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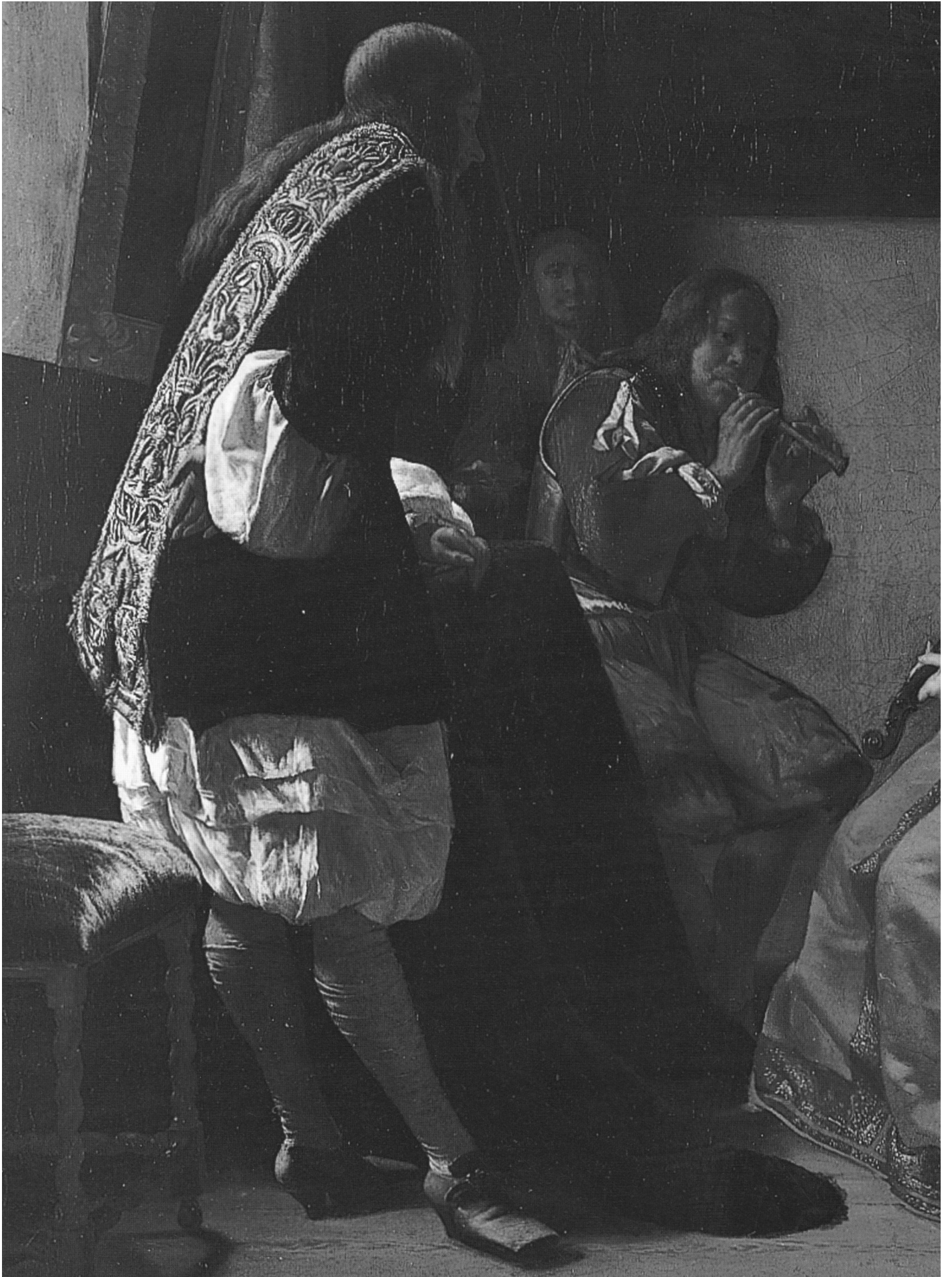
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‘For people of fashion’

Domestic imagery and the art market in the Dutch Republic

Wayne Franits

In no small measure seventeenth-century Dutch paintings of the home have come to define our notion of domestic life in the Netherlands during the early modern period.¹ The aura cast by domestic imagery over the viewer today belies the fact that such pictures only began to be produced in significant numbers after a de facto peace was formally ratified with the Spanish at the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648. Obviously, the concept of domesticity was not suddenly invented at the conclusion of the war. Many of the familial notions current at that time had actually originated during the preceding century if not earlier.² Literature focusing upon the topics of marriage and the family was already in print by the early 1520s, often in the form of published sermons. However, what began initially as a small trickle of publications would culminate in the exhaustive domestic conduct books that appeared towards the end of the sixteenth, and well into the seventeenth century.³ By the middle of the seventeenth century, the concept of domesticity must have become widespread, pervading all strata of the population.⁴ This is confirmed by the existence of literally hundreds of Dutch paintings of domestic themes, although the majority of these postdate 1650. This article investigates the rise of domestic imagery as it supplanted pictorial themes that had been popular earlier in the century. Moreover, it explores how these paintings of domesticity emerged in response to the demands of increasingly affluent buyers who were self-consciously cultivating notions of civility.

To identify the factors that fostered the rise in domestic imagery around mid-century we must turn specifically to the question of the market, that somewhat nebulous term used to describe those persons or groups who purchased works of art in the Dutch Republic. Since artists worked for the market, that is for specific patrons or for an unknown audience on speculation, by necessity they produced their paintings with consideration for the tastes and expectations of their audiences. Despite the objections of some art historians to this line of reasoning, there is ample evidence that artists and art theorists were conscious of the market.⁵ Franciscus Junius (1589-1677), for example, pointed out in his *De schilderconst der oude* that ‘Whoever dares to promise himself the good favor of coming centuries, the same must paint well and fittingly not only according to his own judgement but also to that of

detail

Jacob Ochtervelt, *Musical company in an interior*, c 1670, oil on canvas, 151.1 x 128.3 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art (photo: Copyright The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2000, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1991.23).

art-savvy connoisseurs'.⁶ Philips Angel (ca. 1618-after 1664), in his *Lof der schilderconst*, also had prospective buyers in mind when he exhorted painters to impart a 'decorative richness' to their works in order to make them more marketable:

How necessary it is for a painter to pay good heed to this can be detected from the stimulating affections it awakens in the breasts of art lovers. One sees this daily in those who enrich their paintings and works with it, drawing the delighted eye of art lovers eagerly to their works, with the result that paintings sell more readily.⁷

Junius's and Angel's advice may have been ideal but it was undoubtedly followed. Neil de Marchi's and Hans van Miegroet's recent, fascinating study of the art trade between Antwerp and Paris in the mid-seventeenth century clearly corroborates this.⁸ Specifically, De Marchi and Van Miegroet explored how art dealers in Antwerp, through their Parisian agents, were able to create niches for Flemish pictures in the French capital despite the predominant French taste for Italian art. Even though the painters supplying the pictures in Antwerp were ultimately working on speculation for buyers whom they had never met, they modified their work at the request of the dealers to make it more appealing and marketable.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet discuss one memorable order for pictures submitted in March 1663 by the Paris-based art dealer Jean-Michel Picart to his Antwerp supplier, Matthijs Musson.⁹ Picart, a native of Antwerp, requested two major adjustments, both stylistic and thematic, to paintings that would eventually be shipped to him: first, these pictures were to be 'suyver geschildert' (cleanly painted), with a high degree of finish – presumably in contrast to what Picart perceived to be the typically Flemish, wet-on-wet application of muddy colors.¹⁰ Picart's second stipulation concerned subject matter and its representation: he wanted nothing that was potentially frightening or offensive through its vulgarity or crudity.¹¹ Thus, his order for twelve animal pictures by Jan van Kessel II (1626-79) should not include bats, crocodiles, and the like, but instead innocuous birds and fish.¹² Moreover, Picart specified that Abraham Willemsen (active 1627-72) should adjust the faces of figures in his religious paintings to make them less plump, for fear that they would be too peasant-like and indelicate.¹³

The analysis of De Marchi and Van Miegroet, though concerned primarily with art dealers as intermediaries in the market, affords insights into the indirect yet decisive influence of anonymous Parisian audiences upon painters. Certainly, a similar dynamic was at work between artists and audiences in the Netherlands, regardless of whether the latter were anonymous or composed of identifiable patrons.¹⁴ Who specifically were these audiences? In terms of the types of pictures discussed in this article, namely, moderately expensive to exorbitant ones of uncompromisingly high quality, the clients were mostly (though not exclusively) members of the social and cultural elite: the aristocracy, patricians, wealthy merchants and the upper middle-class.¹⁵

These affluent citizens grew even wealthier after the aforementioned Treaty of Münster was ratified in 1648.¹⁶ The treaty finally put an end to

more than twenty-five years of Spanish efforts to curtail Dutch maritime trade through embargoes and privateering. Likewise, the war's end witnessed the cessation of Dutch-Spanish hostilities in the New World, and a steep drop in Dutch freight charges and marine insurance rates. These beneficial changes, which adversely affected Dutch commercial rivals such as the English, naturally led to extraordinary economic growth in the Republic though largely in the province of Holland with its many ports. Indeed the nation's economic vigor would reach its apogee within a few short years.

