After Iconography and Iconoclasm: Current Research in Netherlandish Art, 1566–1700

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Like so many fields of art history, the study of seventeenth-century Netherlandish art was energized two decades ago by a new awareness that business as usual—Berensonian connoisseurship, Wölfflinian history of style, Panofskian iconography—would no longer do. With hindsight, it is obvious that these three founding investigative modes of our discipline were bound to lose some efficacy in the historical moment when all structures of analysis that mask their Western, middle-class origins with essentialist claims about their objects of study and with universalizing assumptions about their methods had become suspect. It was inevitable that the explicit identity politics of the 1970s would affect the study of human artifacts in the broadest sense. Consciousness of the constructed nature of class, race, nationality, and gender eventually reshaped Netherlandish art history, but the field has been retooled more slowly and less fully than, say, studies of nineteenth-century painting or modern photography.

That this delay has had little to do with the greater historical distance of early modern art from the analytic disciplines that conditioned the new art history (literary criticism, semiotics, psychoanalysis, neo-Marxism, cultural anthropology) is clear from the thoroughgoing introduction of those modes of thinking and writing into medieval art history and other areas at a farther temporal remove.[1] In good measure, the belatedness of serious engagement in Netherlandish art studies with social "context" in its various senses or with the close reading of works pioneered in literary criticism resulted from institutional constraints, particularly in the Netherlands and Belgium, where the major collections and archives are preserved and where almost any study of Netherlandish art must have its starting point. An assessment of the current state of the history of early modern Netherlandish art necessitates a prefatory look at the institutional and scholarly situation of the 1970s and 1980s, whose outlines Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann charted lucidly in an essay for this journal in 1987.[2]

Authority and Meaning in Dutch Art: The 1970s and 1980s

In Netherlandish art history of the 1970s and 1980s, methodologically diverse attacks on the old art historical regime were levied at two primary targets: a connoisseurship narrowly concerned with the establishment of verifiable catalogues raisonnés for individual artists and an iconography that located the contextual meaning of paintings underneath or beyond their realist surfaces, often imputing moralizing intention to the works. These issues were debated around or against two landmark enterprises: the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* being defined by the Rembrandt Research Project and the interpretation of *schijnrealisme* (apparent realism) in genre and still-life painting by Eddy de Jongh and numerous scholars indebted to his work. Although the historiography of early modern art in the southern Netherlands did not experience such heated challenges, it, too, underwent critical revisions in this period, discussed in the next section.

In the 1980s the Rembrandt Research Project, founded during the Rembrandt tricentennial celebrations of 1969, became the most public of art historical endeavors. Its stated goal was to determine once and for all what the master painted and which pictures should be relegated to students, followers, and modern pasticheurs. The publication of its first three volumes (in 1982, 1984, and 1989) occasioned heated discussions about its methods and, in the press, about its power to make or break the value of paintings confirmed or rejected as Rembrandts.[3] Almost immediately, the methodological discussion in professional journals and conferences became narrowly focused on the project's system. Could its five Dutch members be trusted to come up with a more compelling consensus than connoisseurs working singly? Why did they initially not publish any, and later only few, color photographs? How could X radiography, autoradiography, pigment investigation, and handwriting analysis contribute to such a subjective practice as connoisseurship? Were the Rembrandt Research Project's soporific descriptions of what the team members saw (in different combinations for individual paintings) necessary to the presentation of the evidence of technical and provenance studies? And, most controversially, why did the Rembrandt team insist on classifying paintings as A (by Rembrandt), B (the team cannot tell if it is by Rembrandt or not), or C (not by Rembrandt), without ever considering a category D (by Rembrandt with the assistance of others), which would have been expected for virtually all other seventeenth-century artists?[4] These debates begged the more fundamental question of why such a protracted and resource-draining project, which limited the possibilities for other advanced art historical research in the Netherlands, should have been funded at all.[5]

There are several ways of considering this problem. One could argue disciplinary need as the immediate justification. In 1969 Rembrandt's production stood as an obfuscating mass of more than six hundred works by him and by his pupils, followers, and forgers, reproduced in grainy black and white illustrations and gathered in the standard catalogues of Rembrandt works by Wilhelm von Bode and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (1896–1907), Abraham Bredius (1935), and Horst Gerson (revised edition of Bredius, 1969). Without greater clarity, the interpretation of Rembrandt's historical significance could hardly proceed. Even if the consensual opinions of the Rembrandt team might be challenged, at least the evidence needed for contestation would be gathered in one place. So far, the project's energetic consultation of X radiographs and other technological evidence has tested those new investigative tools on a consistent body of work and unearthed much new information about seventeenth-century studio practices and Rembrandt's adoption of or resistance to

them. Ernst van de Wetering and Josua Bruyn, in particular, were able to advance new models of workshop structure and insights into Rembrandt's working methods, and these benefits could only have resulted from the sustained research made possible by the project.[6]

These arguments still seem compelling, but they do not explain why the Dutch government continued to support the project during three decades of almost incessant publication delays. The unspoken answer to that question, and the one that may account for much of the animosity against the project, is that Rembrandt has been the only Dutch artist to enjoy international standing from his lifetime to the present, and thus the only one who could, under the logic of nineteenth-century nationalism, assume the status of culture hero. In a period when Continental philosophers and literary critics had begun to challenge the centrality of authorship in the humanities and to call for its historicization, the Rembrandt Research Project's single-minded dedication to one painter's authority (inscribed in the rigid A-B-C categorization, which, moreover, allowed for very few B paintings) demanded a more thoughtful defense. The very word *corpus* seemed to proclaim an old-fashioned attachment to the physical relationship between the artist's body and his works as ultimate measure of value in humanist art scholarship.[7]

In the absence of articulate justification, the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* became an easy target for the champions of "context," a concept that in the Netherlands has largely meant the art market, patronage, and a literalist iconography. In 1985, Gary Schwartz's study of Rembrandt's patronage and milieu constituted a direct challenge to the project's privileging of connoisseurship.[8] Schwartz made his resistance explicit in angry asides. Although the book was faulted for its stipulation of direct connections between the themes and styles of individual paintings and their (often very uncertain) patronage, it made resourceful use of the recent publication of virtually all known documents about Rembrandt.[9] The result was a lively, often convincing picture of Rembrandt circulating in a complex, politically savvy urban milieu—a figure who stands in striking contrast to the airless image evoked in the pages of the *Corpus*. In the wake of these publications, Rembrandt research has thrived and done much to sustain the relevance of the history of Dutch art within the humanities, as I indicate below.

The Rembrandt Research Project itself has not fared so well. Retirements from the group and the controversy over the A-B-C classification caused a wholesale reorganization in 1990. Ernst van de Wetering became the sole leader of a group of Dutch Ph.D. students working on the project, which was reconfigured to account for the possibility of studio collaboration.[10] No volume has yet been published under the new classifying scheme, and the project appears to have become bogged down in constant revisions of previously published decisions and in the essays on technique and iconography that preface the catalogue entries. For all the apparent flexibility of the new *Corpus,* its protracted history betrays a continued attachment to the idea that a team should eventually be able to get the real Rembrandt right. In the process, file cabinets full of sharp observations and detailed technical information about Rembrandt's paintings await publication. Whatever one thought of the old *Corpus,* its accessible gathering of crucial material in three hefty volumes has been its virtue, and one wishes the team could just have finished with it. Most multivolume reference works are challenged during their many years of publication, but this is not necessarily a reason to change the format in midstream. The *Encyclopédie* could never have become the Enlightenment monument it is under a wishy-washy editorial regime.

The task of clarifying the vertical and horizontal division of labor within Rembrandt's studio and at different moments of his career will ultimately benefit greatly from the availability of the stores of knowledge produced by the Rembrandt Research Project. This challenge has already been taken up by curators and conservators with intimate knowledge of the complex Rembrandt collections in their care. In a series of exemplary museum publications, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the National Gallery in London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York have begun to paint a more nuanced picture of the Rembrandt workshop, without pretending that theirs can ever be quite the last word on Rembrandt attributions.[11]

If the Rembrandt *Corpus* occasioned discussion about individual pictures and authorship classification rather than broader methodological issues, the iconography of Dutch painting shaped by Jan Emmens and Eddy de Jongh stimulated just such a debate. In the late 1960s and 1970s, an iconographic mode of analyzing Dutch realist paintings as structures of meaning had gained a powerful hold on the discipline in the Netherlands and well beyond. Iconography's explanatory model was compelling because it replaced the stale habit of considering such paintings mirrors of contemporary life with a view of them as repositories of culturally determined meaning, a meaning that could be teased out by reference to textual semiotic systems, most notoriously those of the emblematic genre. To art historians trained in the Warburgian tradition this method would seem as old as art history itself, but it was a novelty for the history of Dutch painting. The interpretation of Dutch art had been strongly conditioned by Eugène Fromentin's famous view of this painting as essentially subjectless and by the cataloguing tradition of von Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Bredius. It was not until the publication of Erwin Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting* in 1953 that Dutch art historians began to take note of the highly conventionalized character of realism in Dutch genre painting and still life.[12]

A few years later the first sustained studies of symbolic elements in such paintings began to appear, particularly in the writings of Emmens and de Jongh of the Kunsthistorisch Instituut in Utrecht. In 1971 de Jongh wrote a full-fledged statement of his approach, introducing the term "apparent realism" in a redaction of Panofsky's "disguised symbolism."[13] For de Jongh and his many followers on both sides of the Atlantic, however, the symbolism was disguised only to modern scholars. In 1976 the triumphal progress of the iconographic mode, smoothly charted in the scholarly journals *Oud Holland* and *Simiolus* and in popular equivalents such as *Openbaar kunstbezit,* culminated in the exhibition *Tot lering en vermaak,* curated by de Jongh.[14] This show sought to argue once and for all that Dutch paintings were meant to "teach and entertain," as the title, a seventeenth-century chestnut, proclaimed.

