LUXURY in the LOW COUNTRIES

Le superflu, chose très nécessaire", wrote Voltaire 1736 in his poem Le mondain. Needless to say that luxury is much more than merely materialised/solidified redundancy. Offering a first panoramic view on various manifestations of conspicuous material culture in a Netherlandish context from 1500 until the present, this study – rather than investigating self-evident cases of luxury – aims to explore its boundaries and the different stages in which luxury is fabricated or sometimes only simulated. Thematically, the volume focuses on two major issues, i.e. collections and foodways as means of expression of prosperity and splendour, which will be discussed by an international group of scholars, emanating from disciplines such as archaeology, history, book and media studies, art history, linguistics, and historical ethnology.

With an afterword by Maxine Berg.

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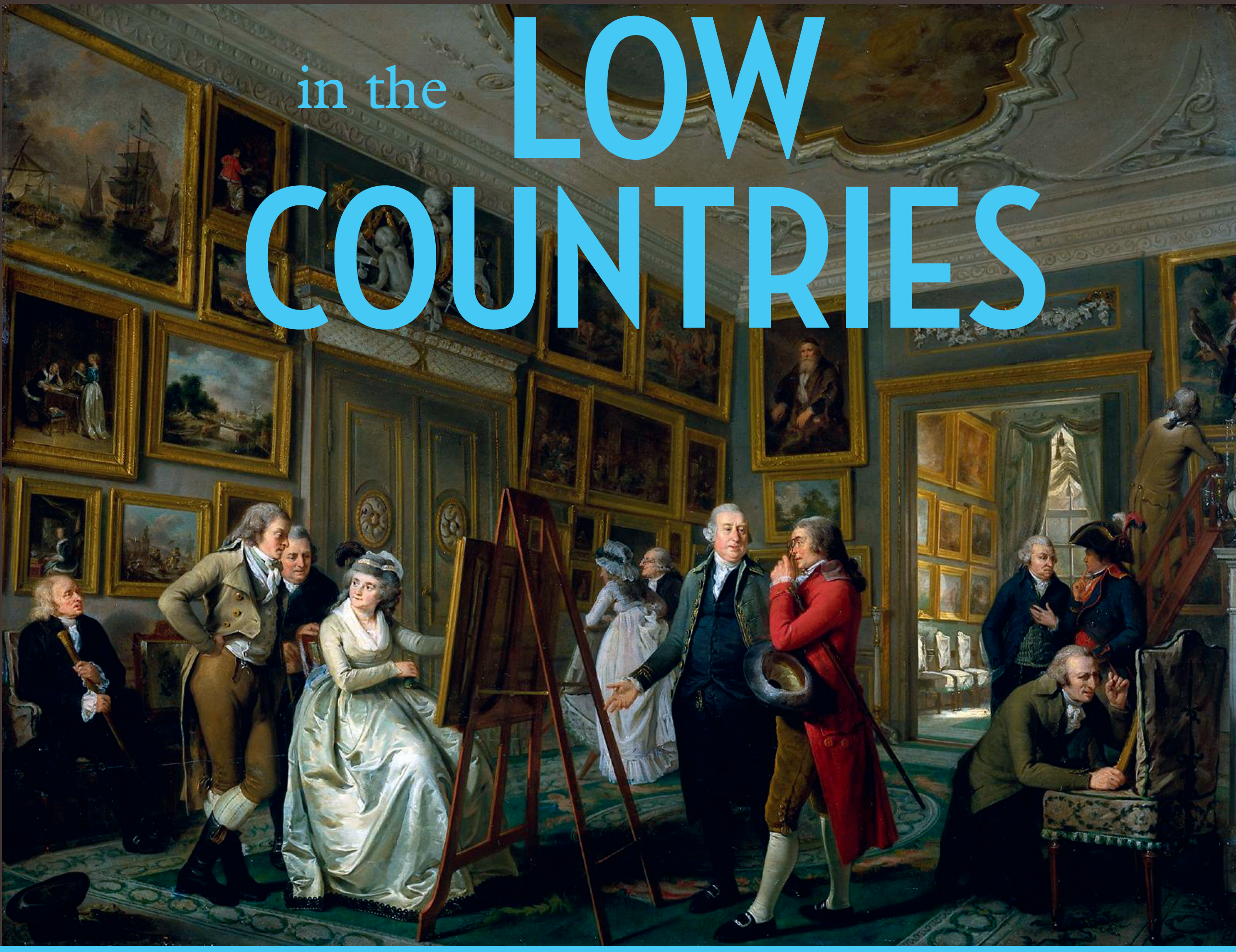

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS ON NETHERLANDISH MATERIAL CULTURE, 1500 TO THE PRESENT

Rengenier Rittersma (ed.)

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Part one

Context and Concepts

1.1

Putting Social Status and Social Aspirations on Display: A Panoramic Study on Manifestations of Luxury in the Low Countries, 1500 to the Present*

RENGENIER C. RITTERSMA

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O, reason not the need!
Our basest beggars are in the poorest thing superfluous.
Shakespeare, *King Lear*

Needing would not be tragic if we could learn to give up what we cannot get.
But we are not animals: our needs and our realities are not made for each other.
Michael Ignatieff, *The needs of strangers*

–

History conferences and their proceedings can usually be subdivided in those with a telescopic and those with a panoramic span. This volume belongs to the second category in that it – instead of offering a high-precision view of a more or less distant historical phenomenon – attempts to give a first rough synopsis of various dimensions and manifestations of luxury in Netherlandish material culture from 1500 to the present.

The articles collected in this volume are elaborated papers which were originally presented at a conference, organised in Brussels on 21-22 November 2008 and coordinated by Peter Scholliers, FARO. Flemish interface for cultural heritage, and the undersigned. The symposium was made possible by the financial support of the Flemish and Dutch Research Organisations in the framework of the programme *Vlaams-Nederlands Comité* (Flemish-Dutch Cooperation in the Humanities), and by generous contributions from FOST (Social and Cultural Food Studies, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*) and FARO. The present volume contains a selection of ten articles out of the fourteen that were delivered at the conference.

Before introducing the various contributions to this collective work, three preliminary issues should be clarified: firstly, the vexed question of luxury and its use in this volume. Secondly, some explicatory remarks need to be made on the chronological and geographical perimeters of this study and more in particular on the adoption of the somewhat ambiguous term 'Netherlandish' in this context. Finally, a few lines should be dedicated on what is actually meant here with 'panoramic study'.

1 / Luxury – limits and chances of a concept

It is generally known that the notion of luxury in European culture, due to – amongst others – the stoic and Christian tradition, is a morally much contested one.[1] By virtue of these perennial debates, luxury inevitably also evolved into an important analytical key for social scientists and humanities scholars, attempting to 'decipher' mechanisms and devices aimed at inducing social stratification within groups or societies from the past or the present. Almost one hundred years after the publication of one of the first systematic approaches to explore the history of luxury – *Luxus und Kapitalismus,*[2] written by the German sociologist annex economist Werner Sombart (1913) – it can be said that luxury has grown into a widely explored topic and, more specifically, into a vividly contested concept as well.

This very controversial nature of luxury may be, at least partly, due to the ideological rift which characterised nearly all intellectual debates of the past century. In a more indirect way luxury also turned out to be a proven touchstone to contribute to the verification or falsification of other Gordian knots, such as the problem of agency with regard to consumer behaviour,[3] the question whether consumption is demand-driven or supply-driven,[4] the contraposition of protestant versus Roman catholic consumption patterns,[5] the issue of the informational value of material culture,[6] the problem of the social, political, and ecological implications of commodity chains[7] etc.

1 See e.g.: C.J. Berry, *The idea of luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994; J. Appleby, 'Consumption in early modern social thought', in: J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the world of goods*. London & New York, Routledge, 1993, p. 162-177; W. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability 1600 – 1800.* New York, Routledge 2002, especially p. 63-139; U. Wyrwa, 'Luxus und Konsum. Begriffsgeschichtliche Aspekte', in: R. Reith & T. Meyer (eds.), *"Luxus und Konsum" - eine historische Annäherung*. Münster, Waxmann, 2003, p. 47-60; T. Meyer, 'Zwischen sozialer Restriktion und ökonomischer Notwendigkeit. „Konsum" in ökonomischen Texten der Frühen Neuzeit', in: Reith & Meyer, *"Luxus und Konsum"*, p. 61-82; E. Hundert, 'Mandeville, Rousseau and the political economy of fantasy', in: M. Berg & E. Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the eighteenth century: debates, desires and delectable goods*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 28-41; N. Bulst, 'Vom Luxusverbot zur Luxussteuer. Wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte von Luxus und Konsum in der Vormoderne', in: M. Prinz (ed.), *Der lange Weg in den Überfluss. Anfänge und Entwicklung der Konsumgesellschaft seit der Vormoderne.* Paderborn, Schöningh 2003, p. 47-60; A. Provost, 'Les usages du luxe. Enjeux d'un débat au XVIIIe siècle', in: O. Assouly (ed.), *Le luxe. Essais sur la fabrique de l'ostentation*. Paris, Editions de l'institut française de la mode, 2005, p. 69-85.

2 This was the lapidary title of the first edition (München & Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1913). The title of the second, more diffused edition, reads as follows *Liebe, Luxus und Kapitalismus. Über die Entstehung der modernen Welt aus dem Geist der Verschwendung* (1922).

3 M. Bianchi (ed.), *The active consumer. Novelty and surprise in consumer choice*. London & New York, Routledge, 1998.

4 J. De Vries, *The industrious revolution. Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*. Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008, see, for example, p. 20-25.

5 M. Weber, 'Die protestantische Ethik und der „Geist" des Kapitalismus', in: M. Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Tübingen, Mohr, 1920, vol.1, p. 17–236; P. Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung. Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter*. 2 volumes; Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 2006.

6 M. Baulant, A.J. Schuurman & P. Servais (eds.), *Inventaires après déces et ventes des meubles. Apports à une histoire de la vie économique et quotidienne (XIVe siècle – XIXe siècle*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Academia, 1989; A.J. Schuurman& L.S. Walsh (eds.), *Material culture: consumption, life-style, standard of living, 1500-1900. Culture matérielle: consommation, style de vie, niveau de vie, 1500-1900. Proceedings Eleventh International Economic History Congress, Milan september 1994*. Milano, Università Bocconi, 1994.

7 A. Appadurai, *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1986; B.S. Grewe & K. Hofmeester (eds.), *Luxury in global perspective: commodities and practices*. Oxford, Berg, 2010, forthcoming.

However, apart from its instrumental value for the ideological battles and academic polemics of the 20th century, luxury is also a hotly debated concept, because the term suffers from being profoundly meaningless but nevertheless highly suggestive. To put it *ad absurdum*: if virtually everything can be declared luxurious, then luxury necessarily means nothing. The real conceptual problem is that nearly everything *can* be considered a luxury and – which amounts to the same thing – that items which are usually conceived as highly prestigious can easily be declared valueless, as the following hypothetical but realistic case clearly demonstrates.

A rich investment banker possessing two Maserati cars, a penthouse in Milano, a chalet in Davos, and a pied-à-terre with a yacht in Portofino may consider his personal belongings rather futile at the very moment that he on August 15th (Maria Ascension) just before lunchtime, strands on the A-1 between Milano and Piacenza with one of his limousines. With only two drops of *Apollinaris* mineral water left, an outside temperature of 40°C, and no ACI-technician taking notice of his desperate telephone calls, a petty product such as water can suddenly become a pure luxury.

By way of comparison: Around 1900, a bottle with the same mineral water would have been considered an *absolute* luxury all over Europe, except perhaps for the owners of Apollinaris who may have occasionally used mineral water to irrigate the roses in their garden.[8] So it may be clear that what's actually called luxury depends to a large extent on the situation and especially on what one actually *needs* in a particular situation, and perhaps even more on what the people involved think about what's actually a basic necessity and what's surplus. The example of the unfortunate well-to-do investment banker shows that redundancy is culturally and socially determined as well: people who are so wealthy that they never need to worry a split second about the financial aspects of their physical survival are nevertheless obsessed to display their prosperity.[9] Eventually, the concern of the social survival becomes a basic instinct in its own right. This also implies that the usual definition of luxury as goods or activities meant for pleasure and comfort (and thus going beyond mere necessity), seems to be inadequate, as needs effectively tend to increase in proportion to available resources, such as money, leisure, social relations, personal possessions etc.[10]

8 See L. Winterberg, *Wasser – Alltagsgetränk, Prestigeprodukt, Mangelware. Zur kulturellen Bedeutung des Wasserkonsums in der Region Bonn im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Münster & New York, Waxmann 2007; N. Marty, 'Du médicament au soft drink: la source Perrier et la transformation de l'eau minérale en produit de consommation courant au début du XXe siècle', in: A. Drouard & J.P. Williot (eds.), *Histoire des innovations alimentaires, XIXe et XXe siècles*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 2007, p. 93-102 ; P. Peter, 'Vom Krankentrunk zum Lifestylesprudel. Die mediale Aufwertung des Mineralwassers', in: G. Hirschfelder (ed.), *Purer Genuss? Wasser als Getränk, Ware und Kulturgut*. Frankfurt am Main, Campus, 2009, p. 283-289.

9 This phenomenon was first explored by the American sociologist and economist T. Veblen in his *Theory of the leisure class: an economic study of institutions*. New York, The Modern Library 1934 (first published 1899), see especially p. 68-102.

10 N. De Marchi, 'Adam Smith's accommodation of "altogether endless"desires', in: M. Berg & H. Clifford, *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*. Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 18-36; R. Reith, '"Luxus und Konsum" – eine historische Annäherung', in: Reith & Meyer, *"Luxus und Konsum"*, p. 9-27, especially p. 9-110. M. Szölössi-Janze, 'Notdurft – Bedürfnis. Historische Dimensionen eines Begriffswandels', in: Prinz, *Der lange Weg in den Überfluss*, p. 151-173. For a particularly inspiring reading on the complex issue of needs and insatiability: M. Ignatieff, *The needs of strangers*. London, Random House, 1984.

An additional conceptual problem of luxury is its proximity to other concepts and terms which denote adjacent phenomena and evoke similar sentiments and connotations, such as e.g. splendour, magnificence, conspicuous consumption, opulence, lavishness, pomp, sumptuousness, exuberance, flaunting etc. Obviously, luxury is difficult to define, due to its conditional, transient, and open-ended nature. However, from an epistemological point of view it could be rewarding to explore precisely this very *circumstantial nature* of luxury, thus turning necessity into a virtue.

Rather than perpetuating the debate on how to define and demarcate luxury, this volume attempts to distill new insights from the very elasticity of the concept, by implementing a semiotic prism which aims to unveil not only the various material and behavioral disguises, which intend to convey a sense of luxury, but deliberately also its ambivalent manifestations, grey zones, simulations, and experimental stages. So luxury is here primarily studied in its function as a signboard of one's social standing and/or aspirations. The analytic focus is consequently on the medial and semiotic repertory of luxury: how are prosperity and luxury displayed, evoked, suggested, or only simulated? What was it that eventually conveyed (or should convey) a sense of luxury: the mere monetary value of the goods, their exotic provenance, the social context in which they were (re-)presented, or a more sophisticated semantic system of thresholds and hints, such as e.g. naturalistic or artistic expertise, the prerequisite of being initiated in a regional subculture, or – in a dialectic way – the deliberate use of *negative* signposts with regard to luxurious atmospheres? And with what intention was the sense of luxury provoked? Was it aimed at eccentricity, at the exclusive use within the own cultural framework and/or at an open-ended trans-cultural gift giving experiment, at a local ritual to (re-)produce an own cultural tradition (*bricolage culturel*), or at conjuring the *actual* proximity of luxury and its compatibility with modest budget and daily shopping? These are the main questions addressed by the contributions in this volume.[11]

2 / Netherlandish – On the use and abuse of a rather ambiguous term

The adoption of the term Netherlandish in the context of the present volume is not meant as an irredentist invocation of the supposed tribal affinity between Flemish and Dutch, but rather as an indication of the geographical setting of this book. During the pre- and early modern period people coming from the territory, which roughly corresponds to the current states of Belgium, Luxemburg

11 Readings that provoked these questions were, amongst others, P. Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*. Paris, Minuit, 1979 and D. Boyle, *Authenticity. Brands, fakes, spin and the lust for the real life*. London, Harper, 2004, but perhaps even more good old classics, such as W. Sombart, *Liebe, Luxus und Kapitalismus. Über die Entstehung der modernen Welt aus dem Geist der Verschwendung*. Berlin, Wagenbach, 1984 and N. Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1983; N. Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen. 2 Bände.* Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1977/1980.

and the Netherlands were in most cases indicated with an umbrella term like e.g. *Belgae*, *fiamminghi*, *flamengos*, *die Niderländischen Völker* etc. These classifications generally encompassed inhabitants of the whole aforementioned territory, regardless of whether they came from Flanders, Holland, or Belgium. 'Netherlandish' respectively 'Low Countries' would then – at least with regard to the pre- and early modern period – be the most adequate equivalents in English to word this *pars pro toto* phenomenon as an adjective and noun.[12]

Since the failure of the short-lived experiment of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, at least the adjectival use of the term has become politically contaminated. However, considering that the expression Low Countries is still perfectly current and unambiguous and that its adjectival version in this book serves as a geographical classification rather than as a signifier of cultural-linguistic affinity, the use of Netherlandish has here, by default, been extended to the modern and contemporary period as well.[13]

FIGURE 1 | Map of the low countries, 1581 | Ortelius (1527-1598), Descriptio Germaniae Inferioris
www.orteliusmaps.com

12 See, for example, P.J. Van Kessel, *Van Fiandra naar Olanda. Veranderende visie in het vroegmoderne Italië op de Nederlandse identiteit*. Amsterdam, KNAW, 1993.

13 See for the historical backgrounds of the *Groot-Nederlandse* ('Greater-Netherlands') thought: P.J.A.N. Rietbergen & T. Verschaffel (ed.), *De erfenis van 1830*. Leuven, Acco, 2006, especially the chapter by Joep Leerssen p. 177-201, more in particular 195-201; The very fact that Dutch and Flemish broadcasting meanwhile mutually subtitle interviews held in the 'other' language, seems to indicate that the cultural-linguistic gap, unfortunately, is rather growing than decreasing. But in spite of a rather disappearing cultural affinity eruptions of political 'megalonetherlandism' still occasionally occur, either at the Dutch or at the Flemish side.

3 / Some words on the phrase 'panoramic study'

This collective work draws, metaphorically speaking, its inspiration from the artistic genre of the panorama in that it consciously aims at integrating material components *into* the 'historical picture' (although this is, admittedly, easier for a painter than for a historian), and in that it prefers to catch the topic in a preliminary but multifaceted overview rather than in a systematic but one-dimensional high-precision shot. In an attempt to synthesise the element of palpability and of thematic plurality, the volume then focuses on two major issues, i.e. collections and foodways as means of expression of one's standing and social aspirations in the Low Countries from the 16th century to the present. With this comprehensive long-term scope, the present volume also aims to fill, if only in an initiatory way, a specific literature gap which – in spite of quite impressive scholarship on (early) modern Netherlandish material culture – still exists in this field of research, at least for the English readership.[14]

The result is a collection of essays with a varied spectrum, not only with regard to the periods and the regions discussed, but also in terms of the thematic variety and the input of different academic disciplines. The time span stretches from 16th century exotic vegetal and animal collections to 20th century reviews of restaurants in Brussels, whereas the geographical areas treated range from the Dutch VOC-factory at Deshima (Japan) to the dining room in Brussels' Royal Palace, covering

14 The history of luxury of some other European countries has already been investigated more or less systematically. See, for example, M. Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth century Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005; M. North, *Material delight and the joy of living: cultural consumption in the age of Enlightenment in Germany*. Aldershot, Ashgate 2008; J. Marseille (ed.), *Le luxe en France du siècle des « Lumières» à nos jours*. Paris, Adhe, 1999; Assouly (ed.), *Le luxe ; « Papiers » présentés lors de la rencontre AFHE-SISE de mai 2007 sur l'économie du luxe:* http://afhe.ehess.fr/document.php?id=454 (accessed 18 August 2010); Reith & T. Meyer, *"Luxus und Konsum"*; E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance. Consumer cultures in Italy, 1400-1600*. New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1988; E. Welch & M. O' Malley (eds.), *The material Renaissance*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007;
Some studies also exist on Netherlandish material culture and/or consumption culture in which the topic of luxury in the Low Countries is discussed as well. See, amongst others, S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*. London, Collins, 1987, especially p. 127-373; Th. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 'Noblesse oblige. Material culture of the nobility in Holland', in: A.J. Schuurman & P. Spierenburg (eds.), *Private domain, public inquiry : families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the Present*. Hilversum, Verloren 1996, p. 112-125; A. Schuurman, J. De Vries & A. Van Der Woude (eds.), *Aards geluk. De Nederlanders en hun spullen*. Amsterdam, Balans, 1997; J. De Vries, 'Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in theory and practice', in: Berg & Eger, *Luxury in the eighteenth century*, p. 41-57; A.K.L. Thijs, 'Antwerp's luxury industries: the pursuit of profit and artistic sensitivity', in: J. Van Der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis (16th-17th century)*. Gent, Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993, p. 105-113; H. Van Der Wee & J. Materne, 'Antwerp as world market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in: Van Der Stock, *Antwerp.*, p. 19-31; B. Blondé, 'Indicatoren van het luxeverbruik? Het paardenbezit en de *conspicuous consumption* te Antwerpen in de 17e en 18e eeuw', in: *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 84 (2001), p. 497-512; B. Blondé, 'Art and economy in seventeenth and eighteenth century Antwerp. A view from the demand site', in: S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Economia e arte secc. XIII-XVIII (Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini" Prato, serie II, Atti delle "Settimane di studi"e altri convegni, 33)*. Prato, Le Monnier, 2002, p. 379-391; J. Veeckman (ed.), *Majolica and glass from Italy to Antwerp and beyond. The transfer of technology in the 16th-early 17th century*. Antwerpen, Antwerpen City Press, 2003, p. 295-311; B. Blondé, E. Briot, N. Coquery & L. Van Aert (eds.), *Retailers and consumer changes in early modern Europe. England, France, Italy and the Low Countries*. Tours, Presses Universitaires François Rabelais, 2005; B. Blondé, 'Conflicting consumption models. The symbolic meaning of possessions and consumption amongst the Antwerp nobility at the end of the eighteenth century', in: B. Blondé, *Fashioning old and new: changing consumer patterns in Europe (seventeenth-nineteenth centuries)*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, p. 61-81.

both Belgium and the Netherlands with five articles each. Finally, the collected papers in this publication originate from a wide set of fields of interest, such as archaeology, history, book and media studies, art history, linguistics, and historical ethnology.

This first part continues with a conceptual contribution by Christof Jeggle, in which he attempts to pin down and classify a specific category of luxurious goods, i.e. artefacts, by focusing on pre- and early- modern approaches and strategies to establish quality standards, and more in particular by highlighting the pivotal role which actual social interaction between producers and consumers played in determining this ordination. In a second step, he attempts to demonstrate the oscillating role and function of luxury in society since the Renaissance, thus unraveling the very socio-cultural substrata of its manifestations. By combining these insights, a more precise definition of luxury or at least of this specific category of luxurious artifacts is envisaged.

The subsequent section will primarily deal with an analysis of the characteristics that could resp. should transmit a sense of luxury. Florike Egmond opens with an article on the role of exotic *naturalia* for collecting and gift giving aims in the early modern Low (and surrounding) Countries and demonstrates how these items became intermediaries of intensive physical and intellectual interaction between social groups that habitually lived in separate worlds. In her article on tulipmania, Anne Goldgar argues that tulips, apart from the initial stage when they were a subject of scientific curiosity, in a later period became too prone to mimetic and emulative mechanisms. This bottom-up dynamism provoked a top-down drift of moral resentment and cultural despair, which corresponded with a more general feeling of rancour and annoyance about the social mobility in the Dutch society of that time.

The subsequent essay by Joji Nozawa deals with a rather inverse and experimental flow of luxury goods in that it focuses on the transport of luxurious commodities, more in particular of various types of European wine, from Europe to Dutch commercial settlements in Asia, especially in Japan, during the second half of the 18th century. Nozawa shows that wine basically fulfilled a dual function: it served as a 'palliative' for the Company's employees in the Far East suffering from nostalgia. But after an experimental stage, European wines also turned out to be highly efficacious in the diplomatic traffic with the local elites, and triggered additional effects, such as e.g. local wine testing and tasting sessions by Japanese connoisseurs, private trading, and – in the long run – a more general cultural exchange between both populations.

The third part focuses on the inclination of flaunting one's possessions – being in this specific case art collections or garnishments and domestic accessories – and on the wide variety of motives behind ostentatious behaviour as well as on its social impact, by analysing the role that criteria, such as e.g. taste, knowledge, and provenience played in (un-)locking the physical and intellectual access to such collections. Bert Timmermans opens this section with an article on the high society networks of 'collectors-connoisseurs' and their key position in the 17th-century Antwerp art world, where they acted, amongst others, as mediators, referees, brokers, scouts and promoters of promising artists, and as curators of the heritage of the Antwerp painting school. Hester Dibbits' contribution provides what one could call a 'phenomenographic' analysis of the habit of *pronken* (i.e. showing off of ornaments and domestic goods) in Dutch 18th-century rural communities. Her paper shows that seemingly trivial items, such as e.g. buttons, silver headgear, and linen cupboards served as tokens that demonstrated that the owner belonged to a specific familial, confessional, or rural community. By default of exotic and eccentric goods, these social groups proved to be highly inventive and self-conscious in creating their own categories of luxury, by a gradual refinement and upgrading of their immediate everyday material world. A proven strategy of aristocratic or semi-aristocratic merchant elites to distinguish themselves from rival social circles was the adoption of new 'admittance criteria', such as e.g. taste and expertise in dealing with art collections, at the very moment that the 'primary' pursuit of art collecting itself was no longer an absolute guarantee of social status.[15] Cornelia Fanslau's case-study on private Amsterdam art collections in the late 18th and in the 19th century bears evidence of the increasing importance of these 'secondary' (i.e. rather immaterial) demarcating mechanisms.

The fourth and last section aims to explore some hybrid or peripheral manifestations of luxury, in which the luxurious aspect is in one way or another presented as a rather permeable category, which can be prone to hybridisations, simulations or other strategies that eventually demonstrate – and that, perhaps, even aimed at demonstrating – the relativity of luxury and its compatibility with rather contradictory qualities, such as e.g. fair prices, mass consumption and standardisation. Daniëlle De Vooght gives a first example of how the category of luxury could become a court internal issue of establishing fine-tuned hierarchies that essentially reflected the importance of the *convivium* and its respective participants. Her article focuses on the order and *ambiance* of the daily dining table at the royal Belgian court in the second half of the 19th century. Another example of how the status of luxury became gradually transformed or, in this particular case, even inflated can be found in Nelleke Teughels' essay on the marketing strategies of Belgian food retailers

15 Bourdieu, *La distinction*.

between 1870 and the Second World War. From advertising policy to the recurrent (re-)styling of their stores, these enterprises endeavoured in a comprehensive way to evoke a sense of luxury and to make the luxurious in a subtle way simultaneously accessible to a wider range of consumers. The ultimate article turns from the visual communication of luxury to its linguistic representation in 19th and 20th century Brussels restaurant guides. In this study Steven Van den Berghe demonstrates that the language on luxury in gastronomic reviews was rarely explicit and constant, but rather encoded in a variable repertory of connotations, negations, allusions, omissions, and other rhetorical disguises.

As a conclusion, the final section eventually shows that not only the merely material display of luxury, but even the *notion* of luxury and its linguistic use – once privileges of the happy few – has been drastically levelled out and democratised during the last five hundred years. Luxury experienced a quiet but persistent revolution: the medieval sumptuary laws, used by the elites to secure their exclusive access to luxurious goods and practices, are nowadays replaced by the rather opposite and very subtle collective claim that anything should be made affordable to anyone. These changes obviously show not only that the notion and legitimating of luxury are strongly culturally determined, but also that the human horizon tends to be increasingly reduced to mere material factors.That questionable tendency would perhaps even deter King Lear from dissuading resolutely from reflection upon needs.

4 / Acknowledgements

"Working on an edited collection is no fun", as a very experienced editor and contributor of this book admitted recently while I was preparing this volume, but I must confess that I found the editing work quite bearable – thanks to the marvellous assistance of FARO and especially of Ans Van de Cotte, who actually took the bulk of the practical work and did a great job. I would also like to thank Frederik Hautain for his thorough proofreading, as well as Peter Scholliers and Marc Jacobs for their willingness to review the various chapters of this volume.

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Rengenier C. Rittersma (1974) graduated in Modern History (1999) and Germanic Studies (2000) at the *Universiteit van Amsterdam*. He spent seven years in Italy where he obtained his doctoral degree from the EUI in Florence with a thesis on the European myth of Egmont. Here he also commenced postdoctoral research on the cultural history of the truffle in Europe on which he continues to work as an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at Saarland University. Since 2007 he is secretary of the editorial board of the journal Food & History.

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1.2

Economies of Quality as a Concept of Research on Luxury

CHRISTOF JEGGLE

Jacob Burckhardt already detected fashions in the complex material culture of the Italian renaissance[1] and in 1913 Werner Sombart considered luxury goods as a determinant of preindustrial economic development.[2] But it was not until the late 1970s that luxury started to gain broader interest as a topic of research in economic history. In current research, luxury products are no longer considered as exclusive objects only accessible for small elites of the European societies. Certainly, the ability to afford goods considered as luxuries was closely related to the very unequally allocated economic resources. Yet, different social and cultural figurations had their own conventions about what might be considered a 'luxury'. Moreover, on the side of production and distribution it seems that 'luxuries' made up a considerable segment of artisan production and of the commerce with manufactured goods. Therefore the topic of luxury goods goes far beyond just considering their consumption.

The meaning of the term 'luxury' has been discussed since antiquity. The modern term is derived from the Latin terms *luxus* and *luxuria.* The meaning ranged from sumptuous forms of representation to prodigality and the deadly sin of *luxuria* caused by excess and lasciviousness.[3] These two roots influenced the discourses on luxury in European history. There were two dominant lines of discussion: the dimension of splendour in material culture and the practices of living on the one hand and the dimension of moral criticism on the other.[4] Changing social circumstances necessitate the adaptation of a moral category.[5] Therefore luxury has to be dealt with as a category being ascribed to certain objects or practices in order to signify a specific quality. Dealing with luxury as an ascribed quality is generally accepted among researchers. The question is rather how to transform this idea into practice and to find a more systematic approach to the economy of luxury. Developing a concept for the economies of luxury may encounter some difficulties. Although the price mechanism of standard economic theory is based on the premise of equivalent goods being valued, the focus on prices and costs makes it difficult to integrate specific qualities of persons and goods into the theory.[6] This problem is crucial in the discussion of "Economic Parameters of the Italian Art Market (15th to 17th Centuries)" by Richard A. Goldthwaite. He considers the paradigms of standard economic theory as the basis of economic history while delegating questions of

1 J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch.* Stuttgart, Kröner, 1988 (First edition Leipzig 1869), p. 267-272.

2 W. Sombart, *Liebe und Kapitalismus.* München, Leipzig, 1913, 2nd ed. 1922.

3 D. Grugel-Pannier, *Luxus. Eine begriffs- und ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Bernard Mandeville*. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1996, p. 17-38; for the English term luxury, p. 38-63.

4 G. Guerzoni, *Liberalitas*, *Magnificentia*, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles, in: N. De Marchi, C. D. W. Goodwin (eds.), *Economic Engagement with Art, Annual Supplement to Volume 31, History of Political Economy*, Durham. London, Duke University Press, 1999, p. 332-378.

5 J. Vogl, 'Luxus', in: K. Barck (ed.), *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*. Stuttgart, Weimar, Metzler, 2001, vol. 3, p. 694-708.

6 Cf. F. Eymard-Duvernay, 'Conventions de qualité et formes de coordination', in: *Revue économique* 40 (1989) 2, p. 329–359; L. Karpik, *L'économie des singularités*. Paris, Gallimard, 2007.

quality to art history.[7] Also, the New Institutional Economics would need a precisely defined institution of luxury that could be applied as a factor of transaction costs to the analysis of economic processes.[8] Meanwhile, the analysis of economic practices does not need to be restricted to the theories and approaches of economics: since the 1970s, a large field of sociological, and more recently of cultural analysis of economies has been developed, which still has not found much reception on the side of economic history.[9]

The aspect of quality is essential to the French *économie des conventions* and the sociology of markets of Harrison C. White.[10] More recently the German sociologist Rainer Diaz-Bone has proposed a complex model for linking cultural discourses and economic practices.[11] These approaches offer tools for the analysis of the historical economies of luxury. Before developing suggestions for the reception of the sociological approaches for the economies of quality, some dimensions of the differing qualities in the field of historical research on luxury will be outlined to show their relevance for research. Since the term 'economy of quality' is not new to the history of luxury, the term will be introduced as it has been established. Finally, some more extended approaches will be discussed.

1 / Cultures of Luxury

Since research on luxury has been combined with the paradigm of a rising consumer society, it seems as if there has been a kind of competition to find the first consumer in European history.[12] In particular Richard A. Goldthwaite's 'Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600' drew attention to the case of elite cultures in northern Italy since the 14th century.[13] The merchant cities of Italy also

7 R. A. Goldthwaite, 'Economic Parameters of the Italian Art Market (15th to 17th Centuries)', in: M. Fantoni, L. C. Matthew & S. F. Matthews-Grieco (eds.), *The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries / Il Mercato dell'Arte in Italia, secc. XV–XVII*. Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini, 2003, p. 423-444. See also the discussion in V. Pinchera, 'Arte e economia. Una lettura interdisciplinare', in: *Rivista di storia economica* 22 (2006) 2, p. 241-266.

8 E. G. Furubotn & R. Richter, *Institutions & Economic Theory. The Contribution of the New Institutional Economics, Second Edition*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.

9 Cf. F. Eymard-Duvernay (ed.), *L'économie des conventions. Méthods et résultats*, 2 vols. Paris, La Découverte, 2006; N. J. Smelser & R. Swedberg (eds.) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994, Second Editon 2005.

10 H. C. White, *Markets from Networks. Socioeconomic Models of Production*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002.

11 R. Diaz-Bone, 'Kulturwelt, Diskurs und Lebensstil. Eine diskurstheoretische Erweiterung der Bourdieuschen Distinktionstheorie, 2. erweiterte Auflage, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften', 2010, esp. p. 117-136; R. Diaz-Bone, 'Qualitätskonventionen als Diskursordnungen in Märkten', in: R. Diaz-Bone & G. Krell (eds.), *Diskurs und Ökonomie. Diskursanalytische Perspektiven auf Märkte und Organisationen, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften*, 2009, p. 267-292.

12 Cf. B. Blondé, 'Shoppen met Isabella d'Este. De Italiaaanse renaissance als bakermat van de consumptiesamenleving?', in: *Stadsgeschiedenis* 2 (2007), p. 139-151.

13 R. A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600*, Baltimore. London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. More research on cases comparing Italy not only to Western Europe, but to other Mediterranean societies would be welcome. See for example R. Sarti, 'Cultura materiale e consumi in Europa e nel Mediterraneo', in: R. Bizzocchi (ed.), *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo, Sezione V, L'età moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII), Volume X, Ambiente, Popolazione, Società*. Roma, Salerno, 2009, p. 353-416.

remained an important source for the delivery of luxury products to other parts of Europe up to the 18th century, finding some European competitors from the 16th century on.[14] Antwerp was an important place for the production of art and the distribution of luxury goods in the 16th century and in the early 17th century.[15] In the 17th century Amsterdam developed as a 'gateway' for the trade of luxury goods.[16] As a result of specific economic policies France started to dominate the culture of luxury goods in many parts of Europe from the 17th century onward.[17] At the same time in Britain a culture and commerce of luxury goods came up, which was rooted in the consumption of the middle classes.[18] Even though production and consumption of luxury goods were an important part of their economies as well, the German territories are not very much considered to be a source of inspiration for luxury goods: the Germans seemed to be rather receptive in this respect.[19] Since mercantilist theorists considered an imitation of the consumption of luxuries at the court in Paris unaffordable for German courts,[20] the imitation of these luxury goods inspired the establishment of local industries within the German territories. For example the production of hard porcelain was being developed in Saxony in early 18th century: the Meissen porcelain was established as a luxury good in high demand.[21] Early modern Augsburg and Nuremberg remain well known for their esteemed gold- and silverware.[22] Historians still tend to consider the investments in the monuments of baroque culture primarily as a form of lavish splendour, which

14 A comprehensive overview for recent research is lacking, for Venice cf. P. Lanaro (ed.), *At the Centre of the Old World. Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and the Venetian Mainland, 1400-1800*, Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2006, for the exportation of silk R. Mazzei, *Traffici e uomini d'affari italiani in Polonia nel seicento*. Milano, Franco Angeli, 1983; for the 18th century transalpine trade A. Bonoldi, *La fiera e il dazio. Economia e politica commerciale nel Tirolo del secondo settecento*. Trento, Società di Studi Trentini di Scienze storiche, 1999, p. 339-394, on new interpretations of the developement of Italian economic history F. Franceschi & L. Molà, 'L'economia del Rinascimento: dalle teorie della crisi alla 'preistoria del consumismo'', in: M. Fantoni (ed.), *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, vol. I., *Storia e storiagrafia*. Treviso, Angelo Colla, 2005, p. 185-200.

15 F. Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market. Commercialization and Art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003; I. Van Damme, 'Het vertrek van Mercurius. Historiografische en hypothetische verkenningen van het economisch wedervaren van Antwerpen in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw', in: *NEHA jaarboek voor economische, bedrijfs- en techniekgeschiedenis* 66 (2003), p. 6-39.

16 C. Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange. Merchants, Commercial Expansion, and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006. M. North, *Das Goldene Zeitalter. Kunst und Kommerz in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Köln, Weimar, Wien, Böhlau, 2001; B. Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste. Relations in Architecture and Culture between Dutch Republic and the Baltic World in the Seventeenth Century*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, see also the issue of *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28 (2003) 3&4.

17 C. Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets. The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*. London 1996, and most recently: S. Castelluccio (ed.), *Le commerce du luxe à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Echanges nationaux et internationaux*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2009; W. H. Sewell, 'The Empire of Fashion and the Rise of Capitalism in Eighteenth Century France', in: *Past & Present* 206 (2010), p. 81-120.

18 Research on Great Britain is extensive, a comprehensive approach is offered by M. Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 2005.

19 M. North, *Genuss und Glück des Lebens. Kulturkonsum im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Köln, Weimar, Wien, Böhlau, 2003.

20 T. Meyer, 'Zwischen sozialer Restriktion und ökonomischer Notwendigkeit. »Konsum« in ökonomischen Texten der Frühen Neuzeit', in: T. Meyer & R. Reith, *"Luxus und Konsum" – eine historische Annäherung*. Münster, New York, Berlin, LIT, 2003, p. 61-82.

21 M. Cassidy-Geiger (ed.), *Fragile Diplomacy. Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca. 1710-63*. New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 2007.

22 H. Seling with S. Singer, *Die Augsburger Gold- und Silberschmiede 1529-1868. Meister, Marken, Werke*. München, C. H. Beck, 2007; K. Tebbe, U. Timann, T. Eser e. a., *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1541-1868. Band I: Meister, Werke, Marken, Band II: Goldglanz und Silberstrahl*. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2007.

also might have been of some economic use.[23] At least in the context of research on luxury it seems to be more appropriate to consider these investments as part of a culture of luxury that was not restricted to the courts, but also influenced the society in general and introduced new forms of production and products.

In short, we have to deal with very different situations within the European countries and with a historical change of time over some centuries. Going beyond the European perspective, it becomes more and more obvious that the history of luxuries has to be seen within a more global framework.[24] These observations make clear that these specific contexts cannot be treated as one homogenous way of dealing with luxury goods, but since they influenced each other, it is important to recognize the linkages between the different local cultures of luxury.[25]

2 / Economies of quality

The discourses that define and communicate qualities of products and persons are often ignored in economic analysis.[26] It is not always clearly indicated whether the term 'luxury' has actually been used in historical contexts and figurations under investigation or if it is merely an analytical category of the researcher. Is the attribution of the category of 'luxury' a projection of contemporary concepts of luxury? The ascription of 'luxury' often implicitly refers to such different aspects as 'superfluous' goods, which are not considered as 'necessities' of everyday live, to highly valued goods in general and also to works of Art and of arts-and-crafts. As Salvatore Ciriacono has pointed out, it makes sense to differentiate between luxury products which were characterized by the aesthetic design on the one hand, and the material and quality products (like optical instruments), which, were characterized by the quality of craftmanship on the other hand.[27] All these aspects have to be dealt with as relational categories within specific social and cultural figurations. Think for instance about liturgical instruments and other precious objects of religious art that cannot be considered in the same manner as secular objects of luxury. Still, religious objects were sometimes taken out of their specific religious environment and were put on the market. As such, they could be transferred into the secular world of markets for luxury goods and remain in the secular world as objects of

23 P. Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung. Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter*, 2 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 2006, vol. 1, p. 528-600.

24 Cf. M. Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', in: *Past & Present* 182 (2004), 85-142; M. Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure*, p. 46-110; M. North (ed.) *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900. Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*. Farnham, Ashgate, 2010.

25 An interesting approach is offered by T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art*. Chicago, Chicago University Press 2004.

26 R. Diaz-Bone & G. Krell (eds.), *Diskurs und Ökonomie.* Diskursanalytische Perspektiven auf Märkte und Organisationen, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009.

27 S. Ciriacono, 'Per una storia dell'industria di lusso in Francia. La concorrenza italiana nei secoli XVI e XVII', in: *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, 14 (1978), p. 181-202, here 182.

representation or even as precious raw material.
What could a framework for a more structured analysis look like? The idea of an 'economy of quality' was introduced by John U. Nef in 1956 as a complementary term to an 'economy of quantity'.[28] Whereas the economy of quantity would be orientated on growth in the volume of produced goods and in an increasing efficiency of production through power driven, labour-saving machinery, the economy of quality would signify the aims in the European societies of improving the quality of products up to the highest levels during the 17th century. Nef associated this form of economy not only with new forms of products and production, but also with a new lifestyle. This concept of an economy of quality has found some reception in German research on luxury in the 1980s,[29] and recently by Maxine Berg, but it did not influence the historiography of industrial production in general.[30]
There is no obvious link between the term Nef launched and the more recent developments in the social sciences, where several approaches have the aim to interpret economies no longer in the perspective of standard economic theory. Their criticism of established economics is directed against the imagination of an economy as a self-balancing mechanism of price formation resulting from the agency of self-interested individuals participating in markets. Although economists have also started to integrate specific social factors into their models of analysis, most approaches in economics focus on forms of marginal utility embedded in more or less sophisticated social factors, which can be calculated as costs. In some respect the critical approach comes close to Nef's wish not to focus only on quantitative economic growth and efficiency of production. The aims of contemporary social sciences go much further, up to the point where they supersede the established interpretation of economic agency. For the research on the history of luxury it seems to be rewarding to follow Nef's suggestion with a more elaborated concept of analysis.

The concept I propose is more directed to micro studies, though it allows the extension to larger settings and the comparison of situated repertoires of discourses and agency for different case studies. The elements of the concept are the approach of the product line, which will be complemented with the idea of production markets and the structured analysis of different production regimes. Finally, a model for linking the production and the consumption of luxury goods with discourses reflecting the specific quality of 'luxury' will be discussed. An important base for such an approach has been introduced by Marc Jacobs in the 1990s by

28 J. U. Nef, *Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization. The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University Belfast 1956*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958, p. 135-139.

29 M. Stürmer, Handwerk und höfische Kultur. Europäische Möbelkunst im 18. Jahrhundert. München, C. H. Beck, 1982, p. 222; U.-C. Pallach, *Materielle Kultur und Mentalitäten im 18. Jahrhundert. Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und politisch-sozialer Funktionswandel des Luxus in Frankreich und im Alten Reich am Ende des Ancien Régime*. München, R. Oldenbourg, 1987, p. 9, 274.

30 M. Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure*, p. 21-28.

recommending the reception of the French *économie de convention* for historical research.[31] It seems that this idea did not find much reception beyond the work of Harald Deceular and more recently in the publications of Bert De Munck, Ilja van Damme and some French historians.[32] In the following paragraphs, this approach will be discussed and extended to provide a structured framework for analysing the economic cultures of luxuries.

The starting point will not be the consumption of luxury goods, but their production. Most of the luxury goods were created in more or less complex manufacturing processes, involving different stages of production operated by different figurations of producers. Therefore, the concept of the product line, which follows an item from its origins through all forms of processing and all stages of its use, is very suitable to trace these chains of production and distribution.[33] It allows the discussion of all forms of processing, exchange and social embedding along the journey of an object. The concept of the product line seems especially suitable to the study of luxury objects since these often consist of a large variety of materials. This aspect is often not recognized in historical research, but there has been a large industry and trade of raw materials and half-finished products that were necessary to produce the objects of art and luxury. On the other end of the line many objects changed owners several times. They were sometimes disassembled and reassembled, often in some new social context. The objects passed through a lot of (ex)changes. These exchanges often, but not necessarily always, took place on markets.

The model of production markets developed by Harrison White is of great interest for economic historians. White developed a complex model for analysing markets deriving from producer networks.[34] In White's perspective, production markets are constituted by structurally equivalent sets of producers, within networks of production relations in the course of joint social constructions of a quality ordering across the set.[35] This means these producers share a pool of suppliers and a pool of buyers. The producers recognize and observe each other with the aim to maximise

31 M. Jacobs, 'Actornetwerk. Geschiedenis, sociale wetenschappen. De nieuwe *Annales* en het werk van Boltanski en Thévenot: een (re)view-artikel', in: *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 22 (1996), p. 260-289; H. Deceulaer & M. Jacobs, 'Qualities and Conventions. Guilds in 18th Century Brabant and Flanders: An Extended Economic Perspective, in: C. E. Núñez (ed.) *Guilds, Economy and Society. Proceedings Twelfth International Economic History Congress, Madrid, August 1998*. Sevilla, Secretariado de publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1998, p. 91-107.

32 H. Deceulaer, *Pluriforme patronen en een verschillende snit. Sociaal-economische, institutionele en culturele transformaties in de kledingsector in Antwerpen, Brussel en Gent, 1585-1800*. Amsterdam, Stichting beheer IISG, 2001; B. De Munck, 'La qualité du corporatisme. Stratégies économiques et symboliques des corporations anversoises, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles', in: *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54 (2007), p. 116-144; I. Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648-ca. 1748)*. Amsterdam, Aksant, 2007.

33 R. Reith, 'Praxis der Arbeit. Überlegungen zur Rekonstruktion von Arbeitsprozessen in der handwerklichen Produktion', in: R. Reith (ed.), *Praxis der Arbeit. Probleme und Perspektiven der handwerksgeschichtlichen Forschung*. Frankfurt/M., New York, Campus, 1998, p. 11-54, here 22-24; see also C. Jeggle, Gewerbliche Produktion und Arbeitsorganisation: Perspektiven der Forschung', in: M. Häberlein & C. Jeggle (eds.) *Vorindustrielles Gewerbe. Handwerkliche Produktion und Arbeitsbeziehungen in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Konstanz, UVK, 2004, p. 19-35, here 22-23.

34 White, *Markets from Networks*, 2002, also for the following.

35 White, *Markets from Networks*, 2002, p. 323.

their profits and reduce uncertainty within the range of a certain quality of products. The volume of production for each period of production signals the position of each product in the market profile. Competition among these producers is disciplined through quality framing and substitutability constituting a linear array of niches. The participants of a market do not just compete for the best prices of their products: they compete, based on a certain volume of resources, within a certain quality frame to achieve a profit. During the production period, the producers primarily observe each other to keep their position in the hierarchy of the producers on the market. This mutual exchange of signals constitutes the market as a social organization based on communication among the participants. Depending on the success of their businesses, the positions of the producers in the market can change. Some may leave the market and others may enter. Each change reconstitutes the market for a new production period. Markets can also get crowded up to the point of instability. Especially if producers try to raise their output without increasing their resources at the same level, the quality of the products is in danger. Since the quality frame constitutes the market, there is a risk of unravelling the market when producers at the rim start to downgrade quality. White considers the foundation of guilds as an instrument to restrict the access to certain ranges of product qualities to ensure the stability of production markets for higher levels of product quality. This point is particularly interesting for understanding the governance of production by the guilds. In this model, the number of participants in a specific production market is expected to be small, e.g. with no more than a dozen participants. This may sound too restricted, but it offers interesting opportunities for structuring the high variety of product qualities typical for the preindustrial products. There was the possibility of parallel production markets at the same stage of production covering different levels of quality. This way, the concept of small production markets for highly specialized qualities of products can offer some new insights in the exchange of goods and the organisation of economic agency. For the topic of luxury goods, the distribution among the buyers is of particular interest. Most of the production markets are oriented downstream, which means that the producers have a clear view on their providers with whom they maintain quite stable commercial relations, while they do not know their customers, since there are too many. White considers the communication between producers and consumers as mediated through a half-transparent mirror. The producers can only recognize the volume of products being sold, while the customers are observing the whole range of producers, trying to find the one providing the best product. For not being completely substitutable, the producers have to keep up their own identity within the quality frame of their production market. The model considers some varieties of production markets, since in some cases special products are produced for particular customers, based on personalized relations. This case is particularly significant for the production of luxury goods, which were often dedicated to specific individuals. In these cases the production market was orientated upstream, having a rather stable demand, while the producers competed for resources and staff. These different orientations of production markets allow for a better understanding of the agency of the producers. Although White's model is based on networks of social interaction, it mainly offers a structured model for the analysis of production markets. In particular the repertoires of social interaction between producers, customers and providers can be refined and analysed. For studying the economies of luxury goods this is important since the ascription of 'luxury' as a specific quality is taking place in the exchange between producers and customers.

The model of White should be complemented by the concept of the *économie de conventions*. The French researchers and White have discussed the compatibility of their approaches and in many aspects they do complement each other.[36] The *économie de convention* has significantly developed the analysis of the cultural dimensions of production regimes and the social constitution of product qualities. It is part of a larger project, which is directed to the development of a pragmatic sociology.[37] Lucien Karpik coined the term '*économie de la qualité*' in a critical discussion of standard economic theory and its focus of the price building mechanism to signify an approach directed to the transfer of resources and the forms of social organization of these transfers, which also includes the negotiation of prices.[38]

The analysis of economic interaction of the *économie de conventions* is based on the idea of conventions. A systematic approach on the conventions guiding different regimes of production has been developed by Robert Salais and Michel Storper.[39] They propose four basic 'possible worlds of production'.[40] In the 'world of interpersonal production' unique products are dedicated to certain people. The standards of the product and the process of production are negotiated on a personal level between the producer and the customer. This kind of production regime fits very well with the production of unique highly valued goods which constitute one common type of luxury goods. In the 'world of market production' more standardized products are offered in small series, following the demand of the customer. Here, the specific demands of the customers coin the design of

36 O. Favereau, O. Biencourt & F. Eymard-Duvernay, 'Where Do Markets Come From? From (Quality) Conventions!', in: O. Favereau & E. Lazega (eds.), *Conventions and Structures In Economic Organization. Markets, Networks and Hierarchies*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar; 2002, p. 213-252.

37 L. Boltanski & L. Thévenot, *Les économies de la grandeur.* Paris, Gallimard, 1991, M. Nachi, *Introduction à la sociologie pragmatique*, Paris, Armand-Colin, 2006; see also Jacobs, *Actornetwerk*.

38 L. Karpik, 'L'économie de la qualité', in: *Revue française de sociologie* 30 (1989), p. 187-210, here 207; see also L. Karpik, *L'économie des singularités.*

39 R. Salais & M. Storper, *Les mondes de production. Enquête sur l'identité économique de la France*. Paris, Éditions de l'EHESS, 1993; the text of English version differs : M. Storper & R. Salais, *Worlds of Production. The Action Frameworks of the Economy*. Cambridge, Mass. 1997.

40 Salais & Storper, *Les mondes*, p. 21-55.

the products, but the customers only communicate with the producers through their demand, and their wishes are subject to change. These changes give rise to fashions. In the economies of early modern luxuries these forms of production can be observed, when exclusively produced goods got copied and, following the demand of customers, when they were produced in small series (often with less valuable materials).

For introducing new luxury items to the customers, fashions were developed as a systematic concept for establishing product cycles. It is a topic of research to discover how processes of product innovation and fashions worked.[41] In the case of the concept of production markets this would imply the foundation of a new market for a new quality of a product. It involves tracing the constitution of such a new market in comparison to the already established ones.

Even luxury goods can be subject to serial production, which is covered by the 'world of industrial production'. In this production regime generic-standardised goods are produced. Although preindustrial mass production differed significantly from the industrialized forms, the aim of producing standardized serial products can be recognized. In practice, sorting manufactured goods by quality standards was of great importance. For the production of luxury goods this convention was important for providing raw materials and half finished products for the production of all kinds of luxury goods, like 'popu-luxe' articles. For instance the production of textiles, of ceramics and of porcelain, but even of paintings could follow rather given conventions of standardizing than individual demands of customers. These products were marketed for long terms, following an economy of scale. This kind of production could also offer affordable products that could be considered as luxuries by customers beyond the wealthy elites. The fourth production regime is called 'world of immaterial production'. Within this world, producers develop new products on the base of already established ones, without being able to anticipate the demand of these products. This kind of production regime allows structuring the transfer and imitation of already established products, which was quite common on the field of luxury goods. From the 17th century on, ambitions to advance the design of goods by the improvement of theoretical education of artists and artisans can be detected.[42]
The underlying idea of these approaches is to consider the quality of the products *and* the qualities of the participants in the market. Despite all formal norms, in practice the production of standardized products under the condition of artisanal production met a lot of obstacles. Formal norms and the proceedings of control and certification were often primarily focused on the quality of the materials. The

41 Cf. M. Belfanti, *Civilità della moda*. Bologna, il Mulino, 2008.

42 Cf. B. De Munck, 'Le produit du talent ou la production du talent? La formation des artistes à l'Académie des beaux-arts à Anvers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in: *Paedagogica Historica* 37 (2001), p. 569-605.

quality of the craftmanship was not indicated by labelling, but had to be recognized by connoisseurs.[43] The estimation of this second quality often followed aesthetic categories and local customs. Therefore the personal reputation of the producers was very important and the integrity of the master was demonstrated by his label on the product, which should provide a warranty for good craftmanship. Bert de Munck has recently pointed out that guilds were often important to ensure the specific reputation of their members.[44] This comes close to the perspective on guilds in White's model. Since not all luxury goods were made out of worthy materials, the reputation of the producer, in particular in the case of artists, could be decisive for the esteem of a product as a 'luxury'.

This very short outline suggests that new sociological approaches can provide a structured framework for an analysis of production processes of luxury goods. It is obvious that there is no genuine way of producing luxury goods, as the ascription of quality also takes place in the use of these objects and the desire to obtain them. For a comprehensive analysis of preindustrial economies of luxuries it is necessary not only to look at the use, but also at the ways these were produced. Besides the quality of products and persons, the introduced approaches are based on the communication among the producers and between the producers and the customers. It is important to detect and analyse the discourses generating the phenomenon of 'luxury' as a social and cultural factor.

3 / Discourses about luxury

The approaches for analysing production and distribution of luxury goods are based on the idea of shared knowledge between the producers and the customers concerning the qualities of the product. Rainer Diaz-Bone has developed a model linking discourses as cultural order of knowledge with lifestyles and social habits as well as with the material circumstances and the economic practices. The basic idea is that lifestyles and habits are based on discourses and both influence each other. Lifestyles and habits are linked to positions of the actors and their economic practices in the social space.[45] This model seems to be very useful for studying the economies of luxuries. Social habits and lifestyles are closely linked to the question of which products were considered as luxury goods and also to the practices of consumption as well as to the supply of these goods with their production and

43 B. De Munck, *Technologies of Learning. Apprenticeship in Antwerp Guilds from the 15th Century to the End of the Ancien Régime*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, p. 236-249.

44 B. De Munck, La qualité di corporatisme. Stratégies économiques et symboliques des corporations anversoises, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles, in: Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 54 (2007) 1, p. 116-144.

45 Diaz-Bone, *Kulturwelt*, p. 117-136; on linking the conventions of production with discourse analysis see Diaz-Bone, *Qualitätskonventionen*.

distribution, which had to materialize the imaginations of the customers.

The discussion about discourses on luxury has primarily been focused on sumptuary laws, emphasizing restrictions to the consumption of luxuries.[46] Luxury was subject to much more extensive discourses. In the long run of the preindustrial period these discourses were subject to significant changes, accompanied by changing material cultures and economies. The discourses on moral criticism of luxury of the medieval church were complemented by humanistic discourses on the morals of dealing with luxurious material goods. In these discourses around 1500, the mentality of the Italian elites were influenced by the virtue of *liberalitas*.[47] Based on the reception of aristotelian philosophy, the idea of *liberalitas* was discussed by intellectuals. These discussions included reflections on the transfer of material goods. They also referred to the competence and consequences of spending money and investing it in other material goods. In everyday life this could happen with gifts, donations, alms and expenditures for the household. On special occasions like marriages or diplomatic encounters, special forms of spending could be of advantage. This second form should represent the *magnificentia* of the spender. In both cases the quality of the objects and that of the persons were of essential significance, since the transfer of values should represent the social order. *Liberalitas* meant finding a balance between the quality of a person and the volume of the investment. The knowledge of how to arrange the spending and how to give, proved the quality of a person and her ability to estimate the quality of other people. This competence was seen as a form of moral beauty. The moral discourses also reflected the perils of moral failure. On the one side there was avarice, which was seen as accumulating wealth in a selfish way without distributing anything. On the other side prodigality was regarded as a way of self-destruction. Account books demonstrate a keen bookkeeping on these forms of material transfers and the taxation of the material worth of those persons one had to deal with. While the demonstration of *magnificentia* was rather directed to invest in a monument or a special event, a new form of investment turned up with *splendor*. It was directed to decorative objects, decorations of the body and furnishings. An eminent person had to represent him- or herself with exceptional objects. While the demonstration of *magnificentia* remained a privilege to the wealthy, the process of copying material objects representing social distinction and distance to the lower strata of society yielded a permanent pressure to introduce new products for restoring the representation of social distinction to hold up this process of *emulatio*. Imitation would lead to a confusion of the social order.

