates its suitability to the tastes and preferences of the French court. The explanation he provides of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* identifies the church and its location in Olinda, mentioning the sugar mill and the rich, fertile yellow earth that produces sugarcane, thus expressing the economic bounty derived from the area.[141] He specifically states that the church "is richly adorned with gold inside; church services and mass are still held there," perhaps trying to appeal to the sensibilities of the Catholic French. *View of the Ruins of Olinda* is similarly described as depicting ruins of many religious structures, but the text pays particular attention to what is seen on the horizon: the homes of the Dutch merchants, Jews, and the residence of Johan Maurits with its two towers.[142] Clearly, the paintings are imprinted with Johan Maurits' memory and with a

[139] For a thorough narrative of the story of the gift's creation and reception based on the documents in the Koninklijk Huisarchief, see Lemmens, "Schenkung." For transcriptions of portions of the correspondance about the gift, see: Larsen, *Frans Post*; Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*; and Thomsen, *Albert Eckhout,*

[140] See the letters dated December 21, 1678, and February 6, 1679, both from Johan Maurits to the Marquis de Pomponne, Document 4/1478, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, as transcribed in Larsen, *Frans Post*, 254-5.

[141] Designated as Litt. H.H., the description reads as follows: "This is the ruin of the lovely Church of the Jesuit Priests in the city of Olinda, which is richly adorned with gold inside; church services and mass are still held here. The River is called the Bibaribi; on the other side, a sugar mill and the owner's house. Higher up, the Chapel. N.B. Everything seen in the region with a yellowish color is the sugarcane, from which the sugar is extracted." Translated and quoted by do Lago and do Lago, "Gift," 66. Original French text is as follows: "C'est la Ruine de la belle Eglise des Pères Jesuites dans la ville d'Olinda, la quelle estoit fort ornée d'or en dedans; ils y disent encore la messe, et font leur service. La Rivière do nomme Bibaribi; de delà c'est un Moulin à Sucre avec la demeure du Seignor, Et plus haut la Chapelle. NB. Tout ce qu'on voit dans le païs, ce qui a la couleur jonatre, c'est de la Cane, dont on presse le Sucre." Document 4/1478, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, transcribed in Larsen, *Frans Post*, 259.

[142] Designated as Litt. F.F., the description reads as follows: "This is the city of Olinda, with its churches and monasteries in ruins atop a mountain at the ocean's edge; far in the background we see Recife, the dwellings of the Regent and of Dutch merchants and Jews, the sugar storehouse, the bay and the large ships, as well as the dwelling of Prince Johan Maurits of Nassau, Governor of Brazil, that is, the house with the two white towers." Translated

temporal designation during the Dutch occupation. These two paintings memorialize and encapsulate the Brazil that he knew, reminding him of how he left his mark on the country via contributions that are still visible in Post's views of Olinda.

In addition to having meaning for Johan Maurits in their depiction of the peaceful Brazil that he helped to create, *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* evidenced the continued awareness and approval by the Dutch of his contributions. In contrast to many of the other items in the gift to Louis XIV, including other works by Post that had been in Johan Maurits' personal collection, *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* were acquired from Dutch private collections, and therefore they were representative of Dutch consumption. They were created not for Johan Maurits while in Brazil, but rather tailored to a Dutch audience and made in the United Provinces. By the time Johan Maurits gave Louis XIV his gift in 1678, the men with whom Johan Maurits had traveled to Brazil were dead, Post was often inebriated, and Cohen could not find a single person with firsthand experience of the country able to accompany the gift to Paris and describe the places and wonders shown in the paintings.[143] Twenty-years earlier when Johan Maurits had presented other Brazilian items as diplomatic gifts, Brazil was still prominent in the minds of Dutchmen and frequently discussed in publications and press. At that time, Johan Maurits could have discussed Brazil with contemporaries who, like him, remembered. However, by 1678, Post's work was the key

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and quoted by Ibid. Original French text is as follows: "Cest la ville d'Olinda avec leurs Eglises et cloistres ruinés sur un Montagne vis-à-vis de la Mer; ce qo'on voit de loin est la Reciffe, la Démeure de la Régence et des Marchants Hollandois et Juifs, et Magasins du Sucre, l'Havre des grands vesseaux, comme aussy la demeure du Prince Maurice de Nassau, Gouverneur du Brésil, à sçavoir, là où est la maison avec les deux Tour blanches." Document 4/1478, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, transcribed in Larsen, *Frans Post*, 259.

[143] A continuing theme in the letters is Cohen's search for a suitable interpreter to accompany the gift to Paris, until in a letter dated January 1, 1679, he finally gives up and declares that he cannot find a "Brazilian" to travel with the paintings. Document 4/1463, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, transcribed in Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 164. Johan Maurits then resorted to providing a copy of van Baerle's *History* and written descriptions, as quoted above, of those paintings that were not included as prints in the book. Pieter de Melly, a painter who helped restore Post's paintings and could also speak French, traveled with the gift to keep Johan Maurits apprised of its reception and help interpret the paintings, though he had never been to Brazil.

platform for the display of memories of Brazil. His paintings were the only remaining sources in circulation of public knowledge documenting Johan Maurits' accomplishments. Cohen's ability to find depictions of Johan Maurits' Brazil in the homes of Dutchmen, where they were currently being collected and consumed, likely buoyed up the count's sense of self and proved that he was still remembered and honored.

The ongoing, widespread Dutch demand for Post's views of Olinda made them particularly exceptional among all of the gifts Johan Maurits gave to European monarchs. In contrast, Brazilian gifts Johan Maurits gave to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1652 and the King of Denmark in 1654 were primarily works by Albert Eckhout, decorative arts, and other natural history material, which lacked a popular audience in Europe. Eckhout never painted for a widespread public market and other objects were sufficiently rare to preclude their being available in the mainstream. For the first time in his long history of gift-exchange with dignitaries and royalty, Johan Maurits chose to present Post's paintings in a monarchial gift, in this case to Louis XIV.[144] Due to their origin as items for sale on the art market, their popular consumption by Dutch viewers, and their particular depiction of a peaceful Olinda according to native Dutch landscape pictorial traditions, the paintings clearly signify the awareness and gratitude of the United Provinces for Johan Maurits' efforts in Brazil. He selected and presented a gift that spoke to his own sense of self and the accomplishments of his life, while also testifying to the perpetuation of honorable memories of Dutch Brazil for the people of the United Provinces.

[144] Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 30; Joppien, "Dutch Vision," 323. According to Cohen's letters, Post's paintings from Johan Maurits' collection that were included in the gift needed air, light, and repair by competent artists, whom Cohen hired to prepare the paintings for gifting. They had been stored in the attic of the Mauritshuis, which is unusual considering the expansive decorative programme that covered the rest of the Brazil-themed home. Document 4/1463, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, transcribed in Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post*, 162-63.

Post's Views of Olinda and the Court of Louis XIV

In August of 1679, Johan Maurits' gift to Louis XIV arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye outside of Paris, was transferred to the Louvre, and then exhibited in the Salle de la Comédie until September of the same year.[145] The total composition of the gift included forty-two paintings: eighteen in ebony frames painted by Post while in Brazil that were found in the attic of the Mauritshuis; nine by Post, including *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda,* which were purchased from Dutch collectors and created during the artist's years in Haarlem; and fifteen paintings of Brazilian peoples and still-lifes by Eckhout.[146] Surviving documents indicate that the gift's exhibition in Paris inspired a degree of wonder amidst the members of the court.[147] Louis XIV also sent an appropriate expression of gratitude to Johan Maurits, though the king did not provide any material or monetary reciprocation.[148] Even with what appears to have been an initial positive, albeit lukewarm, reaction, after the exhibition of the gift, all of the paintings, except for eight large works by Eckhout, were transferred to warehouses where they remained in obscurity for centuries.[149]

Although Johan Maurits, as befits an experienced player in the gift economy of the European aristocracy, tailored his gift to appeal to French sensibilities, the cumulative history of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* ultimately precluded their full acceptance by the French court. Indeed, the specificity of both works, including their geographic and temporal settings that so appealed to the Dutch and Johan Maurits, did not have the same

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[145] Whitehead and Boeseman, *Portrait*, 110.
[146] It is possible the gift also included rarities, including a hammock. Joppien, "Dutch Vision," 326-7; Lemmens, "Schenkung," 285.
[147] Refer to Lemmens' careful recitation of comments in letters about the gift in "Schenkung," 285-86.
[148] I refer to Johan Maurits' presenting Louis XIV with a gift of Brazilian pictures as an episode of exotic gift exchange. The term "exchange" implies a back-and-forth interaction between the parties. Although Johan Maurits did not receive the money he wanted in return for the gift, he did receive a letter of thanks from the king and was given details about the present's reception at court, thus qualifying this interaction as an exchange.
[149] Whitehead and Boeseman, *Portrait*, 110.

resonance for Louis XIV and his retinue. By clearly speaking of Dutch overseas efforts, Dutch popular consumption, Johan Maurits' Dutch identity, and Dutch visual culture, Post's *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* had such a pronounced Dutch character that they fell victim to a contemporary pattern of Louis XIV's court: to boycott, conquer, ignore, or destroy exotic objects originating from or evocative of the United Provinces. Indeed, the works' accumulated meaning as examined in this chapter had a significant impact on the gift's reception, as the biographies of Post's paintings' spoke too strongly of their Dutch origins at a time when the French felt great animosity towards their northern neighbor.[150]

Even with the gift's expression of his self-identity and Dutch public memory, Johan Maurits tried to suit his offering to the tastes of the French court and partially succeeded in doing so. He anticipated that the exotic nature of the gift, by virtue of its perceived Brazilian origins, would appeal to Louis XIV and his court, which valued exotic material, as manifest in the king's collections, gardens, acquisitions, and the welcome of diplomatic entourages from Siam and other locations.[151] Records demonstrate that the court did appreciate the plants and animals shown in many of the paintings in the gift.[152] By presenting views of the Brazilian countryside

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[150] Virginie Spenlé's intriguing study of objects associated with Dutch Brazil and Johan Maurits argues that as soon as he gave them as gifts, they "were downgraded to mere 'Indian' curiosities of unspecified origin. In a collection belonging to anyone other than the original owner, the reference to Dutch Brazil and its governor-general got lost." Spenlé, "'Savagery.'" While I acknowledge that in the decades that followed the presentation of a gift, the original origins and significance of that gift would fade from memory, I believe that the initial reception of the gift was indeed inflected by its source. Gift theory and scholarship supports the importance of the origin of the object to be given, as one of the key elements of gift exchange is the present as an expression of the giver's identity, while also being selected as a gift by virtue of the interests and identity of the receiver. To ignore the work's origins is to misunderstand the practice of gift exchange.

[151] Extensive literature dealing with Louis XIV details the French court's exotic tastes. See, in particular, the publications of Madeline Jarry who discusses tapestry and decorative art in the court of Louis XIV. Also see Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008). While not providing answers to the questions he proposes, Ducos asks why the French were so fascinated with the visit from a Siamese delegation a few years after the exhibition of Johan Maurits' gift and why Eckhout's paintings were turned into tapestries, while Post's paintings were forgotten. Blaise Ducos, "L'exoticism et l'oubli: Un goût français pour Frans Post?," in *Frans Post: Le Brésil à la cour de Louis XIV*, ed. Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Blaise Ducos (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2005), 11-14.

[152] See portions of letters discussing some of the plants and animals seen in the paintings, transcribed in Lemmens, "Schenkung," 285-86.

with detailed depictions of fantastic flora and fauna, *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* would have had an explicit exotic character for the French, making them intriguing portrayals of an inaccessible environment. Johan Maurits gave the French views and artifacts of an overseas territory that they wanted, but had never, and would never possess.[153] Pursuing an active program of overseas expansion in South America during the sixteenth century, the French had high aspirations in Brazil and desired to control sugar and brazilwood trade, but did not have for even a short period the type of economic success there the Dutch would briefly secure. Thus, Post's and Eckhout's paintings could provide the French with views of an impossible acquisition.

The clear depiction of Catholic churches in *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* may have also suited the tastes of the primarily Catholic French, as intense missionary programs always accompanied their overseas activities.[154] Such efforts find explication in travel accounts and propaganda about France's colonial efforts that pair the planting of the earth with seeds to the propagation of Catholicism among native peoples, like Brazilian tribes.[155] During the time they were exhibited, Post's views of Olinda could have elicited reverie for a French audience for what might have been, in their idyllic depictions of a city dotted with Catholic ruins, or in the representation of faithful Catholics leaving services from a partially ruined cathedral. The French could have imagined through these images that they, not the Protestant and irreverent Dutch, had held the aegis of power in Pernambuco.

[153] French colonial efforts were very unsuccessful in the early modern period. Refer to Michael Smithies, *A Resounding Failure: Martin and the French in Siam, 1672-1693*, Treasures from the Past (Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 1998); Michael Harrigan, "France Antartique and France Equinoctiale: Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century French Representations of a Colonial Future in Brazil," in *The Uses of the Future in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrea Brady and Emily Butterworth, *Routledge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 110-25.
[154] Harrigan, "France," 123.
[155] Ibid., 122.

In addition, Johan Maurits presented Louis XIV with works of art that carried an accumulated history as prized diplomatic gifts by association, on account of his having given other Brazilian material to the King of Denmark and the Elector of Brandenburg. By presenting objects with such venerable history in the gift economy, Johan Maurits likely hoped his offering to Louis XIV would be quickly and generously reciprocated. Such an endowment of meaning should have facilitated the vociferous consumption and effusive appreciation of the French court in response to the gift. However, even with what appears to have been a careful tailoring of the gift to suit the French court, the hoped-for reciprocation did not occur and Johan Maurits died unrequited in December 1679, and the paintings were, for the most part, forgotten.[156]

The obvious Dutch origins of Johan Maurits' gift likely influenced their reception by the French court, which harbored a great animosity towards the Dutch. The French and Dutch were engaged in the Franco-Dutch War while Johan Maurits negotiated the presentation of the gift to Louis XIV. Almost the same day that the gift arrived in Paris, the Treaty of Nijmegen was signed by French and Dutch representatives, effectively ending the Franco-Dutch War that began in 1672 with Louis XIV's invasion of the Netherlands.[157] A profoundly embarrassing military operation by the young Louis XIV, the war was a complete failure in which the Dutch thoroughly trounced French aspirations to wrest control of Dutch international trade.[158] Expending a significant amount of money in fighting the war, the French sacrificed their own East India operation and ended up severely curtailing their overseas economic expansion due to a

[156] Lemmens, "Schenkung," 286-88; Brienen, *Visions*, 207.
[157] The paintings arrived in early to mid-August 1678 and the treaty was signed on August 10, 1678.
[158] The disastrous effects of Louis XIV's Dutch War bankrupted the French *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* in 1674, France's VOC, as cited by McCabe, *Orientalism*, 156. Sonnino provides a more complicated narrative to explain Louis XIV's justification for war, but his core idea is the same as Ekberg's, that Louis XIV felt threatened by the Dutch and chose to go to war to, in Sonnino's words, "chastise his 'good friends' the Dutch for their ingratitude." Carl J. Ekberg, *The Failure of Louis XIV's Dutch War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 13-14, 80-85; Paul Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War*, ed. J.H. Elliott, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 192.

lack of funds.[159] Johan Maurits' gift originated not only from a country that was an enemy of France, but also from one of the soldiers in that war, as Johan Maurits actively led assaults against French forces in the defense of the castle at Muiden outside of Amsterdam.[160] The military conflict and its economic implications deepened feelings of jealousy and unworthiness that the French felt towards the Dutch, with Louis' advisors discussing in letters the "contempt that we have for people of that nation" and even labeling them as bourgeois experimenters or beasts.[161]

Louis XIV expressed such animosity by targeting the heart of Dutch economic progress in the seventeenth century: trade in the exotic. Enacting an array of sumptuary laws and banning the importation of many Dutch goods, the French attempted at various points during the seventeenth century, but especially during the 1670s, to wound the Dutch economy.[162] In designing and planting the gardens of Versailles contemporary with the war and with Johan Maurits' gift, Louis' staff resisted purchasing Dutch flower bulbs, and rather developed their own tulip bulb production to satiate royal demand.[163] The construction and destruction of the *Trianon de Porcelaine* illustrates the trajectory of French sentiment towards the Dutch, in which feelings about Johan Maurits' gift were unfortunately trapped. Built in the 1670s as a grand

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[159] Ekberg, *Failure*, 177.
[160] Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 799.
[161] In a letter dated April 1, 1673, one of Louis XIV's councilors, the Marquis de Louvois, stressed the importance of treating Dutch representatives "nonobstant le mepris que l'on doit avoir pour les gens de cette nation, il faut les traiter comme des ambassadeurs (as ambassadors despite the contempt we have for the people of that nation)," as quoted and translated by Ekberg, *Failure*, 85. In another letter from 1673, Louvois also discussed in pejorative terms the rampant economic experimentation of the Dutch, as cited by Ekberg, *Failure*, 81-82. A letter from March 28, 1673 written by the Duke of Luxembourg and sent to Louvois, also expresses the negative feelings the French had for the Dutch, saying, "si les hollandois etoient des hommes, il y a longtemps qu'ils auroient fait la paix; mais comme ce sont des bêtes… il vaut mieux se preparer a la guerre (if the Dutch were men, they would have made peace long ago, but as they are beasts…it is better to prepare for war)," as transcribed in Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1864), 445. For discussion of French prejudice towards and economic jealousy of the Dutch, see Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 779-85. Also see Andrew Zega and Bernd H. Dams who say that by the 1670s, French "envy of the Netherlands had reached an almost pathological intensity as France attempted to quash the United Provinces through successive invasions," in *Palaces of the Sun King* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 102.
[162] McCabe, *Orientalism*, 219.
[163] Ibid., 216.

statement of French power, the structure was decorated with blue and white tiles and vases, ceramic flowers, and fine fabrics, thus evoking some of the very goods the Dutch controlled and which the French desired and boycotted: imported flowers, porcelain, silk, and spices.[164] Initially a statement of hoped-for French hegemony, the building was finally torn down in 1687 after existing for some years in a state of disrepair, a slight that may have been due to the Dutch character of the blue and white porcelain, which covered the building.[165] Dutch exotic items may also have been targeted for rejection in a 1688 manuscript in which a French publisher presents a fictional account in which the flowers of Versailles speak to Louis XIV about his exceptional qualities. Conspicuously, and consciously, the Dutch tulip is absent from the text, although many tulips grew in the palace gardens.[166] The exotic continued to be a target of French animosity towards the Dutch, as such objects' desirability and potential for creating contention lent themselves to the perpetuation of hostilities between the two nations.

The French court's dispassionate reaction to Johan Maurits' gift can be measured by the absence of its announcement in the *Mercure Galant*, a monthly periodical intended for the French elite. The September 1678 issue focused on the newfound peace with the Dutch Republic, but did not mention the arrival, exhibition, or even the existence of Johan Maurits' gift.[167] Typically, visits to the court by ambassadors, especially exotic retinues that usually presented diplomatic gifts, found colorful description in the *Mercure Galant.*[168] Even though it was accompanied by a Dutchman and displayed publically, Johan Maurits' gift is also

[164] Zega and Dams, *Palaces*, 103.
[165] Ibid.; McCabe, *Orientalism*, 219.
[166] For discussion of the manuscript and the tulip's exclusion, see Elizabeth Hyde, *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 195.
[167] *Mercure Galant* (September 1678): 375-80. The December 1678 issue of the *Mercure Galant* details the ceremonies surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Nijmegen, in *Mercure Galant* (December 1678): 84-88.
[168] Many issues detail presents given and received by the king, including descriptions and lists. For an extensive discussion of an ambassadorial visit from Siam, see *Mercure Galant* (December 1686; January 1687). For mention of a present of four tigers from a European prince just a few months after the presentation of Johan Maurits' gift, see *Mercure Galant* (May 1679): 266-67.

conspicuously absent from the issue contemporary with the exhibition of the Brazilian paintings at the Louvre and from any subsequent issue of the *Mercure Galant*. While the unfortunate timing of Johan Maurits' gift coinciding with the signing of the treaty may partially explain its slighting by the French press, the accumulated history of the paintings likely resulted in their being too Dutch to receive public commendation from the French.[169] Post's *View of the Ruins of Olinda* and *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* acquired meanings that linked them to the Dutch and Johan Maurits to such a degree that those deep connections may have overridden the French court's potential prolonged interest in their exotic character.

While Johan Maurits' gift on the whole, and the views of Olinda in particular, did not receive praise from the French court or press, one portion of the present by Albert Eckhout was assimilated into French visual culture and came to influence pictorial and cultural history. The difference in reception reveals much about the perceived relative value by the French. Surviving accounts stress the court's fascination with the people and animals depicted in paintings, but do not mention any interest in the landscape depictions.[170] Although Post's pictures were briefly displayed and then sent to storage, Eckhout's still-life and ethnographic paintings received much greater attention from the court and were used in the production of an expensive series of tapestries, the *Tentures des Indes* (1692). The accumulated meaning of Eckhout's works included their frequent previous employment as kingly gifts by Johan Maurits, endowing them with connections to both him and European monarchs, but not to the people of the Dutch Republic. They lacked the temporal and geographic identity of Post's views of Olinda, which

[169] At play in this discussion may also be the difficulties inherent for the French in transforming objects with such clear origins in the United Provinces into something palatable and French. McCabe discusses Louis XIV's obsession with Frenchness and his court's practice of metamorphosizing exotic objects with foreign origins into items that could be identified as French. Perhaps the deep, historic Dutch Republic roots of Post's paintings and Johan Maurits' gift were insurmountable obstructions to their assimilation. McCabe, *Orientalism,* 269.
[170] As evidenced by portions of letters transcribed in Lemmens, "Schenkung," 285-86.

depicted a specific city in Brazil under Johan Maurits' control. In missing indications of time or local character, Eckhout's work held a broader appeal for a non-Dutch audience. By contrast, Post's depictions of Olinda were made for the Dutch, inflected with the consumption of that people, who their French neighbors held in contempt. The incremental accumulation of meaning over the course of the lives of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* affected the value, meaning, function, and resonance of the paintings for each of their audiences, ultimately prompting Louis XIV and his court to rebuff and forget them.

Conclusion

Exploring the incremental history of *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* demonstrates the works' accretion of meaning in each of their varied contexts. As such, in their unforeseen function as exotic gifts, their cumulative history came to inflect their significance. Their conceptual origins in Dutch Brazil influenced the appeal they had for a Dutch audience, as Post's views of Olinda struck a decidedly familiar tone for a public steeped in landscapes that communicated history, memory, and localized identity. The selection of Olinda during Johan Maurits' rule as the subject for Post's paintings presented viewers with a place made familiar to them by the Dutch press, and which held an array of possible meanings for a varied audience. Widespread collection of the paintings by the Dutch, who brought depictions of Brazil into their homes, had significance for Johan Maurits, for it showed the continued appreciation of the Dutch for his accomplishments. His personal connection to Post's pictures, their Dutch origins, and their exotic subject matter prompted their selection for his gift to Louis XIV. In addition to an expectation of monetary reciprocation, Johan Maurits also anticipated that the French would welcome the paintings. However, the gift's complex connections to the United Provinces, Dutch overseas enterprises, and Johan Maurits himself appear to account for

their lack of complete acceptance by the French court, which felt great animosity for the United Provinces and expressed that contempt by marginalizing Post's paintings.

From their lives, as art intended for popular Dutch consumption, to their unforeseen function as exotic gifts for foreign royalty, *Ruins of Olinda Cathedral* and *View of the Ruins of Olinda* demonstrate that meaning develops in a gradual fashion, especially in the case of objects that underwent acts of transference in shifting from context to context or owner to owner. With each stage of the paintings' journeys of ownership and display, they accrued links to people, places, and history that came to bear on their selection, presentation, and reception as a gift. The eventual role of Post's views of Olinda as exotic gifts and their subsequent drift into obscurity were prompted by the very elements of their cumulative history that made them so attractive to a Dutch audience and the giver, Johan Maurits.

Chapter 3—
The Gift of Trade: An Exotic Presentation in Nicolaes Berchem's *Harbor Scene*

In the penultimate case study of this dissertation, I explore an allegorical painting that conceives of economic trade in terms of exotic gift exchange. While the previous chapters considered works of art that may have and did function as gifts, this portion of the study focuses on a painting that depicts a moment of exchange. As such, the picture significantly augments our understanding of the role exotic gifts played in the gift economy of the Dutch Republic. It is a rare example of an image that provides insight into how a seventeenth-century audience may have conceptualized the practice of global trade and its role within the worldwide economy. The painting engages the familiar themes of merged foreign and native in Dutch art and culture, and blurs the boundaries between commodity and gift, as the image formally and conceptually unites the gift and the commercial good. In contrast to the preceding case studies, this chapter does not deal with the power of exotic gifts to create social capital or make connections for monetary or other types of reciprocation; rather, the painting employs exotic gift exchange to present a more self-congratulatory message for a wide and varied possible audience in Amsterdam of the 1660s.