The trouble was that, despite occasional references to the fun contemporaries had sleuthing out dirty jokes and witty metaphors, the catalogue and its many emulations seemed to emphasize teaching, of a rather prim moral kind, rather than entertaining. After the art historian was done figuring out, often in most persuasive fashion, the meaning of this shell or that shoe, the painting seemed to have been drained of amusement. Could all these very different pictures, made by very different hands, in very different styles, for very different eyes, possibly all come down to the same moral essence? Were that plausible—they could, after all, be argued to be the products of one historical moment, of artists working for a homogeneous class of buyers—was there nothing to distinguish these paintings, as paintings, from the prints, emblems, plays, treatises, and sermons used to gloss them? Finally, if proper moral attitudes and social conduct could reasonably be said to have motivated the iconographic repertoires and pictorial strategies of history painting, interior scenes, portraiture, and perhaps still life, how well did this model work for landscape painting, one of the most innovative, varied, and voluminous pictorial genres in the seventeenth century?[15] Doubts were soon aired and grew ever more vociferous, even as the method continued to be applied with considerable insouciance.[16]

The earliest voices of resistance, which proposed that the moralizing efficacy of Dutch pictures might have eroded somewhat over the century to the benefit of a more self-consciously aesthetic painting, were swept away in vigorous counterarguments.[17] No single review, however, could neutralize the challenge of an entire book, dazzlingly written and published by a major American university press, framed as a rejection of the relevance of iconography to an understanding of realist Dutch paintings, whether landscapes, church interiors, domestic scenes, or still-life compositions. Svetlana Alpers's *Art of Describing* of 1983 interpreted these paintings as products of a culture for which visual representation was the preferred way of knowing the world.[18] Dutch pictures, in her view, quietly assert themselves as structures of knowledge on flat surfaces, using the pictorial strategies of the mirror, map, or scientifically produced image, rather than as self-contained realms seen through Albertian windows. Panofskian iconography and its de Jonghian heir (here reductively termed "emblematic") were best left to interpreters of Italian art, with its commitments to symbolic reference and the idealist view of painting as a window onto a one-point-perspective world. The response, in the Netherlands as elsewhere, was immediate and defensive, focused on the bold claims of the argument (provoked by the book's marshaling of all manner of northern European evidence to the Dutch cause) and rather neglectful of the many attentive descriptions of the way these paintings work for their viewers.[19] Although Alpers's arguments for Dutch art as one of description rather than ideation were too categorical, given the culture's attachment to the word and to narrative possibilities in pictures and given similar developments in Italian and Spanish art of the period, they stimulated renewed attentiveness to the way paintings look and the way they orchestrate particular types of looking. Most productively, Alpers called for an avowal of the high premium so many Dutch paintings placed on various modes of mimesis, however much they may have interacted with verbal products. The results of Alpers's intervention are very much with us today, as I will suggest below in a consideration of the most recent historiography of Dutch art.

For all their methodological differences, the types of art history represented by the Rembrandt *Corpus* and *Tot lering en vermaak* shared a powerful characteristic: a vested place in the art historical institutions—the universities, museums, and journals—of the Netherlands. The Rembrandt Research Project chose its members from the major academic art history programs and museums of Amsterdam, Rembrandt's primary stage. Iconography in the Netherlands was launched and sustained by the Kunsthistorisch Instituut of the University of Utrecht, and de Jongh's *Tot lering en vermaak* was mounted at the Rijksmuseum. The conservative structure of the Dutch academic system, in which the very few professorial appointments in art history come with immediate tenure, chances of advancement from the ranks of lecturer are very slim, and hiring processes are opaque to outsiders and not encouraging to women, does not embolden newcomers to challenge the governing mode of research and analysis in a particular institute. Once the Rembrandt Research Project and apparent realism had gained their places in this system, they could accommodate little challenge and transition, as the harsh reception of the interventions of Schwartz and Alpers, the painful history of the Rembrandt *Corpus* after 1990, and the stalemating of the debate over meaning within the Utrecht institute have shown.[20]

The Image in the Southern Netherlands, 1970–2000

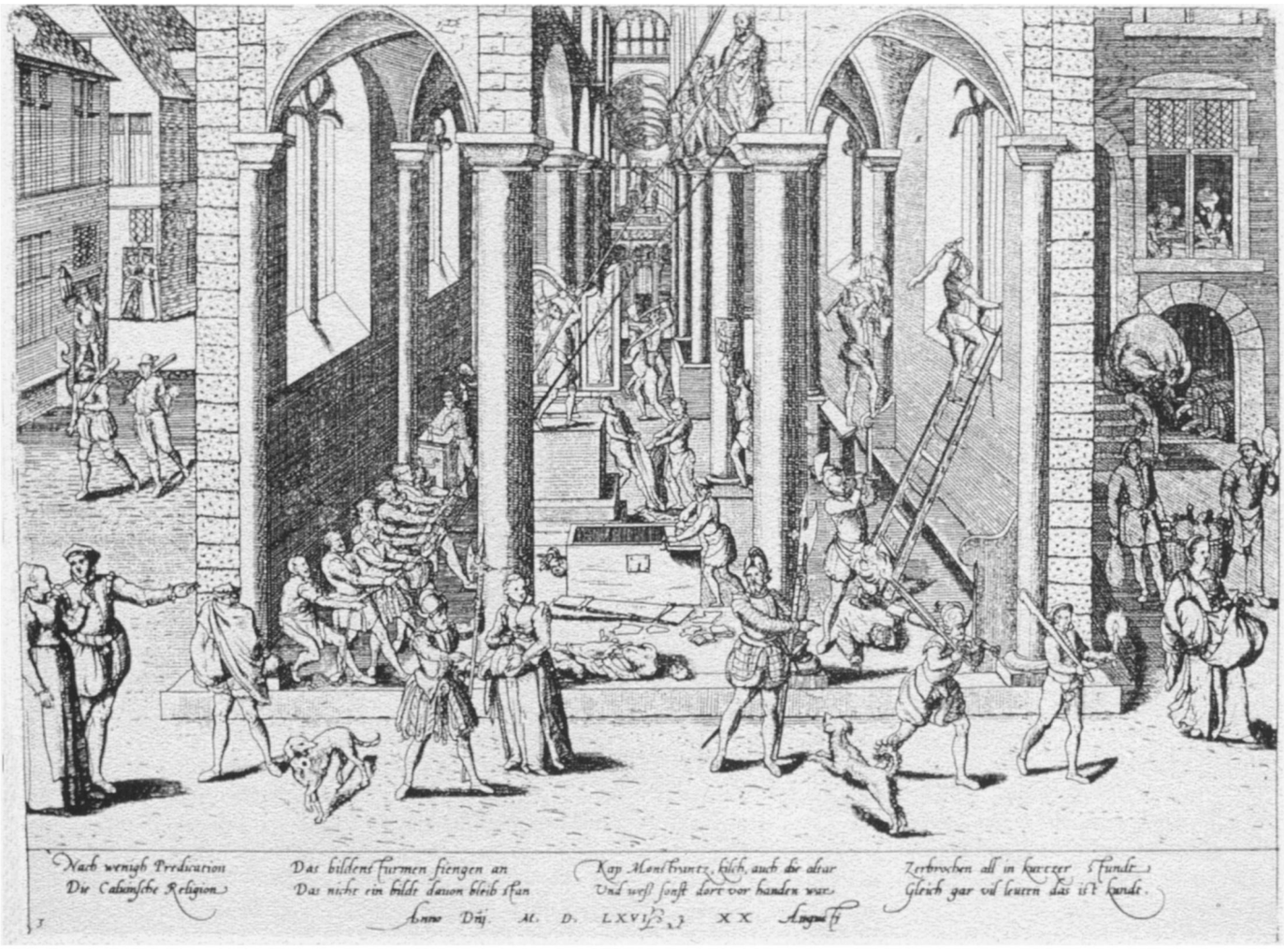
While the debates about iconography and Rembrandt sharply divided Dutch art history in the 1980s, the study of art south of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt Rivers underwent more modest transformations even as it stayed overwhelmingly focused on Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony Van Dyck, the traditional poles of the Flemish art historical map. The solid conservatism of Belgian studies of southern Netherlandish art is itself worthy of study.[21] Soon after Belgium asserted independence from the Netherlands in 1830, the international star Rubens assumed the position of *genius nationis* he has held ever since.[22] Art historical institutions in Belgium have been as dependent financially on their governments as their counterparts in the Netherlands, and these governments, for better or worse, have been identified with traditional religious and political interests. The country's acrimonious linguistic divide has hardened the distinctions between Flemish and Walloon universities, with the result that much advanced research has tended to focus on narrowly specialized and local issues. Yet there are signs of change from within and especially outside Belgian art historical culture. The most stimulating revisions of our understanding of southern Netherlandish art have been the result of exemplary studies of context, particularly of the status of the image, iconic and self-consciously artistic, after Protestant iconoclasm and rapid market development in the sixteenth century changed the production and reception of art for good.