46 Cf. M. G. Muzzarelli & A. Campanini, *Disciplinare il lusso. La legislazione suntuaria in Italia e in Europa tra Medievo ed Età moderna*. Roma, Carocci, 2003.

47 The following is based on G. Guerzoni, *Liberalitas*; see also G. Guerzoni, *Apollo e Vulcano. I mercati artistici in Italia (1400–1700)*. Venezia, Marsilio 2006, p. 105-131.

It is evident that social order was maintained on the level of material representation through certain forms of consumption. Besides the virtue of finding the right measure, investments in *splendor* should demonstrate the taste and the intellectual education of the owner to produce distinction. These ideas formed the basis of the consumption of luxuries accompanied by sumptuary laws to keep down the processes of *emulation*. Despite all attempts to keep up exclusiveness in material representation, in the long run luxuries slowly dispersed more and more in the European societies, which led to new interpretations of luxuries. In England the sumptuary laws lost their relevance during the 17th century and were finally abolished. Also in France they were increasingly ignored by the authorities after 1720, although representatives of the elites complained that the dressing of the people would now no longer indicate their social ranking.[48] The clear distinction of social rankings based on allowed forms of dressing disappeared and opened the way to new forms of social distinction by dressing. In some German territories sumptuary laws were maintained until the late 18th century. Here again a scope of differing social conditions becomes obvious and the effects of these laws have to be studied in their local figurations.[49]

In the debates of the 18th century, luxury was not that much discussed in the respect of virtue, but as a part of the economy.[50] Economic theorists claimed that only superfluous goods could freely circulate within the economy. They considered luxuries as superfluous and useless goods, which could be circulated and meet the desires of somebody else abroad. This way, the circulation of economic goods was based on luxuries as commodities that were designed to be obtained by as many customers as possible to improve the own economy. Declaring commodities that were accessible to everyone who could afford them as 'luxury goods' turned luxury into an uncertain and unreliable category for distinguishing between vice and virtue or e.g. between utility and doing harm. Separating luxuries from the distinction of social rankings based on morals generally opened the legal access to luxury goods to everybody. The idea that 'superfluous' luxury goods would drive the circulation of the economy made the production, consumption and particularly the export of luxury goods very desirable. Many political authorities tried to support these ideas with their policies to develop the economies of their territories. The successive dispersion of the consumption of luxury goods inspired the invention and innovation of new 'superfluous' goods.[51] The design of products was refined

48 Pallach, *Materielle Kultur*, 103-104.

49 M. G. Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the Privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary Laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009) 3, p. 597-617.

50 The following is based on Vogl, *Luxus*, p. 699-703; see also D. Schrage, *Die Verfügbarkeit der Dinge. Eine historische Soziologie des Konsums*. Frankfurt am Main & New York, Campus Verlag, 2009, p. 51-69.

51 Cf. M. Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure*, p. 85-110.

and led by aesthetic principles, which created 'the new economy of quality' John Nef had conceptualised.[52] It allowed the distinguished arrangement of the interior to represent a distinguished lifestyle, depending on the resources available. New desires could be created and cheaper adoptions of established products could reach more customers. Along with these economic dynamics cultures of splendour and the joy of arranging aesthetic objects dispersed as lifestyle well beyond the elites. Tasteful arrangements now also represented the distinction of bourgeois culture. In present day societies social order is based on distinguishing cultures of consumption. For most of these cultures the ascription of 'luxury' still seems to an attractive promise of exclusiveness, since declaring commercial goods as 'luxuries' seems to be one the dominant strategies in marketing.[53]
The dispersion of luxuries beyond the regulated world of the elites and the aim to sell as much as possible led to the creation of specific media to inform potential customers on the products being offered.[54] These media not only constituted production markets of their own, they also influenced the constitution of production markets for luxury goods and created their own discourse constituting this economic field. Advertising is still a rather new field of research, for which the concept of production markets would also offer a framework to connect advertised products with the discourses presenting these products.

Linking the analysis of the production and distribution of luxury goods with the discourses about luxury makes it clear that there was no single culture of consumption of luxury goods, but a long term change in the social and cultural foundations of luxuries. During the Renaissance, luxury goods were used to signal the distinction of social ranks which had to remain exclusive and were protected by sumptuary laws. At the end of the early modern period, luxury goods were treated as desirable economic goods allowing more and more the creation of individualized lifestyles based on the consumption of manufactured goods. The production regimes for luxury goods did not change their structural bases in such a fundamental way as the discourses did. Certainly, new products were developed, others refined, and the production markets were subject to permanent change. These changes, especially extending the production, were also driven by the revaluation of luxury goods in the discourses. Without the reinterpretations of luxury by early modern economic theorists, the policies of the governing authorities could have been quite different, trying to continue in keeping up 'luxury' as a category of moral distinction with the restrictions of access to luxury goods and to turn down the expansion of their production. But the changing discourses were also reflecting changes in

52 Nef, *Cultural Foundations*, 136.
53 Searching the internet for the term 'luxury' turns up a vast literature in business economics on marketing with the attribute of 'luxury'.
54 For Germany see for example North, *Genuss*, p. 55-72.

material culture. In the Middle Ages there was an expansion of consumption of luxury goods to represent splendour. Later on, the diffusion of these practices within the European societies went up to the point of considering luxuries as economic goods contributing to the common good instead of wasting it. The history of the economies of luxuries demonstrates the necessity of recognizing discourses and the treatment of material objects as being inseparably linked with each other. The aim of this article was to outline a structured approach for this research. Since the desire for luxuries is giving important impulses for economic development, further research should try to link the material and discursive bases of luxuries in a systematic way to find out more about the cultural foundations of the economy and about economy as cultural practice.

Christof Jeggle is researcher of the project *Markets - Networks - Spaces. Economic Relations and Processes of Migration in Early Modern Period (1500-1800)* funded by the German Research Association (DFG) at the Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg. He had his academic education at the Free University of Berlin and was a researcher in Freiburg. Since 2001, he co-organizes the *Irsee Working Group on Pre-industrial Social and Economic History* at the Schwabenakademie Irsee.

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Part two

Eccentrica*, *Exotica*, and *Nostalgia

2.1

Precious Nature: Rare *Naturalia* as Collector's Items and Gifts in Early Modern Europe*

FLORIKE EGMOND

* The research for this essay has been done in the context of the Clusius Project (2005-09), which was generously funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and based at the Scaliger Institute of Leiden University. For fuller documentation and more extensive bibliographical references see F. Egmond, P. Hoftijzer and R. Visser (eds), *Carolus Clusius. Towards a cultural history of a Renaissance naturalist*. Amsterdam, Edita, 2007; and F. Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius. Natural History in the Making, 1550-1610.* London, Pickering & Chatto, 2010.

Precious gifts have been a means of initiating or maintaining diplomatic relations, at least since classical antiquity. In early modern Europe, ambassadors and other agents were sent abroad, even to other continents, accompanied by valuable objects for rulers whose friendship or allegiance were sought after. Political alliances in early modern Europe were created and maintained not only through diplomacy, treaties, and arranged marriages but also by the exchange of a vast range of precious objects.[1] Important among these were rare naturalia in the form of living plants or animals. Princes and aristocrats – men as well as women at the top of the European elite – went to great trouble and expense in order to send such naturalia to their counterparts, whose support they needed.

1 / Rare animals and plants as princely gifts and possessions

As is evident from the work by Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwendt on the important Habsburg collections of the Renaissance and, in particular, on princely gift exchanges and luxury goods for royal collectors, rare naturalia played a large part in these collections.[2] Among the exotica appreciated most highly by members of the Habsburg imperial family were bezoar stones (stones found in the stomach of various ruminants), rhinoceros horns, and unicorn horns. Live animals were welcome gifts as well, however. There were small and easily transportable ones, such as parrots and parakeets, but even some heavy and unwieldy ones. A thirteen-year old Indian elephant, for instance, was sent as a present by Catherine (1507-78), Queen of Portugal and younger sister of Emperor Charles V, to Emperor Maximilian II at Vienna. The elephant crossed the Alps and reached Vienna in 1552, but it died not much more than a year later.[3] Given the Portuguese expeditions to Asia, Catherine of Portugal, as queen of a maritime empire, was one of the best placed persons in Europe during the 16th century in terms of access to exotica from Asia and Africa. As early as 1530 she had her own agents in Asia to buy exotic goods and animals, and by the middle of the century the channels had already been established through which she could order monkeys, parakeets, and civet cats from West Africa.

1 There is a considerable literature on the subject of gift exchange. The seminal and still most readable work is M. Mauss, *The Gift. The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies.* London, Routledge, 1990 [originally published as 'Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques', *L'Année sociologique,* n.s., 1 (1923-24), p.30-186]. For an influential study on gift exchange in the 16th century, see N.Z. Davis, *The gift in sixteenth-century France.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000; cf. on recent approaches G. Algazi, V. Groebner & B. Jussen (eds), *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*. Göttingen, VandenHoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

2 See A. Pérez de Tudela & A. Jordan Gschwendt, 'Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (2001), p.1-127, about the gifts exchanged among members of the extended Habsburg imperial family in the sixteenth century. See also A. Pérez de Tudela & A. Jordan Gschwendt, 'Renaissance menageries. Exotic animals and pets at the Habsburg courts in Iberia and Central Europe', in: K. Enenkel & P. Smith (eds), *Early Modern Zoology. The construction of animals in science, literature and the visual arts.* Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2007, p. 419-447, esp. 425-426.

3 Pérez de Tudela & Jordan Gschwendt, 'Renaissance menageries', esp. p. 425-426. For a fascinating study of another 16th-century elephant, which was a gift to the Pope, see S.A. Bedini, *The Pope's elephant.* Manchester, Carcanet Press, 1997.


PETRI BELLONII
LIBRO SECVNDO.
Pag. 95 ad capitis de Ciuetta calcem adde ſequentia verba.
CIVETTA.

Cùm Bellonius cap. xx. Lib. 1 1. Obſeruationum; Ciuettam; quam veterum Hyenam magno errore eſſe arbitratur, ſatis ſcitè de- ſcripſerit,
O 3

FIGURE 1 | Civet cat in Clusius, *Curae Posteriores* (Leiden and Antwerp, 1611), p. 109 | Courtesy of Leiden University Library

Catherine's menagerie in Lisbon with its rare wild animals was famous at the time. It probably had a symbolic function – representing her as a queen who was able to tame even wild and exotic nature – but there was more to it than only symbolism. The musk produced by the civet cats was known as an extremely costly product, and used for perfumes and medicines in Queen Catherine's household. The civet cats themselves could be used as gifts, moreover, just like the elephant. Catherine started her own civet cat breeding programme: the animals were housed in special quarters in Lisbon and had their own Spanish keeper during the years 1550-54. Some of the animals were sent as special gifts to her Habsburg relatives in various parts of Europe and to other important power holders. In 1552 nine civet cats were sold by the queen at an enormous profit, demonstrating that she was as skilful at operating in the economy of the market as in that of gifts.[4]

To illustrate the longevity and cultural importance of the princely possession of rare animals, it is enough to point to the three Indian elephants acquired at great effort and cost by King Charles III of Spain more than two centuries later, in the 1770s. They were kept and displayed at Aranjuez, and "regarded as genuine crown jewels and symbolizing the power, wealth and prestige of the great sovereign more

4 Perez de Tudela & Jordan Gschwendt, 'Renaissance menageries', esp. p. 425-426. On the civet cat see K.H. Dannenfeldt, 'Europe discovers civet cats and civet', *Journal of the History of Biology* 18 (1985) 3, p. 403-431.

eloquently than any other animal", as Gómez-Centurión eloquently puts it.[5] Such types of display were not limited to European rulers, moreover. One of the well-documented examples of the mid 18th century concerns the donation by the Dutch of Persian horses and various other exotic animals to the Japanese shogun. The shogun, in fact, had dictated to the Dutch a list of objects which he wanted to receive in exchange for his favour. Many of these were animals.[6]

Exotic plants were somewhat more accessible and very highly appreciated as gifts indeed. Gifts of such plants formed part of the exchanges that were typical of the patronage relations which characterized European society during the early modern era. In 1603, for instance, Princess Louise de Coligny, widow of Prince William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch Revolt who had been murdered almost twenty years earlier, wanted to give a good friend a present of some special bulbs. This friend, Jacques Guillemeau (c. 1520-1613), was chief surgeon to the French king and a plant connoisseur himself. Given Guillemeau's expertise and the fact that Princess de Coligny wanted to present him with a truly special gift, she decided to ask the famous botanist Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) for his expert help. She sent on Guillemeau's list of desiderata to Clusius, asking the latter to help her find the persons who could sell her "the most exquisite that can be found in this place".[7] The rarer and more admirable, the better these naturalia were suited to the high status of both donor and recipient. In that respect and in some cases even in terms of monetary value, such gifts of plants could be compared to the gift of works of art. The involvement of an eminent advisor like Clusius only enhanced the value of the present.

Why was there such a widespread interest in rare naturalia in early modern Europe, and in particular in foreign animals and plants which were notoriously difficult to keep alive, supposing they survived the transport in the first place? The answer is complex insofar as the many different persons involved must have had different perspectives and interests in such rare naturalia – ranging from their symbolic function to their scientific interest and from their display as a statement about status to their intrinsic value. Still, at the core of this interest we always find the notion of rarity. Rarity was much in demand in the circles of 16th- and 17th-century European aristocrats, and apparently no less so in those of the 18th-century Japanese elite. But whereas rarity could apply to more or less any type of object – relics, precious

5 C. Gómez-Centurión, 'Treasures fit for a king: King Charles III of Spain's Indian elephants', *Journal of the History of Collections* 22 (2010), 1, p. 29-44.

6 For examples of the illustrations of animals which accompanied such a list (1765), see Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, nrs 1.04.21-610, 1.04.21-1409 and 1.04.21-1407. Digital images of these drawings, which are now themselves among the top items in this Dutch collection, can be seen on: www.geheugenvannederland.nl/ (consulted June 2010).

7 Letter from Princess Louise de Coligny to Carolus Clusius, 11 August 1603, The Hague to Leiden, French, University Library (UL) Leiden, VUL 101. The entire Clusius correspondence in Leiden has been digitized and is freely available via https://disc.leidenuniv.nl/exlibris/dtl/u3_1/dtle/www_r_eng/js/correspondents.html. Guillemeau's father-in-law Ambroise Paré was one of the most famous French surgeons of the century.

stones, paintings, or other works of art, and even drawings or parts of rare plants and animals (the horn of the unicorn, tropical shells, rare spices or balsams from the Far East) – living animals and plants were in a category all by themselves simply because they were alive. The fact that they were very difficult to keep probably even added to their charm and value. Such prized possessions required expert assistants to care for them, such as animal keepers or expert gardeners, which only added to the display of grandeur of the owner.

2 / Naturalia and collecting

While precious gifts as such (irrespective of the object concerned) fit into patronage and diplomatic relations of the period, the special interest in early modern Europe in rare plants and animals *as naturalia* should be understood in the context of the major fashion of collecting which affected a very large part of European society during these centuries. In particular the type of collection known as the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* or curiosity collection reached a heyday from the second half of the 16th until the end of the 17th century. Geographically, this phenomenon can be traced throughout Continental Europe, with an emphasis on the Habsburg territories, Italy and France. One of the best known as well as one of the very few still extant collections is that of Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria at Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck. The most famous of those collections belonged to princes, emperors, and more generally to the very highest circles of the aristocracy. Few but they could afford a menagerie with live exotic animals.[8] But the passion for exotica, the phenomenon of the curiosity collection, and the interest in naturalia (ranging from live animals or plants to minerals, fossils, or pictures and even descriptions of various naturalia) also affected the lower aristocracy, bourgeois professionals and merchants, in particular the apothecaries, and even the higher levels of the artisans.

8 Some of the principal studies on the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* and more in general the history of collections are A. Lugli, *Naturalia et mirabilia. Les cabinets de curiosités en Europa.* Paris, Adam Biro, 1998 (which is an updated and revised edition of her *Naturalia et mirabilia. Il collezionismo encyclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa*. Milan, 1983); O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds), *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985; K. Pomian, *Collectioneurs, amateurs et curieux: Paris, Venise, xvi^e^-xviii^e^ siècle.* Paris, Gallimard, 1987; G. Olmi, *L'Inventario del mondo. Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna.* Bologna, Mulino, 1992; P. Findlen, *Possessing nature: museums, collecting and scientific culture in early modern Italy.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994; and A. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment. Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007.

FIGURE 2 | The curiosity collection of an early modern Austrian apothecary | Apothekenmuseum Innsbruck | © Florike Egmond

Their collections were generally much more modest, but the nature of their interest was much the same as that of the elite.[9] The key terms were wonder, curiosity, and rarity. It would therefore be reductionist to regard the rare animals or plants that were given or received as gifts as mere objects of exchange. Nor can we assume a simple division between elite and non-elite owners of such naturalia in which

9 Specifically on apothecaries see M. Winkler-Kaufmann, 'Kunst- und Wunderkammer Apotheke', in: *Kunst-und Wunderkammer Apotheke*, Exhibition catalogue, Innsbruck, Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum, 2001, p.12-20; S. Halikowski Smith, "The Physician's Hand". Trends in the Evolution of the Apothecary and his Art across Europe, 1500-1700', *Nuncius* 24 (2008), p. 33-60; and F. Egmond, 'Apothecaries as experts and brokers in the sixteenth-century network of the naturalist Carolus Clusius', *History of Universities* 23 (2008), p. 59-91.

the elite ones would have seen them merely as objects of display, exchange, or luxury. Some of the elite donors and receivers were passionately fond of their rare plants and animals, and quite a few of them developed great expertise concerning such naturalia. They became students of nature in their own right and aristocrat-practitioners of natural history.[10] The French nobleman Nicolas Claude Fabri, seigneur de Callas and later de Peiresc (1580-1637), for instance, united various kinds of interest in rare naturalia. Peiresc was known for his enormous erudition and wide-ranging knowledge, and maintained contacts with key figures in European intellectual and artistic life from Galileo to Rubens. In his role as nobleman and collector, Peiresc sent pink flamingoes to Charles de Croÿ Duke of Aerschot (1560-1612), with whom he had stayed near Brussels, to express his appreciation of the latter's hospitality. Croÿ's collections of both art and naturalia were famous at the time. In his role as budding naturalist Peiresc sent Clusius a large collection of seeds of plants from the Provence besides a dried mushroom and various drawings of such naturalia.[11] Similarly, rare plants (generally in the form of seeds, bulbs, or cuttings) were sent back and forth between men and women who belonged to Habsburg court circles in Madrid, Vienna, and Brussels, and for whom horticulture and especially the exotic plants in their gardens were both a means of display, an instrument of status, and a source of pleasure and knowledge. Quite a few such persons were in contact with the top naturalists of the 16th century – Carolus Clusius, Conrad Gessner, and Mathias de Lobel – , provided them with rarities (just like Peiresc), and shared observations and information with them. Such exchanges lay at the basis of the formation of the scientific disciplines of zoology and botany which were shaped as much in the contact of these elite cultures of collecting as in the universities.[12]

An exceptional manifestation of a passionate and expert interest in nature in the lower-middle classes of early modern Europe are the richly illustrated manuscripts by Adriaen Coenen (1514-87), the son of a Dutch fisherman. He is known to have had a small collection of rare fish and shells at his home, and he created some most unusual albums of nature in which he depicted and described everything connected with the sea – from whales to the herring and from mermaids to the exotic hippopotamus.

10 On the phenomenon of the 'prince practitioner' (who was both patron of scientific experts and expert himself in a particular science) see especially B. Moran (ed.), *Patronage and institutions. Science, technology, and medicine at the European court 1500-1700.* Rochester, Boydell Press, 1991.

11 On Peiresc and natural history see L. Legré, *La botanique en Provence au XVIe siècle.* Marseille, H. Aubertin & Cie, 1901, p. 69-139; D. Jaffé, 'Peiresc—Wissenschaftlicher Betrieb in einem Raritäten-Kabinett', in: A. Grote (ed.), *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo—Die Welt in der Stube: Zur Geschichte des Sammelns, 1450 bis 1800*. Opladen, Leske and Budrich, 1994, p. 301–22. On Croÿ and some of his collections, see C. de Maegd, '"En ung sien jardin de plaisance au faubourgs de ceste ville". Het hof van plaisantie van Karel van Croÿ in Sint-Joost-ten-Node rond 1600', *Tijdschrift van Dexia bank* 55 (2001) 218, p. 45-68.

12 On this topic see more extensively Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius* (on the elite of the Habsburg empire see especially Chapters 1-4). The references to numerous persons who are mentioned by name as sources of information in the printed works by Lobel and Gessner indicate that they operated in similar networks of exchange.

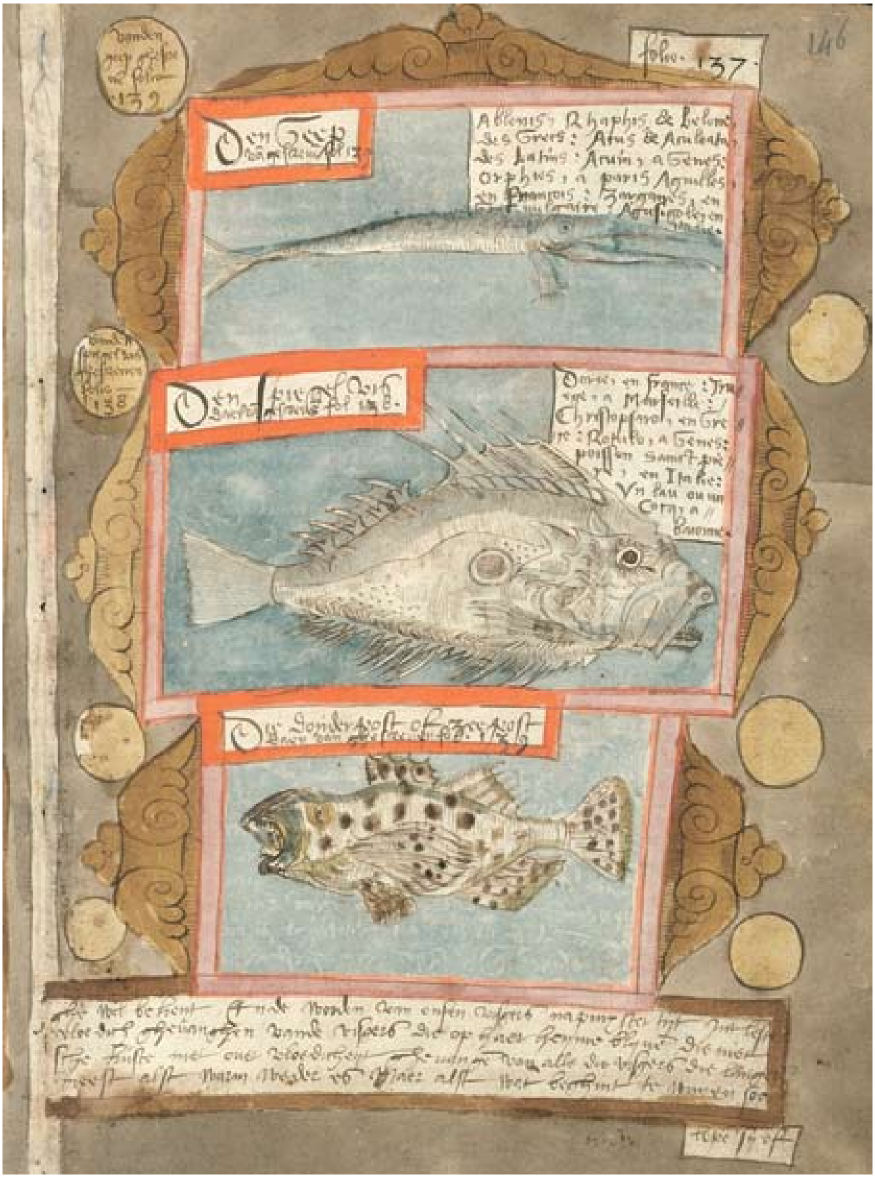

FIGURE 3 | Page from Adriaen Coenen's Visboeck with three kinds of fish (*Visboeck* f. 146r, Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, 78E54) | Courtesy of Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag

It is no coincidence that the same Prince William of Orange mentioned above was interested in his expertise and invited Coenen to explain some natural phenomena to him and show him his work. One of Coenen's manuscripts (now lost) ended up as a luxury item in the prince's collection – as a gift from Coenen. Two more albums of him are now among the top items in the respective collections to which they belong, as vivid demonstrations of the wide social range of this early modern interest in living nature, and as paper museums.[13]

In the triple role as expert on fish, modest collector, and provider of rare but indigenous sea birds, the same Adriaen Coenen was personally acquainted with a man whose importance as a collector in the Southern Netherlands can hardly be overestimated. Charles de Saint Omer (1533-69) was a wealthy young nobleman from the very highest circles of the aristocracy. His health was not strong and he gave up his military career, probably even before he was thirty years of age. Upon retiring to his estate and castle at Moerkerke close to Bruges he devoted himself to the arts and sciences, in particular to the study of nature. Saint Omer was the first patron of Clusius, who described him many years later as a great collector and "a man not only most expert in matters of plants and who had the plants themselves, birds, and four-footed animals depicted with outstanding skill in lively colours, but also very interested in the nature of all sorts of wonderful things".[14]

Saint Omer created one of the earliest and most impressive collections of the *Kunst- and Wunderkammern*-type in Europe north of the Alps. Living nature, dried naturalia, and depicted nature formed essential parts of his collection. Around the castle of Moerkerke there were extensive gardens, an orchard, probably a hothouse or some other form of protection for the exotic plants which he grew, and a menagerie with ordinary farm animals, but also pheasants, "African chickens" (probably guinea fowl), an eagle, a stork, a bear, and a parrot. Possessions specifically pointing to Saint Omer's interests as a collector were his cabinet of curiosities and his collection of weapons and books. A second cabinet belonged to his wife Anne d'Ongnies. It is there that various albums with watercolours of naturalia were kept. These albums with the pictures of birds, fish, other animals, and plants to which Clusius referred in the quotation above formed the core of the famous zoological and botanical watercolours now known as the *Libri Picturati* A 16-30 in Krakow. They are one of the largest and most remarkable European collections of watercolours depicting naturalia from the early modern period.[15]

13 COENEN's *Walvisboeck (Whale Book)* has been published in near-facsimile as *The Whale Book. Whales and other marine animals as described by Adriaen Coenen in 1585,* edited and with an introduction by F. Egmond & P. Mason. London, Reaktion Books, 2003. His manuscript entitled *Visboek (Fishbook)* can be consulted on the website of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague: http://www.kb.nl/webexpo/visboek.html. On Coenen see F. Egmond, *Het Visboek. De wereld volgens Adriaen Coenen*. Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 2005.

14 See the annotation by Clusius in his Latin translation of the work of Garcia da Orta *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia,* which is included in C. Clusius, *Exoticorum Libri Decem*. Leiden, Plantin, 1605, p.171.

15 On Saint Omer, his collections and the (history of the) Libri Picturati, see F. Egmond, 'Clusius, Cluyt, Saint Omer. The origins of the sixteenth-century botanical and zoological watercolours in: Libri Picturati A. 16-30', *Nuncius* 20 (2005), p.11-67, with full references to the further literature. All botanical watercolours of the *Libri Picturati* have recently been published and analyzed in J. de Koning, G. van Uffelen et al. (eds), *Drawn after nature. The complete botanical watercolours of the 16th-century Libri Picturati.* Zeist, KNNV-Publishing, 2008.

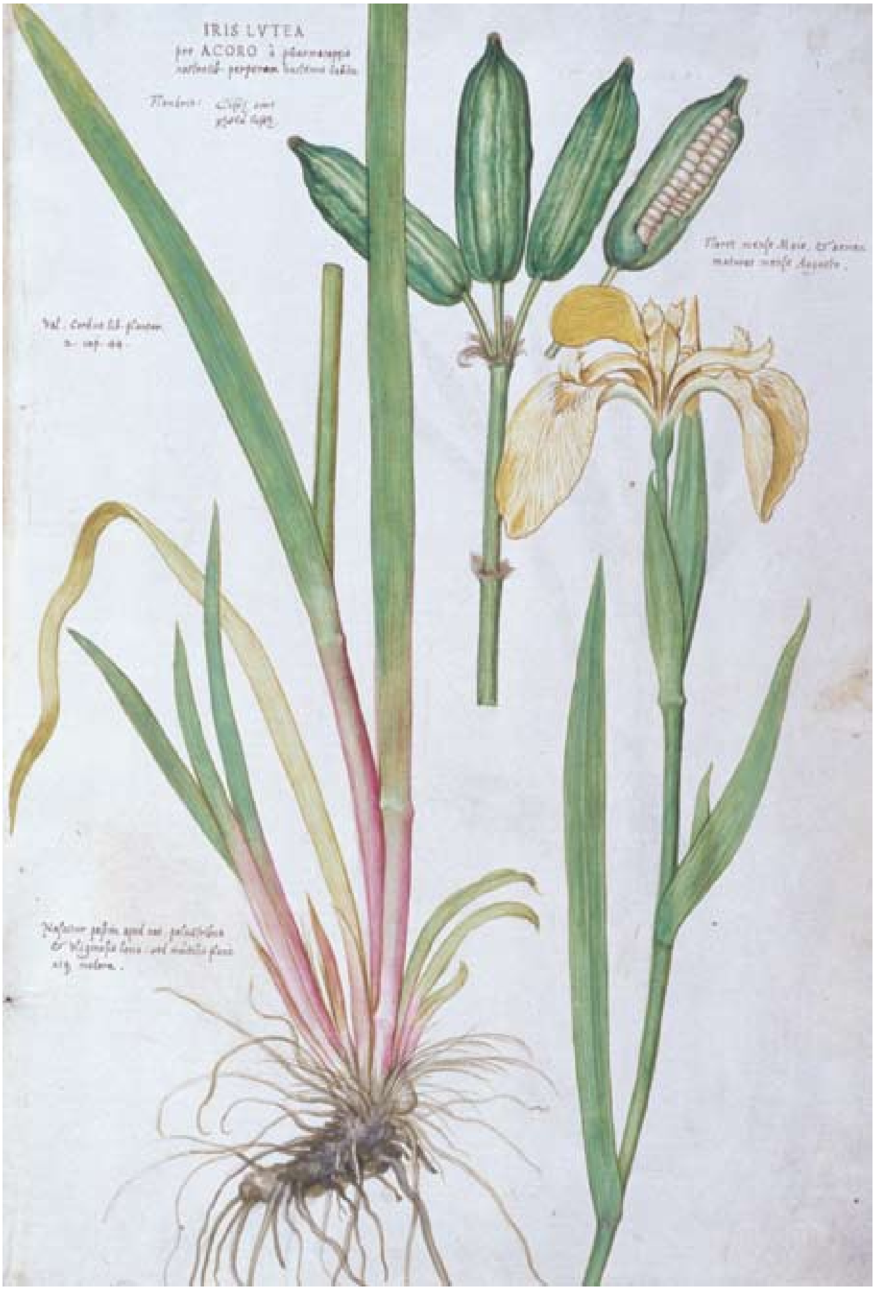

FIGURE 4 | Yellow iris from *Libri Picturati* A22.067. Courtesy of Jagiellon Library, Kraków

Saint Omer had extensive gardens as well, and in 1566 he was already known to have grown Brazilian pepper and the American aloe. By no means all of the watercolours in the *Libri Picturati* depict naturalia that actually belonged to Saint Omer or his fellow collectors in the region, so the watercolours clearly did not simply constitute a catalogue. But they did form an integral part of Saint Omer's collection. As a painted collection on paper they complemented his live and dead animals and plants on the one hand, and the printed works about natural history in his library, on the other. The watercolours may also have served as a kind of home encyclopaedia in which various kinds of pictures from friends could be included next to the drawings of Saint Omer's own plants.[16]

Gardens of this kind – we may call them private botanical gardens or living collections – were not that numerous in early modern Europe, since they required access to rare and exotic plants, expertise in growing them, and of course a great interest in such matters as well as considerable wealth. But during the second half of the 16th century they could be found in parts of Europe as far apart as the Southern Netherlands, Southern England, Southern Germany, Northern and Central Italy, the Bordeaux area, Seville, the environs of Madrid, and Vienna. Newly arriving plants from other continents were rapidly incorporated in these collections. This was especially the case with plants from the Middle East (in particular from the Ottoman Empire), such as the lilac, horse chestnut, tulip, and many types of hyacinths, narcissi, and other bulbous plants, which began to arrive in Europe from the middle of the 16th century onwards thanks to Habsburg diplomatic missions to Constantinople. Bulbous and tuberous plants indeed became the great fashion in Europe from the 1560s and 1570s onwards, replacing the perennials as favourites in the formal gardens of the period. The route of introduction of such plants usually led via the courts of Vienna or the ports of Italy to Spain and the Habsburg Netherlands, from where they were distributed further – as rarities, it should be emphasized, not as commodities. The first plants from the New World already arrived soon after the 1490s, but it took some time and the repeated voyages of the Portuguese and later the English and Dutch to Asia and America before the number of newly imported plants from those continents began to increase in Europe.[17] Given the lengthy transport, live animals from such distant parts of the world remained a rarity in Europe, as we have seen, until at least the 18th century.

16 Egmond, 'Clusius, Cluyt, Saint Omer'.

17 See K. Reeds, *Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities.* New York, Garland, 1991; B. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing. Natural History in Renaissance Europe.* Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2006; H. Cook, *Matters of Exchange. Commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007; A. Goldgar, *Tulipomania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007; and Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius*. For the situation specifically in the Southern Netherlands see the excellent F. de Nave & D. Imhof (eds), *De Botanica in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (einde 15e eeuw – ca. 1650)*. Antwerp, Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993.

Besides decorative garden plants, various types of 'useful' plants also made their way to Europe for the first time in this period. The potato, tomato, tobacco, and the sunflower – all of them from the New World – are examples of successful plant introductions of the 16th century. The potato, which originally comes from the Peruvian Andes, for instance, was first spread in Northern Europe during the late 1580s and early 1590s, thanks to the active role of Clusius, who also played a large part in the distribution of many kinds of tulips in Europe. All four plants are now known for their uses, but this was by no means always the case at the time. Tobacco was then regarded as medicinal. The tomato was at first mainly regarded as a strong-smelling flowering plant with fruit that might be unhealthy. Potatoes were immediately known as food, but only became a cash crop in Europe during the 18th century. And the sunflower seems to have remained a luxury plant grown only for its beauty during at least the first two hundred years after its introduction.[18] All four could, therefore, be found in the living collections of the late 16th century and were highly appreciated as gifts.

16th-century plant collectors aimed for diversity and rarity. Like all collectors they were each other's rivals in terms of who had the most exquisite, rare, exotic, strange, or admirable plants. Special plants functioned as status symbols just like precious horses, jewels, a castle, clothes, works of art, or a library. But like all other collectors, plant collectors also depended on each other for information, exchange, and access. Plants grow and multiply, unlike paintings. This enabled many collectors to share their special plants and use them in exchanges. Some went further, and shared not only their plants, but also their expertise in how to grow them and even propagate them. Sometimes such gifts were really free. More often, strings were attached, if only in the form of the expectation – interpreted as the honourable (rather than moral) obligation of reciprocity – that the receiver would eventually be as liberal with his or her plants. Of course, the very gift of special plants made such plants less special (in the sense of rare), so even the most liberal plant collectors by no means shared all of their plants. At the same time, however, a show of liberality also enhanced the status of the gift giver.

18 For various plant introductions see H.W. Lack, *Ein Garten Eden. Meisterwerke der botanischen Illustration / Garden Eden. Masterpieces of Botanical Illustration / Un Jardin d'Eden. Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'illustration botanique.* Cologne/London, Taschen, 2001. On the potato see esp. R.N. Salaman, *The history and social influence of the potato. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985 (originally published in 1949; reprinted with new introduction and corrections by* J.G. Hawkes). The first description of the sunflower in the botanical literature can be found in R. Dodonaeus, *Florum et coronarium odoratumque nonnullarum herbarum historia.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1569. On tulips see Goldgar, *Tulipomania*.

3 / The Aztec Lily

The events connected with the gift of what must have been one of the rarest and most spectacular bulbous plants in late 16th-century Europe brings together many of the themes touched upon above, and links several of the persons mentioned here.

Charles de Ligne, Prince of Arenberg (1550-1616), the highest-ranking nobleman of the Southern Netherlands after the ruling prince, had a passionate interest in plants and animals since his youth, but was involved for most of his life in military campaigns, politics and diplomacy. In 1605 he retired to Enghien (also known as Edingen) southwest of Brussels, where he bought the castle and park and devoted himself entirely to collecting plants and other naturalia. Together with his wife Anne de Croÿ, the rich Duchess of Aerschot, who was also the sister of the Prince of Croÿ to whom Peiresc gave the pink flamingoes, de Ligne turned the grounds at Enghien from a neglected domain into one of the most beautiful gardens of Europe. During the last years of the 16th century moreover, Arenberg had also acquired the famous *Libri Picturati* collection – the watercolours of plants and animals commissioned by Charles de Saint Omer some thirty years earlier. The contents of Arenberg's library, which contained most of the great botanical works of the 16th century, plus his personal contacts with Clusius further demonstrate his wide-ranging and expert interest in naturalia.[19]

Via his many international contacts, especially with Spain and Italy, Arenberg was used to obtaining rare plants. One of these was the so-called Aztec or Jacobean lily or St. James' lily (*Sprekelia formosissima* L. Herbert [*Amaryllis formosissima* L.]) – a kind of amaryllis native to Mexico and Guatemala.[20] The man from whom Arenberg received it, the physician Simón de Tovar (died 1596) in Seville, had named it *narcissus jacobeus* because the shape of the flower reminded him of the shape of the sword carried by the knights of Santiago (Saint James) that had been originally created in order to protect pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela from attacks by the Moors. One of Arenberg's two exemplars of the Aztec lily flowered for the second time in 1597 and "was carried in its pot to His Highness to be seen". The nobleman in question was the ruler of the Southern Netherlands on behalf of Philip II: Archduke Albert of Austria (1559-1621).

19 On the Arenberg family and their estates, see J. Roegiers (ed.), *Arenberg in de Lage Landen. Een hoogadellijk huis in Vlaanderen en Nederland*. Louvain, Universitaire Pers, 2002. On Arenberg and the *Libri Picturati*, see L. Ramón-Laca, 'The additions by the Count of Arenberg', in: De Koning, Van Uffelen et al. (eds), *Drawn after nature*, p. 28-32.

20 Clusius refers to this exotic plant as *narcissus jacobeus* or *narcissus latifolia indicus rubro flore* in his *Rariorum plantarum historia*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1601, p.157-158.

Arenberg planned to give his second Aztec lily to the Archduke as a truly princely gift: "Concerning the second plant, I think that Arenberg will give it to His Highness who is turning himself into a gardener, taking a marvellous pleasure in flowers. A garden in an open space (...) has been assigned to him."[21]

The sequence of events described here – showing off the first plant in its pot while flowering, and the subsequent gift of the second Aztec lily – tells us how closely entwined honour and gift giving were with display and luxury. Arenberg gained prestige by having been able to obtain such a rarity, by getting it to flower (or rather by having access to experts who could make it flower), and by being able to give such a rare item to the ruler of his country. Since they were probably the only two exemplars of the Aztec lily in Europe at that time, Arenberg's plants were so rare, moreover, that they were a worthy gift for a ruler. The text quoted above suggests that yet another gift was involved: that of pleasure and delight. It sounds, after all, as if the Archduke was just beginning to discover the pleasures of gardening, a pastime that in the course of the 16th century increasingly came to be regarded as dignified, honourable, and suitable for the elite.

An illustration can be found in one of Clusius' works of the very same Aztec lily which was flowering in Arenberg's garden in 1596-97. The illustration, a woodcut, was made after the portrait of the plant which Arenberg had painted especially for Clusius.
Even more unusually, that original portrait in watercolour still exists. It forms part of the famous *Libri Picturati* collection and was an addition by Arenberg to this collection which by then was in his possession.[22]

4 / Conclusion

Gardens and menageries can be found in more or less any period of history, but the fashion of gardening and the passion for rare plants and animals were relatively new phenomena which spread in Europe especially from the 1520s or 1530s onwards, and were, as we have seen, closely linked with the phenomenon of collecting and the desire for rarity. Collecting rare naturalia – whether live or dead, animal, vegetable, or mineral, growing in gardens or represented on paintings, frescoes, or tapestries – cannot be understood without seeing it as part of the context of luxury and the desire to display wealth, taste, and elegance.

21 Jean Boisot to Clusius, 10 July 1597, Brussels to Leiden, French, UL Leiden VUL 101. Clusius recalls these events in his letter of 2 May 1607 to Matteo Caccini in Florence, published in P. Ginori Conti, *Lettere inedite di Charles de l'Escluse (Carolus Clusius) a Matteo Caccini, Floricultore Fiorentino. Contributo alla storia della botanica*. Florence, Olschki, 1939, p. 57-58.

22 Clusius, *Rariorum*, p.157. *Libri Picturati* A21.085; see De Koning, Van Uffelen et al. (eds), *Drawn after nature*, p. 207; cf. Ramón-Laca, 'The additions by the Count of Arenberg', p. 31-32.

FIGURE 5 | Aztec or Jacobean lily in *Libri Picturati* A21.085 | Courtesy of Jagiellon Library, Kraków
FIGURE 6 | Aztec lily in Clusius, *Rariorum plantarum historia* (Antwerp, 1601), p. 157 | Courtesy of Leiden University Library

That need for display could and did concur, however, with a real desire for knowledge about such naturalia. The animals, plants and gardens mentioned here belong as much to the history of botany and zoology as to that of court culture, luxury, or gift exchange. Like the alchemical experiments or astronomical observations of court scientists, rare naturalia formed part of what we might call spectacular science: the domain where a scientific interest in nature in the broadest sense of the term coincided with the need for display.[23]

Florike Egmond trained as a socio-economic and cultural historian, has taught history and social sciences at several Dutch universities, and has worked at the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. In recent years she has worked at Leiden University on several research projects dealing with 16th-century natural history, first focusing on Clusius and his European contacts, and currently concentrating on the visual side of natural history.

23 S. Pumfrey & F. Dawbarn, 'Science and patronage in England, 1570-1625. A preliminary study', *History of Science* 42 (2004), p.137-188, use the expression 'ostentatious natural knowledge'.

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2.2

The Use and Misuse of Flowers: Tulipmania and the Concept of Luxury

ANNE GOLDGAR

In the winter of 1639, three prosperous merchants appeared in front of a notary in Haarlem to make a declaration about their colleague, the wealthy Mennonite potash and textile merchant, Jacques de Clercq. De Clercq had asked them to declare before the notary that they were his good and familiar acquaintances, people he had gone round with and who had been in his house countless times. The point of this was the final statement, that, having spent so much time in his house, they were qualified to say that his furnishings and interior decor appeared just as a merchant's ought to do, "yes, so good or even better as far as decoration is concerned as the house properly ought to be."[1] De Clercq, who was involved in a lengthy dispute with his fabulously wealthy in-laws in Amsterdam, wanted to make clear that he was living at the very least according to his station. He was evidently not concerned about accusations of excessive luxury.

Jacques de Clercq, like at least one of the merchants appearing on his behalf, had been involved in the tulipmania of several years earlier, buying and selling bulbs in Haarlem and as far away as Rotterdam and Enkhuizen, and at the center of a network of relatives also involved in the trade.[2] An interest in collecting and growing tulip bulbs had been developing since the later decades of the 16th century, at first among the humanistically-educated gentry and haute bourgeoisie of the southern Netherlands, alongside apothecaries, doctors, and similar collectors, and later in the north among wealthy merchants, manufacturers, and craftsmen with means at their disposal. We already find remarks about high prices in the early years of the 17th century, but the remarkable rise in prices, later the stuff of (mostly untrue) legend down to the present day, took place mainly between the summer of 1636 and early February 1637.

When prices crashed around February 7, causing disquiet among sellers who were not to have been paid until tulips bloomed in June, moralistic comment on the tulip as an object of possession and trade was already beginning to appear in print. A series of pamphlets, songs, broadsides, and prints appeared from the late autumn of 1636 until about March of 1637 from printers in Haarlem, Leiden, Hoorn, Amsterdam, Gouda, and Enkhuizen, although in Haarlem, at least, the burgermeesters forbade the sale of these satires, even sending bailiffs out to gather unsold copies.[3] The singing of such songs and reading of such pamphlets was evidently thought to be inflammatory in an already volatile atmosphere, something confirmed in the text of some of the pro-tulip pamphlets, such as Cornelis van der Woude's *Toneel*

1 Noord-Hollands Archief (NHA) NA Haarlem 168/189, not. Jacob van Bosvelt, January 15, 1639.

2 On tulipmania in general see A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2007.

3 NHA Stadsarchief Haarlem, Rood 217/155v, burgemeestersresoluties, March 17, 1637.

van Flora, which pleaded for the re-establishment of an atmosphere of harmony.[4] As I have recently argued, the tulip pamphlets and songs are faulty witnesses for us in our quest for understanding what actually happened in tulipmania.[5] But if we are interested in the rhetoric about luxury products and economic life, such pamphlets can indeed prove useful. The point of view they provide is relatively specific. As productions - in large part of the chambers of rhetoric, in particular of the Wijngaertrancken in Haarlem - they chiefly give us access to the opinions of a set of relatively educated middle-ranking merchants and craftsmen. These writers were generally of the same social status as, or perhaps just a little lower than, the kinds of merchants and craftsmen who collected and traded in tulips. Some of the pamphlets even approved of the tulip trade.[6] Most of the time, however, the pamphlets were condemnatory, and condemnatory in some cases of specific people. We must assume that these authors, unlike many of their peers, were not collecting or trading in tulips, but watching this collecting and trading from a fairly close vantage-point within urban communities such as Haarlem, which were large, but not overwhelmingly so. The pamphlets, then, come from a particular sector of society. But what they tell us nevertheless has a wider significance.

In a recent essay, and in his 2008 book *The Industrious Revolution*, Jan de Vries has argued that the Dutch Republic in the 17th century had moved into a new economic situation, which he calls "the new luxury."[7] This was a new consumer society in which a much larger portion of society had the means to purchase luxuries, and through great access to them, had the additional opportunity to exercise choice in the luxury items they consumed. No longer, he argues, did luxury appear to belong solely to an aristocracy which used it mainly to display their own fitness to rule. However, he notes as well that the kind of arguments in defense of luxury put forward in Britain in the late 17th and 18th centuries did not in fact surface in any coherent way in the 17th-century Netherlands. Instead, despite changing economic circumstances, the Dutch continued to rely on older tropes in their discussion of material comfort and display.

4 C. Van Der Woude, 'Toneel van Flora'. Amsterdam, 1637, printed in: E.H. Krelage (ed.), *De Pamfletten van den Tulpenwindhandel 1636-1637* (henceforth *KP*), p. 229-265.

5 A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, p. 6, 134-135, 267-270.

6 On the social status of members of chambers of rhetoric, see in particular A. Van Dixhoorn, *Lustige Geesten: Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2009; on chambers of rhetoric and the tulip pamphlets, see: A.Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, chap. 5, especially p. 272-274.

7 J. De Vries, 'Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice', in: M. Berg and E. Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods, Palgrave Macmillan.* Basingstoke, 2003, p. 41-56; J. De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 44-58.

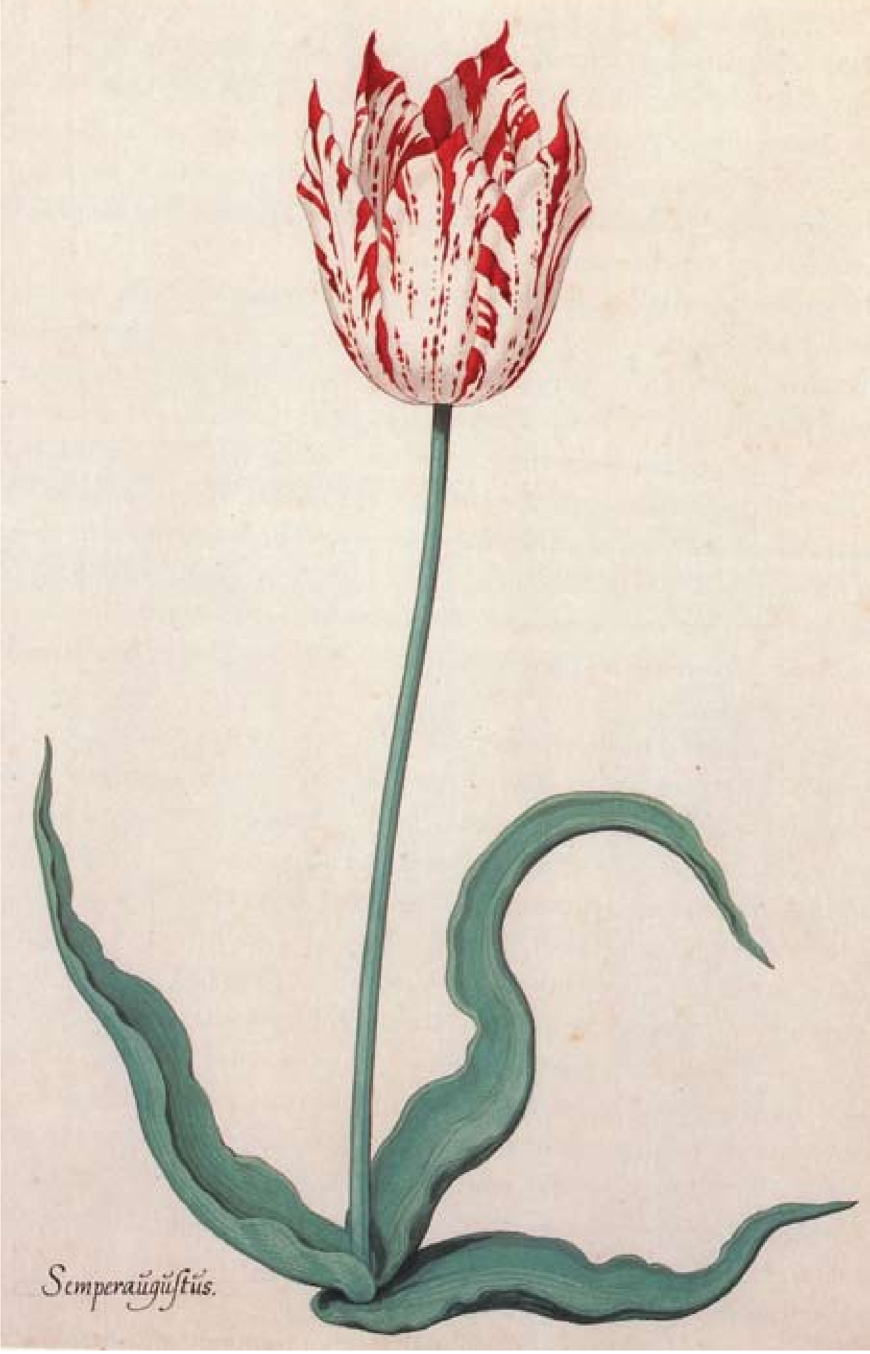

FIGURE 1 | Pieter Holsteyn, tulip portrait, Semper Augustus, ca. 1640 | Courtesy of Sotheby's

These included, for example, fears about the corrupting influence of material goods, sending some members of society, if not others, into the perils of moral decay. This rhetoric of the old luxury inveighed in particular at those in lower social stations who used luxury items to pretend to be something other than what they actually were – in other words, against the material display of social mobility. This was not, one can already note, a wholesale condemnation of luxury. As De Vries notes, one of the signal influences here, Calvin, suggests that material goods were not to be condemned, as long as one views them with a sensible eye and one chooses to live in a manner appropriate to one's station.[8] This attitude, for example, might be seen in the deposition made on behalf of the tulip trader Jacques de Clercq.

What we find in the tulip pamphlets tends to confirm De Vries' analysis, although, as I will argue at the end of this essay, we can also hear some voices recognizing the reality of the new economic situation in the Netherlands even in the 1630s, earlier than the period on which he concentrates. But first let us consider how luxury and the luxury trades (in this case the tulip trade) are regarded by most of the *rederijkers* and other songsters and pamphleteers writing in opposition to tulipmania. In the first place, some writers made a straightforwardly religious argument, one that, if taken too far, would condemn most of the economic activity of the Netherlands. Taking as a starting place the plague epidemic which had been raging in the Dutch Republic for more than a year, pamphleteers such as Steven van der Lust argued that, through the plague, God was punishing the Dutch for favoring mammon over God. Tulips should not be regarded as better than another flower, the Rose of Sharon (that is, Christ), and it was even worse that the church was being used as a place for dealing in tulips. High prices for bulbs were also condemned as immoral, especially when, as one pamphlet pointed out, one tulip bulb might cost as much as a good preacher earned in four years. Asceticism was the only answer: and we see in the bible, as the *Troost-Brief aen alle bedroefde Bloemisten* argued, that people who lose their riches, such as Job or Abraham, are rewarded with something better. Jesus took the world from us, the pamphlet states, but because of that we gain access to heaven.[9]

8 De Vries, 'Luxury', p. 45-46.

9 [Steven Van Der Lust], *Nieu-Jaers Pest-Spiegel* (Haarlem, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 95-102; *Clare Ontdeckingh der dwaesheydt der ghener die haer tegenwoordigh laten noemen Floristen* (Hoorn, 1636), printed in: *KP*, p. 87 n. 2x; H. Hofman, *Korte aenwijsingh van de blomme te Saron* , 1637, in: *KP*, p. 115 ff.; *Een Nieuw Liedeken van de Fijne Floristen* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 120, 121; [Steven Van Der Lust], *Den Ondergang ofte Val van de Groote Thuyn-Hoer, de Boeff-Goddin Flora* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 188; *Troost-Brief aen alle Bedroefde Bloemmisten, die treuren over 't sterven oft 't overlijden van Flora, Godinne der Floristen* (Haarlem, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 296.

Such arguments hardly endorse the new economic realities of Dutch society, but there is more. A trade such as the tulip trade, according to many of the pamphlets and songs, was a corrupting influence on public morals. Tulips were discussed and sold in taverns, where feasting and drinking of good beer and wine – wine was a traditional way to seal a contract – would lead a man to neglect his family, portrayed in the pamphlets as sitting pale and starving at home: "destroying his goods, making his children into slaves and his wife and happy home into a hell full of vile rabble."[10] Contact with this nefarious luxury, indeed, would lead to drunkenness, lying, cheating, fighting, and swearing.[11]

It also supposedly led to false ideas about status and work. The tulip, some pamphlets claimed, led people to trust in the vanity of worldly honor and glory. In the worst case – one mentioned by much of the literature surrounding tulipmania, without, as far as I can see, any support in the archival record – the pamphlets claimed that the possibility of living in splendor took honest merchants and craftsmen from their proper work, as Flora was said to have seduced people through the opportunity for pleasure. Many trades were mentioned – in *Geschockeerde Blom-Cap* we hear of painters, printers, bookbinders, shippers, shipfitters, and more[12] – but the most common example of a poor craftsman led astray by luxury was the weaver, who was enjoined to return to his loom. The problems cited with the attraction of the tulip for these people were several. First, the useful work they did was being replaced by the 'empty' work of possessing and dealing in tulips. This in itself was related to concepts of luxury, since one of the major objections made to tulips was that they were purely decorative and had no real use. "What use does the tulip have, is it medicinal?" an early pamphlet, the *Clare Ontdeckingh*, inquired.[13] "Although I am beautiful, my powers are small," the tulip claims in the *Klaegh-Liedt weghen de Lelye-Narcisse ofte Tulipa*.[14] Tulips did not even have a scent. To desert the useful trades of weaving and brewing – but also, one might note, making other decorative items – to grow and to possess such a useless flower was thought unconscionable.

10 *Buyre-Praetje tot Vertroostinge van Iantie Floraas* (Alkmaar, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 154. See also *Een Nieuw Liedeken van de Kappisten* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 103-104; [Steven Van Der Lust], *Troost voor de Ghescheurde Broederschap der Rouw-Dragende Kap-Broertjes, ofte Floraes Staet-Ionckers* (1637), p.184; [Steven Van Der Lust], *Den Ondergang ofte Val*, in: *KP*, p. 188; P. De Clopper, "Ghesanck," *Ghesanck-Boecxken van de Blommisten, ende van de Liefhebbers van Flora* (Leiden, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 222.

11 *Troost-Brief*, in: *KP*, p. 291; *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 79; *Een Klaegh-Liedt weghen de Lelye Narciesse, ofte Tulipa* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 125.

12 *Geschockeerde Blom-Cap* (Hoorn, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 135.

13 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 73.