Nicolaes Berchem's (1620-1683) *Harbor Scene* (c. 1665, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum) depicts a black male figure in a turban who presents a parrot to a lavishly dressed and bejeweled white woman who wears a Christian cross (Figure 3-1).[1] Set in a fictional and yet familiar space evocative of the Amsterdam Dam and the recently completed new Town Hall, the figures occupy a stone staircase bordered by a banister. A soldier who wears outmoded clothing,

[1] Brown mentions the religious contrast between the figures in his catalogue entry, in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, ed. Peter C. Sutton (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), 136-37. Dutch trading centers were primarily in areas of the world where Christianity was not the dominant religion. Seventeenth-century Dutch literature sometimes describes the country's economic efforts as part of a Christianization process, though the primary impetus behind trade was profit. The Dutch did not convert and Christianize as much as the Jesuit powered nations, but religious and missionary efforts did act as an undercurrent to their activities.

and a courting couple behind him, who make music, further populate the picture. In the distance, ships arrive or depart from a harbor and groups of people interact, while a classicizing structure dominates the middle ground. Hovering over the scene, a sculpture of Venus mirrors the pose of the central female figure, who is accompanied by a maid, while the parrot's red and blue swooping tail feathers parallel the colors and lines of the exotic male's costume. A strong diagonal area of shaded clouds directs the viewer's attention to the female figure and her guarded response to the proposed interaction from the exotic male. The artist carefully positions the two central figures at different heights, employing specific gestures and body postures that describe a cultural hierarchy and a moment of decision, as the woman considers whether to accept the proffered gift. This work is unique within Berchem's *oeuvre*; although his paintings often include depictions of harbor scenes and finely dressed women, no other example devotes such careful attention to the interaction of a pair of figures and only in this instance is an exotic man involved in a moment of gift giving with a white, European woman.[2]

The painting's iconographic and formal elements make connections to Amsterdam's global and local economic activities. Not only are ships present in a setting that resembles the Amsterdam Dam, the economic heart of the burgeoning city, but figures also engage in exchange. The placement of four dogs at precise points in the image, one to the left of the exotic man, two flanking the central woman, and another behind the potted plant, resembles the four cardinal directions or the four winds, showing clear parallels to the symbolism of commerce and the decorative program of the Amsterdam Town Hall. The display of silk-satin clothing, an

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[2] Haverkamp Begemann insists that two other of Berchem's paintings depict "moors in aristocratic or princely costume pay[ing] court to the lady, offering her gifts." One of the works he cites, *Merchant Receiving a Moor in the Harbor,* c. 1668 (Figure 3-5), does not depict a gift exchange at all, and instead shows a greeting between a Moor and a European man. The whereabouts of the second painting he references are unknown. Egbert Haverkamp Begemann and Kent Ahrens, *Wadsworth Atheneum Paintings*, 2 vols. (Hartford, CT: The Atheneum, 1978), 1:116. Berchem's design for a depiction of Paris handing the golden apple to a goddess visualizes the offering of a gift, the only other known instance of a male figure, albeit not an exotic man, handing a gift to a woman in Berchem's *oeuvre.* Nicolaes Berchem, *The Judgment of Paris,* c. 1670, chalk on paper, Bremen, Kunsthalle.

Amsterdam export, further reflects the significance of local production and the city's role in trade.[3] Careful groupings of objects, which originate from different parts of the world, including an item that looks like a Torah scroll, a cushion, and plants, evoke the bounty of the continents that came under Amsterdam's aegis as a leader in global trade. The prominent placement of the citrus fruit, wine, and glass on a pewter tray may reference Berchem's training as the son of still-life painter Pieter Claesz., while also acting as a sort of Dutch trademark, which exuded artistic ingenuity. The still life may also have spoken to the connections between global trade and Dutch identity by presenting those exotic objects in a domesticated, familiar manner. The complex and multi-layered iconography of Berchem's painting demands a comprehensive interpretation, which is currently absent from scholarship on this work.

Scholars' few discussions of the *Harbor Scene* indicate uncertainty about how to categorize and interpret Berchem's painting. Classifying it as a history picture, early studies try to identify a specific textual source for the iconography, such as Desdemona and Othello, or Pharaoh sending a servant to fetch Sarah.[4] While denying a specific literary reference, the author of the 1978 Wadsworth Atheneum catalogue of paintings emphasizes that the picture's theme "probably reflects a seventeenth-century Dutch interpretation of life and leisure in the Mediterranean," rather than referring to a Dutch context and locale.[5] In her study of Dutch Italianate harbor views, Christine Schloss suggests that the painting likely depicts a scene from contemporary theater.[6] Christopher Brown argues that the work is a genre painting with no

[3] Refer to Linda Stone-Ferrier's study of images of textiles and her discussion of the significance of the Dutch silk/satin industry for the city of Amsterdam, in *Images of Textiles: The Weave of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Society,* Studies in the Fine Arts, Art Patronage, no. 4 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).
[4] Schaar, von Sick, and Six identify precise textual sources for the painting. Eckhard Schaar, "Studien Zu Nicolaes Berchem" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Köln, 1958), 51; Ilse von Sick, "Nicolaes Berchem, Ein Vorläufer Des Rokoko" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Köln, 1929), 25-26; Jan Six, "Bevestigde Overlevering," *Oud-Holland* 37 (1919): 83.
[5] Haverkamp Begemann and Ahrens, *Wadsworth Atheneum Paintings*, 116.
[6] Christine Skeeles Schloss, *Travel, Trade, and Temptation: The Dutch Italianate Harbor Scene, 1640-1680*, Studies in Baroque Art History, vol. 3 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 19-20.

direct literary antecedent and an example of "a craving for Southern exoticism (a kind of early Orientalism)."[7] The recent catalogue of an exhibition dedicated to Berchem categorizes the painting as one of his "exotic genre scenes" made during the 1660s while he lived in Amsterdam.[8] Another scholar best expresses the confusion about the painting by stating, "Who can say what the artist intended?" but then concludes that in "emerging out of this unashamedly didactic artistic tradition," the painting must teach a lesson.[9] While mentioning its exotic nature, Julie Hochstrasser treats the *Harbor Scene* as an illustration of seventeenth-century instructions for the creation of history paintings.[10] Such an array of comments and analyses of the painting indicate a sense of mystification about the original meaning and function of this work.

Berchem's identity as a painter and his place within the literature on Dutch art further complicate a study of his *Harbor Scene*. Although scholars categorize him as a Dutch Italianate painter, he never traveled to Italy.[11] Other than a single trip to Westphalia, Berchem remained in the Dutch Republic. His knowledge of Italian and French art likely derived from his extensive print collection, from which he drew in his work.[12] Frequently referred to as a "forerunner of the

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[7] Brown, *Masters,* 136-37.
[8] Pieter Biesboer, "Nicolaes Pietersz Berchem, Master Painter of Haarlem," in *Nicolaes Berchem in the Light of Italy*, ed. Pieter Biesboer (Haarlem: Ludion Publishers and the Frans Halsuseum, 2006), 27.
[9] Alison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), 102-03.
[10] Julie Berger Hochstrasser's discussion of the work is the most insightful to date, as she looks beyond its uncertain categorization to briefly explore its "more potently insidious dynamics…in terms of race, class, and gender," in *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 211-12
[11] In her dissertation about Berchem's drawings, Annemarie Stefes sifts through previous scholarship and archival material to determine that Berchem never traveled to Italy, in "Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem (1620-1683) Die Zeichnungen" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Bern, 1997), 12-19. Biesboer reaffirms Stefes' conclusions in "Master Painter," 21-24.
[12] Stefes cites Arnold Houbraken's comments about the artist, detailing his print collecting activities and his practice of paying a great deal for desirable impressions, in "Eleven History Drawings by Nicolaes Berchem," *Master Drawings* 35, no. 4 (1997): 376-77.

Rococo," Berchem's paintings are often considered in relation to aristocratic French tastes, rather than in light of the works' original Dutch cultural context.[13]

Although sometimes classified as one of Berchem's exotic genre scenes, the overall tone of the *Harbor Scene*, its costumes, and fictional, hybridized setting, indicate that it likely functions in an allegorical manner to conflate gift and trade. A rich and enigmatic work, the seemingly divergent nature of Berchem's painting resolves when considered within its full artistic and cultural contexts. Examination of the work within Berchem's wider *oeuvre* shows the painting's unique focus on a moment of interaction between two figures, and substantiates the painting's possible reading as an allegory involving gift giving and trade. A comparison of the painting with depictions of the Magi, contemporary allegorical sculptural decoration, and prints connects the work of art to other images of gift-giving and economic activities. Considering the *Harbor Scene* in the context of love and courting scenes clarifies the power structure of the image, in which the female figure has the upper hand in the proposed gift exchange. Numerous "presentation scenes" or "Adoration of the Continents" depictions, in which representatives of continents or countries offer goods that characterize their regions' prosperity to a personification of Amsterdam, the Dutch Republic, or Europe, also bear comparison to Berchem's image.

Actual contemporary business practices also inflect the meaning of the *Harbor Scene* with commercialism, as gifts often facilitated the exchange of goods in the Dutch trading companies. Further connecting the painting to those involved in the global economy, the appeal of Berchem's work for an elite clientele in Amsterdam during the 1660s implies the existence of many possible patrons for this unique image. The painting may have hung in the home of a

[13] For a treatment of Berchem as feeding the rise of the Rococo, see: Gero Seelig, "The Reception of Berchem's Painting in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Nicolaes Berchem in the Light of Italy*, ed. Pieter Biesboer (Haarlem: Ludion Publishers and the Frans Halsmuseum, 2007), 59-71; Sick, "Vorläufer."

merchant or in one of the buildings owned by a trading company. Berchem created an image that conceives of the act of trade as homage paid via exotic gift giving, as the white, Christian allegorical figure receives the bounty of Asia, America, and Africa in a painted presentation image. In visually conceiving of trade as a gift, Berchem's painting of the exchange of an exotic object not only depicts the Dutch in a powerful economic role, but also extols their commercial activities in a self-congratulatory fashion.

The *Harbor Scene* in the Context of Berchem's *Oeuvre*

Often referred to as an Italianate landscape painter, Berchem is known for history paintings that depict biblical or mythological narratives, views of waterfronts, and pastoral scenes of shepherds, cows, and ruins. The Hartford *Harbor Scene* was produced at a moment of transition in Berchem's career, when he filled the demands of a niche market for harbor scenes and allegories in Amsterdam. His projects concurrent with this painting's creation, including his print collaborations to decorate a world map, his designs for an Adoration of the Magi painting, his creation of an allegory on the growth of Amsterdam, and his production of numerous exotic harbor depictions, inform his conception of the scene. In particular, examination of the painting within the wider context of Berchem's artistic production during the 1660s highlights the picture's exceptional focus on the two central figures and their interaction.

Having established himself as a history painter and Italianate landscapist during his early career and training, Berchem moved to Amsterdam around 1660 as part of the great Haarlem exodus, when artists who could no longer make a comfortable living left that city for more promising patronage opportunities.[14] Already a wealthy individual due to his prolific output and the general appeal of his works, Berchem likely came to Amsterdam to continue a lucrative

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[14] For an account of Berchem's life, see: Arnold Houbraken's entry for the artist in in *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 2d ed. (The Hague: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, and M. Gaillard, 1753; reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1976), vol. 2, 109-14; Biesboer, "Master Painter," 26.

collaboration with Nicolaes Visscher and family, in addition to creating many other works of art to appeal to an Amsterdam audience.[15] At that time, he created designs for depictions of the four elements to decorate a Visscher world map and continued production of pastoral sketches for prints, which enriched his reputation.[16]

Particularly attractive to Amsterdammers of this period, Berchem's numerous fantastic harbor views belonged to a new genre for which there was no clear precedent in Dutch art.[17] Perhaps the most similar works to Berchem's *Harbor Scene* are those of Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-c. 1660), Berchem's compatriot who died in 1660/61 while working in Amsterdam.[18] Weenix painted views of Mediterranean waterfronts, complete with classicizing structures and finely dressed persons, as seen in his 1649 painting *Italian Harbor View*, which presents a scene replete with activity, a wide cast of characters, and fantastic surroundings (Figure 3-2). In an analogous setting, Berchem's *A Southern Harbor Scene* (c. 1659-60) depicts an amorous couple walking along a quay (Figure 3-3).[19] Berchem may have produced such harbor images to fill a void in the market after Weenix's death.

Although the *Harbor Scene* belongs to this pioneering group of quayside views, its departures from the conventional iconography hold significance for the painting's analysis. The work's focus on the interaction between a black man and white woman stands alone in Berchem's *oeuvre*. Although some of the pier scenes show men and women together, none hone

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[15] Biesboer, "Master Painter," 26.
[16] Prints after Berchem's designs were extremely popular. For discussion of Berchem's work in prints, see Gerdien Wuestman, "Nicolaes Berchem in Print: Fluctuations in the Function and Significance of Reproductive Engraving," *Simiolus* 24, no. 1 (1996): 19-53; Gerdine Eleonora Wuestman, "De Hollandse schilderschool in prent: Studies naar reproduktiegrafiek in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw" (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1998).
[17] These 1660s harbor scenes tend to be very similar. Some were created to function as a series or pendants. Berchem created a pendant harbor scene, in which the two works depicted sacred and profane love through the stories of Abraham and Sarah and the prodigal son, as mentioned by Biesboer, "Master Painter," 28. *Prodigal Son*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, Geneva, Musées d'Art et d'Histoire; *Abraham, Sarah and King Abimelech*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire.
[18] Biesboer, "Master Painter," 27.
[19] See similar walking couples in Berchem's *Seaport*, c. 1660, oil on canvas, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum; *Harbor Scene with Elegant Couple*, c. 1665-66, oil on canvas, Scotland, Private Collection.

in on a psychological and personal exchange between two such figures. He depicts strolling couples and possibly amorous duos in other paintings, but the men in such pairings resemble a stock swarthy Southern European character or a generic Eastern merchant, rather than the black male figure in the Hartford painting (See Figure 3-3). *A Harbor Scene with Elegant Women* (c. 1668-70) has multiple aspects in common with the Hartford image such as the citrus fruit still life, ships in the harbor, satin-clad women, a music maker, and a turbaned exotic male, but the scene is set in an indeterminant space and does not focus on only one element (Figure 3-4). *Merchant Receiving a Moor in the Harbor* (c. 1668) portrays an exotic man making a gesture of greeting to a seated male, as a woman looks on and dogs play on the ground (Figure 3-5).

By contrast, the Hartford painting takes on a decidedly purposeful character. Berchem streamlines and simplifies the narrative to direct attention to the interaction between the exotic male and the woman as they engage each other. Only in the *Harbor Scene* does he visually pair and direct the viewer's attention to the interaction between a black man and a white woman. The painting possesses a sense of quiet and stillness, a tone that contrasts with the busy, frenetic tenor of some of his other quayside views. When considered within the context of Berchem's body of harbor scenes, the Hartford painting's clear focus on a moment of encounter between the exotic male and the white woman stands apart from the fantastic, more generalized iconography of his other waterfront images. His highlighting the interaction between the man and woman and his selection of the types of figures depicted suggest that circumstances of a commission or the particular context in which he painted the *Harbor Scene* demanded a specificity of purpose that his other paintings lack.

Berchem's Exotic Male Figure

The spotlit interaction between the central figures in the *Harbor Scene* and the types of persons depicted prompt numerous interpretive questions: How would a seventeenth-century viewer have read and understood the male and female figures? What iconography does Berchem draw on in his design and portrayal of the central couple? Has Berchem cast a black male figure as a gift-giver, and if so, why? What is the power structure of the relationship between the man and the woman? Is the man subservient to the woman and, if so, why? An exploration of the iconography and pictorial histories on which Berchem drew helps to answer many of these questions and clarify the possible allegorical function of the image for a 1660s Amsterdam audience. Consideration of the place of Berchem's male figure in the pictorial history of exotic men in European art reveals the character's engagement with black Magus depictions, particularly in his role as a gift giver and in his kingly character.[20] By not drawing on portrayals

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[20] I will refer to the exotic male figure as "black" or "Moorish." I am not equating blackness with being African or being Muslim. Early Modern Europeans used the term "moor" both to describe someone wearing a turban and often to express a person's foreign origins, usually Ottoman or African, irrespective of skin color. Even so, the term "moor" was often applied to persons with dark skin in Dutch literature and travel accounts. Berchem's male figure would have been construed as "Moorish" based on his dress and the color of his skin. A vast and varied pool of imagery in European art includes black figures who take countless forms in their appearance as Magi, diplomatic envoys, servants, personifications of the continents, saints, and slaves, in addition to being employed as objects of study in natural history documentation. Surprising instances of representations of exotic men include their usage in decorative objects or reliquaries that feature vessels formed in the shape of an African man's head and in numerous family coats of arms that depict the heads of Moors, perhaps included to indicate triumph or victory over "heathen" foe. For helpful accounts of Africans' appearance in European art, see Paul D. Kaplan, "Ruler, Saint, and Servant: Blacks in European Art to 1520" (MA thesis, Boston University, 1976); Jean Vercoutter and Jean Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 4 vols. (New York: W. Morrow, 1976); T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe, *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Elmer Kolfin and Esther Schreuder, ed., *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008); David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed. *The Image of the Black in Western Art,* 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010); Joneath Spicer, ed., *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012). For discussion of the appearance of Middle Eastern or Ottoman men in Europe with some mention of their depiction in art, see Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock, *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, 1st ed., Folia Scholastica Mediterranea (Reading, England: Ithaca Press, 1994); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History, vol. 24 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For mention of Asian men, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

of servants or portraits of black men, Berchem removes his exotic male from everyday life and imparts an allegorical character to the non-European figure.

Berchem's *oeuvre* exposes his awareness of Magi iconography. Some of his sketches from the late 1660s depict the Adoration of the Magi, including an exotically dressed black male Magus holding a vessel in a scene with camels and exotic trappings (Figure 3-6). The Magus in the sketch shows parallels with the *Harbor Scene*'s exotic male, in the turbaned costume and presentation of a valuable gift. Clearly, Berchem was conscious of iconographic standards in depicting the Adoration of the Magi, knowledge on which the artist drew in designing his *Harbor Scene.*

Presumably, the seventeenth-century audience of the *Harbor Scene* was also familiar with Magi imagery and likely would have read the black male figure as a Magus. Magi iconography developed in conjunction with forays by Europeans into the global world and their resultant rising awareness of non-white, foreign peoples. Countless scenes of the Adoration stand as testament to the consistent fascination westerners felt for foreign places and peoples. Depictions of the Magi with their colorful caravans and presentations of exotic gifts provided a showcase for the conception of the non-European type.[21] With global exploration, Adoration scenes increasingly included African figures with generically dark skin and even Brazilian Tupi

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[21] Paul H. D. Kaplan comments, "By 1500 the story of the Magi in art constituted the preeminent means of integrating the inhabitants of the non-European world into the Western Christian universe," in *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art*, Studies in the Fine Arts, Iconography, vol. 9 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 119. Jean Michel Massing states that "in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the image of black people was conveyed above all—and especially for those who had never set eyes on an African—through the theme of the Adoration of the Magi" in "The Black Magus in the Netherlands from Memling to Rubens," in *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas,* ed. Elmer Kolfin and Esther Schreuder (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008), 33. Also refer to Joseph Leo Koerner, "The Epiphany of the Black Magus circa 1500," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art,* ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), vol. 3, part 1: 7-92.

men who fulfilled the role as kings and gift givers.[22] Such developments occurred first and most extensively in Northern Europe, and paralleled increasing interaction with foreign peoples and the lore surrounding the Magi, including their endowed names, places of origin, and identification of the specific exotic gifts they offered.[23]

Typically called Balthasar, the black Magus appears in works by numerous Northern artists of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such portrayals bear resemblance to Berchem's black figure in his exotic costume of a white turban or clothing, which draws the viewer's attention to his dark skin, his jewelry, and his proffered golden gift. The exotic gifts offered included gold, frankincense, or myrrh, which were precious, valuable and foreign commodities, akin to the rare parrot Berchem depicts as the gift in the *Harbor Scene.* In an altarpiece by Hieronymous Bosch (c. 1450-1516), the African king holds a valuable gift and wears flowing robes the stark whiteness of which contrasts with his dark skin (Figure 3-7). Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) painted numerous Adoration scenes, including a commission for the Antwerp Town Hall, which depicts the black Magus who holds a gold chain attached to a presumed gift and wears a white turban (Figure 3-8).[24] Jacob Jordaens's (1593-1678) 1644 portrayal of the subject similarly shows the black Magus with a white turban, but also includes in the upper left quadrant a black attendant holding a striking red and blue parrot (Figure 3-9).[25] A 1624 painting by Abraham Bloemart (1566-1661) depicts the black Magus clothed in a turban and garments of fine cloth, while holding a lavish gold vessel (Figure 3-10). Carel van Mander's (1548-1606) c. 1640 tronie of a figure resembling the black Magus includes stereotypical

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[22] As reproduced in Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art: 1991), cat. 32; Koerner, "Epiphany," 7-17. Vasco Fernandez, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1501-02, oil on panel, Viseu, Spain, Museu de Grao Vasco, 132 x 79 cm.
[23] Kaplan, *Black Magus*, 107.
[24] Refer to Massing, "Black Magus," 44-46.
[25] See Massing's discussion of this work, "Black Magus,"48.

features denoting him as foreign, including his white turban, earrings, sword, and exotic garments (Figure 3-11).[26]

Black Magi also appear in prints depicting the Adoration of the Magi and in public Magi reenactment processions, continuing the connection of exotic males, especially African types, with quintessential gift givers.[27] In the seventeenth century, Zwarte Piet, Sinterklaas's exotic sidekick, who served his white master in their gift delivering campaign, perpetuated the associations of the black man as a possible gift giver. Sinterklaas often controlled Zwarte Piet's behavior by using chains that the black male wore around his body, possibly informing Berchem's depiction of an exotic, male gift-giver being clad in a gold chain.[28]

Portrayals of non-European men visiting Europe as princes or diplomats dressed in their traditional fine clothing bear comparison to the male figure in the *Harbor Scene*, lending a further kingly character to the exotic man. Providing an example of the type of princely image that Berchem's male figure may reference, Jacques de Gheyn (1565-1629) lavishes great attention on the exotic clothing worn by a finely dressed African official visiting The Hague in a c. 1605-15 drawing, while also showing him holding a parrot (Figure 3-12).[29] The similarities between Berchem's figure and depictions of the black Magus and noble exotic males inform the kingly standing and gift-giving connotations of Berchem's male figure.

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[26] As mentioned by Elmer Kolfin, "Rembrandt's Africans," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art,* ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), vol. 3, part 1: 275-7.

[27] For a discussion of Magi processions and the prevalent influence of the Magi story in European culture, see Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[28] Another interesting aspect of Zwarte Piet lore is Blakely's assertion that quack doctors had black partners whose job was to attract people to the doctor for treatment, almost like an exotic sidekick for a European public persona, as also seen in Sinterklaas. Refer to footnote 38 for discussion of other foreign assistants. Blakely, *Blacks*, 39-49, 56.

[29] Refer to discussion of this work in Elmer Kolfin's catalogue entry in *Black Is Beautiful*, 264. Little surviving material in Northern European visual culture depicts exotic men who were part of diplomatic or trading parties. More commonly, artists depicted daily contact between Europeans and Africans, or other non-European men, which occurred in the commercial realm and in the domestic sphere as foreigners were often servants or slaves. The visual culture of Southern Europe more often includes depictions of finely dressed ambassadorial retinues. See Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*.

The status of Berchem's exotic male as a gift-giver and allegorical figure receives greater credence in comparison to depictions of exotic men in a more everyday context. Although most commonly seen in Magi imagery, exotic male figures also appear in portrayals of Africans living in Europe, including depictions of servants and some portrait studies.[30] Frans Hals (c. 1582-1666) likely represented a black servant as a status symbol in his *Family Group in a Landscape* (1648) (Figure 3-13). The artist depicts his black sitter wearing typically contemporary clothing, rather than lavish, highly exotic clothing. Even so, the dark skin of the servant acts as a status symbol to bolster the power and reputation of the family shown, as the exotic origins of the black figure and the sitters' ownership of the exotic man speak to the economic prowess and wealth of the patron.[31] By clothing his exotic male in fantastic, richly colored garments made of silk or satin, Berchem deepens the connection of his figure to Magi imagery, rather than to contemporary portrayals of Africans living and working in Europe in the seventeenth century. In doing so, he also establishes the allegorical nature of his image, removing it from a more quotidian context.

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[30] Albrecht Dürer created portrait studies of Africans in which the sitters wear contemporary clothing, such as a portrait of a young woman (*Portrait of Katarina*, 1521, Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi). Rubens depicted an African man living in the Southern Netherlands (*Head Studies*, 1617-20, Los Angeles, Getty Museum). Also see the anonymous portrait of Dom Miguel de Castro (c. 1643-45) which depicts a delegate from Sonho in the Congo who came to the Dutch Republic to conduct slave trade negotiations, as discussed by Carl Haarnack and Dienke Hondius, "'Swart' (Black) in the Netherlands: Africans and Creoles in the Northern Netherlands from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century," in *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas,* ed. Elmer Kolfin and Esther Schreuder (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008), 96-98. Particularly disturbing in the group of imagery depicting non-European peoples of Europe is a rape scene by Christiaen van Couwenbergh (*Rape of a Negress*, 1632. Strasbourg, Musée de la Ville de Strasbourg). For a discussion of this work see Albert Blankert, *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-Century Painting* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1999), cat. 24.

[31] See Rozanne Stringer's unpublished paper about Hals's *Family Group in a Landscape* for a clear and cogent argument related to the black sitter and the status of the family. For discussion of black servants in the Netherlands, see Haarnack and Hondius, "'Swart,'" 89-107. Also see the fascinating painting from 1637 by Jan Miense Molenaer depicting the wedding of Willem van Loon ad Margaretha Bas, in which a black servant appears in an individualized portrayal (Amsterdam, Museum van Loon).