In the 1960s, well before Rembrandt began to receive the outline of a corpus, Rubens saw the gradual accumulation of his own, based on the notes and materials of Ludwig Bur-

1 Anthony Van Dyck, *The Artist as the Shepherd Paris,* oil on canvas. London, Wallace Collection

chard (1886–1960) and edited by Roger d'Hulst and Frans Baudouin.[23] The ecumenical organization of the humanistically titled *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* which will eventually encompass twenty-six volumes dedicated to different subjects and written by individual scholars drawn from a wide range of national and institutional contexts, accounts for its ready acceptance as a meticulous instrument of Rubens studies. The iconographic and patronage-based organization—volume topics range from ceiling paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp to copies and adaptations from Renaissance and later artists—fits Rubens's historical figure as quintessential humanist, universal painter, and international artist-diplomat.[24] Modern Rubens scholarship is not subject to that facile challenge of historicity: Would this artist recognize himself in the modern writing about him? One imagines that he would have relished the detailed, attractively erudite accounts of his humanist circles, his house, his collection, his studio organization, his technical bravura and innovation, his tireless promotion of the value of art, his thoughtful understanding of his own status as an artist.[25] Only the occasional reading of his political allegories as deeply enmeshed in complex webs of gender and class identity, or of his renderings of pagan and rustic passions as precipitates of his artistic, national, and sexual anxieties might have troubled him.[26] The latter have caused ripples on the smooth surface of Rubens studies, but it is safe to say that they have not fundamentally shifted him from his central place in the discourse or made him a more interesting artist to most modern perceptions.[27] Rubens's unwavering commitment to the political and ecclesiastical structures of absolutist and Catholic Europe may now work against his protomodern status as master of the freely wielded brush in ways that it did not for Eugène Delacroix.[28]

For all of the differences of artistic interests between Van Dyck and Rubens, the younger painter's historiographic predicament is somewhat similar. To modern viewers, Van Dyck's brilliant flair for inventing poses and pictorial modes that suited and furthered the personal, social, or intellectual ambitions of his sitters suggests a perhaps overly eager commitment to please and sustain the powers that be, even though that very panache, when put at the service of Van Dyck's self-portraits, would seem ripe for analysis by students of modern identity formation and self-presentation (Fig. 1).[29] Van Dyck's historiography, infused with fresh vigor by the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death in 1991 and the four hundredth of his birth in 1999, has remained



2 Frans Hogenberg, *The Iconoclasm in Antwerp, August 1566,* engraving, 1572 (photo: Marburg/Art Resource, NY)

loyal to the meticulous reconstruction of his life, career, and painting processes. A few studies have begun to explore less tangible issues that lend Van Dyck more contemporary interest, such as his attempt to redefine notions of painterly grace, his fluid employment of pictorial conventions associated with male and female gender in order to make points about a sitter's social standing (including his own), the inspirational and facilitating role of particular patrons and models for his art, and his daring poetics of costume, particularly in the second English period.[30]

Rubens and Van Dyck studies have remained dominant in Belgium for the same national and institutional reasons that have determined the centrality of Rembrandt scholarship in the Netherlands. And yet the most significant development in southern Netherlandish art history of the past two decades has been the reconsideration of the status of the image after the destructive Netherlandish iconoclasm of 1566, which moved in shock waves from Steenvoorde in Flanders to other towns with no regard for the geographic outlines of what are now considered distinctive northern and southern political entities (Fig. 2). The unimaginably destructive iconoclasm was the culmination of dozens of years of Reformed agitation against the use of images in worship. This campaign aimed at severing once and for all the direct connection claimed by the icon between the material sign and its divine referent. It erupted three years after the decree on images issued by the Council of Trent, the belated Counter-Reformation response to the anti-image movement.

In a series of publications, David Freedberg detailed the effects of decades of anti-image rhetoric and action on the theory and practices of religious painting in the southern Netherlands.[31] Perhaps even more central to his arguments than the negative energies of Protestant activism are the responsive Catholic efforts at image reform from within the Church, which spawned the rebuilding and redecorating campaigns supported by the new Catholic orders and the Spanish governors after the reconquest of Flanders and Brabant in the 1580s. Pronounced innovations in religious art produced after the upheavals of the 1560s—the new thematic promotion of the Virgin and other saints, a larger scale for altarpieces, media shifts from suspect sculpture to emotionally powerful, clear painting—can be traced to the impact of the Tridentine decree and to the outlines of an image theory embedded in the Counter-Reformation treatises of Joannes Molanus and Gabriele Paleotti. Parsing these texts, Freedberg was often able to suggest what sorts of images might

have generated what sorts of friction. The prevailing worry of pro-image theologians appears to acknowledge the Reformers' claim that works of art, in their looks and in their uses, were prone to blurring the boundaries between the holy and the profane. Their attempts to police this distinction appear to have failed resoundingly, as Freedberg found, and the reasons for their failure perhaps may ultimately be attributed to the success of Reformed agitation in changing the nature of the finely wrought image even in the Catholic south. In the unstable political and religious climate of the late sixteenth century, the image benefited greatly from an indeterminacy of meaning that could support multiplicity of function.[32] In private settings, an exquisite image of a religious subject with multivalent textual meaning could serve all manner of eyes—Protestant, Catholic, the politically committed, the aesthetically conscious.

While most reexaminations of the pictorial and sculptural formulas of southern Netherlandish art after the iconoclasm have concentrated on the quite public, propagandistic ways in which patrons, artists, and works of art furthered the causes of the Counter-Reformation and its Hapsburg defenders,[33] recent scholarship has also been producing more nuanced views of the rhetorical strategies of the devotional image in private devotional exercises. In a group of detailed studies, Walter Melion has shown how Jesuit religious exercises stimulated renewed possibilities for the Catholic image, and especially the printed and seriated image. Drained of color and its suspect sensual appeal, these prints were structured to support meditational progression in ways that yet allowed for artifice as a stimulus to devotion.[34]

The most obvious abuses of the image, attacked by Protestants and Catholics alike, can be seen as art market phenomena as much as religious practices. Unauthorized religious subjects, lascivious representation of the sacred, nudity in paintings of classical themes, veneration of the image for its material splendor, and excessive financial gain resulted at least in part from the demand and supply dynamics of the early modern art market, which flourished as never before in sixteenth-century Antwerp. How the rough-and-tumble market in luxury goods generated a new, sophisticated audience of connoisseurs in the southern Netherlands has been detailed to compelling effect in recent studies of art dealers by Hans Van Miegroet, Neil De Marchi, and Philip Vermeylen.[35] It is a central theme of Elizabeth Honig's bold book on the market as genre, semiotic mechanism, and prompt to artistic innovation in Antwerp painting from Pieter Aertsen to Frans Snyders.[36] Honig's is the first sustained consideration of the respective roles of Reformed agitation and market pressures in the generation of the market genre and of a new class of art lovers in Antwerp.[37] She argues forcefully that between 1550 and 1650, paintings of modern commodity markets could arise, flourish, and actively transform themselves in Antwerp because the market had become a defining force of early modern culture. By 1600, collectors fully expected art to gloss, question, or rearrange the economic and social facts of their market society. As in Freedberg's understanding of religious painting of this period, art in this account emerges as an instrument of discourse, as an agent in the early modern marketplace of ideas.[38] By analyzing the economic breeding ground of the modern connoisseur-collector and of this type of art, Honig's book extends the implications of Zirka Filipczak's thorough study of the distinctive Antwerp genre of paintings of art cabinets. Filipczak showed how these mostly fictional representations of collections reflected and fostered an early modern self-consciousness about art making and art loving.[39]

The recent scholarly emphasis on the diverse functions of the image in an early capitalist economy and rapidly changing political situation has energized the study of print culture in the southern Netherlands as well. Reformers, Counter-Reformers, and all manner of political factions were quick to recognize the power of the reproducible medium to sway the minds and bodies needed to win their battles. As makers, buyers, and consumers exploited the communicative efficiency of prints, and as literacy rates grew along with the medium's power, something resembling the modern public sphere arose. The complex publishing process, from design to execution to marketing, sale, and reception, is a model of capitalist utilization of human and financial resources, product management, and reinvestment. No visual medium is better suited to contextual studies of the roles of artists, entrepreneurs, and customers or of word-image interactions. Detailed investigations of the inventories, artists' stables, and political leanings of individual publishers have greatly enhanced our understanding of the economic and artistic workings of print culture. Much of this research has been synthesized in lucid fashion by Jan van der Stock, a leading initiator of this type of study.[40] Our heightened interest in the print and its functions may be stimulated in large part by contemporary relevance. In an age when digital media are transforming the flow of information and the character of the public domain at unprecedented speed, the print revolution of the sixteenth century provides the most significant historical precedent.

While the history of art in Flanders after the iconoclasm is on the one hand a tale of remarkably effective reconstruction and innovation (helped along greatly by the return of the well-groomed and prodigiously talented Rubens), on the other it is one of lasting intellectual and artisanal loss. Apart from the sheer physical destruction of monuments, Antwerp and other leading towns suffered a massive exodus of Protestant-leaning writers, printmakers, publishers, and painters after the Spanish reconquest of Flanders and Brabant during the 1580s. The quantitative and qualitative extent of this hand-and-brain drain to the north and to Protestant German lands has been charted convincingly by Jan Briels, a scholar closely aligned with the cause of Flemish patrimony in Belgium, and this development is now regularly acknowledged in studies of the art of the Dutch Republic.[41]

The New Dutch Realisms

By the late 1980s, dissatisfaction with both the dominant iconographic paradigm and with Alpers's attempt to replace it with an epistemological view of realist picturing yielded new strategies for interpreting Dutch painting that defined themselves against these models. On the whole, the ensuing debates invigorated Dutch art studies, particularly in the United States, where the battle lines between the defenders of iconography and proponents of close looking were never drawn along institutional lines. In the 1980s and 1990s the

university system in the United States was in an auspicious position to accommodate and encourage methodological initiatives in the study of art. By virtue of their sheer size, variety, and relatively ample funding, much of it independent of national considerations, American institutions had long been more amenable to change than their European counterparts. In the past two decades incessant calls for diversification and disciplinary flexibility greatly spurred their capacity for transformation.