14 *Klagh-Liedt weghen de Lelye-Narcisse*, in: *KP*, p. 126.

FIGURE 2 | Cornelis Danckerts, Floraes Gecks-Kap, cartoon from *De Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid*, 1720. © Beinecke Library, Yale University

Another reason why the supposed abandonment of traditional trades for the sake of the tulip similarly echoes the rhetoric of the old luxury cited by Jan de Vries. The rapid fortunes presumably made by those possessing and trading tulips might have allowed them to live in a manner unfitted to weavers or other craftsmen. The goddess Flora, used in many pamphlets as a representative of the flower trade, claimed in one pamphlet that being a florist (as the traders were called) gave one an honorable name.[15] More than that, it would clothe and house you in the utmost luxury: according to one pamphlet, the *P.I.C. Biggel-Tranen*, someone who "came here living so shabbily and scantily now can display himself like a prince."[16] The poor, transformed by contact with tulips, could ride on horseback or in carriages, could make themselves into "little lords", and dominate society. The novelty of such a situation, if it really existed – and my research suggests that for the most part it did not – would have been disturbing for a society with a strong belief in social hierarchy. As De Vries points out, Calvin's advice, typical of the period, was to live

15 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 77.

16 [Pieter Jansz VAN CAMPEN], *P.I.C. Biggel-Tranen, over de Schielijcke Veranderinge van de vermeynde groote Winst-Coopmaschap der Bloemisten* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 202.

appropriately to one's station, and anything else would promote social confusion and a sense of the world turned upside down.[17] The crash in tulip prices, such pamphlets claimed, sent enriched weavers rightfully back to their "thin wooden horse," the loom, where they "play poff, poff, poff, according to the weaver's art."[18]

This argument about living appropriately to one's station, one echoed by the witnesses called by Jacques de Clercq in 1639, is, I think, crucial to our understanding of the rhetoric about luxury during tulipmania. Although there were loud voices declaring that all luxury was anti-religious, this view certainly does not reflect that of all the pamphleteers. The arguments about material display were more complex. For most writers, there was no real question about whether one ought to have contact with luxury goods. But several other questions were raised. The first was what luxuries actually were appropriate. As we have seen, these arguments could get tangled; one writer suggested that tulips were not as good as paintings, because paintings could teach us valuable lessons about history and morals, an argument that falls as soon as one moves away from history painting to genre scenes or still life, both popular forms in the period.[19] Others argued that it was foolish to favor tulips over other flowers, that such monomania suggested an innate lack of sense.[20] One author, defending an interest in tulips, said that the truly ridiculous were not tulip-fanciers, but collectors of natural objects more widely: those who are so foolish as to take shells, skins of dead birds and animals, stones, and leaves and put them in curious little drawers as if they were treasures and the most honorable items in the house.[21] In the end, the argument frequently came down to how one is able to judge the value of particular objects; and there is a strain here of a disapproval of a display of discrimination and expertise. Why, it was asked, should one value one item over another, and why should these particular people decide what is good? People used to like other things, like paintings and books, the author of the *Clare Ontdeckingh* complained; now it is just tulips, and even if they are ugly, such people don't care, because all they want is something unusual.[22] And is it really the case, several asked, that tulips are better than gold and jewels, or better than productive land?[23] Especially when they are ephemeral and thus possibly a poor investment?[24] A tulip can die or be eaten by a mole – but to mention this is not to moralize about luxury, but instead to counsel wisdom in speculation.

17 De Vries, 'Luxury', p. 45-47.
18 [Jan SOET], *Floraas Swijmel-Snicken* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 163.
19 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 87 n. 2t.
20 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 86-87 n. 2l.
21 *Apologia ofte Verantwoodinghe van Flora* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 268.
22 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 74, 76.
23 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 74, 110.
24 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 84 n. r); *Aenleydingh tot Opmerck van 't Misbruyck en Rechte Ghebruyck der Bloemen* (Enkhuizen, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 170; *De Haestige Op-Komst ende de Schielijcke Neder-Gangh der Nieu-Aen-Gekome Floristen* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 198; [Pieter Jansz Van Campen], *P.I.C. Biggel-Tranen*, in *KP*, p. 210; [Pieter De Clopper], ,Ghesanck', in: *Ghesanck-Boecxken*, in: *KP*, p. 219; [Pieter De Clopper], "Memoriael-Liedt van de daet der Blommisten," in: *Ghesanck-Boecxken*, printed in: *KP*, p. 223.

FIGURE 3 | Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt, Double portrait with tulip, bulb, and shell, signed and dated1606 | French private collection | © Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna

This counsel of wisdom reflects another line of argument giving shape to ideas about luxury. The theme here, as I have pointed out, is not complete abstinence, but moderation. One pamphlet, purporting to advise on the "misuse and correct use of flowers", quotes as a conclusion the popular proverb *maet staet, onmaet vergaet*: moderation stands firm, excess falls to ruin. This proverb was quoted in 1661 by Olfert Dapper in his description of the Desolate Boedelskamer in the Amsterdam city hall to point out the dangers of high living.[25] What disturbed some of the pamphleteers was the way that otherwise sensible people – "decent, grey men, with good minds and reason," read one tract – were growing excessively enthusiastic about tulips.[26] It was not the love of tulips in itself that was so bad, but its immoderation. "Go cherish your flower as you please, keep it in your sight – but what I pray to you is, don't weigh it too heavily. Know that it is a plant," pleaded one song.[27] Flowers could be valued – indeed, as God's creations ought to be valued – but like all things, this love should be dispensed in moderation.

If it was permitted to cherish tulips in a moderate way, it was, nevertheless, important that this activity be limited to the appropriate people. De Vries considers the possiblity of social confusion a hallmark of the new luxury, since it was only when luxuries were of a type capable of emulation that such confusion becomes a possibility.[28] In 1637, tulips were still rare, but types were becoming available that were within the reach of a much wider public. Moreover, the money made from buying and selling tulips could at least theoretically be used to adorn oneself and one's household and conduct oneself like a regent or wealthy merchant. The discussion here appears to be chiefly theoretical – the archival record does not indicate large-scale social change during this admittedly brief period – and for the most part, despite an apparent awareness of the possibility of social confusion, we can still place this rhetoric within the confines of De Vries' old luxury. Tulips and the things one can buy from their profits were indeed replicable, but it was important to the pamphleteers that they should not be replicated. Maintaining distinctions remained for these writers the most important aspect of luxury consumption.

Poor weavers who found themselves wearing fancy clothes and riding around the countryside in carriages – if such ever existed – therefore needed to be stamped down. But so, the argument went, did poor weavers or other artisans who set their sights on more refined tastes of their betters, including the taste for collecting rare flowers. Many of those we find in archival materials demonstrating expertise in tulip breeding were, if not poor weavers, middle-level craftspeople;[29] but the pamphlet literature about the tulip trade argues strongly against their participation in what was, essentially, the connoisseurship of art. Many pamphlets argued that it was impossible for such people to have been really interested in flowers. A desire for rarity, or indeed a concentration only on tulips rather than on flowers, they

25 *Aenleydingh tot Opmerck*, in: *KP*, p. 169; O. Dapper, *Historische Beschrijvinge der Stadt Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, 1661, p. 374. I am grateful to Marika Keblusek for calling the reference in Dapper to my attention.

26 *Clare Ontdeckingh*, in: *KP*, p. 74.

27 *Aenleydingh tot Opmerck*, in: *KP*, p. 169.

28 De Vries, 'Luxury', p. 44.

29 On the social distribution of *bloemisten*, see: A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, p. 131-193.

said, suggests instead that profit was the only motive here.[30] And if the possession of tulips was only for profit, the trade was immoral, for reasons left unspecified. What is worthy is appreciating tulips for their beauty, something quite distinct from buying and selling. In one pamphlet, *P.I.C. Biggel-Tranen*, a character known as Rich tells us that he has for years laid out large sums of money on rare flowers, but – and we are to note his wisdom – never for a profit.[31] And although Rich is here in dialogue with Poor – a man who also loved flowers but had the sense to stay out of the tulip trade – for the most part we are informed that appreciation of beautiful things is reserved to those of higher station. In the same dialogue, a third character declares that "the love of a flower ought not to be wholly despised for people of fashion, and those who have power, to keep a rare flower in their garden or field ... for their pleasure ... But for Jan Alleman or for [one of] bad blood, who has neither land nor sand nor garden, nor any goods, And then buys for remarkable sums the best flowers, I think that cannot be."[32] Everyone should stay in his calling, said another writer, and those who honestly enjoy this creation of God and who want to breed it for beauty, "*dat is mijn rechte volck*" (that is my true people).[33]

What we see here is to some degree what Jan de Vries has led us to expect when he tells us that, despite changing economic realities, Dutch thought on luxury remained within the confines of an older discourse. Luxury items are for the display of the wealthy; their very display distinguishes their possessors from those of lower station; and any display of such items by those further down the social scale leads only to social confusion, if not, as we have seen, to moral decay and social breakdown. Luxury items are also, in these formulations, to be divorced entirely from the market, despite the fact that those using them have obtained them, and all their other goods, through that very market. We hear in these pamphlets the voices of the old luxury.

But there are some new voices too. The outburst of pamphleteering by *rederijkers* such as Steven van der Lust and Jan Soet, both of the Wijngaertrancken chamber of rhetoric in Haarlem, provoked irritation among several writers, especially because Soet, in particular, had made a point of naming names when ridiculing victims of tulipmania in Haarlem.

30 *Clare Ontdeckinghe*, in: *KP*, p. 75, 85 n. 2c; *Geschockeerde Blom-Cap*, printed in: *KP*, p. 133, 134, 138; *Een Klaegh-Liedt van Flora* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 157; *Klacht van Joost van Kortrijcke over de Bedriegerije van Flora* (1637), in: *KP*, p. 168.

31 [Pieter Jansz Van Campen], *P.I.C. Biggel-Tranen*, in: *KP*, p. 205.

32 [Pieter Jansz Van Campen], *P.I.C. Biggel-Tranen*, in: *KP*, p. 209-210.

33 *Apologia ofte Verantwoordinghe van Flora*, in: *KP*, p. 267.

Dood-Rolle ende Groef-maal

Van FLOORTIE-FLORAAS.

Jaap-graag-Rijck och! wat rett je *Floortje* is é sturt've
Mijn lieve soete sull noit binje hiel bedurve,
Och! t'was een binne-koors die t'Sieltje van heur joeg!
Doch weetje weerse bleeff se voer naa *Nebú-kroeg*.

INVENTARIS.

I. Soet.

FIGURE 4 | Broadside, *Dood-rolle ende groef-maal van Floortie Floraas*, Jan Soet, 1637 | © Special collections, Wageningen University Library

Among the later pamphlets in the winter of 1637 we find several defending tulipmania in terms more akin to the defense of luxury in the following century. Works such as the *Toneel van Flora*, a long pamphlet by the Alkmaar schoolmaster and *rederijker* Cornelis van der Woude, or the broadside poem *De Rechte Bloem-Prijs*, which attacked several pamphlets by Jan Soet, praised tulips as luxury objects whether in or out of the market. Flowers, they argued, were the creation of God, and God gives them to us to console us and to bring us joy. So there is no reason to criticize people who wish to partake in this aspect of God's creation, whoever they are. If it is mad to love God's works, everyone is mad.[34]

What is more, these authors argued, it is wrong to scorn luxuries simply because they are abused by some. Should we scorn wine because some people get drunk? Should we scorn silks and costly jewels, because great courtly splendor can be made with them? Should we scorn silver, gold, and other treasures, because so many sins and lies can emerge from their use? This is another argument for moderation, but it is one that stresses the value of luxuries as gifts of God. You might just as well scorn food and drink, Van der Woude wrote, because some people eat and drink too much. But misuse does not take away the worth of what we have on earth from God.[35] These are arguments made from the point of view that luxuries are in fact accessible; there is no suggestion that luxuries were inappropriate to certain people, only a question of how those who could attain them ought to behave. And such attainment apparently came not through birth, but through clever use of one's ability in trade.

A final argument made by these authors reflects directly on the economic situation of the Netherlands in the 1630s. This was a country built on trade, a trade that enriched a large portion of the middle ranks of society, and brought about widespread social mobility, if not as rapid a mobility as that predicted by those frowning over tulipmania. Most of the arguments of the tulip pamphlets and songs, as Jan de Vries' more general points have suggested, give voice to a sensibility more appropriate to a society less capitalistic and less in flux than that of the Dutch Republic of this time. As I have suggested in my other work on tulipmania, it is likely that it is precisely the uncertainties of the changes in Dutch society and economy at this time that led most of the tulip pamphleteers to cling to notions of luxury that stress more rigid hierarchies and concepts of appropriate behavior than we can actually view in the everyday actions of merchants and craftsmen in Haarlem and other towns in the 1630s. Since the last decades of the 16th century, the commercial sector had grown and changed with extraordinary rapidity, and, at the same time, and for some of the same reasons, immigration, especially from the southern Netherlands, had increased the size of towns and rendered their populations more

34 [Cornelis Van Der Woude], *Toneel van Flora*, in: *KP*, p. 233, 239, 243.
35 [Cornelis Van Der Woude], *Toneel van Flora*, in: *KP*, p. 245, 246.

anonymous and harder to place than before. Social mobility became a possibility for many, but this was at the same time a frightening prospect, especially if, as in the tulip trade, it might conceivably take place within a matter of weeks.[36] Hierarchy and decorum were safer; knowing what luxuries were appropriate to what station was safer; knowing who was high and low was safer – even if it was you who not so long ago had risen from a station poorer than the one you have now.

But if we listen to Cornelis van der Woude and his fellow-pamphleteers on the side of the New Luxury, once again we start to hear an appreciation of the new order of things. What is wrong with the tulip trade, they asked, and what is wrong with possessing tulips? There is nothing wrong with profit and no reason to be ashamed. Van der Woude wrote almost indignantly, "is it a terrible thing? is it a scandal for a man to try to increase his profit? is he mad, or a fool, to take part in trade? Does trade make one a fool or an idiot?"[37] The tulip trade is just trade, and if we are to renounce profit and what it can bring us, every merchant in the Netherlands would have to stay at home. God gives us the world so we can seek our fortunes, and if someone hopes through this to live in a more delightful way, with better clothes, or more beautiful furnishings, how can we fault that person for seeking his own fortune? And this fortune does not simply benefit the individual – a point, of course, made later by pro-luxury writers of the 18th century. "Profit feeds the body," Van der Woude wrote; "profit makes the basis in order to do some good in the world; profit supports God's church. Profit spreads out the blankets to warm the poor." Profit, rightly used, helps the world. Although charity remains at the center of this argument, and although we are far from Mandeville's private vices turning into public virtues, what we see here is a beginning of a justification of trade and luxury as the foundation of a civil society. *Laet elc sijn voordeel soeken* – let everyone seek his own advantage – and that will be an advantage for us all. We see here the stirrings of an acknowledgement of the world in which the tulip traders really lived.[38]

Anne Goldgar is Reader in Early Modern European History at King's College London. She was educated at Princeton and Harvard and, before arriving at King's in 1993, taught at New York University and held a research fellowship at Clare Hall, Cambridge. She is the author of *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680-1750* (Yale, 1995) and *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, 2007) and of numerous articles. Her interests lie particularly in social and cultural history.

36 For further discussion of this, see Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, chap. 5. This aspect of tulipmania seems limited to discussions within the Dutch context. As far as I am aware, tulipmania does not feature in discussions on luxury in other countries; it tended to be classified chiefly as irrationality, albeit an irrationality springing from greed.

37 [Cornelis Van Der Woude], *Toneel van Flora*, in: *KP*, p. 235.

38 [CornelisVan der Woude], *Toneel van Flora*, in: *KP*, p. 232, 235, 248-249, 257, 270; *De Rechte Bloem-Prijs* (Enkhuizen, 1637), in: *KP*, p. 270; *Toneel van Flora*, in: *KP*, p. 240.

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2.3

Wine as a Luxury at the Dutch Factory in Japan during the Second Half of the 18th Century*

JOJI NOZAWA

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L'eau, c'est pour la soif. Le vin c'est, selon sa qualité et son terroir, un tonique nécessaire, un luxe, l'honneur des mets[1]

Colette *Prisons et paradis*

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In the early modern period, foreign trade expansion was the major source of economic growth in the Low Countries. Dutch merchant colonies existed in different parts of the world, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic Sea and from the Caribbean to the Maluku Islands. Given such extensive geographical coverage, the Dutch East India Company (hereafter abbreviated as VOC) was one of the major inspirations for the development of material culture in Europe.[2] Whilst such Asian goods as spices, tea or porcelain represented luxury in the Low Countries, luxury for the Dutch who left for East India meant the capacity to keep living the same life as back in their 'fatherland' (*vaderland*). The basing of the construction of Batavia, the centre of the VOC's commercial activities in Asia, up the urban planning of Amsterdam might be one illustration of such nostalgia. During its existence for almost two centuries, the VOC alone sent approximately 973.000 Europeans to different parts of Asia.[3] Roughly speaking, one third of them returned home, another third died mostly on the sea and the remaining third stayed permanently in Asia. In the second half of the 18th century (1750-1795), 326.300 people sailed out for East India.[4] The migration itself was not, of course, a new phenomenon in the early modern period, but the long-standing activities of the VOC resulted in the unparalleled movement of the European population overseas. And when people moved, foodstuffs often followed them.

In this context, this chapter will explore, among numerous trading spots in Asia, the life of VOC merchants in Japan during the second half of the 18th century, with a particular focus on the consumption of European wine, a product which was a luxury item in the Low Countries at that time.[5]

In current scholarship on the VOC, the extent of the export goods from the Dutch Republic is often underestimated.[6] One good example is the foodstuffs that were

1 Colette, *Prisons et paradis*, Paris, Fayard, 1986, p. 49 (published for the first time in 1932). "The water, it's for the thirst. The wine it's, depending upon its quality and its *terroir*, a necessary tonic, a luxury, the honour of the delicacies."

2 VOC stands for *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*. For the general aspects, see F. S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company. Expansion and Decline,* Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 2003; J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra and I. Schöffer (eds.), *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries. I: Introductory volume*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1987.

3 Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, p. 144.

4 Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, p. 144.

5 For wine as luxury good, see: M. 'T Hart, J. Jonker and J. Luiten van Zanden (eds.), *A Financial History of the Netherlands*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 28 and 78; J. de Vries and A. Van der Wouden, *The First Modern Economy. Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 584; M. Figeac-Monthus, 'Vins et alcools', in: M. Figeac (dir.), *L'ancienne France au quotidien. Vie et choses de la vie sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2007, p. 555-855; H. Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit, materiële cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis 1650-1800*. Nijmegen, SUN, 2001, p. 146-150.

6 Gaastra, *Dutch East India Company*, p. 144.

necessary to sustain the life of the Company's employees, not only during the long maritime journey, but also during their stay in East India.[7] Likewise, focus on foodstuffs is rather rare in the historiography of Dutch-Japanese relations.[8] The VOC was above all a mercantile enterprise, and therefore the internal consumption of food has been treated as only of secondary importance. The consumption of alcoholic drinks has been equally considered peripheral, even though the provision of drink was essential for all meals.

In Japan, the VOC established its first trading factory at Hirado in 1609, seven years after the foundation of the Company itself. Following orders issued by the Japanese government (*bakufu*), the VOC transferred to a small artificial island known as Deshima off the bay of Nagasaki in 1641. Having survived the dissolution of the Company towards the end of the 18th century, the factory at Deshima continued to stand as a Dutch representative in Japan until 1859.[9]

Apart from its extreme geographical location in the Far East, the Dutch factory in Japan had a number of particularities that may have distinguished it from other VOC establishments scattered through East India. Firstly, the Dutch were the only Europeans who were permitted to conduct trade in Japan. This meant that, in principle, any European product in Japan reached the country exclusively through the VOC. Secondly, the number of the staff stationed there was relatively small, often limited to between ten and fifteen. From the VOC's administrative point of view, the distribution of foodstuffs there was less complex in comparison to say, Batavia, where thousands of servants lived. Lastly, the Company's employees were obliged to remain on the island of Deshima during their stay in Japan for a year. It is presumed that the Dutch merchants had relatively limited freedom. One important exception was the annual ritualised court journey (*hofreis*) to the capital Edo (later Tokyo) for audience with the shogun.[10]

The example of the Dutch factory in Japan will show the quantity and variety of wine available to the Company's employees in the Far East. Then it will demonstrate, on the one hand, how the Dutch merchants consumed wine in everyday life during their stay in Japan, and on the other hand how they shared the pleasure of wine drinking with the indigenous population, particularly with the ruling elites. During the same

7 In the 18th century, a single journey from Amsterdam to Batavia, the commercial centre of the VOC, took on average 246 days, including a call at the Cape of Good Hope (Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, p. 67, 69 & 72).

8 As an exception, see K. Yanai (dir.), *Nagasaki Deshima no shoku bunka* (Food culture at Deshima, Nagasaki), Sasebo/Nagasaki, Shinwa Bank, 1993.

9 David Mitchell's historical fiction *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet* (London, Sceptre, 2010) could be instructive literature for the interested readers. The book demonstrates the ambience of the Dutch factory at Deshima at the turn of the 19th century.

10 The VOC in Japan was required to pay a visit to the shogunal capital of Edo once a year. The major purpose was to have an audience with the shogun to reconfirm the permission of trade. The entire journey generally took three months, including a few weeks stay in the capital.

period that luxury goods flooded into Europe from Asia, a circulation of luxury goods in the reverse direction, from Europe to Asia, can be perceived. Foodstuffs, particularly such alcoholic drinks as wine, are good examples. These goods were originally not imported for trade on the local markets in Japan, but primarily for the European population living there. For them, having the same foodstuffs as in the fatherland was an incontestable luxury. However, when the VOC dissolved and the political turmoil began to involve the entire European continent at the turn of the 19th century, the supply of European wines became insecure.

1 / Wine imported

Every year, the Dutch factory in Japan submitted a written request (*eis*) to the Governor-General of Batavia for the goods necessary for the following year. Wine always constituted an important item on the list. The quantity of the annual order issued by the factory in Japan was on average between three to four thousand litres, depending on what they had left in their remaining stock.[11] This figure gives us a rough idea of the quantity that was annually required. Among the different kinds of wine requested, there were four major types that occupied more than 90% of the total: French wine (*Franse wijn*), Red wine (*Rode wijn*), Spanish wine (*Spaanse wijn*) and Tent wine (*Tint wijn*).[12] The first two were from vineyards in France and the latter from Spain. Based upon the above requests, transmitted from Batavia back to Holland, the chambers of the VOC in the Dutch Republic arranged the delivery of wines all the way from European vineyards to its factory in Japan via Holland and then Batavia to satisfy the demand of the compatriots posted in the Far East. As a general rule, the amounts granted were often slightly smaller than originally expected (figure 1).

11 *Nationaal Archief* (The Hague), *Nederlandse Factorij in Japan* [hereafter abbreviated as NA, NFJ] 1355-1398.

12 French, Spanish and tent wine were the three major brands from the 17th century. See J. Nozawa, 'Wine consumption in the seventeenth century Japan', E. Rath and S. Assmann (eds.), *Food and Foodways in the Japanese History*. Chicago, Illinois University Press, 2010, p. 109-110.

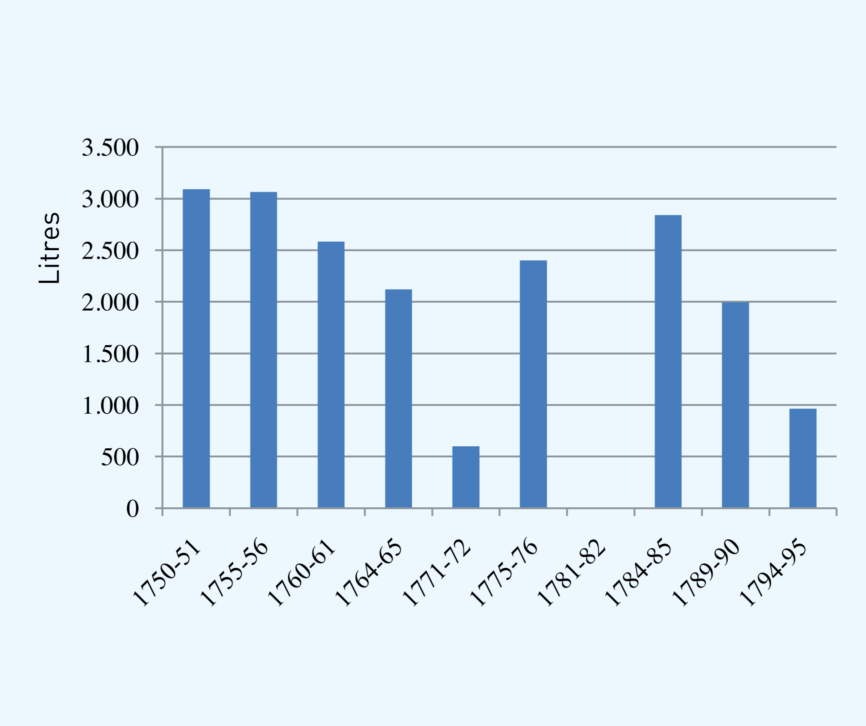

FIGURE 1 | Quantity of wine arriving at the Dutch factory in Japan every fifth year during the second half of the 18th century | *Source: NA, NFJ 1068-1109*

In terms of variety, the actual supply of wine met the requests made by the Dutch factory in Japan. The variety of wines even increased – particularly from the 1770s to the 1780s. In the year 1784-1785, for instance, eight different varieties are found: brandy (*brandewijn*), Cape's white wine (*Caabse witte wijn*), French wine (*Franse wijn*), French white wine (*Franse witte wijn*), red wine (*rode wijn*), Spanish wine (*Spaanse wijn*), tent wine (*tint wijn*) and white wine (*witte wijn*).[13] The type of wine is sometimes indicated in terms of its geographical origin, sometimes by colour, and sometimes both. Each appellation had independent accounts in the ledger and remained consistent in the bookkeeping system. As a whole, the Dutch factory in Japan during this period saw an increase of red wine, a phenomenon that seems to correspond to the shift from white to red in the wine market of the contemporary Dutch Republic.[14] It was not necessarily due to a change in the preference of taste, but rather due to the evolution of quality red wine production –

13 NA, NFJ 1097; K. Yao, *18, 19 seiki Deshima Oranda shôkan no kiso teki kenkyû* [Basic research on the Dutch factory at Deshima in the 18th and 19th centuries], K. Kyûshû/Japan, 2000, p. 59-64 (final report for research funds n° 09610340, 1997-1999).

14 A. Wegener Sleeswijk, *Franse wijn in de Republiek in de 18e eeuw. Economisch handelen, institutionele dynamiek en de herstructurering van de markt*, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2006, p. 102-107.

grands crus – particularly in the French vineyards from the end of the 17th century.[15] The introduction of bottling and the subsequent art of aging seemed to be two favourable factors to this transition.

Whilst the written documents provide us with precise indications as to the quantity and variety of wine imported by the Dutch factory in Japan, some visual materials, often more abundant from the 18th century, give us further images of wine consumption on the island of Deshima. One such representation is the *Bankanzu* – literally meaning 'drawings of barbarian's mansion' – a series of drawings depicting life in general at the Dutch factory in Japan.[16] Upon the arrival of new ships from Batavia, often in August, one of the essential trading procedures was inspection of the commodities that the VOC had brought. This took place at the west end of the island of Deshima. One of the drawings of *Bankanzu* illustrates the scene vividly.

A Dutch merchant in a long red coat is showing four crystal bottles of wine, each of which seem to represent different colours. In front of him is the connoisseur (*mekiki*) controlling its quality by apparently checking the colour and bouquet. Literally meaning 'a keen eye', *mekiki* was the local term for the local servant who gave an expert opinion, especially for imported textiles (*tanmono mekiki*).[17] It is fairly questionable whether there already was an expert uniquely on European wines at that time. Next to him is an interpreter explaining the details furnished by the Dutch merchant. At the upper right, two other crystal wine bottles lie in front of the inspectors (*kenshi*), which are accompanied by a stemmed glass. It was not a tasting glass, but a sample.[18] Despite the variety of wine depicted in the drawing, in 1797, when this piece of work was signed, the Dutch factory in Japan received only Madeira wine.[19] In other words, it is possible that the scene on the drawing was from a different year or that such a variety of wine was imported not through the VOC any more, but through personnel channels. In fact, the private trade had always existed since the early 17th century.

15 H. Enjalbert, 'Comment naissent les grands crus: bordeaux, porto, cognac', *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 8 (1953) 3 & 4, p. 315-328 & 457-474; idem, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin. L'avènement de la qualité*, Paris, Bordas, 1975, p. 96-104; M. Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vignerons. Histoire du vignoble français.* Paris, Fayard, 1988, p. 294-305; R. Pijassou, *Un grand vignoble de qualité. Le Médoc*, 2 vols, Paris, 1980.

16 Y. Ishizaki, *Bankanzu (Album de la Factorerie hollandaise)*, Smith-Lésouëf Collection, Japonais 188, Département des Manuscrits Orientaux, Bibliothèque nationale de France. It consists of ten drawings that chronologically portray typical scenes at Deshima. It is dated on 11th November 1797 and signed by the Director of the factory, then Gijsbert Hemmy. For more details, Y. Oka, 'Bankanzu no sho mondai [Problems of the Bankanzu]', in: N. Muneshige (ed.), *Hizô ukiyoe taikan* (Overview of the treasure of Japanese colour prints). *Vol.8: Bibliothèque nationale de France Paris*. Tokyo, Kôdansha, 1990, p. 238-243.

17 See C. Ishida, *Nichi ran bôeki no shiteki kenkyû* (Historical studies on the Dutch-Japanese trade). Tokyo, Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 2004, chapter 3.

18 For the import and domestic production of glassware in early modern Japan, see Y. Oka, *Nagasaki vidro* (Nagasaki glassware). Nagasaki, Kyûshû rôkin.

19 NA, NFJ 1109.

FIGURE 2 | Drawing of the sorting of the Company's commodities by inspecting connoisseurs and the public viewing of them (part)[20] | Bankanzu, Album de la Factorerie hollandaise, 1797 | © Bibliothèque nationale de France

Officially approved by the Governor of Nagasaki (*Nagasaki bugyô*) in as late as 1685, this supplementary framework was an important source of revenue to the local economy of Nagasaki. According to the estimation of Yôko Nagazumi, the private transactions in the 1670s amounted to at least a quarter and at the most up to the half of the Company's entire business.[21] Although the direction of the VOC in Holland had always been reluctant to recognise this tacit trading system, the second half of the 18th century saw a rapid increase due to the official approval given by the High Government of Batavia in 1753.[22] Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812), three times Director of the Dutch factory in Japan between 1779 and 1784, confirmed the profitability of European wine glasses in the private trade.[23] Easily procurable at Batavia, but not rival to the Company's main business, European wines appeared to be an advantageous commodity too.

20 The original description is *'Aftekening van het sorteren van Komps goederen door kennislieden en het tentoonstellen daarvan'*.

21 Y. Nagazumi, 'Kaisha no bôeki kara kojin no bôeki he (From the Company's trade to private trade): Jûhasseiki nichiran bôeki no henbô (metamorphosis of the 18th century Dutch-Japanese trade)', *Shakai keizai shigaku* (The Socio-Economic History), 60 (1994) 3, p. 322-323.

22 Nagazumi, 'Kaisha no bôeki', p. 340-341.

23 I. Titsingh, *The Private Correspondence of Isaac Titsingh*. Amsterdam, J.C. Gieben, 1990-92, vol. 2 (ed. by F. Lequin), p. 755-757.

2 / Internal consumption

Of the total quantity of wine received at the Dutch factory in Japan, the ledger distinguishes the consumption exclusively by the VOC employees as food expenses (*mondkosten*). According to the definition used in the bookkeeping, it mainly concerned the costs necessary to prepare the 'Company's table (*compagnies tafel*)'.[24] During the year 1775-1776, for example, the ledger added up 800 bottles of French wine (white) and 1000 bottles of (French) red wine in total.[25] Assuming this as a typical year, we could surmise consumption of 180 bottles per person per year if the personnel number on Deshima was ten, and 120 bottles per person per year if the personnel number was fifteen. In any case, each of the Company's employees obtained a new bottle (of approximately 1.2 litres) every second or third day. These figures suggest that the wine consumption per person in the Dutch factory in Japan was far greater than that in the Dutch Republic.[26] In fact, this example seems to offer a quite unique case in the sense that the emigration situation inverted the luxurious status of wines in Holland into normally accessible products in Japan; usually the distance makes commonplace foodstuffs more exceptional abroad.[27] This particularity was due to the fact that European wines constituted an important part of the drinking ration of the Company.[28] In a way, the experience in East India may have played an important role in the popularization of the wine drinking culture back in Holland, since it is most likely that the VOC mariners would continue the habit in their homeland as well.[29] In addition, it should also be noted that the above ration included neither the wines that were brought as private goods, nor the consumption of other alcoholic drinks such as beer, *jenever* (Dutch gin), *arak,* or locally procurable rice wine (*sake*).[30] Foodstuffs often constituted an important part of the private goods brought by VOC personnel. Likewise, the articles left by M.G. Duurkoop, a future Director of the Dutch factory in Japan, who died on the way to Nagasaki from Batavia in 1778, included a long list of comestibles such as red wine

24 NA, NFJ 928 is consulted as reference.

25 NA, NFJ 1088. The Dutch wine trade in 17th and 18th century Europe had a considerable influence on the development of French vineyards. See R. Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France. Des origines au XIXe siècle*. Paris, unedited, 1959, p. 424-460. Two recent doctoral theses deal with the subject as central theme. See H. de Bruyn Kops, *A Spirited Exchange. The Wine and Brandy Trade between France and the Dutch Republic in its Atlantic Framework*, 1600-1650. Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2007; Wegener Sleeswijk, *Franse wijn in de Republiek.*

26 For an indication of wine consumption in the 18th century Dutch Republic, see Vries and Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, p. 584-585. They took the example of the city of Utrecht, where an annual per capita wine consumption amounted to 14 litres between 1790 and 1798.

27 A. J. Kershen (ed.), *Food in the Migrant Experience*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002.

28 It is certainly more complex to determine the status of wine in the entire activities of the VOC since it largely depended upon the location, the rank and the period. The tendency was all the more true in the 17th century, when wine was a more valuable beverage in Holland and more indispensable in Dutch East India.

29 We can see the same process in different beverages as well. The beer in England, for instance, was first adopted as the drink of soldiers, who later contributed to its diffusion into the society. See L. B. Luu, 'Dutch and their Beer Brewing in England, 1400-1700', A.J. Kershen (ed.), *Food in the Migrant Experience*, p. 129.

30 *Arak* can be "*any strong drink, distilled spirit, essence etc. [...] it has spread to very remote corners of Asia*" (H. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson. A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive.* New edition. London, J. Murray, 1903, p. 36). It was made from different grains and fruits, sometimes flavoured with aniseed etc.

(*rode wijn*), Rhine wine (*Rijnse wijn*), white sec wine (*witte zecq*), red sec wine (*rode zecq*) and Cape wine (*Caabse wijn*).[31] Though slightly more humble, junior officers of the Company had similar lists.

In the Company's ledger, each type of wine had a different value in the cost prices (figure 3). French wine, the one that was allocated for daily consumption by the VOC employees, was the cheapest of all. A comparison of the prices of wine with the monthly wages of the personnel of different ranks may suggest the relative values of wine consumed at the Dutch factory in Japan during the second half of the 18th century (figure 4). It appears that wine was not necessarily too expensive an amusement, yet had it not been freely distributed as ration, it may not have been a drink available for everyday consumption.

Tent wine	fl. 0.84 par bottle
Red wine	fl. 0.71
Spanish wine	fl. 0.60
French wine	fl. 0.49

FIGURE 3 | Cost prices of different types of wine in 1784-85 | Source: Nationaal Archief Den Haag, Nederlandse Factorij in Japan 1097

First officer	fl. 100
Lieutenant	fl. 50
2nd lieutenant	fl. 30
Cook	fl.28

FIGURE 4 | Monthly wages of the VOC personnel on packet boats in 1788 | Source: Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer, 1987:213

The most frequent occasion for the Company's personnel to drink wine was no doubt at the meals they shared everyday (figure 5). Dutchmen in Japan were probably able to enjoy almost the same foodstuffs as in the Low Countries.[32] At the table, placed in the middle of a *tatami* salon, we find nine members of the factory in Japan, including its Director (*opperhoofd*) on the right. In front of each attendant, we can see stemmed glasses with red wine in them.[33] Around the table, dark skinned servants all hold different bottles. Two of them are deep green coloured: one has the form 'without shoulder (*sans épaules*)' as the French would call it today, and

31 NA, NFJ 1583, cited in I. Tanaka-Van Daalen, 'The *Hôchûzensho* and Dutch Cuisine', in: Yanai (ed.) *Nagasaki Deshima.*, p. 28. Apart from wines, we often find such European foodstuffs as cheese, butter, beer, bacon and olive oil.

32 Tanaka-Van Daalen, 'The *Hôchûzencho*', p. 28.

33 On the preliminary sketch of this drawing, this reddish drink is clearly described in Japanese as red wine (*aka budôshu*) and a Japanese prostitute (*yûjo*) is toasting a glass at a corner of the table. See *Tanaka Keiji bunko kichô shiryô gazô* (Tanaka Keiji library precious image materials), *Nagasaki oranda sen dejima emaki* (Scroll of Dutch ship at Deshima, Nagasaki) 6, preserved at Risshô University, Japan. Also consultable on-line: http://www.ris.ac.jp/library/kichou/lime/d006.html (visited on 25th July 2010).

another has a square shape.[34] On both sides of the Director we see three crystal decanters. It is very likely that each bottle contained a different type of wine. In a way, this displacement of a Dutch table from Europe to the Far East was indeed a product of the spatial unification that was in a rapid progress in the 18th century.

FIGURE 5 | Drawing of eating Dutch meals and the playing of the music instruments[35] | Bankanzu, Album de la Factorerie hollandaise, 1797 | © Bibliothèque nationale de France

VOC personnel consumed wine not just at the table, but also during recreation. Apart from the trading season and the court journey to the shogunal capital Edo, the ordinary life at Deshima was relatively relaxed, or to put it more precisely, monotonous. To pass the tedious hours, playing billiards was one of the diversions with which they could amuse themselves (figure 6). A Director of the factory is watching his junior colleagues playing. Two servants hold a pipe and tobacco, and two others hold two decanters of red wine with two stemmed glasses. From time to time, Japanese visitors came and watched the game, but the sources do not indicate them ever actually participating.[36]

34 For the evolution of the bottles used by the VOC, see A.J. van der Horst, 'Wijnflessen uit scheepswrakken uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Antiek – tijdschrijft voor liefhebbers en kenners van oude kunst en kunstnijverheid*, 26 (1991) 5, p. 223-251.

35 The original description is *Aftekening van eten Hollandse maaltijd en het spelen op muziek- instrumenten*.

36 See, for instance, *The Deshima Diaries. Marginalia 1740-1800.* Tokyo, The Japan-Netherlands Institute, 2004, p. 669-670 (ed. by L. Blussé, W. Remmelink, I. Van Daalen and C. Viallé).

FIGURE 6 | Drawing of the playing billiards[37] | Bankanzu, Album de la Factorerie hollandaise, 1797 | © Bibliothèque nationale de France

Behind the perpetual consumption of European wines by the Dutch merchants at the antipodes of the fatherlands, it seems there laid a natural and almost automatic reaction to preserve their original identity in a remote location.[38] The more the physical distance extended, the more the cognitive distance assumed importance. In order to keep the proximity to one's own culture, food seems to have offered an indispensable device. Food is not just a source of nutrients, but a key component to our sense of identity. In such a region as Japan, they could have instead accommodated themselves to the locally produced alcohol such as *sake*. Yet, they persistently continued the consumption of wine despite the more cost conscious option. Taking the view of 'we are what we eat' as proposed by Brillat-Savarin in his *Physiologie du gout*, originally published in 1826, the selection of food did indeed reflect their cultural identities.[39] Moreover, it served the Dutch merchants to distinguish themselves from the indigenous population. Wine was one classic food that could clearly define Christian westerners from others.[40]

37 The original description is '*Aftekening van het bilijardspelen*'.

38 For the implications of migration on foodways, I referred to P. Scholliers, 'Meals, Food Narratives, and Sentiments of Belonging in Past and Present' in: idem (ed.), *Food, Drink and Identity. Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe since the Middle Ages*, Oxford and New York, Berg, 2001, p. 3-22; A. J. Kershen, 'Introduction', idem (ed.), *Food in the Migrant Experience*, p. 1-13; E. Calvo, 'Migration et alimentation', *Information sur les Sciences Sociales* 21 (1982) 3, p. 383-446.

39 J. A. Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du goût*, Paris, Flammarion, 1982, p. 19. The original aphorism says, '*Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es*'.

40 J.-L. Flandrin and M. Montanari (dir.), *Histoire de l'alimentation*, Paris, Fayard, 1996, p. 319-322, cited by Scholliers, *Food, Drink and Identity*, p.11

3 / A luxury shared

If drinking wine represented a luxury in the VOC factory at Deshima, the Dutch merchants shared this pleasure with the Japanese. Apart from the quantity of wine consumed by VOC personnel, the ledger classifies three different types of expenses, all of which involved Japanese consumption of wine: gift (*schenkagie*), cost of gift (*ongelden van schenkagie*) and ordinary cost (*ordinaire ongelden*).

Schenkagie is the cost of a gift that the Director of the Dutch factory in Japan presented, in the name of the General of the East India Company, to the shogun, his heir and other high officials in Edo, Kyoto (*Miaco*) and Osaka. In fact, the use of wine as gift to the court dated back to the 17th century.[41] Wine as gift became legitimate in 1645 and it had continued since then all through the 17th and 18th centuries without ever missing a year. Wine was the only foodstuff that enjoyed such prestige in the Dutch-Japanese diplomatic relations.[42]

In the second half of the 18th century, the VOC annually offered wine to the seventeen to eighteen Japanese nobility in the court. The shogun always found himself at the top of the list, a number of his principal entourage was also regularly listed as recipients. Taking the year 1790 as an example, of the total of 96 *gantings* (approximately 230 litres) of Spanish wine (*Spaanse wijn*) that the VOC prepared as a gift, the shogun (*keizer*) received 27 *gantings* (approximately 65 litres), seven ordinary councillors of the country (*Ordinaire rijks raden* or *rôjû*) 6 *gantings* each (approx. 14 litres) and nine extraordinary councillors of the country (*Extraordinaire rijks raden* or *wakadoshiyori*) 3 *ganting* each (approx. 7 litres). In other years, the successor of the shogun (*kroonprins*) and the former shogun (*oude Keizer*) occasionally appeared on the list. As a general rule, the higher the rank, the more was received.

41 J. Nozawa, 'Wine Consumption in the Seventeenth century'. On the gift-giving practice by the VOC in Japan, a number of important literatures have been published. See E. Kato, *Bakuhansei kokka no seiritsu to taigai kankei.* (State formation and Foreign Relations under the Bakuhan System). Tokyo, Shibunkanku, 1998, p. 391-428; M. Chaiklin, *Cultural commerce and Dutch commercial culture. The influence of European material culture on Japan, 1700-1850.* Leiden, CNWS, 2003; C. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade: Dutch gift-giving in Tokugawa Japan' in: *Tokyo Daigaku Shiryô Hensanjo Kenkyû Kiyô* (Bulletin of the Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo), 16 (2006), p. 57-78.

42 Such a fact is all the more important since wine would be quickly accepted as an elitist and noble drink during the course of the modernization under the Meiji government in the second half of the 19th century. More globally speaking, the example of Japan illustrates the historical process of wine adaptation in the international diplomatic scene: a practice that is still valid up to the present. For instance, in May 2000, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands entertained Japanese emperor Akihito, in the official banquet, with three French wines, namely Puligny-Montrachet (1996), Château La Pointe (1988) and Champagne Taittinger Brut (M. Nishikawa, *Wain to gaikô* (Wine and Diplomacy). Tokyo, Shinchôsha, 2007, p. 70). Likewise, in the first and historical meeting at Pyongyan in October 2007, the presidents of the two Korea (!) toasted with glasses of red wine (J-R Pitte, *Le Désir du vin. A la conquête du monde*. Paris, Fayard, 2009, p. 162-163).

Despite the large varieties of wine that the Dutch factory in Japan imported every year, the VOC exclusively dedicated two types of wine as gift: Spanish wine (*Spaanse wijn*) and tent wine (*tint wijn*). In contrast, French wine (*Franse wijn*) was never considered suitable for official gift. Although the VOC archives provide little explanation of the selection of wine as gift nor the Japanese motivation for this drink, one plausible reason was its medicinal virtues. Tent wine, for instance, appeared on a list of requested medicines compiled by an interpreter in 1792.[43]

In the arrangement of the official gifts, the governor (*bugyô*) of Nagasaki was responsible to check the quality of all products listed as gift before departure on the courtesy journey to Edo.[44] Usually either during the months of December or January, he fetched a few bottles each of Spanish and tent wine and some wine glasses from Deshima. Since wine was the only foodstuff, he handled this beverage with special care. It appears that wine glasses became important accessories attached to the gift of wine bottles particularly from 1740. By the 1780s, those glasses often had decoration such as flower ornament in gold leaf. Though the glass production had already been introduced in Japan, it was not until the end of the 17th century that its quality approached that of import.[45] It is certainly doubtful that a mere governor of a provincial city in the Far East (Nagasaki) had the capacity to make a fair evaluation of the quality of wine produced on the Iberian Peninsula. But, what he was really required to check was, above all, the safety of the product. In other words, to make sure that the wines were non-poisonous and still drinkable as wine. For instance, in January 1786, the governor of Nagasaki returned sample bottles of wine back to the Dutch factory because they had already gone sour.[46] Upon this complaint, Director J.F. van Reede tot de Parkeler gathered the Japanese interpreters to make them taste other remaining bottles of tent wine. As all the bottles turned out to be vinegar, Van Reede proposed offering white wine (*witte wijn*) as an alternative. The last inspection of gift wine always took place in Edo, one or two days before the audience with the shogun. It was then that the Director of the factory rebottled the wines for the last time and put the bottles into the wooden boxes specially designed by Japanese carpenters. Finally the boxes were wrapped up in paper with ornamental strings.[47]

43 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 660.

44 For the evolution of this key post to the Dutch-Japanese relations, see Y. Suzuki, *Nagasaki bugyô no kenkyû* (Studies on the Nagasaki Governors). Kyoto, Shibunkaku, 2007.

45 Oka, *Nagasaki vidro*, p. 4-11.

46 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 519.

47 Fragments of descriptions allow us to visualize the packaging of wine as gift. See *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 23, 38, 103, 128, 159, 161, 536 and 570.

The courtesy journey to the capital Edo, where the VOC presented official gifts at court, was a rare occasion for the Dutch merchant to breathe outside air and to observe different parts of the country, since they were almost confined to the island of Deshima for the rest of the year. Likewise, it was a propitious occasion for local lords to have direct contact with the Dutchmen. During the month's long court journey across Japan, the VOC delegation brought a sufficient quantity of wine to entertain their Japanese guests, particularly in such larger cities as Osaka and Kyoto. The best Dutch hospitality always included glasses of wine. This is what the ledger classifies as 'cost of gift (*ongelden van schenkagie*)'. It was not necessarily an official gift, but considered as an unavoidable expense during the journey. In Edo, too, the Director of the factory was busy receiving Japanese visitors, particularly after his audience with shogun. In April 1779, the Director of the factory Arend Willem Feith, despatched a letter from Edo to Deshima to fetch additional foodstuffs including 250 bottles of red wine (*rode wijn*), since he was obliged to extend his stay in the capital due to the recent death of the successor of the shogun, Tokugawa Iemoto.[48] In April 1787, the chief of the Dutch factory Hendrik Casper Romberg, on his visit in Edo, wrote that he entertained the lord of Satusma (present Kagoshima and a part of Miyazaki prefecture) with sweet wine.[49] Although the journal did not mention its precise appellation, the ledger suggests that it was most likely the wine from *Jurançon* in the south-west of France. In fact, it is very rare to find an exact geographical name of an original vineyard in the Company's document registered in Japan for this period.

The list of requested goods annually dispatched from Nagasaki to Batavia also reflected the strong and continuous demand for wine during the courtesy journey to the shogunal capital. It regularly stated that tent wine was 'highly necessary', particularly in Edo.[50] Moreover, in order to guarantee its quality, the Directors of the factory in Japan ordered tent wine not in barrels, but in bottles. "Four amen [approx. 614 litres] in bottles as otherwise they generally came rot and then cannot be used as gift, in that case, people have great difficulties to wait in Edo".[51]

Apart from the political elites, it seems that drinking wine began to spread slowly among Japanese 'Dutch Learning' intellectuals, often known as '*rangaku-sha*', particularly after the 1760s.[52] The new channel of diffusion was apparently related to the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune's (1684-1751) authorisation of intellectuals to study European academic books imported by the VOC: previously, access to

48 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 424.
49 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 546
50 NA, NFJ 1380 for instance.
51 NA, NFJ 1360.
52 *Rangakusha* literally means the scholars of the Dutch studies, but in reality they tried to learn European culture and sciences through the Dutch language.

these types of writings had been more strictly controlled. Behind such a change in policies were the commercial application of new sciences and techniques, the emergence of a consumer society, particularly in the metropolitan areas, and the growing interest of bourgeoisies in western knowledge.[53] Direct contact with the Dutch made a considerable difference for Japanese intellectuals, allowing them to learn about the daily life of the westerners. When the two pioneer figures in this movement, Aoki Konyô (1698-1769), a shogunal scholar, and Noro Genjô (1694-1761), a physician, visited the Dutch in Edo in 1760, the Director of the factory at that time, Johannes Reijnouts, treated them with sweet wine and comfitures (fruits preserved in sugar).[54] From then on, successive Directors of the factory regularly accepted visits from Japanese intellectuals during their stay in Edo. Ôtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827), another leading figure of the Dutch learning movement towards the turn of the century, organised a famous banquet, the *Shingen-kai* (the Dutch New Year) on the first day of 1795 according to the solar calendar. The idea came from his encounter with the Dutch in Edo in the previous year. This banquet was thereafter held every year, forty-four times until 1837. In fact, there existed a number of western learning societies that regularly arranged similar meetings. In the painting called '*Shirandô Shingenkai zu* [Picture of the New Year's party at the Shirando Academy]', we can recognise bottles of wine placed on the table.[55] This typical European drink was one of the indispensable symbols of cultural adaptation to the west. One of the poems composed on the background of the painting even finds its inspiration in the indulgence to this exotic drink.[56]

"The first day of the year according to the Western calendar is a wonderful new idea. Spring will be here before we know it. Moreover, there is wine (budôshu) in the Hollowed Hall [of the Shirando Academy]. As we throw back cup after cup without counting, suddenly the cock crows for the new day.
And: A banquet is held in the Twelfth Month and the days of the old calendar are counted. Drinking guests fill the abode of the Sage. People want only one thing: to forget their sorrows. Let's get drunk without waking up for one hundred years."
(Unsigned)

53 For the rise of the 'Dutch learning' in the 18th century Japan in the light of the Enlightenment in Europe, see J. Proust, *Europe through the prism of Japan. Sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.* Notre Dame/Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.

54 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 262.

55 I. Gakuzan and Ô. Bansui, *Shirando shingenkai zu*. Waseda University Library (Japan). The details are consultable on line (visited on 15th August 2010); http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko08/bunko08_a0224/bunko08_a0224.pdf.

56 Cited and translated by R. H. Hesselink, 'A Dutch New Year at the Shirandô Academy. 1 January 1795', *Monumenta Nipponica* 50 (1995) 2, p. 231-232.

FIGURE 7 | *Shirandô shingenkai zu,* Ichikawa Gakuzan and Ôtsuki Bansui, 1795 | © Waseda University Library, Tokyo

Just like in Edo, wine was also an indispensable drink for the Dutch in their social relationships with the Japanese in Nagasaki. The Dutch merchants often received Japanese visitors in their residence at Deshima, mostly local officers and lords (*daimyô*) of neighbouring regions. Around 1755, its number could sometimes amount up to 200 men a day.[57] The ledger registered the use of wine on these occasions as 'ordinary cost' (*ordinaire ongelden*), which was necessary to help the smooth progress of daily transactions at Deshima. As a number of missionary's accounts in the 16th and the 17th centuries repeatedly pointed out, drinking alcohol had been an

57 Nagazumi, 'Kaisha no bôeki', p. 340.

important part of Japanese sociability.[58] According to Ch.-P. Thunberg, a Swedish botanist having stayed in Japan in 1775-1776 as a Company's surgeon, we could find *sake* at all inns in Japan as commonly as wine in Europe.[59] The wealthy drank at every meal. Some also liked it for their health and others enjoyed the taste as part of pleasure only at light meals.

Another distinct occasion was the traditional banquet organized at the Dutch factory to celebrate the New Year. There, the Director invited Japanese collaborators to share a proper dinner. It was not necessarily for such high officials as the governor of Nagasaki, but mainly for those Japanese who supported the VOC personnel at Deshima on a daily basis. In 1763, the banquet counted thirty six Japanese guests.[60] The list of invitation often included interpreters (*tolken* or *tsûji*), heads of the wards (*wijkmeesters* or *otonas)*, sheriffs *(caserossen* or *kumigashira)*, inspectors (*dwarskijkers* or *metsuke*), mayors (*burgemeesters* or *machidoshiyori*).[61] From the 1760s onwards, the shogunal accountants also joined the dinner. They were important figures who had influence, not only on the governors of Nagasaki, but also on the foreign trade policies of Japan in general.

4 / Remains of the VOC

After the management got suspended by the board in 1795, the VOC in the Dutch Republic formally came to an end on the eve of 1800. Meanwhile, the newly established Batavian Republic attempted to maintain the trade in the East Indies by chartering the ships of neutral countries like Denmark or the United States. The Dutch in Japan also sought a solution to the change in political and economic control in Holland. Deshima was one of the rare locations in the world where the Dutch flag continued to fly during this period of turmoil. Nevertheless, the supply of commercial goods, as well as foodstuffs from home, was no longer guaranteed. The quantity of wine supply decreased quite sharply and the composition in variety changed dramatically. Even Spanish and French wines, the most stably supplied brands all through the 18th century, were exhausted for the first time in the 1790s. The VOC replaced them with wines from their colony on the Cape. Later, towards

58 L. Frois, *Européens & Japonais. Traité sur les contradictions & différences de mœurs*, Paris, Chandeigne, 1998, p. 45-50; A. Valignano, *Les jésuites au Japon. Relation missionnaire (1583)*, Paris, Desclée De Brouwer, 1991. See also I. Kumakura, 'Nihon jin no sake no nomi kata' (The way the Japanese drink), in: N. Ishige (ed.), *Ronshû. Sake to inshu no bunka* (Anthology. Alcohol and Drinking Culture), Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1998, p. 453-456.

59 C. P. Thunberg, *Le Japon du XVIIIe siècle. Vu par un botaniste suédois*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1966, p. 257.

60 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 277

61 The guests for the dinner differed slightly from one year to another. *Otona* was the head of each district in Nagasaki. There were about eighty. *Kumigashira* was the assistant of *Otona*, mainly responsible for the supervision of the warehouses on Deshima. *Metsuke* was the inspector whose function apparently appeared as that of espionage to the eyes of the Dutch. *Machidoshiyori* was mainly responsible for the civil order of Nagasaki, which partly included the surveillance of the Dutch trade. For more details, see *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 804-813.

the end of the century, only Madeira wine reached Japan. On the 15th August 1797, following the customary inspection of the newly arrived cargo, the then Director of the Dutch factory, Gijsbert Hemmij, invited the secretary of the governor and intendant (*daikan*) of Nagasaki to his residence on Deshima to dink a couple of glasses of Madeira wine to the success of the trade, which obviously appeared not so promising at that very moment.[62]

Between 1807 and 1813, there was no shipment delivering European foodstuffs to Japan. On August 5th 1812, the Director of the then solitary Dutch factory in the Far East, Hendrik Doeff, made comments which showed how scarce wine had become: "Today we have fairly strong wind from the south west. It made us expect the ships that we had longed for. In the hope of their prompt arrival, I shared, with the Company's employees here, one of the two bottles of red wine that I had kept since 1807, by offering a sip to each of them."[63]

Inevitably, the scarcity of European foodstuffs affected other usual practices in the Dutch residence at Deshima. On the 24th of August 1810, the Dutchmen in Japan were obliged to celebrate the anniversary of William I, the first king of the Netherlands, with Japanese foodstuffs instead of their own. They were even unable to toast the New Year of 1811 with the appropriate drink for the occasion, for there was no stock of foods and drinks imported from the Netherlands left.[64] After all, it was not until 1817 that ships under the Dutch flag resumed trading journeys to Japan.

The instability of European wine supply at the turn of the 18th century reflects the influence of the warfare in Europe to a Dutch factory in the Far East and the complex channel of European wine distribution to Japan. Above all, it was the peace and security of the Dutch Republic and of the quasi-state owned East India Company that guaranteed the circulation of such a luxury product as wine from Europe. This was all the more true in Japan because the Dutch were the only Europeans who had been present there.

Joji Nozawa is a Ph.D. candidate in early modern history at the Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV). He is currently writing a dissertation on the role of the Dutch East India Company in the global expansion of European wine culture in the 17th and 18th centuries. His areas of interest include European East India Companies, the globalization of food culture, and the comparative histories of Asian port cities.