Berchem's Exotic Male Figure and the Iconography of Commercialism

At the same time that Berchem engages gift-giving and allegory by employing a nobly dressed Magus-like figure, his selection and inclusion of the man also speak to issues of trade and commercialism. Through the figure's skin color, turban, and open mouth, Berchem evokes a range of similar views of the black male in pictorial history that communicate his connection to traded goods, in addition to his literal value as a commodity in the seventeenth century. From the fifteenth century, with the first major European ventures into the Americas, Africa, and areas of Asia, depictions of non-European men, and especially black figures, clearly spoke to issues of trade in their frequent depiction alongside valuable merchandise, their presentation as actual goods, and their appearance in shop signage.

Berchem's male figure references the visual material found in travel accounts, one of the primary genres that propagated the perception that the bodies of non-European peoples signified trade and valuable commodities. Inscriptions and accompanying illustrations in travel accounts emphasize, categorize, and present the goods with which specific, foreign peoples were associated, in addition to discussing the people themselves as goods. Published in Amsterdam in 1604, traveler Jan Huygen van Linschoten's (1563-1611) *Icones* includes printed images with inscriptions detailing the behaviors, dress, and economic value of different peoples in Africa and Asia.[32] Many of the text/image juxtapositions consciously associate exotic bodies of varying skin colors with traded goods. For example, the illustration depicting the Moors of Mozambique presents two nude males and two partially clothed females set in a landscape filled with palm

[32] Published in Amsterdam in 1595, Jan Huygen van Linschoten's Dutch language account of his travels with Portuguese traders includes descriptions and illustrations of the types of people he encountered in the East Indies. A few years later, the images were published in a separate volume with Latin descriptions, the *Icones.* Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1595-96). Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Icones et Habitus Indorum* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz., 1604). Also refer to an analysis of the *Icones* in Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Images and Text in the* Itinerario *and the* Icones *of Jan Huygen Van Linschoten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

trees (Figure 3-14). The accompanying text discusses the Moors' economic activities and the goods they trade, and comments,

> Slaves of this people are on sale all over India…In times of famine parents offer little children as slaves and surrender them to that accursed way of life for six or seven measures of rice.[33]

Linschoten makes clear that not only are Moors involved in trade as agents with ivory and gold to sell, but their bodies are also goods themselves. Further confirming the body and commodity connection, frontispieces to travel accounts, as seen in a 1644 example (Figure 3-15), often feature presentations of bounteous goods from the area being explored, while native peoples and a triumphant European occupy the scene.

Similarly signifying desirable wares and trading relationships, paintings produced in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century depict non-European individuals resembling Berchem's exotic male figure in their skin color and sometimes in their exotic costuming, often showing those persons in conjunction with valuable wares. Jacob van Campen's (1596-1657) painting *Triumph with Goods from the East and West Indies* (1648-52) at the Huis ten Bosch in the Hague makes the connection between exotic good and exotic body more clear through the inclusion of a black female holding a parrot amidst a parade of products from the East and West Indies (Figure 3-16). Albert Eckhout's (c. 1610-1665) paintings of the peoples of Brazil (1641-43) further juxtapose images of exotic, non-European bodies with global commerce.[34] Still lifes

[33] Original Latin text reads as follows: "Pasim in India ex hac gente mancipia constant, crebris enim bellis multi capti venditioni sere exponuntur…Etiam famis tempore parentes liberos ad servituten trahunt, & Orizæ sez septemúe modiolis damuatæ conditioni donant." Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Icones,* text accompanying plate 22. As reproduced and translated by van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia*, 98-99.

[34] See the discussion of Albert Eckhout's work in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Also see Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

similarly present lavish, traded goods in conjunction with a black individual, as seen in Jurriaen van Streek's (1632-1687) *Still Life with Moor and Porcelain Vessels,* c. 1670 (Figure 3-17).[35]

The frequently made iconographic link between the exotic body and traded items also appears in decoration on fine Amsterdam homes from the seventeenth century, which depict black figures juxtaposed with goods, and map imagery, to which Berchem contributed during his career. One example from a 1663 sculptural program portrays two men on either side of the upper façade of a Dutch home, leaning against bales of tobacco, a valuable commodity (Figure 3-18). Exhibiting stereotypically African features, the men represent trade and act as traded goods themselves.[36] Early modern maps also include commonly traded African goods, such as ivory and gold, in the vignettes and borders alongside representations of Africans (See Figure 3-28).[37]

The closest correspondence between traditions of exotic male depiction and Berchem's black male figure can be found in gapers, a type of signage used in the seventeenth-century and later that hung outside of apothecaries' or chemists' shops, which advertised the types of goods that could be found therein.[38] Most often showing a turbaned male head of African, Middle Eastern or Asian derivation, gapers normally have open mouths, as seen in an eighteenth-century example (Figure 3-19). Although no seventeenth-century gapers survive, those dating from the early eighteenth century show the streamlined, simplistic iconography of the sign and the easily

[35] For discussion of this painting by Jurriaen van Streek, see Hochstrasser, *Still Life,* 204.
[36] Blakely indicates that one figure is an American Indian and another is an African. Reproductions of the work are not of high enough quality to distinguish between the two figures, although they do show that both present facial features associated with depictions of non-European people. The sculpture underwent restoration in 2010. Blakely suggests that the decoration of some of these structures may be derived from their place names, such as Mooresteeghie, or the names of the families who lived in the homes, such as Bartholomeus Moor. The author cites a fascinating study by the Meertens Instituut voor Dialectologie, Volkskunde en Naamkunde in Amsterdam of Dutch place names that include references to Africa. Blakely, *Blacks*, 60.
[37] Diane S. Butler deals with many similar examples of goods and African persons, in "Of Bodies and Borders: Images of Africans on Early Modern Maps" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2004).
[38] The legend of gaper development indicates that the man depicted in the gaper was the apothecary or spice trader's assistant who, in public performances, would demonstrate how the remedies of his employer would cure his faux illness, as described by Blakely, *Blacks,* 51-7. Refer to footnote 28 for discussion of other exotic sidekicks.

recognizable nature of the advertisement. As early as the Middle Ages and well solidified by the seventeenth century, a representation of the head of an exotic male came to be associated with commerce, and specifically with businesses that sold goods originating in far corners of the world.[39] By depicting his male figure with a turban and an open mouth, Berchem draws a clear parallel between the body of the exotic man and the realm of commerce. The exotic man in Berchem's *Harbor Scene* engages the contexts of gift giving and trade as his non-European features, exotic clothing, open mouth, and dark skin function as signs of the economic bounty originating from desirable trading territories of the world.

The Hybrid Exotic Character of Berchem's Male Figure

Berchem cleverly constructed an allegorical male figure who represents not just the general concept of trade, but rather the vast commercial territory the Dutch occupied during the seventeenth century. The figure's unique amalgamation of costume, skin color, sword, and offered exotic creature connect the man to various areas of the globe and result in a hybrid exotic character. By drawing on the iconography of multiple regions, the artist synthesizes numerous elements of the continents' iconography in the figure of the man, allowing him to reference the entire non-European world.

Berchem's black exotic man draws upon other artists' personifications of the four continents. Although non-European clothing, physiognomic features, fantastic animals, and plants had a degree of interchangeability, representations of the continents exhibit some standard attributes, as codified by Cesare Ripa (c. 1560-c. 1645) in his highly influential *Iconologia* of

[39] For a discussion of where exotic wonders and goods were sold and their prevalence in Amsterdam, see Bob van den Boogert, ed., *Rembrandt's Treasures* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis), 27-30.

1593.[40] According to Ripa's text and partially visualized in the accompanying images, Africa and America have non-white skin (Figure 3-20a and 20b).[41] Fantastic animals accompany each woman, such as the lizard or alligator for America (Figure 3-20d), the camel for Asia, and the lion for Africa. Elements of dress, including Asia's silk clothing, Africa's Moorish garb, and America's feathered skirt, help to distinguish the continents' representations.[42] The images

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[40] The descriptions of the continents' personifications are relatively consistent among the many editions published in Europe, including the 1644 Dutch edition. Cesare Ripa, *Cesare Ripa's Iconologia of uytbeeldinghen des verstants*, trans. Dirck Petersz. Pers (Amsterdam: Dirck Petersz. Pers, 1644). For discussion of Pers' edition of Ripa and the text's significant influence on allegorical images in the United Provinces, see Hessel Miedema, *Beeldespraeck: Register op D.P. Pers' uitgave van Cesare Ripa's* Iconologia *(1644)* (Doornspijk, Netherlands: Davaco, 1987), ix. Studies of Four Continents imagery are few. The *Circa 1492* catalogue provides the widest scope of exploration imagery, which includes some Four Continents representations. Jay A. Levenson, ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991). Hugh Honour published numerous studies of personifications of America and representations of American native peoples, including *The European Vision of America* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art and Kent State University Press, 1975); Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (London: Allen Lane, 1976). Africa has received some attention in Diane Butler's dissertation and a small exhibition catalogue that includes continent imagery, in Monika Firla, *Exotisch-Höfisch-Bürgerlich: Afrikaner in Württemberg vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Hauptstaatsarchiv, 2001). Personifications of Asia receive little attention, though some are included in the *Asia in the Making* volumes. My understanding of this significant body of images comes from my own study of continents imagery and the helpful summations of James H. Hyde, "The Four Parts of the World as Represented in Old-Time Pageants and Ballets: Part I," *Apollo* 4 (1926): 232-38; James H. Hyde, "The Four Parts of the World as Represented in Old-Time Pageants and Ballets: Part II," *Apollo* 5 (1927): 19-27; Clare Le Corbeiller, "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin: New Series* 19, no. 8 (1961): 209-23. Also see the short introductory essay and brief descriptions of the objects mentioned in Hedy Backlin, *The Four Continents from the Collection of James Hazen Hyde* (New York: Cooper Union Museum, 1961). The rich James H. Hyde Collection of Allegorical Prints of the Four Continents at the New York Historical Society and the Metropolitan Museum of Art has yet to be catalogued or digitized. For discussion of the blurring of lines between exotic peoples, see Suzanne Boorsch, "America in Festival Presentations," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, Michael J. B. Allen, and Robert Louis Benson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 503-15.

[41] The 1644 Dutch edition states that Africa is a black woman and that America has brown skin. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghen,* 604-05. The 1645 Italian edition reports that Africa has black skin and America has yellow skin. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Venice: Cristoforo Tomasini, 1645), 420-21. The 1779 English edition says that both Africa and America have tawny skin. Cesare Ripa, *Iconology,* trans. Geroge Richardson (London: George Scott, 1779), 32-33.

[42] Ripa's outline of the allegorical attributes of the continents did not just influence portrayals of the personifications, but even depictions of actual persons from those foreign lands and actors who pretended to be from Brazil, Africa, or Asia. Sketches of festivals, processions or triumphal entries, and celebrations often focus on the exotic aspects of those events, capturing the costumes and behaviors of performers who were normally mimicking the allegorical attributes ascribed to the continents. Documentation of a celebration for Maximilian I in the early sixteenth century includes depictions of dancers in feather costumes, representing American natives who looked a great deal like personifications of the continent, as discussed in Boorsch, "America," 508. For depictions of the performers in Tupinamba garb, see Hans Burgkmair, *Triumph of Maximilian I*, 1516-19, woodcut, Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung Staatsgalerie.

display examples of the bounty of the homelands in the form of pepper and jewels for Asia and ivory and grain for Africa.

Although dated after the creation of Berchem's work, three frontispieces to Olfert Dapper's 1670-72 publications show a nearly contemporary view of the characteristics of the three continents, including the turbaned richness of Asia, the dark skin and Egyptian setting of Africa, and the feathered outfits and fantastic animals of America (Figures 3-21, 3-22, and 3-23). Berchem's man wears clothing similar to Asia in the form of a turban and flowing robes of fine fabric. The man's dark skin associates him with Africa and America. By including a curved sword in addition to a turban as part of his costume, Berchem also connects the man with the Ottoman Empire.[43] A variety of attributes traditionally belonging to Asia, Africa, and America affords Berchem's male figure the flexibility to refer to the vast global trading territory the Dutch so desired in the seventeenth century.

Berchem clearly had knowledge of these traditional attributes of the continents, as seen in his concurrent work during the early 1660s in Amsterdam. One of his projects from this period, his design for the frontispiece to Joan Blaeu's (1596-1673) *Atlas Maior* of 1662, includes a depiction of a personification of America (Figure 3-24). Berchem presents America as a feather-clad female figure under a parasol, who commands a procession of commodities including gold. This image reveals his interest in and familiarity with personifying areas of the world according to their traded goods and exotic attributes.

In its ability to allude to multiple non-European continents, the presence of the parrot, the presumed gift in Berchem's painting, contributes another dimension to the male figure's

[43] Curved swords of this type appear in depictions of Ottoman ambassadors during the Renaissance, as seen in Dürer's sketches and other artists' depictions in Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*.

amalgamated character, allowing him to signify the bounty of the global economy.[44] Late fifteenth-century peoples believed that the parrot was an Asian bird from India, as described by Marco Polo.[45] They were also familiar with African grey parrots and, eventually, with the green parrots of South America. Berchem selected a red parrot as the exotic man's gift, a bird that carried connotations of the Garden of Eden and the rediscovery of paradise in finding the New World.[46] The frequent depiction of Native Americans and allegorical representations of America wearing feathered skirts and headdresses also connect the parrot's bright plumage to the Americas. The bird could also symbolize Africa, as seen in the title page of a 1602 description of Africa depicting a personification of that continent holding a parrot (Figure 3-25).[47] A report of a 1645 performance for Anne of Austria by an Italian troupe, who danced around a cage of parrots and then released the birds, states that the performers were Indians, while another observer calls the event "a ballet of Ethiopians and parrots (ballet ou Éthiopiens et des perroquets)" in his record of the experience.[48] These examples show that no consistent association of parrots with a specific continent governed their representation in European art or

[44] An ornithologist today would probably identify the bird as a Brazilian macaw, rather than a parrot. Still, in the seventeenth century before the Linnaean system, viewers would likely have labeled the bird in Berchem's painting as *papegaai* or parrot, rather than calling it a macaw.
[45] Irma B. Jaffe, Gianni Eugenio Viola, and Franca Rovigatti, *Imagining the New World: Columbian Iconography* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991), 96. Jacob Cats includes a parrot emblem in his emblem book (H. 514), *Proteus ofte minne-beelden verandert in sinnebeelden* (Rotterdam: P. van Waesberge, 1627), emblem 14, 80. The bird is represented caged as the text discusses the creature's wild character and Indian derivation. See cultural anthropologist Tom de Roo's discussion of parrots and Antwerp society in "Vreemde vogels: De Papegaai en de Kanarie als uitheemse Gezelschapsdieren in Antwerpen van de Zestiende tot the Achtiende Eeuw," in *Wonderlycke dieren op papier in de tijd van Plantin* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet, 2007), 29-47.
[46] Especially interesting is Jaffe's comment that Dürer included a parrot in his *Adam and Eve* (1504) engraving to possibly reference the newly found paradise or his ability to "parrot" the real world in a printed medium. Jaffe, *Imagining*, 176-77. Rubens may have thought similarly when he inserted a parrot into his version (*Adam and Eve*, 1628-29, oil on canvas) of Titian's *Adam and Eve* (c. 1550, oil on canvas), which hang next to each other at the Prado in Madrid
[47] For discussion of Tupi feather capes and their incorporation into European collections, see Amy J. Buono, "Feathered Identities and Plumed Performances: Tupinamba Interculture in Early Modern Brazil and Europe" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007).
[48] Giovanni Battista Balbi, the primary performer at the event, refers to them as Indians, as cited by Boorsch, "America," 504-05. Marie-Françoise Christout quotes Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson who reports his impressions of the ballet in his journal, as cited in *Le ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643-1672* (Paris: A et J Picard et Cie, 1967), 47, 204.

their discussion in popular culture. Berchem's selection of the parrot as a possible exotic gift does not reflect a correlation with a single continent, but rather speaks to Dutch global activities in Asia, America, and Africa. The exotic male demonstrates associations with the three known non-European continents, referencing the allegorical figures and attributes frequently used to represent Asia, Africa, and America.

Berchem's Female Figure

In a similar fashion, Berchem adapted traditional or popular iconographies in designing the primary allegorical actress in the *Harbor Scene*. Responding to the rise of courting imagery in the 1650s and 1660s, the artist engages the discourse of love in his work, but does so for different purposes than did his contemporaries. Comparing paintings by Berchem's contemporary Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681) to the *Harbor Scene* demonstrates the former's debt to and departure from the language of courting iconography in the conception of his painting. By drawing on tropes associated with courting scenes, Berchem conveys that his female figure has the power to control her encounter with the exotic male who stands before her.[49] The artist shows that the exchange between a non-European man and a white woman is allegorical and not based on love. Rather, the exchange is rooted in trade and economic contact, establishing a relationship in which the female personification has the upper hand.

Berchem's adaptation of aspects of love and courting scenes popular at mid-century hint at the amorous nature of the painting, but also clarify the allegorical function of the *Harbor Scene*. Courting imagery found a niche in the Dutch art market in which it especially appealed to

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[49] Although Dutch men commonly took wives of non-European descent while abroad, the same was not true for Dutch women, who were not permitted to marry non-white men. See Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

the refined tastes of an increasingly wealthy upper middle class.[50] Produced by artists such as ter Borch and Caspar Netscher (1639-1684), pictures of courting often have ambiguous meanings and present images of well-dressed, elegant individuals participating in activities, such as making music, suited for young adults. Epitomizing this genre, ter Borch's scenes typically depict a satin-clad woman standing in an interior space engaged in writing a love letter, greeting a suitor, or primping at her toilette. The maid who often attends her seems to encourage her in the practice of love, observing her letter writing or nudging her towards making a decision. A little dog and occasional exotic items, such as a turkerie rug, also appear in ter Borch's paintings, filling out the setting's sense of elegance and prosperity. Ter Borch's *The Suitor's Visit* (c. 1658) is a representative example of the elegant, amorous type of genre painting that gave visual form to the behaviors associated with love and courting (Figure 3-26).

Both Berchem's and ter Borch's women are finely clothed in silk-satin dresses, while receiving the attention of a male figure. The paintings also include a dog or dogs and exotic objects, such as ter Borch's Persian table covering. As also seen in ter Borch's picture and many other examples of courting images, Berchem's insertion of a couple making music to the right of Venus heightens the amorous character of the scene. Both artists use the woman's gesture to suggest her reaction to the proposed interaction from the bowing man.[51]

In another painting by ter Borch, more specific similarities with Berchem's *Harbor Scene* arise. Ter Borch's *Lady at Her Toilet* (c. 1660) depicts the female figure wearing a blue and white dress of similar color to the one worn by Berchem's woman, a color that may signify

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[50] For discussion of images of love and courting see, for example, H. Rodney Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, Studies in Netherlandish Visual Culture (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Peter C. Sutton, Lisa Vergara, and Ann Jensen Adams, *Love Letters: Dutch Genre Paintings in the Age of Vermeer* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003); Wayne E. Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), chapter 6, 99.

[51] See Arthur Wheelock's catalogue entry discussing *The Suitor's Visit* in *Gerard Ter Borch* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; New York: American Federation of Arts; New Haven: Yale University Pres: 2004), 124.

jealousy, according to Gesina ter Borch's (1633-1690) color symbolism system, an appropriate emotion to evoke in the context of love or commercialism (Figure 3-27).[52] Moreover, the woman's fretful hand gesture may express her state of mind in her considering the proposal of an absent suitor.[53] Berchem's female figure also employs a gesture to indicate her reaction to the man's offer, though the position of her hand indicates self-confidence and control, rather than worry.

Berchem departs from the typical courting iconography by virtue of the sculptures depicted and the woman's extravagant costume, further indicating the allegorical character of the *Harbor Scene.* While a prominently placed classicizing sculpture of Venus accompanied by Cupid and a pair of doves heighten the evocation of love in his painting, those elements also indicate the scene's allegorical nature, thus departing from the more everyday context of ter Borch's finely clothed ladies. Although women in ter Borch's paintings and the *Harbor Scene* wear dresses of similar colors and fabrics, Berchem's female figure is clearly not an upper middle-class Dutch burgher, as evidenced by the aristocratic, Francophilic dress she wears. One finds examples of this type of clothing in allegorical scenes by Berchem and by other artists, and in some of Berchem's harbor views, but not in seventeenth-century genre images of love and courting.[54]

Although Berchem's painting shows connections to Dutch images of love and courting, the relationship being proposed in the scene cannot possibly be one of actual love. The

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[52] Alison McNeil Kettering, *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate*, 2 vols., Catalogus van de Nederlandse tekeningen in het Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1988), folio 39v, XIII, 440. Also refer to Wheelock's mention of the color of the lady's dress and jealousy, in "The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch," in *Gerard Ter Borch* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; New York: American Federation of Arts; New Haven: Yale University Press: 2004), 12.

[53] Wheelock's catalogue entry for *Lady at Her Toilet*, *Ter Borch*, 135-7.

[54] While her hairstyle includes ribbons attached to the back of her head, which is seen in depictions of Dutch women from the latter half of the century, it also appears that she is wearing a wig, a fashionably French item. Annemarie Stefes discusses how much Berchem liked French art and the presence of works by French artists in his print collection, in "Eleven," 375-77.

European establishment strictly forbade sexual contact between European women and non-European men, even though seventeenth-century Dutch literature speaks to an inherent attraction white women felt for Moorish men.[55] Berchem was likely aware of such social and cultural taboos, as the *Harbor Scene* is his only known work that includes an interracial interaction, a clear and significant shift in his customary iconography.

The nature of the relationship between the couple is clarified in light of Dutch courting practices, as Berchem presents the woman with the upper-hand in the proposed liason with the exotic male. While the artist employs a calculated gesture in the *Harbor Scene* in his depiction of the woman, Berchem does not use a signal that expresses fretfulness or sexual availability, as does ter Borch. On the contrary, Berchem depicts the woman with a commanding gesture, as if she holds off the advances of the exotic man while determining whether or not she will accept his offered gift. Her pose of elbow akimbo further endows her with a sense of assertiveness.[56] The woman's standoffish character receives greater clarification in light of idealized Dutch courting practices that gave females powerful positions in love relationships.[57] One scholar summarizes the courted woman's role saying, "Unreachable in her beauty and superiority, she is powerful in the ways she can wound."[58] Berchem's female figure's elevated position, towering above her potential suitor, her lavish clothing, and her calculated gesture combine to present a self-assured woman capable of controlling the encounter. His borrowings from the genre of love

[55] Bredero's play *Moortje* mentions that employment of black heads as shop signs was pleasing to female shoppers, as cited by Blakely, *Blacks*, 56.
[56] Refer to Joneath Spicer's discussion of the elbow akimbo in "The Renaissance Elbow," in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 84-128.
[57] In Alison Kettering's study of the pervasive influence of Petrarch's lyrics in Dutch literature, art and life, she frames Dutch courting customs, as represented in Gesina ter Borch's album, in terms of Petrarchan practices that gave women empowered roles in love. Alison Kettering, "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne E. Franits (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 105-7.
[58] Ibid., 105.

and courting signal the work's engagement with such scenes, while his departures reveal a realm of allegory where the woman controls the encounter.

The *Harbor Scene* and Adoration of the Continents Imagery

In his allegorical image, Berchem depicts an exotic male gift-giver presenting a valuable offering to a powerful female figure. Other than Adoration of the Magi scenes, in which gifts are put forward to Jesus but accepted by Mary, the only precedents in pictorial history for a non-European man proffering a gift to a white woman come in the form of so-called presentation scenes. In such images, individuals whose costumes, attributes, and physiognomic characteristics connect them to specific areas of the world offer precious commodities as exotic gifts, which are representative of their home territories, to an enthroned or honored person.[59] One scholar refers to such images as representing the "Adoration of the Continents" akin to Adoration of the Magi scenes.[60] In the last decades of the seventeenth century, allegorical presentation images abound depicting Amsterdam as the center of world trade, a context in which the *Harbor Scene* clearly belongs.[61] Presentation scenes merge the exotic gift-giving component of Magi iconography with the context of global trade, conflating trade and gift, as

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[59] Adoration of the Magi and Adoration of the Continents images also often include vignettes that depict bales, boxes, and bags used for shipping, even portraying boats or other modes of transportation involved in trade. Dan Ewing specifically mentions bales and shipping containers as common elements in Antwerp Adoration of the Magi images, in "Magi and Merchants: The Force Behind the Antwerp Mannerists' Adoration Pictures," in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2004-05; published in 2006): 282-3.

[60] Butler comments about the development of Four Continents imagery, arguing that personifications of the continents were brought together from the borders or corners of maps to create a new type of subject matter, in "Of Bodies and Borders," 227. Ewing mentions the symbolism of the three kings, as each represented a continent, Asia, America, and Africa, in Northern European Magi imagery, arguing that Adoration scenes, even in a religious context, referenced multiple continents, in "Magi and Merchants," 275-299, 370-73.