For many regents or patricians, the accumulation of spectacular fortunes would gradually translate into a wholesale adaptation of lifestyles earlier associated almost exclusively with the country's small aristocracy. This phenomenon, commonly termed aristocratization, provided yet another manner in which members of the patriciate could assert and maintain their distance as a distinct group from their social inferiors.¹⁷ Although aristocratization was already underway by the end of the sixteenth century it crystallized during the economically heady years following the Treaty of Münster.¹⁸

Pivotal to these changes was the so-called civilizing process, a cultural phenomenon so brilliantly discerned and analyzed by Norbert Elias.¹⁹ Elias coined the term 'civilizing process' to describe a phenomenon in the early modern period by which the upper classes – whom I will call elites – gradually evolved particular codes of manners, gestures, dress, and bodily carriage, thereby shaping a distinguished and distinctive deportment essential to their self-image in society at large. Thus in the Dutch Republic, like all hierarchically structured societies of the day, elites utilized concepts of civility to designate in a broad or narrow sense the special qualities of their own conduct, and to emphasize the refinement of that conduct, that is, their 'standards', in contradistinction to those of purportedly simpler, socially inferior people. Elite members of society ideologically consolidated their class status by projecting a sense of cultural superiority in their taste in art, literature and theater.²⁰ They also flaunted their supposed supremacy via ever-increasing self-control over, among other things, many aspects of public life including general comportment and even table manners.²¹ The refinement of these communal or public aspects of behavior led to the relegation of many overtly indecorous acts to the hitherto scarcely extant private sphere, for instance, care for the body and its natural functions.²²

At this time, the concept of privacy was itself evolving in a complicated, dialectical exchange with notions of the public.²³ As a result of the growing influence of civility in the public sphere, the private realm in all of its manifestations from the base to the sublime was undergoing dramatic evolution.²⁴ An intrinsic component of this evolution was an increasing valuation of domesticity, which focused on behaviors that are both appropriate and desirable in the private sphere of the home.²⁵ In this sense, it is difficult to dissociate contemporary notions of domesticity from those of civility and privacy.

Emerging concepts of civility exerted a great impact on Dutch society and culture. An example drawn from the latter is noteworthy because it simultaneously sheds further light on the gradual transformation of genre painting, which commenced around mid-century. Here I am thinking of

the theater. Early seventeenth-century theatrical performances comprised tragedies, tragi-comedies and highly popular farces. The latter were striking for their vulgarity. The plots of farces – and this is easily confirmed by their printed versions – often involved such unsavory characters as prostitutes and other wanton women, thieves, swindlers, and wastrels.²⁶ Indeed the spicy language, risqué songs, and provocative scenarios that were inherent to these stage productions led theater historians, up until recently, to conclude that farces must have been intended for the lower classes as opposed to elite audiences. However, recent research has completely overturned these long-standing misconceptions, for theaters in major Dutch cities were cultural institutions controlled by the elite.²⁷ Moreover, contemporary farces invariably catered to elite tastes, with complex plots inspired by the writings of the legendary Renaissance author Boccaccio and those of several ancient playwrights. These plots, which revolved around themes of deceit, ambiguity,

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Hendrick Terbrugghen, 'Unequal love,'
c. 1623, oil on canvas, 74.3 x 89.2 cm.
Private collection.



and illusion, provided audiences with ready opportunities to sharpen their wits and capacity for discernment.²⁸

Given the lascivious nature of many early seventeenth-century farces it is not surprising that Dutch Reformed ministers and moralists vociferously demanded the termination of theatrical performances.²⁹ Admittedly municipal theaters were occasionally shut down in the course of the seventeenth century, but this usually occurred during times of grave national emergencies such as the invasion of the Netherlands by armies of Louis XIV and his allies in 1672.³⁰ Yet as the seventeenth century progressed comic stage productions would undergo enduring changes of a type analogous to those encountered in the visual arts. As is the case with the latter, the Treaty of Münster of 1648 can be considered a watershed for these changes. Maria Leuker has noted that during the second half of the century farces underwent a remarkable transformation. Around that time farces (with some exceptions) began to adopt more upstanding qualities as they were purged of their earlier linguistic crudities and reinvigorated with increasingly wholesome plots with, for example, an increased emphasis on responsibility and obligation in marriage.³¹ As with paintings, this gradual transformation was partly the result of changes in taste among increasingly affluent and civilized patrons of the theater.³²

Evolving notions of civility, privacy, and their impact on domestic ideals at this critical mid-century period, coupled with its concurrent prosperity, point ultimately to changing expectations among theatergoers as well as the principal buyers of works of art of uncompromisingly high quality: the upper classes of the Dutch Republic. Fashionable representations of domesticity must have become enormously appealing and therefore provide ample information about buyer taste in a prosperous atmosphere ripe for the production and reception of such images. It was the taste and related collecting habits of the elite then that insured a ready market for the new types of pictures being produced after 1650, as they responded enthusiastically to the stylistic and thematic changes introduced into Dutch genre painting. Among the stylistic changes were a hitherto unseen level of refinement in the renderings of textures and stuffs, and the introduction of subtle yet sophisticated evocations of light and shadow on figures and objects now placed in carefully constructed spaces, often vertical in format. And more importantly, concomitant with these stylistic developments was a veritable explosion of paintings of domestic themes and conversely, a gradual decline in vulgar imagery (though this would never disappear completely).

Paintings of domestic themes provide a thematic if not moral antipode to other themes that had been prevalent in Dutch painting during the first half of the century. Most preponderant among these were images of prostitution.³³ Early seventeenth-century depictions of prostitution often display a surprising if not shocking level of vulgarity. In this respect, it is not uncommon to encounter pneumatic whores, often bare-chested, who interact with or are even fondled by their licentious clients (fig. 1). Similar imagery was also depicted in genre painting during the second half of the seventeenth century but with notably lower frequency than it had been during the first half.³⁴

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Jacob Ochtervelt, *Musical company in an interior*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 151.1 x 128.3 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art (photo: Copyright The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2000, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1991.23).



2a

Detail of fig. 2.



Artists active in the later seventeenth century helped to popularize a more innocuous rendition of prostitution, one decidedly less coarse and raucous.³⁵ Jacob Ochtervelt's *Musical company in an interior* (fig. 2) of ca. 1670 exemplifies this new approach to brothel imagery, one which would become increasingly prevalent – and increasingly subtle, if not elusive – as the decades progressed.³⁶ In this extraordinarily well-preserved picture a young woman plays a violin accompanied by a man on the recorder. Another man, sporting an elaborately embroidered sash, stands to the woman's left; a male servant holds a glass of wine behind this group of three figures. At the entrance to the room, another woman, decorously dressed, converses with a man.

Unlike many of the provocative brothel scenes painted earlier in the century, Ochtervelt's picture exudes an aura of calm and finesse. Nevertheless, the series of female portraits on the wall behind the figures discloses the true nature of its subject (fig. 2a). There is evidence that actual brothels displayed portraits like these to assist clients in selecting their partners.³⁷ In fact, the unusual grouping of portraits in Ochtervelt's painting recalls those found in contemporary book illustrations of bordellos (fig. 3).³⁸ Once the significance of the background portraits has been ascertained, other motifs in Ochtervelt's painting corroborate its subject. The recorder and violin were base instruments often associated with dance halls, brothels and other dubious establishments.³⁹ The aforementioned sash worn by the elegant gentleman in the left foreground has a loop at the end that confirms that it was meant to hold a sword; the hilt of a sword indeed overhangs the table to his left.⁴⁰ Do these motifs indicate that the gentleman is an officer? If so – and to my mind this is likely – his presence in the scene is highly appropriate as it conforms to the time-honored pictorial traditions of portraying soldiers as habitual clients of prostitutes.⁴¹

Ochtervelt's less offensive rendering of a prostitution scene is symptomatic of his responsiveness to changes in taste and the concomitant demands of 'the market.' However pictures of that type, while popular, were produced in far fewer numbers than those representing domestic themes. The eminent artist Gerrit Dou (1613–75) played a pivotal role in the development of this practically novel, intrinsically virtuous subject matter.⁴² Although Dou's position as founder of the *fijnschilder* school of painting is well known, his innovations in subject matter demand further exploration.⁴³ Dou had the good fortune to locate several important and wealthy patrons, among them, Pieter Spiering and Johan de Bye.⁴⁴ Dou's stable relationship with these affluent clients granted him the liberty to work laboriously for extended periods of time on truly magnificent paintings, ones for which he charged exorbitant prices.⁴⁵ Dou garnered additional income from his patrons in still other ways: Spiering in particular paid Dou the then lavish sum of 500 Carolus guilders per year for the simple right of first refusal of the master's works.⁴⁶

Certainly, the restricted yet secure market for his pictures afforded Dou opportunities to experiment with subject matter. But we should not necessarily conclude, as some scholars have, that the subjects of his works were of less interest to his patrons than the style in which they were painted.⁴⁷ To the contrary, Dou must have been sensitive to changing tastes among the

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Frontispiece, C. van de Passe, *Miroir des plus belles courtisanes de ce temps*, Amsterdam? 1631, engraving (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek).



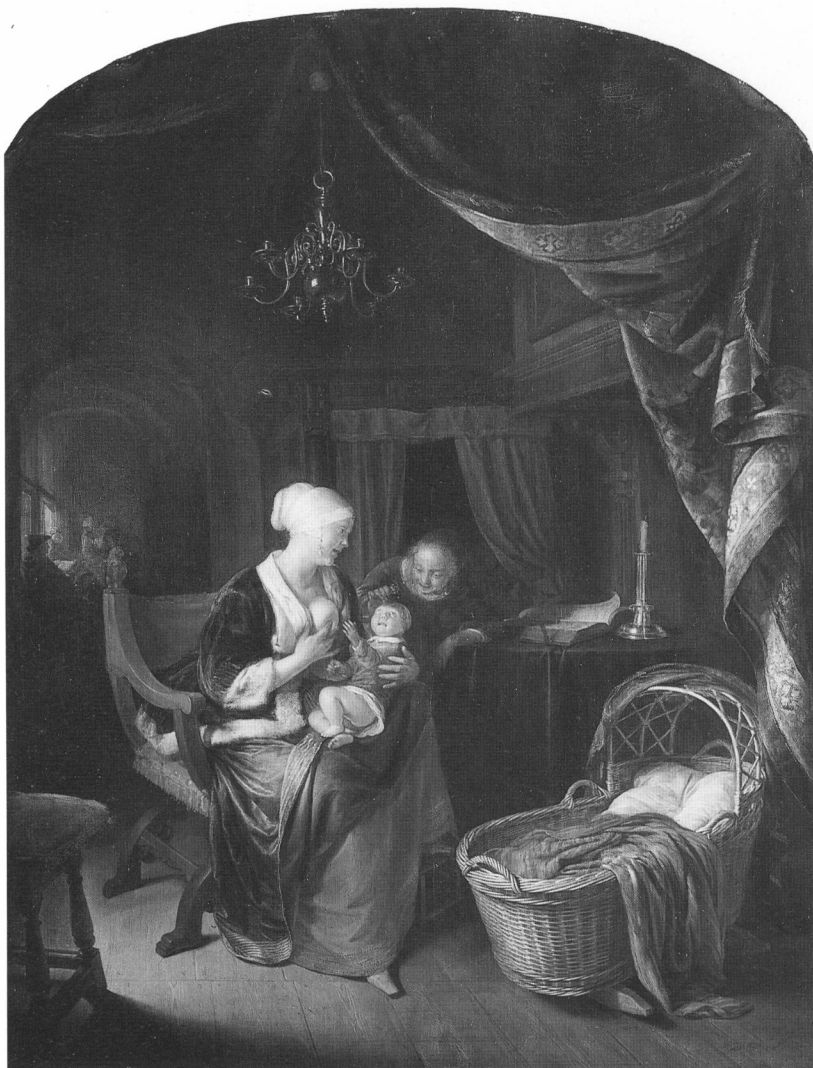
Dutch Republic's elite – a class to which the artist aspired⁴⁸ – and presumably would not have labored intensively to produce paintings whose subjects might be considered offensive by his patrons; after all 'right of first refusal' by definition allows the purchaser to reject an art work. Surely, in the interests of income and reputation, it would not have been advantageous to Dou to have his pictures continually refused on grounds that their subject matter was unappealing or distasteful.⁴⁹