62 *The Deshima Diaries*, p. 710.

63 *Diaries kept at the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki during the early 19th century*. Vol. 5: 1810-1814, Tokyo, Yûshôdô, 1994 (ed. by The Japan-Netherlands Institute), p. 190-191; NA, NFJ 224.

64 *Diaries kept at the Dutch Factory*, p. viii, 83-84 and 117.

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Part three

Taste, Knowledge, and Provenance

3.1

Networkers and Mediators in the 17th-century Antwerp Art World: The Impact of Collectors-Connoisseurs on Artistic Processes of Transmission and Selection*

BERT TIMMERMANS

* This article was realised in the framework of the project *De collective de Fraula (1690-1738) revisited*, with financial support of the Flemish authorities (Kunsten en Erfgoed, Afdeling Erfgoed). The project involved research into the genesis of art collections in the Southern Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries.

During a limited period in the 16th century (ca.1498-1565) Antwerp developed into the leading commercial and financial centre of Europe. In spite of the so-called blocking of the river Scheldt, Antwerp retained its function as an international financial market and news hub in the first half of the 17th century. As the heir to the cosmopolitan 16th-century metropolis, the city still fulfilled its role as a centre of printing and the arts. All of this ensured that 17th-century Antwerp continued to adopt foreign cultural trends with a minimal time lag. In its turn, the city on the Scheldt exported know-how, innovations and cultural values beyond the country's borders.[1] A leading role in the transmission processes was reserved for the intellectual circles, the internationally-minded commercial elite and the art world.

Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Antwerp art world experienced major changes. In the 15th century, the linear pattern patron-artist had gradually given way to a more complex market situation.[2] The 16th century saw the emergence of the bourgeoisie as an important consumer of art – especially painting – and its transformation into the backbone of a mass market.[3] The increased participation was the source of many impulses that had far-reaching consequences for production and distribution. Around 1560 paintings as luxury products already were no longer the preserve of the civic elites.[4] Over the course of the 17th century – at least until 1680 – the number of paintings in middle class homes was still increasing. The trickling-down effect that emerged in the 16th century and consolidated during the 17th century, meant that owning paintings as such was no longer a means to social distinction. Still, the collections of paintings in civic elite circles remained much more extensive than those in the middling segments of the urban middle classes.[5]

Yet, a number of important changes concerning patterns of attitudes towards art would emerge in circles of the civic elites in the late 16th century, but mainly in the 17th century. The evolution that had taken place in Italian cities such as Venice

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4 B. Hendrickx, *Het schilderijenbezit van de Antwerpse burger in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw: een socio-economische analyse*. Catholic University Leuven, 1998 (Unpublished Thesis Masters Degree); M.P.J. Martens & N. Peeters, 'Paintings in Antwerp houses (1532-1567)' in: N. Di Marchi & J. Van Miegroet, *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450-1750*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2006, p. 35-53.

5 B. Blondé, 'Art and economy in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Antwerp. A view from the demand side' in: S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Economia e arte secc. XIII-XVIII*. Prato, Instituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini', 2002, p. 647-649.

also took place in Antwerp.[6] There was a spread of those forms of art experiences that until then had been reserved for the aristocracy. Among the urban elite, some people became more than mere consumers. They developed into collectors and connoisseurs and as such became active participants in the circuit of the arts market, where the more exclusive and commissioned work dominated. The Van der Goes,[7] Batkin,[8] Van Bisthoven,[9] Van Eycke,[10] and Van Weerden[11] families, along with the Lunden[12] and Cheeus[13] families not only acquired extensive collections, but also transferred them to the next generations, as part of the family patrimony. Van der Goes, Van Eycke and Van Weerden were part of a group of families pertaining to the commercial elite that took on government responsibilities over the course of the 17th century, acquired patents of nobility and joined the emerging Antwerp urban nobility. From the third quarter of the 17th century onwards, they would become the dominant social group in the city on the river Scheldt. Families with a similar profile were the Batkins and Van Bisthovens, and in the first quarter of the 17th century the Daems family. These merchant dynasties managed to amass business assets worth ƒ100.000 and more, and during their consolidation phase began to invest in real estate.[14]

6 For Venice, see: M. Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires à Venise (1540-1628)*. Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 1992.

7 (5/9/1623) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae), Brussel, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1984,vol. 2, p. 295-300 (n° 454); (22/1/1643) vol. 5, p. 72-74 (n° 1228); (16/7/1647) vol. 5, p. 390-395 (n° 1473); (6/11-22/12/1663) vol. 8, p. 334-344 (n° 2526); (25/8 & 6-7/9/1666) vol. 9, p. 8-12 (n° 2654); (6-10/3/1687) vol. 11, p. 444-445 (n° 3803).

8 (5/6/1649) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 5, p. 486-488 (n° 1564); (11/5/1658); vol. 7, p. 476-478 (n° 2215); (7/4/1672); vol. 9, p. 367-371 (n° 2934).

9 (1655) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 7, p. 96-106 (n° 1976); (16-18-21/11/1689) vol. 11, p. 588-591 (n° 3924).

10 (5-7/9/1678) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 10, p. 279-281 (n° 3278); (7-11-16/7/1682) vol. 12, p. 193-203 (n° 4057).

11 (8/7/1658) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 8, p. 6 (n° 2230); (29/3/1669) vol. 9, p.194-197 (n° 2800); (29/4/1686) vol. 11, p. 394-403 (n° 3768).

12 (1643-1644) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 5, p. 57-62 (n° 1225); (1692) ,vol. 12, p. 153-161 (n° 4025) and H. Vlieghe, 'Une grande collection anversoise au dix-septième siécle: le cabinet d'Arnold Lunden, beau-frère de Rubens', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 19 (1977), p. 172-204.

13 (25/6/1621-4/5/1622) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2, p. 172-177 (n° 382); (26/4/1663), vol. 8, p. 306-310 (n° 2506).

14 After 1585 the city lost its status of international trade metropolis, evolving into a more regional centre over the course of the 18th century. However, this regression was only a gradual process, leaving Antwerp to enjoy an economic Indian summer until 1640, hosting about 500 merchants with international status, while dozens of merchant families succeeded in accumulating company assets worth ƒ100.000 and more (R. Baetens, *De nazomer*, vol. 1). Gradually though, matching both the life cycles of the trading houses and the evolution of the economic situation, these assets were consolidated through large-scale investments in estates and manors. Two other processes were inextricably linked with these socio-economic changes: 1° the institutionalisation of the social weight of the commercial elite within the city government; and 2° the emergence of an urban aristocracy from certain circles of the commercial elite (B. Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen. Een elite als actor binnen een kunstwereld*. Amsterdam, Akant, 2008, p. 47-72).

FIGURE 1 | Engraving of Nicolaas Rockox by P. Pontius after a portrait by Antoon Van Dyck | Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Brussels

But the impact of particular collectors and/or connoisseurs did not simply coincide with the extent and quality of their collections. One factor was the way in which they could anticipate the evolution of collective value judgements. Another crucial factor was their disposition within the field. In this article we will assess the impact of connoisseurs-collectors on transmission processes, the building of expertise, artistic selection processes and the establishment of the canon.

1 / The scene of collectors-connoisseurs

The *Iconography*,[15] a project started by Anthony Van Dyck, allows us to catch a glimpse of the network that was the essence of the 17th-century Antwerp art world.

15 Anthony Van Dyck usually made the portraits of Antwerp citizens from the political and economic elite on commission. M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck. Catalogue raisonné*, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van Belgie, 1991, 2 vols.; G. Luyten, 'De Iconografie.Van Dycks portretten in prent': in C. Depauw & G. Luyten (eds.), *Antoon van Dyck en de prentkunst*, exh cat., Antwerp, Blondé Artprinting International, 1999, p. 72-91.

It was a meeting place for the commercial, political, religious, cultural and artistic elites. In a portrait gallery Italian in concept, the *Iconography* assembled artists and monarchs, politicians and local celebrities: aldermen such as Jan van de Wouwere, Paulus van Halmale, Antoon de Tassis and Nicolaas Rockox, city scribe Gaspar Gevartius, clergy such as Carolus Scribani s.j. and traders such as Peter Stevens or Cornelis van der Geest. These people were mostly collectors and connoisseurs and they were certainly involved in the artistic goings-on in Antwerp in the first quarter of the 17th century.

The importance of the connoisseur-collector within the 17th-century Antwerp art world was expressed through the introduction of a new membership category in the guild of St. Luke: *amateur of paintings*.[16] These amateurs of paintings cultivated a public image as men of culture. Without reducing the phenomenon to a social economy of distinction, it will be obvious that the art consumption and art perception of the amateur had a symbolic dimension. This could also be seen in the genre of the *art cabinet*, which stressed the social status of both collector and artist.[17] The amateurs of paintings – often fictitious characters populating the art rooms – frequently assumed a noble appearance in their painted alter ego and had themselves portrayed carrying a sword. Indeed, collecting was closely connected with aristocratic airs.[18] The collector, in his role of patron of the arts, engaged in a noble activity, even though he often had a mercantile background. This was often underlined by the predicate *Artis Pictoriae Amator et Cultor.*[19] Someone with aspirations of nobility – such as Philip le Roy or Antoon van Leyen – would not hesitate to present himself as such. Apparently, such people were hardly led by neo-stoic treatises, which advised avoiding explicit displays of luxury and opting for subtle interior decoration.[20] Yet we cannot simply conclude that the range of cultural activities displayed by people like Le Roy or Van Leuven was exclusively motivated by an urge for social distinction. Personal cultivation and interests played an equally important role.[21]

16 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 51-53.

17 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, p. 53-55, 61-63, 67.

18 See K. Jonckheere, *Kunsthandel en diplomatie. De veiling van de schilderijenverzameling van Willem III (1713) en de rol van het diplomatieke netwerk in de Europese kunsthandel*, Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2005.

19 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art*, p. 53-54.

20 M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics. Rubens and the circle of Lipsius*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 159-161, 191-192. But to what extent did connoisseurs-collectors of the late humanist environment (such as Nicolaas Rockox, Cornelis de Geest or Peter Paul Rubens) do more than pay lip service to such treatises?

21 H. Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Machinenglauben. Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, Klaus Wagenbach, 1993.

In the Antwerp scene of collectors and connoisseurs, the speculative element seems to have been less present than in a centre such as Paris, where extensive collections were mainly seen as an economic investment.[22] In the case of canon-alderman Antoon de Tassis,[23] for example, interest was the most important motive. Even when his financial position no longer allowed for it, De Tassis kept prospecting for works to add to his collection. Even though the forties seemed to be dedicated to a quest for favourable terms of sale for paintings and sculptures from the De Tassis collection[24], Antoon de Tassis requested his heiress, his granddaughter Maria Anna de Tassis in his 1649 testament to preserve his art cabinet after his death.[25]

Yet this did not mean either that every single collector clung to the collection he had built. Peter Stevens did not only buy works; occasionally he also sold works from his collection. In 1648, for instance, he sold Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Cardinal Niccoló Albergati*, Jan Gossaert's *Madonna and Child* and a work by Jan Aertsen to the governor.[26] Such a sale of top paintings to a member of the high European aristocracy enhanced the reputation of a collection. Moreover, some of the Antwerp collections represented considerable financial value. In 1626, the Duke of Buckingham offered ƒ100.000 for part of Rubens' collection[27]. In comparison, skilled workers in the 17th century earned a yearly income of ƒ250 at the most.[28] The value of the Arnold Lunden collection in the mid 1640s was between ƒ12.000 and ƒ13.000.[29] In 1663 the art collection of Nicolaas Cornelis Cheeus had an estimated value of ƒ9.641.[30] The market value of the art collection of Jan van de Wouwere – which his son wanted to sell – is rumoured to have been about ƒ20.000 in the

22 H. Floerke, *Studien zur Niederländischen Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte. die Formen des Kunsthandels, das Atelier, und die Sammler inden Niederlanden von 15.-18. Jahrhundert*. Münich-Leipzig, 1905, p. 131; J. A. Van Houtte, 'Economie et société aux Pays-Bas à l'époque de Rubens', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique belge de Rome*, 48-49 (1978-1979), p. 204.

23 F. Baudouin, 'Van Dyck's portrait of Anthonio de Tassis and his daughter Maria, both painted in 1634: an investigation report and an addendum', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1999), p. 8-19.

24 E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Marie Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis,* 21, (1968), p. 22-26, 81, 198.

25 L. De Schepper, *"Heymissen" met de Sint-Bernardsabdij, nijverheid, lusthoven, kastelen, bevolking, legenden*. Antwerp, 1974, p. 132.

26 J. Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens: documenten uit den kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1949, p. 296; S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIe siècle.* Brussel, Elsevier, 1957, p. 17-18, 197-198; J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis. De Antwerpse kunsthandelaar Pieter Stevens (1590-1668) en zijn constkamer', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten Antwerpen,* 1980, p. 167-202.

27 It seems that political and economic motives in the transaction intermingled. Rubens agreed to the sale in order to regain the goodwill of the Duke in connection with the upcoming peace negotiations. Moreover, the money paid allowed Rubens to strengthen his financial means, which was desirable with a view to further diplomatic missions. J. M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as collector*. Princeton/New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 57-58, 62; J. M. Muller, 'De verzameling van Rubens in historisch perspectief' in: K. Lohse Belkin & F. Healy (eds.), *Een huis vol kunst. Rubens als verzamelaar*, exh. cat., Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, Schoten, 2004, p. 62-63.

28 E. Scholliers, 'Peilingen naar conjunctuur en koopkracht' in: *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*. Antwerp, Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis, 1989, p. 153-167.

29 An indication of value is missing for about fifteen paintings of important masters such as Rubens and Van Dyck. (1643-1644); E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen…*, vol. 5, p. 57-62 (n° 1225); H. Vlieghe, 'Une grande collection anversoise au dix-septième siécle: le cabinet d'Arnold Lunden, beau-frère de Rubens', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 19 (1977), p. 172-204.

30 E. Duverger, Antwerpse kunstinventarissen, vol. 8, p. 306-310 (n° 2506).

1660s.[31] The rich collection of the Portuguese banker Diego Duarte was estimated at ƒ38.000 in 1683.[32] The collection of paintings of clerk-postmaster Jan Baptist I Anthoine consisted of no less than 306 pieces, their collective value estimated to be ƒ46.130 in 1691.[33]

2 / Transmission

SUBNETWORKS WITHIN THE SCENE OF COLLECTORS-CONNOISSEURS

Within the circle of the connoisseurs-collectors, there were mainly two subnetworks involved in the international information flow with respect to art: the Antwerp branch of the Republic of Letters and the circuit of gentlemen-dealers. In those networks, which partly overlapped, information was gathered, exchanged, recorded, analysed and released.

The Antwerp branch of the Republic of Letters – In the 17th century, the Counter Reformation recruited widely among the Antwerp intelligentsia.[34] In these circles, the humanist tradition transformed into a contemporary version and as such found a new impetus. The scope of these people was usually not limited to Antwerp. Many of them indeed were members of the Republic of Letters[35] and as such had contacts with academics and intellectuals elsewhere in Europe. It was an intellectual community honouring *communicatio* as its regulating principle[36] – a network made concrete by means of correspondence and articles in periodicals and other publications.[37] On a local level, the network took tangible shape in *sodalitates* and *collegia*: cabinets that emerged all over Europe.[38]

The circuit of gentlemen-dealers – The professionalization of art trade over the course of the 16th century strengthened the position of the *painting merchant*.[39] Specialised mercantile houses (such as Van Immerseel, Musson, De Wael and Forchoudt) stood for internationally-oriented art trade in paintings, etchings,

31 J. Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, p. XXIV-XXV; E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens', p. 27-28; P. C. Sutton, 'De schilderkunst ten tijde van Rubens' in: P.C. Sutton (ed.), *De eeuw van Rubens.* Antwerp, Mercatorfonds, 1994, p. 30.

32 E. R. Samuel, 'The Disposal of Diego Duarte's Stock of Paintings 1692-1697', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten Antwerpen,* 1976, p. 307.

33 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 12, p. 85-99 (n° 3988).

34 F. De Nave, 'Een typografische hoofdstad in opkomst, bloei en verval' in: J. Van Der Stock (ed.), *Antwerpen, verhaal van een metropool,* exh cat., Antwerp, Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993, p. 93-95.

35 S. Neumeister & C. Wiedeman (eds.), *Res Publica litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit,* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1987; H. Bots & F. Waquet, *La République des Lettres.* Paris, Belin/De Boeck, 1997.

36 P. Dibon, 'Communication in the Respublica Literaria of the Seventeenth Century', *Respublica Literarum. Studies in the Classical tradition*, 1, (1978), p. 43-50; H. Bots & F. Waquet, *Commercium litterarium. La communication dans la République des Lettres 1600-1750. Forms of Communication in the Republic of letters*. Amsterdam, APA-Holland University Press, 1994.

37 M. Ultee, 'The Republic of Letters. Learned Correspondence 1680-1720', *The Seventeenth Century*, 2, (1987), p. 95-112.

38 M. B. Becker, *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300-1600,* Bloomington (Indiana), Indiana University Press,1988, p. 12; A. van Dixhoorn & S. Speakman (eds.), *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Leiden, Brill, 2008.

39 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art,* p. 4850; F. Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, p. 62-78.

carpets, luxury furniture, and diamonds.[40] Nevertheless, painters and collectors also continued to be involved in commercial activities. More than one collector was seduced as 'gentleman-dealer'[41] by an interesting offer or a tempting transaction. The line between amateur and trader was rather vague in the 17th century. Especially people with a mercantile background mixed an interest in art with the extension of a collection and an occasional or indirect involvement in trade,[42] in spite of the fact that the art trade was hardly their main occupation. Leading figures in the Antwerp business world had often spent time abroad and had been immersed in a foreign culture. These people not only had cash and creditworthiness, they also had sufficient commercial feeling. As practically all important Antwerp mercantile houses had relatives and friends abroad, they also disposed of the necessary (international) contacts to have (master)works within their reach.[43]

Since we only have patchy information on many figures, we can merely make educated guesses about the scope of their activities. Especially under-the-counter sales to friends and fellow collectors can seldom be traced as they were rarely recorded. In Venice, in the first quarter of the 17th century, the merchant families Van Uffel, Lunden, Du Bois, Van Colen and Moens, among others, owned a branch.[44] Several generations of the merchant house Van der Goes – with its traditional orientation to the Iberian Peninsula and Italy – deployed activities in the luxury trade.[45] Tapestries were the core business of the merchant house, which of course did not stop them from trading and collecting other art objects as well.[46] The Van Weerden family became famous within the commercial elite in the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Jan I van Weerden, who had built a collection of 94 paintings by 1664, seems to have acted as an intermediary in transactions of works of art.[47] His sons Peter and Jan II van Weerden followed in his footsteps. Jan II van Weerden held the office of mayor several times, and was an important collector. In 1651 he and his brother acted as intermediaries for the art trader Musson and

40 J. Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*; E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens', p. 5-274; E. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders of de handelsbetrekkingen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld 1598-1648*. Brussels, Paleis der Academien, 1971, vol.1, p. 166-177; R. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart. De diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de 1ste helft der 17de eeuw*. Brussels, Gemeentekrediet, 1976, vol. 1, p. 125-127.

41 J. M. Montias, 'Arts dealers in the seventeenth century Netherlands', *Simiolus*, 18, (1988), p. 252; M. J. Bok, *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700*, Utrecht, University of Utrecht, 1994, p. 88; K. Jonckheere, *Kunsthandel en diplomatie. De veiling van de schilderijenverzameling van Willem III (1713) en de rol van het diplomatieke netwerk in de Europese kunsthandel*, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 24, 40, 47, 97. For the late seventeenth-century successor: K. Jonckheere, 'The 'Solliteur-Culturel'. Some notes on Dutch agents and international trade in art and applied arts', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 24/2, (2008), p. 162-180.

42 W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw.* Brussels, Koninlijke Vlaamse Academie, 1959, p. 365-375.

43 W. Brulez & G. Devos, *Marchands flamande à Vénise*, Brussels/Rome, Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1965-1986, vol. 1, p. XIV-XXVII; R. Baetens, 'Antwerpens Goldenes Jahrhundert. Konstanten und Wandel des wirtschaftlichen Lebens' in E. Mai & H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Von Brueghel bis Rubens. Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*, exh. cat., Cologne, Locher, 1992, p. 36.

44 M. Vaes, 'Corneille de Wael (1592-1667)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge de Rome,* 5, (1925), p. 30-31.

45 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2, p. 67-71 (n° 326).

46 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2, p. 44 (n° 309).

47 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 5, p. 132-133 (n° 1274).

his Paris relation in the sale of eighteen paintings.[48] Van Eycke, a family with a similar social profile, also deployed activities within the art world.[49] Businessman-alderman Jacob I van Eycke amassed a collection of about ninety paintings, and the next generation was also active in the art scene, both in Antwerp and in Venice.[50] Carlos Vincque also seems to have been one of those art devotees that also traded in works of art.[51]

Businessman and alderman Antoon van Leyen presented himself as a cunning art assessor. Few data are known about his activities as a (gentleman-)dealer and as such the scope of his doings and dealings remains unclear. In 1668, Van Leyen bought eight design sketches for a series of tapestries on the history of Apollo from Jan Boeckhorst for ƒ480.[52] In 1675, Van Leyen employed the painter Peter IJkens to work for him for a period of three years for a fixed daily wage.[53] Ten years later, Van Leyen used an agent specialised in the German market.[54] Apart from this, he was also involved in the production and distribution of prints of works of Primaticcio, Leonardo da Vinci and Rubens.[55]

Other families took on the role of mediator between all kinds of international and local networks as well. The Van Hecke and Fourment families, for instance, were active in the international trade in silk, carpets and diamonds.[56] These families had been linked to Peter Paul Rubens through the artist's marriage with Hélène Fourment. They were part of a (family) network that included, apart from a few aldermen, leading figures in the business community.[57]

48 E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens', p. 73-74.

49 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 8, p. 191-192 (n° 2399); E. Duverger & D. Maufort, 'Giovanni Battista van Eycke en de patronen met de historie van Decius Mus van Antoon van Dyck naar inventies van Pieter Paul Rubens', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, 31, (1996), p. 97-119. For the Van Eycke-family, see also: R. Baetens, *De nazomer*, vol. 1, p. 175-176.

50 G. Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in Holland 1687, aus den Reiseschilderungen des swedischen Architecten Nicodemus Tessin', *Oud-Holland*, 3, (1900), p. 202.

51 J. Denuce, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, p. XL; E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens', p. 73, 75-77, 80, 86, 88, 90, 91, 110, 118, 119, 150, 202, 203, 205; E. Duverger, 'Aantekeningen betreffende de tapijthandel van Daniël Fourment en van diens zoon en schoonzoon Peter Fourment en Peter de Hecke de Jonge', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 55, (1972), p. 55.

52 H. Lahrkamp, 'Biografie van de schilder Jan Boeckhorst' in: P. Huvenne (ed.), *Jan Boeckhorst 1604-1668, medewerker van Rubens*, exh. cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis, 1990, p. 24.

53 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 10, p. 33-34 (n° 3077).

54 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 11, p. 298-299 (n° 3696), p. 306-308 (n° 3702).

55 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 11, p. 306-308 (n° 3702).

56 E. Duverger, 'De verzameling schilderijen van de Antwerpse zijde- en tapijthandelaar Peeter van Hecke de Jonge, schoonbroer van P. P. Rubens naar een inventaris van 1646', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, (1971), p. 143174; E. Duverger, 'Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordaens in het bezit van het Antwerps handelsvennootschap Fourment-Van Hecke', *Artes Textiles*, 7, (1971), p. 119-173; E. Duverger, 'Aantekeningen betreffende de tapijthandel van Daniël Fourment', p. 48-76.

57 R. Baetens, *De nazomer*, vol. 2, p. 16, 22, 26-27, 108, 189-190.

3 / Physical junctions of the collectors-connoisseurs scene

A number of distinguished socio-cultural bodies and the premises of prominent members formed physical junctions within the collectors-connoisseurs scene.

Socio-cultural bodies – Their members were mostly people that were also active in other cultural or religious institutions and as such fulfilled a linking role within the urban social network. Indeed, these bodies were not just networks in themselves, but also groups of agents who sometimes had extensive networks of their own.[58]

Members of the administrative, political, commercial, clerical and artistic elites, who had lived in Italy, were often part of the brotherhood of the *Romanists*.[59] Given the heterogeneous nature of its composition, the brotherhood functioned as a meeting place between potential patrons and artists. A similar mediating social role was played by three chambers of rhetoric. Especially the *Violieren*, the rhetoric branch of the St. Luke's guild, brought prominent artists into contact with members of the commercial and political elites.[60] This was also the case for the Academy, whose foundation had been made possible, among others, by Hendrik II van Halmale, one of the leading figures in political and cultural life in the second and third quarters of the 17th century.[61]

Before deterioration set in, membership of the societies mentioned above – especially the *Romanists* – meant access to the networks of relations of the urban elite for the artist in question. Not only did it strengthen his social and economic position within the art sector, it also confirmed his prestige in the milieu of artists, as only masters with a serious reputation and social status gained access to the *Romanists*.

58 For the role of brotherhoods in 17th-century Antwerp, cf.: A.K.L. Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk. Maatschappelijke betekenis van de Kerk in contrareformatorisch Antwerpen,* Turnhout, Brepols, 1990, p. 84-86; M.J. Marinus, *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676)*, Antwerp, KAWSLK, 1995, p. 255-272; J. M. Muller, 'Confraternity and Art in the St Jacob's Church. Antwerp. A Case Study of the Altar of the Brotherhood of St Rochus' in: H. Vlieghe, A. Balis & Carl Van De Velde (eds.), *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000, p. 97-106; B. Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, p. 112-116. For a recent study of the chambers of rhetoric in the Low Countries: A. van Dixhoorn, 'Chambers of Rhetoric: Performative Culture and Literary Sociability in the Early Modern Northern Netherlands' in: A. van Dixhoorn & S. Speakman (eds.), *The Reach of the Republic of Letters,* p. 119-158. For the chambers of rhetoric in 17th-century Antwerp: B. Timmermans, Een elite in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen. *Het milieu van de wethouders (1585-1699) en de stedelijke samenleving in een periode van transformatie* (Catholic University Leuven (Unpublished Thesis Masters Degree), 1998), p. 186-191.

59 Rijksarchief Antwerpen, Kerkelijk Archief, Sint Joris 63. Rekeningen van de oudermannen van de gilde van de Romanisten 1574-1785; E. Dilis, *La confrérie des romanistes*. Secelle, Antwerp, 1923.

60 F. Donnet, *Het Jonstich Versaem der Violieren. Geschiedenis der rederijkerskamer De* Olyftak *sedert 1480, uitgegeven met geschiedkundige aantekeningen.* Antwerp, Ad. Hoste-Martinus Nijhoff, 1907.

61 F. J. Van Den Branden, *Geschiedenis van de Academie van Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1867, p. 16-25; R.-A. D'Hulst, 'Jacob Jordaens en de Schilderskamer van de Antwerpse Academie' in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1967, p. 131-150; L. Th. Van Looij, 'De Antwerpse Koninklijk Academie voor Schone Kunsten', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5-6, (1986-1987), p. 306-308.

Art cabinets – These constellations were added to by focal points of a temporary nature: the important art cabinets of the city on the Scheldt, the hosts of which functioned as network makers, disposed of a network of relations and correspondents with an international scope. Physical hubs of the circuit of connoisseurs-collectors, expressing their network, were the premises of prominent citizens such as Nicolaas Rockox, Balthasar Moretus or Pensionary Jacob Edelheer, Lodewijk de Roomer, or Jan Van de Wouwere.[62] The most important focal point in the Antwerp cultural and artistic life was probably Rubens's studio and art collection, a first-rate hub in an international European network.[63]

An (art) cabinet functioned as a forum for conversation, where collectors were introduced to new ideas and gathered information about each other's collections.[64] Works that had come from abroad or recent acquisitions were assessed by connoisseur-friends functioning as a network of symbolic referents. Some collectors also (accurately) mapped out other collections of their (Antwerp) contemporaries. In Peter Stevens's annotations one finds, for instance, the names of prominent art collectors and art lovers such as Antonio de Tassis, nobleman Sebastiaan Daems, Antonis Cornelis Cheeus, city pensionary Jacob Roelants, Arnold Lunden, printer-alderman Jan van Meurs and Cornelis van der Geest.[65] These important collectors also loved to receive (prominent) visitors. The archdukes, for instance, were gladly welcomed by Cornelis van der Geest. It was hardly unusual in the 17th century for amateurs from home and abroad to view the most important art collections when they were visiting a city, possibly under the guidance of an occasional local guide. In 1677, for instance, Constantijn Huygens the Younger visited a number of prominent collections in Antwerp; he was brought, by carriage, to a few important addresses by the rich Portuguese merchant and collector Gaspar Duarte.[66]
The most important art collection in Antwerp hands, however, was not to be found in Antwerp, but in Naples. It was the property of Gaspar de Roomer. This man provided the Antwerp elite with a foothold in Naples and actually far beyond that city. The significance of Gaspar for Antwerp was partly so important because his brother Lodewijk and the latter's wife had made their premises in the Keizerstraat into one of the main meeting points of the literary and cultural world of Antwerp and beyond.

62 E. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring*. Antwerp, *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, p. 65, 66; O. Van De Vyver, 'De wetenschappen' in: W. Couvreur (ed.), *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*. Antwerp, Genootschap voor Antwerpse geschiedenis, 1989, p. 251-271; M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics. Rubens and the circle of Lipsius*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 53.

63 J. M. Muller, *Rubens. The Artist as collector*; J. M. Muller, 'De verzameling van Rubens', p. 10-85.

64 J. M. Muller, 'De verzameling van Rubens, p. 63-66.

65 J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis', p. 203-226.

66 J. A. Goris, *Lof van Antwerpen. Hoe reizigers Antwerpen zagen van de XVde tot XXde eeuw*, Brussels, 1940, p. 117-118; J.F. Heijbroek, *Met Huygens op reis. Tekeningen en dagboeknotities van Constantijn jr. (1628-1697), secretaris van stadhouder-koning Willem III*, exh cat., Amsterdam, Zutphen/Terra 1983, p. 36-37.

FIGURE 2 | Willem van Haecht, De constkamer van Cornelis Van der Geest (the art chamber of Cornelis Van der Geest), oil on panel, 100 x 130 cm, 1628 | Antwerp, Rubenshuis

Gaspar de Roomer was not only the wealthiest businessman and ship owner in 17th-century Naples. As one of the leading *onorati cittadini dillettanti,* he had a huge impact on the Neapolitan art world, which acquired a strong international orientation from the 1630s onwards. De Roomer himself contributed to this process: as gentleman-dealer he acted as a mediator between local and international art trade circuits. The intermediary role of De Roomer became apparent, for instance, in 1640, when a work by Rubens arrived in Naples and the Napolitan artists flocked to his salon in order to study it. The De Roomer collection reflected the close relations between Naples and Spain and between northern and southern Europe. A network of contacts enabled him to acquire and trade works of art on a large scale. He received top art works from his agents in Rome and the Low Countries and in return sent them art products from Naples and other Italian art centres. In this way he gave considerable boosts to the careers of emerging artists, among them Luca Giordano, whose works he sent to Holland and other destinations.[67]

67 M. Vaes, 'Corneille de Wael (1592-1667)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge de Rome*, 5, (1925) , p. 54-70 ; R. Baetens, *De nazomer*, vol. 1, p. 199-200, F. Haskell, *Patrons and painters. A study in the relations between Italian art and society in the age of the baroque.* New Haven-London, Yale Press, 1980, p. 205-208, 211-212; R. Ruotolo, *Mercanti-collezionisti fiamminghi a Napoli, Gaspare Roomer i Vandeneynden.* Naples, Massalubrense, 1982; A. Alabiso, 'Aniello Falcone's Frescoes in the Villa of Gaspar Roomer at Barra', *Burlington Magazine*, 131, (1989), p. 31-35; E. Nappi, 'Le attività finanziarie e sociali di Gasparo de Roomer. Nuovi documenti inediti su Cosimo Fanzago', *Richerche sul '600 napoletano'*, 2000, p. 61-92; Christopher R. Marshall, 'Dispelling negative perceptions. Dealers promoting artists in seventeenth-century Naples' in: N. De Marchi & J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450-1750.* Brepols, Turnhout, 2006, p. 363-382; B. Timmermans, 'The family as an actor within the art world. Gaspar, Lodewijk and Christina de Roomer as patron, collector and connoisseur in seventeenth-century Naples and Antwerp' in: K. Van Der Stighelen & L. Kelchtermans (eds.*), Family Ties. On art production, kinship patterns and connections, 1600-1800.* Brepols, Turnhout, 2010, in print.

4 / Expertise

In the first quarter of the 17th century the ideal type of art lover was a scholar with an encyclopaedic knowledge.[68] In the second half of the century, however, the art collection *pur sang* became the norm. As a result of the new self-awareness, the eccentric in the milieu of *amateurs of paintings* had to step aside for the connoisseur, at least for the outside world. The usual discourse related connoisseurship less than before with an encyclopaedic collection of globes, coins and curios.[69]

Other criteria became important in the selection process. Aesthetic enjoyment and artistic merit gained in importance in value attribution at the cost of religion and morality. More so than in the first quarter of the century, the names of artists were being recorded in inventories of estates of the deceased.[70] In the auction catalogue of the collection of Peter Stevens in 1668, the greatest part of the paintings and sculptures were attributed to particular artists.[71] Sometimes experts were called upon in making inventories of important collections.[72]

It was exactly in such a context that merchant-alderman Antoon Van Leyen took the step, as a collector-connoisseur, to validate his cultural competence. Van Leyen wanted to be recognized as a discerning expert who could distinguish the hand of a master from a forgery. In *Gulden cabinet van de edel vrij schilder const* (Golden cabinet of the noble art of painting) (1661), financed by Van Leyen, the author, Cornelis de Bie, did not hesitate to oblige his sponsor:

"(…) *En kent de Constenaers elck aen sijn vaste trekken*
Die sy met cool en pen, oft met Pinceel ontdecken,
Daer van gheeft uwen schat der Const ghetuyghenis
Die in u Cabinet seer overvloedich is (…)
Wie isser die op d'oogh Van Leyen niet en bouwt
En op sijn oordeel niet ten vollen en betrouwt
Om eenich stuck van Const op sijn scherp oogh te coopen
Want sonder sulcken oogh men wel verdoolt can loopen
Om voor een Principael te coopen een Copy
T'gen'noyt gesciet als is Van Leyens oogh daer by (…)"[73]

68 J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis', p. 143.
69 See Houghton, *The English Virtuoso*, 51-73, 190-219; Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art*, p. 67-72, 131-135.
70 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art*, p. 65-67, 130-131, 159.
71 S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands,* p. 197-199; J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis', p. 223-226.
72 B. Werche, *Hendrick van Balen (1575-1632). Ein antwerpener Kabinetmaler der Rubenszeit.* Turnhout, Brepols, 2004, vol. 1, p. 25.
73 C. De Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst.* Soest, Davaco, 1971, p. 195, 197.

(And knows every artist by his characteristics, how he wields charcoal, pencil or pen. The treasures of art present in your cabinet speak of those. Who will not trust in the eye and judgment of Van Leyen in order to buy any piece of art; for without such eye one can easily make the mistake of buying a copy instead of an original, which will never happen if Van Leyen's eye (...))

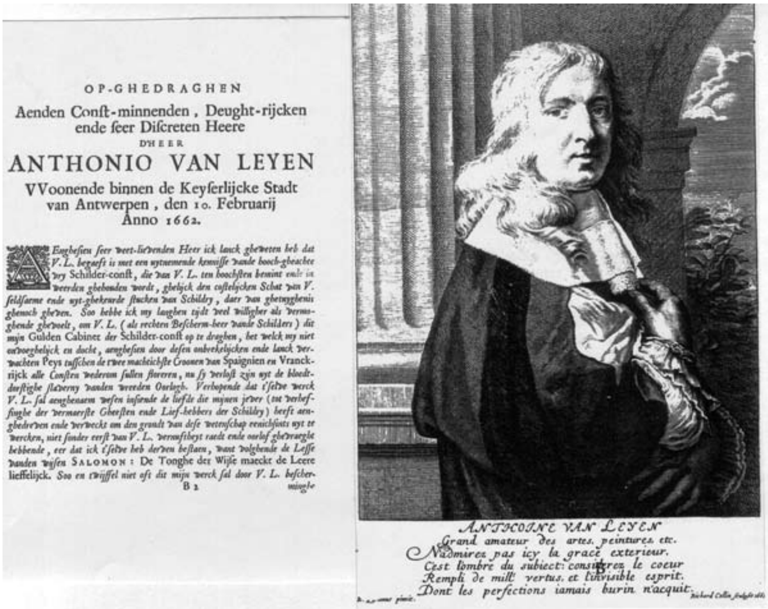

FIGURE 3 | Engraving of *amateur des arts* Antoon Van Leyen, included in Cornelis De Bie's *Het Gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* (Antwerp, 1661) dedicated to Van Leyen | Picture from a reprint of the Gulden Cabinet

The valuation of a work of art and the skill of determining its author were qualities that were increasingly valued in the second half of the 17th century,[74] with the additional consequence that some earlier attributions were questioned. In the third quarter of the 17th century, for instance, the sale of a painting on copper plate from the collection of printer-alderman Jan van Meurs – attributed to Pieter Bruegel the Elder – ended in a lawsuit concerning authorship for Jacob and Balthasar van Meurs.[75] Experts were called upon in such cases. Alderman-lawyer Paul van Halmale, Esq., lover of art (and engraving in particular), often acted as a referee (for instance in a case concerning a book with etchings by Albrecht Dürer and in a dispute about the authenticity of a painting by Adriaan Brouwer).[76]

74 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art*, p. 157-158.
75 E.Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 6, p. 424 (n° 1850); vol. 7, p. 252 (n° 2083).
76 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2, p. 142 (n° 362); vol. 4, p. 152-153 (n° 987).

The pursuit of expertise also led to an increased attention to preparatory studies, sketches and drawings.[77] Over the course of the century, connoisseurs began to include studies and sketches in their collections. Towards the end of the 17th century, they would also show up in inventories. Clerk-postmaster and knight Jan Baptist I Anthoine, for instance, owned about five preparatory sketches by Van Dyck.[78] The collection of canon Johannes Paulus Happaert in 1678 contained, apart from paintings and prints, several sketches by Rubens, *een boecxken innehoudende eenige crabbelinghen van Rubbens* (a booklet containing some doodles by Rubens), and hundreds of drawings by or inspired by renowned Italian and Southern Dutch masters (Leonardo da Vinci, Rafaël, Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, Titian, Andreo del Sarto, Tintoretto, Primaticcio, Pieter Bruegel, Maarten de Vos and Rubens).[79]
Connoisseurs did not hesitate to take study tours, either. In order to study the oeuvre of Jan van Eyck, Gerard David, Hans Memlinc and Dirk Bouts, and possibly to acquire a few works, Peter Stevens visited Brussels, Bruges, Ghent and Leuven. In 1654 he also went to Utrecht and Haarlem, and subsequently visited the eminent collection of Jan Six in Amsterdam.[80] Just like Stevens, Antoon van Leyen also prospected abroad. In 1685, van Leyen – who was highly interested in works by the Roman, Venetian and Bolognese schools – went on a two-year art journey that took him to Italy, France and Germany. He employed landscape painter Andries Immenraet for that purpose. At the request of his employer, Immenraet sketched, drew or copied works of art in the cities they visited.[81]

5 / Selection

THE COLLECTOR-CONNOISSEUR AS A SYMBOLIC BANKER[82]

Because of his cultural competence and his contacts in artistic circles, the connoisseur came into contact with new developments and could meet promising young talent. Prominent collectors such as the brothers Diego and Gaspar Duarte would buy directly from the artist, bypassing the regular art trade.[83] This was especially obvious as there were friendly relations between certain collectors-connoisseurs and artists. Those relations were consolidated through sponsorships and tutelages, and expressed in dedications. But there were also privileged relations with professional art dealers. Prominent connoisseurs such as Antoon de

77 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art*, p. 159.
78 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 12, p. 85-99 (n° 3988).
79 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 11, p. 370-382 (n° 3754).
80 J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis', p. 168.
81 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol.11, p. 305-306 (n° 3701).
82 *Symbolic banker*, see: P. Bourdieu, 'The Production of Belief. Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods', *Media, Culture and Society*, 2, (1980), esp. p. 263.
83 K.Van Der Stighelen & F. Vermeylen, 'The Antwerp guild of Saint Luke and the marketing of paintings, 1400-1700" in N. De Marchi & J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450-1750.* Turnhout, Brepols, 2006, p. 204.

Tassis were kept informed by art dealer Matthijs Musson about incoming top works they might be interested in.[84]

The circles of art lovers and connoisseurs not only played a crucial role in the distribution of foreign art in Antwerp and the Southern Netherlands, but were also important in the adoption of certain artistic innovations. Peter Stevens, Philip le Roy and Antoon de Tassis, for instance, were at the basis of the positive reception of the *maniera grande* portrait style introduced by Anthony van Dyck in the late 1620s. A later generation of collectors-connoisseurs, such as Antoon van Leyen and Jan Baptist Anthoine, played a similar role in getting Gonzales Cocques recognised as a painter of cabinet-size family portraits.[85]

Shortly after the settlement of Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp, Nicolaas Rockox already proceeded to order, on a private basis, a showpiece (Samson and Delilah) from the artist, intended for the *groote saleth*, the big ground-floor room.[86] Also, an important work by Anthony Van Dyck was acquired by Rockox early on in the career of the artist, viz. a prestigious portrait immortalizing his social profile.[87] As such, the collector-connoisseur in a way fulfilled the role of *symbolic banker* for the artist and his oeuvre. By putting himself and the reputation he had acquired squarely behind Rubens and Van Dyck and offering the artists a select platform – his renowned art collection – Rockox acted as the ideal social reference. On the other hand, the successful artistic careers of both Rubens and Van Dyck would result in an increasing financial and symbolic value of the works acquired by Rockox. Other connoisseurs-collectors played similar roles. Nicolaas Cornelis Cheeus had over twenty works by his contemporary Jan Bruegel in his collection.[88] And it is known, for instance, that Rubens bought seventeen works by Adriaan Brouwer, ensuring a strong representation of the artist in the most authoritative collection of its time.[89] The Jacob Roelants-Maria Anna van der Goes collection contained thirteen works by Brouwer.[90] Knight Jan Baptist I Anthoine's collection featured no less than twenty works by Brouwer. With over 300 paintings, it was the largest collection in Antwerp in the third quarter of the 17th century. Characteristic for this collection was its eclectic composition, something that was also true for other rich collections. The Anthoine collection, for instance, contained works by both Southern and Northern

84 E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens', p. 31, 81-82.

85 M. Lisken-Pruss, *Studien zum oeuvre des Gonzales Coques (1614-1684)* (PhD. Diss. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhems-Universität), Bonn. 2002, p. 50-51.

86 David JAFFÉ, "Rubens' *Samson en Delila*, het verhaal achter een schoorsteenstuk" in: *Samson en Delila. Een Rubensschilderij keert terug.* Antwerp, Rockoxhuis, 2007, p. 10-17.

87 B. Timmermans, '(Family) portraits in the construction of a visual family tree and a social identity. Anticipating the aspirations of elite clientele in seventeenth-century Antwerp' in: K. Van Der Stighelen (ed.), *Pokerfaced? Flemish and Dutch baroque faces unveiled.* Turnhout, Brepols, 2010, in print.

88 (25/4/1621-4/5/1/1622) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2, p. 172-177 (n° 382).

89 J. M. Muller, 'De verzameling van Rubens', p.67.

90 (6/11-22/12/1663) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 8, p. 334-345 (n° 2526).

Dutch and Italian top artists, although the focus was on Southern Dutch masters. There were strong representations for Antoon van Dyck (36 works), the different Bruegel generations (33 works) and Peter Paul Rubens (11 works).[91]

THE ROLE OF THE COLLECTOR-CONNOISSEUR IN THE TRADITIONAL PATRONAGE CIRCUIT

Certain collectors-connoisseurs were in a position to be able to steer the Antwerp artistic life in other ways. The families and individuals of the elite held the instruments to fulfil a linking function within the art world. Artistic projects were based on the integration of the capital and talent of several families. These families were not only active in the art patronage of the private circuit. Some, indeed, held the power of decision in committees assigning commissions and as such influenced taste and perception of art. Prominent art lovers such as Nicolaas Rockox[92] and Lodewijk de Roomer[93] – to name but a few – played an important role in the art patronage in the circuit of church institutions. They provided funding for architectural projects, had private chapels built and decorated those with paintings and sculptures. In view of their social position and cultural competence, people like Rockox also sat on committees deciding on artistic projects, appointed by, among others, churches, monasteries and (elitist) brotherhoods. Committee patronage was inherent to the church circuit, but was also the procedure of choice for the city government in outsourcing artistic commissions.[94] This enabled people such as Nicolaas Rockox, Cornelis van der Geest or Hendrik II van Halmale to offer talented artists an exceptional opportunity to showcase their skills. Indeed, a highly frequented house of prayer functioned as an exhibition space *avant la lettre*. Huge altar pieces drew the attention of potential patrons and helped the artist to build a reputation – among others because of prints made of the pieces.[95] Many an artist was thus assisted to successfully complete a crucial step within the consecration cycle.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE GROWING AWARENESS OF *ARTISTIC HERITAGE*

In the circles of collectors and connoisseurs, there was a growing awareness of the *Antwerp artistic heritage*,[96] or at least a need to employ the artistic production of the past to increase the pride and glory of the city, its inhabitants and artists of the day.

91 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 12, p. 85-99 (n° 3988).

92 F. Baudouin, *Nicolaas Rockox, 'vriendt ende patroon van Peter Paul Rubens'*. Antwerp, 1977.

93 B. Timmermans, 'The family as an actor '.

94 B. Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, p. 251-255.

95 H. Vlieghe, 'Beelden van vroomheid en ijdelheid. Van Dycks intermezzi in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1627-32, 1634-35 en 1640-41' in: C. Brown & H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Van Dyck 1599-1641* (exh. cat.). Antwerp, Royal Academy Publications, 1999, p. 65, 70-74.

96 For a conceptual framework concerning the relation between artistic production, geography and identity: T. Dacosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, Chicago-London,The University of Chicago Pres, 2004, chapter 4 (Identity in artistic geography. Some considerations of early modern Europe) p. 107-153.

The Antwerp Jesuit rector Carolus Scribani functioned as an intermediary between certain members of the political and commercial elites,[97] the Antwerp Jesuit branch and the international network of the Society, which, particularly during this period, emerged as the channel through which religious, intellectual and artistic innovations were spread across Europe.[98] In his *Antverpia* (1610), which eulogised – entirely in the tradition of the *laudes urbium*[99] – the social, economic, religious and cultural activities and accomplishments of the Antwerp citizens, Scribani devoted fifteen pages to 16th-century Antwerp painting, which he generally compared with the painting of Antiquity and sometimes with that of Italian and German Renaissance artists. Scribani concluded that Antwerp painting measures up to the painting of Antiquity and continued to stress that Antwerp produced more artists in the 16th century than in all previous centuries. As proof of the greatness of 16th-century Antwerp painting – which he failed to delineate or describe exactly – he referred to, among others, Frans Floris, Pieter Bruegel, Willem Key, Maarten de Vos and Quinten Matsijs.[100]

Especially Quinten Matsijs was valued highly in the milieu of 17th-century connoisseurs. His works were represented in the most prominent collections of the city on the Scheldt (for instance those of aldermen Jacob Dassa[101] and Nicolaas Rockox; merchant-alderman Jan van Meurs;[102] merchants Nicolaas Cornelis Cheeus,[103] Peter Stevens and Cornelis van der Geest; and of the director of the Mint, Arnold Lunden)[104]. Matsijs was considered the *founder* of the Antwerp painting school.[105] As would be the case with Rubens and Van Dyck,[106] a cult developed around his person after his death. At the start of the 17th century, this iconic value translated into the erection of a memorial at the cathedral facade. It was an initiative of Cornelis van der Geest, owner of two desirable paintings of the 16th-century master.[107] The interest for Quinten Matsijs also led to publications such as the ones by François Fickaert (*Metamorphosis*, Antwerp, 1648) and Alexander van

97 L. Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani s.j., 1561-1629. Een groot man van de Contrareformatie in de Nederlanden.* Antwerp, Ruusbroec-Genootschap, 1961, p. 187.

98 T. Dacosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, chapter 8 (Circulation East and West. Jesuit Art and Artists in Central Europe, and Central European Jesuit Artists in the Americas) p. 230-271.

99 F.P.T. Slits, *Het Latijnse stededicht. Oorsprong en ontwikkeling tot in de zeventiende eeuw.* Amsterdam, Thesis Publishers, 1990.

100 J. S. Held, 'Carolus Scribanius's observations on art in Antwerp', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 59, 1996, p. 174-204.

101 (22/9/1616) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 1, p. 370 (n° 232).

102 (26/1-27/2-26/3/1652) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 6, p. 264-269 (n° 1745).

103 (25/4/1621-4/5/1/1622) E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2, p. 172-177 (nr. 382).

104 H. Vlieghe, 'Une grande collection anversoise au dix-septième siécle: le cabinet d'Arnold Lunden, beau-frère de Rubens', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 19, (1977), p. 172-204.

105 Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art*, p. 144-146; M.I. Pousão-Smith, 'Quinten Matsys and Seventeenth-Century Antwerp. An Artist and his Uses', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten Antwerpen.* Antwerp, 2001, p. 178-187.

106 G. Luyten, 'De onnavolgbare Van Dyck in koper. Prenten van 1640 tot 1800' in: C. Depauw & G. Luyten (eds.), *Antoon van Dyck en de prentkunst* (exh. cat.). Antwerp, Antwerpen Open/ Rijksmuseum, 1999, p. 291-292.

107 A. J. J. Delen, 'Cornelis van der Geest. Een groot figuur in de geschiedenis van Antwerpen', *Antwerpen. Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 5, 1959, p. 70-71.

Fornbergh (*Den Antwerpschen Protheus*, Antwerp, 1658). At the time, monographs were exceptions. They stressed the importance of the artist in question. Peter Stevens (mentioned above) was involved in both publications. In exchange, Fickaert dedicated his 1658 publication to the 'art-loving' Peter Stevens, who funded *Den Antwerpschen Protheus*.[108] Stevens also had a very good name as a collector, and was described by his contemporaries as the "*Phoenix van alle Kunst-minnende Liefhebbers*"[109] (Phoenix of all art-loving amateurs). In 1664, a contemporary described his collection as "(...) *het frayste kaebient dat hier te sien is*(...)" [the most beautiful cabinet around] with "(...) *seer fray stucken, van Quinten Maesys, van den Ouden Brueghel ende allen de Nederlandse meesters* (...)" (exquisite pieces by Quinten Matsijs, by Bruegel the Elder and all Dutch masters).

As mentioned earlier, Antoon van Leyen was another patron. He financed the *Gulden cabinet van de edel vrij schilder const* by Cornelis de Bie, in which the author explicitly promoted Antwerp painting. The book was published in 1661, at a moment when the first signs of crisis in the Antwerp art world appeared on the horizon.

In this article the impact of collectors-connoisseurs was researched along the following tracks: as agents within (artistic) information flows, in establishing expertise, as symbolic bankers and selectors. It was because of the many cross connections, characteristic of the scene, that this milieu was able to realise its role as gatekeeper. Indeed, the members of the network had the power of decision in committees assigning commissions, were buyers of art themselves and influenced the norms of reception, taste and perception of art. By means of his cultural competence and contacts within the artists' milieu, the connoisseur was party to new developments and could meet promising new talent.

Bert Timmermans (°1976) studied history and art history at the universities of Antwerp and Leuven. In 2006 he completed a Ph.D dissertation in art history at the university of Leuven, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen. Een elite als actor binnen een kunstwereld* (Patterns of patronage in seventeenth-century Antwerp. An elite as actor in an art world). His interests and activities, reflected also in the nature of his publications, are elites in the context of the city, patterns of art patronage and art worlds.

108 J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis', p. 141-143, 186-202; M.-I. Pousão-Smith, 'Quinten Matsys', p. 137-157.
109 J. Deneucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, p. 296; J. Briels, 'Amor Pictoriae Artis', p. 167.

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3.2

Pronken as Practice. Material Culture in The Netherlands, 1650-1800

HESTER DIBBITS

1 / Eye-catchers in an 18th-century fishing village

The starting point for this article is 18th-century Maassluis, a booming fishing village in the south of the province of Holland, near Rotterdam. Studying its probate inventories, one enters a world of abundance, a world that apparently offered ample room for performative display of goods nullifying their functional qualities. Inhabitants of Maassluis not only crammed their cupboards with whole arrays of silver buttons, piles of sheets, and hundreds of cups, saucers and plates, but they also displayed all sorts of chinaware on racks and ledges. Especially in the first half of the 18th century, the more well to do must have truly wrestled with space. Until specific storage cabinets for chinaware appeared on the scene in the mid-18th-century, in some houses even the cupboard beds were used as storage space. Two hundred pieces of porcelain per household in an 18th-century upper-class family was not an exceptional situation.

The sheer amount must have been eye-catching, as must have been the collected objects themselves: most of them were shiny and remained so as the years went by. Chintz, painted and polished furniture, mirrors, glazed pottery, enamelled porcelain and Delftware: what most objects that were added to the domestic interior in the 17th and 18th centuries seem to have in common was their shiny surface and bright colouring.

Apart from the number of items and their qualities, also the ways in which they were arranged suggest abundance. It often happened for example that an extra (small) kitchen for cooking purposes was furnished apart from the so-called inner kitchen that often was not used at all.

As far as the world outdoors was concerned, the wide spread of silver and gold ornamental garments could not remain unnoticed, among which the ornamental 'headpiece' was one of the most impressive and exquisite. Earlier, in the 17th century, such headpieces had functioned as small and barely-visible functional items, but during the course of the 18th century they developed into large casques.

FIGURE 1 | Portrait of Krijntje Koster (Maassluis, 1779-1816), Gemeentemuseum Maassluis, around 1810 Aquarel on paper, 12.2 x10.4 x 1.7 cm | © Gemeentemuseum Maassluis

Combined with contemporary textual, visual and material sources, the inventories point at a material culture which over the course of the 18th century became recognized and since then has been labelled as characteristic of farmers, fishermen and those classes of society that were affiliated with them. The Dutch word often used to indicate this way of dealing with goods is the word *pronken*.

What was performed here? And what were the effects of these ways of displaying artefacts? These are the questions on which this article focuses. Analysing the material culture in 18th-century Maassluis, I will argue that such *pronken* was not only important for the flaunting of wealth, but that it furthermore performed a social and culture role within the peoples' bond with religion, family life and the local community. Luxury goods functioned within the local context as markers of collectively shared norms and values: through their material culture, the inhabitants of Maassluis emphasized the importance they attached to God, the bible, the community, homely life, family relations, birth and marriage. Moreover, I argue that the flaunting of material goods had an emancipatory effect: by flaunting their possessions people made themselves more visible. Furthermore, combining probate inventories with other sources, it seems that by displaying goods while not using them in an everyday context for practical purposes, the (courtly and urban) aristocratic model with its preoccupation on 'civilized manners', its preoccupation for refined ways of handling luxury goods in everyday settings, was contested.[1] This contestation may not necessarily have been a conscious form of resistance, it may also have been simply the result of the fact that people appropriated goods according to their own, locally determined experience.[2] But the actual practices of display and the way these practices were commented upon, might indeed have generated some effect and played a role in developing an awareness for local customs.

Elaborating on these points, in the second part of this article I will relate to Jan de Vries' recently published work *The Industrious Revolution*. First, the question will be put forward whether we can consider 18th-century Dutch material culture to be as uniform as Jan de Vries considered it to be in the late 17th century, writing: "By the late 17th century the striking feature of Dutch material culture is its uniformity. The basic forms of expressing status and achieving comfort were remarkably similar between city and country, and between rich and poor. It was the cost and specific quality rather than the types of objects and their general form that differed."[3] Having compared our findings for Maasluis with those for another community (namely the garrison town of Doesburg), I am inclined to claim that as far as the 18th-century is concerned, the striking feature of Dutch material culture is diversity instead of uniformity, at least if we look at the ways in which objects were actually used.
Apart from reflecting on matters of uniformity or diversity, I will also reflect on the concepts of Old and New Luxury as they were introduced by Jan de Vries. Was it New Luxury, a strive for more comfort and pleasure, which we find in Maassluis? I am inclined to say no, because the Maasssluis' inventories show us a sort of luxury that did not automatically make daily live more comfortable, at least not in the sense that all those consumer goods which people possessed were actually used.

1 Cf. A. Bailey, *Flaunting. Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007. Baily shows how in Renaissance England certain young men using sumptuous apparel to make a spectacle of themselves did not assume the elite signs of privilege, but appropriated them for their own ends.

2 see also O. Löfgren, 'The Sweetness of Home. Class, Culture and Family Life in Sweden', in: *Ethnologia Europea*. 14 (1984) p. 142-159, P. O. Christiansen, 'Peasant adaptation to bourgeois culture? Class formation and cultural redefinition in the Danish countryside' in: *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (1978), p. 98-152. E. Doelman, 'Der Lehnstuhl. 'Verbürgerlichung' der materieller Kultur im ländlichen Raum der Niederlande', in: T. Dekker e.a. eds., *Ausbreitung bürgerlicher Kultur in den Niederlanden und Nordwestdeutschland*. Münster, Coppenrath, 1991, p. 173-195.