[61] Adoration of the Continents images are not confined to Amsterdam. Butler cites that other Dutch cities, such as Middleburgh and Zeeland, also included Adoration scenes in their city histories and maps, in "Of Bodies and Borders," 226-27. Cities outside of the United Provinces also utilized Adoration of the Magi iconography to express their civic identities. For discussion of Florence's Magi tradition, see Rab Hatfield, "The Compagnia de' Magi." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 107-61. Also see Ewing for examination of Antwerp's sixteenth-century Adoration of the Magi scenes in which he argues that the subject of the Adoration became enmeshed with Antwerp's identity as a city and trading center, even stating that the Magi in Antwerp Adoration scenes were intended to evoke foreign merchants, in "Magi and Merchants," 287-88.

representatives of desirable business partners give objects signifying goods to Amsterdam. The message of such imagery, in praising the economic might of the city, inflects Berchem's painting with the same sense of pride in trading prowess.

In early seventeenth-century presentation scenes, height, distance, or a physical barrier separates the female allegorical figure at the center of the image from the representatives of the world, allowing her to control the interaction. The Christian character of the woman, as evidenced by the presence of a crown decorated with a cross on the ground, connects her to the allegorical conventions of Europe as codifed by Ripa, as does her costume, which also sets her apart from other figures in its finery and outlandish nature (Figure 3-20c). Berchem's *Harbor Scene* adopts these standard elements, while adapting them to the context of 1660s Amsterdam. In another example from a 1607 map, Willem Blaeu (1571-1638) depicts a female personification of Europe in the center of a presentation scene, cordoned off from the rest of the world by pikes and standards (Figure 3-28). Representatives of America enter from the left, as identified by their feathered skirts and headdresses. Africa proceeds into the scene riding a large lizard from the right, shading herself from the hot African sun. Asia, considered the most civilized of the non-European nations, approaches Europe from the right with camels in tow. In the center of power, Christian Europe unites the four continents complete with a cross symbol on her crown, as personifications of the continents present her with bounteous exotic goods. Accompanying text delineates the variety of goods and treasures representatives of the world offer to her, referring to the givers as "fortunate" and the female receiver as "the supreme ruler with the world at her feet: most powerful on land and at sea through war and enterprise, she owns a wealth of all goods."[62] Berchem positions his female figure in a similarly centralized and

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[62] Willem Jansz. Blaeu, Wall Map of the World (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1606-07). No complete surviving copy exists. Refer to a photograph in the collection of the Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam that was

elevated position, above the supplicant offering a gift, clad in extravagant garments and exercising full control over the presentation scene.

Potentially comparable to the later *Harbor Scene*, Claes Jansz. Visscher's (1587-1652) *Panorama of Amsterdam* (1611) casts Amsterdam, rather than Europe, as the new recipient of the representations of the continents' attentions, as they offer her gifts in the form of trade goods (Figure 3-29). In employing Amsterdam as the allegorical heart of the image and placing the city in a position of power in relation to the rest of the world, Visscher's print expresses the pride citizens likely felt in their economic success. The self-congratulatory tone of the image finds its echo in Berchem's *Harbor Scene* with a similar feeling of accomplishment. Visscher's *Panorama of Amsterdam* depicts the finely garbed Maid of Amsterdam, a personification of the city, against a view of the busy Amsterdam harbor.[63] Representatives from the East and West Indies, including a Brazilian figure carrying brazilwood topped by a parrot and an African with gold and ivory, approach her with their exotic gifts. Amsterdam also receives the bounty of the Netherlands in the form of milk, cheese, and fish. Visscher's conception of a presentation scene honors the city's accomplishments, as he visualizes Amsterdam having taken the place of Europe in the gift economy, seeing that the decline of Portugal and Spain helped the city become the northern center of European trading activities. Gift givers present objects signifying the economic offerings of their countries or continents, imparting to Amsterdam the very goods the Dutch were involved in trading. By casting the city as the New Europe and placing the peoples

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taken before the destruction of the only known copy of the map. Original Latin text reads as follows: "Europae in alta constitutae sede, quæ/ Regina tanquam summa calcat totius/Pedibus globum orbis: Marte et arte praepotens Terrâ mariq et dives omnibus bonis." As transcribed in and translated by Günter Schilder, "Willem Jansz. Blaeu's Wall Map of the World, on Mercator's Projection, 1606-07 and Its Influence," *Imago Mundi* 31 (1979): 54.

[63] Refer to Hochstrasser's discussion of this work, *Still Life*, 19-21. Also see Chong's mention of the print in "Contained Under the Name of Still-Life: The Associations of Still-Life Painting," in Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek, ed. *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550-1720* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 19.

of the world in homage to her, Visscher creates a show of approval in print, revising a standard slate of iconography to appeal to a wide market.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, allegories of Amsterdam as the center of world trade abound, a context in which the *Harbor Scene* and its female figure clearly belong. Artists working in a variety of media adopted Visscher's iconography and cast Amsterdam as the recipient of the continents' bounty. Berchem's allegorical woman bears striking similarities to these many later examples, indicating her potential identity as a personification of the city. Jacob van Campen's design for a rich, intricate allegorical sculptural program to honor the city's trading prowess and prosperity with the construction and decoration of the new Amsterdam Town Hall is one manifestation of this trend (Figure 3-30).[64] The completion of the Town Hall's decorative program in 1665, roughly concurrent with the production of Berchem's painting, proudly and publically displayed the presentation scene to the eyes of all who came to the Dam, the primary center of economic activity in Amsterdam.[65] Crowning the structure is a sculpted presentation scene on the western pediment by Artus Quellinus (1609-1668) after van Campen's designs, in which, once more, the Maid of Amsterdam takes the traditional place of Europe, usurping the role of the latter in the place of power, and accepting gifts from Europe and the other three continents (Figure 3-31). With some of their traditional attributes as denoted by Ripa, Europe and Africa, accompanied by a child carrying a parrot, enter from the right and

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[64] See an extensive discussion of the building's interior and exterior allegorical program in Katharine Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1959).

[65] Ewing presents evidence that Adoration of the Magi scenes were the second most popular subject in Antwerp art collections from 1532-48 in "Magi and Merchants," 287. He argues that Antwerp Adoration of the Magi scenes became commercialized during the sixteenth century and embodied Antwerp's trading identity. Likewise, according to my reading, van Campen's portrayal of the "Adoration of the Continents" bears striking parallels to the Adoration of the Magi scenes so popular in Antwerp in its sixteenth-century economic heyday. However, rather than creating a religious scene, van Campen presents a secularized, even capitalistic Adoration that likely expresses Amsterdam's identity as an integral hub of global commerce. Also see Fremantle's brief comparison of van Campen's design to Rubens' *Adoration of the Magi,* 1609 (Figure 3-8), commissioned by the Antwerp City Council for the Antwerp Town Hall.

America and Asia, escorted by a figure carrying tulips, come in from the left.[66] Clearly engaging the context of trade, bales of tobacco, treasure chests full of expensive spices, and great tusks of ivory dot the scene, as the personification of Amsterdam sits in front of a Dutch ship, the vehicle for the city's great wealth. Prints published in 1650 depicting the design for the pediment, in addition to the completed sculpture, propagated the view among the public that a female personification of Amsterdam stood at the center of world trade and received as gifts the goods of the globe (See Figures 3-30 and 3-31).[67]

The frontispiece to the 1663 publication *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, one of a plethora of books hailing the economic might of the city, shows the influence of van Campen's designs, which were distributed as engravings in 1650. Exhibiting numerous parallels to Berchem's painting, this almost precisely contemporaneous image once again demonstrates the proliferation of a visualization of Amsterdam holding court, receiving the bounty of the world. Jacob van Meurs (c. 1619-1680) conceives of the presentation scene in a similar fashion to van Campen's portrayal (Figure 3-32). Amsterdam, dressed in layers of fine fabric and wearing a symbol of her Christianity in the form of a crown topped with a cross, sits in a classicizing setting holding court. Depicting Asia with a camel and incense, Europe bearing a cornucopia laden with fruits, and America with tobacco or brazilwood, van Meurs frames the

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[66] In response to the presence of sugar and tobacco in the design for the western pediment, Fremantle suggests that van Campen likely drew on the 1644 Dutch translation of Ripa, as Dirck Pietersz. Pers, the translator and publisher, added his own additional text to Ripa's description of America, saying that "in order to express the fruitfulness of this land one may add to this image that she has with her a bunch of sugar cane and some rolls of tobacco, which the ingenious painter, among many known animals and fruits, may add according to his fancy," as translated by Fremantle, *Town Hall*, 180. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Men kan by dit beelt, om beter de vruchtbaerheyt deses Lands uyt te drucken, daer by stellen, datse een bos Suycker-riet, en eenige rollen Toback by haer heeft; 't welck de geestige Schilder, uyt veel bekender dieren en vruchten, kan tot zijne vercieringe toestellen." Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghen,* 604-05.

[67] The comments of Everard Meyster, Jacob van Campen's neighbor, in his 1655 publication make clear the associations the presentation scene elicited, saying, "a dragging swarm of packs and sacks…is being carried into the lap of the ever-generous Amstel-maiden from all over the globe (een sleepende geweemel van pack, van sack op sleens…den Amstel-maeght steets milt van 's heele Werelts-kloot wort in 'er schoot gevoert)." Everard Meyster, *Het eerste deel der goden land-spel om Amersfort, van't nieuw Stad-huys binnen Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1655), 29. As cited and translated by Fremantle, *Town Hall*, 173.

gifts as commonly traded, desirable goods. The figures of Africa and Amsterdam flank a depiction of a ship in the ocean, a symbol of Dutch maritime activities and trading prowess. A fictional harbor in the frontispiece, as also seen in Berchem's painting, roots the figures in the context of trade with ships busily bringing goods to port or journeying to acquire more. The personification of Africa proffering a parrot to Amsterdam perhaps influenced Berchem's selection of a figure with dark skin and the presumed exotic gift of the parrot to present to his own lavishly dressed female. The numerous presentation scenes after mid-century in which artists depict a personification of Amsterdam receiving gifts from representations of the continents support the suggested function of Berchem's *Harbor Scene* as a presentation image.

The Exotic Gift in the *Harbor Scene*

As in the presentation scenes gift and trade were similarly integrated in travel accounts, public displays of gifts, and actual experiences of individuals working for Dutch trading companies, which afforded wide knowledge of gift exchange in making trade possible. The public's familiarity with the role of gifts in securing trading contracts further informs one's understanding of Berchem's painting. The depiction of a relationship in the *Harbor Scene* in which the female personification of Amsterdam has the upper hand and exercises full control over the encounter with the exotic male idealized trading relationships that were actually fraught with difficulty.[68]

Gifts played practical and essential roles in trade. In the earliest Dutch account of Africa, Pieter de Marees's 1602 *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het gout koninckrijk van Gunea)* relates how Dutch captains won the business of the people of Guinea by giving gifts, or *dache*, to traders and

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[68] Published after I wrote my first draft of this chapter, Koerner makes a similar argument to mine in his essay, discussing how Adoration of the Magi scenes represent a flow of goods and gifts to the Christ child in a depiction of ideal commerce in "Epiphany," 60.

interpreters in order to attract customers to Dutch ships where economic exchange would occur.[69] In essence, the gift became a facilitator of trade. De Marees refers to the practice as having become "so ingrained that nowadays these *Daches* (so dat dit geven so inghecorrumpeert is, dese Dache)" constitute a considerable percent of the actual value of the goods exchanged and that the *dache* has "come to stay (so is blyven staen)."[70] He stresses the importance of the *dache*, saying

> The traders or blacks became so clever with these *Daches,* realizing that their will was being done and they were being allowed to have their own way, that they came on board and would not buy or trade anything before they had seen what kind of gifts the Factors would give them in order to barter with them.[71]

As per his report, Dutch gift giving preceded and made trade possible. Considering that De Marees's book provided the most influential account of Africa, with large sections of the volume copied by later authors, including Olfert Dapper and Willem Bosman, outlining the necessity of gift exchange early in the century ensured that other authors reemphasized the importance of the gift in facilitating exchange and creating profit.

Numerous other accounts describe the role of the gift in securing trade, shedding further light on the ideal scene of exchange, which Berchem presents. Johan Nieuhof (1618-1672), a VOC employee stationed in Batavia, reports the essential role gifts played in trading negotiations with foreign dignitaries. During a visit to a monarch in Ceylon, he says that only after he "delivered the presents and laid the money down for the pepper, I was introduced into her

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[69] Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones outline a few suggestions for the etymology of *dache*, including the possibility that it relates to the Portuguese *doação* or gift, or the Akan *medaase* or thank you, in Pieter de Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea*, trans. A. van Dantzig and Adam Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1987), 47.

[70] Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het gout koninckrijk van Gunea (Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea)* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz., 1602; reprint, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1912), 48. Translated by van Dantzig and Jones, in de Marees, *Description*, 47.

[71] Original Dutch text reads as follows: "dat de Cooplins ofte Swerten so slim werden met dese Dache, siende dat hunnen wil daer in geschieden ende toegelaten wiert, dates t'scheep quamen ende niet en coopen ofte handelen en wilden, al eer sy sagen wat schenckasie dat de Comisen hun gaven, om dat sy ruylen souden." De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, 48-49. Translated by van Dantzig and Jones, in de Marees, *Description*, 48.

majesty's presence."[72] The Shogun of Japan and his advisors compiled lists requesting specific gifts from the VOC and expected to receive them before trading negotiations could proceed.[73] In addition to giving gifts, the Dutch also accepted them from diplomatic representatives of countries, which had desirable goods, and in doing so, facilitated the much-desired trading relationships. Considering the large percentage of Dutch people involved in trade as sailors and merchants, many likely knew about the practice of gift giving to foreign monarchs and high ranking officials or native peoples, which made trade possible and increased the volume of goods. As an Amsterdam resident, Berchem may also have been aware of such gift-exchange practices. Perhaps the patron or buyer of the *Harbor Scene* was involved in gift-giving activities as a VOC or WIC official.[74] The public exhibition of gifts received by the VOC at the Dutch East India House in Amsterdam and similar institutions in other Dutch cities, heightened awareness of gifts in facilitating trade.[75]

Even while Berchem's *Harbor Scene* draws on the *dache* and other gift-giving customs, the artist reconceptualizes the relationship between the two parties involved in the exchange. The female figure Berchem depicts as the potential receiver of the gift does not seem particularly eager to accept the offered parrot. She carefully considers her decision about whether or not to engage in a relationship with the man, as she is superior to her foreign subordinate. Reflecting the actual circumstances of trade, Europeans believed Africans, peoples of the East Indies, and

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[72] Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Zoo dr ik de geschenken en penningen, om aen hare Majesteit te vereeren en tellen, voor de peper gereet had, wiert ik boven gehaelt." Johan Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaerdige zee en lantreize de voornaemste landschappen van West en Oost Indien (Noteworthy Travels by Sea and Land Through the Principal Territories of the West and East Indies)* (Amsterdam: Widow of Jacob van Meurs, 1682), 139; English translation taken from Johan Nieuhof, *Voyages and Travels to the East Indies, 1653-1670* (London, 1732; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1988), 230.

[73] See chapter 4 for further discussion of Dutch and Japanese gift-giving practices.

[74] Hochstrasser argues that the probable audience for still-life paintings depicting valuable traded goods was made up of WIC and VOC employees, other merchants, or investors, in *Still Life*, 16.

[75] See the introduction and chapter 4 of this dissertation for additional mention of East India Houses in the Netherlands.

Brazilians to be dishonest traders, always ready to swindle and cheat in commerce.[76] As a personification of Amsterdam, the woman knows she must be cautious in engaging in trade, while fully controlling the interaction. The painting gives to Amsterdam a more powerful role in trade than the Dutch may have actually had. Berchem casts the gift giver as the subservient representative of non-European peoples in contrast to the more common, and literal role of the Dutch as the gift givers. By portraying the white, European woman as the receiver and the black, non-European man as the giver, the artist indicates the deferential role exotic peoples were to play in an ideal economy. He also visualizes the use of the gift in bringing about economic exchange, drawing trade and gift together in the figure of the exotic male and the parrot.

Berchem's Parrot and Male Figure as Gifts and Goods

In the creation of an allegorical representation of the act of trade conceived as a gift, Berchem depicts a parrot and a male with historical similarities to each other. They share analogous roles as diplomatic gifts and valuable goods, which adds another dimension in which to understand the *Harbor Scene*'s conception of trade as a gift.

The functions of parrots as goods, gifts, and signifiers of non-European continents likely influenced Berchem's selection of the distinctive bird for his allegorical presentation scene. Available for purchase in Amsterdam as living specimens, carcasses, or feathered remnants, parrots, like that depicted in the *Harbor Scene*, had status as commodities. Parrots also played a role in the European gift economy. Columbus cites parrots as one of the earliest gifts the inhabitants of the Americas gave to him, which he, in turn, presented to Queen Isabella upon his

[76] Linschoten, de Marees, and Nieuhof detail the dishonest behavior of non-European peoples in their trading practices. Numerous other accounts mention similar observations that are not bound by continent or country. According to the Dutch point of view, every people, even the English, are dishonest merchants.

arrival in Spain.[77] Frequently given as gifts to monarchs in Europe, parrot feathers and stuffed bodies occupied a place of honor in the *kunstkamer*.[78] As such, parrots had a long history as diplomatic gifts capable of referencing the vast Dutch trading enterprise and global exploration.[79]

Like the parrot, the black man was also exchanged in Europe as a good and a gift. Monarchs, for example, gave black men to other kings.[80] European merchants and trading companies also exchanged African persons as goods. During the 1660s, the Dutch played a major role in the Atlantic slave trade after having lost their holdings of land in Brazil and the New Netherlands.[81] Both the parrot and the man in Berchem's painting, then, had histories as diplomatic gifts and goods, made more valuable by virtue of their exotic nature.

The strong formal parallels created by Berchem between the body of the parrot and the man signal connections between the literal gift he offers and the figurative gift of his own body to the self-assured woman standing above him. The parrot's long, red tail feathers with a blue-tipped midsection echo the blue and red silk-satin garment extending down the back of the male figure. Berchem reiterates the striking contrasts of black and white in the parrot's face in the man's white turban and deep, dark skin. A golden chain wraps around the torso of the male figure, as he holds the parrot by a similar chain clipped to his wrist. In addition to acting as signs of servitude, the employment of gold chains in the figures of the parrot and the man, as well as

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[77] Christopher Columbus, *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493*, trans. O. C. Dunn and James E. Kelley, The American Exploration and Travel Series (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 65.

[78] Rembrandt had birds of paradise in his collection, which were often mistaken for parrots. Lach cites examples of parrots as diplomatic gifts in *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 1, book 1:167.

[79] See further discussion of diplomatic gifting, including the exchange of exotic animals, in the introduction to this dissertation.

[80] Kaplan cites the King of Aragon who gave a black servant named Jean Blanc to John the Good in 1354, in *Black Magus,* 15.

[81] Following the loss of their trading territories, the Dutch chose to invest their remaining capital in establishing a stronger foothold in the Atlantic slave trade. Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 26.

the yellow color of the man's primary garment, reference the offerings of the continents, as gold was an important African good sold in Europe during this period and a potential American export.[82] Thus, in addition to evoking European gift-giving practices, both the parrot and the man signify the valuable goods of foreign lands.

In portraying the exotic man who offers his parrot and himself to the female personification of Amsterdam, Berchem depicts an ideal economy in which the Dutch receive the goods they desire, rather than having to fight, trade, or barter for them. Many of the Dutch likely dreamt of the model situation Berchem depicts, as an exotic man, the literal good, freely offers himself as a gift and his continents' trade to a female personification of Amsterdam. Contemporary literature expresses the ideal circumstances of trade Berchem depicts, as according to Jan Huygen van Linschoten, turbaned Moors and Arabs willingly entered slavery, giving themselves to their European masters.[83] Berchem's exotic male figuratively offers his servitude to the woman, who, if she accepts the gift, will provide in return an aegis of power under which the man can work and live. Such a perfect economy, as visualized by the artist, contrasted starkly with reports in travel accounts about the reactions of Africans to being sold into slavery. Berchem created his painting at that same time as WIC officials' wrested control of the slave trade and actively pursued a monopoly, an historical moment that contradicts the altruistic exchange depicted in the *Harbor Scene*.[84]

Gift giving could also be viewed as a pretext for economic hegemony, as exemplified by Stephen Greenblatt's reference to Christopher Columbus' (1451-1506) account of a gift

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[82] De Marees describes the gold jewelry made by inhabitants of Guinea, in *Description*, 85. Also see Koerner, "Epiphany," 60.
[83] Linschoten comments that these people "are very willing to enter service and make natural slaves (Gens hæc ad famulitium promptissima est ac velut in servitutem inclinata)," Linschoten, *Icones,* text accompanying plate 21. Reproduced and translated by van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia*, 96-97.
[84] Postma cites WIC officials whose writings document a resurgence in interest in the slave trade during the late 1650s, expressing a desire to monopolize the trade for the Dutch. Postma, *Dutch*, 32.

exchange amidst his conquests and explorations. Columbus "invites his readers…to imagine—a scene of legitimate appropriation, an appropriation enabled, through a mechanism at once institutional and psychic, by the giving of gifts."[85] Columbus viewed gift-giving as a justification for taking potential goods and dominating lands and peoples. Highlighting the role of gift giving in making colonialism and imperialism possible, Berchem visualizes the encounter Greenblatt describes. By giving a gift, the exotic male enables the Dutch appropriation of the rest of the world.

The ideal trading relationship Berchem depicts in the *Harbor Scene* is facilitated by a gift exchange between the black man and the white woman. At the same time, the absence of a depiction of gift giving to former foes of the Dutch trading empire may manifest their acquiescence. The artist includes a male figure leaning on the balustrade holding a pike who may reference Spain's eventual deference to Dutch trading prominence. He wears clothing that hearkens back to earlier times and to the southern area of Europe. Even though similar male figures in Berchem's *oeuvre* wear comparable clothing and have a swarthy appearance, the man on the balustrade in the *Harbor Scene* possesses a militaristic character, rather than being shown making music or engaging in other activities of leisure. He could reference the ideal economic realm Berchem allegorizes, as he happily looks on the moment of exchange in which the exotic continents of the world hand over their bounty to Amsterdam in the form of an exotic gift.

A Market for the *Harbor Scene*

Contemporary with the *Harbor Scene*'s creation, the geographic and monetary center of Dutch hegemonic trade was Amsterdam. The 1660s saw the construction and completion of the Amsterdam Town Hall, the building of new structures to house the trading companies, and a

[85] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 13.

significant increase in the production of art hailing the accomplishments of the city.[86] A huge influx of immigrants necessitated the expansion of the canals that made room for new houses for the prosperous Amsterdammers, which required fashionable works of art to fill their halls and rooms. As the center of international trade for Europe, Amsterdam thrived amidst the flood of exotic merchandise entering the port as well as the continued production of local goods. Berchem's move to Amsterdam brought him into a throng of eager art buyers and patrons, many of whose livelihoods were connected to the VOC and WIC activities. In the context of this flourishing city, Berchem produced the *Harbor Scene,* which responded to issues of commerce with a presentation scene in which the Maid of Amsterdam receives the gift of trade from non-European nations. By evoking the new Town Hall and the VOC yard in the painting's setting, the artist tailored the *Harbor Scene* to the tastes and preferences of an Amsterdam audience thoroughly entrenched in global commerce and in propagandizing their burgeoning city.

Many contemporary artists and writers gloried in the accomplishments of the city and emphasized local identity and context. The number of books and prints produced after mid-century that detailed the history, character, and successes of Amsterdam sharply increased.[87] The same environment that sparked the publication of descriptions of the city also encouraged the creation of cityscapes, showcasing Amsterdam's landmarks and new construction. Berchem contributed to this celebration of Amsterdam in his paintings, as seen in his *Allegory of the Expansion of the City of Amsterdam* c. 1663, an image contemporary with the *Harbor Scene*

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[86] Helpful accounts of Amsterdam in the 1660s can be found in Franits' *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting* and the following texts about Amsterdam history: Dedalo Carasso, *A Short History of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, 1985); Marijke Carasso-Kok, *Amsterdam historisch: Een stadsgeschiedenis aan de hand van de collectie van het Amsterdams Historisch Museum* (Bussum, Netherlands: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1975); Renée Kistemaker and Roelof van Gelder, *Amsterdam: The Golden Age, 1275-1795* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983); Jan Peeters et al., *The Royal Palace of Amsterdam in Paintings of the Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Royal Palace; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1997).

[87] Refer to Linda Stone-Ferrier's insightful discussion of Amsterdam in the 1660s with particular attention to the many publications celebrating the city, in "Gabriel Metsu's *Vegetable Market at Amsterdam*: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Market Paintings and Horticulture," *Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 442.

(Figure 3-33). He presents mythological figures, including Mercury, the god of commerce, rejoicing in the presentation of a map depicting the city's current, expanded boundaries.[88]

In the *Harbor Scene,* Berchem glories in Amsterdam's progress by employing a building evocative of the new Town Hall on the Dam, which references the growth and prosperity of the city. A comparison between Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde's (1638-1698) 1672 painting (Figure 3-34) and the building in the *Harbor Scene* bears out the similarity.[89] The presence of such a structure acts as a backdrop to the moment of exchange between the black man and the elegant woman, which inflects that encounter with the presence of Amsterdam's trading prowess, as embodied in the allegorical program that dominated the Town Hall's decoration. Chimneys, windows, running cornices, and sculptures atop the roof of the new Town Hall, which represent the four winds, appear in a similar fashion in Berchem's painting.