In the Netherlands the interpretative revolt was aimed directly at the iconography identified with the Kunsthistorisch Instituut in Utrecht. In a carefully wrought article on seventeenth-century texts about painting, Eric Jan Sluijter argued that seventeenth-century viewers—whether connoisseurs, Calvinist theologians, or workmanlike painters—were concerned not so much with art's moralizing potential as with its creation of the most exquisitely deceptive and seductive imitations of the world seen.[42] In subsequent essays, in a major exhibition catalogue of several generations of *fijnschilders* (fine painters) from Leiden, and in a small book on their founding father, Gerard Dou, Sluijter showed that this theoretical preoccupation permeated studio practice, finished products, and market reception.[43] In the same historiographic moment Peter Hecht, a former student of de Jongh's and contributor to *Tot lering en vermaak*, organized a broader exhibition of Dutch *fijnschilders* that presented their hyperrealist paintings as ever more refined products of a competitive artistic market.[44] In Hecht's scheme the meticulous realist mode arose because pupils were forever trying to outdo their masters in producing the most convincing illusion of surface textures. While Sluijter tried to find new ways of talking about subject matter while accounting for the mimetic interests of artists, Hecht argued that thematic repertoires were purely inspired by an interest in showing off textural imitation or emulative awareness of one's predecessors and peers. Hecht's approach might be taken as a result of Alpers's injunction to take Dutch realism on its pictorial terms, but a closer look at his project suggests that it presents a zero-sum alternative to the de Jonghian reliance on textual grounding: either the fine genre painting means, or it means nothing.[45]

In the 1990s many scholars of Dutch portraiture, interior scenes, and landscape rethought realist painting as neither composite of literalist metaphors nor product of artisanal competition. The finest of these investigations seek contemporary terms to distinguish Dutch realist modes from one another, to understand how these realisms came about and how they demand particular kinds of viewing from their audiences. These readings typically have restored a visual attentiveness of the sort advocated by Alpers, if to quite different results. The historical status of distinct kinds of realism, first problematized by Alpers and Sluijter, began to be grounded historically in studies of natural history and optics as practiced in the Dutch Republic and a wider European scientific community. The manifold ways in which a newly conceived *natura* asserted itself as the *magistra* of *ars*, and the debts of these developments in Netherlandish art to the twin spurs of Central European collecting culture and Dutch colonial expansion, have long engaged such scholars as Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, David Freedberg, and Joaneath Spicer.[46] Their work has prompted new studies of such diverse artists as the botanist Theodorus Clutius and the polymath Jacques de Gheyn.[47]

The Netherlandish genres of illusionist still life and perspective painting that flourished in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, at the great courts of Europe as well as in the cities of Holland, cannot be seen as such direct products of natural history, and yet they depended on the joint technologies of the most sophisticated oil painting, careful optical observation, and complex perspective drawing.[48] Celeste Brusati's study of Samuel van Hoogstraten, one of the great masters of such eye foolery, has revealed his illusionist experiments as meticulously calibrated responses to collector interest at the court of Vienna and the Royal Society in London. Despite its international breeding ground, the look of van Hoogstraten's works was ultimately forged from the pictorial traditions and urban culture of the Netherlands and, one assumes, a healthy dose of intellectual ambition inherited from his master, Rembrandt.[49] Van Hoogstraten, a highly self-conscious writer and well-recorded traveler, left ample trace of his motivations, and Brusati used this material to present a full picture of a thinking man on the cusp of artistic modernity, of an artist consumed in equal parts by the challenges of painting, writing, and attaining elevated social standing.

Had the Sphinx of Delft bequeathed similar documentation of his purposes and practices, the world would be the poorer for several Vermeer novels. Vermeer's optical sophistication and protophotographic effects have been the subject of voluminous speculation, comment, and analysis ever since his nineteenth-century rediscovery, which was indebted as much to the new glamour of photography as it was to the strenuous efforts of dealers and their critical allies.[50] Since the 1970s, when Arthur Wheelock and Walter Liedtke published their first findings of perspectival and optical knowledge in the artistic culture of Delft, the scientific fundaments of Vermeer's pictorial mode have come to assume something like the status of an old-fashioned historical fact.[51] Few would now deny that Vermeer, like his fellow townsman Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek (who became the executor of his estate), knew about lenses or that he had looked through the hot new camera obscura, replicating in paint its spatial flattenings, soft-focus outlines, and pinpoint highlights—the optical defects of the early cameras known as "circles of confusion."[52]

For all this pictorial evidence, the extent and the point of Vermeer's uses of the camera obscura remain the subject of heated debate. A recent study of numerous pinholes in Vermeer's canvases has forced acceptance of the proposal that he employed the artisanal pin-and-string method to create perspectivally coherent spaces for his silent protagonists.[53] This finding was seen to run counter, possibly, to the idea that Vermeer worked inside a room-sized camera to set up the perspectival structure of his interiors, tracing its faint image on the wall in drawings or even directly onto his canvases. And yet the latter speculation is the core argument of the most recent salvo in the great debate on Vermeer's optics, launched by Philip Steadman, an architect and professor of urban studies.[54] Although the subtitle of Steadman's book *Vermeer's Camera* bravely promises to uncover "the truth behind the masterpieces," his method is cautious and his

3 Johannes Vermeer, *The Girl with the Wineglass,* oil on canvas. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

conclusion measured: Vermeer's pictures are not all about camera-generated perspective; rather, they are indebted to the camera for their spatial structures and they owe to it their abstracting, seemingly unnatural light. Even those who find Steadman's reconstructions of Vermeer's domestic camera, constant furniture rearrangements, and cumbersome posing strategies implausible will probably concur with his view that Vermeer's pictorial intelligence filtered whatever he saw by technological means into an art distinctly his own. Vermeer's well-known deviations from optical and perspectival expectation underscore this intuitively obvious point, as Steadman's analysis of *The Girl with the Wineglass* acknowledges (Fig. 3).[55] If Vermeer were to have traced the precise camera projection of Steadman's meticulous reconstruction of his room, the painting would have shown a larger casement window, a larger picture within the picture, and a much larger white wine jar. In other words, Vermeer adjusted the laws of projective geometry so as to prevent perspectival consistency from interfering with the viewer's attentiveness to his human actors.

If Vermeer's use of the camera in some fashion is so obvious to us, it must have been more so to his contemporaries steeped in optical studies. Just how Vermeer's ostentatious reproductions of the camera's effects worked for such viewers is a question that has barely been opened. The very modernity of the camera must have played a role in his decision to play up the signs of its creative presence in his practice. Michael Montias's detailed studies of Vermeer's milieu now invite more sustained consideration of this issue. Montias's credible finding that Pieter van Ruijven was Vermeer's personal Maecenas for much of his career encourages study of his choices. Van Ruijven apparently bought more

than three-quarters of the few paintings Vermeer must have made, and we can still plausibly identify most of these.[56] But even if no specific sense may eventually be made of van Ruijven's patronage of individual paintings and particular techniques, it is noteworthy that the measure of economic security afforded by the relationship gave Vermeer, father of many, an opportunity to become the research-driven artist he seems to have been. Vermeer must have immersed himself in optics and dedicated his working time to the painstaking construction and revision of a few dozen beguiling domestic illusions and at least two allegories in what contemporaries considered a "modern" guise.

Vermeer's optical experiments, thoughtful working process, and difficult allegories have earned him close readings from philosophers, phenomenologists, artists, and critics outside the field of Netherlandish art, including Daniel Arasse, Edward Snow, Bryan Wolf, and David Hockney.[57] While their studies rarely distinguish themselves by dense historical knowledge, they are often strikingly attentive to Vermeer's dialectic of seeing, in which the beholder is deeply implicated. Many of Vermeer's paintings appear to pose riddles as to who sees whom and what, when.[58] This protocinematic quality of his art is what has made him into a modern success for over a century. Cultural historians such as Wolf are not content, however, to put their observations of Vermeer's silent cinematography at the service of the cult of the Sphinx. In a central and illuminating section of his book *Vermeer and the Invention of Seeing,* he analyzes Vermeer's production of a thoughtful privacy that was rapidly becoming a self-identifying practice of the Dutch citizen elite.[59]

Vermeer's researches did not stop at optics and a new bourgeois aesthetics, as more historically grounded studies have acknowledged. Wheelock, who was one of the first to make a sustained argument for Vermeer's use of the camera, has worked tirelessly to show how Vermeer, rather than collecting scientific knowledge for its own sake, put optical experiences at the service of an art that is fully engaged with the Netherlandish pictorial tradition.[60] Female novelists have appropriated Vermeer because he so often marked his pellucid, protomodern interiors as the quiet preserve of women. Many seventeenth-century male and female artists put women in the home, as did cultural consensus, but few endowed them with capacities for independent, unspecified thought. Fine essays have explored Vermeer's open-ended representations of women as somehow autonomous and his complex scenarios of women interacting with men and with other women.[61] Vermeer's *Girl with the Wineglass* (Fig. 3), for example, which Steadman has studied exclusively for its evidence of a perspective construction based on the camera, has recently been interpreted as a condensed, ironic pictorial gloss on the process by which polite rituals of interaction between the sexes came to sublimate physical attraction into urbane, well-mannered love.[62]

An Anthropology of Pictures

Posticonographic ventures into poorly charted visual territory—*fijnschilders,* early modern naturalism, perspective theory, optics—have widened the field of what is interesting about Dutch art. They thus participate in the thematic expansion of the historiography of Dutch art, a process driven in part by institutional needs for new topics of study, in part by an earnest desire to be inclusive in order to set the historical record straight, and in part by postmodern interests in diversification. In the past two decades courtly modes of painting, Caravaggism, Italianate landscape, the pastoral genre, and a range of pictorial styles tagged classicist have become viable, even coveted themes for books and exhibitions.[63] These projects have given us new material to work through and have yielded valuable analyses of the prestige of certain modes and, in the case of pastoral painting and classical allegory, their ties to shifting class interests.[64] Nevertheless, some of this work seems motivated by the old positivist dream that all gaps in the art historical narrative may some day be filled. More problematically, some of it is marred by a usage of modern terms such as *classicist* or *pastoral* that is too fixed for seventeenth-century understandings of the genres and modes we designate by them.[65]

In this democratizing process, under which all Dutch genres, styles, and artists are in principle created equal, we may have lost some measure of what was distinctive about Dutch art in the larger European setting—of what the fuss made by Fromentin and Théophile Thoré was all about. Bob Haak's huge survey *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century,* published in 1984, illustrates this problem, although it is a problem only to those who consider it a task of Netherlandish art history to analyze the most distinctive features of Dutch art within a European compass.[66] Survey books are rarely praised for their prescience, but in its striking inclusiveness Haak's text offered a preview of the dispersal of the field to come. Its catholicity and leveling approach came at a considerable price. Flipping through the book's splintered chapters—a few Rembrandts here, a few more some chapters on, interspersed with countless attractive pictures by little-known painters—readers get little sense of what was unique about art made in the Dutch Republic in this period, what was novel about the way it participated in the society that clamored for it, and why we should care about it today. Haak's insistence on calling all seventeenth-century artists painters and his refusal to think of their works as art offered small breathing room for the self-conscious artistry of a van Mander, a Rembrandt, a Dou, a Vermeer.[67] On the other hand, Haak opened the field to research into art that has been marginalized by modern art history yet was prestigious in its own time. Attentiveness to these modes has sharpened our views of the dynamics of word and image within Dutch culture as a whole, of the mechanisms of innovation and conservatism in its visual arts, and of the social participation of the artist and the visual work.