It is perhaps more helpful to recognize what Ronni Baer recently termed 'the uncanny congruency of medium and message [which is] fundamental to an understanding of the appeal of the artist's paintings'.⁵⁰ Dou's thematic innovations in genre painting were numerous, including the introduction of a number of novel subjects and the development of variations on other, more established ones.⁵¹ Particularly noteworthy are the contributions that he made to domestic imagery. For example, Dou's *Young mother* of ca. 1660 reveals his particular talent for clever alterations to popular genre themes, in this case, breastfeeding (fig. 4).⁵² The theme of mothers breastfeeding their children appears with ever-increasing frequency after mid-century; one finds examples in the work of some of the most popular genre painters of this era, among them, Pieter de Hooch (1629-84), Nicolaes Maes (1634-93), and Quiringh van Brekelenkam (after 1622-69?). Dou's painting modifies this theme by depicting a child distracted from its mother's breast by a young woman offering it a shiny rattle. Years ago, Mary Frances Durantini proposed that the motif of the distracted child implies the triumph of vice over virtue because this tyke desires a transitory object over its mother's milk – presumably this would explain Dou's inclusion of a *pis-kijker* scene in the background, a motif which usually carries *vanitas* connotations.⁵³ If Durantini's hypothesis is correct, the meaning of the picture shifts slightly from maternal virtue to issues of child-rearing. Since both interpretations still fall under the

general signifying parameters of domestic imagery there is no need to probe them further here.

For our purposes Dou's modification of what in 1660 was rapidly becoming established subject matter is most significant. And equally significant is the style in which this subject has been rendered. By this period in Dou's career his genre paintings had become increasingly refined. The stately interior of the *Young mother*, with its imposing marble mantelpiece and luxurious chandelier, clearly pays testimony to this.⁵⁴ But the general air of refinement in this picture is also exuded by its very surface, namely its assured execution, the use of saturated colors, and the overall bright tonality. Therefore, the subject and style of the *Young mother* are seamless and meant to cater to the growing elite penchant for bright, polished pictures of intrinsically wholesome subjects.⁵⁵

Dou's style and imagery are incipient representatives of 'the elegant



⁴
Gerrit Dou, *The young mother*, c. 1660,
oil on panel, 49.2 x 37.4 cm. Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (photo: J. P.
Anders).

modern manner', a mode of art with which the arch-classicist Gerard de Lairesse (1640-1711) associated the painter some fifty years later in his *Art of painting*.⁵⁶ Paintings in the elegant modern manner eschew 'low and unbecoming subjects for ornament, especially for people of fashion, whose conceptions ought to surpass the vulgar [italics mine]'.⁵⁷ Moreover, as a closer reading of other passages in De Lairesse's treatise confirms, a bright, polished painting style was deemed more agreeable, refined and civil.⁵⁸ The thematic and stylistic values that De Lairesse championed in art were undoubtedly linked to the values of the elite class of which he was part-or to which he aspired to be part.⁵⁹ And, in my opinion, the same holds true for Dou's art and the audiences of his slightly older generation.

The magnificent *trompe l'oeil* curtain draped across the arched top of Dou's painting, but pulled back to reveal it, is one of a number of sophisticated illusionistic motifs popularized by the artist during his lengthy career.⁶⁰ This curtain wittily underscores the ultimately fictive nature of the plausibly realistic scene behind it while simultaneously calling attention to Dou's virtuosic technical abilities.⁶¹ Art historians have long associated curtains of this type with Pliny the Elder's legendary tale of the competition between the ancient Greek painters Zeuxis and Parrhasius.⁶²

This story was well known in the seventeenth century and for contemporary Dutch theorists it provided the quintessence of painting's definitive goal: consummate illusionism. The anecdotes recounted by such theorists and biographers as Karel van Mander (1548-1606), Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-78), and Joachim von Sandrart (1606-88) about the prodigious illusionistic talents of Netherlandish and German artists who routinely beguile viewers are essentially variants of Pliny's renowned tale.⁶³ We learn, for example, how Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-1606?) painted 'for Gillis Hofman, on a site opposite a gateway... a large perspective looking like a vista in a garden. Later some German nobleman as well as the Prince of Orange were deceived by this, thinking it to be a real building with a view'.⁶⁴ Likewise, Von Sandrart relates how a painting by Sebastian Stoskopff (1597-1657) depicting a print affixed to a board with wax seals completely fooled-and naturally delighted-the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand III, who tried to remove the print from its 'mount'.⁶⁵ As Celeste Brusati has perceptively observed, 'Whether true or not, these stories helped ideologically to underscore a belief in the capacity of deceptive pictures to subvert established hierarchies and to allow artists to trade imitative skill for social and economic gain'.⁶⁶

That the artist's social and economic gain of which Brusati speaks is achieved in service to elite patrons and audiences is especially fascinating. Indeed, fundamental to all of these stories is how these pictorial deceptions are foisted upon persons of great affluence or august social status.⁶⁷ Often overlooked when we acknowledge Dou's conspicuous display of illusionistic mastery in such motifs as the curtain in the *Young mother* is their capacity to boost the marketability of his art by dazzling elite audiences-and most assuredly, anyone who would behold these paintings. The result of Dou's efforts imputed wealth, reputation and honor to the artist, attributes associated with his elite circle of patronage and ones consonant with his own social aspirations.⁶⁸

Pieter de Hooch was another painter who made important contribu-

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Pieter de Hooch, *Courtyard in Delft with a woman and child*, 1658, oil on canvas. The National Gallery, London (photo: Reproduced by courtesy of the trustees, The National Gallery, London).

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Pieter de Hooch, *The linen chest*, 1663,
 oil on canvas, 72 x 77.5 cm, Rijksmuseum,
 Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum-
 Stichting).

tions to the development of domestic imagery in Dutch art.⁶⁹ De Hooch's pictures of domestic subjects dating from the late 1650's and painted during his residency in Delft were particularly innovative, often involving imaginative depictions of servants performing domestic chores or housewives supervising maids both in interiors or in courtyards.⁷⁰ The *Courtyard in Delft with a woman and child* (fig. 5) is a well-known example of De Hooch's inventive subject matter.⁷¹ Here, a child and a servant holding an earthenware dish are depicted in a courtyard which features one of De Hooch's distinctive perspectival configurations. The perspective is quite sophisticated as the space is extended to the left through an archway. As Peter Sutton has noted, De Hooch's orderly yet seemingly natural spatial designs echo if not enhance the



tranquil domestic scenes that exist within them. Therefore, as is the case with Dou, the subject and style of this and other De Hooch pictures are skillfully wedded into one seamless whole.⁷²

De Hooch's paintings did not command the same exorbitant prices as Dou's.⁷³ But surely their innovative subject matter and intricate perspectival systems can likewise be construed on one level as self-conscious pictorial strategies on the artist's part to augment the marketability of his paintings.⁷⁴ The changes wrought in De Hooch's pictures after his relocation to Amsterdam around 1660 clearly confirm his sensitivity to prospective buyers' tastes there as these potential patrons shaped the market in what was one of Europe's most affluent cities. Undoubtedly in response to the market in this extraordinarily prosperous and fashionable metropolis, De Hooch introduced a heightened sense of elegance into his paintings of this period, which is often striking when compared to the more modest surroundings depicted during his Delft years.⁷⁵ For example, De Hooch's *Linen chest* of 1663 (fig. 6) presents a well-appointed interior, with a large marble floor and embellished architectural detail.⁷⁶ Within this exquisite setting a mistress and her maid place linen—an expensive ware in its own right at this time—into a large, costly chest made of oak and inlaid ebony. Once again, subject and style are inextricably melded together as the execution of this opulent interior, like those of De Hooch's other Amsterdam period paintings, is much finer and the surface more reflective, than those of his pictures composed in Delft.⁷⁷

The presence of a marble floor in De Hooch's *Linen chest* and the large chandelier and marble fireplace in Dou's *Young mother* are especially interesting in light of my hypothesis that artists created domestic images with deliberate consideration for the market. C. Willemijn Fock has recently called attention to the implausible nature of such decorative accoutrements in seventeenth-century Dutch genre interiors.⁷⁸ Marble floors, for example, may have been a rarity in homes during this period, even if they were sometimes installed in public buildings. As archival data confirms, in those unusual instances in which marble floors graced the homes of the well-to-do they were most often limited to the entrance hall or the *voorbuis* because elite homeowners preferred wooden flooring for their living spaces. Likewise, brass chandeliers, omnipresent in genre paintings, were in reality an extremely costly item which were most frequently made for churches.