The structure in Berchem's *Harbor Scene* also calls to mind the newly built yard of the VOC, as seen in the portrayal of the edifice by Ludolf Bakhuizen (1630-1708) (Figure 3-35), completed just prior to the painting's date.[90] The resemblance endows the scene with the palpable presence of the Dutch trading machine, under whose aegis the moment of the exotic gift presentation occurs. The evocation of the Town Hall or VOC yard heightens the painting's connection to issues of trade and its identification with a specific Amsterdam locale and context.

In light of the *Harbor Scene*'s civic and commercial references and its probable function as a presentation scene, which conflates exotic gift and trade, the painting would have had great appeal to an Amsterdam market. As the VOC was the largest employer in Amsterdam, many

[88] Berchem also designed an *Allegory of the City of Rome* (c. 1658), sketches for which are in the Albertina's collection in Vienna.
[89] For discussion of the plentitude of Town Hall appearances in paintings and prints, including works by Berchem's student, Pieter de Hooch, see Peeters et al., *Royal Palace*.
[90] Gretchen D. Atwater, "The Impact of Trade by the Dutch East India Company on Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Art" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1992), 38.

livelihoods were intimately connected to the prosperity of the company.[91] Those benefiting from the VOC's operation likely found appealing the profusion of celebratory imagery and publications that appeared at that time, a group in which the *Harbor Scene* belongs. They probably commissioned or purchased art expressive of Amsterdam's success for their homes or business offices, acquiring those works from the market or directly from the artist. Berchem's reputation and the presence of his paintings in some of the most dignified collections in the city indicate that his production was in demand.[92] The specific function of the Hartford painting, as argued, and its connection to numerous genres of imagery may indicate that it was designed with a certain patron in mind. Moreover, the strongly lit scene in which clearly outlined shadows derive from a light source located beyond the far right side of the painting implies that Berchem may have created the work for a specific location in a home or one of the VOC or WIC buildings. In portraying the offer of trade as an exotic gift to the worthy city, Berchem's *Harbor Scene* likely bolstered feelings of accomplishment for its 1660s Amsterdam audience, in extolling the city's might in international commerce.

Conclusion

When analyzed within the circumstances of its creation in 1660s Amsterdam, Berchem's *Harbor Scene* can be understood as a presentation scene, which highlights a moment of exotic gift exchange. The artist drew on Adoration of the Magi depictions and conceived of his male figure as a Magus, which reinforced the act of gift giving in the scene. Berchem adapted the religious context of the Magi iconography to a scene of commercialism and capitalism in the context of Amsterdam in the 1660s. Like the Magi's gifts of valuable and rare commodities, the parrot in the *Harbor Scene* signifies the pepper, gold, cloves, tobacco, sugar, and textiles the

[91] Ibid., 36.
[92] For numerous mentions of Berchem's works in specific Haarlem and Amsterdam collections, the value of his paintings, and his critical reception, see Biesboer, "Master Painter," 33.

Dutch voraciously sought in their trading activities. The visual pairing of the parrot with the man alludes to the slave trade and diplomatic gift giving. As such, the bird and its bearer evoke exotic gifts that allegorically reference the whole of the VOC and WIC commercial realm.

Berchem imaged an almost utopian economy in which the bounty of the world belongs to Amsterdam as the recipient of trade in the form of an exotic gift. He directs the viewer's attention to the interaction between the white woman and the black man, an unusual pairing in Dutch art and in Berchem's *oeuvre*, for which precedents can only be found in presentation scenes. While exhibiting parallels to images of love and courting, the man's and the woman's costumes underscore the artist's allegorical conception.

This discussion of Berchem's *Harbor Scene* contributes to our understanding of the exotic gift in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic by illustrating its centrality in the formation and expression of commercial and civic identity in Amsterdam. By conceiving of the practice of trade in terms of exotic gift exchange, Berchem's *Harbor Scene* inflects the further appearance of exotic gifts in Dutch art with the implications of commerce, as the representation of exotic gifts referenced the business activities of the nation and its most powerful city.

Chapter 4—
Gerard Hoet's *Portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede*: Gift Gowns, Gender, and the Construction of Identity

In the final case study of this dissertation, I consider a portrait that speaks to the ability of exotic gifts to cross boundaries in Dutch society. While previous chapters considered exotic gifts in the context of male or city identity, this analysis instead focuses on a private, female realm. As discussed in previous chapters, the construction and definition of the exotic in the Dutch Republic afforded it a fluid identity. Specific characteristics of Dutch culture allowed for the entrance of the exotic into its native elements, forming a hybrid identity based on local traditions and foreign influences. The incorporation of exotic objects into the gift economy of the United Provinces provided an outlet for them to enter many facets of society, including the public and private spheres, elite and *burgherlijk* circles, and even male and female realms. Drawing on the flexibility of the exotic in Dutch society and its ability to carry significance in a wide array of contexts, the portrait considered in this chapter shows the exotic gift's unique ability to help form a flexible identity for a female, elite sitter. Further, as a later seventeenth-century example of the phenomenon of exotic gifting, my analysis of this portrait shows the trajectory of the Dutch interest in and assimilation of exotic objects over the course of the Golden Age. This chapter demonstrates how women in the Dutch Republic could use exotic gifts to secure empowered positions for themselves in their families and communities. Moreover, it attempts to show that the constructed nature of the exotic as a category in Dutch society, in conjunction with the flexibility of exotic objects to speak to numerous viewers and to express the identities of many peoples and places, made exotic gifts, in their literal and pictured form, powerful tools for women.

Gerard Hoet's (1648-1733) *Portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede* (c. 1678, Slot Zuylen, Oud Zuilen) depicts the assertive sitter standing in the midst of a verdant garden, wearing pearls, a lace bodice, and a vibrantly patterned dressing gown (Figure 4-1). A life-size portrait, the viewer is awed by the towering female figure, gracefully holding her hand over a stone basin of water. Placed between the classicizing fountain and a sculpture of a woman grasping a bow, presumably Diana, a sense of stateliness, timelessness, and authority radiates from the sitter, as she purposefully gazes down at the onlooker. The statue of Diana at the hunt occupies the space between the sitter's position on a veranda and the forested landscape extending into the distance. The warm, orange light of the sunset or sunrise setting combined with the harsh spotlight emanating from the viewer's space creates a halo effect around the woman's form, directing the audience's attention to the lavish, striking garment she wears. Decorated with an array of floral forms that cover the surface of the rich, brown fabric, her gown both conceals and carefully reveals her gender, as the red lining of the garment highlights her décolletage, zig-zagging down the woman's body and obscuring her figure, while directing attention to her long forearms and elegant hands.

Remarkable elements of this portrait, including its full-length, life-size format and the sitter's clothing, set it apart from contemporary portraits of women and complicate its categorization in the scholarship on Dutch portraiture. It has received cursory scholarly attention, having been considered in one brief exhibition catalogue essay and mentioned only in passing in a recent publication citing its anomalous nature.[1] Indeed, as with many intriguing

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[1] Hoet's portrait of Anna has been considered in a brief essay in the informative catalogue of the unique portraiture collection of Slot Zuylen. André van der Goes and Jos de Meyere, *Op stand aan de wand: Vijf eeuwen familieportretten in Slot Zuylen* (Maarssen, Netherlands: Stichting Slot Zuylen, 1996), 80-81. It is also pictured in Rudi Ekkart's recent catalogue of Dutch portraits, but is included to show how it does not fit into the trends of Dutch portraiture and the associated scholarship. Rudi Ekkart and Quentin Buvelot, *Dutch Portraits: The Age of Rembrandt and Frans Hals* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, in association with the National Gallery and the Mauritshuis, 2007), 44.

works of art from the Dutch Republic, its inability to fall easily into a category resulted in its exclusion from the voluminous literature on Dutch portraiture.

In this chapter, I will address this exceptional portrait and focus on how Hoet and Anna created a multi-faceted identity for the sitter.[2] Central to my argument is the prominent presence in the portrait of a well-known and highly prized gift, the Japanese robe, also called a gift gown or *schenkagierock*. While the general tenor of the image and its place within the pictorial history of Dutch portraiture speak to the work's evocation of female virtues and its function as a status symbol, this chapter will argue that the painting is neither a generalized expression of status nor a simple representation of the virtues of womanhood. Rather, through the integration of the selected exotic costume with the established conventions of portraiture, Hoet and Anna fashioned an identity for the sitter that blurs the boundaries between *burgherlijk* and elite, public and private, male and female. In part by prominently employing a distinctive gown that was known as an exotic gift, the portrait presents a flexible identity that allows it to speak to multiple audiences. When considered within familial, personal, political, and historical contexts, the painting speaks to the fluidity of gender and the lack of division between the public and private realms in the specific social context in which the sitter lived. Rooting Anna's portrait in the context of a gallery of male ancestors, which was under production contemporary with her picture, and then suggesting possible sources for her gown reinforces the suitability of the Japanese robe as a tool to help her depiction compete with those of men in her home. In addition, an exploration of Anna's own interests in exotic objects and education, coupled with a discussion of women and exoticism in the seventeenth century, further substantiates the purposeful employment of an exotic gift as an instrument to create and strengthen her own

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[2] For the sake of clarification, I will refer to the sitter as "Anna" rather than "van Reede" throughout this chapter, as I discuss numerous members of the van Reede family.

sphere of influence and express her identity. By means of this portrait, and in particular her exceptional costume, Anna may have tried to stake out a claim to her own family heritage, establishing an empowered role within a complex, competitive community.

Throughout my study of this work, I will treat Anna as an active participant or agent in creating, fashioning, and likely interpreting the portrait that would have hung on the walls of her family home.[3] Current research demonstrates that seventeenth-century women played a significant role in the economy of the Dutch Republic, as makers, sellers, and consumers of goods, art being no exception.[4] Anna's status as a noblewoman who was likely keenly aware of her public image, her place in her family, and the significance of making a visual statement of her lineage warrants consideration of her as a partner with the artist in the production of the image that became her trademark.[5] Further, new studies in Dutch portraiture, including those by

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[3] See Andrea Pearson's introductory essay for discussion of women as agents in the creation of their portraits, in Andrea G. Pearson, *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008). In addition to a large body of feminist scholarship, my approach to Anna's portrait as a visual construction of identity is indebted to the contributions of Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). I am also building on the contribution of Sarah Crawford-Parker, "Refashioning Female Identity: Women's Roles in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Historiated Portraits" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2006.).

[4] For scholarly attention to the significant roles women played in seventeenth-century Dutch society in commerce and household management, the trajectory of art and art production, and/or the consumption of goods, see Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Geertruydt Roghman and the Female Perspective in 17th-Century Dutch Genre Imagery," *Woman's Art Journal* 14, no. 2 (Autumn 1993/ Winter 1994): 3-10; Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Desire and Domestic Economy," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (2001): 294-315; Elizabeth Alice Honig, "The Art of Being "Artistic": Dutch Women's Creative Practices in the 17th Century," *Woman's Art Journal* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2001/ Winter 2002): 31-39; Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Domesticity in the Public Sphere," in *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 44-68; Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007); Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Early Modern Dutch Women in the City: The Imaging of Economic Agency and Power," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 667-711.

[5] Constantijn Huygens wrote in his diary that portraits "perform a noble work, that more than any other is necessary for our human needs, that through them we in a true sense do not die; furthermore as descendants we can speak intimately with our most distant ancestors," as cited by Klaske Muizelaar and Derek Phillips, *Picturing Men and Women in the Dutch Golden Age: Paintings and People in Historical Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 66. Original Dutch text reads as follows: "Toch hebben zij een edel en voor het mensdom onmisbaar beroep. Dankzij hen gaan wij in zekere zin niet dood en houden wij als nageslacht contact met ons voorgeslacht." As transcribed in Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd,* ed. C.L Heesakkers (Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij, 1987), 81-82.

Michelle Moseley Christian and Sarah Crawford-Parker, make clear the significant role women played in the fashioning of their portraits.[6]

Anna's Context

By way of introduction, Anna Elisabeth van Reede (1652-1682) was born at Slot Zuylen, the family castle she inherited through her mother's line, which is located outside of Utrecht (Figures 4-2 and 4-3).[7] She was the daughter of Gerard van Reede van Nederhorst (1624-1670) and Anna Elisabeth van Lockhorst (1619-1652), who died the same year her only child was born. Her grandfather, Adam van Lockhorst (c. 1587-1656), was the son of a very prosperous Amsterdam merchant, and purchased the home in 1617, receiving a noble title twenty years later.[8] Following the death of Anna's mother in 1652, her father married his first cousin, Agnes van Reede (d. 1692), a widow with four children by a member of the van Tuyll van Serooskerken family. However, within three days of marrying Anna's father, Agnes sold her children's inheritance, including home and land, to pay off debts.[9] As a small child, therefore, Anna was raised in the home she inherited, living with her father, stepmother and stepsiblings.[10] Archival documents indicate that there was an extended and intense conflict between Anna's guardians and her father over how the inheritance and property should be managed.[11] The conflict continued even after Gerard had his thirteen-year-old daughter married to her eighteen-year-old stepbrother in 1665. Hendrik Jacob van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1647-1692) became

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[6] Michelle Moseley Christian, "Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Genre-Portraiture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2007.); Crawford-Parker, "Refashioning Female Identity."

[7] For an account of Anna's lineage, birth, and life, see van der Goes and de Meyere, *Op stand aan de wand*, 78-81.

[8] Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch Gentry, 1500-1650: Family, Faith, and Fortune*, Contributions in Family Studies (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 109-10.

[9] Ibid., 62.

[10] Anna and her family lived at Slot Zuylen during the summers and in a house in Utrecht during the winters.

[11] An extensive group of documents in the Utrechts Archief substantiate and detail this conflict, as did my March 2010 visit with the curator of Slot Zuylen, Hester Kuiper. Utrechts Archief, Archief van het huis Zuilen, 76, inv. no. 932-945. Hester Kuiper, curator of Slot Zuylen, interview by Ellen O'Neil Rife, 17 March 2010, Slot Zuylen, Oud Zuilen, Utrecht, Netherlands. Van der Goes and de Meyere, *Op stand aan de wand*, 79.

Lord of Zuilen upon their marriage, with the title passing to their son Reinout after Anna's death in 1682. In the 1670s as part of a major renovation and decorative program for Slot Zuylen, Gerard Hoet, according to Arnold Houbraken, was employed by the family to produce portraits of Anna and her relatives.[12] It is during this period of redecoration and creation of a gallery of family portraits by Hendrick Bloemaert that Gerard Hoet painted Anna Elisabeth's portrait.

Conventions of Female Portraiture

Examining the portrait's conformities to and departures from established traditions of female portraiture shows its debt to the genre, but also directs attention to some of the oddities of the portrait, including the sitter's outer garment. As befitting Anna's station, the painting employs the conventions typically associated with Anthony van Dyck's (1599-1641) portraits of aristocratic women in its full-length, life-size format, wooded setting, and employment of a classicized fountain of running water. A portrait by van Dyck of an English woman from 1634-35 similarly depicts the sitter next to a fountain, in addition to utilizing the full-length, life-size format and wooded setting (Figure 4-4). The motif of the fountain likely alludes to the chastity of female sitters, while that symbolism is further underscored by the presence of a sculpture of Diana at the hunt in Anna's portrait.[13] Van Dyck's style of portraiture came to exercise significant influence on trends in Dutch portraiture, as particularly seen in the works of Caspar Netscher (1639-1684) and many of the portraitists working in The Hague. While these artists did depict full-length views of sitters, they did not work on as grand of a scale as van Dyck, typically

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[12] Hoet worked for the family of Zuylen both before and after Anna's death, in addition to working for Anna's van Reede relatives at Amerongen. Arnold Houbraken discusses Hoet having been requested to come to Slot Zuylen by the Lord of Zuilen, in *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 2d ed. (The Hague: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, and M. Gaillard, 1753; reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1976), vol. 3, 239-41. The literature about Gerard Hoet is very sparse, consisting mostly of entries in biographical dictionaries.

[13] For discussion of fountains' employment to underscore the chastity of women and their potential for motherhood, see Catharine MacLeod and Julia Marciari Alexander, *Painted Ladies: Women at the Court of Charles II* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001),75; Susan J. Barnes, *Van Dyck, A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press and Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 455.

producing smaller portraits for their elite clientele.[14] Netscher's portrait of Maria Timmers incorporates the fountain motif seen in van Dyck's work, while also including a beautiful silk-satin garment, string of pearls, and a low neckline, all elements that also appear in Anna's portrait (Figure 4-5). In addition, Dutch portraitists working in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century employed similar conventions, as seen in Peter Lely's (1618-1680) portrait of Anne, Duchess of York, in which the sitter sits next to a fountain (Figure 4-6). She is clothed in a fashionable loose-fitting gown, in a manner of *déshabillé* or undress, a popular style of costume that provided an alternative to restrictive courtly dress.[15]

Hoet's depiction of Anna draws on standard aspects of these contemporary portraitists' work, as befits the artistic influences to which Hoet was exposed during his career and training. A portrait by Hoet in the Slot Zuylen collection, which may be another depiction of Anna by the artist, provides an example of his absorption of this normative mode of female portraiture, adhering to the conventions pervasive in portraits of women (Figure 4-7). Even though Anna's portrait (Figure 4-1) does resonate with these contemporary portraits in the hairstyle, low neckline, loose dress, and presence of classical motifs, the full-length, life-size format and striking costume depart from the dominant conventions of female portraiture for her historical moment in the late 1670s. In particular, the selection of Anna's costume sets Hoet's portrait apart from others of women at that time.

[14] For an analysis of Anthony van Dyck's extensive influence on English and Dutch portraiture, see portions of Emilie E. S. Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and the Representation of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001). Portraiture in The Hague also warrants comparison to Hoet's depiction of Anna, including the work of Jan de Baen, Jan Mijtens, and Adriaen Hanneman. See Marjorie E. Wieseman for discussion of van Dyck's influence on late seventeenth-century portraiture and mention of the smaller scale in which Caspar Netscher worked, in comparison to the van Dyckian mode. Her study also includes a very helpful analysis of the context of portraiture production in The Hague, in *Caspar Netscher and Late Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Doornspijk, Netherlands: Davaco, 2002).

[15] See Emilie Gordenker and Diana DeMarly's discussions of this work in which they label her dress a "nightgown," an example of undress in later seventeenth-century portraiture. Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck*, 72; Diana DeMarly, "Undress in the Oeuvre of Lely," *Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 908 (November 1978): 50.

Conventions of Male Portraiture

Possible precedents, however, for some of the anomalous elements of Anna's portrait appear in portrayals of male sitters by Nicolaes Maes (1634-1693), Caspar Netscher, Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705), and many other artists.[16] Netscher's 1671 portrait of the scientist-scholar Christiaan Huygens depicts the fashionable male sitter wearing a lace cravat and a voluminous, exotic silk dressing gown (Figure 4-8).[17] Scholar Abraham van Lennep also wears such a garment in his portrait by Netscher from 1672 (Figure 4-9). Many of van Musscher's portraits depict sitters wearing similar exotic gowns, placed in settings akin to Anna's portrait with classical statuary and an imaginary garden (Figure 4-10). A more strikingly comparable image is Daniel Haringh's (1636-1713) depiction of a burgomaster of Haarlem from the early 1670s, which portrays the sitter clad in a patterned gown with a red lining, set in front of a bank of trees as a garden space extends on the right hand side of the painting (Figure 4-11).[18] Anna's cousin, Frederik Hendrik van Reede, a VOC investor, wore a floral-patterned Japanese robe in his portrait by Jan de Baen (1633-1702) (Figure 4-12).[19]

Portraits of scholars, merchants, artists, and collectors often employ the same type of garment, as the sitter stands or sits flanked by an assortment of objects symbolic of his worldly

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[16] The examples I have provided are just a sampling of a huge group of portraits. Closely reviewing *catalogue raisonnés* for these artists reveals a great number of male sitters wearing this same garment, called a Japanese robe. Clearly, the Japanese robe became the fashionable norm for male sitters. Interestingly, many of the artists who depicted male sitters wearing Japanese robes selected the same costume for their own self-portraits. Hoet's *oeuvre* includes a significant number of portraits depicting male sitters wearing Japanese robes, many of which likely date from the 1680s and 1690s.

[17] See Wieseman's discussion of this work and its place in a family gallery of portraits, commissioned in 1666, in *Caspar Netscher*, 99-100.

[18] Daniel Haringh created at least two portraits of Willem Fabricius, a Burgomaster of Haarlem. In the second portrait of this sitter, also in the Frans Halsmuseum, he wears a similar patterned floral Japanese robe. Even more examples of male sitters wearing decorated gowns occur after the creation of Anna's portrait, as seen in Caspar Netscher's portrayal of Steven Wolters from 1683 (Germany, Private Collection).

[19] Although the whereabouts of this portrait are unknown, its depiction of a male sitter clad in a distinctive floral patterned gown bears particular comparison to Anna's image, as the male sitter's uncle, Hendrik Adriaen van Reede tot Drakenstein, was Anna's houseguest for a time and may have been the source of Anna's peculiar garment. This sitter is either Frederik Hendrik van Reede, married to Johanna Schade, or another van Reede cousin named Frederik Hendrik van Reede Nederhorst, married to Clara Elisabeth van der Mijle.

and scholarly interests. Two examples by van Musscher, including a self-portrait and a depiction of wealthy scholar Barend van Lin, make clear the association between the gown the sitter wears and his worldly activities (Figures 4-13 and 4-14). The exotic costume, accoutrements, and settings of these portraits work together to enhance the status, wealth, masculinity, and erudition of the male sitter. Hoet borrows from such male portraiture in the setting and costume selected for his depiction of Anna. Thus, her portrait draws on conventions of both male and female portraiture, crossing the boundary of gender in part by its employment of a distinctive exotic object that is used as male costume in portraiture.

Japonsche Rocken

I suggest that Anna's robe is the same type of gown as that worn by the male sitters discussed. The garment clothing all of these men is typically called a *Japonsche Rock*, or Japanese robe, a seventeenth-century Dutch term used to describe a loose-fitting gown with wide sleeves.[20] It is a T-shaped garment often made of solid or patterned silk with a contrasting colored lining that can appear as a collar around the sitter's neck and down the front of the garment (Figure 4-15). The few scholars who have considered the origin of this garment connect it to the gift gowns presented by the Shogun to representatives of VOC as part of trading negotiations in the yearly tribute of the company.[21] The Shogun gave actual Japanese kimonos

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[20] There are quite a few mentions of the Japanese robe in the scholarship on portraiture and costume, most of which refer to the eighteenth-century banyan and its possible origins in the Japanese robe. See, for example, discussions of eighteenth-century variants of the Japanese robe, in Patricia Cunningham, "Eighteenth-Century Nightgowns: The Gentleman's Robe in Art and Fashion," *Dress* 10 (1984): 2-11; Brandon Brame Fortune, ""Studious Men are Always Painted in Gowns": Charles Willson Peale's Benjamin Rush and the Question of Banyans in Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Portraiture," *Dress* 29 (2002): 27-41. Emilie Gordenker also describes this garment, calling it an "Indian gown," a seventeenth-century English synonym for the Japanese robe, in *Anthony van Dyck*, 73.

[21] VOC officials traveled to Edo annually to pay tribute to the Shogun, or military dictator of Japan. Only two scholars have considered the literal origin of the Japanese robe, neither of whom cited their sources. Current scholars recycle this scholarship over and over again, without questioning or doing further searching to fully corroborate or refute earlier research. Scholars' understanding of this fascinating garment is hampered by the lack of new research in this area. See the two articles by A.M. Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder for the first discussion of the robe, its origin, and its European variants, in "'Japonsche Rocken'," *Oud Holland* 62 (1947): 137-52; idem, "'Japonsche Rocken'," *Oud Holland* 64 (1949): 25-38. Also see the exhibition catalogue essays of Margaretha

made of silk and silk wadding, which became costly and rare items in the Netherlands. So popular and precious were these garments that imitations began to be made in the Netherlands. Other similar garments were produced in India and possibly also in China for export to satiate the Netherlanders' desire to acquire and wear this particular costume (Figure 4-16).[22] Surviving garments and account books document William III's (1650-1702) great interest in the gowns and his purchase of many examples from Dutch and English tailors, as evidenced by a robe that potentially belonged to him in the Rijksmuseum collection (Figure 4-17).[23] As a possible descendent of the tabbard, the Japanese robe became an exotic variant of an already familiar type of garment in the Netherlands, and one that was frequently used in portraits of male scholars, merchants, or artists, as seen in the previous examples.[24]

Anna's gown falls into the category of a Japanese robe as it was understood by a seventeenth-century viewer by virtue of its length, silk material, padded appearance, wide sleeves, and contrasting lining. Its closest relative in costume history is the dressing or morning

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Breukink-Peeze, who mentions a great deal of interesting tidbits about Japanese robes in seventeenth-century literature, VOC gifting, and inventories, but does not cite a single source in any of her publications about this costume. Margaretha Breukink-Peeze, "'Japanese Gowns.' The Kimono in the Netherlands," in *In the Wake of the Liefde: Cultural Relations Between the Netherlands and Japan, since 1600* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1986); idem, "Japanese Robes, a Craze," in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art*, ed. Stefan van Raay (Amsterdam: Art Unlimited Books, 1989), 53-60. In a recent exhibition catalogue of Gerard ter Borch's *oeuvre*, Marieke de Winkel was credited with having researched Japanese robes, though she also reuses and cites Breukink-Peeze's material. To my knowledge, no new original research about this garment has been undertaken since Breukink-Peeze's catalogue essays.