3 J. de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household economy, 1650 to the present*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 57.

2 / *Pronken* as a performative practice

One may consider the phenomenon of *pronken* as described above as a form of *conspicuous consumption*, as the lavish spending on goods mainly for the purpose of displaying income or wealth. The concept of conspicuous consumption was introduced by Thorstein Veblen in 1899 in *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* According to Veblen, this kind of behaviour results from individual efforts to outdo one another and a desire to excel one's neighbours in the accumulation of goods, in order to attain or maintain social status. Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption has been critized among others by sociologist Colin Campbell. Part of Campbell's critique is that the theory is too vague, that it cannot been tested. Should conspicuous consumption for example be considered as the result of rational or instinctive behaviour, and what are the precise motives or intentions behind it? Veblens' texts are not explicit enough on this issue, Campbell argues. [4]
Interestingly, it has been noted that Campbell's own theories on consumption are equally difficult to test. Trying to understand the history of consumer behaviour by taking the role of emotions into concern, as sociologist Campbell does, brings all kinds of fundamental questions to the fore, which - as it appears - we are only in the beginning of getting some grip on.[5]

Looking at phenomenons such as conspicuous consumption and flaunting, at least it seems wise not to stick to the traditional distinction between conscious and unconscious behaviour, and to be aware of the multiple ways in which the material and the visual appeal to people's senses, as they are located between the physical and the cognitive.[6] What about, for example, the aesthetics of glazed earthenware, porcelain, chintzes, gold an silver? What about the sensations of joy and excitement people experience dreaming about, imagining or actually entering a room full of brightly coloured Chinaware? What about the sensations of touching glazed, glittering items? Moreover, even the thought of owning goods which are considered by people as highly valuable for economic, aesthetic or other reasons, may make people longing for them.

4 C. Campbell, 'Conspicuous confusion? A critique of Velben's theory of conspicuous consumption', *Sociological Theory* 13 (1995), p. 37-47. See also H. Nijboer, *De fatsoenering van het bestaan. Consumptie in Leeuwarden tijdens de Gouden Eeuw.* Amsterdam, 2007, Phd-thesis.

5 see e.g. C.Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of modern consumerism*, Oxford and Cambridge, Blackwell, 1987; Idem, 'Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth-century England: a charactar-action approach', in: J. Brewer and R. Porter eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods.* London& New York, Routledge, 1993, p. 40-57.

6 See for historical research on the senses: H. Roodenburg, *Anthropologists, Historians, and the Pulse of the Archive.* Amsterdam, VU University, 2010. See also R. Bendix (ed.), *The Senses. Etnofoor XVIII* (2005), D. Morgan, *Visual Piety. A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*. Berkeley / Los Angeles / London, University of California Press, 1998, Idem, *The Sacred Gaze. Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. Berkely and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2005. D. Morgan, (ed.), *Religion and Material Culture. The Matter of Belief.* New York & London, Routledge, 2009 and J. Verrips, Body and Mind: Material for a Never-ending Intellectual Odyssey', in: D. Morgan (ed)., *Religion and Material Culture. The Matter of Belief.* New York & London, Routledge, 2009, p. 21-39.

Following Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler and others, I furthermore find it insightful to look at the phenomenon of *pronken* primarily as a performative practice which do not so much reflect, but rather create social and cultural distinctions. Thus in this article, the question is not so much what the specific intentions or motives behind practices of *pronken* were, or what the function of *pronken* was, but what was performed, what was created in these practices.[7]

3 / Performing female virtues and familial bonds

Studying the phenomenon of *pronken*, one inevitably enters the never ending debate about gender specific patterns in consumption practices. Luxury was, and still often is, associated with female desire, and the same counts for the practice of *pronken* as described above, the display of household goods such as Chinaware, printed Indian cottons and silver cutlery, nullifying their practical qualities.[8]
Indeed, according to several authors in the 17th and 18th centuries, women especially showed a tendency for 'conspicuous consumption' that resulted in 'useless' displays. For example, in his burlesque *De huwelijken staat* published in 1684, doctor Pieter Bernagie mocked the husband who "lives in a big house, but [who] is not allowed to use it. He is even not allowed to enter the best room only to smell it, the women also enter this room only twice a year, in May and at All Saints' Day, when they clean it. During the rest of the year, the room is shut."[9]

Other authors depicted women as hysterical collectors of ceramics. In *Het groot Ceremonie-boek* (1735), Van Laar created a character called Johan, who claims that the most foolish of all foolish human behaviours is the enthusiasm that 'Burgers Vrouwen' show in arranging cabinets with old, fragile porcelain: "these women are ruining their husbands."[10] Since villages such as Maassluis could in fact be characterized as a women's domain for several months a year (when the men were at sea), the Maassluis interiors may have been considered as the embodiment of such female 'foolishness'.
On the other hand, it may be noted that the distinction between household goods for everyday use and those for display at least created the possibility to keep some areas in the house orderly and clean, and thus to display - or perform - virtues such

7 P. Bourdieu, P., *La Distinction, Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1979. J. Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the subversion of Identity*. New York/London, Routledge 1990.

8 M. Berg and E. Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century. Debate, Desires and Delectable Goods.* Houndmills etc., Palgrave McMillan, 2003, p. 163 e.v.

9 In Dutch: '*Hy woont wel in een groot huis, maer hy mag het niet gebruiken, Op de beste kamer mag hy niet eens komen ruiken, Want de Vrouwen komen der zelf maar twe mael in 't Jaar, dat zyn ze gewoon, Dat is te mey, en te Alderheyligen, dan maaken ze schoon. Anders is die altyd geslooten.*' P. Bernagie, *De huwelijken staat*, 1684, p. 35.

10 C. Van Laar, *Het groot Ceremonie-boek* (1735), p. 415.

as order and purity. Popular moralists such as Jacob Cats considered the kitchen to be a place ruled by women, who functioned as defenders of the honour of the family. Thus, keeping one kitchen for display only could be interpreted as an indication of something honourable, with the best kitchen being seen as an embodiment of the housewife's carefulness. [11] It is also in this context that we probably should interpret the presence of no less than three kitchens in the house of the Maassluis notary Cornelis van Dam and his wife Laurentia Suijker. The inventory from 1717 mentions an inner kitchen (*binnenkeuken*), a 'living-kitchen' (*woonkeuken*), and a kitchen for cooking (*kookkeuken*). The difference in status between them becomes immediately clear: the inner kitchen contained six Spanish walnut chairs, covered with green cloth, the living kitchen contained a set of five brown chairs and three matching armchairs, and the cooking kitchen only had five old chairs.[12]
Throughout the house, people were reminded of the female virtues by images on tiles and wooden objects, and by texts painted on kitchenware and on signs often positioned close to the front door.[13]

FIGURE 2 | Dish, incomplete, blue inscription painted on a white background
Schoon gewaschen net gevouwen, is de pronk der jonge vrouwen, Beverwijk, around 1800 |
© Archeologische werkgroep Beverwijk-Heemskerk.

Many of these reminders may have been quotes from well known moralistic songs and poems that celebrated the female virtues. For instance, an anonymous 17th-century poem praised the linen cupboard in the following way: "Come along, Dutch

11 M. Corbeau, 'Pronken en koken. Beeld en realiteit van keukens in het vroegmoderne Hollandse binnenhuis', in: G. Rooijakkers red., *Mensen en Dingen. Volkskundig Bulletin* 19 (1993) 3, p. 373.

12 Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, Den Haag: Oud-Rechterlijk Archief Maassluis, inv. nr. 185.

13 I. Veldman e.a., *De Bijbel in Huis. Bijbelse verhalen op huisraad in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Cat. Exhib. Utrecht, Het Catharijneconvent, Zwolle, Waanders, 1992. NB. The late 17th century Arnout van Overbeeke wrote in his Anecdota sive historiae jocosae that one day, he visited Maassluis with a certain lady ('Juffrouw N.N.), reading 'all the rhymes and devises that are in front of the doors ("...al de refereyntjes and devisen die voor de deuren staen"). A. Van Overbeke, *Anecdota sive historiae jocosae*, 1991, p. 353.

maiden, make yourself at home. Behold, linen neatly piled as high as mountains. Expensive laces, all kinds of satins. Which shine brighter than the stars. Silks in copious variety, Which would eclipse the wardrobe of a queen, Come, lady, with many guests, To this rich bride and groom, All the precious beauty of the world is gathered in this cupboard, this treasure is to be admired!"[14]

Apart from showing off the evidence of female virtue, the display of luxury goods also performed a role in the cycles of life and familial duty. Because a substantial part of the items kept in those linen cupboards consisted of gifts that were given and received on occasions such as births and marriages, the display of these riches emphasised and reinforced familial bonds.

Interesting in this context are the explicit mentions of 'pronkvoorwerpen' in probate inventories, such as little *pronk-emmertjes* (show-buckets), *pronk-ketels* (show-kettles), *pronk-stoelen* (show-chairs), and *pronk-lakens* (show-bedlinen). Probably these objects were given as wedding gifts, though the same may be said for the numerous collections of small silver 'dolls objects' that together formed a miniature world, with tiny tankards, men, horses, lions, and household goods such as linen-presses, teapots and irons.[15] Presuming that the collections of pronk-items (and miniature objects) indeed were inherited and as a rule passed on from one generation to the other, such displays also showed the continuity of the family line.

FIGURE 3 | Detail of one of a pair of petit feu small platters, Delft, ca. 1780 | © Aronson Antiquairs, Amsterdam

14 In Dutch: "[...] Comt vry hier, Hollandsch wyf, comt vryelyck te gast / Hier vindt gy linnegoet by bergen opgetast / hier vindt ge kostbre kant, hier allerlei satynen / Waarvoor in glans en gloor de starren zelfs verdwynen / Hier vindt men zyden stof en keur van overvloet / Een koninginne kast voor deze wyken moet / Comt, vrouwe hier te gast en comt by gansche hoopen / Naer deze rycke bruit en bruigom toegeloopen / Al wat de aarde schoons en kostelyks bevat / Is in dees kast versaemt, aenschouwt gy in dees kast!" Cited in A.W. Francken, *Het leven onzer voorouders in de gouden eeuw*. Den Haag, Stols, 1942, p. 47. Francken does not mention the poet's name. See also H. Dibbits, 'Between Society and Family Values: The Linen Cupboard in Early-modern Households', in: A. Schuurman en P. Spierenburg eds., *Private Domain, Public Inquiry. Families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe*, 1550 to the present. Hilversum, Verloren, 1996, p. 125-145.

15 Another possibility is that these silver miniature objects were received as maternity gifts. All kinds of items, including decorated earthenware pots, glasses and pipes were part of lifecycle rituals, see: I. Thoen, 'Grafter kookpotten en hertrouwende weduwen. Connotaties van een zeventiende-eeuws gebruiksvoorwerp', in: Volkskundig Bulletin 23 (1997) 2, p. 107-126; Idem, *Strategic affection? Gift exchange in seventeenth-century Holland*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

In the Maassluis archives, many examples can be found of people who were busy dividing their possessions between their heirs, presumably according to the idea that patterns of culture could be passed on from one generation to the other by the bequest of household goods. The bible and its stand were given to a dear relative, as was the linen chest together with the pots that belonged to it. By doing so, identities were reaffirmed or revised: by inheriting the possessions of deceased relatives, one's own identity could be incorporated by the heirs.[16] A substantial part of the items displayed being made of earthenware, porcelain or other breakable materials, the 'best kitchens' and 'best rooms' also ensured that a stabile and sedentary way of living, in which there was no frequent need to move, existed.

4 / Sacralizing the profane

What position did the church take in respect to these forms of performative display? And what role did religion play when it came to *pronken*? In Maassluis, the majority of the population belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, and considering (for example) the widespread possession of bibles displayed on a stand, religion seems to have played an important role in daily life. In contrast to what is often presumed, the Dutch Reformed Church did not proclaim that people should refrain from all luxury. The 17th-century moralist Petrus Wittewrongel even wrote in his *Oeconomia christiana ofte Christelicke huys-houdinghe*, "Not only are we allowed to furnish our dwellings with things that are needed, it is also allowed to strive for our comfort and the enjoyment of abundance."[17] Other moralists may have been less mild than Wittewrongel in this respect, but nonetheless, one could say in general that furnishings and dress had to be sober but not necessarily poor. The Reformed Church may even have advocated *pronken* as discussed in this context.[18]
Seen from a theological perspective, the practice of keeping apart certain objects from everyday life, is evidently a form of sanctification. The Sunday dress is perhaps the most well known example, but in probate inventories one comes across several other objects explicitly indicated as items kept apart for the Sunday.[19]

16 See also C. McDannel, *Material Christianity, Religion and popular culture in America*. New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1995 esp. chapter 3, The Bible in the Victorian Home, p. 67-102; A. Komter, *Het Geschenk . Over de verschillende betekenissen van ge*ven. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1997, p. 127. For examples of goods bequeathed by Maassluis' villagers, see: H. Dibbits, 'Between Society and Family Values', p. 142-144.

17 'Niet alleen en moghen wij oock/ met alleen noodighen huys-raet onse wooningen stoffeeren: ende van alles/ wat soo in de keucken, ende de bysondere kameren, tot nootsaeckelick gebruyck (...) vereyscht wert. Het is oock geoorloft, daer in ons gemack, ende het gerief tot overvloet te be-oogen'. P. Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia christiana ofte Christelicke huys-houdinghe II* (Amsterdam, 1661), p. 145-147, as cited in: M. Corbeau, 'Pronken en koken', p. 378.

18 Forms of conspicuous consumption related to food were regarded as more problematic. The reverend Franciscus Ridderus, whose books were found in several Maassluis' inventories, rejected exquisite dishes and tableware, and he made clear that people should not organize dinners too often, dine too long, and certainly refrain from exquisite meals at funerals. F. Ridderus, *Dagelijckse huys-catechisatie*, 1659, oospr. 1652, p. 406.

19 There must exist contemporary theological literature on the 'heiliging', the sanctification or 'keeping apart' of household goods, clothing and domestic space for Sundays, but I have not found it yet.

In a rather implicit way, we may read one of Franciscus Ridderus' dialogues in his booklet *Dagelijksche Huysoeffeninge* in this way. Discussing the topic of wealth (*rijkdommen*), Ridderus explains in 'De sesde samenspraeck' that one was allowed to work in order to get earthly goods, and that they could be received in gratefullness, but always in such a way that one's eye and heart was directed at the Lord.[20]

FIGURE 4 | Pieter Van den Berge, *De namiddag*, engraving 24.8 x 15.7 cm, around 1700 | Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam | Note the *theerak* with the teapot and cups and saucer

20 See D.J. Budding, 'Franciscus Ridderus. Zijn leven en zijn opvattingen aangaande het Heilige Avondmaal onderzocht en vergeleken met enkele karakteristieke vertegenwoordigers uit de Reformatie en de Nadere Reformatie.' in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 7 (1983) 3 p. 73-108, here 98.

FIGURE 5 | Mid-18th -century cupboard with a biblical scene: *Abraham sacrificing Isaac* [Genesis 22:11-12], Collection Nederlands Openluchtmuseum Arnhem © Nederlands Openluchtmuseum Arnhem

Presumably, *pronken* should be understood as being part of a process labelled by the historian Willem Frijhoff as 'the Christian ritualisation of everyday culture'.

This was a process in which various forms of sociability – drinking tea for example – but apparently also everyday artefacts became 'sanctified'.[21] The craving for luxury in home furnishings and dress may have been considered a sin by most moralists, but things were different as far as the celebration of Sundays, important occasions within one's life, and female virtues such as good housekeeping were concerned. This may also explain why the 18th-century ethnographer Le Francq van Berkhey found 'Pronk-bedstedes' in the northern provinces of Holland ornamented with chintz and various sorts of other cottons and lace These bedsteads, Le Francq noted, looked just like a domestic altar.[22]

As anthropologists and ethnologists studying religious culture from a practice oriented approach have repeatedly remarked, the division usually made between the sacred and the profane should be questioned.[23]

Focusing on everyday practices studying early modern material culture, it further appears that traditional custom and consumption are not incompatible, as John Styles has noted.[24] In fact, quite the contrary is true; luxury goods can be used for celebrating communal values. By the display of shiny, bright, new, or new-looking gear, the villagers celebrated family ties and community life outdoors on Sundays, on market days and on major occasions such as weddings and funerals. In the next paragraphs the focus will shift to these communal aspects of *pronken*.

21 W. Frijhoff, 'Vraagtekens bij het vroegmoderne kersteningsoffensief' in: G. Rooijakkers en T. Van Der Zee (ed.), *Religieuze volkscultuur. De spanning tussen de voorgeschreven orde en de geleefde praktijk*. Nijmegen, SUN, 1986, p. 71-98. See also Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit*, *Materiële Cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis, 1650-1800.* Nijmegen, SUN, 2001, p. 164, for the way in which new forms of sociability related to the introduction of coffee and tea were also sanctified, An illustrative example offers a poem by reverend Kasparus Alardin, titled 'Vergeestelijkt en hemels thee-gebruyk, ofte beknopte overbrenging van de thee, geestelijk op Christus Jesus toegepast, tot demping van wereltse en ydele discoursen onder het thee-drinken (1696). An explicit reference to the relation between drinking tea and the church can be found in Hindeloopen, in Friesland, where the front of the church is decorated with a tea kettle. See S.J. Van Der Molen, *Dit land van elf steden*, z.j., p. 113.

22 Le Francq van Berkhey wrote: 'Deeze Pronk-Bedstede is versierd met Chitzen, Katoenen en andere Spreien; op dezelven liggen groote Hoofdkussens, die met breede kanten bezet, en vooral by de Landlieden, met veelerleie Linten, op eene zeldzaame keurige wyze, gestikt en gekwikt zyn. [...] Dit geeft voor een Zuid-hollander, wanneer hy zulks voor de eerste maal ontmoet, eene zeer vreemde vertooning. Hij ziet eene hooge Bedstede met kleene Deurtjes; en als dezelven geopend worden, ontdekt hy iets, dat ruim zoo wel naar een net getooid Altaar, als naar een Bed zweemt.' J. Le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlyke historie van Holland*, 1773, deel III.2, p. 943.

23 As has been stressed also by a.o. C. McDannell, *Material Christianity.*

24 J. Styles, 'Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England', in: Berg and Eger eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 103-115, 113.

5 / Differences in material culture in the Netherlands

It is tempting to regard Maassluis as a model for the Dutch Republic as a whole, as a model for the world we know from historical accounts about the Netherlands with its love for porcelain, Delftware, tea and other novel luxuries.

FIGURE 6 | Dish, polychrome pottery, ca. 40 cm, Delft, around 1700, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam | © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

Maassluis' material culture was indeed 'urban', in the sense that innovations spread rapidly among the local population, and all kinds of new forms of sociability developed. In addition to this, part of the performative display discussed above could also be found in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. City dwellings also had best kitchens and best rooms. Moreover all sorts of cultural exchanges existed between cities and villages.
But does this mean that we can consider 18th-century Dutch material culture to be as uniform as Jan de Vries considered it to be in the late 17th century in *The Industrious Revolution*?

In my opinion, some restrictions should be made. First, it should be noted that outside the urbanized coastal provinces one encounters a completely different world. Comparing for example Maassluis with Doesburg, a town in the eastern part of the Netherlands, interesting differences in material culture become clearly visible.[25] Also in Doesburg considerable changes of daily routine took place in the early modern period, and new modes of sociability were created alongside the introduction of new luxury goods such as tea and coffee. In this provincial town however, we encounter a world where the use of objects strongly depended on their practical value. Not only did the number of goods per household remain relatively low, people also made a habit of actually using and re-using most household goods. In Doesburg, a culture of scarcity seems to have prevailed. It was a place where even in the more well to do families, people repaired and altered clothing, glued together broken chinaware, and mended copper kettles.

Being a multiform market town with a differentiated population surrounded by small hamlets and country estates, Doesburg had much in common with other provincial towns in the inland provinces. Furthermore, as a garrison town that continuously accommodated large groups of soldiers using citizens' private possessions, its inhabitants will have shared experiences with the inhabitants of other garrison towns both within and outside the Dutch Republic. The regular presence of strangers in a private house must have had far reaching consequences for the choices people made in the way they furnished their dwellings: while in villages such as Maassluis, ample opportunities were found for flaunting collections of fragile items such as porcelain, the situation was different in garrison towns.

Analysis of probate inventories in combination with other sources further suggests that there was a marked influence of (courtly or urban) aristocratic flaunting repertoires in Doesburg. As such, cultural distinctions were established by cultivating refinement: (refined) cooking and eating took a central position in many Doesburg households, while (refined) tableware kept for *pronk* took the central position in many Maassluis households.[26]
May we conclude that the Doesburgers were ambassadors of the Old Luxury, while the Maassluis villagers can be seen as the ambassadors of the New Luxury? According to Jan de Vries' definition, Old Luxury was one that strove for grandeur and exquisite refinement and was defined by royal courts, while New Luxury strove for comfort and pleasure, and was generated by urban society.[27]

Though I find the argument in which the concepts of Old and New Luxury are introduced by De Vries inspiring, one of the main reasons why I don't use his concept here is that New Luxury suggests that luxury goods such as the chintzes and porcelain were used in an everyday context, bringing more comfort. However, in Maassluis many people owned luxury goods, but this does not necessarily imply that they were used. In 1754, in the house of doctor and burgomaster Joan Willlem Metternach and his family for example, a room filled only with porcelain was to be

25 Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit*.
26 Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit*, p. 310.
27 De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*.

found. It must have been an impressive sight, but the room itself was not furnished comfortably, with only a bedstead, a bed and eleven chairs, but no table or lighting and in the hearth only one pair of tongs.[28] Consequentially, the ownership of luxury objects does not imply that everyday life became more 'comfortable': many of the luxury goods people acquired were displayed in rooms that were used only on special occasions, if at all.

This leads us to the second restriction that should be made in respect to the conclusion that material culture in The Netherlands was remarkably uniform. Within the coastal provinces, differences in material culture between the cities and their surrounding rural areas also existed. One of the most intriguing examples of this is the development of the *oorijzer* (or earpiece), a plain iron headband that served to keep the caps generally worn by women in shape. During the 18th century, such headpieces went out of fashion in the big(ger) towns; in Maassluis however, as in other villages, they developed into valuable and eye-catching pieces of jewellery: together with other garments and accessories, they came to be part of a style of dressing that had numerous local variants.

All of the variants however had one thing in common: the women who dressed in this way were recognizable in a single glance as being from the country. In some villages earpieces were worn by almost all local women except the wives of non-local dignitaries or those affiliated with the urban elites. Apart from the fishing village of Maassluis, this pattern also becomes visible in nearby Maasland, where even the rich trades-peoples wives followed the example of the farmers wives in the sense that they continued to wear headpieces.[29] In the villages of Weesp and Weesperkarspel near Amsterdam, the situation was slightly different: here headpieces in particular were apparently associated with the agrarian class, and the wives of local trades-people parted with their earpieces as early as the first half of the 18th century, preferring to concentrate on nearby and metropolitan Amsterdam where the headpieces had grown out of fashion. [30]

By wearing local dress, village people showed a self-consciousness that accentuated their community bond. Indoors, the same development can be noticed as the urban elites replaced their linen cupboards with fashionable cabinets and banned their Delftware to the cooking kitchens while villagers consciously cherished their linen cupboards and Delftware items as *pronkstukken*.[31]

This process of traditionalisation, as it has been called, was not a result of isolation, nor can it be regarded as a form of resistance to change: in fact, this development

28 Rijksarchief Zuid-Holland, Den Haag: Notarieel Archief Maassluis, inv.nr. 5556,51.

29 J.J. Voskuil, Boedelbeschrijvingen als bron voor de kennis van groepsvorming en groepsgedrag' in: *Volkskundig Bulletin 13* (1987) p. 30-58.

30 H. Van Koolbergen, 'De materiële cultuur van Weesp en Weesperkarspel in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw.' in: *Volkskundig Bulletin* 9 (1983) 1, 3-52.

31 H. Dibbits, 'Between society and family values'. See for the diffusion of Delftware Van Koolbergen, 'De materiële cultuur van Weesp en Weesperkarspel.'

should be seen as part of a more general process of 'modernisation', in which many innovations were appropriated. What differed was the way in which objects were used: new textiles such as chintz from the Orient (for example) were used for Sunday clothes and not for domestic wear as was the case among the wealthy bourgeoisie.

6 / Town and countryside in 18th-century Europe

Pronken with consumer items was not something typical for Maassluis, nor something typically Dutch, nor can it be claimed that only the rural communities in the Dutch provinces were affluent enough to acquire such goods to flaunt with. Even the debate about flaunting was not typically Dutch: as has been noted, during the 18th century people began to discuss what came to be known as the luxury of peasants (by which they meant the growing opulence in some sectors of the rural communities) in several parts of Europe. For Tuscany, in the second half of the 18th century, moralists noted: 'Store-bought purchases, particularly in urban shops, are growing. For weddings, tables are as bountiful as those of the wealthiest and most dissolute Eastern people. [...] Peasants living near cities have been seen attending urban theatres. But in particular clothing reveals the growing opulence of rural families. [...] The churches, on Sundays, are now places of ostentation and luxurious and multi-coloured fabrics, naturally to the detriment of religion.'[32]

In the Swedish fishing community of Ockerö, where ownership and display of objects made of copper, pewter and silver was widespread and inventories also mentioned porcelain plates, mirrors and objects for making coffee and tea, the local elite was explicitly critical about the way some of their inhabitants flaunted their possessions. At a parish meeting of 1793, the extravagant display of luxury articles was condemned by the councillors, who said that: '... farm hands and young people who have got themselves pocket watches, silver shoe-buckles and meerschaum pipes should dispose of them.'[33]

Ockerö is an interesting case, since, like Maassluis, it was involved in herring fishery. Byron stresses however, that the forms of material display were well established long before the main influx of new settlers into the islands in the 1770s and the height of the fishery from 1790-1800. Furthermore, Ockerö was situated near the large town of Göteborg, where both fashionable goods and urban ideas were available for the islanders.

32 P. Malanima, 'Changing patterns in rural living conditions: Tuscany in the eighteenth century', in: A. J. Shuurman and L. S. Walsh eds., *Material culture: consumption, life-style, standard of living, 1500-1900.* B4 Proceedings Eleventh International Economic History Congress, Milan, September 1994. Milan, Università Boccini,1994, p. 115-124, here p.120.

33 R. Byron, 'Domestic Organisation and Social Change in a Swedish Maritime Community' in: *Ethnologia Scandinavia*, vol. 23 (1993), p. 58-72, here p. 67.

FIGURE 7 | Golden chatelaine, ca. 1680, Collection Nederlands, Openluchtmuseum Arnhem | © Nederlands Openluchtmuseum Arnhem

It remains to be examined more systematically to what extent the peasants in Tuscany and fishermen in Ockerö and Maassluis shared repertoires of flaunting, both within their own communities and with the people living in cities near by. In the cities also, people celebrated the customary calendar and dressed in their Sunday dress, eliciting critical comments from the elite.[34] As noted before, town and country people did indeed share a lot, if only because in the 18th century a major part of the urban population consisted of migrants from the countryside. What remains a fact, is that throughout Europe over the course of the 18th century specific styles of dress and domestic furnishing developed that were labelled, recognized and cultivated as 'rural'.

34 See J. Styles, 'Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England', p.112.

Seeking to understand this development, it is worthwhile to return to Maassluis. Here, from the early 18th century onwards, the inventories witness the prominence of a group showing a marked interest for innovation, new consumer goods and new forms of sociability. This group, consisting of well-to-do representatives of the middle classes, appears to have exerted a strong influence: their innovative attitude enabled them to function as catalysts, bringing about a new cultural climate.
Eagerly appropriating innovations, these people set about a re-evaluation and cultivation of the village life with which they were so familiar. The presence of the middle classes was thus effective in a double sense: they can be held partly responsible for dynamic changes in material culture, while also causing confidence and self-consciousness to grow among the population as a whole. This self-consciousness can be considered to be of great importance as a factor of cultural dynamics.
The way in which the Maassluis tanner Hendrik Schim positioned himself is illustrative in this respect. Following the tradition of pastoral poetry, he published in 1737 a poem in which he explicitly opposed the rural population and urban citizens, telling for example of how rurals on festive days took great care to dress up in brand new clothes, consciously tailored in the old-fashioned way. As for their choice of jewellery, the poem suggests that peasants mostly opted for as much gold and glittering accoutrements as possible, preferring items of jewellery that were designed to be conspicuous.[35] Twenty years earlier, the poet Rotgans (1708) had written a very similar poem about farmers' girls with their necklaces of red coral and skirts that had been lying in a cupboard, waiting to be worn only on special days.[36]

In fact, already in the early 17th century there had been a development of stereotypical images of farmers and fishermen that had developed together with the notion that the Dutch Republic had become 'Frenchified', and that previously normal values and customs considered as essential to the identity of the Republic were lost. As parts of the elite seemed to affiliate with courtly ways of behaviour, so the stereotypical image of the rude, uncivilised peasant became less negative. Traces of this can already be found in the early 17th century among authors such as Roemer Visscher and Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero, and in the midst of the 17th century among painters such as Jan Steen.[37] As early as about 1700, next to the Parisian dolls dressed in fashionable dress, dolls dressed in local dress were also made.[38] While parts of the elite trained themselves in the use of consumer goods in a 'courtly' manner, others

35 H. Schim, *Dichttaferelen, bestaende in hofgedichten, zinnebeelden, en zedezangen*. Maassluis 1737.
36 Rotgans, *Boerekermis* (1708). See also anonym. *Thirsis Minnewit* (early 18th century).
37 M. Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen. De beeldvorming van Holland versus Spanje en Engeland omstreeks 1650*. Den Haag, Sdu Uitgevers,1997.
38 In a Hindeloopen inventory, mention is made of a "opgemaeckte pop op het Hindeloopers gecleed" (a doll dressed in local Hindelooper dress), see S. J. Van Der Molen, *De Hindelooper woonkultuur*, 1967, p. 60.

seem to have been sandwiched between the striving for affiliation with the 'courtly' elites on the one hand, and their rural relatives on the other.

The development of locally cultivated cultures may have been stimulated by local notables as Hendrik Schim, but also by members of the 'old' elites living in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Being the proud owners of countryseats, these elites withdrew from noisy city life in the 18th century, temporarily or otherwise. At the same time, their interest in both the (in their view) idyllic and romantic sides of daily life in the country and the technical aspects of farming grew. Some patricians even went to Maassluis to see it for themselves, as if it was a curious attraction, and they wrote about it. One of them was Balthasar Huydecoper, who in 1730 even mentioned Maassluis as a 'famous fishing village'.[39] In the same way as tourists nowadays visit Volendam to see a fishing-village, in the 18th century they visited Maassluis. An example is Le Francq van Berkhey, one of the late 18th century ethnographers who described the local differences in dress and customs of fishermen, farmers and townspeople, both systematically and in a detailed way. It was here, in this village, that he encountered the authentic keepers of Dutch identity, and the kind of *pronk* that needed to be cherished, not only as local but above all as national cultural heritage. Thus yet another meaning was added to the term *het pronken*.

8 / Conclusion

In the 17th and 18th centuries, various sorts of flaunting of one's material goods existed, each of which could have had various meanings and performed various roles. In Maassluis the flaunting of one's porcelain collection and Indian cottons was part of a lifestyle in which the flaunting of one's family bible, silver, birth and wedding gifts, and Sunday clothes played an important role.
What was performed through the flaunting, and what was the effect? At least the result was not necessarily more comfort in the sense that these precious possessions were used in an everyday context. Through the specific way of *pronken* as described above, the attachment to Christian virtues, family bonds and the local community was expressed.

Through performative display people made themselves visible outdoors on market days and major occasions such as weddings and funerals, but also indoors with the display of shiny goods in *pronkkeukens* and 'best-rooms'. The collective ways in which flaunting was practiced may have had a cohesive effect. Experiencing radical

39 Balthasar Huydecoper wrote about the poetry by Hendrik Schim and other Maassluis' inhabitants: "Ik heb met verwondering gehoord en gezien hoe zeer De Liefde tot Taal en Dichtkunst op dat beroemde Visschersdorp bloeit" (R.A. Utrecht, arch. Huydecoper, inv. nr. 175. Balthasar Huydecoper aan Pieter van der Schelling te Rotterdam, juni 1730).

economic, social and cultural change, the community bonds were accentuated through a collective ritualised, ceremonial use of objects in a way that turned into a means of image building, both for the people's own groups and for others. Gradually, a concern for what we would now call 'cultural heritage' emerged. Sandwiched between those who adhered to the cultivation of (courtly and urban) aristocratic modes of behaviour and those who adhered to rural custom, the local elites were the ones who may have played a central role in this dynamic development.

Although important progress has been made in research on material culture, our focus too often remains primarily on the possession of consumer goods instead of on everyday practices and cultural differences in the actual use (or non-use) of objects. A focus on practices is important when researching luxury in the early modern period, since increased access to a wider range of commodities invited newer modes of behaviour that may have developed differently depending on the local context. While some people used their precious porcelain teacups for drinking tea, consciously refining their bodily gestures and modes of conversation as they did, others kept their teacups for display only, putting them safely away in a cupboard.
More in general, historical research on material culture may profit from an ethnological and anthropological approach. Developments in ethnology and anthropology during the last two decades have made us aware not only of the fact that objects only become meaningful within specific settings. They have also made use aware of the need to pay more attention to the role of the senses in everyday life and the need to reconsider the dichotomies that have been regarded as self-evident for too long, such as the dichotomy between conscious and unconscious behaviour, and between the sacred and the profane. As is the case nowadays, also in the early modern period the confrontation with new, eye-catching, economically, socially, and culturally highly valued luxury goods must have strongly appealed to people's senses. Their appeal may have been even stronger as long as these goods were kept apart and fostered as special or even sacred objects.

Hester Dibbits (1965), historian and ethnologist, is a researcher at the Meertens Institute (Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences) in Amsterdam. Her special area of interest is material culture and the dynamics of identity both in the early modern period and in contemporary society. She obtained her PhD from the Free University in Amsterdam with a study based on a large sample of probate inventories (*Vertrouwd Bezit. Materiële Cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis, 1650-1800.* Nijmegen, SUN, 2001). In 2003 Dibbits received a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research for her research project *Migration and Material Culture: The Domestic Interiors of Migrants and their Descendants*. Presently Dibbits is parttime head curator at the Open Air Museum in Arnhem.

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www.meertens.knaw.nl/boedelbank/. This database contains more than 3.000 probate inventories from various small towns and villages in The Dutch Republic, dating from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. (Open Access)

3.3

“Wohl dem der’s sehen kann!“* Private Amsterdam Art Collections, 1770-1860

CORNELIA FANSLAU

* “Lucky the one, who can see it!”, H. Sander, *Beschreibung seiner Reisen durch Frankreich, die Niederlande, Holland, Deutschland und Italien; in Beziehung auf Menschenkenntnis, Industrie, Litteratur und Naturkunde insonderheit*. Leipzig, 1783, p. 589.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries numerous private art collections existed in Amsterdam. Foreign visitors were astonished about the high numbers of paintings to be found in Dutch burgher houses and even in the mid 19th century they still perceived The Netherlands as *le pays des collections* (the land of collections).[1] The private art collections in the noble canal houses of their owners belonged to the sights of the city such as the town hall, the stock exchange, churches and since 1808 the *Koninklijk Museum*, today the *Rijksmuseum*. Besides the few famous and always named Dutch art collectors, whose masterpieces from the Dutch Golden Age today are to be found in the art museums all over the world, there where numerous others, whose names have been almost completely forgotten. Their collections mainly consisted of Dutch contemporary art of the early 19th century, which future generations with a different taste in art thought to be mediocre and not worth to be mentioned.[2] However, to Dutch connoisseurs and authors in those days, more than one hundred private art collections were known for the period 1770-1850, in Amsterdam alone.[3] In this period Amsterdam was the centre of the Dutch art market, followed at some distance by Den Haag and Rotterdam, while its leading position on the European art market was already lost to Paris and London.[4] Since the early 17th century, specialized auctions of works of art have been held in Amsterdam, consistently and in large numbers providing the art market with first and second hand paintings, prints and drawings.[5]

In Amsterdam art collecting was a bourgeois phenomenon. The composition of the group of Amsterdam art collectors reflects the economic and social structure of Amsterdam and its changes from the mid 18th to the mid 19th centuries. In comparison to other European countries, the predominance of the bourgeoisie and the insignificance of the nobility is remarkable, as well as the great importance of trade and banking to the city's economy. The owners of the Amsterdam art collection mainly were rich merchants and bankers, some *regenten* and *rentiers*, and only a few had another profession, such as physician, chemist, clergyman or bookseller. Yet they had one thing in common: perhaps not all to the same degree, but they could afford the luxury of collecting art.

1 X. Marmier, *Lettres sur La Hollande*. Paris, 1841, p. 43.

2 The paradigm shift concerning the Dutch art of the 17th and 19th centuries began with the writings of Thoré-Bürger; T. Thorè/W. Burger, *Musées de la Hollande.* Paris, 1858-1860.

3 R. Van Eynden & A. Van Der Willigen, *Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst, sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw*. Haarlem, 1816-40. J. Immerzeel, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters, van het begin der vijftiende eeuw tot heden.* Amsterdam, 1842-43. C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd.* Amsterdam, 1857-64. Teylers Museum Haarlem, Archief van de Teylers Stichting, nr. 1543, *Beantwoording op de prijsvraag van Teylers Tweede Genootschap over 'de staat der Schilder en Tekenkonst in dit land, zoo als die tegenwoordig is'*, 1812.

4 B. B. Fredericksen (ed.), *Corpus of paintings sold in the Netherlands during the Nineteenth Century vol. 1 1801-1810.* Los Angeles, 1998, p. IX-X.

5 J. M. Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam.* Amsterdam, 2002, p. 11.

The following article is based on the data of 106 Amsterdam art collectors and their collections. All collectors met the following criteria: they were mentioned explicitly as art collectors by contemporaries; it was possible to find at least some biographical information about the owner; and an annotated auction sale catalogue or similar sources like probate inventories describing and pricing a collection have been preserved.[6]

First of all, we will describe the lifestyle of the Amsterdam art collectors, especially their town houses and country estates with their interior decoration as outer signs of their welfare. Secondly, the contents of the collections will be briefly summarized and we will examine how the items were stored and displayed in the houses of their owners. Thirdly and finally, we will discuss the audience of the private collectors, friends and business partners, connoisseurs and foreign visitors touring the Low Countries. On the basis of probate inventories, travel diaries of contemporary visitors, auction sale catalogues and even a few paintings, an insight into selected collector's houses will be provided. The main focus of the article is on the semi-public presentation of art in the private houses of the collectors. Other aspects of a collector's life, such as the purchase or commission of works of art, or membership of art societies, will not be dealt with here.

1 / Lifestyle and Housing

The social role of the art collectors under examination required a certain lifestyle. On the one hand that lifestyle was necessary for the representation of their achieved status to the outside world and on the other hand that lifestyle was crucial to preserve their status. Impressive town houses in upmarket residential areas, country estates outside Amsterdam, carriages and horses, a number of domestic servants as well as the magnificent interior decoration of the houses were all integral part of this lifestyle. On a symbolical level lifestyle communicated class distinctions as well as the social class they belonged to or intended to belong to.[7]
Since the 17th century a sizable and elegant canal house, preferably situated at the Herengracht or Keizersgracht, or even better at the so called *Gouden Bocht* at the Herengracht, which was one of Amsterdam's noblest residential neighbourhoods, was one of the indispensable attributes of a successful Amsterdam burgher.[8]

6 This database forms the basis of my dissertation about private Amsterdam art collectors, 1770-1900, advised by Prof. Dr. Michael North and Dr. Ellinoor Bergvelt. All conclusions and interpretations of this paper are based on this sample.

7 P. Bourdieu, *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft.* Frankfurt/Main, 1987, p. 104.

8 I. H. Van Eeghen, 'De historische ontwikkeling en het aanzien van de Herengracht', in: H. De La Fontaine Verwey (ed.), *Vier eeuwen Herengracht: geveltekeningen van alle huizen aan de gracht, twee historische overzichten en de beschrijving van elk pand met zijn eigenaars en bewoners.* Amsterdam, 1976, p. 105-144, p. 109. G. Vermeer, B. Rebel (eds.), *D'Ailly's Historische Gids van Amsterdam.* s' Gravenhage, 1992, p. 389-391.

FIGURE 1 | Gerrit Berckheyde Adriaensz, *De bocht van de Herengracht te Amsterdam, gezien vanaf de kant van de Vijzelstraat*, 1685. | © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Until the dawn of the 19th century the northern part of the Keizersgracht increased in prestige.[9] Having such a prestigious house in this neighbourhood basically proved to the outside world that one had achieved a certain respected position within the social hierarchy and moreover that one wanted to perpetuate his situation. For the year 1742, the classiness of this residential neighbourhood is proven by the concentration of citizens of Amsterdam with the highest taxable income, among them several art collectors. That year, 81 out of 102 persons lived within the canal belt and 60 of them in the southern part, where the *Gouden Bocht* is situated.[10] Sometimes in the direct vicinity to one another, these noble addresses were shared by more than half of the art collectors under examination in Amsterdam. For instance, the *regent* Willem Boreel lived at Herengracht no. 478, next to the

9 This development may be caused by the fact that most of the old-established families still lived at the *Gouden Bocht* and all of the newcomers had to move to comparably prestigious residential neighbourhoods. H. Diederikks, 'The Amsterdam Elite at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', in: H. Schilling, H. Diederikks (eds.), *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit.* Köln/Wien, 1985, p. 453.

10 W. F. H. Oldewelt, *Kohier van personeele quotisatie te Amsterdam over het jaar 1742.* Amsterdam, 1945, p. 18. L. Van Nierop, De hondert hoogst aangeslagenen te Amsterdam in 1813', in: *Economisch-historisch Jaarboek* 11 (1925), p. 1-77, p. 20-27. V. A. M. Van Der Burg, C. E. G. Ten Houte De Lange, *De Hoogstaangeslagenen in `s Rijks directe belastingen 1848-1917. De Verkiesbaren voor de Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal*. Zeist/Rotterdam, 2004, p. 82.

Mennonite merchant Aernoud van Lennep at no. 476. Diagonally across from there, at Herengracht 475, was the town house of the Lutheran merchant and consul of Portugal Jan Gildemeester. The *regent* and burgomaster of Amsterdam, Jonas Witsen, bought the famous house *Sweedenryk* at Herengracht 462 from his deceased fellow collector, the catholic wood merchant Gerrit Braamcamp and one of the very few female collectors Anna Maria Ebeling lived with her husband at Herengracht 466a, which they bought from the merchant Pieter Jacobus le Jolle. These examples illustrate another Amsterdam phenomenon: the collectors belonged to different religious denominations and although members of the Dutch Reformed Church dominated the political elite, the economic elite was formed by all denominations, living together at the *Gouden Bocht*.

About a third of the Amsterdam art collectors under examination owned a country estate in the surroundings of Amsterdam. Whoever could afford it, escaped the cramped and stinking city during the summer months. The whole family moved to the countryside, where they were preoccupied with walks, hunting, fishing, gardening and predominantly with visiting each other. The banker and art collector Adriaan van der Hoop (1778-1854) spent many summers at *Spaarnberg* near Santpoort, where he grew exotic plants and indulged in his other passion, racing horses.[11] The merchant and art collector Pieter van Lennep (1780-1850) also enjoyed gardening at his country estate *Boekerode*. His probate inventory lists a greenhouse, plants, flowers and gardening tools with a value of *ƒ*722. Only in *Het Bloemenkopeltje* some 47 orange trees, 3 laurels, 2 trees with pomegranate and various rose shrubs were counted.[12] The family of Jan Gildemeester Jzn. (1744-1799), another art collector, was portrayed by Jan Gerard Waldorp in 1766 in front of the entry to their estate *Frankendael* near Watergraafsmeer.

11 C. Fanslau, 'Adriaan van der Hoop (1778-1854). Bankier en kunstverzamelaar te Amsterdam', in: E. Bergvelt, J. P. Filedt Kok & N. Middelkoop (eds.), *De Hollandse meesters van een Amsterdamse bankier.* Zwolle, 2004, p. 9-23, p. 16-17.

12 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam, notary Johannes Commelin, inv. 19859, no 290, 30.7.1850, Inventaris Pieter van Lennep.

FIGURE 2 | Jan Gerard Waldorp, *De familie Gildemeester op Frankendaal*, 1766, whereabouts unknown | © Rijksdienst Kunsthistorische Documentatie, Den Haag

The young collector and later consul of Portugal is standing on the stairs, holding his hat in his hands, and apparently bids farewell to his father. The carriage has already driven up and his brother's family and servants are ready to depart. This family portrait comprises the three most import status symbols of that time: a country estate, a carriage with horses and domestic servants. The banker and collector Henry Hope owned *Welgelegen* near Haarlem, where he built the famous neoclassical *Paviljoen Welgelegen* with separate gallery rooms for his collection of paintings.[13] His cousin, John Hope, banker and collector as well, called *Groenendaal* and *Bosbeek* near Heemstede his own and moreover he was *Heer* (Lord) of *Nederhorst-den-Berg* and *'s-Gravenambacht*.[14] The acquisition of so called *heerlijkheden* (manors) comprised some economic and juridical privileges that brought about an increase in income and political influence.[15] Moreover the privilege to call oneself *Heer* (Lord) provided a certain noble touch and was accompanied by social status.

13 M. H. E. Zoetmulder, 'Het Paviljoen Welgelegen als woonhuis; het interieur in de periode 1789-1820', in: F. W. A. Beelaerts Van Blokland, *Paviljoen Welgelegen 1789-1989. Van buitenplaats van de bankier Hope tot zetel van de provincie Noord-Holland.* Haarlem, 1989, p. 27-39.

14 J. W. Niemeijer, 'De kunstverzameling van John Hope', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 32 (1981), p. 127-232, p. 140.

15 See www.herenvanholland.nl/onderzoek.cfm (visited on 8th of july 2010). Traditionally members of the aristocracy owned such lordships but since the 16th century also cities, patricians or rich burghers simply could buy them.

With respect to the furnishing and function of the residential house, at least in the rather prosperous ones in the cities, a differentiation took place over the course of the 18th century, which led to a separation of the private and public area.[16] Privacy and comfort became more important notions, hence the bedrooms of the family were moved to the upper floors, the householder did business outside his house and kept only a small office, while the ground floor and the *bel étage* served for representative purposes like the reception of guests. Home entertaining and the meeting of friends and business associates became an important feature of household life and played an increasingly important role in the social life of the elite. It were matters of noble lifestyle and decency to welcome guests or pay a visit to others on special occasions such as birth, wedding, someone's death, birthday, anniversary, illness or promotion. Generally, these receptions took place in the side room (*zijkamer*) and inner room, (*binnenkamer*) alongside the corridor on the *bel étage*, which in the 18th century were typically connected by double wing doors. The hall *(zaal)* as well was an important reception room and was therefore mostly rather sparsely furnished, with chairs and card tables that could be easily removed for a great dinner, a musical evening or a ball. These reception areas, where the owner of the house presented his self-image of wealth and status to friends and guests, were also important for the display of works of art, as will be shown later on.

No matter whether on the Herengracht or on the Keizersgracht, residential houses in this neighbourhood can be considered status symbols that were indispensable for a noble lifestyle, as was the luxurious furnishing of the houses, necessary for the reception of guests. This could suggest that the art collections were status symbols as well, an interpretation which in my opinion, however, is not satisfactory. The preoccupation with art and sciences was part of a noble lifestyle and in the age of the Enlightenment was considered adequate relaxation and amusement that was informative and sociable at the same time.[17]

16 This differentiation already began in the 17th century, see T. Wijsenbeek-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, P. Burke, W. Frijhoff (eds.), *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland 1500-1850. Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief.* Heerlen, 1992, p. 79-107, p. 84-86 and 91-95, and J. Loughman, J. M Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses.* Zwolle, 2001, p. 22-30.

17 M. C. Plomp, *Een voortreffelyke liefhebberye: het verzamelen van tekeningen door voorname liefhebbers in de Republiek en later het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1732–1833.* Groningen, 2002, p. 91-93.

2 / The collections

Having briefly discussed the lifestyle of Amsterdam's art collectors, the focus will now shift to the art collections. Auction sale catalogues, probate inventories, and descriptions of the owners themselves allow some interpretations and conclusions about the composition of the art collections and about changes in taste as well as about the presentation of art in the private houses of the collectors.

COMPOSITION OF THE COLLECTIONS

For the major part Amsterdam art collectors favoured paintings. Most of the collections in the period under examination consisted of paintings, often in combination with at least some drawings or prints. Generally, from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century art collections became smaller and so did the collections of paintings. Several hundreds of paintings, e.g. in the collections of Gerrit Braamcamp, Pieter Locquet, John Hope or Jan Gildemeester, are definitely attributed to the 18th century. Of course there were also collections of drawings or prints in Amsterdam, like the famous collections of Johan Goll van Franckenstein, Cornelis Ploos van Amstel or Jacob de Vos, but only a few collectors like Dionis Muilman or Anthony Rutgers abandoned paintings completely. Furthermore, Atlas collections with topographical views were very popular among the Amsterdam collectors, and e.g. Hendrik Busserus, Gerrit Lamberts or Samuel Sarphati owned – of course – an Atlas of Amsterdam. However, at the dawn of the 19th century the age of drawing and print collections with several thousands of sheets came to an end.[18] The trend of collectors to specialise, which could already be observed in the early 18th century, intensified until the middle of the 19th century.[19] Collections of sculptures, coins and medals, or even objects of natural history were rather exceptions at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century and can be attributed to pronounced private preferences of the collectors. Dirk Versteegh's (1751-1822) interest in drawings, prints and sculptures corresponds to his dilettantism and engagement at the *Stadstekenacademie*, at the Drawing Department at *Felix Meritis* and his membership of the class for *Beeldhouwkunst* of the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut*. Albert Bernard Roothaan (1783-1847) had several sculptures of his protégé Louis Royer in his collection and the natural history collection of Joan Raye von Breukelerwaart (1737-1823) might well be related to his childhood in Suriname, where his father served as governor-general.

18 Plomp says with the auction sales Goll van Franckenstein and De Vos in 1833. Plomp, *Een voortreffelyke liefhebberye*, p. 6.

19 R. Van Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen in de zeventiende eeuw', in: E. Bergvelt, D. J. Meijers & M. Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum*. Heerlen, 1993, p. 123-144, p.129-134. Plomp, *Een voortreffelyke liefhebberye*, p. 49 and 90.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries practically no paintings of foreign artists were to be found in the private collections in Amsterdam. They collected almost exclusively Dutch art, particularly from the Golden Age. Somewhat exceptional in this respect were the collections of John Hope, Hendrik van Eyl Sluyter and Josephus Augustinus Brentano at the beginning of the 19th century, with Italian masters and some years later Abraham Willet and Carel Fodor with contemporary French, Belgian and German art. Dutch masters of the Golden Age made up the canon of collecting in this period and in fact in collections of all price ranges. Only since the beginning of the 19th century the collectors began to buy contemporary works of art. The first larger quantities of contemporary paintings are to be found in the collections of members of the art society *Felix Meritis* or the *Stadstekenacademie* around 1800, like Jan Gildemeester or Jan Tersteeg jr. Access to contemporary art became easier for collectors and everybody who was interested in art. But still, the personal relation between collectors and contemporary artists, whether because of their profession or membership in a club or art society, appears to be the determining factor of buying their works in larger quantities in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Only around the middle of the 19th century collectors further specialized and collections with exclusively contemporary art evolved, again with a noticeable focus on Dutch and now Belgian artists as well. While contemporary art was increasingly collected and even mere 'modern' art collections evolved – something inconceivable during the 18th century – the share of old masters in the collections decreased. By the middle of the 19th century, there was merely a handful of private collections of old masters in Amsterdam, most of them inherited rather than collected by their owners. It is this shift from old masters towards contemporary artists that was the most important transformation in the collecting pattern of private art collectors in 19th-century Amsterdam.

The private Amsterdam art collections were generally sold (or at least taxated) after the death of their owners. The total amounts paid for the collections ranges from a couple of thousands up to a couple of hundred thousands of guilders. Until the middle of the 19th century the top price range was reserved for collections of Dutch paintings from the 17th century. The lower price segment, 10,000 guilders and less, consisted of collections of graphic art and smaller collections of contemporary Dutch painting.

Today probate inventories, travelogues as well as drawings and paintings allow us an insight into the homes of Amsterdam collectors. Through these sources, it is possible to reconstruct the furnishing and decoration of the houses as to where the art collections were located and displayed, as well as which functions the different rooms, and consequently the art collections, fulfilled. Since the end of the 18th century the movable possessions were not only listed in the probate inventories, but were also explicitly described and assessed room by room. The opulent furnishing of the canal houses made some of these dossiers to ponderous tomes describing everything, from the attic to the courtyard, that was not nailed down or explicitly given away or bequeathed. In several inventories paintings are, like furniture and the belongings of the deceased, allocated to certain rooms, while in other inventories rooms are named 'gallery' (*galerij*), 'art chamber' (*kunstkamer*) or 'paintings chamber' (*schilderijenkamer*), which makes it easy to identify the place of the collections in their owners' homes. But also the existing or non-existing furniture in a room – like art cabinets (*kunstkasten*), easels, neither beds nor cupboards and only a few chairs and small tables or, particularly in the 18th century, curiosities and sculptures – allows the conclusion that art was on show in these rooms and that they where accessible for non-family members. Special pieces of furniture were suited for the consumption of art and nearly almost to be found in collectors' homes. Easels were particularly used to view paintings at close range, art cabinets (*kunstkasten*) to keep albums (*kunstboeken*) with drawings and prints as well as collections of coins and medals or cameos and 'art tables' (*kunsttafels*) for viewing graphic art. A portrait of the collector and art broker Jan de Bosch (1737-1823) and his wife Margaretha Kroon in the art chamber of the house depicts them in a setting of specialised furniture and collectors items to underline the connoisseurship of the portrayed.

FIGURE 3 | Adriaan de Lelie, *Jan de Bosch en zijn echtgenote Margaretha Kroon*, ca. 1795, private collection | © Rijksdienst Kunsthistorische Documentatie, Den Haag

The focus of Jan de Bosch's art collection was on prints, but besides some paintings of contemporary artists he owned coins and medals, sculptures, cameo, miniatures, and laquer- and silverworks.[20] At the feet of the collector, who leans on a bust holding a book in his hand, lies a rather big album to keep prints. Some small sculptures are standing on the mantelshelf. Next to him there is an easel and in the background on the left there is a hard to see, but gorgeous art cabinet with a *Pictura* in grisaille by Jacob de Wit on the door and a relief of Apollo's head by Artus Quellenius on the ledge of the cabinet.[21]

According to his probate inventory the collection of paintings of the merchant Pieter van Winter (1745-1807) was distributed over three rooms: the upper paintings chamber, the lower paintings chamber and the small paintings cabinet as well as the hall.

20 Auction sale catalogues Jan de Bosch, 14.3.1782 anonym, Lugt 3388 and 11.4.1825, Lugt 10862.

21 This art cabinet seems to be a heirloom of the De Bosch family. For a family portrait by Tibout Regters (Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. no A23538) in 1754 the family ostentatiously assembled in front of this piece of furniture and in 1817 the cabinet appeared at the auction sale of the art collection of his brother Bernardus de Bosch. See M. D. HAGA, 'De Kunstkasten', in: Th. LAURENTIUS, J. W. NIEMEIJER & G. PLOOS VAN AMSTEL (eds.), *Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, 1726-1798. Kunstverzamelaar en prentuitgever.* Assen, 1980, p. 29-45, p. 40.