The results have been quite productive. In an impressively wide range of studies (many engaged with nonrealist modes), meaning has emerged as a more active process of cultural production, reception, and transformation than traditional iconography allowed. Much of this work has begun to muster the interpretative techniques and political commitments of other disciplines in the postmodern moment, most notably, literary history, cultural studies, and historical anthropology, though a modicum of feminist analysis and psychoanalytic theory have slowly worked their way into the field as well.[68] This search for "context" itself could hardly be taken as novel or as the panacea it seemed to become around 1990: Was it

not iconography's great project to shift meaning from the pictorial object to its cultural "context"? Yet many of the studies of Dutch art typically qualified as contextual have revised our understanding of how relationships among makers, materials, media, and markets shape the look of individual objects and whether, and how, they might work for their viewers. Context studies of this sort have become the special preserve of American art studies, for the institutional reasons mentioned above and because monographic work based on collections and archives requires long-term, uninterrupted access to these repositories in the Netherlands.[69] But contrary to the charges of avisuality or kitchen-sink inclusiveness often levied against context studies, they need not bury the object under mounds of inconsequential archaeological detail. In the most careful analyses Dutch art molds context as profoundly as context shapes the art.

The central paradox of Dutch pictorial culture, rarely commented on, is the extraordinary expansion and diversification of painting, much of it utterly seductive in its mimetic persuasiveness or lush tactility, in a political culture committed to, even founded on, distrust of sight and faith in the word. Iconography to some extent erased this contradiction by reconfiguring the pictorial as a sign system equivalent in content but ultimately subservient to its pervasive verbal counterpart. Understanding the visual products of such a strongly verbal culture inevitably calls for an analysis that clarifies the social status of images, that shows why there was a place for them at all, that suggests how pictures might have been meaningful in spaces where texts fell short. An inquiry into the capacity of Dutch art for meaning demands engagement with the word, and even Alpers, Sluijter, and Hecht were quick to marshal a wide range of textual material in support of their arguments. In its most recent incarnation, this type of study has allied itself readily with historical anthropology and its interest in what stories cultures tell themselves about themselves.

Serious study of the myriad relationships between word and image, writing and picturing in the Dutch Republic has been facilitated immeasurably by the voluminous recent research into Netherlandish art literature, a body of work traditionally seen as the slim daughter of a grand and robust Italian matron. Most of this work has been performed or stimulated by the resourceful investigations of Hessel Miedema into Karel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* (Painting book, 1604), the founding monument of Netherlandish art history. Over the past three decades Miedema has given us erudite editions of different components of the *Schilder-boeck:* the *Leer-dicht* (the didactic poem that opens the book), the *Lives of the Modern Italian Artists,* and, most recently, a full English translation and five volumes of scholarly redaction of the *Lives of the Eminent Netherlandish and German Painters.*[70] Just as stimulating have been his numerous historicizing discussions of the structure, vocabulary, and functions of the *Schilder-boeck,* which he tends to see in terms that are impatient with current interpretations of van Mander's less obvious motives.[71]

Miedema's researches have been productively extended and critiqued by younger scholars. Over the past decade, Walter Melion and Marten Jan Bok have interpreted van Mander from the diverse viewpoints of early Netherlandish canon formation and a growing Dutch audience of collectors, issues of little interest to Miedema.[72] Michael Hoyle and Miedema have published an annotated English translation of Philips Angel's *Lof der schilder-konst* (Praise of painting, 1641), a rare published lecture from a painter to his colleagues in Leiden.[73] The theoretical framework of Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (Great theater of Netherlandish painters, male and female, 1718–21) and the functions of anecdote and style within it have been glossed in numerous publications, and more detailed studies of this text and others have recently appeared.[74]

The most provocative of these researches combine a fine ear for the writer's language with a keen eye for the art discussed. The *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (Introduction to the high school of painting) by the accomplished painter-writer van Hoogstraten (1678) lends itself well to such integrated analysis, as Brusati's book demonstrates.[75] Sluijter's close reading of Philips Angel's lecture to his painter-colleagues in Leiden yields up welcome terms for the appreciation among the city's connoisseurs of the local tradition of fine painting founded by Gerard Dou.[76] In careful studies dedicated to two single words, Paul Taylor proved the centrality of the once poorly understood terms *houding* and *gloeyend* to seventeenth-century theoretical writing about innovations in composition and coloring.[77]

The flourishing of such lexical analysis of art literature has coincided with energetic new research into traditionally underexamined genres and market processes in seventeenth-century Dutch literature, spearheaded in the 1970s and 1980s by Marijke Spies, Maria Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, and Sonia Witstein, among others.[78] In its attentiveness to rhetorical structure, genre theory, conventionality of theme and style, and processes of authorial identification, this literary history has been influential on recent studies of similar features in the visual arts. Rather than taking texts as sources or direct thematic or moral comparables, these investigations use literary analogies to gain terms for semiotic processes within pictures and the genres to which they seem to belong.

Landscape paintings, especially of the bad-weather variety, have been a notable beneficiary of such analysis. In groundbreaking work, Larry Goedde showed how descriptions of storms in seventeenth-century poetry used rhetorical conventions of *ekphrasis* and narrative that give us some purchase on viewer responses to paintings of similar scenes.[79] Looking at the brown and gray, rainy and windy landscape paintings of Jan van Goyen and his epigones, Reindert Falkenburg has proposed seeing them in seventeenth-century terms of natural emulation, strategies again borrowed from the classical rhetoric that suffused the Dutch educational system and literary culture. These studies recover a specific seventeenth-century understanding of genres to account for the way pictures look, what they include, exclude, marginalize, or put center stage.[80]

The word has also been brought to bear anew on what we still think of as genre painting. In the process, these studies are reconsidering just how we might define the kinds of pictures we have designated as such ever since French art criticism gave them their catchall tag. Scholars investigating the comic, the ironic, and the paradoxical have tried to analyze the paintings of humorists such as Jan Steen and

Adriaen van de Venne in terms of seventeenth-century theatrical strategies and of humor as both conversational exercise and social censor.[81] If these studies have restored the pictorial fun to a few of the stars of the iconographic moment, others have grappled with the central repertoire of *Tot lering en vermaak*—the mostly quite serious interior paintings of Pieter de Hooch, Nicolaes Maes, Gerard Terborch, and their many colleagues. Without eschewing iconographic method, Wayne Franits and Martha Hollander have firmed our grasp of the social role played by the new domestic imagery of the 1650s. Their studies restore this painting to its contexts of puritan conduct manuals, a nascent valuation of privacy enabled by the grand town house, and the self-conscious participation of the urban middle class in what Norbert Elias coined the civilizing process.[82] All of these studies—of comic, earnest, and self-conscious domestic paintings—accept the finding of contemporary media studies that highly realist images actively shape social practice, rather than merely reflect it. The visual regime of the real and the everyday, which Vermeer, Steen, the *fijnschilders*, and Terborch forged in such different fashions, may well have been as effective an ideological agent as television. This silent premise of recent work on domestic genre painting animates the more politically conscious studies of Alison Kettering, Nanette Salomon, and Elizabeth Honig, among others, all of which tease out the pictorial tactics that allow realist images to perform their normative or critical work.[83]

One of the first books to take the normative role of Dutch realist paintings in earnest was Simon Schama's *Embarrassment of Riches* of 1987. Schama was less concerned with the pictorial functioning of the works (although he did not hesitate to speculate about the narrative implications of elusive pictures) than he was to take them as anthropological evidence of a bipolar Dutch culture, perennially anxious about its wondrous yet morally compromising material splendors. Like most (art) historians who have ventured grand narratives of Dutch art, society, and history, Schama was reviewed mercilessly by the professional establishment for his loose handling of the details. Here it is worth noting that his taking pictures seriously has nevertheless been formative for a new generation of art historians, and that the fame of his work may have had the less fortunate side effect of promoting a rather classless view of Dutch culture as united around anthropological binaries (open and closed, puritan and lascivious, watery and dry, and so forth). This classless reductivism gives the book an old-fashioned cast, not least because such a view of Dutch society was just then being challenged and redefined in economically based studies of paintings, prints, and a whole range of domestic objects—scholarship used by Schama in his reconstruction of the material culture of the Dutch urban elite.

The study of domestic material culture, a subset of the lifestyle studies that have become the stock-in-trade of cultural history and historical anthropology, has flourished in Dutch archives, universities, and research institutes. While some of this work has been spearheaded by historians of decorative arts such as C. Willemijn Fock, much of it is truly interdisciplinary in approach and institutional involvement.[84] Most recently, scholars of still life, portraiture, and domestic interior paintings have begun to take into account the lively reconstructions of seventeenth-century households made possible by the arrival of material culture as a scholarly discipline.[85] Their findings have facilitated more specific analysis of the tendentious character of realist interiors and still life, which seem to propose new social practices, arouse desire by their allure, or prompt thought by their subtle deviations from life experience.