Fock rightly calls attention to what in essence are highly fictitious details but her hypothesis that artists included such motifs merely to demonstrate their mimetic skills in rendering different textures and surfaces requires some modification.⁷⁹ To my mind, marble floors, chandeliers and related objects were also included to connote status and sophistication as part of an ongoing effort among painters to make their pictures as attractive and appealing as possible to prospective purchasers. Conversely, one can also posit a certain expectation among art collectors to see such presentations of lavish decor in their purchases. On a certain level then, these genre paintings serve to fulfill the decorative desires, if not the fantasies, of buyers; these pictures even possess the same luxury commodity status as some of the actual decorative accoutrements on display in the houses of the moneyed.⁸⁰ In this sense, domestic subjects accomplished much in not only reflecting contemporary taste but also in shaping it in a prosperous atmosphere ripe for the

production and reception of pictorially sophisticated yet intrinsically civilized imagery.

Images of domesticity in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting speak volumes about contemporary taste, elite taste to be specific. Taste is perhaps best understood in this context as Pierre Bourdieu has expounded it in his now classic study, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*.⁸¹ Essentially, Bourdieu perceives taste (and consumption) as a social signifier, one that serves both to affirm and legitimize social differences. The upper classes naturally determine the dominant taste and utilize it strategically to distinguish themselves from their social inferiors. Nevertheless, persons of lower status may attempt to imitate the penchants and refinement of their superiors.⁸² Although Bourdieu's exhaustive analysis focuses upon post-war France, many of his persuasive observations are applicable to early modern societies whose social hierarchies were much more conspicuous than those of any modern-day country.⁸³

If we consider specific themes and styles in Dutch art as expressions of taste and as mechanisms to affirm social status then the acts of purchasing and displaying paintings can be linked to the aforementioned concepts of civility, all the more so when the paintings in question represent domestic themes.⁸⁴ As we have already seen, taste was bound up with civility as elite members of society ideologically consolidated their class status by projecting a sense of cultural superiority by their civilized conduct as well as by their discriminating choices in art, literature and theater.⁸⁵ Artists therefore painted distinctive themes in specific styles to cater to and simultaneously to convey elite values centering around discrimination, sophistication, and refinement.

One can also construe seventeenth-century Dutch domestic imagery in terms of cultural historians' theories of 'appropriation'. Among others, R. Chartier has argued that elite culture largely constituted itself by appropriating beliefs, texts, objects, and the like that did not properly belong to it.⁸⁶ Earlier in this article, I discussed the pervasiveness of domestic ideals in the early modern period as they were fostered by numerous domestic conduct books. In effect, paintings of the home by Dou, De Hooch and others (along with related, cultural phenomena) appropriate a widespread domestic concept and consequently transform it into a commodity (both literally and figuratively) for elite consumption.

The domestic imagery of Dou, De Hooch, and numerous other artists active in this critical mid-century period, is perhaps best understood as the product of a 'dialogic relationship' between these painters and their audiences. I use this term to denote how artists, as they work, take into account the market, which embodies the desires (either actual or projected) and expectations of real or potential buyers. Although it is worthwhile to investigate pictures in relation to taste and the market, we must continually recognize the artists' primary role in introducing new subjects and styles. Moreover, it is the most creative artists who introduce the most intriguing changes into their work, as witnessed by the rise of domestic imagery in Dutch art after 1650.

Notes

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- 1 For domesticity in seventeenth-century Dutch art, see W.E. Franits, *Paragons of virtue: Women and domesticity in seventeenth-century Dutch art*, Cambridge/New York 1993; S. Jäkel-Scheglmann, *Zum Lobe der Frauen; Untersuchungen zum Bild der Frau in der niederländischen Genremalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1994, 33-75; H. de Mare, 'The domestic boundary as ritual area in seventeenth-century Holland', in: H. de Mare (ed.), *Urban rituals in Italy and the Netherlands*, Assen 1993, 109-131; E. Honig, 'The space of gender in seventeenth-century Dutch painting', in: W. Franits (ed.), *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art; Realism reconsidered*, Cambridge/New York 1997, 193-199.
- 2 For example, Protestant Reformers and humanists of the early sixteenth century wrote important tracts and books about domestic life, advocating specific roles and responsibilities for individual family members, particularly women. For the writings of Luther, Erasmus, and others on this topic, see E.V. Telle, *Érasme de Rotterdam et le septième sacrement*, Geneva 1954, 347-420; J. Hoffmann, *Die 'Hausväterliteratur' und die 'Predigten über den christlichen Hausstand'. Lehre vom Hause und Bildung für das häusliche Leben im 16. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Weinheim/Berlin 1959, 34-40; S. Ozment, *When fathers ruled: Family life in Reformation Europe*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1983, 50-72, 132-54. There were also several works concerning marriage and the family published before the Reformation, for example, A. von Eyb, *Ehebüchlein*, Nuremberg 1472.
- 3 For domestic conduct books, see Hoffmann, *op. cit.* (n. 2); C.L. Powell, *English domestic relations, 1487-1653* (first published in 1917), New York 1972, 101-46; L.B. Wright, *Middle-class culture in Elizabethan England* (first published in 1935), New York 1980, 201-27; S.W. Hull, *Chaste, silent & obedient; English books for women 1475-1640*, San Marino 1982, 31-70, 144ff.; L.F. Groenendijk, *De nadere reformatie van het gezin; De visie van Petrus Witteuwingel op de Christelijke huishouding*, Dordrecht 1984; Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 66, *passim*.
- 4 Pivotal to this literary tradition was J. Cats, *Houwelyck. Dat is de gansche gelegentheyt des echten staets*, Middelburg 1625, probably the most popular domestic treatise of the seventeenth century. For this important text, see D. ten Berge, *De hooggeleerde en zoetvloeiende dichter Jacob Cats*, The Hague 1979, 77-95; L. Dresen-Coenders, 'Wegh-wyser ten houwelick', in: P. van Boheemen *et al.*, *Kent, en versint, eer datje mint*, cat. exh. Apeldoorn (Historisch Museum Marialust), Zwolle 1989, 20-39; Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 5-9, *passim*.
- 5 Here I am alluding to P. Huys Janssen, 'Review of J.A. Spicer, L.F. Orr *et al.*, *Masters of light: Dutch painters in Utrecht in the Golden Age*', *Simiolus* 27 (1999), 103, who criticizes my own contribution to the catalogue [Franits, 'Emerging from the shadows', *op. cit.* (n. 5)], for assuming 'that artists took an interest in the taste of their public'. To the contrary, Huys-Janssen states that 'evidence of this is lacking'. This simplistic view that artists worked entirely independently of the art market is unfortunately well-entrenched; see M.J. Bok and G. Schwartz, 'Schilderen in opdracht in Holland in de 17e eeuw', *Holland: Regionaal-Historisch Tijdschrift* 23 (1991), 184. J. M. Montias, 'The sovereign consumer: The adaptation of works of art to demand in the Netherlands in the early modern period', in: T. Bevers (ed.), *Artists-dealers-consumers; On the social world of art*, Hilversum 1994, 57, observes that 'artists, if they wanted to earn a living could hardly overlook [...] market signals [both from patrons and anonymous buyers] when they decided what to produce and how to produce it'.
- 6 F. Junius, *De schilderconst der oude, begrepen in drie boecken*, Middelburg 1641, 177, 'Die sich selven de goede gunst van de naekomstige eeuwen durft beloven, deselvighe moet niet alleen in sijnen eyghen sin, maer oock van de Konst-vroede liefhebbers wel ende bequaemlick schilderen'. This passage is cited by A. Hahn, '[...] dat zy de aanschouwers schynen te willen aanspreken'; *Untersuchungen zur Rolle des Betrachters in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, München 1996, 54. *Ibid.*, 44-74, contains numerous other quotations of similar import from contemporary, Dutch art-theoretical literature.
- 7 P. Angel, *Lof der schilderconst*, Leiden 1642, 39. My quotation is taken from M. Hoyle and H. Miedema, 'Philips Angel, *Praise of painting*', *Simiolus* 24 (1996), 243-244. In his commentary to this passage, Miedema, 255, observes that, 'It was not just variety and naturalness but also a richly filled composition that would catch the eye of the art-lover and make a work easier to sell. The emphasis on marketability was undoubtedly derived from daily experience'. See also H. Miedema, 'Philips Angels *Lof der schilderconst*', *Oud Holland* 103 (1989), 198.
- 8 N. de Marchi and H.J. van Miegroet, 'Novelty and fashion circuits in the mid-seventeenth-century Antwerp-Paris art trade', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998), 201-246. Further corroboration is found in the most recent study by *idem*, 'Exploring markets for Netherlandish paintings in Spain and Nueva España', in: R. Falkenburg *et al.* (eds.), *Kunst voor de markt, 1500-1700 (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 50)*, Zwolle 1999, 92, 100, 102. That volume of the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* contains a series of important studies on the interactions of artists and the art market. For art dealers in Antwerp at this time, see also E.A. Honig, *Painting and the market in early modern Antwerp*, New Haven/London 1998, 110-114.
- 9 De Marchi and Van Miegroet, 'Novelty and fashion circuits', *op. cit.* (n. 8), 223-225.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 225, 235-236.
- 11 This *desideratum* on Picart's part must be linked to contemporary notions of civility and their impact on taste and art; see the discussion below and n. 57 below.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 225.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 223.
- 14 See the literature cited in n. 5 above.
- 15 Though principally concerned with Dutch art collectors of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, M.J. Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700',

- proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1994, 53-96, nevertheless contains many valuable insights into elite collecting and patronizing tendencies that are relevant to this study.
- 16 For the following discussion, see J.I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade 1585-1740*, Oxford 1989, 197-291; *idem*, *The Dutch Republic; its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806*, Oxford 1995, 610-619.
- 17 The classic studies of aristocratization are by D.J. Roorda; see for example, D.J. Roorda, *Partijen en factie: De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland [...]*, Groningen 1961; *idem*, 'The ruling classes in Holland in the seventeenth century', in: J. S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Britain and The Netherlands*, Groningen 1964, 109-132. However, recent research has suggested that our understanding of aristocratization demands some modifications; see P. Spierenburg, *Elites and etiquette; Mentality and social structure in the early modern Northern Netherlands*, Rotterdam 1981, 19-31. See also, L. Kooijmans, 'Patriciaat en aristocratisering in Holland tijdens de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in: J. Aalbers and M. Prak (eds.), *De bloem der natie; Adel en patriciaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Meppel/Amsterdam 1987, 100-101, who argues convincingly that it was not the goal of every patrician to become a member of the aristocracy, nor was it even expedient. More important, in Kooijmans's view, is the ideological value of aristocratization for patricians to distinguish themselves even further from the social classes below them. For the patriciate, see also J. de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan. Het dagelijks leven van regenten in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, Utrecht/Antwerp 1987. At the same time, members of the nobility continued to maintain their privileged position within the Republic. As H.F.K. van Nierop, *The nobility of Holland; From knights to regents, 1500-1650* (first published in Dutch in 1984), trans. M. Ultee, Cambridge/New York 1993), 217, *passim*, has shown, the nobility may have shared political power with the urban patriciate but they 'carefully guarded their exclusivity by defending their privileges, by emphasizing their social distance from other groups, and most of all by endogamy'. See also T. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 'Noblesse oblige; Material culture of the nobility in Holland', in: A. Schuurman and P. Spierenburg (eds.), *Private domain, public inquiry; Families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the present*, Hilversum 1996, 112-124. For the problem of aristocratization with respect to seventeenth-century Dutch patrician portraiture, see the insightful study by J. Woodall, 'Sovereign bodies; The reality of status in: seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture', in: J. Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture; Facing the subject*, Manchester/New York 1997, 75-100.
- 18 Spierenburg, *op cit.* (n. 17), 19-31. P. Burke, *Venice & Amsterdam; A study of seventeenth-century elites*, 2nd ed., London 1994, 131-132, adopts an interesting quantitative approach to the problem of aristocratization. In Burke's view a true measurement of having achieved aristocratic status is whether or not a person maintained an occupation and whether he owned a country house. On the basis of statistics presented on 132, Burke argues that the shift toward aristocratic lifestyles was a gradual one, as opposed to a sudden one, and that it became predominant only around 1700. Yet Burke's statistics contradict him: during the years 1650-72, the number of elite citizens without occupations doubled while the number who owned country houses increased fourfold. In my opinion, this statistical evidence suggests a less protracted process of aristocratization, one that predominated earlier than Burke allows. Paradoxically, this evidence is more consistent with Spierenburg's argument than with Burke's.
- 19 N. Elias, *The civilizing process*, vol. 1, *The history of manners*, trans. E. Jephcott, New York 1978; *idem*, *The civilizing process*, vol. 2, *Power & civility*, trans. E. Jephcott, New York 1982. Elias's seminal study first appeared in German in 1939.
- 20 For a recent study of elite entertainment in the early modern period, including art, literature and the theater, see J. de Jongste, J. Roding and B. Thijs (eds.), *Vermaak van de elite in de vroegmoderne tijd*, Hilversum 1999. During the past fifteen years, historians of Dutch art have increasingly investigated the links between civility and art; see, for example, D. Smith, "'I Janus': Privacy and the gentlemanly ideal in Rembrandt's portraits of Jan Six', *Art History* 11 (1988), 52; L. de Vries, 'The changing face of realism', in: D. Freedberg and J. de Vries (eds.), *Art in history History in art; Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture*, Santa Monica 1991, 229-230; W. Franits, 'Domesticity, privacy, civility, and the transformation of Adriaen van Ostade's art', in: P. Phagan (ed.), *Images of women in seventeenth-century Dutch art; Domesticity and the representation of the peasant*, Athens, Ga., 1996, 3-25; N. Salomon, 'Domesticating the peasant father: The confluent ideologies of gender, class, and age in the prints of Adriaen van Ostade', in: P. Phagan (ed.), *Images of women in seventeenth-century Dutch art; Domesticity and the representation of the peasant*, Athens Ga. 1996, 45, 55-56; M. Westermann, *The amusements of Jan Steen; Comic painting in the seventeenth century*, Zwolle 1997, 100, *passim*; N. Salomon, *Jacob Duck and the gentrification of Dutch genre painting*, Doornspijk 1998, 125; *idem*, 'From sexuality to civility: Vermeer's women', in: I. Gaskell and M. Jonker (eds.), *Vermeer studies* (Studies in the History of Art, 55), New Haven/London 1998, 309-325; A. Kettering, 'Gerard ter Borch's military men: Masculinity transformed', in: A.K. Wheelock and A. Seeff (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age*, Newark, Del. 2000, 114-115. See also the studies by Roodenburg cited in n. 21 below.
- 21 For the linking of these aspects of public life with civility, see Spierenburg, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 5-13; J. Revel, 'The uses of civility', in: R. Chartier (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance (A history of private life*, vol. 3), trans. A. Goldhammer, Cambridge, Mass. /London 1989, 167-205; R. Muchembled, *De uitvinding van de moderne mens: Collectief gedrag, zeden, gewoonten en gevoelswereld van de middeleeuwen tot de Franse revolutie*, trans. R. Siblesz and T. Visser, Amsterdam 1990, 165-233; H. Roodenburg, 'Over korsetten, lichaamshouding en gebaren. Een cultuurhistorische verkenning van de "Nieuwe fatsoenen" tussen ruwweg 1580 en 1630', *Textiel-historische Bijdragen* 31 (1991), 23-25, 29-35; *idem*, 'Over scheefhalzen en zwellende heupen. Enige argumenten voor een historische antropologie van de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 9 (1993), 152-68;

- idem*, 'How to sit, stand, and walk; toward a historical anthropology of Dutch paintings and prints', in: W. Franits (ed.), *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art; Realism reconsidered*, Cambridge/New York 1997, 176-184; *idem*, 'On "swelling" the hips and crossing the legs: Distinguishing public and private in paintings and prints from the Dutch Golden Age', in: A.K. Wheelock and A. Seeff, (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age*, Newark, Del. 2000, 64-84.
- 22 For civility and hygiene, see J. Goudsblom, 'Civilisatie, besmettingsangst en hygiëne; Beschouwingen over een aspect van het Europese civilisatieproces', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 4 (1977-78), 271-300; G. Vigarello, *Concepts of cleanliness; Changing attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge/ New York 1988.
- 23 See P. Ariès, *Centuries of childhood; A social history of family life*, trans. R. Baldick, New York 1962, *passim*; J. Lukacs, 'The bourgeois interior', *American Scholar* 39 (1970), 622-25; R. Sennett, *The fall of public man*, New York 1977, 16-19, 89-106; R. Chartier, 'Introduction', in: R. Chartier (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance (A history of private life, vol. 3)*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Cambridge, Mass./ London 1989, 163-165; N. Casten, 'The public and the private', in: R. Chartier (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance (A history of private life, vol. 3)*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Cambridge, Mass./ London 1989, 403-45; D. Goodman, 'Public sphere and private life: Toward a synthesis of current historiographical approaches to the old regime', *History and Theory* 31 (1992), 1-20; A. Schuurman and P. Spierenburg, 'Introduction: Between public and private', in: Schuurman and Spierenburg, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 7-11; Martine Segalen, 'The house between private and public; A socio-historic overview', in: Schuurman and Spierenburg, *op. cit.* (n. 17) 240-253. For the public versus the private in seventeenth-century Dutch literature, see M.B. Smits-Veldt, 'Images of private life in some early-seventeenth-century Dutch ego-documents', in: Wheelock and Seeff, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 164-177. For the art-historical perspective on privacy, see Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 52; *idem*, 'Privacy, realism, and the novelistic in 17th-century Dutch painting', *Acts of the 27th international congress of the history of art (1989)*, Strasbourg 1992, sec. 3, 35-52; M. Hollander, 'Structures of space and society in the seventeenth-century Dutch interior', Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley 1990, 130ff.; *idem*, 'The divided household of Nicolaes Maes', *Word & Image* 10 (1994), 138-55; Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 13; N. Salomon, 'Early Netherlandish *bordeeltjes* and the construction of social "realities"', in: Wheelock and Seeff, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 141-163, esp. 144-145. See also n. 25 below.
- 24 Roodenburg, *op. cit.* (n. 23) and Revel, *op. cit.* (n. 21), 167, argue that the concept of civility was at odds with those of privacy or intimacy. Since the practice of civilized behaviors enabled one to restrain one's emotions and passions in public, such attitudes were not necessarily desirable, let alone appropriate, in private. To my mind, the relationship between civility and privacy must have been more nuanced than either of these scholars allow. On one level, the concepts of civility and privacy were not necessarily opposed as some behaviors cultivated publicly most assuredly extended to the private realm as well. On another level, the concepts were indeed opposed. Roodenburg, 'On "swelling" of the hips', *op. cit.* (n. 21), 77-82, concludes his article with an interesting section on two portraits of Willem van Heijthuysen by Frans Hals. One portrait is quite formal while the other shows the sitter in a relaxed pose with his legs crossed, a posture which was considered unseemly in public. Yet the probate inventory composed after Van Heijthuysen's death in 1650 reveals that this latter picture was a private one which hung in his study. In Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 20); and in the present study, I discuss how evolving notions of civility impacted art in terms of its subjects and styles. In the latter stages of this process, namely, in the late seventeenth century, civility flourished with such intensity that certain types of subjects in art, among them, peasants and lascivious women, were eschewed in some elite social circles because they were thought to be in poor taste. Yet paradoxically, this was the era in which pornographic literature began to flourish; see W.W. Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch Republic', in: L. Hunt (ed.), *The invention of pornography; Obscenity and the origins of modernity, 1500-1800*, New York 1993, 283-300. The only satisfactory explanation for this curious phenomenon is that pornographic books, so many of which were published in duodecimo, were easier to conceal than paintings and consequently should be considered more 'private'. Paintings on the other hand, due to their size, were by definition more difficult to hide. This can be deduced from F.A. van Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie in Utrecht ten tijde van Voetius; Sporen in de gereformeerde kerkeraadsacta*, Rotterdam 1989, 44, who quotes a fascinating document dated December 22, 1662 in which a consistorial visit to the home of a member of one of Utrecht's Dutch Reformed congregations uncovered his possession of 'oneerbaere schilderijen'. G. Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, 2 vols., ed. A. Marruchi and L. Salerno, Rome 1956-57, I, 143, recommends that salacious pictures be hung in inner rooms where they can be enjoyed in private. For this passage, see J.M. Muller, *Rubens: The artist as collector*, Princeton 1989, 43; P. Burke, *Res et verba: Conspicuous consumption in the early modern world*, in: J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the world of goods*, London/New York 1993, 156-157. Unfortunately, I know of no comparable, contemporary Dutch treatise that makes similar pronouncements.
- 25 H. de Mare, 'Domesticity in dispute; A reconsideration of the sources', in: I. Cieraad (ed.), *At home; An anthropology of domestic space*, Syracuse 1999, 13-15, argues that domesticity is essentially a nineteenth-century concept, accusing several scholars, myself included [Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1)], of being ignorant of this fact: 'During the nineteenth century the myth of seventeenth-century Dutch domesticity was exported to other countries, especially to the United States, as a result of the sale of seventeenth-century interiors. This explains how the myth came to be spread worldwide and why it is still being echoed in the work of Franits [...] (14)'. No one would deny that the all-embracing ethos of domesticity is largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon that we should be