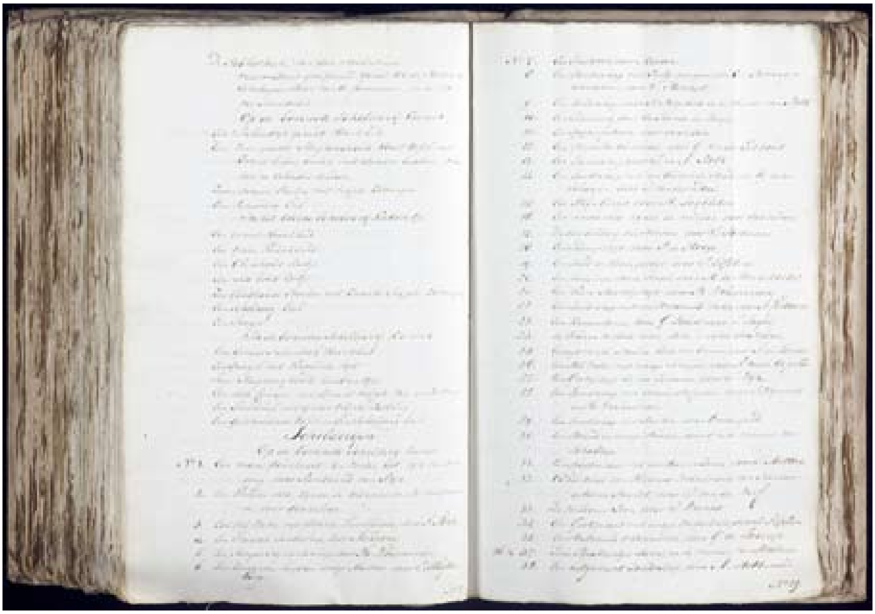

FIGURE 4 | Inventaris Pieter van Winter, notaris E.C. Bondt, inv. 18745, nr. 117, 22.3.1808 | © Stadsarchief Amsterdam

These rooms were rather sparsely furnished, each with an easel and some seating furniture and the upper paintings chamber additionally with a *"zeer groote Maghonyhoute Konsttafel met Zwart leder, onder met diverse laaden, planken en cilinder deuren"* (a very large mahonywooden art table with black leather and several drawers, and cylinder doors), and therefore definitely dedicated for the exhibition of the 166 paintings of his collection.[22] The remaining household of the house Saxenburg at Keizersgracht suggests that Pieter van Winter was an educated and widely interested merchant. Furnished with a piano and music stands, the small 'garden room' (*tuinkamer*) was apparently used as music room. Besides the library of the householder there were a globe, a telescope and three art cabinets in the 'books room' (*boekenkamer*). The 'charter room' (*charterkamer*) was furnished with a telescope and a walnut cabinet with a collection of shells as well as coins and medals. The billiard room of course had a pool table, but also framed drawings, two Chinese umbrellas, another art cabinet and a microscope, while in the 'drawing room' (*teekenkamer*) bookcases, a drawing and a printing machine were to be found. Interestingly there were no paintings in the hall (*zaal*), which might possibly be due to the fact that they were decorated with wall paintings or tapestry. Moreover the 'great inner room' *(grote binnenkamer)* with family portraits and the portraits of Mr. and Ms. van Winter, which clearly did not belong to the art collection, is suggestive of being the private living room of the family. Generally, family portraits were not

22 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary E.C. Bondt, inv. 18745, no 117, 22.3.1808, Inventaris Pieter van Winter.

part of the art collections and most of the time were bequeathed to family members after the death of the owner, preferable to the eldest son. The catholic collector Gerrit Braamcamp decorated his sleeping room with another kind of 'private' art objects, among which an ebony crucifix by Alessandro Algardi and two paintings by Gerard de Lairesse, a Holy Family and Christ on the Cross.[23]

Depending on their extent, collections of paintings were distributed either over the whole house or the most representative rooms. The collection's centrepieces were hanging in the hall (*zaal)* or in the neighbouring representative rooms of the *bel étage* accordingly.[24] At the Van Brienen's house, the most precious paintings were hanging in the red parlour (*roode salon*) and the gallery, while prints and print albums were kept in these rooms as well.[25] Both rooms were arranged as *Appartement de Parade* – named *suite* in the Netherlands – connected by a *porte-brisée* and situated at the *bel étage* of the house Herengracht 182, which solely served for representative purposes. The basic furniture of these rooms was a *"geheel verguld kamergarnituur bestaande in 5 canapés, 6 fauteuila en 14 stoelen"* (fully guilded furniture including 5 sofas, 6 armchairs and 14 chair) with a value of about 1300 guilders. Furthermore, there was a Japanese lacquer ware cabinet for curiosities with appending working table and Japanese as well as Saxon porcelain, next to carpets from Brussels, drapes and candelabra, tea tables and consoles. The value of the 57 paintings hanging in these two rooms alone was assessed at 178,305 guilders of a total of 190,506 guilders in 1855. The number of paintings suggests that they were hung at close quarters from the panelling to the ceiling, which was called the connoisseur's or gentleman's hang.[26] This was a decorative presentation rather than an art-historical hang, which supposes a certain expertise of the 'men of breeding' looking at the paintings and which was common throughout Europe until the 19th century. A French traveller and author visiting the house of the collector and banker Adriaan van der Hoop at the Keizersgracht criticised that the collection was indeed distributed over different rooms, but nevertheless hang "*sous les corniches*" [under the cornices], so that he had problems with his eyes.[27]

23 C. Bille, *Der Tempel der Kunst of het Kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp.* Amsterdam, 1961, p. 78-79.

24 This was already usual in the 17th century, see Loughman, Montias, *Public and Private Spaces,* p. 51-69. A quantitative analysis of the distribution of paintings in the home by subjects as conducted by Montias was for lack of appropriate sources not possible in this case.

25 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary Joannes Petrus van Etten, inv. 21684, nr. 279, Inventaris Arnoud Willem van Brienen, 12.12.1854-22.8.1855.

26 C. Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals. Inside Public Art Museums.* London, 1995, p. 24.

27 E. Texier, *Voyage pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique.* Paris, 1857, p. 200. Texier must have been at the house of Van der Hoop before November 1854. Van der Hoop died in 1854 and bequeathed his art collection to the city of Amsterdam. His paintings were brought over to the Museum van der Hoop in November 1854. R. Kistemaker, 'Museum Van der Hoop. Het eerste gemeentelijke museum van Amsterdam, 1855-1885', in: Bergvelt, Filedt kok & Middelkoop (eds.), *De Hollandse meesters*, p. 49-62, p. 49.

A particularly good impression of how paintings were hung, is imparted by two renowned paintings by Adriaan de Lelie (1755-1820) of the art halls (*kunstzalen*) of collectors Jan Gildemeester Jzn. (1744-1799) and Josephus Augustinus Brentano (1753-1821). In contrast to the illusionist Flemish *kunstkamer* paintings of the 16th century, these paintings are a more or less authentic reproduction, at least of the rooms and the visible part of the collections.

In 1794 Jan Gildemeester (talking to the gentleman in red) is portrayed by the then very in demand portrait-painter Adriaan de Lelie in a company of ladies and gentlemen, among whom were his art-dealer Pieter Fouquet, his protégé Adriaan de Lelie and his friend and fellow collector Bernardus de Bosch, surrounded by the treasures of his collection.

FIGURE 5 | Adriaan de Lelie, *De kunstgalerij van Jan Gildemeester Jansz in zijn huis aan de Herengracht te Amsterdam*, 1794-95 | © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

The occasion for this commission was most likely the completion of the furnishing of his house at the Herengracht 475, which Gildemeester bought in 1792.[28] The paintings cover the walls of the hall from the panelling to the ceiling and remind of a puzzle with an intent to symmetry. The view through the opened sliding door shows a wall in

28 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary Johannes Klinkhamer, inv. 16262, no 76, 21.2.-31.7.1799, Inventaris Jan Gildemeester.

the front room that was completely draped with paintings as well. The only furniture in these rooms are chairs that are lined up along the walls, an easel and stairs to view the upper row of paintings at close range. It is not unlikely that the paintings actually hung at the places where De Lelie painted them because the depicted room still exists today and details like the ceiling painting by Jacob de Wit, the Mercury medaillon above the right door and the rosettes on the doors correspond to the painting. Unfortunately the probate inventory of Gildemeester states the paintings that were found in the different rooms in sum, so De Lelie's composition cannot be verified.[29] The paintings that could be identified are a representative selection from Gildemeester's collection with some of its centrepieces by Rubens, Rembrandt, Gerard Ter Borch, and Adriaan van de Velde, then to be found in the more upmarket price segment. Further, De Lelie shows landscapes of Dirk van Bergen, Jacob Ruisdael and Meindert Hobbema, genre paintings of Gerard Dou, Gabriel Metsu, Pieter de Hooch, Jacob Ochtervelt and David Teniers.[30] Hence, the painting unites the most important fixed points in an art collector's universe at the end of the 18th century: the collection, mostly Dutch masters of the Golden Age, arranged in a representative and for guests accessible way, art-dealers and consultants, who assisted with the compilation of the collection, and last but not least, an audience.

Probably in 1798 De Lelie painted a very similar painting of the Amsterdam art collector Josephus Augustinus Brentano (1753-1821), surrounded by his family, friend artists and art-dealers in the hall of his house at the Herengracht.

This hall, the most representative room of the house, accommodated the centrepieces of his collection: Italian masters he purchased in 1798. It is most likely that the arrival and the hanging of these paintings were the occasion and the subject of this portrait commission.[31] The hall was embellished *à l'antique* according to the fashion of the late 18th century by Giambattista Maderna, who lived at Brentano's house for a while.[32] De Lelie allows a view into the hall with the walls almost completely covered with paintings. While the last ones are about to get unpacked, people are looking at the paintings and are examining them competently, the ladies are served tea and children are bored. The gathered company affirms the value of his collection as well as his recognition as a collector with their mere presence. Standing in the middle of the room, Brentano, who can easily be identified by his dense eyebrows, presents one of the new paintings to his friend and fellow collector Johannes Baptista Josephus Achtienhoven (1853/56-1801), who made bids in Brentano's name at auction sales many a time.

29 "*Op de Zaal: 56 zo groote als kleine Schilderijen met vergulde Lysten door verscheide meesters*", Ibid.
30 C. J. Bruyn De Kops, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar Jan Gildemeester Jansz', in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 13 (1965), p. 79-114, p. 82-83 and 106-107 for the identification of paintings and persons. Auction sale catalogue Gildemeester, 11.6.1800, Lugt 6102.
31 Van Eynden & Van Der Willigen, *Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst*, vol. 3, 1820, p. 70-71.
32 R. W. A. Bionda, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar J.A. Brentano (1753-1821) en de inrichting van zijn "zaal" voor Italiaanse kunst', in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 34 (1986), p. 135-176, p. 157-169.

FIGURE 6 | Adriaan de Lelie, *De kunstgalerij van Josephus Augustinus Brentano in zijn huis aan de Herengracht te Amsterdam*, ca. 1798. | © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

To all appearances Brentano had five rooms furnished for visitors that were supposed to illustrate *"den voortgang der kunst"* (the progress of art).[33] Such an arrangement according to 'schools' was rather exceptional for a private collection at Brentano's time. The tour started with contemporary Dutch paintings that were presented along with a larger-than-life portrait of the collector and patron Brentano. The following room showed *"zeer oude Schilderijen uit de Nederlandsche en Duitsche school"* (very old paintings from the Dutch and German school) that were rather rare in Amsterdam collections.[34] The following two rooms were dedicated to works of Dutch artists *"uit den besten tijd"* (from the best era), i.e. the 17th century.[35] The highlight of the tour was the hall with its Italian paintings.

Paintings and other works of art certainly stressed taste and connoisseurship of their owners and therefore were placed in the most representative rooms of the collectors' houses that were intended for the reception of guests. Drawing collections, prints, cameos or coins and medals were stored in special furniture and quite often assembled in an art chamber (*kunstkamer*), where also books, globes, scientific instruments or *naturalia* were to be found. Like a luxurious furnished canal house an art collection could emphasise the achieved status of the collector, but it could not elevate it.

33 Van Eynden & Van Der Willigen, *Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst*, vol. 3, 1820, p. 467.
34 Ibid.
35 J. Scheltema, *Alexander, Keizer van Rusland, in Holland en te Zaandam, in 1814.* Amsterdam, 1814, p. 153-169, p. 162.

As the arrangement of art collections in the houses of their owners already suggests, this was not merely to the pleasure of the owners themselves, but to some extent the collections were intended to be seen by strangers as well. Besides the usual visits of family members, friends or acquaintances, the expert audience, consisting of e.g. fellow collectors, connoisseurs and art-dealers as well as travellers from all over Europe, among them even crowned heads, were guests in the houses of the art collectors. Eventually, the publicity of a collection was highly dependant on its accessibility and on the reports of an inclined audience.

CONNOISSEURS AND TOURISTS

To travellers in Amsterdam, visiting private art collections was as compulsory as the *Rijksmuseum* today, particularly as apart from the city owned etchings and paintings at the town hall, including Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, there was no public art collection. It was only in 1808 that the *Nationale Konst Gallerij*, founded in 1798, moved from The Hague to Amsterdam. Since then tourists could choose between the national and the private collections of the city. The usual places of interest in Amsterdam were the town hall, the stock exchange, the admiralty, churches and synagogues, charitable institutions like orphanages and hospitals, the *Rasphuis* and the *Spinhuis* (jails for men and women), the society *Felix Meritis* and in the evenings the *Schouwburg* (theatre) as well as occasionally the even then infamous red light district.[36] It was also part of the culture of travelling in the 18th century to report about one's discoveries and experiences and many of the tourists from Germany, England and France did so more or less originally. Travel reports from Amsterdam always include the same names of the most 'famous' private collectors, which corresponds to notations in contemporary art handbooks. This can be ascribed to the quality of the collections on the one hand and to their accessibility on the other. Of course a report about the visit of a collection attracted subsequent travellers who intended to see the praised artwork themselves. The British author and engraver Samuel Ireland (1744-1800) closes his description of the most important cabinets in Amsterdam with the practical advice: "To these collections you will find easy admission, as a stranger and admirer of the fine arts."[37]

Access to the private homes of the collectors was granted through letters of recommendation or personal contacts that were established through business, kinship or mutual acquaintances. In 1790 Georg Forster visited, together with

36 A. Chales De Beaulieu, *Deutsche Reisende in den Niederlanden. Das Bild des Nachbarn zwischen 1648 und 1795.* Frankfurt/M., 2000, p. 77-91. K. Van Strien, *De ontdekking van de Nederlanden. Britse en Franse reizigers in Holland en Vlaanderen, 1750-1795.* Utrecht, 2001, p. 97-117.

37 S. Ireland, *A Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant, and part of France; Made in the Autumn of 1789. Illustrated with Copper Plates in Aqua Tinta from Drawings made in the Spot by Samuel Ireland, vol. 1.* London, 1790, p. 148.

Alexander von Humboldt, *Welgelegen*, the country estate and private gallery of Henry Hope.[38] Before, they had been invited for dinner at Henry Hope's Amsterdam home, where they received a *"Erlaubnißschein* [...] *einen Talisman, ohne welchen man in Holland selten ein Privathaus sehen darf".* ('permit [...], a talisman, without which one would rarely be allowed to view a private home in Holland.')[39] Forster was one of the few travellers who also described the paintings of Henry Hope, while others were more impressed by the neoclassical building and its luxurious interior with stucco marble and mosaic floors or a hermitage in the landscape garden of the estate with a hexagonal cabinet with mirrors and erotic paintings.[40] The visit of the society *Felix Meritis*, that was part of the programme of interested travellers by the end of the 18th century, was yet another option to gain access to the collectors' houses. The society was the place where artists, dilettantes, enthusiasts and collectors got together for 'art reviews' (*kunstbeschouwingen*) and drawing-lessons, which afforded a pleasurable occasion to get introduced to the collectors of the city and receive an invitation to their private homes. During his stay in Amsterdam in 1806, John Carr (1772-1832) visited among others *Felix Meritis*, 'the principal public institute', as well as the art collections of Pieter de Smeth van Alphen, Pieter van Winter and Josephus Augustinus Brentano, who were described as *'very opulent merchants'*.[41] It is quite likely that he met these collectors in the drawing hall at *Felix Meritis*, where he was looking at some works of contemporary Dutch artists he dismissed as 'not above mediocrity', and received an invitation to visit their private collections.

Later in the 19th century, it was not uncommon to purchase 'entrance cards' from a confidant of the owner, mostly experts as well as art-dealers, artists or restorers, or even being guided through the art collection by this person. Already Brentano had a certain Jan de Bruin, a painter, working for him as a sort of guide, who later was acknowledged in Brentano's will as a sign of his gratitude.[42] The painter and restorer Willem Anthonie Hopman (1829-1900) was a sort of curator of the collection Van Brienen in Amsterdam. Willem Arnold van Brienen passed away in 1854 and his son and beneficary Willem Diederik Arnold Maria van Brienen moved to Den Haag in 1858.

38 G. Forster, *Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich, im April, Mai und Junius 1790, vol. 2.* Berlin, 1793, p. 489-502.

39 Ibid., p. 489.

40 C. G. Kuetnner, *Beytraege zur Kenntniß vorzueglich des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Frankreich und Holland mit untermischten Vergleichungen verschiedener Orte und Gegenstände unter einander. Aus den Briefen eines in England wohnenden Deutschen auf seinen Reisen durch Frankreich und Holland in den Jahren 1787, 1790 und 1791.* Leipzig, 1792, p. 325. J. J. Grabner, *Ueber die vereinigten Niederlande.* Gotha, 1792, p. 292.

41 J. Carr, *A Tour through Holland along the right and left banks of the Rhine, to the south of Germany, in the summer and autumn of 1806.* London, 1807, p. 303-304.

42 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary Johan Reinier van der Gronden, inv. 19629, no 3, 4.4.1821, Testament Josephus Augustinus Brentano.

FIGURE 7 | Adriaan de Lelie, *De tekenzaal van de Maatschappij Felix Meritis te Amsterdam, met portretten van kunstenaars, verzamelaars van schilder- en tekenkunst en enkele kunstmakelaars*, 1801 | The three merchants and collectors are examining a painting on an easel in the left foreground. | © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

Nevertheless, the collection at the Herengracht could be visited on Tuesdays and Fridays under the chaperone of Hopman, who was described as *"très connaisseur en peinture et fanatique des ses maîtres hollandaise"* (a true expert in paintings with a fanaticism for Dutch masters).[43] It was necessary to purchase entrance cards beforehand from Pieter Ernst Hendrik Preatorius (1791-1876), who authorised the visit of at least three *collections principales* in Amsterdam.[44]

However, testimonies in the travel reports of the 18th century about character and motivation of the collectors have to be taken with a grain of salt. Certain details appear to have been taken over from other reports rather than seeing them with one's own eyes.[45] The Prussian envoy Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1778-1831), for instance, describes Brentano as a rather eccentric gentleman: *"Auch treiben es die anderen wohl wie eine Liebhaberey, woran sie Geld genug setzen, er aber lebt ganz darin, und hat im eigentlichen Sinn keine Gesellschaft, als seine lieben Künstler; denn*

43 T. Thoré/W. Bürger, 'Les Rembrandts des collections particulières d'Amsterdam. Galeries de M. Six van Hillegom, de M. van Loon, du Baron van Brienen', in: *L'Artiste, revue d'art contemporain*, Nouvelle Serie V, 12.9.1858, p. 17-22, p. 21.

44 T. Thorè/W. Bürger, 'Petit guide des artistes en voyage. Hollande', in: *Annuaire des artistes et des amateurs* I, 1860, p. 255.

45 A. Meier, 'Textsorten-Dialektik. Überlegungen zur Gattungsgeschichte des Reiseberichts im späten 18. Jh.', in: M. Maurer (ed.), *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung.* Berlin, 1999, p. 237-245.

er ladet keinen Menschen zu Tisch, aber er stellt ein paar von seinen Gemählden vor sich hin, und schaut sie während seiner frugalen Mahlzeit an, wie ein anderer sich am Gespräch erfreut. Er ist, nach Amsterdamer Maasstabe, der freylich sehr groß ist, nicht sehr reich, und sein Cabinet ist fürstlich; doch aber schadet es seinem Credit nicht, einmal weil Gemählde hier eben so sehr als Juwelen einen Schatz gleich barem Geld sind, und dann weil er schlechterdings keinen anderen Luxus kennt." (The others also carry on as though it were some sort of pastime, something they'd put enough money into; he, though, lives entirely within; strictly speaking, he doesn't keep any company other than that of his beloved artists, for he invites nobody to dinner, but instead sits alone before one or two of his paintings, looking upon them during his frugal meal, such as another would delight in conversation. By Amsterdam standards - and they are exceedingly liberal - he is not very rich, though his cabinet is princely; all the same, however, it does no harm whatever to his credit, since, on the one hand, paintings are just as valued a treasure here as jewels and, on the other, because it is quite simply the only luxury he knows.)[46] The ostentation of wealth, also in the form of an art collection, appears to require some sort of balance or even a justification, which Niebuhr finds in Brentano's otherwise simple life. Wealth obliges and the mere indulgence of wealth was considered unseemly, because in terms of the Enlightenment there was no benefit for the common welfare and especially the prosperous was obliged to contribute his share to the collective good.[47] Furthermore, among travellers from abroad the notion was prevalent that the Dutch built up their collections for representative purposes only, or rather were driven by the *"Begierde sich Bekanntschaft und Besuche zu verschaffen"* (Desire to gain acquaintances and callers) and actually had no appreciation of art.[48] However, to deny the collectors' expertise, taste, and their appreciation of art appears to be a prejudice against the wealthy Dutch merchant-collectors and a recurrent topos in travel reports of the 18th century.

As a matter of course it is undeniable that visitors aggrandised the reputation of a collection, especially if it were aristocrats and crowned heads from all over Europe. They most certainly would not have visited bourgeois private homes if there would not have been outstanding pieces of art to admire. The *Maandelijkse Nederlandsche Mercurius* tells us about the aristocratic guests at the home of Gerrit Braamcamp: in 1762 the princes of Nassau-Weilburg and Hessen-Kassel, in 1768 Christian VII.

46 B. G. Niebuhr, *Nachgelassene Schriften nichtphilologischen Inhalts.* Hamburg, 1842, p. 292-293.

47 M. Frey, *Macht und Moral des Schenkens. Staat und bürgerliche Mäzene vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* Berlin, 1999, p. 36-37. Brentano disposed by will and testament that all his possessions, including the art collection, should be sold, to found a home for aged single, catholic men. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary Johan Reinier van der Gronden, 27.1.1811, inv. 19623, no 76, 27.2.1811 and inv. 19629, no 23, 4.4.1821 Testaments Josephus Augustinus Brentano.

48 G.-F. Coyer, *Reise nach Italien und Holland.* Nürnberg, 1776, p. 497.

King of Denmark and in the same year the governor Willem V., accompanied by his wife, who himself began to build up a collection of paintings.[49] The exceptionally revering visit of the Russian tsar Alexander I in the summer of 1814 in the house of Brentano was captured on canvas by Jan Kamphuijsen.

FIGURE 8 | Jan Kamphuijsen, *Het bezoek van Alexander I aan de verzameling Brentano*, 1814 | Foto: Peter Lowie[50] | © Stichting Brentano, Amstelveen

The painting shows Brentano on the stairs in front of his house with Alexander I and the 'sovereign prince' Willem I flanking him while a jubilant crowd gathered on the street. The visit of the tsar in Amsterdam is conveyed in detail: the director Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844) led Alexander I accompanied by Willem I and his two sons through the *Koninklijk Museum* (today *Rijksmuseum*), which at that time was housed in the town hall. Then, the banker (not yet collector) Adriaan van der Hoop showed the Amsterdam Stock Exchange to the tsar and further he visited the society *Felix Meritis* and the private collections of Van Winter and Brentano.[51]

49 *Maandelijkse Nederlandsche Mercurius*, Voor de Maand December 1762, p. 226-227. *Maandelijkse Nederlandsche Mercurius*, Voor de Maand July 1768, p. 15. 'Vervolg van het Dagverhaal der Reize van zyne Doorl. Hoogh. Prins Willem V enz. enz. enz. en Mevrouwe Hoogstdesselfs Gemalinne Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, Princes van Pruissen enz.', in: *Maandelijkse Nederlandsche Mercurius*, Voor de Maand Oktober 1768, p. 131-133, p. 131. B. Brenninkmeyer De Rooij, 'De schilderijengalerij van Prins Willem V op het Buitenhof te Den Haag', in: *Antiek* 11 (1976-77), p. 138-160.

50 I would like to thank Peter Lowie for his helpfulness and generosity to provide a photograph of Jan Kamphuijsen's *Het bezoek van Alexander I aan de verzameling Brentano* (1814)

51 Scheltem, *Alexander, Keizer van Rusland*, p. 154.

Of course connoisseurs, art-dealers and other 'experts' were among the visitors of private art collections as well. Before the age of photography, they were on the one hand keen to see the artwork that they knew from descriptions or reproductions with their own eyes. On the other hand, they might have been willing to purchase new works. Taking a look at the list of artists and collectors that Karl Heinrich von Heinecken (1707-1791), private secretary of the count of Brühl and since 1746 director of the Dresden picture gallery, met during his stay in Holland in autumn 1768, it appears to be a business trip rather than a holiday. Besides some places of interest whereof he paid particular attention to the town hall with Rembrandt's Night Watch and the print collection, he visited twelve artists and eighteen collectors in Amsterdam alone, such as the private collections of Braamcamp, Ploos van Amstel, Locquet, Lublink, Van de Velde, Doekscheer, Calkoen, Muilman, Busserus, Maarseveen, Mettayer, De Bosch, and Goll van Franckenstein.[52] So did the Scottish connoisseur and collector Sir John Murray (1768-1827), who stayed in Holland in 1819. His journey was almost completely dedicated to art and besides the *'s Rijks Museum* and the *Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen* in The Hague he visited a good dozen of private art collections, numerous artists in their studios and workshops as well as the Amsterdam art-dealers Cornelis Sebille Roos and Albertus Brondgeest. Apparently it was not always easy to gain access to the private homes. Murray tells us: "... as the pictures were our chief object, we applied for permission to enter every house that contained any; but when the owners were not inclined to dispose of them, it often required a great deal of perseverance on our part to gain admittance".[53]

In the 18th century the private art collections where a kind of semi-public substitute for public art collections – at least for upper class visitors with a letter of recommendation. Over the course of the 19th century, the private collections formed an important supplement to the *Rijksmuseum*, since they owned masterpieces the national museum of the Netherlands with its very poor budget could only dream off.[54]

ART REVIEWS

While the paintings of a collection could be presented and viewed rather easily, the display of sensitive drawings and prints proved to be more complicated. Particularly for the owners of collections of graphic arts, 'art reviews' (*kunstbeschouwingen*) offered an important opportunity to present their treasures: collectors, connoisseurs and occasionally invited guests got together to view and discuss drawings or prints and talk about arts in general while they were served some refreshments. A drawing by De Lelie conveys an impression of an art review at Brentano's home.

52 K. H. Von Heinecken, *Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunstsachen, vol. 2.* Leipzig, 1769, p. 47-48.

53 Cited after A. Staring, 'Een Schotsch verzamelaar en de Nederlandsche kunst', in: *Oud Holland* 42 (1925), p. 97-108, p. 97.

54 E. Bergvelt, *Pantheon der Gouden Eeuw. Van Nationale Konst-Gallerij tot Rijksmuseum van Schilderijen (1798-1896).* Zwolle, 1998, p. 126-129, 158-159.

FIGURE 9 | Adriaan de Lelie, *Een kunstbeschouwing in het huis van J.A. Brentano*, ca. 1812 | © Stadsarchief Amsterdam

The sociability of such an art review must not be underestimated. The householder and proud owner Brentano is sitting at the furnace smoking a *Goudse Pijp* and watching the gentlemen who lean over the albums with drawings or prints, while a servant serves a glass of wine. This art review presumably took place in the 'downstairs sideroom' (*beneden zijkamer)* next to his 'office' (*comptoir*) on the ground floor, which was arranged as 'art chamber' and equipped with '*kunsttafels'* (art tables) and an art cabinet "*dienende ter berging van groote kunstboeken en omslagen*" (for prints and drawings), while the notary also mentions tobacco boxes, a tea set and a small table bell to ring for the servant.[55]

Apart from the aesthetic enjoyment and the social character of these gatherings, art reviews were the occasion to exercise and pass on one's judgement and connoisseurship. In the foreword of the auction sale catalogue of the collection of his friend Antoni Rutgers (1695-1778), Ploos van Amstel wrote: *"De beschouwing van welke* [collection Rutgers] *my menigmaal, in`t aangenaam gezelschap van veelen zyner brave Kunstvrienden in myne uuren van uitspanning tot vermaak en verwondering gestrekt, en gelegenheid tot het aanhoren van vele nuttige Lessen en aanmerkingen gegeven heeft"* (The contemplation of which, in the presence of many kind-hearted friends of the Arts, has often provided entertainment and wonderment, as well as

55 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary Johan Reinier van der Gronden, inv. 19629, no 28, 25.4.1821, Inventaris Josephus Augustinus Brentano.

an opportunity to listen to many useful Lessons and observations).[56]

About the banker and collector Goll van Franckenstein (1722-1785) it is conveyed that he welcomed art reviews in his house on every Tuesday night during the winter months – as the upper class generally spent the summers at their country estates. This event was open to travellers and foreigners too. The German traveller Heinrich Sander gives an impression of one of those evenings in the year 1776: *"Der Besitzer ist ein reicher Kaufmann der schon lange Zeichnungen von alten und neuen Meistern sammelt. Kupferstiche mag er nicht, weil das nämliche Blatt auch 100. andre haben können. Er hat sie in Portefeuillen, in jeder sticht besonders ein Meister hervor. Alle diese Folianten liegen in einem Schranke, und in dessen Mitte sind noch einige Schubladen voll auserlesener Naturalien. Um auch andre an diesen grossen Schätzen Theil nehmen zu lassen, ist alle Dienstage Abends Gesellschaft bei ihm. Man setzt sich an eine grosse Tafel und sieht ein Portefeuille durch. Die Stücke gehen aus einer Hand in die andere, und unten wieder in die Portefeuille zurück. In der, die heute vorgezeigt wurde, brillirte Aldert von Everdingen, ein, besonders in Landschaften, sehr glücklicher Maler. [...] Man sah noch viele andre seltene Stücke, und as auch da zur Nacht*."[57] (The owner is a wealthy merchant, who has collected the drawings of old and new masters for a long time. He doesn't think a great deal of copperplates, simply because hundreds of others could own exactly the same sheet. He keeps them in portfolios; one master in particular stands out in each. These tomes are stored within an armoire in the centre of which there are a number of drawers, filled with exquisite natural artefacts. So that others may partake of these great treasures, he hosts a gathering of fellows every Tuesday. All are seated at a large table and view the contents of one portfolio. The pieces pass from one hand to the next, before being returned back into the portfolio. Aldert von Everdingen shone forth from the portfolio on display today, an enormously blessed painter, especially in landscapes. [...] Those gathered beheld many other rare pieces and then ate there as the night descended.) His son and beneficary Joan Goll van Franckenstein jr. (1756-1821), banker and art collector as well, continued with this tradition over many years as a drawing by Christiaan Andriessen shows.[58]

56 Auction sale catalogue Antoni Rutgers, 1.12.1778, Lugt 2920, Preface.

57 Sander, *Beschreibung seiner Reisen*, p. 566-567.

58 J. Knoef, 'De verzamelaars Goll van Franckenstein', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2 (1948/49) , p. 268-286, p. 278.

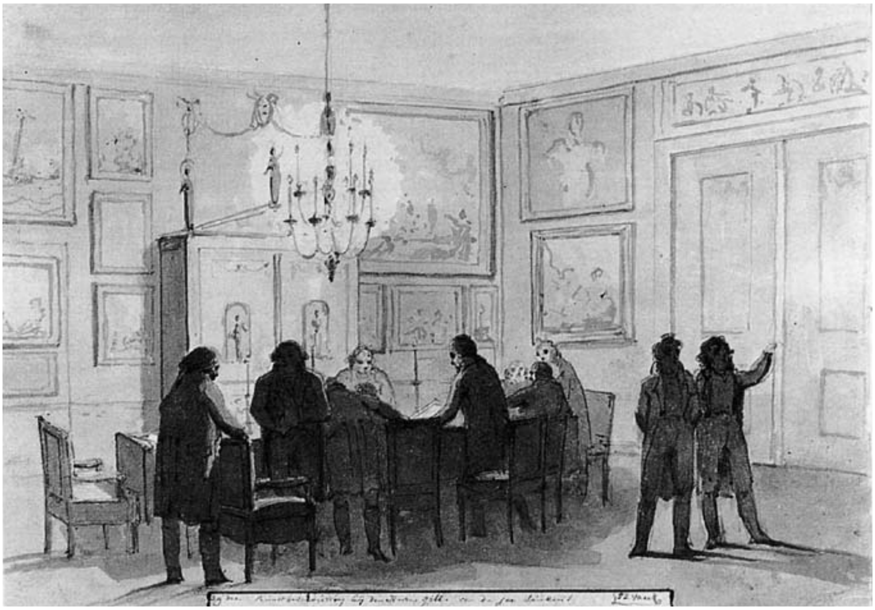

FIGURE 10 | Christiaan Andriessen, *Kunstbeschouwing bij den Heere Goll*, 1808, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, SA 14 225 | ©Amsterdams Historisch Museum

According to Andriessen the gentlemen gathering around a large table are viewing works by Jan Luyken and two other gentlemen are looking at the paintings of the Goll collection, which cover the walls of the room. The art cabinet in the background abundantly decorated might well be the one Heinrich Sander mentioned in his report.

Apart from these rather open evenings there were numerous private societies that gathered for art reviews on a regular basis in closed circles. The best known and most exclusive connoisseur's club of this kind was *Arte et Amicitia*, which was founded in the second half of the 18th century and consisted of 12 handpicked members at the most, who committed themselves to the promotion and if necessary to the conservation of the arts.[59] Until the middle of the 19th century, among the members were the art-dealers Jeronimo de Vries, Albertus Brondgeest and Cornelis François Roos, the collectors Ploos van Amstel, Jacob Mendes de Leon, Johann Goll van Franckenstein, Jacob de Vos, Evert de Burlett jr., Carel Joseph Fodor, Gerrit Lamberts, and the director of the *Rijksmuseum* Cornelis Apostool. Meetings took place every fortnight on a Friday at the house of one member. The host presented pieces from his collection, which were viewed and discussed while

59 W. Loos, 'De "Kunst-Krans" (1881-1904). Het vriendenalbum van het Amsterdamse Kunstgezelschap Arte et Amicitia', in: *De Negentiende Eeuw* 10 (1986), p. 1-41, p. 1-4. R.-J. te Rijdt, 'Collective Enjoyment', p. 38-45, on: www.verenigingrembrandt.nl/upload/workdocuments/documents/tefaf09_intro_038-45.pdf (visited on 8th of july 2010).

having a glass of wine and smoking a good cigar. Later on, the evening ended with a "*gezellige boterham*" ('cozy sandwich').[60]
Furthermore, since the end of the 18th century there were plenty of opportunities for the collectors to present their collections outside of their homes. The art societies *Felix Meritis*, *Concordia et Libertate*, or in the 19th century the artist association *Arti et Amicitiae*, where most of the collectors under examination were members, organised regular art reviews. Next to works of artist-members, sheets from private collections were always welcomed. Because of this, the audience was significantly widened and the proud owners could prove their connoisseurship. What would taste and expertise count if no one would recognise it in the end? However, these were semi-public events that no longer took place in the private homes of the collectors, but in closed circles of societies with definitely restricted membership policies.[61] The subjects discussed during these art reviews in the different societies deserve independent examination.

Art reviews were a welcome occasion for the collectors to present their treasures and their knowledge of art. These art reviews, at the collector's home or at one of the art societies, required a certain knowledge, which no one who only bought art as an investment or to decorate a house properly possessed. The social aspect of these meetings was at least as important as the aspect of education and the enjoyment of art.

4 / The (public) end (of the collections)

As we have seen, a certain wealth required a certain lifestyle. But it would be too narrowly considered to simply put the art collections on par with status symbols like a luxuriously furnished grand town house or country estate, carriages, horses and servants. Of course, it was about representation, but the distinguished lifestyle of the Amsterdam upper class to which most of the collectors belonged, required education as well as taste, preferably expressed by a certain knowledge of the fine arts. Generally, the art collections were placed in the most representative rooms of the collectors houses that were intended for the reception of guests and accessible to friends, connoisseurs and other visitors. To quote Kant: *"Nur in der Gesellschaft wird es interessant, Geschmack zu haben..."* (Only in society it is interesting to have taste...)[62].

60 R. J. Kijzer, *Het ontstaan der Vereeniging 'Rembrandt'*. Amsterdam, 1883, bijlage I, p. 10-12.

61 Apart from the strict system of ballotage at Felix Meritis, the second treshold was a financial one: to pay the admission fee of 150 guilders was nearly impossible for most of the Amsterdammers, even with a middle class income of f300-600 a year. Also women and jews were not allowed as members. See https://stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl/archieven/archiefbank/overzicht/59.nl.html#idc_4xoB5 (visited on 2nd of august 2009).

62 I. Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft. Mit einer Einleitung und Bibliographie herausgegeben von Heiner F. Klemme*. Hamburg, 2001, p. 50.

During the lifetime of their owners, the private Amsterdam art collections led a semi-public life for a more or less closed circle of connoisseurs and visitors. Generally, this changed for a while with the death of the collectors, when in most cases the collections were sold at public auction. For a few days, during the *kijkdagen* (viewing day) before an auction, everybody who was interested had the possibility to catch a glimpse of these private treasures. Only two of the Amsterdam collectors in the period under examination, Adriaan van der Hoop and Carel Joseph Fodor, donated their extraordinary important collections of paintings to the city of Amsterdam – to found museums open to the public on a regular basis.[63]

Cornelia Fanslau is born in 1975 in Berlin. She studied History, Art History and Political Sciences at the Humboldt University Berlin and the University of Amsterdam. Currently she is conducting Ph.D. research on private Amsterdam art collections in the 18th and 19th century, supervised by Prof. Dr. Michael North and Dr. Ellinoor Bergvelt. She works as a freelance (art) historian in Berlin.

63 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen, notary Hendrik Joannes Weijland, inv. 20974, no 110, 22.11.1847, Testament Adriaan van der Hoop and notary F.W.Fabius, inv. 21117, no 13, 30.1.1860, Testament Carel Joseph Fodor.

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Part four

Hybrids, Grey Zones, and Phantasms

4.1

A Daily Display of Luxury? The Dining Table of King Leopold II of Belgium, 1865-1909

DANIËLLE DE VOOGHT

FIGURE 1 | Additions to the Coquilles service, ca 1870 | Foto Hugo Maertens, Brugge.[1] | © Koninklijke Verzameling, Brussel

Whenever feasts and dinner parties organised by kings and queens come up in a conversation today, people inevitably wonder about the exuberance and lavishness of these occasions. As much is true for the Belgian royal court. The very fact that, for example, at the Brussels royal palace, the silverware and cutlery are stored in a room that has several floors, strikes people's imagination.

If there is little doubt about the lush character of a formal or official dinner, lunch, ball or other public occasion, we hardly know about the food that was served daily to the 19th-century royals. Did the king's day-after-day dining table also display these characteristics of lavishness and exuberance? Can the food that was daily served at the 19th-century Belgian royal court be described as abundant and luxurious? And what precisely constituted luxury food?

1 W. Nuys, *Koninklijk zilver voor volk en vorst*. Antwerpen & Deurne, Provinciaal Museum Sterckshof-Zilvercentrum, 2001, p. 29-30 and p.170. King Leopold II enlarged his father's service on several occasions, because he did not want the different sets of service to be mixed. In 1874, for example, the *argenterie* placed an order for twelve dozen plates, 24 salt spoons, 120 dessert spoons, 132 dessert forks and 240 dessert knives.

1 / Luxurious Food?

This chapter contributes to the knowledge of the everyday food of rich people, rather than having the ambition of participating in the debate about the (problematic) definition of luxury, because such lies beyond its scope. Moreover, several authors have largely devoted attention to this.[2] However, some characteristics of the concept need to be mentioned here.

In the early 18th century, the luxury debate was actually a moral debate. Luxury was equated with immorality, since it applied to all that was not directly essential.[3] As put by Reinhold Reith, the ever growing consumerism in the 18th and especially the 19th century, induced a predicament, because, on the one hand, people should be consumers and consumption should even be regarded as vitally important. On the other hand, however, all that is consumed is not equally indispensable.[4] This view changed over the course of the 18th century and by the beginning of the 19th century, the luxury debate was detached from the moral framework and it became ever more associated with economic issues.[5] As society became ever more profit-oriented, luxury was even presented as "public sociability and as economic benefit."[6]

Nonetheless, since luxury would always be defined as that which is not entirely necessary, this definition too, changed over time and even place. It became clear that necessities were always related to their social, cultural, geographical and historical context.[7] According to Christopher Berry in his *The idea of luxury*, people's desire for luxury goods is indeed dynamic: if too many people obtain the good, possessing or using it is no longer a luxury.[8] At first, a quantitative increase in obtaining a certain good makes for it to become luxurious. However, quantitative growth is limited. Therefore, the desire for a luxury good soon becomes an aspiration for more refined products, which means a qualitative intensification is needed. Moreover, it must be believed that possession or usage of that good would provide pleasure. Simply put, a luxury is something that would be nice to have, while, at the same time, not having it would cause no particular pain.

2 See for example: C.J. Berry, *The idea of luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994; W. Sombart, *Luxus und Kapitalismus*. München & Leipzig, Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1922, p. 71-77; U. Wyrwa, 'Luxus und Konsum. Begriffsgeschichtliche Aspekte', in: R. Reith & T. Meyer (eds.), *"Luxus und Konsum" - eine historische Annäherung*. Münster, Waxmann, 2003, p. 47-60.

3 M. Berg & H. Clifford, 'Introduction', in: M. Berg & H. Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 3.

4 R. Reith, 'Einleitung. Luxus und Konsum - eine historische Annäherung', in R. Reith & T. Meyer (eds.), *"Luxus und Konsum" - eine historische Annäherung*. Münster, Waxmann, 2003, p. 9-10.

5 Berg & Clifford, 'Introduction', p. 3.

6 Berg & Clifford, 'Introduction', p. 4.

7 Reith, 'Einleitung', p. 10.

8 Berry, *The idea of luxury*, p. 11-13.

Accordingly, the 'demonstration' effect of consumption should also be acknowledged.[9] What the Norwegian-American sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen called 'conspicuous consumption' entails that the satisfaction from consuming may lie in the audience's reaction. From the consumer's perspective this consumption is instrumental. It is necessary to preserve that presumed perception and social status, because it is actually what status is all about, according to a more or less biological point of view.[10] Culture, however, makes the concept of status more complex and ambiguous, since "cultural prescriptions structure the status quest and formation of rank orders by channeling, reducing, accentuating, or preventing competition, and by institutionalizing status competition."[11] Pursuing status - or prestige, social ranking, or symbolic capital, as it has been labelled by Weber, Bourdieu and others - "serves to increase access to a wide range of resources."[12] Consequently, the motivation for luxury is sustaining social perception, and even power.

The characteristics of luxury can be applied perfectly fine when examining food. Food is one of the most basic, yet essential parts of life.[13] Food is about physical fulfilment, but it is also (perhaps even more in some circles) about social demarcation, identity, hierarchy, and power. These attributes of food consumption fit entirely with the idea that motivation for luxury can be the installation or preservation of social status. Additionally, food may become luxurious in different ways: through a quantitative increase (think about the Romans who got sick during their meal to be able to eat anew), but also, and more often, through refinement, while the lesser refined good would fulfil the physical need just as well (eating potatoes *au gratin*, instead of regular boiled potatoes, for example).

Are these statements also applicable to the food that was daily served at the court of Leopold II, the second king of the Belgians, who reigned between 1865 and 1909? This chapter will take a closer look at menu cards and dinner guest lists of the month of December 1869 (which is a randomly chosen month and year[14]), trying to gain a first insight into whether this food can indeed be called luxurious.

9 Berg & Clifford, 'Introduction', p. 8.

10 P. Wiessner, 'Introduction. Food, Status, Culture, and Nature', in: P. Wiessner & W. Schiefenhövel (eds.), *Food and the Status Quest. An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Providence & Oxford, Berghahn Books, 1996, p. 1.

11 P. Wiessner, 'Introduction', p. 3.

12 P. Wiessner, 'Introduction', p. 4.

13 W. Belasco, 'Food Matters. Perspectives on an Emerging Field', in: W. Belasco & P. Scranton (eds.), *Food Nations. Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*. New York & London, Routledge, 2002, p. 2.

14 One might wonder whether the food that is served in December can be called representative for the king's daily food, since it is a month in which several holidays (Christmas Eve, Christmas and New Year's Eve) take place. However, a first scan of the menus clearly revealed that these occasions did not call for a meal that differed from the food served in other months or on other occasions.

The Belgian Royal Archives in Brussels consist of documents related to the activities of the different departments and bureaus of the Royal Palace.[15] Documents go back to July 21, 1831, the day Prince Leopold von Saksen-Coburg took the oath as the first Belgian king. The department of the lord chamberlain[16] started keeping track of dinner guests since the very origin of the Belgian monarchy. There are two kinds of guest lists: one is chronologically arranged, and the other is alphabetically sorted. Generally, they contain the same information: who was invited for dinner (or lunch) and when? My sole attention here, however, will be devoted to the menus that are kept in the Archives of the department of the king's civil list. Unfortunately, the menus were not conserved for consecutive years, as is the case with the dinner guest lists. Leopold I's period of government did not leave any trace of menus, while for only eleven (random) years of the reign of Leopold II, menus were kept. However, these provide for a range of very rich information. On the front page of each folio – a folio consists of four pages – several menus are written. Depending on the year, these are the (lunch and dinner) menus of the king and queen, of the marshals and lord chamberlain, and of the court personnel. On the inside of the folio, an inventory of all meals of the day is made: how many people had breakfast, how many people had lunch, and how many people had dinner, and whether these people were part of the king's family and retinue or 'simply' court personnel. Moreover, for some years, all consumed bottles of wine and other drinks are listed, while the price per bottle is mentioned (as well as the total amount spent on drinks).[17]

2 / Coding Menus[18]

In order to determine whether the food that was served at the court indeed acted as a measure of luxury, these eating habits should be looked at more closely. In the past, analysing food consumption was often based on counting calories and other nutrients, putting together large databases containing both wholesale and retail prices of several foodstuffs, or comparing food consumption of different families based on their household accounts, considering "(food) consumption,

15 G. Janssens, *Overzicht van de archieven en documentaire verzamelingen bewaard in het Archief van het Koninklijk Paleis*. Brussel, Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2005, p. 11-20.

16 *La Maison du Roi* consists of four departments. Every department plays its part in assisting the king. *Le Cabinet du Roi* is occupied with the social and political life in Belgium and organizes meetings with the government. The Military Office takes care of the security of the royal family and advices the king on cases concerning defense strategies. *La Liste Civil* is responsible for finances at the court and the Department of the Royal Chamberlain, finally, is occupied with the public appearance of the king and his family. For more information on this topic: A. Molitor, *La fonction royale en Belgique*. Bruxelles, CRISP, 1994; G. Janssens, 'De koningen der Belgen. Inzet voor vrede en evenwicht in eigen land en in Europa', in: A. Molitor, G. Janssens, M. Vermeire e.a., *Koninklijk Paleis Brussel*. Brussel, Ludion nv Cultura Nostra, 1993, p. 24-57.

17 D. De Vooght, 'Culinary networks of power. Dining with King Leopold II of Belgium (1865-1909)', *Food & History*, 4 (2006), p. 85-104.

18 Part of the information is based on D. De Vooght, *Display at the dining table? Culinary networks of power at the Belgian royal court of the nineteenth century*. Vrije Universiteit Brussel (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), 2010.

(un)employment and survival strategies."[19] These analyses showed (among other things) that, in the 19th century, a large part of the population survived on an unbalanced diet (mostly due to a lack of proteins), that prices were prone to crop failures and other crises, that food prices revealed extreme differences between varying foodstuffs, and that the share of food in household budgets was inversely proportional to a family's income. From these inquiries, it also became clear that, by the end of the 19th century, the situation had improved for the most part.

However, the interest of food historians changed in the last quarter of the 20th century, gaining attention for notions like identity and status. Consumption patterns of different segments of the population were compared, looking for markers of distinction. These did not necessarily have to be expensive foodstuffs, but could as well be new, exotic or rare edibles or drinks (although, one should note that this often means that prices are high too), or they might have entailed a state-of-the-art way of preparing these ingredients.

Foodways of the rich and wealthy as such were also investigated, always looking for the innovative, distinctive elements in their meals. Notwithstanding the fact that these examinations' goal is always to look for the creation of identity and the demarcation of power through food, they often turn out to be a quantification of the cost and lavishness of such a meal, deriving factors of significance from these findings.

It is understandable that scholars often turn back to quantifying food consumption, even though they are not really interested in these numbers as such. This way, they can get a grip on a meal, something that is basically set up of qualitative characteristics, like the way potatoes are prepared or the kind of sauce that accompanies a particular kind of meat. Nonetheless, it might be interesting to include these qualitative features in an analysis of eating habits. Qualitative analysis provides a way to do this: "By the term *qualitative research* we mean any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. (...) Some of the data may be quantified (...) but the analysis itself is a qualitative one."[20] According to Strauss and Corbin, there are several valid reasons to perform a qualitative analysis, one of them being that "qualitative methods can give the intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods."[21] This actually applies to this chapter. Although the foodways of the rich and wealthy have made up the subject of many a food study, these are often investigated in comparison with the eating habits of the less

19 P. Van Den Eeckhout & P. Scholliers, 'Social history in Belgium: old habits and new perspectives', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, 23 (1997), p. 178.

20 A. Strauss & J. Corbin, *Basics of qualitative research. Grounded theory, procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, Sage Publications Inc., 1990, p. 17.

21 A. Strauss & J. Corbin, *Basics of qualitative research.*, p. 19.

fortunate. If not, the inquiries are often confined to an analysis of the exuberant meals that are served during banquets and feasts.

It seems quite obvious that one should look for subtle distinctions between royal meals, since they will all be rich and affluent in comparison with, for example, the working man's diet in the same era. But is this really the case? And if so, to what extent? Therefore, a qualitative analysis that looks for delicate features is probably the most appropriate research method, since it "mandates close attention to historical detail in the effort to construct new understandings of culturally or historically significant phenomena," and it may provide "material for advancing theoretical ideas."[22]

In order to analyse the meals that were served at the Belgian royal court, a qualitative analysis will be used, that, however, intensely applies figures. Each meal will be coded. The first codification is based on counting the different dishes that were served during a meal. The following concepts are used: the total number of dishes per meal, the number of dessert dishes, the number of meat dishes, the number of different kinds of drinks, and whether the meal was served for lunch or for dinner. Although one might consider the choice of these criteria as a subjective one, it is actually based on the findings of several authors,[23] and the criteria can be regarded as significant as far as the analysis of a meal is concerned. Moreover, they were also derived from the findings that emerged from a first scanning of the menus, which is actually the first phase within a qualitative analysis.

Several authors, the most important probably being Jean-Louis Flandrin, have already shown that, in the 19th century, a higher number of dishes signifies a more fancy meal.[24] However, this changed towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when Escoffier's cuisine became the norm. Nonetheless, since the codification will take these changes into account, the number of dishes remains a trustworthy criterion. How this will be done, will be explained further on.

22 C.C. Ragin, *Constructing social research. The unity and diversity of method*. London & New Delhi, Pine Forge Press, 1994, p. 84.

23 See for example: J.-P. Aron, *Le mangeur du XIXe siècle*. Paris, Editions Payot, 1989; J.-L. Flandrin, *L'ordre des mets*. Paris, Odile Jacob, 2002; J.-L. Flandrin & M. Montanari (eds.), *Histoire de l'alimentation*. Paris, Fayard, 1996; P. Scholliers, *Arm en rijk aan tafel. Tweehonderd jaar eetcultuur in België*. Berchem & Brussel, EPO-BRTN, 1993; P. Scholliers, *Food culture in Belgium*. Westport & London, Greenwood Press, 2009; Y. Segers, *Economische groei en levensstandaard. Particuliere consumptie en voedselverbruik in België, 1800-1913*. Leuven, Universitaire Pers, 2003.

24 One should not forget, however, that, in this case, the *service à la russe* is already the common way of serving meals. This means that the individual dishes are brought to the table sequentially. This in contrast to the *service à la française*, which used to be the norm, and in which all the food is put on display at once, making for the guests to eat only what was within their reach. Usually, more dishes were prepared for a meal *service à la française*. However, such meals will not be taken into account in this analysis.

Why look at the number of meat dishes and the number of dessert courses, and not, for example, at the number of vegetables that was served? Again, this choice was made based on the work of several scholars of the history of food. Meat was pricey, and the best quality was extremely expensive, and therefore only affordable to a small part of the population. Desserts were prepared using costly, sometimes exotic, ingredients like sugar, chocolate, liquor or fruit, and they were carefully prepared by well-paid patissiers. Possibly also because of their frivolity, which most people could not afford, desserts were indeed an essential feature of a fancy meal in the 19th century.[25] Although vegetables were never absent from a meal, they long remained only a kind of decoration, something that accompanied the main roast or other dish. Therefore, this part of the meal does not account for a good criterion when coding a meal.

Drinks have to be part of the analysis too, since it is not only food that makes a meal. However, it is not only the presence or absence of wine that should be taken into account, since other alcoholic beverages and, not to be forgotten, bottled water were also an indication of wealth. Consequently, the number of different drinks that was served during a meal will be a concept of codification.

Finally, a meal will be classified as lunch or as dinner. Since dinner became the most important meal of the day during the 19th century, a meal that was served during dinner will be appreciated as more important than a meal served during lunch.

After coding every meal according to these five criteria, the data were 'coded-on'. The mean of each of the five criteria presented above will be calculated. Based on the mean and standard deviation, each of the five criteria will be subdivided in two or three categories. When applied to, for example, the total number of dishes per meal, the categorization will look as follows. The first category will hold those meals that have a number of courses that is lower than the number that is the outcome of the subtraction of the standard deviation from the mean. Consequently, this category will hold those meals with a 'low' number of courses. The third category will hold those meals that have a number of courses that is higher than the number that is the outcome of the sum of the mean and the standard deviation. Hence, these would be the meals with a 'high' number of courses. The second category, finally, will hold those meals with a number of courses that lies between the first and third category. The same calculations will provide for categories within the concepts of the number of desserts, the number of meat dishes, the number of different drinks and whether the meal was served at lunch or at dinner.

25 D. De Vooght, 'Wie rijk is krijgt lekkers? De 'zoete hiërarchie' van hofdesserts in de negentiende eeuw', in: D. De Vooght, S. Onghena & P. Scholliers (eds.), *Van Pièce Montée tot Pêche Melba: een geschiedenis van het betere nagerecht*. Brussel, VUBPress, 2008, p. 33-39.

Since the categorization is based on the mean and standard deviation, and thus might alter when applying this kind of analysis to data from several years, the changing ideas about what constituted a fancy meal over the course of the 19th century can be taken into account.[26] For example, if a lower number of dishes per meal became more fashionable by the end of the 19th century, this can be taken into account when coding the meals, making sure that not all meals would end up in the first category, because their number of courses is significantly lower than thirty years earlier. Moreover, by comparing the means over the years, it might be possible to confirm or counter the notion that the makeup of fashionable meals evolved in the course of the 19th century.

Finally, a third step in the coding of the meals is called for, since, after the first two steps, the data still are not really manageable for an in-depth analysis. A codification should make it possible to put every meal in just one category, going from an 'ordinary meal' to a 'very luxurious meal'. Since the second classification was based on a calculation derived from the mean and the standard deviation, the outcome of this totalling up can be regarded as some kind of 'score', it is not a mere 'empty' classification. When adding up these scores, each one of them having the same 'weight', five new categories will emerge, ranking each meal in only one category.

The outcome of this codification reveals several aspects about food at the Belgian royal court. The question that will be dealt with in this chapter is whether the category of 'very luxurious meals' prevailed daily at the court or not. When combined with the data retrieved from the dinner guest lists, it will become even more interesting, since this will demonstrate whether all guests were welcomed by being served a similar kind of meal or not, and whether, and to what extent, the king and queen ate more fancy food than their staff did. When applied to the meals that were served during the month of December 1869, what results does this analysis yield?

26 In my Ph.D. research, I compared the menus of several years during the reign of Leopod II. Hence, I will take advantage of this characteristic of coding. D. De Vooght, *Display at the dining table?*.

As already mentioned, the menu cards of different diners were kept at the Royal Archives. It is known what the king and queen ate every day during lunch and dinner, and for most days of the month the same information about several dignitaries and princess Stéphanie – the king and queen's youngest daughter - is accessible.

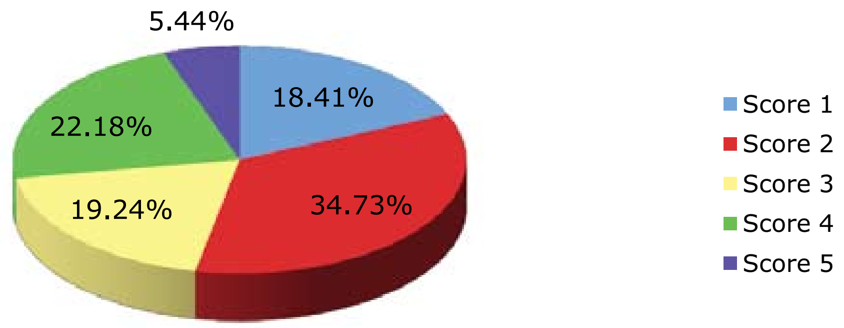


FIGURE 2 | Distribution of total scores over total number of eating occasions in December 1869

In total, information about 239 eating occasions was retrieved. Of these 239 meals, 5.44% got the highest possible score, 22.18% scored 4, 19.25% 3, 34.73% scored 2, and 18.41% scored 1 (figure 2). This means that more than half of the meals that were prepared at the royal court in December 1869, got a score of 1 or 2, and therefore were classified as only 'ordinary' meals. Of course, one should be careful with such statements. Most of these meals contained at least one meat dish and consisted of two or more courses, and consequently were certainly not 'ordinary' when compared to what the largest part of the population ate every day. However, they were sober meals when comparing them to the food that was prepared on other occasions in December 1869. Of these meals, only 5.44% got the highest score, and can be labelled 'very luxurious'. The exclusive character of these meals is mostly determined by a high number of dishes and a high number of dessert dishes. A higher number of meat dishes was not a prerogative for a higher score. To make more concrete what is meant by this classification system, figure 3 shows examples of a menu of each score.