Art historians have further contributed to the young field of material culture with detailed studies of patronage and, more fundamentally for the Dutch Republic, collecting studies.[86] Methodologically, the history of collecting has functioned as a subdivision of broader inquiries into the workings of the art market in the Dutch Republic, which extended and transformed early capitalist market mechanisms that had been developed fully in sixteenth-century Antwerp.[87] The study of the Dutch economic system of art has been one of the most productive scholarly growth industries of the last decade, refining our understanding of what used to be a vaguely conceived "open market" into a complex set of exchange mechanisms between artists, retailers, and customers. While these studies can seem excessively attached to the statistic for its own sake, many suggest how artists shaped particular genres and modes in response to their understanding of the conditions of the ever-competitive Dutch market. While remaining no less strange, tonal landscape painting, Rembrandt's earliest works, Vermeer's consummately crafted illusions, and Dou's micromanaged surfaces have all become more clearly situated as a result of these new types of area studies.[88]

The economic, material, and literary investigative methods glossed above, charmed by the detail and disciplined by economic theory, scientific technology, and lexical classification, may amount to a new strand of positivism in the history of Netherlandish art. While the field has been wary since its inception of the ambitions of early twentieth-century *Kunstwissenschaft* to produce a verifiable science of aesthetics, it appears more sanguine about the capacity of archival research, economic modeling, linguistic archaeology, and technological investigation to explain the work of art. If this optimism may seem unwarranted, at its best this type of research is sensitive to innovations and archaisms in the look and function of individual works, as well as to the social roles of their makers.[89]

The Self-Aware Art Historian

Many of the economic and material studies of Dutch art are cognizant of the identity politics of the 1980s and 1990s. While gender studies have affected the field in surprisingly limited fashion,[90] the visual arts have long been seen as central to the formation of individual, marital, corporate, and local middle-class identities.[91] With its rigorous focus on the body and, thanks in large part to Rembrandt, the face, Dutch portraiture has lent itself most successfully to identity studies.[92] Erving Goffman's famous analysis of the presentation of self in everyday life has remained the dominant model for Netherlandish research of this sort, as acknowledged in a volume of the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* dedicated to self-fashioning.[93] Analyses of middle-class identity that incorporate findings of modern psychoanalysis, seen as a historical development with long roots, tend to be rare and timid.[94]

If gender studies and psychoanalysis have held little attraction for an early modern field as committed to historical investigation as is Netherlandish art history, ethnicity and race have always occupied a wider blind spot in Dutch cultural studies. More pervasive and influential than the ideal of the classless urban society has been the utopic dream of Dutch seventeenth-century tolerance. In a European context there may be something to the openness of Dutch society in this period, and yet on balance it can be said quite crudely that open-mindedness operated as long as it was beneficial for business. This prevailing condition makes studies of Rembrandt's idiosyncratic interests in Judaic sources or of Catholic patronage both necessary and exceptional.[95]

The ways in which commerce circumscribed experience of the ethnic or colonial other are now gradually being specified in studies of the Dutch global imaginary and its economic logic. Until very recently, studies of the visual evidence of the Dutch colonial encounter could be ranged under the related headings of collecting and natural history. The celebratory studies of the Dutch Brazil project held in 1979 on the tricentennial of the death of Johan Maurits, the governor of Dutch Brazil, and the detailed scientific studies produced in its wake are slowly being supplemented by more critical analyses of the Dutch colonial project in the New World and Asia. Exhibition projects and dissertations are exploring the active roles of collectors, scientists, cartographers, and artists in making the Dutch global empire a historical reality and naturalized fact.[96]

Despite these deep nods toward contemporary concerns with gender, class, and race studies, it is clear that the major Netherlandish subject of postmodern identity studies has been the premodern artist rather than the premodern woman, middle- or lower-class citizen, religious adherent, or colonial subject in the making. The most provocative studies of seventeenth-century identity are explicitly Greenblattian in their understanding of the early modern self as a consciously shaped construction and multifaceted facade, forever in formation and never whole or finished, always defining its identity in relation to that of the social groups to which it belongs and against the identities of others. Portrait sitters are welcome subjects for this kind of inquiry, but few seventeenth-century figures fit its elastic mold better than the ever searching Rembrandt. Several studies have continued to argue the case for him as a hard-to-grasp artist, constrained but never limited by his culture, working within, against, above, and out from it. Rembrandt appears still to anchor us in the early modern process of identity formation and the history of the modern roles for art, in ways that may not be so different from how nineteenth-century romantic historians saw him.

Although distinctly uninterested in identity studies, van de Wetering, current mentor of the Rembrandt Research Project, has become the spirited Dutch guardian of Rembrandt's persona. His *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* presents a powerful plea for sustained looking, again and again, over numerous years, and for a constant check of present visual experience against the potentialities of past looking, as gleaned from a diverse range of textual and physical residues: art treatises, painter's recipes, newspaper ads, canvas thread counts, scraps of parchment.[97] A collection of disparate essays rather than a full statement of Rembrandt for our time, the book nevertheless yields a consistent view of him as a restlessly experimental painter working within historical studio constraints rather than the self-conscious counterculture artist of the pre–World War II accounts or than Schwartz's bad boy of the establishment. Van de Wetering's Rembrandt is scrupulously committed to the material, studio-bound aspects of his art. He is a modern painter's painter, and that may be the only thing modern about him.

Other Rembrandts have sprung from the ever fertile field of Rembrandt studies; very few can be referenced here directly.[98] These Rembrandts may be less materially present than van de Wetering's, but they are credited with a thoughtfulness about pictorial choices that transcends narrow studio concerns. Like the current manifestation of Vermeer, most of these Rembrandts are intellectually aware or even ambitious, although the odd one is so psychoanalytically complex as to have no mental access to his inscription of complex gender identities in the bodies of his historical protagonists or to his posthumous effect on the art historian's writing.[99]

Rembrandt's many and multiform self-portraits, unprecedented in their time and virtually unparalleled until the twentieth century, must be central to any consideration of his view of himself and his artistry. They are also crucial case studies of seventeenth-century possibilities for giving visual form to particularized subjectivity. Perry Chapman's study of Rembrandt's career-long exploration of the resources of self-portraiture for him as well as his various circles of viewers, from the familial to the anonymous, establish how self-consciously Rembrandt transformed the genre to his needs. The book shows that while his use of the self-portrait can be grounded in a culture of analogous introspective techniques, his practice is peculiarly modern in its continuous oscillation between private interest and public statement.[100] In the provocatively titled *Rembrandt's Enterprise,* Svetlana Alpers argued that Rembrandt's signature style was prompted by related but more calculating concerns.[101] In the process of transforming his studio into a small factory of assistants that produced works in the rough manner, with its abundant, demonstrative record of the hand that wields the brush, Rembrandt, she argued, essentially commodified the modern self. This central premise, along with Alpers's arguments about the theatrical nature of Rembrandt's studio practice, has struck most specialists as too tendentious, given the general character of studio collaboration in the seventeenth century and the discrepant circumstance that Rembrandt practiced his roughest manner in the years when his studio seems to have been emptiest of collaborators. Nevertheless, both Alpers's and Chapman's books reattuned scholars to the modernity of Rembrandt's art and his understanding of his role as an artist. Attempts to resist such readings have included a large exhibition catalogue of Rembrandt's self-portraits that presents them as artistic studies and vehicles of fame rather than as personally meaningful for Rembrandt,[102] but much current Rembrandt research has taken new note of Rembrandt's share of responsibility for his historiography.

The claim that Rembrandt engages us not just because of his virtuoso manipulation of the technical conditions of seventeenth-century art making but because he puts that facility at the service of new ideas gains credence when seen against the backdrop of a long tradition of artistic self-conscious-

ness—a legacy traditionally associated with Michelangelo and Vasari. Studies of the past few decades have established just how formative this tradition was for northern European artists, from Jan van Eyck and Albrecht Dürer to Hendrick Goltzius and Samuel van Hoogstraten.[103] Some of these northern artists shaped their artistry in conscious emulation or rejection of their Italian counterparts, as Constantijn Huygens had already recognized for Rembrandt by 1630.[104]

Rembrandt's self-awareness and its registration in his work, brash and vulnerable by turns, have made him an even more appealing artist than Vermeer for modern thinkers outside art history. Mieke Bal and Harry Berger Jr., literary critics of quite different interests, are only the latest in a long line of writers who have used Rembrandt's work, his reputation, and his modern historiography as starting points and foils for contemporary cultural criticism. Demanding reading for all of us who lack full grounding in the types of analysis pursued in these works, the books ultimately illuminate by their sustained close readings of individual paintings and, especially in Berger's case, rich interpretations of art historical accounts whose assumptions can be difficult to challenge for those who grew up with them professionally. Thus, Bal's reading of Rembrandt's *Blinding of Samson,* however implausibly psychoanalytical at first, gets at the profoundly disturbing character, even scandal of this painting in ways that we, as art historians, would prefer to neutralize or limit by acts of historicization.[105] Analogously, Berger's longish rehearsal of Kenneth Clark's *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance* eventually gives up that book's deeply buried debts to a centuries-old historiographic tradition that pits north against south, which limits its possibilities for seeing creative northern resistance to the Italian model.[106] Bal and Berger, and other interlopers like Victor Stoichita, Arasse, Snow, and Wolf, are not widely read by historians in the field, if reviews and casual conversations are any indication. When they are they tend to be critiqued for this historical inexactitude or that excessively postmodern predilection.[107]

Unquestionably, the works of some of these highly self-conscious writers provoke a traditional art history that goes about its researches without acknowledgment of its own interestedness in its methods and objects of study, but this is not typically what motivates them. Many of these studies are written from the joint convictions that our engagement with cultural products of the past must be explicit about our modern critical commitments, and that our present experience of works of art, in full acknowledgment of its modern conditioning, can give access to fundamental strangenesses or familiarities of the work. An awareness of these qualities—abjectness in Rembrandt's bodies, say, or self-sufficiency in an illusionist painting, or commodification of desire in a still life—may in turn help us identify and discuss the historical processes that have created modern understandings of, to stay with the same examples, gender definition or the autonomous work of art or the workings of commodity culture. Such ontological confidence about modern looking will strike many as hubristic, and the claims of these books about individual pictures as needlessly grand. And yet the close descriptions sprinkled through these studies, so often alive to historical oddities, ought to embolden many a specialist to do some explicitly committed looking of his or her own.