[22] Breukink-Peeze, "Japanese Robes," 56. Also see the discussion of silk and status, as silk merged an exotic origin with "scarcity, high cost, difficulty of maintenance, and impressive public display, which made it ideal as an item of conspicuous consumption," in Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (London: Routledge, 2002), 46-7.

[23] A great deal of meticulous research has been done into the acquisition of the Japanese robe or Indian gown in Britain, including mining inventories, laundry lists, account registers, and journals for mention of this and other distinctive garments at the end of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. See, for example, a study of William III's numerous Japanese robes, which he continued to purchase on his visits to the Dutch Republic even after his ascension to the throne of England, in addition to ordering more robes from English makers, in Patricia Wardle, *For Our Royal Person: Master of the Robes Bills of King-Stadholder William III* (Apeldoorn, Netherlands: Stichting Paleis Het Loo Nationaal Museum, 2002).

[24] Marieke De Winkel posits that the tabbard faded from use with the arrival of the Japanese robe, though both served a similar function in everyday life and in portraiture, in "'*Eene der deftigstein dragten*.' The Iconography of the *Tabbard* and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Portraiture," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995): 161.

gown. In the latter decades of the seventeenth century, both men and women, especially the elite, wore morning gowns. The woman's variant on this type is called a *robe de chambre* in costume literature, a garment that eventually comes to be known as a *mantua*.[25] The gown is usually T-shaped, form-fitting and often has pleats, clasps, a belt, a train, and a bustle. The man's morning gown is called the Japanese robe or Indian gown, the descendent of the tabbard, eventually becoming the banyan, a T-shaped loose gown that is neither clasped nor pleated. While Anna's garment bears some similarities to a *robe de chambre*, its lack of a train and a built-up structure in the back of the garment, in addition to its loose form and silhouette, indicate that her garment does not match women's morning gowns in the 1670s.

In a later, posthumous, depiction of Anna in a 1693 genealogy book in the Slot Zuylen collection, however, her Japanese robe has been wholly transformed into a *mantua*, as it is brought closer to the body, covers the torso, is not open to the waist, and is attached with clasps (Figure 4-18). This depiction of Anna feminizes her costume, rather than adhering to the more masculine character of the gown she wears in the 1678 portrait. When the latter portrait was created, her gown would likely not have been read as a clear-cut example of female dress, having much more in common with the Japanese robe of male sitters. While the painting draws on conventions associated with female portraiture in the setting, classical allusions, jewelry, low neckline, and hairstyle, she wears a version of the gown sported by male sitters, in combination

[25] Costume research on the seventeenth century is very difficult, considering the few garments that are extant. Many more items of clothing survive from the eighteenth century, which makes the study of costume from the seventeenth century particularly susceptible to being inflected by the costumes of the eighteenth century. For a methodology that I found helpful in dealing with an imaged garment in a painting, which does not have an accurate counterpart in surviving garments, see Claudia Brush Kidwell, "Art Those Clothes Real? Transforming the Way Eighteenth-Century Portraits Are Studied," *Dress* 24 (1997): 3-15. Avril Hart discusses the evolution of the *mantua* as a feminist object. She posits that it is the first garment that was designed, sewn, purchased, and worn by women, as previous to the existence of this garment, male tailors held a monopoly on all but the simplest of garments for women. Avril Hart, "The Mantua: Its Evolution and Fashionable Significance in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning, and Identity*, ed. Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1999), 93-103.

with a lace bodice, rather than a lace cravat. Anna's exotic dress acts as a striking departure from the typical costume of a Dutch female sitter in the 1670s, indicating that the Japanese robe was likely selected for a particular reason.

Japanese Robes in Family, Pendant, and Double Portraits

The identification of the sitter's gown as a Japanese robe receives greater strength when compared to clothing appearing in other types of contemporary portraits. Family portraits of the period, including that of Anna's family by Hoet, further substantiate the gender distinction in dress, underscoring the masculine character of her costume. In Hoet's portrait, showing Anna, her husband, and two young children, Hendrik wears a fashionable Japanese robe with a red lining, while she is clothed in standard female dress (Figure 4-19).[26] Hendrik leans against a classicized pedestal clothed in a brown silk robe with a red lining that looks similar to Anna's dress in Hoet's individual portrait. In the family portrait, however, she wears stock female fashion of the day, as depicted by portraitists in The Hague and England. Furthermore, Anna as a sitter lacks the assertive gaze and position of her individual portrait. Depicting Hendrik wearing the striking garment seems to strip her of the empowerment that is so apparent in her own portrait. Maes' representation of another family similarly shows the husband wearing the exotic gown, while his wife is clothed in the standard female fashion for women of her class and time (Figure 4-20).[27] A portrayal of the family of Sir Robert Vyner by English artist John Michael Wright (1617-1694) depicts both parents wearing loose, fashionable gowns, though the husband's conforms to the Japanese-robe type, while that of the wife is closer to a *mantua* or

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[26] Van der Goes and de Meyere, *Op stand aan de wand*, 78-9. An anonymous drawing (1678) of Hendrik Jacob in the *Op stand aan de wand* catalogue depicts him in a bust, profile view wearing a patterned Japanese robe.
[27] In my research thus far, I have not found a family portrait in seventeenth-century Netherlandish art that depicts both husband and wife in Japanese robes in the same scene.

dressing gown in cut, fit, and presence of a clasp (Figure 4-21).[28] In these examples, men wear Japanese robes, and women wear standard female fashion or loose dressing gowns that conform to known female costume standards.

Pendant and double portraits also often employ the same differentiation of gender through costume. Frans van Mieris' (1635-1681) double portrait portrays the husband clad in a loose-fitting Japanese robe with a contrasting lining, while his wife wears a form-fitting silk and velvet bodice, obviously showing their wealth, but also adhering to a gender distinction in dress (Figure 4-22). Pendant portraits further show this division, as the well-dressed wife is paired with her Japanese robe-clad husband in a 1673 example (Figures 4-23 and 4-24). Clearly, the husband's dress could match the finely clothed wife in its degree of formality. Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681) similarly depicted a couple with the same costume selections, as the somber, but high-class garb, of the wife is paired with the seemingly relaxed, but still impressive, dress of her husband (Figures 4-25 and 4-26). In these and other works of Dutch art, the Japanese robe functions as the male costume, while the woman wears the black clothing common in portrayals of women, or the standard female silk-satin dress that appears in many depictions of women and noblewomen in the latter half of the century. It appears from these examples that costume functioned in portraiture to distinguish between the sexes, and that the often-gifted Japanese robe was a garment intended for men.

Women Wearing Japanese Robes

Even with what seems to be a clear distinction between gender and dress in portraiture, inventories demonstrate that women owned Japanese robes and they do appear in Dutch art

[28] Dr. Mary Dusenbury (Curator of Asian Textiles, Spencer Museum of Art) identified the fabric the woman wears as Sari fabric from India, which provides another example of a woman declaring an allegiance to foreign material and employing an exotic garment in the fashioning of her identity.

wearing this distinctive garment.[29] However, the contexts in which women are depicted in Japanese robes help to establish the unusual selection of such a garment for Anna's portrait and reinforce its significance. Jan Steen's (1626-1679) small pendant portraits of Gerrit Schouten and his wife depict both sitters fashionably dressed in voluminous Japanese robes, seated in chairs and surrounded by material reminders of their prosperity (Figures 4-27 and 4-28).[30] As seen in this case, the Japanese robe does not act as a demarcation of gender, but rather as a uniting or complementary factor between the two figures. Similarly, in a genre image by Cornelis de Man (1621-1706) from c. 1680, a husband and wife are clad in plain Japanese robes as the wife instructs their child. Once again, both adult members of the household wear the same type of garment (Figure 4-29). Further, this genre scene associates the Japanese robe-wearing mother with learning and education, drawing a parallel between her depiction and that of male scholars wearing Japanese robes in portraiture. In these examples and others, men wear the Japanese robe when they are depicted alone or with their spouses and families. The garment is occasionally worn by both men and women when they are shown together in pendant portraits and genre scenes, but only rarely appears in depictions of individual women.[31]

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[29] Breukink-Peeze cites examples of inventory language that shows women's ownership of Japanese robes, in addition to mentioning the gifting of Japanese robes to women by the VOC, in "Japanese Robes," 55-56. Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder also cites examples of inventories that list Japanese robes, but specifically states that although women owned these garments, they may not have had themselves shown wearing them in portraiture because of their revealing and informal nature, in "'Japonsche Rocken'," 151. The clothing of the Lady Clapham doll made for her dollhouse (c. 1690) in the Victoria and Albert Museum includes a gown evocative of a Japanese robe.

[30] Recent scholarship about these pendants takes up the issue of identifying the sitters, but is not concerned with analyzing the portraits, in Judith van Gent, "A New Identification for Bartholomeus van der Helst's Family Portrait in the Wallace Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 146, no. 1212 (March 2004): 165-67. For discussion of the Schouten portraits, see Wouter Th. Kloek catalogue entires in *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller,* ed. Guido M.C. Jansen (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), cat. 29A and 29B, 193-96.

[31] I have found one printed image of an unknown woman wearing a Japanese robe-like garment, likely dating from before 1677, the year of the artist's death (Wallerant Vaillant, H. 207). Frans van Mieris depicted individual women in Japanese robes in two known paintings, a solitary letter-writer from a 1680 genre painting (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and a representation of the death of Lucretia from a 1679 history painting (New York, Private Collection). Michiel van Musscher portrayed a single female sitter wearing a Japanese robe in a portrait from the 1690s (Location unknown), as pictured in his artist's file at the RKD.

Anna's Portrait in Hoet's *Oeuvre*

The exceptional character of Anna's portrait, including the costume selection and hybrid gender identity drawing on conventions of male and female portraiture, receives greater clarification when considered in the context of Hoet's *oeuvre*. He was born in Gelderland in 1648 and died in The Hague in 1733, likely under the care of his artist son. A well-traveled professional who worked in The Hague, Paris, and Utrecht, Hoet is primarily known today as a book illustrator, although he also produced portraits, landscapes, history paintings, ceiling paintings, and some genre scenes, even contributing miniature paintings for Petronella de la Court's dollhouse. He has received little scholarly attention, though his work demonstrates the influence of a wide international knowledge of painting. He drew on his familiarity with European trends in portraiture in his portrayal of Anna. According to Arnold Houbraken, the Lords of Zuylen employed Hoet at some point in the years following the 1672 *rampjaar*.[32] While working at Slot Zuylen, he contributed to Hendrik's renovations of the castle by painting portraits of Anna (c. 1678), her family, her children Reinout and Trajectina, and another portrait of a woman that likely depicts Anna. In addition, he painted mythological scenes on the ceilings of at least two rooms of the castle. Later following Anna's death, he returned to Slot Zuylen and painted Reinout's portrait for the home's ancestor gallery, in addition to working for other van Reede family members in the area. Although he primarily worked as an illustrator in the later decades of his career, he continued painting portraits at least through the end of the seventeenth century.

Considering Anna's 1678 portrait in the context of Hoet's career highlights its uniqueness in his body of work. Hoet, as did his contemporaries, frequently depicted male sitters wearing Japanese robes. His c. 1685-90 portrait of botanist Jan Commelin shows the sitter clad in a

[32] Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh,* 239-41.

Japanese gown, surrounded by objects related to his scholarly interests, while a landscape extends behind him (Figure 4-30). Examples of his work from later in the seventeenth century continue this similar compositional pattern and costume selection (Figures 4-31 and 4-32). Indeed, it seems Hoet, like Netscher, van Musscher, and others, contributed to a type of male portraiture in which the Japanese robe-wearing man stands or sits next to a collection of objects or piece of carved marble, as a warm, lush landscape extends into the distance. He also depicted exotic subjects, as seen in a rare portrayal of a couple drinking tea, while the man wears a Japanese robe and the woman wears standard female dress (Figure 4-33). Hoet was clearly aware of the gown's use as a garment and as a costume in portraits, employing it in representations of scholars and presumably merchants. He was also familiar with exotic tastes in Dutch society, and contributed to their dissemination through his work.

Turning to Hoet's individual portraits of women further demonstrates the unconventionalities of Anna's portrait. Within Hoet's surviving *oeuvre,* including his other portraits of Anna, no other woman wears a Japanese robe or is shown in the full-length portraiture mode evocative of van Dyck.[33] While Hoet's attributable portraits of women are few, those that are known conform to the pervasive conventions of female portraiture. A 1680 portrait shows a woman on a veranda wearing pearls and a loose satin gown, seated next to carved marble (Figure 4-34). The portrait most similar to Anna's depicts a female Utrecht resident in the 1690s standing next to a Chinese vase, wearing a garment that is a *mantua*, instead of a Japanese robe (Figure 4-35). Neither of these examples depicts the female sitter in a full-length view, wearing a gendered male garment.

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[33] I have reconstructed Hoet's *oeuvre* as best I can through museum catalogues, the RKD database and files, and other extensive research, but a great many of his works are in private collections, are lost, or are not reproduced. There may be other examples of his use of a Japanese robe to clothe a female sitter that I have not yet found.

Clearly, some other influence prompted an alteration in Hoet's normal pattern as an artist. Anna's portrait conforms more closely to his portrayals of men than it does to his depictions of women. This exceptional portrait likely derived from collaboration between an experienced artist and a female sitter who carefully crafted how she wanted her portrait to look and what message she wanted to express to viewers. She wears not the normal female dress but a garment that spoke to exotic gifting, interest in exotic objects, and overseas trade, helping to establish an identity for the sitter that is outside of the stereotypical gender boundaries of Dutch society.

Gender Bending in Dutch Portraiture

Exploring possible precedents in Dutch art and culture for the portrayal of sitters in clothing that belies their gender sheds further light on Anna's portrait, the selection of an exotic gift for the costume, and the image's traversing of boundaries. What precedent is there in Dutch art for depicting a sitter in a portrait with a fluid gender identity? The most common instance of cross-dressing in Netherlandish visual culture is the battle for the pants that appears frequently in art of the early modern period.[34] In Dutch cultural history, female cross-dressers were usually sailors, pirates, or soldiers in disguise, or women who openly fought in battles, but wore male dress and/or carried men's weapons to do so.[35] Some famous female figures in the Dutch Revolt, including Kenau Simons Hasselaar, received a great deal of praise in popular literature

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[34] Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Harpies and Henpecked Husbands: Images of the Powerful Housewife in Netherlandish Art, 1550-1700" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1989.).

[35] For accounts of actual women, including some Dutch examples, who led lives as men, and some mention of imagery depicting them, see Rudolf Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989). For discussion of a specific cross-dressing female character in an eighteenth-century novel with more general insights about women and gender identity, see Julie Shaffer, "Cross-Dressing and the Nature of Gender in Mary Robinson's *Walsingham,*" in *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early-Modern Culture*, ed. Chris Mounsey (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 136-67. Also see Dianne Dugaw's discussion of British and North American popular songs, some imagery, and literary references to women who posed as men, in *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry 1650-1850* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

and print culture as a result of their heroic efforts in war.[36] Surviving imagery of these women comes mostly in printed material, rather than in paintings. Even so, in paintings, there is some precedent for the employment of a gendered male garment to clothe a female sitter, as seen in Jan Lievens' (1607-1674) portrait of Utrecht resident Anna Maria van Schurman (Figure 4-36).[37] Clad in a fur-lined tabbard, Anna Maria sits at a table surrounded by items that relate to her renowned intellectual and artistic abilities. Considering that the tabbard was a garment that appeared in portraits of men, and particularly scholars, its inclusion in a portrait of Anna Maria perhaps suited the specific skills of that famous sitter who would have been even better educated and even more amazing "if she had been a man."[38] As a Utrecht resident, it is possible that Anna saw Lievens' portrait or a copy of the engraving after the painting.[39] Even without her firsthand knowledge of this work, the portrayal of Anna Maria establishes some precedent for the selection of a garment, which was used as a convention in male portraiture, to be worn by a female sitter.

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[36] For discussion of Kenau Simons Hasselaar, refer to Els Kloek, *Kenau. De heldhaftige zakenvrouw uit Haarlem (1526-1588)* (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 2001).

[37] There is a great deal of literature about Anna Maria van Schurman, including a recent article that considers her in the context of a network of female learners, in Mirjam de Baar, "'God has chosen you to be a crown of glory for all women!': The International Network of Learned Women Surrounding Anna Maria van Schurman," in *'I Have Heard About You': Foreign Women's Writing Crossing the Dutch Border: From Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf*, ed. Suzan van Dijk (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 2004), 108-35. For Anna Maria's bending of gender boundaries, see Mirjam de Baar, "Transgressing Gender Codes: Anna Maria van Schurman and Antoinette Bourignon as Contrasting Examples " in *Women of the Golden Age*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 1994), 144-52.

[38] Caspar Barlaeus wrote in a letter dated April 30, 1636, to Constantijn Huygens that many more opportunities would have been afforded Anna Maria if she had been a married man. Constantijn Huygens, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, 6 vols, ed. J.A. Worp, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, no. 32 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913), 6: no. 1382. As cited and translated by Mirjam de Baar et al., eds., *Choosing the Better Part: Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678)*, International Archives of the History of Ideas (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 148-49. Marieke de Winkel convincingly proposes that the tabbard as a convention of portraiture was a male garment, in Winkel, "Tabbard." There is a significant Netherlandish history of women wearing the clothes of men and "cross-dressing," as discussed by Dekker and Pol, *Tradition.* More research considering gender, costume, and fluid gender identity has been done in regards to eighteenth-century portraiture. See, for example, Melissa Lee Hyde, "Troubling Identities and the Agreeable Game of Art: From Madame de Pompadour's Theatrical 'Breeches' of Decorum to Drouais's *Portrait of Madame du Barry en Homme*," in *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity*, ed. Andrea G. Pearson, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 162-82.

[39] The engraving is by Joan Suyderhoef (Wussin, no. 78). While there was a significant age gap between Anna Maria and Anna Elisabeth, Anna Maria's renown would not have escaped Anna Elisabeth's attention, especially because Anna Elisabeth lived in Utrecht during the winter months.

Further examples of gender bending in portraiture can be found in the courtly context of The Hague. Jan Mijtens (1614-1670) painted a fascinating image (c. 1665) of Maria of Orange, the youngest daughter of Stadhouder Frederick Henry and Amalia van Solms, in male attire (Figure 4-37). Maria is shown with a horse, her nephew, and a black servant, and wears the riding habit of an Englishman.[40] Considering Hoet's time in The Hague, the strong connections Anna's family had to the Orange court and the likelihood of their having spent time there, it is possible that both the artist and sitter were familiar with a form of gender bending in Dutch portraiture. With the strong Orangist sentiments of Anna's family, one must consider that casting herself as male in her portrait could have alluded to Maria's portrait or other as of yet unknown similar paintings. Based on these few cited examples, women were only rarely depicted in portraits or other painted genres wearing the clothing of the opposite sex.

Gender bending also appears in portraits of men from the same period. Alison Kettering's discussion of pictures by Netscher and Maes convincingly suggests that some portraits of men from the last four decades of the seventeenth century create a "blurring of gender boundaries" through the use of particular elements of costume, gesture, and pose, as these portraits draw on and update the Van Dyckian mode.[41] She identifies the Japanese robe as an element that contributes to the more complex presentation of masculinity in these portraits, adding to an expression of manliness that could be soft and delicate. In the same way, the portrait of Anna presents a complex gender identity for the sitter, whose image not only presents a hybrid of normalized female portraiture derived from van Dyckian and contemporary portraiture conventions, but also includes a distinct costume that has precedent in Dutch

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[40] Ben Broos and Ariane van Suchtelen, *Portraits in the Mauritshuis, 1430-1790* (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2004), 295.

[41] Alison Kettering, "Gentlemen in Satin: Masculine Ideals in Later Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portraiture," *Art Journal* 56, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 42.

portraiture as a male garment. With greater internationalism and the pervasive character of exotic objects and goods in Dutch society came increased flexibility in gender identity, as particularly seen in the attire of the Japanese robe, a gown worn by both genders in real life and sometimes in portraiture.

Anna and the *Ahnengalerie*

Having established that Hoet's 1678 portrait of Anna presents a dynamic synthesis of contemporary portraits of female and male sitters, the question remains *why* Anna and Hoet chose the full-length, life-size format for her portrait and depicted her clothed in a unique, rare garment, which was usually associated with individual portraits of men. Shortly after his marriage to the thirteen-year-old heiress, Anna's husband commissioned a series of portraits of the Tuyll van Serooskercken ancestors, to form an *ahnengalerie*, or ancestor gallery, in the hall of Slot Zuylen, the home Anna inherited from her mother.[42] Basing the images on previous portraits of the male ancestors, artist Hendrick Bloemaert (1601-1672) created six life-size, full-length portraits of six generations of the male family members of Anna's husband (Figure 4-38).

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[42] For discussion of the *ahnengalerie* at Slot Zuylen, see Rudi Ekkart, Saskia Kuus, and Karen Schaffers-Bodenhausen, "De portretgalerij van Slot Zuylen. Het karakter van een particuliere portretgalerij," in *Op stand aan de wand: Vijf eeuwen familieportretten in Slot Zuylen*, ed. André van der Goes and Jos de Meyere (Maarssen, Netherlands: Stichting Slot Zuylen, 1996); André van der Goes, "'Van de zolder tot de kelder': De visie van Hendrik Jacob van Tuyll van Serooskerke en Belle van Zuylen op portretten," in *Op stand aan de wand: Vijf eeuwen familieportretten in Slot Zuylen*, ed. André van der Goes and Jos de Meyere (Maarssen, Netherlands: Stichting Slot Zuylen, 1996); Simon Wintermans, "'Gister sy, heden ick': De reeks voorouderportretten op Slot Zuylen," in *Op stand aan de wand: Vijf eeuwen familieportretten in Slot Zuylen*, ed. André van der Goes and Jos de Meyere (Maarssen, Netherlands: Stichting Slot Zuylen, 1996); Ben Olde Meierink and Angelique Bakker, "The Utrecht Elite as Patrons and Collectors," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht During the Golden Age*, ed. Joaneath A. Spicer and Lynn Federle Orr (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery; San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco: 1997), 72-85. In addition, Hendrik and Anna commissioned a series of tapestries for a room in their home and ceiling paintings by Gerard Hoet, concurrent with the portraiture commission. I do not know how solvent Anna's family was during this period, but her mother-in-law and stepmother clearly had financial problems and Agnes was given an annual stipend by her brother. In 1691, Anna and Hendrik's children were virtually penniless. Literature about the behavior of Dutch nobility indicates their propensity to bolster status and reputation through the acquisition of luxury goods, such as textiles and exotic objects like porcelain and paintings. See, for example, Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 100; Peter Burke, "Res et Verba: Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 148-61.

Each work measures 200 by 125 centimeters and was hung in the hall of the home, the present-day dining room.[43] The series was based on historical portraits of Hendrik's family that were pendants, and, thus, included all the wives of his ancestors. In the Slot Zuylen gallery, his female ancestors have been consciously excluded from the series, as only the husbands were included in the ancestor gallery. In Hendrik's portrait, Anna's family home and birthplace are prominently displayed behind her armor-clad husband, along with the coats of arms of the families (Figure 4-39).

Although we do not know where Anna's portrait was initially displayed, its dimensions match those of the male ancestors of her husband, his portrait, and the portrait of her son.[44] Bloemaert died in 1672 and Hoet moved to Utrecht in 1674, taking up the completion of the series where Bloemaert's work ended. He depicted Hendrik's wife and their children, including the portrait of Anna. To my knowledge, no other female portraits of this size were commissioned or exist in the Slot Zuylen collection. The 1692 inventory taken at Hendrik's death lists the presence of life-size portraits of Anna and her children in the hall, along with the series of ancestor portraits, indicating that Anna's portrait may have been included in the *ahnengalerie*.[45] Even though we cannot be sure that Hoet's depiction of Anna was part of the installation of male portraits commissioned by her husband, clearly her portrait was intended to relate to those images, in its large size, full-length view, and forthright expression of nobility.

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[43] The family gallery remains amazingly intact, having been reinstalled in the eighteenth century during some renovations to the home. Anna's great-granddaughter, Isabelle de Charrière, called the Belle van Zuylen, writes in her 1763 satirical novel, *Le Noble*, about an ancestral portrait gallery in the family castle of her fictional heroine, Julie, who says, "we have ancestors from the garret down to the cellar," even referring to the "ugly grandmothers" on the walls of her home. Julie runs away from the family castle to join her lover (who was not noble enough to suit her father) by tossing the ancestral portraits out of the window to make a sort of bridge across the moat, so she can leave the castle by walking on the paintings without soiling her shoes or dress. Isabelle de Charrière, *Four Tales by Zélide*, trans. S.M.S. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926; Originally published in 1763), 18, 24-7.
[44] With surviving information, including the 1692 inventory, it is not possible to securely place Anna's portrait in the ancestor gallery. If the portrait was included, it would have been the only depiction of a woman in the gallery. Utrechts Archief, Archief van het huis Zuilen, 76, inv. no. 959.
[45] Wintermans, "De reeks voorouderportretten," 22.

Anna places herself in the gallery of ancestors, not wearing clothing that would have clearly marked her as male or female in the form of standard female dress or armor. Instead, she is clad in a type of dress men and women both actually wore, which also functioned as the costume of some male sitters, especially scholars and successful merchants. Her portrait appears to claim her literal role as the heiress of the family estate, asserting through a carefully calculated image that she should have as much value and power as her husband and his upstart male ancestors, who, although they had never lived in her home, were presented as its lords.