- wary of projecting into the seventeenth century. In Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1), I took great pains to avoid falling into this trap; in fact, I pointed out the excessively nostalgic and ultimately misleading view of domestic life in the Dutch Republic held by nineteenth-century historians (see 108-110). Nevertheless the nascent seeds of a concept of domesticity do begin in the seventeenth century, a view shared by a number of historians; see, for example, J. de Vries, 'Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern Europe', in: J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the world of goods*, London/New York, 1993, 98. De Mare's theory that a contrast between the private and public domains is largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon, with the ramification that privacy too is an anachronistic concept for the seventeenth century, ignores much evidence to the contrary—see notes 23 and 24 above.
- 26 For example, G.C. van Santen, *Lichte wigger*, Leiden 1617; G. A. Bredero, *Moortje*, Amsterdam, 1617; W.D. Hooft, *Heden-daeghsche verlooren soon*, Amsterdam 1630; *idem*, *Clughthigh-spel*, *Andrea de Piere*, *peerde-kooper*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1634; Constantijn Huygens, *Trijntje Cornelis*, The Hague 1657. Huygens's farce elicited the ire of Joachim Oudaan, a leader of the Dutch Collegiant movement, who in an anonymous pamphlet attacked the author's use of immodest subject matter and vulgar language, declaring it improper for someone of Huygens's social position and Calvinistic religious convictions. For Oudaan's criticisms of Huygens, E. de Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief; De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen', *Simiolus* 3 (1968-69), 56; R. van Stipriaan, *Leugens en vermaak; Boccaccio's novellen in de kluchtcultuur van de Nederlandse renaissance*, Amsterdam 1996, 35-36.
- 27 To cite just one example, the famous city theatre in Amsterdam, had graduated ticket prices, with higher priced seats and specific 'luxury' boxes intended for use by the city's leading citizens; see Van Stipriaan, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 5, 16-21.
- 28 This is the principal thesis of the important study by Van Stipriaan, *op. cit.* (n. 26).
- 29 See, for example, W. Prynne, *Histriomastix ofte schouw-spels treurspel* [...], trans. I.H., Leiden 1639, 37, 49, 50, 73; P. Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia Christiana ofte Christelycke huys-houdinghe*, 2 vols., 3rd, enlarged ed., Amsterdam 1661, vol. 2, 1179, 1183; and G. Voetius, *Twistreden tegen de schouw spelen* (1650), 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1772, 23, 26, 28, who remarks that plays are so unchaste that they differ little from whorehouses and are perhaps worse since they show sordid things in public. The Calvinist reaction to seventeenth-century Dutch theater has been well-studied; see: J. Wille, 'De gereformeerden en het toneel tot omstreeks 1620 (1931)', in: *idem*, *Literair-historische opstellen*, Zwolle 1963, 137-142; L.F. Groenendijk, 'De Nadere Reformatie en "de scholen der ydelheyt" (I)', *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 10 (1986), 77-93; *idem*, 'De Nadere Reformatie en het toneel', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5 (1989), 141-153; A. Pels, *Gebruik en misbruik des toneels* (1681), intro. M. A. Schenkvelde-van der Dussen, Culemborg 1978, 11-16; Van Stipriaan *op. cit.* (n. 26), 174-176.
- 30 See the literature cited in n. 29 above.
- 31 M. Leuker, 'De last van 't huys, de wil des mans...'; *Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1992, 108-310. See also *idem*, 'Women's sphere and honour: the rhetorical realism of Bredero's farces. A response to Gisela van Oostveen', in: E. Kloek *et al.* (eds.), *Women of the Golden Age; An international debate on women in seventeenth century Holland, England and Italy*, Hilversum 1994, 66-69.
- 32 See Leuker, 'De last van 't huys', *op. cit.* (n. 31), 92; R. van Stipriaan, 'Vrouwen-zaken als motief en thema; Over de bruikbaarheid van zeventiende-eeuws komisch toneel als sociaal document', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 87 (1994), 390-391. See also Oudaan's attack on Huygens, which can be construed in terms of civility, discussed in n. 26 above. The major impetus for a civilized theater came of course from the society *Nil Volentibus Arduum*; see Pels, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 18-25; A. J. E. Harmsen, 'Onderwys in de tononeel-poëzy; de opvattingen over toneel van het kunstgenootschap Nil Volentibus Arduum', proefschrift, Universiteit van Amsterdam 1989; Leuker, 'De last van 't huys', *op. cit.* (n. 31), 103-107; Westermann, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 100, 128 n. 56.
- 33 For the depiction of prostitution in seventeenth-century Dutch art, which remains understudied, see L.C. van de Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie in de zeventiende eeuw', in: G. Hekma and H. Roodenburg (eds.), *Soete minne en helsche boosheit; Seksuele voorstellingen in Nederland 1300-1850*, Nijmegen 1988, 109-144; W. Franits, 'Emerging from the shadows: Genre painting by the Utrecht Caravaggisti and its contemporary reception', in: J.A. Spicer and L. F. Orr, *Masters of light; Dutch painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, cat. exh. Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery), New Haven/London 1997-98, 114-20; *idem*, 'René van Stipriaan's concept of the ludic in seventeenth-century Dutch farces and its application to contemporary Dutch painting', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 15 (1999), 24-33.
- 34 Writing on seventeenth-century Leiden collections, C. W. Fock, 'Kunstbezit in Leiden in de 17de eeuw', in: Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer *et al.* (eds.), *Het Rapenburg; Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, 6 vols., Leiden 1986-92, Va, 21, observes that 'De apart genoteerde gezelschappen, bordelen, kroegen en zogenaamde cortegaarden werden vooral omstreeks het midden van het eeuw veelvuldig genoemd, waarna hun aantal weer wat afnam [...]'
- 35 Yet, other artists, most notably Jan Steen (1626-79), continued the tradition of representing ribald prostitution scenes. However, such imagery was depicted less frequently than it had been earlier in the seventeenth century.
- 36 Ochtervelt painted subtle images of brothels, such as the picture illustrated here but he also occasionally depicted more lascivious renditions of the subject; see, for example, S.D. Kurtsky, *The paintings of Jacob Ochtervelt (1634-1682)*, Montclair, N.J. 1979, figs. 25 and 26. Gerard ter Borch (1617-81), of course, is perhaps the most accomplished painter of extremely discreet prostitution scenes. For an excellent study of Ter Borch's innovative approach to genre subjects of several varieties, see A. Kettering, 'Ter Borch's ladies in satin', *Art History* 16 (1993), 95-124. See also N. Salomon, *Jacob Duck*, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 64, 92-93, *passim*, who discusses the increasing ambiguity of genre paintings produced during the second half of the seventeenth century.