Score 1	Score 2	Score 3	Score 4	Score 5
		Potage aux pâtes	Potage à la Reine	Potage châtelaine aux asperges
			Cervelle à la Villeroy	Petites caisses de foie gras
Côtelettes de mouton, pommes de terre	Carbonnades de boeuf	Côtelettes de mouton, pommes de terre frites	Beefsteaks, pommes de terre soufflées	Roastbeef aux croquettes
			Côtelettes de foie gras	Suprême de volaille à la Villeroy
	Poulet rôti	Poulet farci aux marrons	Blanquette de volaille	Salmis de perdreaux
	Laitues au jus	Asperges vertes aux oeufs pochés	Artichauts à la Lyonnaise	Artichauts à la Lyonnaise
			Bécasse rôti	Bécasses rôtis
	Profiterolles au chocolat	Gâteau de Compiègne aux fruits	Croûtes à l'ananas	Spounne aux framboises
				Glace au chocolat
Compote		Compote de prumeaux	Compote d'orange	Compote mélangée
Assiette froide		Dessert	Dessert	Dessert
Boissons: St Julien	Boissons: St Julien	Boissons: Seltzer	Boissons: Seltzer	Boissons: Lafitte, Champagne, Moselle, Seltzer
Déjeuner	Déjeuner	Déjeuner	Dîner	Dîner

FIGURE 3 | Menu examples for each score (December, 1869) [27]

Figure 3 clearly demonstrates the importance of a high number of dishes and a high number of dessert dishes as far as a high categorisation is concerned. Four desserts concluded the most luxurious meal, while only one dessert was served during the most ordinary meal. Not only did the number of desserts differ, the refinement of the dishes was also of a varying level. Ice cream, for example, was an exclusive dish in the mid-19th century, because of its mode of preparation – a deepfreeze was not available yet – and because the ingredients (dairy, sugar ...) were still quite expensive. Also note that vegetables were still relatively costly. This is equally demonstrated in the different menus. Vegetables and (vegetable) soup are virtually absent in the 'ordinary' meals.

27 Archief Koninklijk Paleis, *Civiele Lijst Leopold II* (Verbruiksstaten en menu's), 1869.

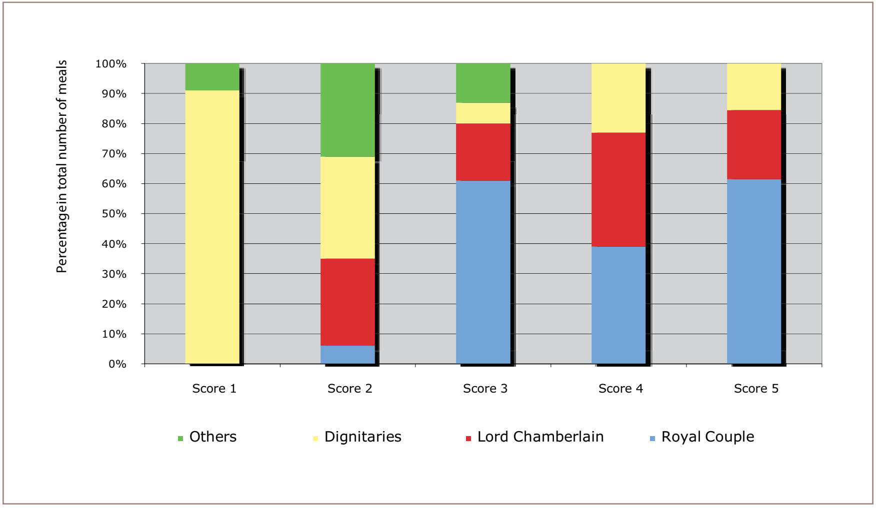


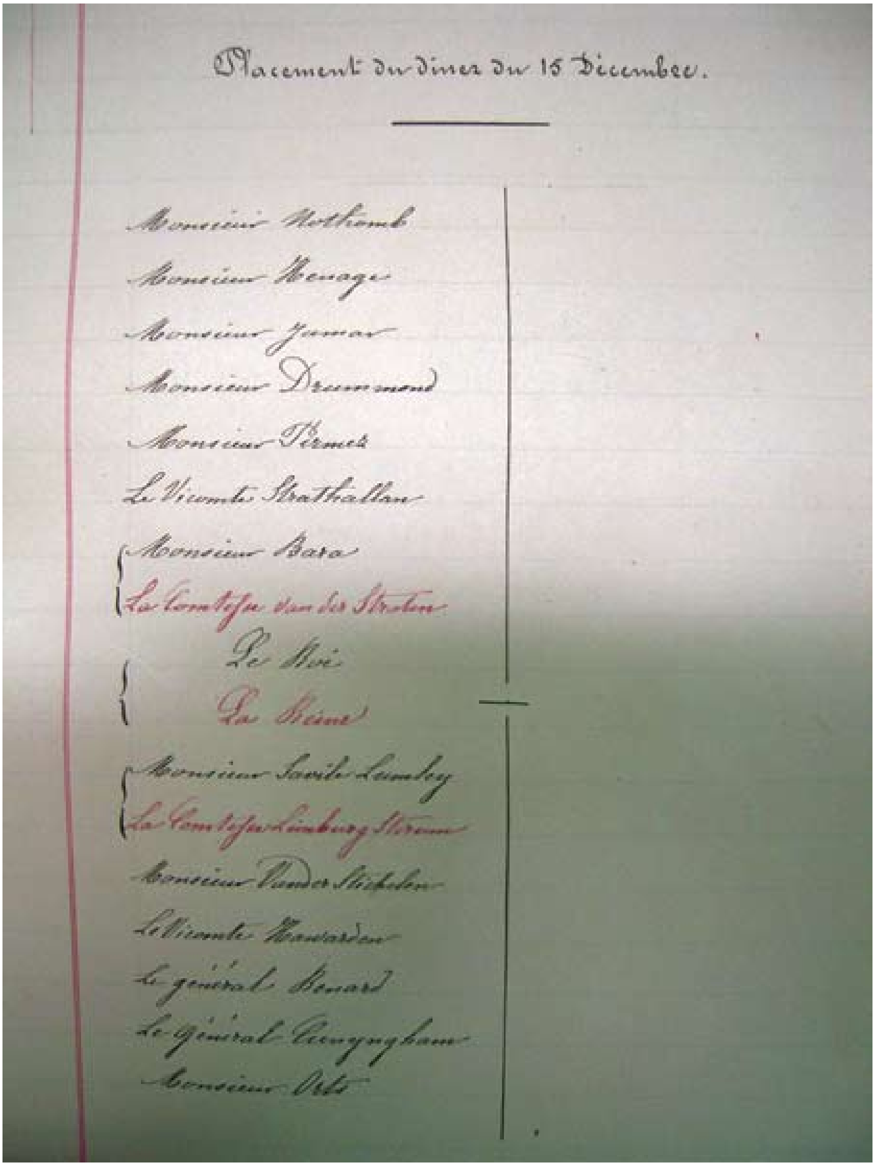
FIGURE 4 | Distribution of the different types of meals amongst different diners (December, 1869)

Consequently, figure 3 shows that, even though the codification is mainly based on quantitative characteristics, the classification also holds ground when taking the qualitative aspects of the meal into account.

For whom were these luxurious meals prepared? As was to be expected, eight out of thirteen meals that got the highest score were served for the king and queen's table at dinner (figure 4). Three were prepared for the table of the lord chamberlain and two were prepared for the house stewart and the minister of the king's cabinet. Out of the 44 meals that obtained the lowest score, not one was prepared for the royal table, 40 were prepared for the court's dignitaries at lunch, and four were for Princess Stéphanie. Looking at the month of December as a whole, the royal table was only served meals that got a score of 4 or 5 during dinner, and 3 or 4 during lunch (a few exceptions aside). The lord chamberlain only got to eat the finest meals as well, with a few exceptions as far as lunch is concerned.

In December, the king and queen had dinner guests on six occasions, and all six got the highest score on the scale (out of a total of eight meals that were categorized as very luxurious). On December 15, for example, invitees of the king and queen were expected in Brussels at 6:30 pm.[28]

28 Archief Koninklijk Paleis [Archives Royal Palace], Fonds Leopold II. *Departement van de Grootmaarschalk* (Chronologische lijst der genodigden. Register 456), 1869.



Placement du dîner du 15 Décembre.

Monsieur Nothomb
Monsieur Menage
Monsieur Jamar
Monsieur Drummond
Monsieur Pirmez
Le Vicomte Strathallan
Monsieur Bara
La Comtesse van der Straten
Le Roi
La Reine
Monsieur Savile Lumley
La Comtesse Limburg Stirum
Monsieur Vander Stichelen
Le Vicomte Hawarden
Le général Renard
Le général Cunyngham
Monsieur Orts

FIGURE 5 | Seating chart of the king and queen's table. Dinner at the Brussels palace on December 15, 1869 | © Archief Koninklijk Paleis, Brussel

In addition to their most important staff members, the king and queen were joined by Mr John Savile Lumley (*envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire*), Mr Pakenham (secretary), Viscount Strathaltan, Viscount Hawarden, Lieutenant-Colonel Halkett, Mr Elyn, Lieutenant-Colonel Tynte, Mr Allix, Colonel Benson, Captain Auguste Lumley, the Reverend William Drury, Mr Frère Orban (chief of

Cabinet), Mr Bara (minister of War), Mr Vanderstichelen (minister of Foreign affairs), Mr Pirmez (minister of Domestic affairs), Lieutenant-General Renard (minister of War), Mr Jamar (minister of Public works), ten members of the Senate, 36 members of the House of Representatives, Mr Hemage (British nobleman), Colonel Pouchin (*chef d'état major*), Mr Drummond, Mr Aurial and General-Major Cunningham. This seems to have been a gathering of British delegates (a coincidence or would this be a consequence of the king's family ties with Queen Victoria?), military officers and the Belgian government.
This companionship was offered a very luxurious meal, consisting of two kinds of soup, several meat and fish dishes, *punch à la Romaine* and four desserts, including two flavours of ice cream.[29]
Finally, when discussing luxurious food, it is interesting to investigate what makes up for the difference between varying meals, or better, what are the characteristics of, for example, a meal that gets a score of 4 and one that gets the highest score? Figure 6 breaks down the general information by each of the five criteria, thus showing what mostly constitutes a luxurious meal.

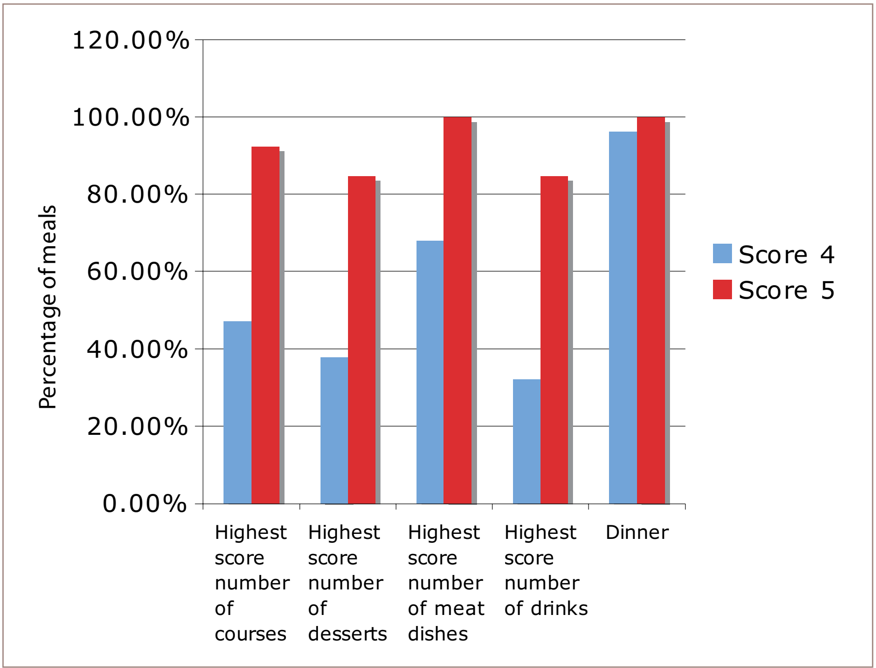


FIGURE 6 | The importance of 'highest scores' by concept (December, 1869)

29 The entire menu was the following: Potage crème d'asperges, Potage consommé à la Royale, Huitres d'Ostende, Petites timbales parisiennes, Turbot à la hollandaise, Filet de boeuf à la Godard, Suprême de volaille aux truffes, Filets de soles à la Joinville, Salmis de bécasses, Salade russe de homards, Punch à la Romaine, Cardons à la moelle, Pois à la française, Chapons rôtis au cresson, Eperlans frits, Paté de foie gras, Macédoine de fruits au champagne, Esterhazy à la Chantilly, Glaces (chocolat, ananas), Dessert.

Apparently, the number of courses was still important at the royal court in 1869: 92.31% of the meals with the highest score, got a score of 3 on this criterion. Of course, this number had an impact on the number of desserts and on the number of meat dishes. Nonetheless, an interesting observation should be made. Of the meals that got a total score of 4, only 37.73% had the highest possible score as far as desserts were concerned, while 67.92% had the highest score as far as meat dishes were concerned. However, of the meals that got a total score of 5.84, 62% had the highest possible score for desserts while 100% had the highest possible score for meat dishes. This suggests that the number of desserts was a more important characteristic of a luxurious meal, than the number of meat dishes was.

The same observation can be made about the number of different kinds of drinks. Of the meals that got a total score of 4, 32.08% had the highest score on the number of drinks, while this was also true for 84.62% of the meals that got a total score of 5.

The last part of the graph indicates that not one of the meals that got the highest score was served during lunch, thus fully confirming the weight of the dinner vis-à-vis lunch.

4 / Concluding remarks

What does all of this say about food as a luxurious good, and perhaps more importantly, about the use of this good to indicate 'everyday' social status? When looking at the results of this exercise, it becomes clear that the characteristics of a luxurious good are perfectly applicable to food. Quantitative differences are combined with refinement, obtained through an increase in the number of courses, but also through the presentation of more sophisticated courses like dessert, and of more different kinds of drinks – with the best of wines for the most luxurious meals (figure 3).

More importantly, this exercise also seems to confirm the notion that (luxurious) food can be used to establish, preserve and enforce social status. Even in a privileged locus as the Belgian royal court, not all meals were equal – an observation also applicable to other (European and non-European) courts. Ottoman sultans, for example, adjusted the palace menus when foreign guests were present, in order to establish themselves within the international hierarchy of power.[30] And although,

30 O. Samanci, 'Pilaf and Bouchées: the *Modernization* of Official Banquets at the Ottoman Palace in the Nineteenth Century', in: D. De Vooght (ed.), *Royal Taste. Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*. London, Ashgate Publishing, 2010 (forthcoming).

of course, none of these meals can be defined as 'poor',[31] it became quite clear that only the king and queen were (almost) always served the best meals.[32] Within the palace walls, differences at the dining table outlined differences in status. And whenever guests from outside the palace walls were invited, the fanciest food – according to Princess Stéphanie *die erlesenste Europas*[33] (the most excellent [kitchen] in Europe) – was put on the table, making sure that the perception of luxury was kept intact and social hierarchy was left untouched.

Daniëlle De Vooght graduated from the History Department at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel in 2001. As of January 2002, she is a research worker at that same department. In April 2010, she obtained her Ph.D. with a thesis on the relationship between food culture and (political, economic, social and cultural) power within an elite, and more particularly on food culture at the 19th-century Belgian royal court. She is a member of the research group FOST (Social & Cultural Food Studies).

31 Peter Scholliers calculated the total cost spent on food per day at the court in the 1870s. This amounted up to 10 francs. In the 1850s, an average working man's family of six people, spent 1,5 francs per day on food and drinks. In the 1880s, this amount had increased to 3,5 francs per day.
In 1888, the king and queen had dinner together with 75 guests. The price of this meal was 2375 francs (calculated by Scholliers). A miner needed to work two years and eight months to earn this amount of money.
P. Scholliers, 'Met Leopold II aan tafel (eten en drinken van een rijk Brussels echtpaar in het laatste kwart van de 19e eeuw)', *Vlaams Marxistisch Tijdschrift*, 24 (1990) 4, p. 5 and p. 16.

32 Another remark touches upon the cycle of eating throughout the week: on Sundays, food was always more elaborated, with a score of 4 or 5. However, since only one month in one year was investigated for this chapter, no conclusive findings can be formulated at this moment. Also striking is the fact that Christmas Eve, Christmas and New Year's Eve did not account for a meal of the highest quality. This too, however, should be examined more thoroughly.

33 Prinzessin Stephanie Von Belgien, *Ich sollte Kaiserin werden*. Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1935, p. 23.

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4.2

Marketing Food, Marketing a Necessity? Belgian Food Retailing and the Concept of Luxury in Advertising, 1870-1940

NELLEKE TEUGHELS

1 / Food advertising and social divergence

Over the past two decades, the humanities and social sciences have progressively come to recognize the importance of food as a research topic. Historians have briefly led the way, but were soon followed by an increasing number of archaeologists, sociologists, social geographers and anthropologists. Initially, historical research focused mainly on the quantitative aspects of nutrition, such as prices, caloric intake and produce. However, the interest by other disciplines, and particularly ethnology, broadened the field of food studies to include the social context and cultural aspects of food. Indeed, as Appadurai described it, food is a medium of 'semiotic virtuosity'.[1] Food and activities related to food can carry a myriad of meanings, which are all culturally constructed. Thus, it has been widely acknowledged that not only what people ate, but also where they purchased their food cannot be separated from their aspirations, their identity and their social relationships. This insight put (food) retailing and shopping in the centre of a blooming interest in consumption history.

In Belgium, the social context of food retailing and the evolution of consumer society during the last two centuries have received little attention. In his book *Les petits commerçants face à la modernité (1880 – 1914)*, Serge Jaumain examines the reaction of the small-scale retailers to the trend of modernization, the arrival of large department stores, co-operative shops and chain stores and their attempts to accommodate new market demands. However, the main focus is on the profound economic and legislative changes. Up to now, food retailing in relation to cultural and social distinction remained largely out of scope. Yet, given their organisation, chain stores held the promise of bringing a larger array of products within reach of an increasing number of people from broader layers of society. However, most retailers then, as now, wished to address a distinctive target group.[2] This social divergence would have been visible in the appearance and organization of the stores, the choice of goods on sale and the advertising strategies and style, which each retailer used to create the desired image, to play into the expectations of the consumer, and to entice them to buy. While much of the research on the history and evolution of advertising for a long time primarily concentrated on posters and advertisements in newspapers and magazines, social, economic and cultural historians have come to realize that other forms of advertising, like the shop architecture, window displays and shop interior, to a great extent determined the success of a brand or retail chain. Moreover, they played a major role in the development and growth of a consumer society.[3]

1 A. Appadurai, *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. New York, Cambridge University Press,1986, p. 38.

2 J. Benson & L. Ugolini, *Cultures of selling. Perspectives on consumption and society since 1700.* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, p. 11.

3 P. Borscheid & C. Wischermann, *Bilderwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgeschellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags, vol. 3. Stuttgart, Steiner, 1995; P. Scholliers, 'Goods and stores for the workers. The shaping of mass retailing in late 19th-century Ghent' in: D. Barker & D. Cranstone (eds), *The archaeology of industrialization.* Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2004, p. 121-140; C. Wischermann & E. Shore, *Advertising and the European city: Historical perspectives.* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000.

The aim of this paper is to focus on one aspect of food advertising and the self-representation by retail chains in Belgian food distribution, namely the use of the concept of luxury. Obviously, this is only one, very particular means of advertisement among others such as price, geographical origin, or health. In his book *The idea of luxury* (1994), Christopher Berry notes that the abundant use of the term and references to luxury in late 19th- and 20th-century advertising seems to be paradoxical in character. There is no doubt that the main goal of retailers was and is to make as large a profit as possible. In order to do so, they have to persuade as many people as they can to buy their product. Labelling their merchandise a luxury seems to be in contradiction with the basic principles of (big) retailing, since this implies exclusiveness. However, given its prevalence, it is reasonable to assume that it is a tactic to incite consumption.[4] But how does this selling point actually work? How do retailers apply the concept of luxury to arouse certain desires and expectations? Moreover, how does this fit into their brand-building strategy? In other words, what can it tell about the customers they wish to attract? These questions will be addressed through a case study of the posters, catalogues, shop architecture and customer service of the Belgian chain store Delhaize Frères & Cie 'Le Lion' during the period 1870-1940.

2 / Luxury, taste, comfort and convenience

Before we consider the use of the concept of luxury and related notions by Delhaize, it might be useful to first take a look at the semiotic meaning of these concepts and the cultural values they were and are charged with. In this paragraph, I will briefly touch upon the evolution of the significance of luxury, the social effects which caused these changes and how they led to the coming into existence of two related concepts, those of comfort and taste. An understanding of these past meanings and values attached to luxury and of the context in which the abovementioned notions originated, is helpful in our case study, since they continued to influence the appreciation of luxury goods and services during the 19th century and up to this day.

At first glance, food and, consequently, food retailing seem more closely related to the concept of human need than they are to luxury, as sustenance is one of the necessary features of human life. Luxury goods, on the other hand, are regarded as non-essential. They are objects of desire and have always been associated with physical pleasure. This does not imply that the fulfilment of the bare necessaries cannot give satisfaction. However, according to Hutcheson, this feeling of well-being derives principally from the removal of pain, which can be described as a negative

4 C. Berry, *The idea of luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation.* New York, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 3-4.

pleasure.[5] Luxuries, despite their wide range of meanings throughout history, have always been supposed to offer sensory pleasure or enjoyment, or, in Berry's words, positive pleasure. Moreover, a desire for something is intentional and individual, whereas needs are universal. The latter are not voluntary; one cannot decide to live without food. In contrast, wants allow us to choose. They specify a need and thus reflect individual differences. Thus, when one is hungry one can desire spaghetti, while one's friend can have a craving for lamb chops.[6]

According to Berry, a luxury is a qualitative refinement of a basic good. However, the fact that one particularise one's need for food in the example above, is not sufficient to qualify spaghetti as a luxury dish. For a good to be desired as a luxury, it must be desired by many, because it is generally believed to offer pleasure, but only acquired by few. Up until the middle of the 19th century, for example, chocolate was a very expensive consumer good and only affordable to the highest income classes. During the 1880s, with the price of chocolate decreasing, the product became within reach of the petty bourgeoisie. In 21st-century Europe, chocolate is no longer a luxury in Berry's definition of the word. Already before the Great War, it was introduced in the Belgian working-class.[7] This example illustrates the dynamic character of luxuries. Their status can change over time. If commodities previously restricted to a small number of people become widely accessible, they can lose their position as a luxury good. Moreover, what once was considered a luxury can even turn into a social necessity.[8] This illustrates that the concepts of needs and luxuries are culturally determined, instead of being absolute.

The widespread use of the word 'luxury' or related terms in modern advertising implies the assumed positive connotations attached to it. However, indulging in luxuries is not universally approved of. In the Classical world, early Christianity and pre-modern thought, the unlimited pursuit of bodily desires and over-consumption were associated with a lack of moral virtue and considered a threat to the existing social order. During the 18th century, the concept of luxury became separated from traditional morality. This cultural innovation was partly the result of a greater amount and variety of commodities explicitly associated with pleasure, comfort and sensuality becoming available to Europeans at lower prices than ever before. In particularly, there emerged an ever-expanding range of what can be called 'moderate luxuries' or commodities of lesser quality and price that appealed to the

5 Berry, *The idea of luxury*, p. 13.
6 Berry, *The idea of luxury*, p. 9; 12; W. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability 1600 – 1800.* New York, Routledge 2002, p. 63.
7 P. Scholliers, 'The emergence of mass consumption of chocolate in Belgium' in: A. P. Den Hartog (ed.), *Food technology, science, and marketing: the making of the European diet in the 20th century.* East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1995, p. 127-138
8 Berry, *The idea of luxury*, p. 11-12; 18; J.-P. Goubert, *Du luxe au confort.* Paris, Belin, 1988, p. 32.

middle classes.[9] As Woodruff Smith describes it, "luxury, in this sense, refers to pleasures previously restricted mainly to the upper classes that became available to a middle class expanding in size and importance in the eighteenth century". This development was a result of the changes in, and increase of, production and purchase, as well as the improvement in the distribution systems. It had a major influence on the European context of luxury. The widespread availability of consumables associated with pleasure undermined the way in which people in Western society had tried to deal with the dangers posed by sensuality. Because many luxury goods were also expensive, the upper classes usually had more means to purchase them. Since those expensive luxuries were also status commodities, luxury consumption paralleled the consumption in support of gentility. However, when the commercial access to luxuries expanded to include the middle classes, sumptuary laws concerning luxury goods lost their ability to function as a basis for coping with sensual pleasure. Sensory enjoyment and the mental images or fantasies they stimulate were considered potentially dangerous to the existing social order and morality. Consequently, the above-mentioned developments led to cultural innovations that had to legitimize and morally limit sensual pleasure.[10]

At the end of the 17th century, Nicholas Barbon is one of the first writers to rupture with the moralistic tradition, by picturing man as a desirous creature by nature. In addition, he rejects the idea of a natural limit to desires. The infinite generating of objects of desire is the natural way of things. Moreover, it is the desire for ever more refined goods that stimulates the economy. Thus, luxury goods are not inherently harmful and their acquisition can be justified by their importance to the public benefit. Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* (1729) and the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) had an even greater impact than Barbon's argument. They overturned the traditional moralist notions of luxury in the 18th century. Both authors stressed the positive effect of individual consumption on the general well-being of society. Their views on luxury consumption brought about a significant shift in the meaning of luxury, and during the course of the century one began to consider the liberty of individuals to pursue their own wants and cravings a value.[11]

Despite this acceptance of desires as natural and even beneficial for trade and the nation, a morally disparaging attitude toward luxury goods persisted throughout the 19th century. Early socialist writers, for example, often still made a distinction

9 M. Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 4-5; Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability 1600 – 1800,* p. 64-65; 67.

10 Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability 1600 – 1800*, p. 65; 70-71.

11 Berry, *The idea of luxury*, p. 112-117; 123; J. De Vries, *The industrious revolution. Consumer behaviour and the household economy, 1650 to the present* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p 60-67; M. Hilton, 'The legacy of luxury. Moralities and consumption since the 18th century' in *Journal of Consumer Culture* 4 (2004) 1, p. 103.

between natural and unnatural wants. People indulging in unnatural wants or luxuries did not add to national well-being, since resources were not invested in productive capacity, namely in improving the social living conditions, health and work rate of labourers. Measures were taken to control and regulate this kind of 'unproductive' or luxury consumption and to promote a morally and socially desirable lifestyle. From the early 19th century onwards, workers' associations originated from middle class circles, as a respectable alternative to a whole range of older leisure pursuits which were deemed cruel, corrupting the mind and moral or to have a negative influence on economy. The moneyed classes promoted an ethic of respectability and tried to find new ways for managing sensuality. Both employers and employees found a means to this end in voluntary association, joining temperance movements, brass bands, attending or organizing Sunday schools, edifying lectures and so on. Central tenets of these leisure forms were moderation, self-discipline and self-improvement.[12]

In addition to the abovementioned practical measures, the search for new ways of limiting sensuality and exuberance produced two new concepts that responded to the problematic aspects of luxury consumption: the concept of taste and the ideas of comfort and convenience. Taste was a concept that provided aesthetical limits to sensory enjoyment, associated with luxury. It represented a refinement of the senses and thus, theoretically speaking, anyone had the capacity to acquire good taste. Legitimate, tasteful consumption depended on knowledge and information rather than on financial means. However, this kind of knowledge required years of education and proper upbringing, which was, given a few exceptions, only within reach of members of the aristocracy or people with sufficient money. Polite and tasteful conduct and an appearance characterised by balance and order were considered a sign of good breeding and virtue. Taste thus provided a conceptual framework within which luxury consumption and morality reconciled.[13] It functioned as a restraint on sensory enjoyment, but at the same time made it legitimate to pursue emotional pleasure. The shift to Romanticism at the end of the 18th century resulted in a new form of hedonism, which celebrated self-expression and the pursuit of pleasure through tasteful consumption.[14]

In contrast to taste, 'comfort' had nothing to do with appearance. It was a matter of feeling and sensitivity. Originally, comfort had a spiritual meaning, referring to mental strength, but in the course of the 18th century, the term was redefined

12 Hilton, 'The legacy of luxury', p. 104; J. Van der Stel, *Drinken, drank en dronkenschap. vijf eeuwen drankbestrijding en alcoholhulpverlening in Nederland ; een historisch-sociologische studie.* Hilversum, Verloren, 1995, p. 141.

13 J. De Vries, *The industrious revolution*, p.44; 60; Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability 1600 – 1800*, p. 81-83.

14 C. Campbell, *The romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 205.

as a physical condition.[15] As Crowley puts it, comfort became "a self-conscious satisfaction with the relationship between one's body and its immediate physical environment". It provided a cognitive framework that set the boundaries of morally acceptable physical pleasure.

Closely linked to the concept of comfort is the notion of convenience, which played a similar role in defining innocent, moral forms of consumption that was related to sensory enjoyment. It is about ease, about the avoidance of unnecessary discomfort or obstacles while doing something.[16]

These new views on luxury and the consequent restrictions within which the consumption of luxury products and services became acceptable, allowed the concept of luxury to become a legitimate and effective selling point. For example, we will see that the items which were advertised as luxuries by Delhaize were often presented as treats, that is, a little, often secret but nevertheless harmless indulgence and a reward for a hard day of work or other occasion. Luxury goods were pictured as something one deserved once in a while for 'good behaviour'. Indulging oneself in luxuries remained frowned upon, but when one was able to do it in moderation, it was now a sign of moral virtue. Now that it had become acceptable for individuals to give in to their own cravings and to use consumption as a means of self-expression, advertising played into the desire of people for constructing their identity. Presenting consumer goods as exclusive luxuries offered consumers the possibility of associating themselves with certain (successful, wealthy) social groups, displaying 'correct' taste and thus moral virtue.

3 / 'Luxury' in advertising

Thus, once the proliferation of wants and the liberty of individuals to chase their desires became accepted as natural, there was nothing that prevented advertisers to take advantage of these desires. By referring to the objects or services on offer as luxuries, they lent them an aura of exclusiveness, which acted as an incitement to buy. This advertising technique aimed at stimulating a 'bandwagon effect', which arises when demand for a commodity increases as the number of people consuming the product increases. This is in contradiction with the general theory of supply and demand. In addition to the Bandwagon effect, economists recognise two other *anomalies*, namely the Snob effect, where people desire to own unique

15 E. Shove, *Comfort, cleanliness and* convenience*: the social organisation of normality.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 23; 27; W. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability 1600 – 1800*, p. 84.

16 J. E. Crowley, *The invention of comfort. Sensibilities and design in Early Modern Britain and Early America.* Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2001, p. 69-70; 141-142.

or only limited available goods, which often have a high economic value, and the Veblen effect, where the preference for buying certain commodities increases as their price rises and decreases when their price is lowered.[17] These interactions make clear that consumers not only spend money on luxuries because of their purely physical qualities, but also because of the mental images they stimulate and which arise from their place within certain cognitive frameworks. For example, in order to maintain or enhance their social status, people sometimes refrain from basic needs like food and invest in luxuries. Consumer demand is not always functional, but strongly influenced by culture and society. Modern advertising is based on the fact that the perception and sensory experiences of commodities is, in part, culturally and socially constructed.

The strong rise of food advertising was closely related to the emergence of brand names and the transformation of the retail sector. In pre-industrial society, the production and purchase of consumer goods were mostly locally oriented. The shopkeeper offered its products in bulk, and prices were negotiable. The range of available goods was limited and their quality depended on their origin and on the preferences of the retailer. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, industrial mass production of consumer goods, including food products, increased rapidly. Furthermore, there was a growing mutual competition among manufacturers and a continuously multiplying number of new goods were introduced. In consequence, producers needed to sell to a wider market and to provide the customers with information about the product. Advertising offered the obvious means to this end. This led the manufacturers to package their products and complete them with a brand name. This standardization, also of content, quality and price, made it possible for brand name articles to be the first goods that were systematically advertised.[18]

As already mentioned above, the concept of luxury was often deployed in advertising for various products and services, including foodstuffs, as a tactic to incite consumption. This paper investigates how the use of this concept fits into the brand-building strategy of food retailers. In particular, it examines the way in which aspects of luxury are incorporated in various forms of advertising by Delhaize Frères et Cie 'Le Lion', the company that introduced the chain store system in food retailing in Belgium. There are a lot of ways of assessing this, but I chose to concentrate on the shop architecture, the posters and the customer service offered by this retailer,

17 Campbell, *The romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism*, p. 50-52.

18 T. Nadau, *Itinéraires marchands du goût moderne. Produits alimentaires et modernisation rurale en France et en Allemagne (1870-1940).* Paris, Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1995, p.35; 43-46; W. Schreurs, *Geschiedenis van de reclame in Nederland 1870-1990.* Utrecht, Het Spectrum, 1989, p. 19-21; C. Wischermann, 'Placing advertising in the modern cultural history of the city', in: C. Wischermann & E. Shore, *Advertising and the European city: Historical perspectives.* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000, p. 7-8.

including their catalogues and price lists, how these visualise luxury and use it to arouse certain desires and raise certain expectations.

4 / Delhaize Frères et Cie 'Le Lion'

After the crisis in the 1870s and 1880s, Belgium witnessed an economic resurgence. Especially the two decades preceding the Great War are characterised by a renewed flourishing of Belgian industry. The retail sector expanded and was primarily dominated by shops selling foodstuffs. The progress made by industrialization and the improvement and extension of the transport system allowed the introduction of new, modern forms of distribution.[19] It is within this context that the rise and development of Delhaize Frères & Cie 'Le Lion' took place. Not only producers were confronted with an increasingly competition-oriented market, shopkeepers as well had to cope with a growing number of competitors. The number of shops increased greatly, as did the supply and variety of goods they had on sale.

According to Jules Vieujant,[20] who would become a partner of Delhaize Frères & Cie in 1868, the company was conceived from its very beginning as a chain store. Jules Delhaize, a teacher in business administration at the Royal Athenaeum in Brussels, was engrossed with the development of a distribution system which would eliminate most of the intermediaries and would introduce a more rationalized approach into the food distribution sector. He worked out an integrated system of food distribution to multiple branches from a central warehouse. Also, Jules Delhaize and Jules Vieujant were convinced that producing their own merchandise was the best way for a retailer to lower his expenses and subsequently his price level. The substantial financial means allowed buying directly from producers, thereby suppressing intermediaries and realizing economies of scale. Since everybody, regardless their origin or income, has a daily need for food, the potential market was enormous and made nationwide coverage and success possible. This system offers the advantage of being able to integrate every branch in the local commercial tissue and to adapt the offer of merchandise to local needs and customs. In 1867, Jules Delhaize put his ideas into practice and, together with his brother Auguste, established the partnership Delhaize Frères & Cie, specialized in groceries, wines and liquors. The firm opens a first shop in Charleroi and one year later, in 1868, a second one in Marchienne-au-Pont. In the same year, Jules Vieujant became a partner, as well as two more brothers of Jules Delhaize, Adolphe and Edouard. Meanwhile, the

19 S. Jaumain, *Les petits commerçants belges face à la modernité (1880-1914).* Bruxelles, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1995, p. 34-39.

20 J. Vieujant, *Mémoire présenté à MM. les présidents et membres du jury de l'exposition internationale de Bruxelles de 1897 pour leur permettre d'apprécier et de juger dans son ensemble la participation de la Maison Delhaize Frères & Cie (enseigne 'Le Lion')* Bruxelles, Imprimerie Delhaize Frères & Cie, 1897, p. 3-11.

number of branches kept increasing. The formula was an instant success, and as early as 1871 Delhaize Frères & Cie left the Province of Hainault for Brussels. The enterprise now had its seat at the Papenvest, nearby the canal Brussels-Charleroi. In the meantime, two Delhaize brothers went their own way. In 1870 Louis founded the first shop of the multiple that would bear his name. Soon after, his brother Adolphe too went his own way. The existing partnership is dissolved in favour of a new partnership bearing the same name. In 1875, the company chose an emblem, picturing a lion which was clearly modelled after the Belgian Lion, and added 'Le Lion' to its name, both referring to the national symbol.[21] At the time, there was a strong national romantic imagination. Belgian romantic historians were still searching for continuities in the past which could testify to the Belgian unity and identity and legitimate the state's existence. Belgium was depicted as a restoration of an old nation, a redress after centuries of foreign domination. The nascent *Vlaamse Beweging*[22] was still supportive of the young nation, which had adopted a hostile attitude towards France and its imperialist politics in the late 1830s. By reinforcing the status of the Flemish language, the burgeoning Vlaamse Beweging wanted to reinforce national tradition and Belgian independence.[23] The company's emblem expressed, but also played into these strong nationalist sentiments. Even though the Flemish movement by the end of the century no longer strongly identified with Belgium, but had reoriented itself towards the search for an independent Flemish identity, Belgian patriotic sentiments were still strong. Not in the least in the *Mouvement Wallon,*[24] which had come into existence as a reaction to the increasing success and demands of the Vlaamse Beweging.[25] Also, the Belgian motto "L'union fait la force" (strength through unity) perfectly captured the philosophy of business of Delhaize. Vieujant, prominent partner of the firm, expressed his strong belief in the power of the individual to generate (social) change and progress in a social study he published in 1901. His ideas were based on the powers of the free market and individual interest. Out of self-interest the individual would put himself at the service of the whole.[26] Choosing an emblem was an important and necessary step in the development of the company: a shared brand and store sign, complemented with standardized commercial and advertising practices assured that each of the increasing number of shops were recognizable and thus created a strong brand image.

21 *Les Etablissements Delhaize Frères & Cie 'Le Lion', 1930*. Bruxelles, Imprimerie des Etablissements Delhaize Frères & Cie 'Le Lion', p. 5-11; Collet (ed.), *Delhaize 'Le Lion'*, p. 15; 19; Jaumain, *Les petits commerçants belges face à la modernité (1880-1914),* p. 52-53; G. Kurgan-Van Hentenryk, *Dictionnaire des patrons en Belgique: les hommes, les entreprises, les résaux.* Bruxelles, De Boeck Université, 1996, p. 190.

22 Flemish Movement

23 J. Tollebeek, T. Verschaffel & H. M. Wessels (red.), *The palimpsest. Geschiedschrijving in de Nederlanden 1500-2000.* Hilversum, Verloren, 2002, p. 154-155.

24 Walloon Movement

25 P. Rietbergen & T. Verschaffel (red.), *De erfenis van 1830.* Leuven, Acco, 2006, p. 91-97.

26 J. Vieujant, *Etudes historiques et sociologiques*. Bruxelles, Lebègue, 1901, p. 165-175.

Five years later, the enterprise already comprised about a hundred branches, situated mainly in Brussels and in the industrial towns and villages of Hainault, and it had outgrown the small grounds at the Papenvest. Delhaize Frères & Cie 'Le Lion' decided to move its warehouse and central administration to Molenbeek, a Brussels suburb, where the company has its seat up to this day. There, Delhaize also established a fast-growing industrial zone, which encompassed 21 factories at its maximum expansion, and was complemented by two more factories in Saint-Andrez-lez-Bruges. The number of branches increased from 188 in 1890 to about 1,200 on the threshold of the Second World War. The first branches were established in the industrial towns and villages of Hainault, but by 1897, the firm was present in every important town, often with more than one outlet, as well as in many small villages all over the country. Not all of the branches, however, were directed by the company. A very substantial number of them, fluctuating between half and almost 80% of all branches, were run by franchise holders.[27]

None of the documents kept in the Delhaize archives hint at who or what inspired Jules Delhaize when developing this system, although multiples were already fairly familiar in other retail branches. The franchising system was not new either, although it is not clear how common it was in food retailing. A very likely candidate for being Jules Delhaize's source of inspiration, is Félix Potin. He introduced the chain store system in food distribution. He opened a first grocery shop in 1844 in Paris. Only in 1859 a second branch was established, in the same city. Around the same time, Potin started producing his own foodstuffs, which made him the first grocer to offer products of his own brand. By the end of the 1860s, Potin owned 6 branches in Paris, but he also distributed the merchandise he produced through independent grocery shops bearing his name. This made Potin also a pioneer in franchising within food distribution.[28] Although it cannot be excluded that Delhaize had other examples which inspired him, this makes it highly probable that he based himself on Potin.

5 / Shop architecture

Between 1870 and 1920, most of the branches in the major cities were located in neoclassical houses. Likewise, a large number of shop fronts were executed in an elementary neoclassical style, as shown in illustration 1.

27 *Les Etablissements Delhaize Frères 'Le Lion' 1937*, 1937. Bruxelles, Imprimerie lino-typographique des Etablissements Delhaize Frères 'Le Lion', p. 33-34 ; 47-75; Jaumain, *Les petits commerçants belges face à la modernité (1880-1914)*, p. 53-56.

28 P.G. Nord, *The politics of resentment: shopkeeper protest in nineteenth century Paris.* New Jersey, Transaction Publishers, 2005, p. 68; 131; M. S. Smith, *The emergence of modern business enterprise in France, 1800-1930.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p. 125-126.

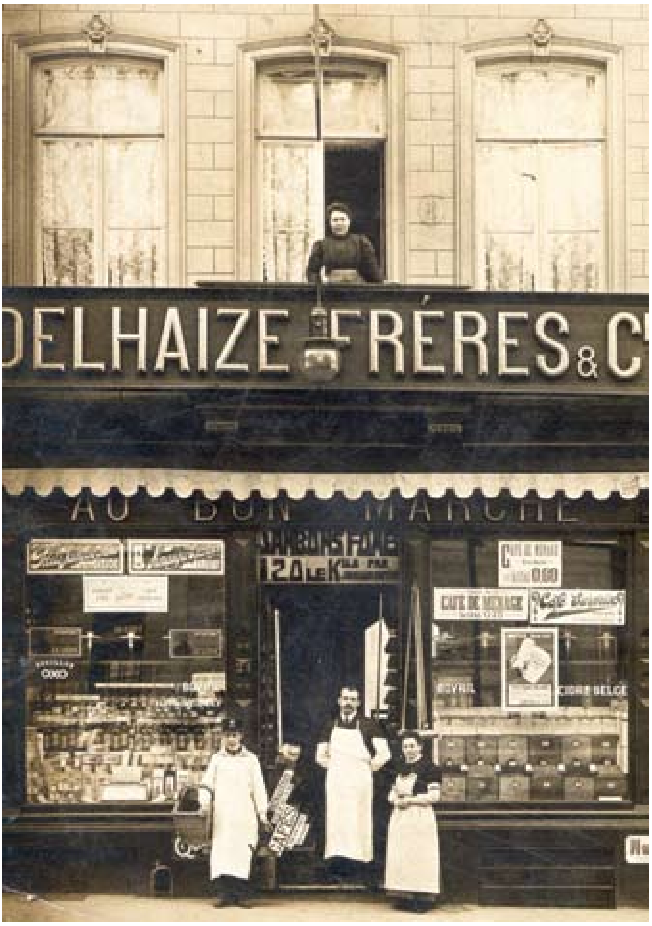

FIGURE 1 | Branch in the rue Royale Sainte-Marie, Schaarbeek, 1908 | © Archives Delhaize Group

To a post-and-lintel structure, a screen of softwood was applied, which comprised a cornice, large glazed windows on stallrisers and a door in the middle of the shop front. Simple neoclassical elements as pilasters and consoles were added, and the wooden fascia bore the store's name in painted or v-section letters, which were then covered by glass. In other cases, the original front of the building was kept but fitted with large shop windows, and a deep shade of red was used to make the shop front stand out from the typically white neoclassical façades. Neoclassicism was a creation of the newly powerful commercial classes, the bourgeoisie and closely connected to the ideals of the French Revolution, in that it can be considered anti-aristocratic. It was a reaction against the ornamental excesses of the baroque and rococo, and it was constructed around generalized notions of taste. As we have seen, in the 18th and 19th centuries, aesthetic sensibility was regarded by the middle classes as one of the most important moral qualities. Displaying a fashionable sense of taste became crucial. Consequently, all objects that advertised one's taste were regarded as evidence of a person's morality.[29] By the middle of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie had become the dominant class, politically, in the economic sense and, consequently, culturally. This new elite erected buildings, statues and memorials to leave its mark on the urban landscape and newly created public spaces.

The outward appearance of the branches founded in the 1920s was simplified and modernized. The movement towards geometric shapes and taut, cleaner lines clearly showed the influence of the art deco style (figure 2).

FIGURE 2 | Branch in the Rue de l'Ange, Namen, renovated in 1928 | © Archives Delhaize Group

Luxurious materials such as marble, stainless steel, bronze and dark, exotic wood determined the shop front. Art deco was not a radical step away from art nouveau, but a logical evolution, fed by the demand of the bourgeoisie and a changing society.

29 L. Auslander, *Taste and power: furnishing modern France.* Berkeley, University of California Press,1996, p. 195; C. Campbell, 'Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth century England: a character-action approach' in J. Brewer & R. Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods. Consumption in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* London, Routledge,1992, p. 48-49; L. Tiersten, *Marianne in the market. Envisioning consumer society in fin-de-siecle France.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001, p. 85-86.

Between 1934 and 1939, Delhaize renovated most of its branches. Newly built stores were examples of the streamlined style, whereas existing shop fronts were redecorated in the modernist art deco style (figure 3).

FIGURE 3 | Branch in the Staelenstraat, Waterschei, ca.1934 | © Archives Delhaize Group

The latter was influenced by the so-called New Objectivity, which was characterized by the use of bright colours and materials like aluminium, chrome and glass. It is notable how long neoclassicism and art deco, preferred styles of the bourgeoisie, were favoured for the company's shop design, whereas modernist architecture was adopted fairly slowly and even then only in a very toned down version. The slow acceptation and adaptation of this style was in fact a national phenomenon. After the Great War, Belgium displayed a negative attitude towards modernism and the international avant-garde, which was identified with Germany and the Soviet Union. Another important factor in this hostility was the strong influence of Victor Horta and the *Académie Royale des Beaux Arts* of which he was the director. Art nouveau, 19th-century eclecticism and neoclassicism kept dominating aesthetics after the war. There was, however, a countermovement against these conformist architectural styles. During the war, a small number of Flemish artists and architects, sympathising with the rising *Vlaamse Beweging*, sought shelter in the Netherlands shortly after the German invasion in Belgium. Upon their return, they imported the new views on architecture they had developed under the influence of the international avant-garde. But in the post-war climate of deep economic crisis and severe struggles between the two Belgian regions, both these architects and their ideas aroused suspicion and were regarded as anti-Belgian. Consequently, art deco and eclecticism remained the preferred styles for public buildings.[30] As Mimi Wilms notes, modernistic design would remain an exception up until after the Second World War.[31] This architectural style was not directly associated with luxury, but with modernism, hygiene and progress. It seems fairly acceptable that the changes in society and the economic crisis forced Delhaize to accentuate hygiene, comfort, and the spirit of progress of the company. The latter aspect was also apparent in the technological innovations it introduced in its branches during this period, like refrigerators.

The founders of Delhaize were members of the bourgeoisie, but the housing of their stores in this type of buildings was probably not just a matter of personal taste, but indicative of the type of customers they wanted to attract and the image they wished to promote. The overall impression of the shop architecture is that it was rather 'bourgeois' in character and a certain luxurious aspect was undeniable. However, although bourgeois taste was reflected in the architecture – as in other aspects of advertising by Delhaize, as will be seen below – and formed an integral part of the image of the shops, this did not imply that this was also the target group the company aimed at. In marketing, it is common practice to use the iconography and design associated with a certain social group to persuade consumers who belong to the group just below that group on the social ladder. Peter Scholliers looked at the architecture of the co-operative store *Vooruit* and saw a splendid, luxurious building, erected in a thoroughly bourgeois style. According to him, Vooruit aimed at the working class, "a segment that was large and expanding, but it also wished to appeal to the (lower) middle classes".[32] It is possible that the case of Delhaize was similar to that of Vooruit and that the luxurious aspects of the middle-class bourgeois ideal presented in the shop interior was intended to appeal to the aspirations of working class men and women. Moreover, from the last decades of the 19th century onward, attempts were made to re-moralize consumption, for example by John Ruskin en William Morris. Consumption, in this view, played an important role in stimulating moral and aesthetic improvement. However, it is difficult to assess what type of customer exactly shopped at Delhaize.

30 Ogata, *Art Nouveau and the social vision of modern living,* p.1-9; M. Wilms, 'Henry Van de Velde and the struggle of Belgian modernism between the wars' in P. Greenhalgh (ed.) *Modernism in design*. London, Reaktion Books Ltd.,1990, p. 145-148.

31 Wilms, 'Henry Van de Velde and the struggle of Belgian modernism between the wars', p. 161.

32 Scholliers, 'Goods and stores for the workers. The shaping of mass retailing in late 19th-century Ghent', p. 261.

6 / Delhaize and advertising images of women

Around the middle of the 19th century, the advent of the department stores marked the coming into being of a new consumer culture. They played an important role in the emancipation of upper- and middle-class women and in the changing roles and opportunities this brought about for them. Department stores provided women with new sources of public freedom. Promenading through the city to buy goods for the home was regarded as an acceptable activity, but also transcended the simple act of shopping, since it enabled women to take up social and cultural relationships with the metropolis and to interact with men and people of different classes.[33] Modern women became active consumers, and their consumption justified their presence and participation in urban space. With women's identities reshaped in this way, they were the key target for advertising. During the Belle Époque, images in advertising were directly addressed to female customers. This was no different for food advertising, since it were women who bought foodstuffs to prepare for their families. The posters in the shop windows of the Delhaize branches and the covers of the firm's price lists featured modern, independent bourgeois and middle class women, wearing rather luxurious dressing gowns. They were literally unrestrained, for their dresses had very natural silhouettes, and they did not wear crinolines that hinder movement. Perhaps rather surprisingly, however, given the dynamic changes described above that took place during this period, the firm seldom depicted women in an urban context, for example as *flâneuses*. The majority of the images kept in the company archives show scenes that take place in the privacy and comfort of the home (figure 4).

The commercial strategy consisted of the depiction of beautiful, elegant women, sometimes slightly eroticised figures (ill. 5), in dreamy, luxurious settings, enjoying an innocent, private pleasure without the dangers of sexuality, persuading female consumers to allow themselves the same joy or luxury.

After the First World War, the luxurious aspect was no longer very apparent in the company's posters. In general, the design of artistic and commercial posters evolved from complex and pictorial to simple and graphic. The reasons for this shift are twofold. First, there was an enormous increase in the amount of products and brand names on the market. This led to fierce competition between advertisements in public spaces in grabbing the attention of the passers-by.

33 R. E. Iskin, 'The flâneuse in French fin-de-siècle posters: advertising images of modern women in Paris' in: D'Souza & T. Donough, *The invisible flâneuse? Gender, public space, and visual culture in nineteenth-century Paris.* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2006, p. 115-116.

FIGURE 4 | Poster and cover illustration by Herman Richir (pseudo. Hamner, 1897, used well into the 1920s | © Archives Delhaize Group

FIGURE 5 | *Chromo* (trading card) by Ferdinand Toussaint, 1900 | © Archives Delhaize Group

Second, the modern urban world already offered a myriad of visual impressions. In order to be seen, a poster had to stand out, be immediately visible and readable. These circumstances necessitated a stylistic change to simpler forms, bright colours and clear outlines. In addition, the number of visual elements in the posters was reduced and often even limited to the product and its brand name. From its early days, Delhaize was convinced it could deliver the best quality at the lowest price, and the retailer advertised prices as a means of competition. Between 1918 and 1940, a period of monetary instability and economic difficulties, price became an even more important selling point. Especially the economic crisis following the Wall Street Crash of October 1929 dealt the retail trade a hard blow. This flared up fierce competition in the food distribution sector, which actually had already started in 1928, with the arrival of *Sarma*, the Societé Anonyme Pour la Revente d'Articles de Masse. This was the first retailer in Belgium to offer articles and foodstuffs at low, round prices, a concept that is based on the American variety or one-price stores, in Belgium called a *magasin à prix unique* (French) or *eenheidsprijswinkel* (Dutch). After the stock market crash, other food retailers started to sell items at round, uniform prices, which led to a price war. It is no surprise, then, that most of the company's posters focused on the low prices of their high quality products.

After 1930, however, we notice that the majority of the posters also stressed the excellent customer service. This happened mainly indirectly through the new mascot, *Jacky*, a shop assistant, which also appeared as a cardboard figure in the display windows. Thus, on the one hand, Delhaize emphasised its favourable prices. On the other hand, the company wanted to present its merchandise and the services it provided as luxuries or as making life more comfortable. Below, I will discuss what these services included and how these seemingly contradictory discourses might be explained.

7 / Customer service

Delhaize regarded an excellent customer service as one of the cornerstones of its business and success. Indeed, this aspect of shopping gained increasing importance in the late 19th century, when the number of shops, including those selling foodstuffs, rose very rapidly. Consequently, the competition increased and did not only occur in the field of prices, but also in that of service. The rise of shopping standards made the consumer king. And thus, the *prix-courants* stated in 1900:

"AVIS IMPORTANT

Qualité. – Nous garantissons nos marchandises de toute première qualité.

Prix. – Nos prix défient toute concurrence. [...]

Personnel et service. – La politesse, la propreté, l'exactitude et l'empressement à l'égard des clients sont sévèrement observés dans nos Succursales. Un domestique est toujours à la disposition des Clients pour porter en ville ou à la gare les objets ou paquets quelque peu volumineux ainsi que les commandes faites par lettres ou cartes-postales.

Livraison à domicile. – Les commandes données aux succursales, soit directement ou par correspondance, sont livrées le lendemain dans la matinée ou l'après-midi, au choix du client. Il en est de même des commandes prises à domicile, sur demande. Toute commande d'épiceries, desserts, vins fins et liqueurs, pour diner ou pour soirée, est livrée à l'heure indiquée par le client."[34]

A customer was entitled to respect and to polite and quick service. Delhaize offered the possibility of ordering from home, choosing from a price list customers could receive three times a year, and home delivery. Orders could be placed with apprentices, who came around the house at regular times, by mail or, in a number of shops, by telephone. The luxurious aspect of ordering your groceries from home resided in the privatised dimension. Just like the company's posters in the Belle Époque, this service persuaded consumers to shop at Delhaize by stressing the comfort of the home. In addition, home ordering and delivery was a very convenient way of shopping for groceries, since it made domestic life easier and saved time.

34 *Prix Courant,* Bruxelles, Imprimerie Delhaize Frères & Cie, 1900, p. 4.

The layout of the price lists roughly followed the evolution in design and style of the shop fronts. However, there is one notable exception: whereas the art nouveau hardly had any visual impact on the shop fronts, this style for a long time (c. 1880-1914) characterized the decorations in the price lists. Thus, it seems that the adoption of this art movement only happened on a very small scale. Art nouveau came into being during a period of economic and cultural prosperity, of technological progress, but also of increasing nationalism and search for a cohesive national identity, as I have sketched above. By the end of the century, the Vlaamse Beweging started to defy the Belgian identity. Flanders was inspired by the Netherlands, while Wallonia took elements from France as an example. Since the economic heart of Belgium was situated in Wallonia, the country was culturally very strongly influenced by France. In addition, the diversity of historical influences made it practically impossible to assert what was typically Belgian. The Belgian art nouveau was the result of a search for a truly modern, but nevertheless national style. Its roots lay in the English Arts and Crafts movement and the theoretical writings of William Morris and John Ruskin. However, its aspirations for social reform through the transformation of the domestic environment of the lower classes were never fulfilled. The ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the high production costs and expensive materials made the style out of the reach of the masses, but it became immensely popular with the bourgeois class, because of this luxurious aspect, together with its innovative character and the incorporation of exotic elements.[35]

It is remarkable that the products in the price lists were never described as luxurious or luxuries, although the offer of goods on sale certainly comprised luxury products, like champagne for instance. There were a lot of references to the luxurious character of certain products, but these were always indirect, using words as *supérieur, qualité irréprochable, peut/peuvent rivaliser avec les marques les plus estimées, exclusif* et cetera. References to the comfort offered by the service by Delhaize were also manifold: *"nous évitons à notre clientèle les soucis …", "arrière ces soucis, il suffit de faire appel à son «spécialiste»", "un domestique est toujours à la disposition des clients".*

Delhaize stated that the price lists were sent to *la clientèle riche*. However, in approximately 75 percent of the cases, references to comfort or to luxurious aspects were followed by mention of the low or favourable price of the product. Regarding the wine, every wine price list between 1907 and 1929, and all but one general price list, opened (the section concerning the offer of wines) with the following sentence: *"L'usage du vin, qui fut considéré longtemps comme une boisson de luxe réservée aux classes privilégiées, tend à se généraliser de plus en plus."* Concerning the *Chocolat*

35 A. F. Ogata, *Art Nouveau and the social vision of modern living. Belgian artists in a European context.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.1-9.

au lait Delhaize Frères & Cie, Le Lion, all price lists from 1908 onward stated: *"Il se recommande non seulement par ses nombreuses qualités, mais aussi par ses prix à la portée de tous."* Delhaize stressed it aimed at offering their customers the best quality products at the most competitive prices. The price lists supported, or rather, nuanced this claim: Delhaize offered both daily foodstuffs at very sharp prices – Delhaize's lowest prices were indeed lower than the competition's – as well as a diversified product range, including some outright luxury items like champagne.[36] However, soon after the stock market crash, when competition among food retailers rapidly increased, Delhaize stated in its internal reports and circulars it chose not to compete solely in the field of prices, but wanted to beat the competition with the quality of its products and its customer service. In 1930, the company hired the Swiss-Belgian artist Leo Marfurt to design a mascot, symbolising the excellent customer service, which would appear on posters, as a cardboard figure in the shop windows, but also on the covers of the price lists. This, again, stressed the importance Delhaize Frères & Cie 'Le Lion' attached to an excellent customer service as part of their sales tactics. Nevertheless, in 1932, the company launched its discount brand *Derby* as a weapon in the struggle against the low priced products of the *magasins à prix unique*.