The limits and benefits of postmodern interest in major Dutch artists may be exemplified by recent writing on Rembrandt's *Artist in His Studio* (Fig. 4). This picture of a young artist in a room that is bare but for the stuff of painting, standing well back from a panel whose front is obscured from us, has long been considered Rembrandt's earliest pictorial statement on the challenges of art. The rushed perspective makes the panel and easel loom for us, rather than for the distanced painter, in a way that, the assumption has been, makes us experience the diminutive painter's sense of the magnitude of his task. Van de Wetering's study of this painting, published a quarter century ago, is a small classic of iconography: he argued that the painting is a vernacular allegory of a particular mode of making paintings, in which the artist stands well back from his easel to form a mental design of his composition and color scheme, then approaches the panel to execute his plan from the image in his mind.[108]

The reading is compelling on many grounds, but it allows for little personal or career investment on the part of the painter in this novel rendition of a Renaissance theme. The issue is crucial because the painting's small size virtually guarantees that it was not commissioned but made for retail sale, on Rembrandt's own inclinations. Van de Wetering is also peculiarly silent about the relationship between the painting's theme and its nigh monochrome palette and clearly legible handling. Chapman has restored a measure of self-interest to the painting by situating van de Wetering's narrative in relation to Rembrandt's myriad self-portraits of the same period and by noting that the painter is at least endowed with Rembrandt's own features and characteristically fanciful costume.[109] Stoichita and Wolf give the painting more extraordinary credit as early instances of painting acting as venue for a metadiscourse about painting: the painting figures as cover image for Stoichita's *The Self-Aware Image* and as introductory case, surprisingly, in Wolf's *Vermeer and the Invention of Seeing.*[110] Stoichita and Mieke Bal compare its ambitions to those of Velázquez in *Las meninas,* in arguments that assume too readily that the rectangular panel on the easel must or will bear an image of the artist at work, this very work, on its front.[111] All this may be a lot for the picture to bear, and yet these accounts acknowledge the novel, central ambiguity of the inaccessible panel within the panel more squarely than the iconographic reading can.

Schama's lengthy reading of the work fully explores Rembrandt's awareness that his painting makes claims for the painter as master of the picture surface and for painting as an art dependent on a calibrated balance between thought and hand. With justification, Schama sees the painting as "the quiddity" of Rembrandt's take on his own work; in its tactility, drive, and thoughtfulness the picture, in his memorable summation, is "a compact grammar; an account of painting as both noun and verb: the calling and the labor; the machinery and the magic; the elbow grease and the flight of fancy."[112] The heightened rhetoric is a marked feature of all of these phenomenological responses to the painting, and it appears geared to evoke the audaciousness of Rembrandt's experiment. It also appears to turn off most experts: recent exhibition catalogue entries on the painting largely ignore these

4 Rembrandt, *Artist in His Studio,* oil on panel. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Zoë Oliver Sherman Collection, given in memory of Lillie Oliver Poor (photo: courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

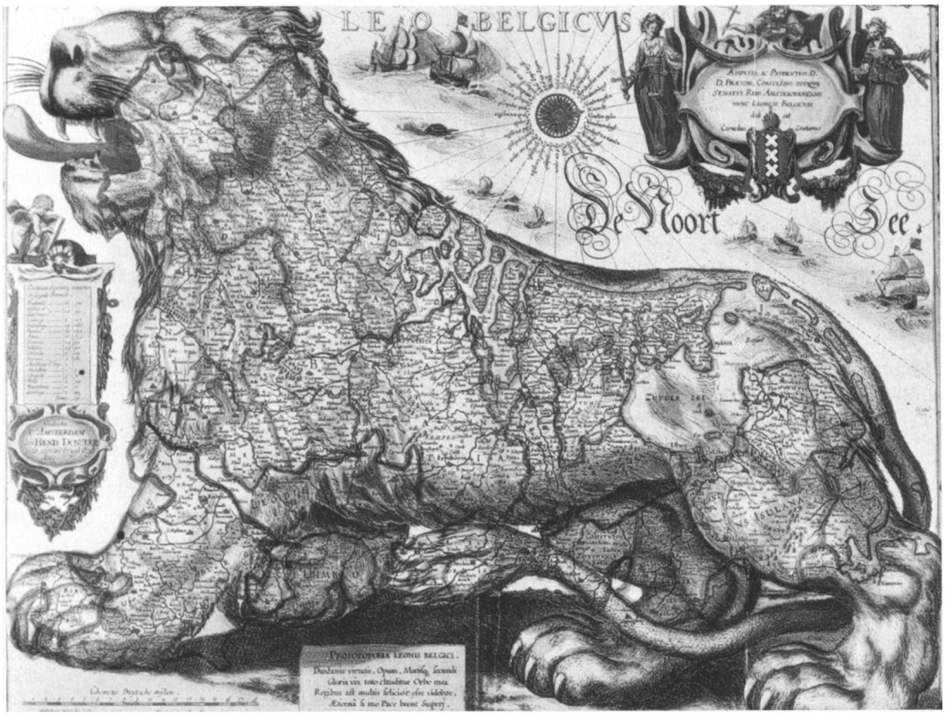
readings, hewing closely to van de Wetering's interpretation.[113]

Specialization and Its Discontents

Resistance to or neglect of the interventions of these trespassers on art historical territory is one by-product of the specialization of Netherlandish art history into ever narrower subfields. In such a finely differentiated discipline, specialists tend to be wary of wholesale de- or reconstructions of, say, a Rembrandt who looks ever more like a multifaceted composite of finely splintered studies of style, technique, studio organization, patronage, thematics, and self-consciousness. Disciplinary specialization offers salutary caution against grand historical narratives, and it has some other advantages. Most crucially, it yields a large professional body of interlocutors who have at least a potential for reshaping the field through collaborative and argumentative practice. Netherlandish art history enjoys two prominent internationally minded institutions that allow for frequent scholarly exchange and efficient, detailed research. The venerable Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlands Institute for Art History) in The Hague has for years granted generous access to its resources to anyone with an interest in Dutch visual culture, regardless of approach. The Historians of Netherlandish Art, founded two decades ago in the United States, is a lively organization with more than seven hundred international members.

And yet the differentiation of Netherlandish studies into small, isolated topics has had its costs. One casualty is serious engagement with the relationships and divergences between the visual arts in the northern and southern Netherlands. The distinction between the southern Netherlands as Spanish, absolutist, and Catholic and the Dutch Republic as Calvinist, market-based, and indigenous shows no signs of weakening or modification in surveys, which by and large adopt the sharply drawn divide of Arnold Hauser's social history of art. While it would be foolhardy to deny that the economic and religious politics of the early modern Netherlands produced vastly different situations for the image, its makers, and its viewers in the different political domains, careful consideration of the many channels of exchange and awareness between the two diverging cultures restores historicity to the eventual nineteenth-century division of the Netherlands and Belgium. Throughout his mid-twentieth-century career the Dutch historian J. P. Geyl argued this case with vigor.[114] After World War II, however, Geyl's notions of a greater Netherlandish unity, tinged with ethnic essentialism, could not mandate serious reconsideration of the Belgian-Dutch divide.

There can be no doubt that Calvinist promoters of Dutch independence thought of the political divide as God-given, but it would be limiting to assume that all art would have been colored by a similar polarization. Unanalyzed, this premise prevents understanding of how southern and northern art helped shape and naturalize the eventual creation of



5 Claes Jansz Visscher, *Leo Belgicus: The Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands,* engraving, 1621

two different nation-states with divergent class structures and political systems. To many seventeenth-century observers, this outcome was far from obvious, as famous maps of the Netherlands as a historic whole suggest (Fig. 5).[115] The contradictory evidence piles up quickly. Rubens, Van Dyck, and, once they were gone, Jacob Jordaens were the favorite artists of Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, his wife Amalia van Solms, and their trendsetting secretary Constantijn Huygens.[116] In 1662, when the Antwerp-based Cornelis de Bie published *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* (The golden cabinet of the noble free art of painting), a set of lives of the Netherlandish painters, he did not separate the Flemish from the Dutch.[117] Half a century later, his Dutch counterpart Arnold Houbraken followed de Bie's lead in his retrospective view of the great theater of Netherlandish artists.[118]

Cognizant of this situation, several scholars in recent years have begun to parse the transformations and continuities in Netherlandish art and art trade during and after the political revolt of the north in 1568.[119] In a study of the peripatetic Anthonis Mor (1519–1576), portraitist of burghers, cardinals, and, most famously, Philip II, Joanna Woodall demonstrates his keen awareness that the conflicted and conflicting environments in which he worked required special accommodations. His finely tuned portraiture registers this awareness, even as it tries to hang onto a fiction of possible reconciliation of values new and old, northern and southern, urban and courtly, Protestant and Catholic.[120] Others have studied the hard work performed by artists and publishers, their paintings and their prints in making the Dutch Republic into the independent, culturally homogeneous whole it very much was not.[121] By the time of the Peace of Münster, certainly, the Dutch middle class appears to have identified with its republic in ways that we might consider protonational.

When Haverkamp-Begemann evaluated the historiography of northern Baroque art in 1987, he noted that the state of the field was "marked by controversy, at times even animosity." Although he did not find this polemical spirit constructive, he acknowledged that it constituted evidence "that new ideas are being launched, and that the field is alive."[122] In our present moment of ostensible accommodation of a wide range of interpretative technologies, it is difficult not to feel nostalgic for the heady, acrimonious debates chronicled by Haverkamp-Begemann, even if they were conducted along needlessly hard European and American lines. Not nice, but the stakes were clear, the dialectic provocative. The reorientation of Netherlandish art history was most pronounced in the interpretation of the art of the Dutch Republic, but Flemish art history did not escape it. At issue in this animated discourse were such central and inflammatory concerns as the meaning and Dutchness of seventeenth-century Dutch art, the identity of Rembrandt (artisanal genius, market manipulator, self-made man, plaything of patrons?), and the status of the image in the Netherlands after the iconoclasm. In recent years, these energetic discussions, which attracted wide attention outside Netherlandish art studies, have lost their edge. Along with this softening has come some rapprochement of what are identified as Flemish or Dutch and American modes of scholarship, although relations across the Atlantic remain strained in some circles.[123] This development makes for more pleasant but possibly less vigorous conferences. Our various approaches now mostly sit somewhat uneasily alongside each other. In teaching and writing, we tend to acknowledge lamely that there are just different ways of looking at the art, usually without sustained historical justification for what is presented as its polysemy.