Anna's Japanese Robe as an Exotic Gift

Anna's costume selection helps her image compete with the male ancestors and even serves as a suitable clothing choice for the ancestor-gallery context. As argued, Anna wears a type of Japanese-robe gown, an item of dress that had significance for a seventeenth-century viewer as an exotic gift. This depicted garment could be based on a *schenkagierock*, or gift gown from the Shogun, or could be a version of a Japanese robe made in India or China for export to the Netherlands.[46] Unlike many of the other exotic goods and objects from abroad that

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[46] I have discussed this garment with an Asian textile specialist (Dr. Mary Dusenbury, Curator of Asian Textiles, Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas), a specialist in Japanese Art (Dr. Sherry Fowler, University of Kansas), and a specialist in Chinese Art (Dr. Amy McNair, University of Kansas). All agree that Anna wears a very odd garment and that it is not easy to place it in Asian textile history. Its pattern is not Japanese in character, but the Japanese used Chinese textiles as gifts because of their perceived exotic, valuable status, so the garment could still be a Japanese gift. The closest precedent in Japanese textiles is Japanese wedding clothes, which were similarly padded and made of silk with floral patterns. Even so, the form of the garment, while kimono-like, does not strictly match the traditional kimono shape, indicating that it may have been made of Japanese or Chinese cloth, but likely not by a Japanese tailor. It could be an Indian produced garment, as the VOC began to have similar textiles as those used for gift gowns fabricated in the Coromandel Coast area and exported to the Netherlands, but many of these were made of chintz. Alternatively, it could be a strictly European imitation of a Japanese gown, with silk from Italy embroidered by English seamstresses. The closest counterpart in textiles is in table coverings employed by Jan van der Heyden in two still-life paintings (Madrid, Museo Tyhssen-Bornemisza; Pasadena, Norton-Simon Museum). For a seventeenth-century viewer, the garment would likely have signified "Japanese robe" and a connection to the gift economy that initially brought such stunning, foreign textiles to the Netherlands. For discussion of Asian textiles, specifically Indian production for European consumers, see John E. Wills, Jr., "European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 132-47.

initially came to the attention of the Dutch as commodities, Japanese robes first entered the Dutch imagination in the context of gifting.

From 1609, the VOC officials at Deshima were required to make a yearly trip to Edo to meet with the Shogun.[47] During this *hofreis* (court journey), the Dutch representatives would have an audience with him, visit persons in his entourage, and exchange gifts with the Japanese court. At various points during their courtly audiences and visit in Edo, VOC officials would receive silk gowns, in addition to other gifts. The Shogun and his retinue would present these garments by the dozen, sometimes cumulatively giving over a hundred of the precious items in a single visit. If the Dutch presented particularly fine gifts to the Shogun, they received more gowns in return. If their gifts were mediocre, they left Edo with fewer gowns than in other years. So imbued did the robes become with their initial origin as gifts that even the seventeenth-century Dutch term for this type of garment, *schenkagierock*, means a gift gown.[48] These rare and precious exotic robes could only be acquired by engaging in gift exchange with the Shogun in a court ritual, which, when done correctly, endowed the VOC with permission to continue

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[47] The Dutch established their VOC factory near Hirado in 1609, but were moved to the artificial island of Deshima in 1641. While they made their first journey to Edo in 1609, records of their trips were not kept until 1633. In the eighteenth century, they began making the *hofreis* every four years, instead of annually. For primary accounts of the *hofreis* with particular mention of the gifting of gowns, see Engelbert Kaempfer's description of his 1692 journey to Edo in which the Japanese representative says to the Dutch officials, "Your presents were very acceptable to [the Shogun] and he desires you would accept in return these few gowns," as the Dutch received in total during the visit 123 gowns, including thirty from the Shogun. Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, trans. J.G. Scheuchzer, vol. 3 (London: Printed for the translator, 1727), 178-81. The book was translated from Kaempfer's unpublished German language manuscript and published posthumously. Also see Arnoldus Montanus' account based on the *daghregisters* (daily logs) lent to him by the VOC, in *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische maatschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aan de kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1669). For secondary accounts based on primary documents, see Breukink-Peeze, "Japanese Robes," 54-6; Breukink-Peeze, "Japanese Gowns," 83. For an account of a 1642 journey to Edo and the resulting gifts, see Reinier H. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in 17th-Century Japanese Diplomacy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 126. For discussion of the trips to Edo and the presentation of the gowns, see Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853* (Richmond, England: Curzon Press, 2000), 25-31.

[48] Breukink-Peeze cites *schenkagierock* as the term used in the seventeenth-century to describe the gift gowns from the Shogun. A series of words were also used in VOC ledgers to label the gifts received from the Shogun or the gifts the Dutch presented, including gift (*schenkagie*) and cost of gift (*ongelden van schenkagie*), as mentioned in Joji Nozawa, "Wine as a Luxury at the Dutch Factory in Japan during the Second Half of the 18th Century," in *Luxury in the Low Countries*, ed. Rengenier C. Rittersma (Brussels: Pharo Publishing, 2010), 85-106.

trading with Japan and occupying Deshima for another year. Japanese robes signified the might of the VOC and possibly of the entire Dutch international trading enterprise.

Keyserrocken or imperial gowns, the top tier and most prized of the Japanese robes, were those specifically given by the Shogun to the VOC. The VOC chose in a calculated fashion which of its own officials or government authorities would be given the gowns after the garments arrived in the Netherlands, in a trajectory of gift exchange that magnified the ability of the gift to reinforce power structures, court favor, create social capital, and necessitate reciprocation. These episodes of gifting were public and well known.[49] The kimono-type garment was infused with gift-giving connotations from the moment of its introduction to Dutch culture. As was the pattern with the Dutch, the exotic object was associated with an already familiar native tradition or object, in this case the tabbard, and became tied to that native tradition as part of the process of assimilation. Anna's garment calls to mind Dutch trading concerns, the favor of the VOC, or at least the power and wealth of her family to acquire one of the special gowns. When Hoet and Anna selected her costume for the portrait, they certainly selected a fashionable, expensive garment with clear associations to Dutch trade, but they also chose an item of clothing evocative of a gift, and specifically an exotic gift.

While the portrait spoke generally to the gifting of robes as part of trade, the gown Anna wears may bear connection to a particular episode of gifting. What are the potential sources for

[49] Information about the exchange of gifts between officials of the VOC and the Shogun can be found in many sources, including the *daghregisters* (daily logs) kept from 1633 on, in addition to the accounts by Montanus and Kaempfer. Further, the East India House in Amsterdam and similar houses in some other Dutch cities acted as centers for the dissemination of information about VOC trade. As evidenced by accounts of travelers and city histories, including Dapper's *Historische beschryvinghe van Amsterdam* (1663), they were display places for the weapons of conquered peoples, maps of VOC territories, paintings depicting VOC holdings, the goods involved in trade (including spices and textiles), and gifts. Further, the East India House in Amsterdam was also a place from which gowns were sold, auctioned, and presented as gifts. The VOC presented Amalia van Solms with gifts, including Japanese robes, at the East India House in Amsterdam, as cited by Breukink-Peeze, "Japanese Robes," 55. So entrenched were Japanese robes in the popular mindset that they frequently appear in inventories, in lists of ship contents published in the periodical *Hollandsche Mercurius,* and in the East India shops in Amsterdam and other cities. In addition, as discussed in chapter 3, the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall publically displayed gifting as an entrée for trade in its allegorical and visual celebration of Amsterdam as a trading center.

this garment? First, it is possible that an actual gown is not shown and that instead Hoet invented a garment with which to clothe Anna. Second, the robe could be a studio garment that Hoet used frequently in his work to clothe sitters. However, in Hoet's portraits, none of the robes he depicts resembles each other, indicating that either he invented the gowns he painted or each sitter wore a different gown. Third, the garment could depict an actual gown that Anna or her family owned, on which Hoet based his representation of the robe. This possibility receives further credence when comparing Anna's robe to the one Hendrik wears in the family portrait. Hoet also could have altered an existing Japanese robe to suit current fashions better in Anna's portrait, maintaining aspects of the garment that evoke a Japanese robe-like character, while also drawing on conventions of female dress. Fourth, the Japanese robe could have been rented from a tailor or exotic goods shop, a practice not uncommon in the seventeenth century according to surviving documents.[50] So, how did Anna acquire, borrow, or invent a robe, and what significance does her acquisition of that robe have for our understanding of the portrait? The possibility exists that Anna or a family member did own a Japanese robe, which Anna either literally wears in her portrait, or which is evoked in her portrayal.

Considering that the painting may depict an actual gifted garment, two different episodes of gifting in the history of the van Reede family provided an opportunity for the arrival of an item as rare as a Japanese robe into Anna's hands. The gift exchanges that possibly allowed Anna to acquire a gift gown related to her cousins Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691) and Margaretha Turnor (1613-1700).[51] The famous VOC employee and author of

[50] We do have accounts of sitters borrowing or renting Japanese robes for their portraits. See, for example, one of the many reports of Samuel Pepys' renting a robe for his 1666 portrait in Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London: The National Trust, 1996), 102.

[51] Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein and Agnes van Reede are siblings. Anna's father, Gerard van Reede van Nederhorst (1624-1670), is their first cousin. Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein is thus Anna's first cousin once removed. Agnes van Reede is Anna's step-mother, mother-in-law, and first cousin once removed. Anna Elisabeth's great-grandfather, Gerard van Reede (d. 1612) is the brother of Frederik van Reede (1550-1611),

Hortus Malabaricus, Hendrik Adriaan returned to the Netherlands in 1678 from Batavia, staying at Slot Zuylen for a time as he settled in at home.[52] Hendrik Adriaan purchased a manor house in Utrecht and became a member of the Equestrian Order, as were Anna's husband and some of their neighbors, and served in various offices as he tried to help Utrecht province recover from the French invasion. He and Anna's husband became close friends, with Hendrik Adriaan designated the guardian of their children and stipulating an inheritance for them in his will. He also provided a lifetime stipend to his sister, Agnes, Anna's mother-in-law. Clearly, he was close to the family, and, according to common practice at the time, likely presented them with gifts. He was known as the van Reede "Indian cousin" and was seen by his extended family as a source of expertise about Asia, VOC trade, and the exotic objects that he owned, displayed, sold, and likely shared.[53] It is possible that he presented Agnes, Anna, or Hendrik with a Japanese robe of Asian origin. Such an episode of gifting would have been well known in the competitive van Reede extended family, as they carefully tried to match and outdo each other in acquired finery, political influence and estate value. As a means of maintaining or creating power, the purchase or gifting of exotic objects, especially those with close ties to commodities involved in Dutch trade, was common in wealthy families.

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who is Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen's grandfather. Margaretha Turnor is Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen's wife, making her Anna's second cousin once removed, by marriage. Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein and Margaretha Turnor were both cousins of Anna, though Margaretha was a relation by marriage and not blood. "Cousin" could be used in the seventeenth century to indicate friendship, rather than familial relationships, though in the case of Anna Elisabeth, both of the cousins in question were actually members of the extended van Reede clan. Refer to the helpful van Reede family tree in J. Heniger, *Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691) and Hortus Malabaricus* (Rotterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1986), 266-67. For discussion of "cousin" and "friend" in the seventeenth century, see Luc Kooijmans, "Risk and Reputation: On the Mentality of Merchants in the Early Modern Period," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf, Hollandse Historische Reeks (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995), 32.

[52] Hendrik Adriaan primarily lived and worked in the Malabar Coast of India. He was a member of the Council of India that met in Batavia, now known as Jakarta, Indonesia, from where his trip home originated. J. Heniger, *Hendrik,* 58-59.

[53] Letters between family members refer to Hendrik Adriaan as the "Indian cousin," as cited by Ibid., 57.

The second episode of gifting that may have brought a Japanese robe to Slot Zuylen relates to Anna's cousin, Margaretha Turnor, wife of Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen. Her husband was a Dutch ambassador to Scandinavia, Spain, present-day Germany, and Poland, and held numerous political offices. Lying outside of Utrecht about eighteen miles from Slot Zuylen, Margaretha and Godard's family home, Amerongen, was destroyed by French forces, but was rebuilt under the direction of Margaretha.[54] She was known to wield a great deal of power in her family and managed the van Reede clan to some extent. As a neighbor and a relative, Anna knew Margaretha and correspondence between Hendrik and Godard survives.[55] Interestingly, the portrait gallery at Amerongen, from which it appears some works were saved in the destruction of the home in 1672, features pendants of couples from throughout the family's history. In contrast to Slot Zuylen, the ancestor gallery at Amerongen, restored under Margaretha's direction, fully incorporates the female ancestors, in addition to the male ones. Anna almost certainly saw the gallery, including the full-length, life-size pendant portrait (1661) of her cousin, Margaretha, the dimensions of which almost precisely match those of Anna's portrait (Figure 4-40). Perhaps Anna was consciously emulating the image of a powerful woman in her family in the design of her portrait. In 1672, conceivably to gain favor with her and Godard, the VOC presented Margaretha with a group of Japanese robes, spices and

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[54] Coen Wilders is the first scholar to direct attention to Margaretha's unusual role as a sort of matriarch in the van Reede family, and in particular, her political activities. He reveals the part Amerongen played in the power struggle between William III and the Utrecht elite, focusing on the role of Margaretha and her husband in supporting William III. This is a particularly interesting connection in light of William III's exchange of exotic gifts with his grandmother Amalia van Solms and his possible usage of exotic gifts in his political activities. It is possible that he gifted objects to Margaretha, in exchange for hospitality and loyalty, as per seventeenth-century Dutch gifting practices. Coen Wilders, "Dienstbaarheid uit eigenbaat: Regenten in her makelaarsstelsel van Stadhouder III tijdens het Utrechts regeringsreglement, 1674-1702," Ph.D. diss, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2010.

[55] The Utrechts Archief has a few letters that were exchanged between Godard and Hendrik, which mostly discuss Utrecht province business, Archief van het huis Amerongen, inv. no. 2747. An extensive group of letters between Margaretha and Godard does survive in the Utrechts Archief, Archief van het huis Amerongen, inv. no. 2722-2728. Margaretha, in these affectionate letters, also keeps her husband apprised of all the renovations to the home, though there is little to any mention of art.

a lacquered cabinet.[56] Based on their relationship and familial ties, Margaretha may have given or lent Anna a Japanese robe from her VOC gift, as Margaretha was known to collect exotic objects and to receive them as gifts.[57] By having herself depicted in a Japanese robe, Anna may allude to the power within the family and community of Margaretha, whose lavish VOC gift would have been much discussed within Anna's circle.

Whether or not Anna's portrait refers to a literally gifted garment, it does reference episodes of exotic gift-giving that would have been known by her family and the wider community. In this way, her dress acts as a "tie-sign," or an object creating social links between herself and others.[58] The plethora of possible sources of the garment and its connection to multiple forms of exchange, including diplomatic, trading company, and family giving, indicate its flexibility as a tie-sign and its ability to create bonds between a wide variety of people and Anna.

Many of Anna's neighbors, especially the Huydecoper clan in Maarssen, were deeply involved in managing the VOC and on the board of directors for the Company. The garment Anna wears would have clearly alluded to their business activities. By depicting the sitter clad in this special, silk gown, Hoet attests to Anna's place within a network of male gift exchange in the diplomatic, international realm, while also alluding to her role within her competitive family, as the possible recipient of such a gift from a female relative. Anna's portrait exudes clear

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[56] This episode of gifting is mentioned, without citation, in Breukink-Peeze, "Japanese Robes," 56.

[57] Willem Brouwers mentioned this propensity of Margaretha's, but said that none of the porcelain or lacquered objects she owned have survived. He did indicate that one of the presents she was given was a tea set. He also said that Margaretha received some tea as a gift and gave it away to other people. Willem Brouwers, education head of Kasteel Amerongen, and Lodewijk Gerretsens, curator of Kasteel Amerongen, interview by Ellen O'Neil Rife, 24 March 2010, Kasteel Amerongen, Amerongen, Utrecht, Netherlands.

[58] Erving Goffman defines a tie-sign as a gesture or physical act, like shaking hands or hugging, that indicates a social bond, in *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 194-99. Gift theorists extended the definition of tie-signs to include rituals, interactions, and exchanges between people that indicate relationships, a reconceptualization that allows me to consider objects involved in these encounters as types of tie-signs. See, for example, David Cheal, *The Gift Economy* (London: Routledge, 1988), 22; Aafke Komter, *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 6.

connections to Dutch overseas power through the inclusion of an object evocative of gifted robes from the Shogun, which were regifted by the VOC and given status as commodities. Rather than wearing armor or standard female dress in the ancestor gallery, Anna clothes herself with an object that spoke to trading prowess, erudition, and possibly to her connection to a powerful female extended family member.

Gifts in Portraiture

As shown, Anna's portrait evokes a famous, popular exotic gift and perhaps alludes to an actual episode of exotic gifting in her life. How might her portrait fit into any sort of existing tradition in Dutch portraiture for showing sitters with gifts they have been given, whether or not they possess an exotic character? Such a question is difficult to answer, as examples of sitters with gifts are very hard to identify, and even more challenging to document.[59] Many seemingly everyday objects could be presents, making it tricky to distinguish between gifts and non-gifts in art. In the case of Anna's portrait, the garment's similarity to gift gowns, instead of a more everyday object like a ring or a tulip, makes it easier to argue that the painting references gift exchange. While extant journals, letters, and other egodocuments mention episodes of gifting in families and between friends, finding visual evidence of the presence of those gifts in Dutch art, and especially portraiture, is almost impossible.[60] Scholars are left with supposition and

[59] It seems that extensive archival research and significant skill in paleography could bring to light more episodes of gift exchange and possible connections to portraiture, though the discovery of connections between specific works of art and episodes of gift exchange seems more accidental than purposeful and more conjecture than certain. For example, Almudena Pérez de Tuleda and Annemarie Jordan Geschwend recently published three articles about cultural, artistic, and zoological exchanges between the courts of Iberia and Central Europe. In their 2007 article, they cite numerous instances of Catherine of Austria (1500-1558) gifting parrots, civet cats, and lap dogs to her relatives, including her niece Juana of Austria. The authors suggest that an undated portrait of Juana by Alonso Sánchez Coella (Madrid, Monastery of the Descalzas Reales) shows her with a lap dog Catherine gave her. Almudena Pérez de Tuleda and Annemarie Jordan Geschwend, "Renaissance Menageries. Exotic Animals and Pets at the Hapsburg Courts in Iberia and Central Europe," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts,* ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 419-47.

[60] Even in cases of documented gift exchange, the artistic evidence is missing or difficult to identify. Constantijn Huygens received numerous letters from a friend in the Dutch Republic, Dorothea van Dorp, requesting that he have Lady Killigrew, an English noblewoman with whom he was acquainted while living in London, give Dorothea a

suggestion, rather than concrete, documentary evidence.[61] In particular, to discover, research, and analyze portraits of women that include gifts is very difficult.

Although there are some examples of sitters wearing identifiable gifted objects, most of these portraits depict men with medals given to them by military or trading bodies to commemorate victories or heroic feats. More archival evidence survives and was probably produced related to men and the gifts they received than to women. Having oneself depicted with a gift, and particularly an exotic gift, was more common than the surviving, known evidence suggests.[62] Common gifted exotic objects include chains, medals, porcelain, jewelry, tulips, maps, globes, swords, and textiles, all of which appear in Dutch portraits. For example, Ferdinand Bol's (1616-1680) portrait of Michiel de Ruyter (1667) depicts the sitter wearing a chain he was given by the French ambassador on behalf of Louis XIV and a sword gifted to him by the Amsterdam Admiralty (Figure 4-41). Interestingly, de Ruyter proceeded to have numerous copies of this portrait made and given to the admiralty chambers of the Dutch navy. He, in turn, accepted presents from the recipients, including a Blaeu atlas.[63] Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) depicted Mattheus van den Broucke with a gold chain and medal given

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ring. In due time, Lady Killigrew sent Dorothea a few pieces of jewelry, in response to her request for a gift. Dorothea reciprocated by sending Lady Killigrew an amber bracelet. Is there any visual evidence of this exchange? Do any amber bracelets appear in portraits of Lady Killigrew, at least those that can be identified as depicting her? To my knowledge, no portrait of Lady Killigrew wearing an amber bracelet survives, though innumerable pictures of Dutch burgher women wearing gold rings are known. Even so, an object as ubiquitous as a gold ring is difficult to identify as a gift. Irma Thoen, *Strategic Affection? Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 9.

[61] As an example of the kind of connection that could be drawn, but is impossible to verify, Brienen suggests that it is possible Mary Stuart (Figure 4-41) was given a Tupi feathered cape by Johan Maurits van Nassau. Rebecca Parker Brienen, "Dressing Up Like the Cannibals? Adriaen Hanneman's Portrait of Princess Mary Stuart in a Tupi Feather Cape," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton, Australia: Miegunyah Press, 2009), 288. Such a proposition makes sense in light of the court's interest in exotic objects and Johan Maurits' employment of items from his Brazilian campaign in gift exchange.

[62] Other examples are Jan Baptist Weenix's depiction of Johan van Twist during the blockade of Goa, in which he wears a golden cape that was given to him by the sultan (c. 1650, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and an anonymous portrait of Sayfudin, King of Tidore, who wears a gold chain over his body, a gift from the VOC that was likely an exotic gift from his point of view (c. 1675, Krakow, Museum Czartoryski). See also Jan de Baen's *Portrait of Johan Maurits, Count of Nassau-Siegen*, c. 1668, discussed in chapter 2 (Figure 2-31).

[63] Broos and Suchtelen, *Portraits in the Mauritshuis*, 42-6.

to him by the VOC in his 1672 portrait (Figure 4-42). Both paintings were evidently intended to glorify the abilities of the sitters and their activities overseas, while also helping them increase social capital in their communities and careers. Anna's portrait is similar in the sense of the sitter's assertiveness, standing position, and formal elements that direct attention to a valuable exotic gift. Male sitters' exploitation of their portraits to buoy up their reputations inflects Anna's portrait with a similar function, as it provided her a public image, possibly included in the ancestor gallery, that spoke to her status as heiress. These examples of portraits with sitters and gifts help to indicate once more the exceptional nature of Anna's portrayal, as hers is a rare identifiable example of a woman evoking a gift, while also drawing on other facets of male portraiture.

A Flexible Portrait: Contexts, Public and Private Spheres, and Audience

Discussing the relationship of Anna's picture to the *ahnengalerie* and portraits including gifts helps to explain many of its characteristics, but consideration of the social, political and familial contexts of Slot Zuylen illuminates the reasons for her prominent display of a possible exotic gift in her public image. Scholars who discuss the lives of seventeenth-century nobility, with some mention of the lives of women, indicate the varied spheres of life in which these women lived.[64] A Dutch noblewoman juggled responsibilities to her family and the family into

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[64] Investigating the lives of female nobility is one of the undercurrents of Sherrin Marshall's book, as she uses primary documents and historical sources to develop a better understanding of women in the Dutch gentry. She emphasizes the lack of defined spheres for their influence, as they acted in public and private contexts. Significant in understanding Anna's portrait, Marshall also states that Dutch gentry women, "framed their identities as they chose, through their families of birth or through their families of marriage. In short, they were individuals and not ciphers, and their behavior exemplifies a society where women had considerable autonomy," in *Dutch Gentry*, 164. Also see a growing body of literature in which scholars take up the issue of the role of noblewomen in their families and communities, providing more questions than answers, but considering these women nonetheless, in Maarten Duijvendak, "Elite Families between Private and Public Life: Some Trends and Theses," in *Private Domain, Public Inquiry: Families and Life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the Present*, ed. Anton Schuurman, *Publikaties van de faculteit der historische en kunstwetenschappen* (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 1996), 72-88; Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Laitin and George Steinmetz, The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

which she married, dealt with children, inheritances, and the preservation or recreation of the family fortune, secured status and social capital in communities and the political realm, and ran complicated households, all the while being conscious of lineage and duties to past, present, and future generations. These tasks, some of which occurred in the domestic space and others in the world outside of Slot Zuylen, cross the nebulous boundary between private and public. Anna's particular situation necessitated her involvement in all of these realms, bringing her into contact with members of the House of Orange, the local Protestant minister and his wife, famous persons in her extended family, merchant-class, new moneyed neighbors, and regents of Amsterdam.[65] These individuals would most likely have seen, discussed, and judged her portrait, her primary tool for the formation and expression of her identity. It needed to be able to communicate her identity to each of these diverse groups, requiring the picture to possess a multivalent character. Thus, in designing the portrait, she and Hoet actively formed a flexible identity for the sitter. The Japanese robe she wears expresses many possible significances: that she was a wealthy enough individual to afford to purchase such an often gifted garment, that she was a recipient of a gift gown, that she was connected to Dutch international trade, or some combination. Varied audiences of the work both demanded and afforded multiple readings of Anna's portrait, helping to explain its prominent incorporation of an exotic item.