8 / Mixed messages, bourgeois values

Although none of the price lists or posters actually mentions words as 'luxury' or 'luxurious', the concept of luxury and related concepts, like taste and comfort, are clearly incorporated in Delhaize's selling strategy. In doing so, it seems the company wanted to appeal to the middle class that had certain expectations regarding service and the offer of goods on sale. On the other hand, Delhaize continuously emphasised its low or favourable prices and was very present in industrial regions and small villages with a substantial working class population and hardly any middle class residents. Both strategies were meant to induce consumption, but since they aimed at a different type of consumer, at first sight they appear paradoxical. However, they are not contradictory. Delhaize sold foodstuffs that are a daily necessity for *everyone*. Their merchandise comprised the daily basics, but also products that were previously restricted mainly to the upper classes, which became available to the middle and lower classes. It seems probable that, in order to appeal to a wide customer base that included both segments, a double sales strategy was necessary. What united both selling points, were bourgeois values. The bourgeois ideal presented in the shop interior would have appealed to

36 While the price list mentioned six different brands of champagne in 1890, the customer had the choice between no less than 49 kinds in 1914 (*Tarif général des marchandises*, Bruxelles, Typographie et lithographie E. Lecomte, 1890; *Prix-courant juin 1914*, Bruxelles, Etablissements J. Malvaux, 1914)

the middle class. At the same time, it can be regarded as an attempt to promote bourgeois taste and educate the working class consumer, attracted by the sharp prices, to foster taste and thus improve him morally and socially. Moreover, the slight aura of luxury surrounding Delhaize shops played into the (social) aspirations of working class men and women. Likewise, the favourable prices advertised by Delhaize probably were attractive for both a working and a middle class audience. For the first, economy was a necessity, for the latter it was a virtue. Other sources than the ones explored in this article confirm that the Delhaize management tried to stimulate middle class virtues. For instance, the company ground rules, which were distributed to every branch manager and updated regularly, clearly tried to implement middle class virtues of cleanliness, economy and discipline among its staff. The paternalist attitude of Delhaize towards its factory workers, offering cultural and social activities and clubs with the explicit intention to 'uplift' them, testifies to the same goal.

In 2005, **Nelleke Teughels** obtained a Master's degree in Art History & Archaeology from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB) with a master's thesis in which she tried to unravel the interactive and socializing role of 18th and 19th century ceramics. In September 2006, she started a PhD thesis entitled "Tasteful groceries. An archaeological study of iconography, material culture and identity in Belgian food retailing, c. 1870-1940" as a member of FOST (Social and Cultural Food Studies, VUB).

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P. Scholliers, 'Goods and stores for the workers. The shaping of mass retailing in late 19th-century Ghent' in: D. Barker & D. Cranstone (eds), *The archaeology of industrialization.* Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2004.

E. Shove, *Comfort, cleanliness and* convenience*: the social organisatin of normality.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

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4.3

The Language of Luxury. Opulence in Gastronomic Discourse 1960-2000

STEVEN VAN DEN BERGHE

From ancient history onwards, the association between luxury and desire has always been a difficult one.[1] The matter culminated in the fierce morality debates of the 18th century. While luxurious goods became more available to a growing group of people throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the desire for luxury was still not entirely unproblematic, evidenced by anti-consumerism, which seems to have become more common again at the end of the 20th century.[2]

A locus of luxurious consumption is the modern restaurant. It is the perfect place for what is known as 'conspicuous consumption', the practice of displaying objects or consuming in order to demonstrate social standing.[3] The invention of the restaurant and its subsequent popularization throughout the world led to a growing corpus of texts dealing with restaurants. This chapter focuses on one such text type: restaurant reviews in guides. These guides are interesting sources as they do not only offer advice to potential customers, but also codify restaurant practices as a whole. Moreover, they do not merely reflect restaurant culture, but also play a constitutive part in the reader's knowledge about the practice. They play a vital role in what consumers see as correct practices and fundamentally influence the evaluation of food, service, interiors, other patrons and staff.

Luxury, as a category, can be applied to many different aspects of restaurants in the reviews. Furthermore, the author can implicitly or explicitly pass value judgments about the concept of luxury. Thus, rather than looking at what has been written about luxury, this chapter aims at observing and explaining how words connected to the concept of luxury are used within a particular discourse. The central question is how the idea of luxury is discursively constructed. In other words, do words like *luxe* or *luxueux* carry particular positive or negative connotations? In order to explain further how such an analysis can be successful, a brief theoretical and methodological section is included. In the second part, I sketch the historical context in which the restaurant guides under examination were written. Finally, some observations and interpretations about how the concept of luxury is evaluated and the linguistic means through which this is achieved, are offered. This chapter is part of a wider research project in which discursive aspects of taste are explored.[4]

1 C. Barry, *The Idea of Luxury*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

2 M. Hilton, 'The Legacy of Luxury. Moralities. Moralities of consumption since the 18th century', *Journal of Consumer Culture 4* (2004) 1, p.101-123.

3 T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: an economic study of institutions*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1925.

4 S. Van den Berghe, 'The language of taste: discursive aspects of 20th century Brussels' restaurant reviews', in: E. Lavric & C. Konzett (Hrsg.), *Food and Language. Sprache und Essen*. Frankfurt a.M., Peter Lang, 2009.

1 / Some theoretical and methodological considerations

Corpus-based discourse analysis is a relatively young linguistic method that combines techniques from corpus linguistics and parts of the theoretical and methodological framework of discourse analysis.[5] While a thorough discussion of both approaches lies outside the scope of this chapter, it is important to explain some of its most basic ideas. This is especially the case for the concept discourse analysis, as this term has known a huge proliferation throughout the social sciences, often with subtle (and less subtle) differences in meaning. Adding to this confusion is the fact that the notion of discourse itself has taken on different meanings in different research traditions, e.g. the French *analyse du discours* vis-à-vis the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The one thing all discourse analysts share is an interest in studying language use in context.[6] How they conduct such research and what they look for varies greatly. Discourse is generally understood to be the realization of social practice.[7] Discourses not only reflect social practices, they also disseminate and reinforce them. Or, as Foucault puts it: discourses are socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality.[8]

An example should help to clarify this: the 1960s restaurant guides by Raymond Declerfayt contain relatively long restaurant reviews. Each of these texts mirrors the social practice of eating out very closely. Thus, the author begins by explaining how to get to the restaurant, continues by providing a detailed account of the meal, often quoting verbal interactions between himself and the wait staff or his dinner guests. Then, an itemized restaurant bill is given. Finally, Declerfayt includes a so-called *droit de réponse* (or 'right to reply') when the restaurant owner agreed to respond. Thus, different genres (in this case a narrative, a bill and a right of reply such as commonly encountered) are combined into one text. The narrative mirrors the social practice, but it is also loaded with presuppositions and implications, which are subsequently distributed. In the case of restaurant reviews these often come in the form of evaluations, one of the primary functions of the genre. These evaluations are closely connected to another important notion within discourse analysis and especially its critical variant: power.

In the case of print media, such as restaurant guides, communication is a one-way affair. The author has the power over the linguistic resource. There is no way for the reader to question or contradict the author. As such, the reviewer already has two sources of authority: one as a so-called expert, with the necessary knowledge

5 P. Baker, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis.* London, Continuum, 2006.
6 M. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983.
7 T. Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London, Routledge, 2005.
8 M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* London, Tavistock, 1972.

and experience to be in a position to evaluate food, service and other aspects of restaurant culture. The second derives from the fact that the reviewer is not only a self-proclaimed expert, but was also convincing enough to have his or her reviews printed and published. Concerning this aspect, there has also been an important transformation: while nearly all guides in the 1960s and 1970s (and some during the 1980s) were published under the name of the reviewer, from the 1980s on ever more guides appeared without any mention of the reviewer. Some, such as *Guide Delta* or *Bruxelles Ni Vu Ni Connu*, published new guides every year. Unsurprisingly, these guides are much more commercial than the earlier ones, as they include many advertisements, and the reviews contain many elements of advertising discourse. The latter guides never mention any of the reviewers, assuming they actually base their guides on the work of reviewers and not solely on information provided by the restaurants.

One aspect of discourse analysis is lexis, and that will be the main focus of this chapter. However, in order to make sense of how words are used, which connotations they have and whether they are ideologically loaded, it is necessary not only to look at their frequencies and distributions, but also at their immediate and further surroundings, also called the co-text. Words can be negated, conjoined, juxtaposed and so on. They can also form semantic networks if they are repeatedly used in certain clusters or in similar contexts. Moreover, in most cases, broader contextual features, i.e. how the texts are related to the historical and social context, will be of vital importance to reach valid interpretations.[9]

Defining corpus linguistics is somewhat easier: traditionally, it refers to "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use".[10] However, since the invention and popularization of the computer, corpus linguistics nowadays implies the computer-aided analysis of digitized language corpora. Such analyses can include nearly all levels and modes of language. In this article, only a limited number of techniques will be employed: frequency analysis, collocations and concordance lines. Frequency analysis encompasses all techniques to measure and compare the frequencies of words.

The study of collocations is less straightforward, since there are a number of opinions about what constitutes a collocate. One definition is that a collocation consists of two words that appear in each other's vicinity significantly more frequent than would be expected if they were randomly distributed. Obviously, the span (i.e. the number of words before and after the keyword under investigation)

9 R. Wodak & M. Krzyżanowski (eds.), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

10 T. McEnery & A. Wilson, *Corpus Linguistics. An Introduction*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

plays a vital role when determining collocations, and generally a span of four to seven words is used. In order to establish whether a particular co-occurrence is statistically significant, several statistics can be employed. Most of these statistical measures have the same basic goal: by comparing the frequency of words within the span and their general distribution throughout the corpus, a score is calculated, indicating the likeliness their co-occurring is due to chance. For this article, the Mutual Information score is used to measure the collocational bond between two words. The higher this score is, the lower the chance that the co-occurrence in the corpus is due to chance. A score of three is usually taken as a cut-off point for significance. For a more detailed explanation, see Oakes.[11] Nevertheless, even though collocations indicate the strongest connections between words, they also tend to obscure other phenomena. For example, the interior of a restaurant can be referred to as *décor*, a relatively common word in the corpora. However, loose elements of interiors, such as the ceiling, the furniture, the lighting etc. can also be expressed in a myriad of much less frequent words. It is therefore necessary to look at the individual occurrences of keywords and their co-text in order to find such semantic groupings.

The main corpus was purpose-built for a wider study of discursive phenomena in restaurant reviews and consists of 1,629 restaurant reviews published between 1961 and 2000. All texts review restaurants in Brussels and appeared in guides aimed at a Belgian audience. For comparative purposes, the corpus was then divided in two sub-corpora: one containing 465 texts from the period 1961-1980, another containing 1,164 texts between 1981-2000. While this division is somewhat arbitrary, there are some justifications. Firstly, the late 1960s and early 1970s were a time of social, but also culinary transformations, labelled *nouvelle cuisine* by Christian Gault and Henri Millau.[12] Secondly, there is a clear structural difference between reviews written before 1980 and those that were published during the last two decades of the century. Reviews became significantly shorter, categorization was more explicit and often removed from the body of the text to the header and a greater focus was put on aspects of restaurant culture instead of digressions into other subjects.

11 M. Oakes, *Statistics for Corpus Linguistics.* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

12 S. Mennell, *All Manners of Food. Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1985.

Establishments catering to travellers are probably as old as agriculture. Farmers needed to travel to markets, necessitating a place to stay, to rest the horses and to eat.[13] Later on, *tables d'hôtes* and inns provided similar services, both to travellers and locals. However, these places had almost nothing in common with the modern restaurant. For instance, there were no menus to choose from, no separate tables and, most importantly, no individual service. The first modern restaurants can be traced back to 18th-century Paris. While there is a considerable amount of discussion on how this new institute came into existence (compare Pitte 1996 and Spang 2000), the first restaurants in the modern sense of the word opened their doors in the 1780s. At first they only served meat-based consommés, called *restaurants*, and other foodstuffs believed to be health-beneficial. However, almost immediately, restaurateurs started to offer other, ever more refined and sophisticated dishes. Also, other eating establishments began to add the word *restaurateur* to their signs, combining the individual service of the restaurant and other services.[14]

The French Revolution and its aftermath greatly speeded up the growth of the number of restaurants in Paris. Especially during the First Empire, the number of restaurants soared. Before the French Revolution, eating out was an activity mainly undertaken by the lower classes at the *table d'hôtes* of cook-caterers and inns. However, the new type of establishment attracted wealthy customers who enjoyed eating in public. As the wealth and importance of the aristocracy diminished during the revolution, many had given up maintaining a complete kitchen staff. This led not only to the influx of cooks to the Parisian restaurant scene, but also to a growing customer base that wanted to enjoy exclusive and luxurious dining experiences without the cost of a kitchen staff. By 1804, Louis Prudhomme claimed that Paris had more than two thousand restaurants, a number that is likely to be exaggerated, but is still indicative of the allure of the new cultural institution.[15] Pitte states that, "before the revolution there were about 100 restaurants in Paris, but afterward the number rose to 500 or 600 under the Empire and to 3,000 during the Restoration."[16] Nevertheless, such claims illustrate the popularity of the new way of eating out. Also, while many simple eating establishments continued to exist, this period marks the development of the fancy restaurant.

13 J.-R. Pitte, 'Naissance et expansion des restaurants', in: J.-L. Flandrin & M. Montanari (réd.), *Histoire de l'Alimentation*. Paris, Fayard, 1996, p.767-778.

14 R. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant. Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*. Cambridge, MA/London, Harvard University Press, 2000.

15 Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*.

16 Pitte, 'Naissance et expansion des restaurants', p. 476.

For a long time, restaurants were nearly exclusive to the French capital. An 1851 survey only mentioned four restaurants outside Paris, while all other departments did have inns, taverns, cabarets and cafés.[17] The subsequent dissemination of French cuisine and restaurant culture was closely related to the development of tourism. At the beginning of the 19th century, tourism was limited to the extremely affluent. However, they owned villas at the French Rivièra and brought their own private kitchen staff and had no need for restaurants. This changed as some middle class families could afford to travel as well. They stayed at hotels, creating a demand for restaurants.[18] In practice hotels and restaurants did not exist separately and for quite some time hotels provided the best restaurant experiences outside of Paris.
One of the first cities outside France to adopt French haute cuisine was Brussels. Similarly to the introduction of Paris cuisine at the Rivièra, this process first occurred in Brussels' hotels. Nevertheless, the first traces of fine dining in hotels predate the popularization of tourism. As early as 1803, the Hôtel de Flandre was compared to Parisian culinary institutions such as Véri, Robert and Beauvilliers.[19] Even though Brussels followed in Paris' footsteps, the number of restaurants remained relatively low until 1830. The Belgian revolution transformed the provincial city of Brussels into the capital of a new country, which attracted politicians, artists, diplomats, industrialists and the haute finance. As a result, the demand for fine cuisine increased. A number of revolutions in France (1848, 1871) caused a large group of Frenchmen to flee to Belgium, among whom a number of chefs who set up shop in Brussels. Scholliers studied the *Almanach du commerce de Belgique* and observed that the number of restaurants grew from 32 in 1840 to 312 in 1900.[20] The names of those first restaurants reveal that throughout 19th century the Parisian influence was nearly absolute: many of the restaurants simply adopted the name of famous restaurants in Paris (Café Riche, Trois Frères Provençaux or Café des Mille Colonnes). Brussels' restaurants frequently advertised themselves as *restaurants français*[21] or offered *déjeuners et dîners parisiens*.[22] In short, at the turn of the century restaurants had become popular in Brussels, but they were little more than copies of the Parisian example. That said, some restaurants in Brussels were mentioned in travel guides such as Baedeker, where they received favourable reviews.

During the first years of the 20th century and particularly after World War I, the restaurant scene in Brussels underwent a profound transformation. French cuisine was still the dominant constituent of restaurant cuisine, but regional

17 Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*.
18 Pitte, 'Naissance et expansion des restaurants'.
19 P. Scholliers, 'Brusselse restaurants in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw. Over koks, eters, schrijvers en luxe: Franse dominantie en respons', in: M. Jacobs & P. Scholliers (red.), *Buitenshuis eten in de Lage Landen sinds 1800*. Brussel, VUBPRESS, p. 57-84.
20 Scholliers, 'Brusselse restaurants in de negentiende eeuw', 2002.
21 P. Scholliers, *Arm en rijk aan tafel. Tweehonderd jaar eetcultuur in België*. Berchem, EPO, 1993.
22 Scholliers, 'Brusselse restaurants in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw', 2002.

Belgian dishes also appeared on menus and more importantly, were recognized and appreciated by food writers. As early as 1910 (when a world fair took place in Brussels), the French newspaper *Le Figaro* sang the praise of authentic Brussels cuisine, ignoring French cuisine completely.[23] While other sources confirm this 'emancipation' of Belgian cuisine, it is important not to exaggerate the importance of this transformation: as late as 1965, Gault and Millau referred to Belgian cuisine as a regional French cuisine.[24] Nevertheless, the fact remains that Belgian cuisine found its way to the restaurant and into culinary discourse. For instance, while dish names formerly often referred to France, Paris or French cities or regions, they often referred to Belgian places, cities or regions during the first decades of the 20th century.[25] It is a prime example of how language determines our outlook on reality, or more precisely, partially constructs that reality. Even though many of the dishes remained the same, the addition of references to Belgium helped to construct a distinct Belgian cuisine.

After the Second World War, the number of restaurants was about the same as at the turn of the century. Reconstruction and rationing were less than ideal circumstances for restaurant culture to take off again. However, the 1950s and especially the pivotal year 1958 transformed the restaurant landscape fundamentally and permanently. In 1958, Brussels hosted the World's Fair, an event that symbolized the beginning of a period of social and economic progress. From that moment onwards, the number of restaurants continually grew to two thousand around the turn of the century, not including fast food restaurants.[26] Moreover, from the 1950s onwards, the restaurant landscape also became more diverse. This resulted in a diminishing importance of classical French-Belgian cuisine and a growing interest in and presence of ethnic restaurants in the capital.[27] In short, the restaurant scene during the timeframe under investigation underwent great transformations, characterized by a growth of the number of restaurants, an ever socially broadening public, and an ever more diverse cuisine. At the same time, amidst innovations and transformations, the restaurant kitchens in the Belgian capital also ensured the continuity of a traditional Belgian and even Brussels regional cuisine, a trend that became more outspoken by the turn of the century. Finally, different styles of cooking and ingredients from various cuisines were also frequently mixed, in a tendency briefly called fusion.

23 Scholliers, 'Brusselse restaurants in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw', 2002.
24 H. Gault & C. Millau, *Guide Julliard de Bruxelles*. Paris, Julliard, 1965.
25 P. Van den Eeckhout & P. Scholliers, 'The Language of a menu (Le Grand Hôtel, Brussels, 1926)', *Food & History* 1 (2003), p. 239-247.
26 Statbel.fgov.be (visited on 15th of January 2010).
27 S. Van den Berghe, 'Etnische diversiteit in het 20ste-eeuwse Brusselse restaurant', *Volkskunde* 109 (2008) 3-4, p. 357-378.

3 / The concept of luxury in restaurant reviews

The concept of luxury is expressed by three main word forms in French, i.e. the noun *luxe*, the adjectives *luxueux / luxueuse / luxueuses* and the adverb *luxueusement*. A simple frequency analysis yields the following results:

TABLE 1 | Frequencies of *LUXE* and *LUXUEUX* (C6070: 1960s and 1970s, C8090: 1980s and 1990s)[28]

Word	C6070	‰	C8090	‰
luxe	34	0.103	29	0.127
luxueux	13	0.039	42	0.183
luxueuse	3	0.009	2	0.008
luxueuses	0	0	0	0
luxueusement	0	0	1	0.004
LUXE (total)	50	0.152	74	0.324

Compared to a 126-million web corpus of contemporary French (Sketchengine.co.uk), the concept of luxury turns out to occur much more frequently in the corpora of web reviews: all forms taken together make up 0.02‰ of the total (3233 tokens). It is clear that from the point of view of frequency, both corpora are quite similar, apart from the adjective *luxueux*, which occurs significantly more frequently in C8090. The difference is not hard to explain: guides in the latter corpus are often structured in another way than those in the 1960s and 1970s. The headers of reviews in C6070 only contain the name, the address and the telephone number of the restaurant. In C8090, a lot of other information is included in this section of the text. One of these is *Décor*. This accounts for 32 instances of the word *luxueux* in that corpus, often combined with other classifications, also generally adjectives.
This offers an interesting starting point for the discussion of co-occurrences and collocates. *Luxueux* has 27 significant collocates in C8090 and 4 (restaurant) in C6070, which is not surprising, considering the low frequency of the word in the latter corpus. The high number of collocates in C8090 can again be explained by the structural and lexical standardization of the reviews it contains. This is a list of those collocates, excluding function words:

28 Throughout this chapter, C6070 and C8090 will be used as a shorthand for the corpus of texts from the 1960s and 1970s and the corpus of texts from the 1980s and 1990s, respectively.

TABLE 2 | Collocates of *luxueux* in C8090

Word	Mutual information
logement	11.321
chambres	9.671
occasion	9.671
cours	9.238
parking	9.160
privé	9.086
voiturier	8.784
classique	8.753
exotique	8.708
décor	8.459
étage	8.212
terrasse	8.078
moderne	7.885
spéciales	7.584
jardin	7.559
fêtes	7.186
pers	6.955
restaurant	5.458
cuisine	3.723

All these words appear in the header of the review, illustrated by this example:
MAISON FELIX
1050 Ixelles, 149, Rue Washington
[...]
Activités spéciales: dégustation de vins
Décor: luxueux
Dans un paisible quartier d'Ixelles ... [29]

A part of the header was omitted in this example, as the statistic used to calculate collocations only takes into account words within a predefined span, in this case 5 words before and after the keyword. Two main conclusions can be drawn from this collocate list: firstly, *luxueux* generally refers to the interior and atmosphere of the restaurant. Secondly, it frequently combines with other adjectives. Such parings are interesting as they indicate that they are not mutually exclusive. For instance, *luxueux* co-occurs ten times with *classique* and three times with *moderne*,

29 Anon., *Guide Vif*. 2000, p. 99.

an indication that luxury in this discourse is more commonly associated with the past and tradition than with modernity and innovation.

In C8090, *luxueux* never appears in a negative context and is never negated. In C6070, a different picture emerges: out of just 13 occurrences, 4 refer explicitly to the absence of luxury.

(1) *Rien ici n'est luxueux*[30]

(2) *Cadre bourgeois sans être luxueux, qualité garantie et prix raisonnables ont affirmé sa réputation ...*[31]

(3) *... c'est l'exemple type du restaurant belge moyen: pas luxueux, mais beaucoup d'ambiance, une cuisine simple, bonne, pour appétits robustes ...*[32]

(4) *A l'intérieur, c'est tout petit [...], c'est riche plutôt que luxueux et encore, avec infiniment de discrétion.*[33]

It is noteworthy that the absence of luxury is not evaluated negatively, but rather seen as something positive or at least not presented as a problem. In that respect, the third example is striking, since it constructs an image of the average Belgian restaurant that is explicitly not luxurious, a restaurant serving huge portions of simple food. The large size of servings is a recurring topic within Belgian restaurant reviews between 1961 and 2000.

The fourth example juxtaposes *luxueux* and *riche*, yet again in the context of the restaurant's interior. The phrase *et encore* is important, as it signals that a lack of discretion is associated with richness and, possibly, luxury. In C6070, at least one very similar association was found:

(5) ... *forment un décor luxueux, mais dont la richesse demeure néanmoins discrète.*[34]

In this case, *mais* and *néanmoins* signal that the author evaluates this discreteness positively. More importantly, *richesse* is presented as an essential component of the concept of luxury in the context of the restaurant's decorum.

Finally, concerning *luxueux*, it is also important to look at what is absent from the list of collocations or in the concordance lines. Surprisingly, there is no mention of food, drink or people. Also, the adjective nearly never modifies the noun restaurant, and almost always refers to elements of the establishment's interior design.

In part, *luxe* shows similar collocational patterns as *luxueux*.

30 L. Willems, *Bruxelles pas cher. Bonnes Tables Petits prix*. Bruxelles, Rossel, 1977, p. 70.
31 E. Lange, *Bruxelles Gourmand. Les Meilleurs Restaurants et Leurs Secrets*. Bruxelles, Rossel, 1975, p. 106.
32 Willems, *Bruxelles pas cher*, p. 65.
33 R. Declerfayt, *Appétissimo ... pour bien manger à Bruxelles.* Bruxelles, Editions Immobilières, 1965, p. 55.
34 Lange, *Bruxelles Gourmand*. 1975, p. 96.

TABLE 3 | Collocates of luxe in C6070 and C8090

C6070		C8090	
Collocate	M.I.	Collocate	M.I.
grand	6.822	confortable	9.483
établissement	6.794	hôtel	7.621
sans	6.647	produits	6.958
mais	5.203	sans	6.676
avec	4.388	restaurant	5.992
n	4.237	de	3.813
pas	3.841		

In this table some function words were included, as they indicate that *luxe* frequently appears in negative contexts: *sans*, *mais* and *n'a ... pas*. *Luxe* is preceded and thus negated by *sans* five times in C6070:

(6) *Les plafonds sont en bois naturellement, sans luxe mais de bel effet ...*[35]
(7) *... un cadre moderne et pimpant neuf, bien que sans luxe ...*[36]
(8) *La décoration est assez chargée et disparate, sans luxe mais donnant ce petit climate d'intimité ...*[37]
(9) *Tous ces gens sont prospères sans luxe ostentatoire, voiture moyennes devant la porte ...*[38]
(10) *... l'ameublement est cossu, sans luxe ...* [39]

In (6) and (8) *luxe* is used in the common cluster: *sans* X *mais* Y. This pattern is quite common throughout this discourse. It offers the author a way to express a mild form of criticism, further neutralized by adding a positive judgment. Generally speaking, negative evaluations are relatively uncommon in restaurant guides. In that respect they differ from reviews in gastronomic magazines. Also, and this is particularly obvious in C8090, restaurant guides often have a clear commercial function and incorporate elements of the discourse of advertising (exclamations, imperatives, short sentences with many omissions ...). Obviously, guides that are a source of advertising will not tend to criticize the restaurants they 'review', as those restaurants are their customer base. In such texts, constructions in the form *sans* X *mais* Y can also be used as a strategy to come across as neutral and objective.
(9) is particularly interesting, as it confirms yet again that discretion and luxury are seemingly at odds with each other, underlined by the use of the adjective

35 Declerfayt, *Appétissimo*, p. 138.
36 Declerfayt, *Appétissimo*, p. 147.
37 R. Declerfayt, *Bruxelles, cent restaurants sans coup de fusil*. Bruxelles, Editions Immobilières, 1961, p. 97.
38 Declerfayt, *Bruxelles, cent restaurants sans coup de fusil*. 1961, p. 3.
39 R. Declerfayt, *Bruxelles à boire et à manger.* Bruxelles, Editions Immobilières, 1962, p. 217.

ostentatoire. It also separates luxury and prosperity, as is seemingly the case in a 2000 review of the famous Sea Grill:

(11) *... pour avoir accès à ce restaurant sans fenêtre ni luxe outrancier où règne une atmosphère paisible ...* [40]

Again, excessive luxury is evaluated negatively by contrasting *luxe* with a calm and peaceful atmosphere. The concept of luxury is removed from its economic dimension, as Sea Grill is a very expensive restaurant. The modification by *outrancier* yet again clarifies that the author does not want to negatively portray all forms of luxury.

Nowhere in this discourse, in either corpus, is luxury condemned as such. However, ostentatious or fake luxury is frequently criticized, especially in C6070. Consider the following example:

(12) *La décoration de ce genre de locaux est toujours ingrate, et je dois dire qu'elle est ici parfaitement réussie, avec bon goût, sans faux luxe.*[41]

Here good taste and phony luxury are contrasted. The author thus draws a distinction between authentic and less authentic expressions of luxury, preferring the absence of luxury over the presence of phony luxury.

So far, not many collocations were found with ingredients or dishes. However, in C8090 *produits* appears at the top of the list. Again, in order to evaluate whether *produits* refers to ingredients, a more extensive analysis of the co-text is needed:

(13) *Portions: certains les trouvent un peu mesquines, en particulier dans les menus. Je souligne qu'il s'agit des produits de luxe, qui sont très chers.*[42]

(14) *On est ici dans la catégorie des restaurants haut de gamme, où les produits de luxe sont mis en valeur par une cuisine légère marquée d'une pointe d'originalité.*[43]

Small portions, a light cooking style, originality ... it is a far cry from the greater focus on tradition and classicism in reviews published during the 1960s and 1970s. This shift is likely to be a direct consequence of social and culinary transformations, i.e. the breakthrough of nouvelle cuisine. Alan Warde[44] suggests that, "[a] contemporary application of Veblen's insight might be the fashion for nouvelle cuisine, with its

40 Anon., *Guide Vif*, p. 71.
41 Declerfayt, *Appétissimo*, p. 110.
42 Chambertin, *Le Carnet d'adresses de Chambertin*. Bruxelles, Rossel, 1983, p. 47.
43 Chambertin, *10 ans de Chambertin. Restaurants de Bruxelles et de la périphérie.* Bruxelles, Editions Numéro 1, 1987, p. 66.
44 A. Warde, *Consumption, Food & Taste. Culinary Antinomies and Commodity Culture.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Sage, p. 103.

emphasis on small portions of very fresh ingredients, with vegetables prominent, sauces light, and decorative presentation paramount." So, it seems that, at least during the 1980s, some Brussels restaurants offered patrons the possibility of eating such anti-utilitarian meals. More importantly, example (13), and particularly the second sentence, suggests that these small portions were frowned upon by at least part of the public. In the second example, published four years later, no reservations about nouvelle cuisine are to be found, which can indicate three things: first, the public's attitude in general toward nouvelle cuisine had changed in a positive sense. This is however unlikely, since nouvelle cuisine was heavily criticized and ridiculed early after it was introduced.[45] Second, nouvelle cuisine could have become a well-known and popular form of dining (and of conspicuous consumption) for a particular group of people, yuppies for example, and the review was directed at that group. Third, nouvelle cuisine could have been adapted by this time to better suit consumers' tastes.

Another significant collocate of *luxe* in both corpora is *de*. Usually, such function words are omitted from collocation lists, but in this case the exception is warranted by the fact that the adjectival form *de luxe* accounts for a large number of collocations, 20 out of 36 in C6070, 17 out of 30 in C8090. The nouns that are modified by this adjective are much more diverse than those modified by *luxueux* (which was mainly limited to aspects of the interior). In C6070, cigars, wines, beers, establishments, stores and women are called luxurious. In C8090, restaurants as a whole, hotel room, tables (as a metonym for food), dishes and products can be added to that list. However, the latter corpus contains no references to women. *Femme de luxe* is used twice by Declerfayt to jokingly refer to his dinner guests as they order something more expensive than he does. However, in one case he does write negatively about women:

(15) *Une dizaine de ces oiseaux de luxe ou de demi-luxe, me dévisagent avec condescendance ...* [46]

The *oiseaux de luxe* ou *de demi-luxe* is a metaphorical reference to the female crowd in the restaurant. His client (Declerfayt was a real-estate agent), whom he consistently refers to as ma *snobinette*, is late for her appointment, forcing him to wade through the crowd alone looking for a table. The entire review reads as a critique on youth, but also highlights class differences and a disapproval of a number of cultural transformations. He defines "her world" (*son monde*) as *"[c]elui des voitures sport, au-dessus du "yé-yé", au-dessous de la quarantaine ..."*. He also complains about the name of the restaurant, which is Drugstore: "*Va-t-on continuer à américaniser le quartier Louise?*". Also included in this review

45 Warde, *Consumption, Food & Taste*.
46 Declerfayt, *Appétissimo*, p.68.

are a number of comments on his dinner guest's lack of taste, something he extrapolates to the new generation of restaurant patrons: "*Mon invitée trouve cette nourriture "sensas", ce qui prouve, une fois de plus, que les nouvelles vagues de clients de restaurants et autres drugstores, forment un bon public, c'est-à-dire facile à contenter.*" Throughout the review he frequently quotes his dinner guest (in this example, "sensas"), ridiculing the 'new' language of the young hipsters. A picture emerges of the old, classical, discrete and sophisticated restaurant public and the young, flashy, hurried and ultimately, according to Declerfayt, ignorant and tasteless crowd. Nevertheless, the importance of this quote should also not be exaggerated, as it is quite unique. Moreover, Declerfayt frequently employs hyperboles and metaphors in order to create a comical effect.

4 / Conclusions

In conclusion, the words *luxe* and *luxueux* seem to carry mostly positive connotations. However, especially during the 1960s and 1970s and in a lesser degree during the last two decades of the century, overly conspicuous ways of enjoying or displaying luxury in the public sphere were criticized. This is apparent in the frequent connections between the concepts of luxury and discretion and in word pairs such as *faux luxe* or *luxe ostentatoire*. Before 1980, some facets of luxury are thus still taboo, or even frowned upon.

In both time frames, *luxe* and *luxueux* was used mainly to describe restaurant interiors and decorations, although this did change towards the 1980s and 1990s. What remained rare throughout the corpus was the description of entire restaurants as luxurious. Nevertheless, products (such as wines, cigars, liquor ...) were frequently described in those terms, particularly in C8090.

While in C6070 luxury was mainly brought into connection with tradition and quite often contrasted with modernity or innovation. This changed during the 1980s and 1990s: while the relation with tradition or classicism did not disappear (in fact, it was still quite common), novelty and innovation became more frequently associated with luxury. Nouvelle cuisine is a perfect example of an anti-utilitarian way of eating out, often perceived as highly luxurious.

Obviously, there are other linguistic means to express that something is luxurious than just the few words covered in this chapter. For instance, a number of closely related adjectives and nouns can express roughly the same idea: *extravant(e)(s), chic(s), (de) (haute) classe, opulent(e)(s)* ... to name a few. It is noteworthy that *extravagance* (4 words in total, 1 in C6070, 3 in C8090) always appears in a negative context. Similarly, besides direct references it is also possible to indirectly conjure images of luxury, such as by referring to traditionally luxurious ingredients, meals, cigars or drinks. Nevertheless, it is hard to approach the subject through these indirect references. For example, caviar appears 8 times in C6070 and 39 times in the considerably smaller C8090. One possible conclusion would be that in the 1980s and 1990s luxury played an important role in the restaurant and that the restaurant reviews reflect this. However, there is a far simpler explanation: those reviews were considerably shorter, but do contain more descriptions or names of dishes than those from the 1960s and 1970s. This inflates the number of references to dishes and ingredients enormously.

In sum, the concept of luxury was applied to many different objects and spaces throughout this discourse. While explicit condemnations were rare, particular forms of luxury were evaluated negatively. The lack of luxury, on the other hand, was nearly always explained in terms of something positive, often expressed by the cluster *sans luxe mais* ... or *pas luxueux mais* ... This way, different types of restaurants are assigned to different categories. As such categorizations became more explicit in the 1980s and 1990s, partially achieved by removing the categories from the body of the text and including them in the header. There were fewer contrasting categories and more overlapping ones as a result.

In the end, it is hard to conclusively say which social, cultural, economic and political transformations are responsible for this shift in discourse. However, one possible explanation is that, as restaurants became more accessible to a larger group of people (i.e. a process of democratization), they tended to focus on particular groups of patrons. While restaurants before the 1980s were often implicitly assumed to be luxurious to some degree, describing them as being luxurious would often be unnecessary. This does not mean that no establishments existed for the less affluent, but they usually carried a different label (such as *taverne*, *café-restaurant* ...). The increase of the number of categories in which restaurants classify themselves is clear evidence that establishments tend to specialize and occupy particular niches. In such a scenario, the luxurious restaurant is merely one of such specialized businesses.

Steven Van den Berghe works as a linguist in the interdisciplinary research team FOST (social and cultural food studies) at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Currently, he is preparing a Ph.D. thesis on 'the language of taste', focusing on discursive aspects of Brussels' restaurant reviews published between 1960 and 2000. This thesis is part of a broader research project which explores Belgian food culture and identities throughout the 19th and 20th century.

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ANNEX

Guides in the corpus

Anon, Bruxelles Ni Vu Ni Connu, 1995.

Anon, Guide Vif, 2000

Chambertin, 1983

Chambertin, 10 ans de Chambertin. Restaurants de Bruxelles et de la périphérie. Bruxelles, éditions Numéro 1, 1987

Club des Gastronomes, *Les Gourmets à Bruxelles*. Bruxelles, Editions du Club des Gastronomes, 1965.

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R. Declerfayt, Bruxelles à boire et à manger. Bruxelles, Editions Immobilières, 1962.

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Afterword

Concluding Remarks
The Contemporary World and Histories of Writing about Luxury

MAXINE BERG

How do debates about luxury relate to our current condition? It is notable that sociological and historical investigations of consumer society which emerged in the 1980s focused initially on mass consumer society. Studies of fordism as a form of mass production moved on to fordism as an engagement with a mass rather than class-divided consumption. Earlier Marxist analyses of alienated Western societies deriving their identities solely from the manipulations of the corporate world and the advertising media gave way to a more nuanced investigation of aspirations, emulation and actual consumer spaces such as the department store and the supermarket. By the 1990s, consumption had clearly become part of our identities, as important if not more important than occupations or work. With this there was an upscaling of consumer aspirations: designer goods and a branding revolution challenged the high street chains and mass consumerism which once underpinned them. Luxury became a common parlance of advertising: consumption was now about distinction. Affluence was no longer measured solely in consumer durables such as automobiles and standardized 'white goods' such as fridges and washing machines, but in distinction, diversity and individuality. A much more wide-reaching celebrity culture brought the consumer lives of the newly rich to wider attention; celebrity brought to luxury a greater sense of access and aspiration. There has been a further movement in both academic analysis and cultural sensibilities even since the early 21st century. Commentators now recognize that increasing social division has accompanied this new affluence. This social division, perceived initially as one between richer and poorer parts of the world, now encompasses sharp social inequalities both at home and abroad. We have now entered a new phase of cultural critiques of luxury spending and ideologies of retrenchment.

The long association of luxury with hedonism and the hidden lives of the very rich was analysed by economists in terms of 'positional goods', that is analysis of the demand for goods with a fixed supply and high elasticity of demand, such as the exclusive golf club or gym or the uninhabited island. Yet, Keynes during the 1930s had predicted that affluence would bring an ideal working week of fifteen hours. Why did increasing GDP and productivity growth among western economies during the postwar period bring so little decline in the working week? With rising GDP, there have been recent trends to more income inequality between and within groups: the gap between the top 1% of earners and rest has widened. New products were invented along with luxury branding. There has also been a rise in quality standards, and the demand for quality has been universal and inexhaustible. Keynes ignored the creation of new and endlessly variable consumer goods that would continue to motivate individuals to earn enough to afford them.[1] Material consumption is also habit forming. After an initial period of excitement, the consumer grows accustomed

1 R. Frank, 'Context is more important than Keynes realized', in: L. Pecchi and G. Piga eds., *Revisiting Keynes. Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren*, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press, 2008, p. 143-150, p. 146. Also see: R. Frank, *Luxury Fever. Why Money Fails to Satisfy in an Era of Excess*. New York, Free Press, 1999.

to the goods, and aspires after the next thing. Consumer choice becomes the key marker of social inclusion and exclusion. Aspirations are associated with luxury and designer goods, with lifestyle choices of affluence and distinction.[2] The continuous invention of new products, a process which accompanied the industrial revolution, has continued unabated into the 21st century. [3]

1 / Recent writing by economists on luxury

Neither consumer society, be it the mass consumer society emerging in the later 19th then 20th centuries, nor luxury spending have had a great deal of influence on the thinking of professional economists. Most have accepted 'supply-side' explanations of prices: 'supply creates its own demand'. Economic theory has traditionally regarded such goods as exceptions; economic historians have followed in perceiving such goods as relating only to the consumption of elites, and therefore not central to their concerns. During the 19th century it was the dissidents or heterodox economists, Ruskin, Veblen and Hobson, who addressed 'conspicuous consumption', 'underconsumption' , or 'pathologies of consumption'. As Christof Jeggle has argued in this volume, economists have had little to offer to the discussion of luxury. Let us, however, look at what analysis economists have offered. They have defined luxury goods to be those with high income elasticity, that is those with income elasticities greater than one. In other words, for every increase in incomes, there is a more than proportionate increase in demand for the good in question. Economic historians on the whole have considered luxury only in relation to elite consumption. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that economists developed theories connected to mainstream economic theory to analyse the demand for luxury goods. But the subject still remained on the margins of the discipline. While product development and branding were developing rapidly, economists dwelt on productivity change. They could not easily incorporate product development and quality differences into their time series. Their consumption functions focused on price and quantity, with tastes assumed to be fixed or consigned to exogenous factors.

Some saw luxury goods as those widely desired because they are not yet widely consumed. One type of good, so called 'positional goods' did attract analysis, notably by Fred Hirsch. Consumer demand for positional goods, those with a fixed supply and high elasticity of demand, is interdependent on the consumer preferences of others. Positional goods are defined as those things whose value depends relatively strongly on how they compare with things owned by others.' Hirsch made his case in the 1970s, arguing that goods in fixed supply with a high elasticity of demand were 'those things whose value depends relatively strongly on how they compare

2 A. Offer, *The Challenge of Affluence*. Oxford, OUP, 2005, p. 280.

3 A. Offer, *The Challenge of Affluence*, p. 182.

with things owned by others'. Such positional consumption was highly visible and marked by its quality of 'superfluousness'.[4]

Another position, set out in Scitovsky's *Joyless Economy*, conveyed the importance of novelty to consumer choice. Scitovsky argued that where all the needs of an organism were satisfied, there was neither pleasure nor comfort, only boredom. Habituation needed to be punctuated by novelty and uncertainty. Novelty, variety, complexity and surprise all aroused the senses and stimulated pleasure.[5] Building on this, economists have also drawn on 'hedonic indexes' developed by psychologists to measure cycles of pleasure, their stimulus and intensity. They have also argued that novelty too had to be 'bounded'; it was interesting while it was fresh and innovative; but it was also itself exhausted in the act of consumption. Tastes needed to develop in order to 'recognize' novelty and to 'discover' new characteristics in goods. Goods thus became fashionable because they connected with other networks of goods and their social and cultural frameworks.

Economists such as Lancaster and Ironmonger developed a consumer choice theory during the 1960s and 1970s which set out goods as bundles of characteristics. This later allowed for analysis of fashion goods. Such goods developed a characteristic as fashionable because they were recognizable as part of a series, or as part of a lifestyle package. Their fashionability entailed both recognition and surprise. Luxury goods and fashion goods involve analysis of goods in terms of a range of and combination of characteristics. This also includes quality differences. [6] More recently economists have adapted this analysis to argue the part played by the 'active' consumer who chooses sensual satisfaction over everyday convenience or even necessity. This active consumer is not a passive price taker, but takes part in taste formation, responds to new goods and combines goods in new ways to create a social identity and a lifestyle. [7]

Yet, as we have seen, most economic theory does not incorporate product development and quality differences in measures of productivity change. If we look at the use of time series in the national accounts, we see a central concern over consumer price and quantity. The success or failure of certain goods are attributed to technology. For the most part economists do not deal with taste; taste is treated as exogenous or assumed to be fixed.

The ambivalent attitude of mainstream economics to luxury can also be connected to the historical periodization of types of consumption and luxury expenditure.

4 F. Hirsch, *Social Limits to Growth*. London, Routledge, 1977.
5 T. Scitovsky, *The Joyless Economy: The Psychology of Human Satisfaction*. New York, OUP, 1977.
6 See M. Bianchi (ed)., *The Active Consumer. Novelty and Surprise in Consumer Choice*. London, Routledge, 1998.
7 Bianchi, *The Active Consumer*, p. 64-86.

Luxury expenditure was often associated with traditional and pre-industrial forms of expenditure. Wider consumer cultures were associated with modernity. Thus spending on luxury goods was displaced as an issue with the spread of industrialization, and attention turned instead to the standardized consumption associated with mass production. By the late 19th century there was a reappearance of traditional patterns of consumption associated with the new wealth of rich industrialists. Heterodox voices converged between the end of the 19th century and the First World War to analyse, deconstruct and criticize a period of rapid growth of new wealth and luxury expenditure in Europe and America. Luxury goods, excess consumption and collecting were manifestations of Europe's and America's new superrich bourgeois classes. Banking and industrial families built palatial residences to be filled with all manner of globally-sourced luxury goods, and they collected antique objects and pictures and other art objects. There was a whole fin-de-siècle debate on the decline of capitalism, moral corruption and social division. Sombart, Simmel and Veblen all published their critical texts on the hedonism of a fin-de-siècle age. during this period. [8] Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees* first published early in the 18th century reappeared at this time in a new American edition published by Kaye, and it was at the same time translated into German.

It was not again until the post Second World War that affluence and material expenditure reappeared as key social issues of the age. Affluence was associated with democracy in the 1950s and 1960s. Cold war models both of free market capitalism and of economic planning sought end points of 'high mass consumption'. Critics had also raised their questions over the welfare value of economic growth. This was the time of J.K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* (1958) of E.J. Mishan's *The Costs of Economic Growth* (1967), of Vance O. Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders* (1960) and *The Wastemakers* (1960).

2 / The 18th-century debate on luxury

The political and moral implications of luxury goods were debated from prehistoric times, but why did luxury became the debate of the age during the enlightenment? We might explain this by economic and social context: the new access to Asian consumer societies and exotic foods and raw materials of the new World; imported exotica were becoming Europe's consumer goods. Certainly mercantilist debates of the 17th and 18th centuries warned of the dangers of French and Chinese manufactures. Definitions of luxury goods changed over the course of the later 17th and the 18th centuries. The expansion of world-wide trade and commerce in the wake of Europe's East India companies and greatly expanded private trade

8 W. Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism* (1913), (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Universitiy of Michigan Press, 1967), xxi, 61; T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). New York, MacMillan, 1912.

both in Asia and the Atlantic world brought a broadening of the world of luxury commodities. There was both a more open debate on the advantages of trade and a more cosmopolitan development of the senses.

A nuanced discussion developed distinguishing 'new' from 'old' luxury, or 'modern' from 'ancient' luxury. New luxuries were created out of the division of labour and the expansion of commerce. Old luxuries were excessive displays involving large bodies of retainers. New luxuries shifted to engaging with concepts of commerce, utility, taste and comfort. The language of luxury turned from concepts of 'excess' to those of 'surplus', from 'vanity' to 'refinement'. David Hume wrote that luxury was 'a word of uncertain significance'. Diderot in the Encyclopédie wrote 'but what is this luxury that we so infallibly attribute to so many objects?' David Hume and Adam Smith associated luxury with commerce, convenience and consumption, and led a new 18th-century endorsement of luxury.

Context was also crucial. Pundits and politicians appealed to national character. During the Seven Year War the British had denounced French luxury, equating it with old luxury. By the later 18th century, Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson referred to the wealth of a nation in terms of an ability to increase the quantity of 'necessaries' and 'conveniences'. Ferguson wrote of 'a universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people'. He referred to luxuries as desirable possessions, or 'that complicated apparatus which mankind devise for the ease and convenience of life'. The debate on luxury now extended into discussions of taste and aesthetics. By the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, British 'new luxuries' were conceived to be those new consumer goods produced from new materials by mechanical invention in a range of designs and qualities, and meeting the fashionable aspirations of an upwardly mobile middle class.[9]

Yet despite these compelling arguments from political economy, luxury remained a paradox throughout the 18th century. Rousseau with other critics of luxury put it at the root of national social problems. He argued that luxury consumption destabilized the social order; it brought moral corruption and ruined taste. The Seven Years War followed later by the French wars revived old denunciations of French luxury. Luxury entered the language of late 18th-century radicalism and revolutionary virtue as well as conservative country politics.

9 M. Berg, 'The British Product Revolution of the Eighteenth Century', in: J. Horn, L. Rosenband and M. Roe Smith, eds., *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge Mass; 2010, p. 47-66.

3 / Luxury in the Low Countries

The chapters in this volume both reflect the new directions of research on luxury extending into discussions of quality and taste, as well as the deep history of the luxury debates in the early modern period. A number of the chapters pursue the special place occupied by the Low Countries in the history of luxury and taste from the early modern period until the present. Theoretical issues are explored in a discussion of luxury and quality. The papers cluster around topics of exotica and nature, taste, knowledge and art collecting and a final section on food cultures.

Jeggle engages with a new theoretical discussion of luxury's connection to concepts of quality. Luxury is often ascribed to certain objects, and these are usually perceived to be those of a certain quality. But standard economic theory has no approach to quality. There is the new institutional economics, and beyond this sociology and cultural analysis. It is important to investigate different local cultures of luxury, and the material framework of raw materials, semi-finished products and finishing techniques. But quality was also frequently defined in relation to design and fashion. It is important to define the precise context and discourses in which concepts of luxury and quality were used in the past, and how they are used now. Jeggle's chapter brings issues of the production of quality goods alongside the consumer issues of design and fashion.

The Low Countries occupied a special role in the transmission of exotic and luxury goods through Northern Europe, and rapidly commercialised a market in exotica and art. Egmond, Goldgar, and Nozawa examine connections between gift exchange and market exchange through exotica, plant collections, notably the market in tulips, and the wine market. From the 16th century in the Netherlands and other parts of Europe, Egmond writes, royal families used agents to gather exotic plants and animals for gift exchange. Curiosity collections, landscape gardens, livestock collections, collections of water colours and book collections of natural history conveyed the wonders of nature collected in Constantinople and other parts of Asia to Europe's elites. By the early 17th century, however, luxury no longer belonged just to an aristocracy. A debate on new luxury became part of the rhetoric of the Dutch Republic. This was particularly reflected, argues Anne Goldgar, in the pamphlet literature in the wake of the Dutch tulip crisis. A commercial culture arising in the tulip trade was seen as corrupting public morals, for the prices of tulips and contracts were settled in taverns. Pamphleteers argued that the useful work of many trades was replaced by empty work of dealing in tulips, and the earnings allowed those like weavers to live above their station. While many took the traditional view that everyone should stay in their calling, and that collecting and connoisseurship should be confined to the wealthy, new arguments were emerging that the tulip trade was just a trade like any other.

Was the market in tulips so different from another commerce, that of the VOC's promotion of wine-drinking in Japan? Wine brought in the early 17th century to the Dutch factory in Nagasaki, then Deshima, initially for the consumption of Dutch merchants, became a luxury good for the Japanese. Like exotica it was exchanged initially as a gift. Nozawa demonstrates a transition to a wine market by the 1650s, where European wines were consumed by certain groups around the Nagasaki region with close contacts with the Dutch: some shogun families, administrative officers, merchants, prostitutes and some intellectuals – doctors, translators and Buddhist priests.

Together with the transition from gift exchange to the market early associated with exotica in these early modern Dutch cases developed a culture of collection based in the taste and knowledge of the arts and material culture. Timmermans, Dibbbits and Fanslau explore aspects of the functioning of the Dutch art market and the widespread consumption of luxury and semi-luxury goods in the later 17th and 18th-century Netherlands. Neil de Marchi and Hans Van Miergroet in earlier research on the Dutch and European art markets connected the study of the pricing of cultural objects to the world of agents and dealers. Their work moved the subject beyond the curatorial questions of art historians into a wider economic and social history, deploying economic analysis.[10] Timmermans, in his contribution to this volume, introduces new research on Antwerp and Brussels to indicate the porous boundary between collectors and dealers, and just how the value of individual collections was enhanced in the international networks formed among political and economic elites and the collectors among them, how the value of collections was enhanced by these networks, and by sales of works within any collection to members of the aristocracy.

The market among the elites for luxury goods such as art works had its parallel at a much humbler level in the market for old and new luxury goods used as 'pronk' objects given on ceremonial occasions or used and displayed on such occasions in special rooms or in dress. Such 'pronk' objects are analysed by Dibbits in the small fishing community of Maassluis with its 6,000 inhabitants and the garrison town of Doesburg with 3000 inhabitants and 3000 soldiers. Dibbits compares the culture of scarcity in Doesburg with that of abundance in Maassluis. The inhabitants of Maassluis liked objects that looked shiny, coloured and new, and displayed these in a best kitchen, or other best room. They liked chintz, painted furniture, mirrors, and a lot of knic knacs. Yet they also valued 'patina', the inherited traditional objects that conveyed family continuity. They did not try to imitate the urban elite, but drew instead on their local experience to express their own consumer cultures.

10 N. De Marchi, H.J. .Van Miegroet and M.E. Raiff, *Dealer-Dealer Pricing in the 17th Century Antwerp-Paris Art Trade*,' in: M. North and D. Ormrod (eds), *Art Markets in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998.

Finally, the taste and aesthetics of collections of exotica and art and social displays of old and new luxury goods also find close parallels in cultures of food consumption. Emma Spary has shown us how a culture of 'gastronomy' developed into a science of taste in 18th-century Paris. A new pedagogy of food – a science of food tastes – developed, and the state played a part in measures to develop alternative tastes and food cultures.[11] Rebecca Spang connected the origins of the restaurant culture of 18th-century Paris to discourses of restraint and aesthetics.[12] Levels and fashions of food culture were conveyed in the history of the restaurant, on the menus of the court, and in the advertising and design of purveyors of fine foodstuffs. Belgian case studies from the 19th and 20th centuries in the chapters of de Vooght, Teughels and Van den Berghe convey the different uses of the concept of luxury in court and restaurant menus, restaurant settings and décor, shop architecture and advertising. The language of luxury was just as pertinent to the food cultures of the 20th century as it had been to the markets for exotica of the 17th century and the new products of the 18th century.

4 / Global historical approaches to luxury and the problem with quality

This volume has engaged with the many discourses of luxury from the early modern period to the 20th century, and case studies show the special engagement of the Northern and Southern Netherlands in these discourses. It has not, however, posed more global historical approaches which help us to see the early impact of wider world cultures of manufacture, consumption and food cultures on Europe itself. Jeggle's many points above product lines, networks of products, embedding of products through materials and different stages of assembling and reassembling, niche markets and quality norms are all vital to any study of luxury markets , but they are points primarily about production and not about consumption. If we look back to the consumption of high quality cottons in 17th and 18th century Europe, we must link this to European perceptions of quality products from India.

These Asian products were prized for their quality, perceived as their craft. They were the results of highly specialized, high quality artisan labour. We need to look to the development of systems of highly-specialized production of skills in India and their adaptation to European markets. That adaptation worked to the advantage of Europe and the disadvantage of India. Europe had nothing to compare with the

11 E. Spary, *Making a Science of Taste: The Revolution, the Learned Life, and the Invention of* Gastronomie, in: M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds.) *Consumption and Culture 1650-1850*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 170-182.

12 R. L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomy*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000.

quality of Indian cloth. The legendary skill of the Indian artisan derived from a minute division of labour promoted through the caste system. Multiple refinements within a caste also distinguished groups internally from each other – there were frequent sub-castes; each region with many groups produced its their own special kind of cloth for which it was renowned.

While European merchants could buy these quality textiles, they had little control over quantity, let alone quality. Rapidly increasing consumer markets in Europe and the Atlantic world could not be systematically supplied through the long global supply chains reaching into India. This drove European manufacturers to invent. We might look at this as a recasting of the old question of the 1970s 'what did bosses do?' Bosses sought control over labour, and achieved this through the factory system. But the real issue of control was over the product and the quality of that product. Inventors in the 18th century focused on the lucrative entrepot trade. Europe's and especially Britain's fledgling cotton industry grew rapidly within the highly developed markets for oriental luxury goods. Quality was an incentive to mechanization. The real challenge was not only to produce goods to match the quality and variety of Indian textiles, but to produce these in the quantity and at the time when they were wanted.

Timing and quantity were necessary in the transition from a luxury good to a fashion good. European manufacturers could develop long runs and simple designs, respond rapidly to take up of new varieties, productivity together with quality. They could produce improved and more reliable export ware. Mechanisation could provide merchants with more varied and 'higher quality' products. Reliability was now integrated with meaning of quality. A quality with standardization model developed in Europe; reliability and expectations of time management, delivery dates, predicted fabric types and designs increasingly governed European mercantile demands. An Indian production system high on quality at low prices, but low on consistency, predictability and confidence had its trade-offs for European merchants.[13]
John U. Nef may have argued for a 'quality road to industrialization' that emerged in 16th and 17th- century Europe, and was then derailed by mechanisation.[14] But he did not investigate just how deeply mechanisation was inspired by the search for quality, a quality which meant not just craftsmanship (a very loaded term with not a great deal of meaning in the 18th century), but reliability, predictability as well as materials and workmanship.

13 D. Washbrook, 'India in the Early Modern World Economy', *Journal of Global History*, 2 (1), 2007, p. 87-112; M. Berg, 'Quality, Cotton and the Global Luxury Trade', in: G. Riello and T. Roy, eds., *How India Clothed the World.* Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 391-415.

14 J. U. Nef, *Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958.

Maxine Berg is Professor of History at the University of Warwick where she has taught for 31 years. She started the Luxury Project and Eighteenth-Century Centre at Warwick in 1998, and in 2004 set up the Global History and Culture Centre. She is now directing a major European Research Council Project on 'Europe's Asian Centuries: Trading Eurasia 1600-1830'.

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