- 37 A. Roos, *Den Amsteldamsen Diogenes, of filosofische bloemhof*, Utrecht 1684, 164 nr. 13, uses veiled language to discuss establishments where portraits of prostitutes can be found, noting that '[...] t selve al gemeen en by vele bekend is'. See also L. van de Pol, "'Het Amsterdams hoerdom"; prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', proefschrift, Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam 1996, 318.
- 38 In addition to fig. 2, see also, P. Baardt, *Deugden-spoor, in de ondeughden des werelts affgebeeldt*, Leeuwarden 1645. (Illustrated and discussed by Van de Pol, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 318 and fig. 13.)
- 39 See E. Buijsen and L. P. Grijp, *Music & painting in the Golden Age*, exh. cat. The Hague (Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder), Zwolle 1994, see cat. nrs 14, 24, 39; E. de Jongh and G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life; Genre prints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), Ghent 1997, cat. nr. 38, where the licentious associations of these instruments are discussed. My thanks also to my Syracuse University colleague, Stephen Meyer, a historian of Baroque music, for sharing with me his knowledge of seventeenth-century musical instruments and their meanings.
- 40 A sword hangs from a similar sash in another painting by Ochtervelt, see Kuretsky, *op. cit.* (n. 36), fig. 82.
- 41 See E. Borger, *De Hollandse kortegaard; Geschilderde wachtklokken uit de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat. Naarden (Nederlands Vestingmuseum), Zwolle 1996, 13-21; M. Kersten, 'Interieurstukken met soldaten tussen circa 1625 en 1660. Een verkenning', in: M.P. van Maarseveen *et al.*, *Beelden van een strijd; oorlog en kunst vóór de Vrede van Munster 1621-1648*, exh. cat. Delft (Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof), Zwolle 1998, 207-212; Salomon, *Jacob Duck*, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 69-106.
- 42 For Dou, see W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, trans. C. Bell, London 1902; E.J. Sluijter, 'Schilders van "cleyne, subtile ende curieuse dingen"; Leidse "fijnschilders" in contemporaine bronnen', in: E.J. Sluijter, *Leidse fijnschilders; Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge, 1630-1760*, exh. cat. Leiden (Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal), Zwolle 1988, 19-40; R. Baer, 'The paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675)', 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., New York University 1990; E.J. Sluijter, *De lof der schilder-*
- kunst; Over schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) en een traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642*, Hilversum 1993; R. Baer *et al.*, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675; Master painter in the age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. Washington D.C. (National Gallery of Art), New Haven/London 2000.
- 43 For the *fijnschilders*, see Sluijter, *op. cit.* (n. 42); P. Hecht, *De Hollandse fijnschilders; Van Gerrit Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), Amsterdam/Maarssen 1989. R. Baer (see the studies cited in n. 42 above) has made several noteworthy attempts to explore Dou's role as an innovator in subject matter. For the problem of subject matter and the *fijnschilders*, see also E.J. Sluijter, 'Over fijnschilders en "betekenis"'. Naar aanleiding van Peter Hecht, *De Hollandse fijnschilders'. Oud Holland* 105 (1991), 50-63.
- 44 For Dou's patronage, see Martin, *op. cit.* (n. 42), 43-50, 64-69, *passim*; I. Gaskell, 'Gerrit Dou, his patrons and the art of painting', *The Oxford Art Journal* 5 (1982), 15-23; Sluijter, 'Schilders', *op. cit.* (n. 42), 36-39; Baer, 'The paintings of Gerrit Dou', *op. cit.* (n. 42), I, 87-108; *idem*, 'The life and art of Gerrit Dou', in: R. Baer *et al.*, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675; Master painter in the age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. Washington D.C. (National Gallery of Art), New Haven/London 2000, 30-31, *passim*. See also Fock, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 3-36.
- 45 For the economic aspects of the art of Dou and his fellow *fijnschilders* see J.M. Montias, 'Cost and value in seventeenth-century Dutch art', *Art History* 10 (1987), 462; B. Kempers, 'Opdrachtgevers, verzamelaars en kopers. Visies op kunst in Holland tijdens de Republiek', *Holland; Regionaal-Historisch Tijdschrift* 23 (1991), 204-205; Montias, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 65; Bok, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 126.
- 46 This was noted during Dou's lifetime by Angel, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 238. See also the literature cited in n. 44 above.
- 47 See Baer, 'The life and art of Gerrit Dou', *op. cit.* (n. 44), 44-45 n. 41. Hecht, *op. cit.* (n. 43), downplays the importance of subject matter for Dou and the other *fijnschilders* on the grounds that the primary goal of their art was the virtuosic simulation of reality; see the critique by Sluijter, 'Over fijnschilders', *op. cit.*, (n. 43).
- 48 Dou's elite aspirations are most apparent in his *Self-portrait* in Kansas City in which he represents himself as a gentleman; see Gaskell, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 21; Baer *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 42), cat. nr. 27.
- 49 As is well known, Queen Christina of Sweden did return ten of Dou's paintings sent to her by Pieter Spiering, Swedish minister to the Netherlands and patron of the artist. However, these pictures were most likely returned because the Queen preferred Italian art; see Martin, *op. cit.* (n. 42), 44-47. For the possible role of civilized values in the Queen's decision, see ns. 55, 57 below.
- 50 Baer, 'The life and art of Gerrit Dou', *op. cit.* (n. 44), 41.
- 51 The depiction of virtuous elderly women was one of Dou's specialities; this imagery arose initially in the circle of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-69) and his studio but was popularized by his erstwhile student Dou; see Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 169-172, 182-183, *passim*; Baer, 'The life and art of Gerrit Dou', *op. cit.* (n. 44), 38.
- 52 For this painting, see Baer, 'The paintings of Gerrit Dou', *op. cit.* (n. 42), cat. nr. 77. For the theme of breast-feeding in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, see M.F. Durantini, *The child in seventeenth-century Dutch painting*, Ann Arbor 1983, 6-38; Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 113-118.
- 53 Durantini, *op. cit.* (n. 52), 7-13.
- 54 For these decorative accoutrements, see further the discussion below.
- 55 However, at this comparatively early stage in the relationship between art and civility, Dou's polished, bright manner was also employed for pictures of more dubious content. Baer, 'The life and art of Gerrit Dou', *op. cit.* (n. 44), 45 n. 43, notes that Dou's patron, De Bye owned and displayed at his little exhibition of the artist's work in 1665, a number of pictures of nudes and amorous, seductive subjects. Sluijter, 'Schilders', *op. cit.* (n. 42), 37, observes that commercial interests likely underlay this exhibition. Thus, a variety of subjects might have been placed on display for financial reasons. Nevertheless, Dou's depiction of seductive imagery was offensive to later, 'more civilized' generations; see, for example, A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlanische konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (first published in 1718), The Hague 1753, vol. 2, 5-6, who laments that Dou did not use 'zyn penceel tot het verbeelden

- van waardiger en pryselyker voorwerpen [...]'. For civility and changes in the subject matter of Dutch genre painting during the second half of the seventeenth century, see Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 20). See also n. 57 below.
- 56 Gerard de Lairese, *The art of painting...* (first published in Dutch in 1707), trans. J.F. Fritsch, London 1738, 101, 'Francis Mieris has not only curiously followed his master Gerrad Dou, in the elegant modern manner [...]'. See also Sluijter, 'Schilders', *op. cit.* (n. 42), 23-24. For De Lairese's notion of the 'modern manner', which he discusses in relation to the superior 'antique manner', see C. Kemmer, 'In search of classical form: Gerard de Lairese's *Groot schilderboek* and seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting', *Simiolus* 26 (1998), 87-115. See also L. Vergara, 'Antiek and modern in Vermeer's *Lady writing a letter with her maid*', in: I. Gaskell and M. Jonker (eds.), *Vermeer studies* (Studies in the History of Art, 55), New Haven/London 1998, 245-249.
- 57 De Lairese, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 98. As was stated in n. 55 above, Dou was active during a period in which concepts of civility were just beginning to impact art significantly. This explains why some of his subjects were considered offensive by later generations. For civility and changes in the subject matter of Dutch genre painting during the second half of the seventeenth century, see Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 20). See also the discussion above of the order for pictures submitted in March 1663 by the Antwerp-born but Parisian based art dealer Jean-Michel Picart to his Antwerp supplier, Matthijs Musson; Picart specified that he did not want any subjects that were potentially offensive through their vulgarity or crudity. That Picart would want non-offensive, namely, civilized subject matter in the pictures he was ordering should come as no surprise since his clients were French; France was the country whose culture was considered the most 'civilized' in Europe at that time.
- 58 See W. Franits, "'Young women preferred white to brown": some remarks on Nicolaes Maes and the cultural context of late seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture', in: R. Falkenburg *et al.* (eds.), *Beeld en zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse kunst, 1550-1750* (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46), Zwolle 1995, 406-409; *idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 16-18. Several scholars have studied De Lairese's text in detail, including: Georg Kauffmann, 'Studien zum großen Malerbuch des Gerard de Lairese', *Jahrbuch für Aesthetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1955-57), 153-96; A. Dolders, 'Some remarks on Lairese's *Groot Schilderboek*', *Simiolus* 15 (1985), 197-220; A. Roy, *Gerard de Lairese (1640-1711)*, Paris 1992, 88-104; Kemmer, *op. cit.* (n. 56).
- 59 De Lairese considered the art of the ancients a source of incomparable beauty, one worthy of imitation because he believed it evinced moral perfection. His repeated pronouncements on the lofty content and excellence of antique art prompted Dolders, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 217-18, to remark that the artist was likely projecting seventeenth-century moral ideals upon it. See also Roodenburg, 'Over scheefhalzen', *op. cit.* (n. 21), 160; *idem*, 'How to Sit', *op. cit.* (n. 21), 180-181; *idem*, 'On "swelling" the hips', *op. cit.* (n. 21), 68-69.
- 60 Perhaps the most important motif that Dou popularized in the service of illusionism was the niche-like enclosure; see the comprehensive study by U. Kleinmann, 'Rahmen und Gerahmtes; Das Spiel mit Darstellung und Bedeutung. Eine Untersuchung des illusionistischen Rahmencorpus im Oeuvre Gerrit Dous', Ph.D. diss. Ruhr-Universität Bochum 1996.
- 61 For the motif of the curtain in Dou's art, see Gaskell, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 19-20; Sluijter, 'Schilders', *op. cit.* (n. 42), 21-23; *idem*, *Leidse fijnschilders*, *op. cit.* (n. 43), cat. nr. 9; Hecht, *op. cit.* (n. 43), cat. nr. 5; Sluijter, *De lof der schilderkunst*, *op. cit.* (n. 42), 19-20; Baer *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 42), cat. nr. 16.
- 62 Pliny the Elder, *Natural history*, 35:65. According to Pliny, the two painters entered into a contest of artistic skill. Zeuxis painted grapes with such life-likeness that they deceived birds who attempted to eat them. When Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw back the curtain of his painting to expose its subject the former was bested because the skillful illusion of the latter's painted curtain had completely deceived him: Zeuxis did not realize that the curtain was in fact the painting's subject. M. Westermann, 'Adriaen van de Venne, Jan Steen, and the art of serious play', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 15 (1999), 36-37, interprets Dou's *Maid with a basket of fruit* (Waddesdon Manor, National Trust; her fig. 1) as a demonstration of his mimetic skills coupled with clever references to Pliny the Elder's story: 'But to the most conscientious connoisseurs the picture must have resembled a sly play of the artist on the tradition of illusionist painting and on the viewers themselves. The elaborate bird house on the right, empty for the moment, would have alerted many a contemporary that this girl is displaying her grapes for the same reason Zeuxis painted his: to lure birds. In Dou's case, the marveling viewer is the bird, held captive by Dou as securely as Zeuxis was by his rival. Close scrutiny of the bird contraption reveals the master of this game, for its glass water bowl reflects the artist and his easel in exquisite miniature'.
- 63 See C. Brusati, *Artifice & illusion; The art and writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten*, Chicago/London 1995, 9-15, *passim*; *idem*, 'Honorable deceptions and dubious distinctions: self-imagery in trompe-l'oeil', in: O. Koester *et al.*, *Illusions: Gijsbrechts, royal master of deception*, exh. cat. Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst), Copenhagen 1999, 62-65.
- 64 K. van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters* (first published in Dutch in 1604), 6 vols., ed. H. Miedema, Doornspijk 1994-1999, vol. 1, 322. This passage is cited by Brusati, *Artifice & illusion*, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 11; *idem*, 'Honorable deceptions', *op. cit.* (n. 63), 62.
- 65 J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau- Bild und Malerei-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675-80; reprint ed., 3 vols., Nördlingen 1994-95, vol. 1, 310. This passage is cited by Brusati, 'Honorable deceptions', *op. cit.* (n. 63), 63.
- 66 Brusati, 'Honorable deceptions', *op. cit.* (n. 63), 63-64. *idem*, *Artifice & illusion*, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 156, *passim*, repeatedly demonstrates how fundamental this is to Samuel van Hoogstraten's notions of art and self.
- 67 Brusati, 'Honorable deceptions', *op. cit.* (n. 63), 63, 'What is striking in all these stories is their emphasis on the aesthetic value accorded to illusionist artifice both by merchants and by sovereigns, by those within court circles and those who competed for honor in the commercial sphere'.