In addition to functioning in multiple contexts, the portrait performed in both the private and public spheres, as did Anna. She had a role to play not only in her family, but also in her community and in interactions with political officials who entered her home. The possibility that

[65] Anna's husband was a deputy of the States of Utrecht and the family had close ties to the House of Orange. Portraits of members of the House of Orange, such as Frederick Hendrik, Amalia van Solms, and William the Silent, are included in the family collection, possibly continuing a wider cultural practice of hanging depictions of political leaders, nobility, or royalty within the context of family portraits to indicate allegiance. For information on this practice, see John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses*, Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2000).

her portrait was included in the ancestor gallery, a space used by Hendrik as a waiting room for guests, bolsters the public nature of her picture. Further, its size and stately, aristocratic character underscore its public function. Still, members of the family, including her children, extended family, and descendents would also have seen and understood Anna through her image. Thus, the portrait, as did many of the time, functioned as a public and private expression of identity.[66] The formal and informal nature of the Japanese robe bolsters the multivalent character of the work, heightening the portrait's ability to function in the private and public spheres.

Literature about undress indicates that nobility in Europe, to which the Dutch increasingly turned in their portraiture trends, used its casual and revealing nature to indicate status, as it demonstrated that the noble sitter was not obliged to follow the same rules of dress and decorum as the viewer.[67] The overtones of undress in Anna's portrait, in the low neckline and *décolletage*, and the loose gown she wears heighten the work's expression of the sitter's social status. At the same time, the employment of a Japanese robe places the work between the private and public realms, as contemporary literature indicates some controversy in the wearing of this garment in both spheres. [68] The contested nature of the Japanese robe meant that it could

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[66] Refer to Ann Jensen Adams' discussion of portraits in the formation and expression of identity, in particular her suggestion that "portraits provide some of the terms through which individuals understand themselves and their relation to others" (23). She also considers the various persons involved in forming the identity of a sitter in the personal and public realms. Ann Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 21-26 and chapter 6.

[67] DeMarly, "Undress," 750; Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2005), 283; Ashelford, *Art of Dress*, 98-99.

[68] Marieke de Winkel discusses the gradual acceptance of the tabbard as an appropriate garment for certain occupations, indicating its suitability as a public gaeb and as appropriate wear for sitters who worked in academia, law, and the church, because it possessed an air of dignity and gravitas, in de Winkel, "Tabbard." Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder and Breukink-Peeze both mention varied accounts of controversies related to the Japanese robe's appearance in public, most of which date from the eighteenth century. From their description, it seems that the garment began as more public wear for men in the seventeenth century, while over the course of the eighteenth century, it became an article of clothing to be worn at home with family. Even at the turn of the eighteenth century

appear as a dressing gown, as a garment in which a professor would teach, or as dress in which one would receive guests. Even with the Japanese robe's appearance of partial undress, it was used extensively in Dutch portraiture as a formal garment for usually male portraits.[69] Anna and Hoet chose the ideal garment to express her identity in both the private and public spheres and communicate with a wide audience, as the work draws on undress in female portraiture and the formal wear of male sitters, all embodied in one particular garment.

Adding to the portrait's flexibility, it also spoke to a varied audience, many of whom employed a costume similar to Anna's Japanese robe in their own portraits or made their fortunes by trading with the areas of the world evoked by Anna's dress. Both before and after the *rampjaar* of the French invasion in 1672, wealthy Amsterdammers and those from other cities purchased homes formerly of the nobility surrounding Utrecht to use as country houses. These residences gave the owners an escape from city life, while also allowing many of them to extend their political and economic influence by gaining titles and land.[70] By virtue of their

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in England, a female sitter's depiction in a morning gown, a garment similar to but distinct from the Japanese robe, may have been seen as flagrant in its presentation of a sitter in such a state of undress. Ribeiro indicates that women owned the gowns, but were not often painted in them at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in *Fashion and Fiction,* 288-89. In Anna's time, the garment could be suitable for both the domestic and worldly realms, although it would increasingly become a garment to be worn at home over the next hundred years. The public and private spheres were in flux during the seventeenth century, with rooms in houses serving multiple functions. Privacy was a trend of eighteenth-century European society.

[69] In the recent catalogue of the Frans van Mieris exhibition at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. and the Mauritshuis in The Hague, Quentin Buvelot characterizes the dress of the male sitter in a pendant portrait wearing a Japanese robe as informal and casual. I disagree with this assessment. The female sitter in this pendant wears fashionable, formal clothing. Portraiture scholarship observes that pendants match in tone, composition, costume, and formality. Buvelot's arguing that a man is dressed informally because he is wearing a Japanese robe improperly places perceptions of female undress in portraiture on the garment of a male sitter. Instead, the Japanese robe should be treated as an expression of formality and status. Quentin Buvelot, *Frans van Mieris, 1635-1681* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, in association with the National Gallery of Art and the Mauritshuis, 2005), cat. 44, 197-99.

[70] The van Reede family was at the height of their power in the late seventeenth century, although they overextended themselves financially through extensive construction, beautification, and decoration projects. They held offices in the States General and were members of the Equestrian Order, a body their new moneyed neighbors desired to join, as discussed by Heniger, *Hendrik Adriaan*, chapter 1, 57. For accounts of the purchase of country houses in the Utrecht area, see Gary Schwartz, "Jan van der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarsseveen," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983): 197-220; H.F.K. van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland, From Knights to Regents 1500-1650*, ed. J.H. Elliott, trans. Maarten Ultee, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Marshall, *Dutch Gentry*. Huydecoper's Goudestein and Anna's Slot Zuylen

societal status and commercial connections, they would have been familiar with the format and use of undress to express Anna's noble rank, and also the portrait's striking display of a costume evocative of an exotic gift. Portrayals of men wearing Japanese robes, as discussed, depict sitters who built their fortunes as merchants, those who inherited their fortunes, and those who, after acquiring wealth, attempted to emulate the remaining members of the Dutch nobility, like Anna's family. Although both men and women wore Japanese robes in actuality, Anna's portrait breaks with convention in having *herself* shown in a Japanese robe. As such, the portrait would have created a commonality between her and male viewers, especially her neighbors involved in global trade.[71] In this way, Anna's picture clearly communicated with them, in employing an element common in their own depictions and indeed in their business activities. The Japanese robe would likely have evoked Dutch global trade and the prosperous economic activities that allowed these men to purchase their houses and titles in the first place. Moreover, the exotic gift Anna wears could speak to the worldly interests of the old moneyed Dutch nobility, the new moneyed, like the Huydecopers of Maarssen, and Anna's extended family. In this way, the

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were some of the homes spared destruction in the French invasion, as the owners paid the French forces not to destroy the houses. Many of the homes of Anna's extended family were destroyed in the *rampjaar*.

[71] A debate in the literature considers whether the relationship between the elite Dutch burghers and the Dutch gentry was positive, negative, competitive, or a combination of these characteristics. Schwartz specifically considers the Huydecopers' knowledge of and competition with local families, including the van Reedes. There was a great deal of contact between these two seemingly distinct groups, although they sometimes disagreed about land and property boundaries. For example, Amsterdam burgomaster Joan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen II was a director of the VOC and owner of Goudestein, a new country estate just a mile and a half from Slot Zuylen, which his father had built, as discussed by Schwartz, "Jan van der Heyden." Joan Huydecoper was a collector of exotic plants, which, in addition to his work for the VOC, brought him into contact with Anna's relative and houseguest Hendrik Adriaan van Reede, her step-mother's brother. Hendrik Adriaan dedicated Volume 3 of his *Hortus Malabaricus* to Joan Huydecoper and Volume 4 to Anna's husband, Hendrik Jacob. Comparing the material culture of the elite burghers to the nobility reveals many similarities in their purchases and commissions to decorate their homes, including the creation of ancestor galleries, the acquisition and use of textiles, and the presence of porcelain. Even so, their habits were different enough from each other to maintain distinction between classes. See Meierink and Bakker, "Utrecht Elite"; Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, "Noblesse Oblige. Material Culture of the Nobility in Holland," in *Private Domain, Public Inquiry: Families and Life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the Present*, ed. Anton Schuurman, Publikaties van de faculteit der historische en kunstwetenschappen (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 1996), 122-24.

portrait exists in a nebulous liminal space between *burgherlijk*, that is the new moneyed neighbors who desired noble status, and the nobility.

Women and the Exotic

Anna's portrait, when considered within the wider context of global trade and her close contemporaries' involvement with Dutch overseas enterprises, expresses the possibility of her having developed a taste for the exotic, a taste she held in common with her male neighbors and relatives.[72] As part of the refurbishment of Anna's home, the family started a collection of Chinese porcelain, some of which survives at Slot Zuylen today.[73] Although it is unclear how much Anna contributed to the growth of the collection, the acquisition of exotic objects, whether by her inclination or her husband, brought her into contact with exotic goods and presumably their sellers. In addition to her possible exotic tastes, Anna also was concerned with education, as surviving receipts in the Huis Zuilen archive indicate that she took lessons of some kind from a male tutor during her young adult years, even after her premature marriage.[74] Perhaps Anna's portrait in some way connoted her own interests in the increasingly popular Dutch exotic and in education, especially in light of the clear connection of the Japanese robe to the scholarly activities of male sitters. Hoet's portrait links Anna with erudition, learning, and the global, public realm of international trade in exotic goods. Conceivably the inclusion of the gown was

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[72] It seems that Anna's female neighbors also developed a taste for the exotic and that they had seen her portrait. For an example of one of her neighbors emulating her painting's exotic costume, showing the public knowledge of Hoet's depiction of Anna, see Michiel Gillig's portrait of Geertruij ter Borch, wife of Lucas van de Poll, a minister in Utrecht (1681, Utrecht, Centraal Museum). Anna's portrait became the image her descendents would have seen of her, as it was adapted for her depiction in a family genealogy book produced at about the time of Hendrik Jacob's death in 1692 (Figure 4-18). Anna's use of exotic dress is part of a wider cultural trend of women's interest in and consumption of exotic objects, as seen in the lives and contributions of Agnes Block, Amalia van Solms and her daughters, and the numerous casual comments in scholarship of a woman here or there in the seventeenth-century Netherlands who collected porcelain, raised tulips, or grew pineapples. Anna's exotic interests serve as another example of a swell of women whose desire for exotic goods was part of the fuel of the Dutch economy, as discussed by Peacock, "Early Modern Dutch Women," 683-89.

[73] Kuiper mentioned this lost collection during our March 2010 interview at Slot Zuylen, Oud Zuilen, Utrecht, Netherlands.

[74] For documents related to Anna's lessons, see the Utrechts Archief, Archief van het huis Zuilen, 76, inv. no. 931.

an expression of her own interests, as much as her desire to compete with the men and her extended family who saw her portrait.

Anna's exotic inclinations could also be representative of a growing body of women in the Netherlands who were drawn to exotic material, engaging with it in a variety of fashions. Her portrait relates specifically to a small, but special, class of images depicting women with distinctive exotic objects. For example, Agnes Block, Anna's neighbor who lived a few miles up the Vecht River from Slot Zuylen, received international praise for her success in growing a pineapple in the damp, cold Netherlandish climate.[75] Her exotic interests appear in her family portrait, as she proudly displays her abilities to cultivate a special foreign object by virtue of the portrayal of a pineapple in the left foreground (Figure 4-43). Mary Stuart, another monarchial figure who lived in The Hague and the daughter-in-law of Amalia van Solms, appears in a posthumous portrait (c. 1664) by Adriaen Hanneman (1603-1671) wearing a fabulous feather drape from South America (Figure 4-44). Her son, William III, commissioned this portrait commemorating his mother's interests in exotic objects.[76] Louise Hollandine (1622-1709), a Bohemian princess living in The Hague, depicted her sister Sophie (c. 1644) with a similar feathered item and costume, standing in front of a palm tree, providing another example of a female sitter expressing her affection for the exotic (Figure 4-45). Further examples visualizing women engaging with exotic objects appear in genre images, including that of Cornelis de Man. His depiction of a curiosities dealer (c. 1660) specializing in the sale of exotic objects for collection portrays not men as possible purchasers, but women (Figure 1-25).

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[75] For discussion of Agnes Block's pineapple triumph, see Erik de Jong, "For Profit and Ornament: The Function and Meaning of Dutch Garden Art in the Period of William and Mary 1650-1702," in *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 19.
[76] Brienen postulates that Hanneman's portrait in the Mauritshuis collection is a copy of a portrait commissioned by William III's grandmother Amalia van Solms that was painted during Mary Stuart's lifetime, in "Dressing Up," 286.

In addition to showing their engagement with the exotic in their portraiture, women incorporated the exotic into their individual sense of identity. Amalia van Solms, whose portraits decorated the walls of Anna's home, amassed a huge collection of exotic material, including porcelain, lacquered objects, and other unique pieces.[77] Many of these objects were given to her by family members, nobility, European monarchs, and trading companies, providing numerous significant episodes of exotic gift exchange. She even commissioned a visual parade of some of these exotic objects, including a suit of Japanese armor given to her husband, Stadhouder Frederick Henry, in the hall of the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague (See the top of Figure 3-16). After her death, as per her expressed wishes, her collection of porcelain and other objects was divided up between her daughters, who clearly had developed similar exotic tastes to their mother.[78] Her daughters, including Maria of Orange whose portrait in a man's riding costume was discussed earlier (Figure 4-34), proceeded to augment their mother's collections by continuing to acquire exotic objects and display them in *kunstkamer*-like contexts.[79]

Other real life examples of women identifying with or making their livings through commerce in exotic material, including non-noblewomen, are gradually coming to light. For example, Margrieta van Varick (1649-1695) was born in Amsterdam in 1649, but lived in Malacca and finally settled in colonial New York in 1685.[80] She ran a shop selling textiles, while also showcasing the exotic objects she had collected through her husband's VOC

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[77] For discussion of Amalia's collection, see C. Willemijn Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendour and the Triumph of Porcelain," in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia van Solms in The Hague,* ed. Marlies Enklaar (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1997), 76-86.
[78] For information about the distribution of Amalia's collection, refer to Carola Vermeeren, "'*For the Perservation of her Legacy*' The Vicissitudes of Frederick Henry and Amalia van Solms' Collection of Paintings," in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia van Solms in The Hague,* ed. Marlies Enklaar (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers; The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1997), 61-75.
[79] Each of Amalia's four daughters designed and installed porcelain rooms in their homes, evocative of their mother's similar such space that showcased her exotic gifts. Fock, "Apartments," 84.
[80] Deborah L. Krohn and Peter N. Miller, eds., *Dutch New York Between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick* (New York: Bard Graduate Center; New York: The New York Historical Society; New Haven: Yale University Press: 2009).

connections. Like other women, she spent time outside of the Netherlands married to a VOC officer, but turned her knowledge and connections into a business marketing exotic objects. Margrieta's case is particularly special, as unlike other women engaged in similar activities, her collection was fully inventoried at her death, and the records of that accounting survive.[81] Another example of a woman who used the exotic in her livelihood, the renowned Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717) made a career out of studying, depicting, and selling images of exotic flora and fauna, sharing her skills with her daughter who continued working with exotic material, giving her latitude to pursue her artistic activities and make a living.[82]

Anna's allying herself with an exotic object in her public and private expression of identity draws from and contributes to a rising tide of Dutch women or Netherlandish residents who were also linking themselves, their identities, their livelihoods, and their gift-giving practices with exotic material and goods. Although the examples just discussed do not deal expressly with exotic gift giving, they do lend credence to the argument that the collection, display, and gifting of exotic objects provided women with a sphere of action separate from the more patriarchal mechanisms of Dutch society, on which Anna drew in her portrait. The newness of Dutch engagement with the wider global world created a fresh, unformulated territory for women, giving them a realm in which they could act with greater autonomy. They could collect, sell, and exchange exotic objects that were previously under the sole purview of nobility and royalty. Further, they could clothe themselves with exotic garments that were more commonly associated with the activities of men. Drawing on the exotic in carving out their own

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[81] The inventory of Margrieta van Varick's possessions dated 1695-97 is in the New York State Archives, as reproduced and transcribed in Krohn and Miller, *Margrieta*, 342-63.

[82] See Ella Reitsma's recent study that focuses on Maria, her daughters, and their business, in Ella Reitsma, *Maria Sibylla Merian and Daughters: Women of Art and Science* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2008).

territories of influence and power gave women latitude they did not necessarily have in the more engrained elements of Dutch society.

Conclusion

Anna and Hoet created the ideal portrait for her situation. She was an heiress, whose estate was controlled by her husband and father. In a rather tenuous and likely stressful environment in her home, Anna had to be careful and purposeful in the fashioning of her public and private portrait, one of her statements of identity. As her position demanded, the picture needed to be able to communicate with many different audiences, including family, political figures, local visitors, and new moneyed neighbors. Consequently, the painting had to speak about status, wealth, and hallmark female virtues, but ended up accomplishing something richer than giving her a stock, generic character so common in portrayals of women of her rank and time. The prominent inclusion of a garment that spoke to exotic gifting endowed her portrait with distinctive flexibility it would not have had if it had conformed to contemporary portraiture conventions.

In part by employing an exotic object, Anna and Hoet created a more multi-layered, complex presentation of identity than did portraits that adhere to strict gender norms, permitting a fluid or fluctuating character existing between private and public, *burgherlijk* and elite, and male and female. The striking presence of a Japanese robe helped her portrait straddle a line between genders, as Hoet judiciously merged elements of female portraiture with a garment normally reserved for single male sitters. Hoet's portrait of Anna in part masculinizes the sitter, endowing her with the status of her male contemporaries by virtue of her connection to the exotic, as it is used to solidify Anna's claim to a prominent role in the ancestor gallery. As such, her portrait could compete on a more even footing with those of the male ancestors in the gallery

of her family home. By including an exotic gift in such a prominent fashion, the artist and sitter rooted her in a network of exchange, be it receipt of a gift from a male relative, reflective of connections to Dutch international trade in a male context, or receipt of a valuable gift from a powerful female relative.

The clear alliance Anna and Hoet drew between the sitter and the Dutch exotic connects her to a group of women whose interactions with the exotic garnered many of them fame and public reputations, providing all of them spheres of action not widely available to women. In this way, perhaps Anna was able to live out some of the autonomy she wished for herself, but lacked as a result of her particular circumstances. When placed in the gallery of male ancestors in Slot Zuylen, Anna's portrait showed how she and the artist used the Japanese robe as a signifier of her place in the family as the heiress of Slot Zuylen. The portrait drew on the significance of a presumed exotic gift to express a flexible and commanding identity for the sitter.

Conclusion—
Missing Evidence: The Future of the Study of Exotic Gifts and Art in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

The paintings and prints discussed in this dissertation explore the intersections between exotic gift exchange and Dutch art. Through these four case studies, a variety of aspects of that interconnectedness have received attention, indicating the strengths and weaknesses of the dissertation and potential future research that may derive from it.

The analysis of Rembrandt van Rijn's print shows how an etching portraying a foreign shell could function as both an exotic gift and as a commodity. Considering the image as an exotic gift speaks to the wide interest the exotic elicited in seventeenth-century Amsterdam and its ability to appeal in myriad ways to a varied group of individuals. The artist's tailoring of his work to suit the tastes and preferences of his circle of supporters illustrates the high degree of personalization common in Dutch gifting. The *Shell* also demonstrates the flexible character of the exotic gift in Dutch culture, in its ability to take on multiple meanings for a range of viewers.

The cultural biography of two landscape paintings of Brazil by Frans Post also focuses on the elasticity of the exotic nature of the artist's work to adapt to the particular penchants of an array of people. For the Dutch, the pictures spoke to overseas commercial ventures that were an intrinsic part of culture and prosperity. To Johan Maurits, the paintings evidenced Dutch appreciation for his leadership and accomplishments. After their transformation as exotic gifts and receipt by Louis XIV, the flexibility of Post's chosen Brazilian scenes set during Johan Maurits' rule expressed Dutch identity to such a degree that they were ultimately rejected. Even though not intended by the artist to be gifted, in their rebirth as exotic gifts, Post's paintings carried Dutchness to the French court by virtue of their subject matter, style, association with Johan Maurits, and previous ownership by a diverse Dutch audience. They also demonstrate the

Dutch consumption of the imaged exotic and the synthesis of familiar and foreign in the portrayal of the Brazilian environment according to the tenets of the Dutch landscape tradition.

Nicolaes Berchem's visualization in the *Harbor Scene* of a proposed exotic gift exchange imbues the practice with trade and commercialism, as he depicts an allegorical presentation scene in which a stand-in for the non-European world pays homage to Amsterdam by offering an exotic gift evocative of the bounty of the continents. His painting speaks to an oft-repeated narrative produced for both private and public consumption in Amsterdam that stressed the city's status as the hub of world trade and its citizens' resultant prosperity. The *Harbor Scene* visualizes the exotic gift as the facilitator of trade, evoking actual business practices and a utopian economy. Although likely commissioned by a merchant, VOC or WIC employee, or political leader, the painting draws on a popular discourse in which exotic gifting embodied city identity and economic success.

Gerard Hoet's *Portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede* provides a late-century example of a possible exotic gift used to communicate the sitter's identity and status. The practice of exotic gifting to bring about overseas commerce and establish favorable operating conditions for the VOC at home was so entrenched in the Dutch Republic that the portrayal of a version of a Japanese gift-gown invoked popular knowledge of exotic gifts' commercial utility. In doing so, the sitter and artist used an exotic gift to present an empowered image of Anna to her family, friends, and neighbors, relying on Dutch society's breadth of knowledge and experience of the exotic and associated gifts to communicate Anna's status.

As examined in these examples, the scope of the intersection between exotic gifts and art in the seventeenth-century United Provinces is not as completely representative as one would expect considering how greatly the exotic was intertwined with Dutch culture, society, and

identity. These works of art provide essential information about this juncture, but do not reflect the full extent of exotic gifting in the Dutch Republic. They neither represent the gifting practices of the lower classes nor characterize the degree of exotic gift exchange involving women. Two of the works of art considered, Berchem's allegorical image and Hoet's portrait, were produced in the context of nobility or the upper classes, although the varied strata of society likely viewed them. Only the portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede potentially relates directly to a woman's engagement with exotic gifts, even though archival records do show that women of many classes employed such foreign presents. In these ways, this dissertation perpetuates some of the issues in the study of art and gifting in early modern Europe that were discussed in the introduction, namely the skewed nature of the field in directing attention to men and the upper classes or nobility.

However, the episodes of exotic gift exchange and their visual evidence examined in this study do unearth a significant undercurrent of Dutch culture that had not been investigated previously. First, these case studies focus on artistic gift exchange and the particulars of the Dutch gift system, a product of the first modern and consumer-driven economy in the Western world. Moreover, this study highlights the place of the exotic in Dutch gifting and stresses the significance of foreign influences in the formation of Dutch culture and identity. Most significantly, this dissertation directs attention to a component of the United Provinces' visual culture and society that has remained untouched in scholarship, the interconnectedness of exotic gifting and Dutch art.

The paintings and prints discussed in this study show the entrance of exotic gifts into multiple new genres of art, including still-life and landscape, while also appearing in Dutch adaptations of allegorical and portrait imagery. Even with this wide depiction of exotic gifts in

art, they played a larger role in society and culture than they did in the identifiable artistic examples, which draw on the practice of the exchange of exotic items. Evidence in surviving primary documents for the presence of such exotic objects in the Dutch gift economy indicates that women and men of multiple classes participated in the exchange of these items that were well known and thoroughly integrated into Dutch society and commerce. The manifestation of the juncture between exotic gifting and art is less apparent or difficult to identify for contemporary researchers, but likely not so for seventeenth-century viewers. If such common items as sugar, tulip bulbs, and sugar boxes were exchanged as gifts, then countless works of art sold at fairs, markets, by lottery, or acquired in other manners in the Dutch Republic could evoke exotic gifts, given or received, for their purchasers and viewers. Although perhaps not intended to visualize exotic gifting by their creators, such pictures could still evoke exotic gift exchange for their audiences because of exotic gifts' entrenchment in Dutch society. They were prevalent as commercial goods and played a key role in the establishment of Dutch identity.

However, even with the inclusion of works of art, which potentially evoked exotic gift exchange for a seventeenth-century audience, the possibility remains that Dutch art does not accurately reflect the true expansiveness of the exotic's role in gifting in the Dutch Republic. If so, exotic gift exchange joins other aspects of Dutch life that are either absent in the surviving visual record or presented in a manner that does not engage with reality. Perhaps the missing appearance of many exotic gifts in Dutch art provides another example of the selectivity that is so pervasive in the visual culture of the United Provinces.

Directing attention in this dissertation to an unusual group of images in seventeenth-century Dutch art provides the foundation for future studies of art's manifestations of exotic gifting in the Dutch Republic. Over the course of this research endeavor, I have found multiple

additional instances of the interconnectedness of exotic gift exchange and art in the United Provinces that are outside the parameters of this dissertation. Many of these potential examples relate to women as givers or receivers. For example, Amalia van Solms was a frequent player in the exotic gift economy of the Dutch Republic, amassing a collection of gifted objects, which she, in turn, gave to members of her family throughout her life and after her death. Studying Hoet's portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede attuned me to many other portraits, especially those of military leaders or trading companies' employees, who wear gifts, some considered exotic according to this study's definition of the term, in their fashioned images. Also intriguing is the employment of portraits, which occasionally include elements evocative of the exotic foundation of Dutch culture, as gifts in the social realm and diplomatic activities of the Dutch Republic. These other examples of the incorporation of exotic gifts broaden the group of images highlighted in this study and further visualize the entrance of the exotic into the Dutch gift system. In addition, directing such concentrated attention to the place of the exotic in the gift economy and visual culture of the Dutch Republic makes one intrigued about the possibility that exotic gifts entered the pictorial history of other countries, and, if so, how that appearance heightens or diminishes the exceptional character of their manifestation in the art of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

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