- 68 These factors might explain the presence of an illusionistic curtain in Dou's *Self-portrait* in a private collection; see Baer *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 42), cat. no. 29.
- 69 For De Hooch, see P.C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, Ithaca 1980, 45, who states that domestic subjects comprise over one-third of the artist's work. See also *idem*, *Pieter de Hooch 1629-1684*, exh. cat. Hartford (Wadsworth Atheneum), New Haven/London 1998-99.
- 70 De Hooch was one of the few artists of his day to depict servants as an independent subject. In W. Franits, 'The depiction of servants in some paintings by Pieter de Hooch', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989), 559-566, I argued that De Hooch's early years as a servant in the employment of the Delft linen merchant Justus de la Grange might have influenced his choice of subject matter. Sutton, exh. cat., *op. cit.* (n. 69), 85-86 n. 141, takes issue with my thesis.
- 71 For this painting, see Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, *op. cit.* (n. 69), cat. no. 34, *passim*; Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 70), 563-565; Sutton, exh. cat., *op. cit.* (n. 69), cat. no. 18.
- 72 Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 70), 565, points out the connection between the maid descending the stairs in the painting and the inscription on the plaque above the archway which exhorts visitors to be humble, to 'descend if we wish to be raised'. L. Slatkes, *Vermeer and his contemporaries*, New York 1981, 124, had earlier noted 'the play on words in the Dutch inscription [which] echoes the spatial movements in and out of the framework that De Hooch has here created'.
- 73 De Hooch's pictures were much more modest in price versus those by Dou. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, *op. cit.* (n. 69), 54, briefly examines the prices of De Hooch paintings, beginning with those that appear in De la Grange's inventory of 1655. In this inventory eleven pictures by the artist were valued between 6 and 20 guilders. The fact that a painting by Gerrit Dou was likewise valued at 6 guilders in this inventory should raise our suspicions about the accuracy of the notary's judgements. As M.J. Bok, 'Pricing the unpriced: How Dutch seventeenth-century painters determined the selling price of their work', in: M. North and D. Ormrod (eds.), *Art markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, Aldershot, 1998, 104, points out, appraisals in probate inventories and auctions are of only limited value for understanding the original prices of paintings because notaries and auctioneers tend to underestimate their worth. See also J. M. Montias, 'Estimates of the number of Dutch master-painters, their earnings and their output in 1650', in: *De werkelijkheid achter vernis: Zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst (Leidschrift 6)*, Leiden 1990, 68-69; J. Loughman, 'Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie: Openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719', in: C. Brusati *et al.*, *De zichtbare werelt; Schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad*, exh. cat. Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum), Zwolle 1992-93, 51. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, *op. cit.* (n. 69), 54, states that the value of De Hooch's paintings only began to rise significantly after the artist's death in 1684.
- 74 Sutton, exh. cat., *op. cit.* (n. 69), 15, concludes that De Hooch's clientele was largely middle and upper middle-class patrons. Nevertheless, De Hooch's paintings still bespeak the same wholesome, civilized values as expensive pictures destined for a more elite clientele because elite ideals generally have a 'trickle down effect': persons of lower social status often (though not always) aspire to lifestyles and values associated with their superiors. This lies at the heart of the process aristocratization, discussed earlier in the present study; see also n. 17 above. De Vries, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 106, points out this phenomenon with respect to consumer acquisitions, a rubric under which the purchase of art would fall. C.W. Fock, 'Werkelijkheid of schijn. Het beeld van het Hollandse interieur in de zeventiende-eeuwse genreschilderkunst', *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), 240 n. 158, quotes a fascinating archival document of 1645 in which the Amsterdam merchant Nicolaes Spiljeurs rented an expensive Turkish carpet for several weeks so that it could be included in a portrait of himself that was currently being painted. Although Fock does not say so, surely Spiljeurs wanted to include the carpet in his portrait for the associations of status that it evoked. Other examples, drawn from the realm of literature, shed further light on this trickle down effect. The eventual trans-
- lation into vernacular Dutch of several important civility manuals in an effort to make them available to a wider audience also suggests that people belonging to classes below those of the elite aspired to be 'more civilized'; see H. Roodenburg, 'The "hand of friendship": Shaking hands and other gestures in the Dutch Republic', in: J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (eds.), *A cultural history of gesture from antiquity to the present day*, London 1991, 154-57; *idem*, 'Over scheefthalzen', *op. cit.* (n. 21), 154. Moreover, J. de Vries, *The Dutch rural economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700*, New Haven/London 1974, 235, states that the rural population of the seventeenth century was particularly receptive to urban cultural values.
- 75 However, it is difficult to determine whether several of De Hooch's paintings of circa 1660-61 were executed in Delft or Amsterdam; see Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, *op. cit.*, (n. 69), 30; *idem*, exh. cat., *op. cit.* (n. 69), 47-48.
- 76 For this picture, see Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, *op. cit.* (n. 69), cat. no. 52; Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 104-107.
- 77 As Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, *op. cit.* (n. 69), 30-31; and *idem*, exh. cat., *op. cit.* (n. 69), 52, observes, the finer execution of De Hooch's pictures at this time likely reveal his knowledge of the work of the *fijnschilders*. However, like Dou, not all of De Hooch's subject matter painted in this finer style was intrinsically wholesome; see ns. 55, 57 above.
- 78 Fock, *op. cit.* (n. 74), 187-246. See also T. Wijnsbeek-Olthuis, 'Het Hollandse interieur in beeld en geschrift', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 23 (1996), 145-61.
- 79 Fock, *op. cit.* (n. 74), 219, 225.
- 80 T. Wijnsbeek-Olthuis, 'Vreemd en eigen: Ontwikkelingen in de woon- en leefcultuur binnen de Hollandse steden van de zestiende tot de negentiende eeuw', in: P. te Boekhorst *et al.* (eds.), *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland 1500-1850; Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, Heerlen 1992, 95, observes that household goods had two sorts of functions, namely, their use and status. By the latter, she meant how these objects reveal the owner's rank and social connections to the outside world. Thus, considerations of status play an important role in the decoration and use of rooms. P. Burke, *op. cit.* (n. 24),

- 149-150, has reached similar conclusions. In my opinion, Wijsenbeek-Olthuis's and Burke's views on the status associations of household goods are largely applicable to paintings. Bok, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 204, points out that wealthy buyers not only purchased pictures for decorative or investment reasons but also for the reasons of status. See also n. 83 below. For a historical study of the concept of luxury, see C.J. Berry, *The idea of luxury: A conceptual and historical investigation*, Cambridge/New York 1994.
- 81 P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. R. Nice, Cambridge (Mass.) 1984. Bourdieu's book first appeared in French in 1979. See also *idem*, *The field of cultural production; Essays on art and literature*, intro. and ed. R. Johnson, New York 1993, 112-141, 215-266, in which Bourdieu applies his theories more specifically to the history of art in terms of production and reception.
- 82 See n. 74 above.
- 83 In recent years, Bourdieu's work has been increasingly cited by scholars of the early modern Netherlands: for example, Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *op. cit.* (n. 80), 80; *idem*, 'A matter of taste. Lifestyle in Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth century', in: A. J. Schuurman and L.S. Walsh (eds.), *Material culture: Consumption, life-style, standard of living, 1500-1900* (Proceedings Eleventh International Economic Congress), Milan 1994, 44; Burke, *op. cit.* (n. 18), xxi-xxii; Honig, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 205. See also n. 80 above.
- 84 Many other themes in Dutch art must be considered in connection with notions of civility; for example, Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 20), links the general change in representations of peasants from vulgar to benign with the civilizing process. Likewise, Kettering, 'Gerard ter Borch's military men', *op. cit.* (n. 20), 114-115, associates Ter Borch's images of soldiers, which introduce a hitherto unseen level of elegance and refinement into this decades-old imagery, with the civilizing of Dutch culture during the second half of the seventeenth century. Not only the acts of purchasing and displaying paintings imputed status to the owner but as Honig, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 170-212, has demonstrated, the very knowledge of different artistic styles, articulated in the language of the skilled connoisseur, connoted social rank and distinction as well. See also *idem*, 'The beholder as a work of art; A study of the location of value in seventeenth-century Flemish painting', in: Falkenburg *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 253-297.
- 85 The possession of taste, like other aspects of civility, provided a means by which the elites – or those who aspired to be part of the elite – could distance themselves from the masses. In this sense, the adoption by artists of specific painting styles can sometimes be said to convey values centering around good taste, intelligence, sophistication, and superiority. Naturally, the masses were identified with popular taste which was considered debased because it was unlearned and sense-oriented; see M. Moriarty, *Taste and ideology in seventeenth-century France*, Cambridge/New York 1988, 96-7, 190-91. To my knowledge, no comparable, comprehensive study exists of taste in the Netherlands during this period.
- 86 R. Chartier, *Cultural history; Between practices and representations*, trans. L.G. Cochrane, Ithaca 1988, 39.