The few journals of Netherlandish art register the quantitatively productive yet methodologically mellow state of the

field. *Oud Holland* (Old Holland), which after World War II had transformed itself from its nationalist antiquarian origins in the late nineteenth century into the most serious journal of Netherlandish art, has become once again a repository for solid but unadventurous publications of recovered facts and modest interpretative efforts. *Simiolus*, "the little ape" founded in 1966 by young Dutch art historians to offer an alternative publication venue to *Oud Holland*, has lost the interpretative edge it enjoyed when it published de Jongh's landmark studies and the initial counterchallenges of Hecht and others. The *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* and the London-based *Dutch Crossing* have in recent years offered room for a much wider range of ways of thinking about Netherlandish art and the identities it glosses, promotes, and works through, but both publications are limited by their annual focus on one particular issue. Although dedicated to cultural history in the broadest sense, *Dutch Crossing* and *De Zeventiende Eeuw* frequently publish articles on the visual arts, and along with the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, these publications show a healthy interest in specifying theoretical or methodological commitments.[124]

A certain loss of purpose and concomitant loss of academic funding in Dutch art studies is perhaps most painfully evident in the trajectory of the Rijksmuseum's last three survey exhibitions of Dutch paintings, works on paper, and decorative arts. *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm* (Art before the iconoclasm), spearheaded by Wouter Kloek in 1986, posed the creative question of what the artistic landscape of the northern Netherlands looked like before iconoclasts and a successful political revolt forever changed it, and how it fared the first fifteen years after the wholesale destruction.[125] Its choice of title was resolutely contextual, and its institutional execution enterprising, for several other Dutch museums produced focused satellite shows and publications. Two sequels were foreseen, one to present the transition from the pre-iconoclastic moment to the early artistic culture of the Dutch Republic, and the second to chart the full flowering of that culture, along with its constant transformations, during the middle of the seventeenth century.

In 1993 the first of these shows, *Dawn of the Golden Age*, covering the period between 1580 and 1620, yielded a similarly impressive, even larger catalogue, produced by an international team of curators and scholars, but the project seemed less cohesive historically.[126] The organizers spent little time arguing the more arbitrary periodization of this project—1580 to 1620 is a less justifiable art historical construct than, for example, 1585 to 1609. And the show's title was prejudicial to the splendid courtly arts in the show and the historical process of their transfer to urban, middle-class settings, much of it brought about by southern Netherlandish exiles and artists who had come from the great court of Prague. To Karel van Mander, the arrival of Central European style in Haarlem surely meant that the Golden Age was in full swing; the politically astute Adriaen van de Venne appears to have thought of the Dutch Republic and its artistic culture in the same terms.[127] Nevertheless, this exhibition sought to produce new scholarship and to make us look with clean eyes at competing styles and thematic repertoires in their Dutch settings. The Rijksmuseum relinquished that type of commitment entirely in the third exhibition, *The Glory of the Golden Age*. Conceived as a blockbuster celebration in the year 2000 of the two-hundredth anniversary of the Rijksmuseum (by one of several possible counts), the show served up a rich, impeccably selected banquet of two hundred of the greatest treats of seventeenth-century Dutch art, with paintings for the main course and dollops of decorative arts and sculpture on the side. Roughly chronological and thematically arbitrary, the exhibition posited no new, coherent, or critical view of what the Dutch Golden Age had been about. An attractive book by education staff rather than a scholarly catalogue offered comments on provenance and iconography and the occasional praise of realism. Few specialists could be unhappy with the chance to see these works lined up, but fewer will have been moved by the show's structure to think fresh thoughts about them.[128]

The retrospective character of the current state of Netherlandish art history is evident in the proliferation of such surveying exhibitions since the mid-1980s, even if most of them offer more scholarly substance. The state of southern Netherlandish art was thoroughly anthologized in the large exhibition and catalogue *The Age of Rubens*, organized by Peter Sutton.[129] In 1990 a large show of Dutch paintings from American collections, while at first sight a mere media event, occasioned a densely detailed historiographic account of American collecting practices and the place of Dutch art in the history of American art education.[130]

The historiographic study of northern Netherlandish art has itself become a cottage industry in recent years: this essay is one of several in the genre.[131] A Dutch anthology published in 1992 offered richly detailed accounts of collectors' and art historians' reception of seventeenth-century Dutch art over the centuries.[132] De Jongh's most important studies were gathered together and translated into English, and their interest lies in his early work.[133] Wayne Franits edited a useful set of studies that trace the interpretative arc of Dutch realism over the last quarter century, but it opened up few new perspectives.[134] Rembrandt and Vermeer, long welcome subjects of historiographic research, are receiving new treatments all their own.[135] Although the retrospective trend in Netherlandish studies signals a welcome self-awareness about the practices of art history, some of its products chart the historiographic process in such unselective detail as to raise the suspicion that art history has merely turned familiar reconstructive methods on its own past, not always with an articulated sense of need. Where the art historical narratives of Jacob Burckhardt's generation exude feelings of belatedness about the making of art, these historiographies hint at analogous anxieties about the making of art history in a postmodern world.

The arrival on the Netherlandish art historical scene in the past twenty years of scholars of novel and varied stripes, many referenced in this essay, has been a welcome product of the lively intellectual ferment of the 1980s. That Netherlandish art studies will continue to offer such exciting prospects to the current generation of Ph.D. students is possible but far from assured. We can surely think up enough questions to keep the dissertation business going for decades, and much of this research remains fundamental for any interpretative effort, but it is up to us to demonstrate its continuing relevance—to a theoretically aware generation of students, to a

more exacting world of funding, to a choosier lot of publishers. We still have excellent opportunities to make the case, in our universities, museums, and several new series of books dedicated to Netherlandish art.[136] The keen current interest in iconoclasm, in the role of images in the public sphere, in technologies of perception, in Rembrandt, in Vermeer suggests that our iconophilic culture may yet benefit from a historicized understanding of the types of power wielded by the iconic, the realist, and the reproducible image in the early modern Netherlands.

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Notes

A willingness to talk, listen, and debate, regardless of principled disagreements, is a happy feature of the community of historians of Netherlandish art. For a readiness to test and contest ideas, I am grateful to many of its interlocutors, and especially to H. Perry Chapman, Reindert Falkenburg, Zirka Filipczak, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, Elizabeth Honig, Wouter Kloek, Walter Liedtke, Nanette Salomon, Eric Jan Sluijter, Claudia Swan, Arthur Wheelock, and Joanna Woodall. For meticulous research assistance, I thank Jenny King.

1. For early studies of medieval art that can rightly be classified as "new" in this sense, see for example Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Mann, 1981); Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); idem, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); and Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also the many publications discussed in Herbert L. Kessler, "On the State of Medieval Art History," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 166–87.

2. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The State of Research in Northern Baroque Art," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987): 510–19.

3. J. Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 3 vols. to date (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1982–). For a sympathetic but not uncritical view of this work, see Haverkamp-Begemann (as in n. 2), 514–16.

4. For some provocative critiques of this categorization, see Walter Liedtke, "Reconstructing Rembrandt: Portraits from the Early Years in Amsterdam (1631–34)," *Apollo* 129 (May 1989): 323–31, 371–72; and "Editorial: The Rembrandt Re-Trial," *Burlington Magazine* 134 (May 1992): 285.

5. The point has been discussed, forcefully and repeatedly, by Gary Schwartz in numerous newspaper columns and electronic venues.

6. E. van de Wetering, "Problems of Apprenticeship and Studio Collaboration," in Bruyn et al. (as in n. 3), vol. 2, 45–90; Josua Bruyn, "Rembrandt's Workshop: Function and Production," in *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop,* ed. Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch, and Pieter van Thiel, vol. 1, *Paintings,* exh. cat., Altes Museum, Berlin, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and National Gallery, London, 1991, 68–89; and Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997).

7. The Rembrandt Research Project has repeatedly signaled its awareness of the historicity of authorship without offering much comment on its implications for the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*; see, among other statements, Ernst van de Wetering, "The Question of Authenticity, an Anachronism? A Summary," in *Rembrandt and His Pupils: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 2–3 October 1992,* ed. Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1993), 9–13.

8. Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt, His Life, His Paintings: A New Biography with All Accessible Paintings Illustrated in Colour* (New York: Viking, 1985).

9. Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979); this extremely useful publication reproduces and translates most of the documents referring to Rembrandt and his family up to 1669, the year of his death. Many additional documents have been published over the years by S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, mostly in the pages of the journal *Amstelodamum.*

10. The changes were announced in a letter by Ernst van de Wetering to the *Burlington Magazine* 135 (Nov. 1993): 764–65.

11. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century: The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995); David Bomford et al., *Art in the Making: Rembrandt,* exh. cat., National Gallery, London, 1988; and Walter Liedtke et al., *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Aspects of Connoisseurship,* vol. 2, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1995.

12. Wilhelm Martin, another prominent Dutch art historian of the first half of the 20th century, was one of the few to call attention consistently to proverbial and other textual references in paintings. His was a minority voice, dedicated especially to the paintings of Jan Steen, which wear their textual referentiality on their sleeves.

13. E. de Jongh, "Realisme en schijnrealisme in de Hollandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw," in *Rembrandt en zijn tijd,* exh. cat., Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels, 1971, 143–94.

14. E. de Jongh et al., *Tot lering en vermaak: Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw,* exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1976.

15. De Jongh noticeably shied away from reading Dutch landscape paintings as statements of Christian ethics; for such an interpretation on the basis of Christian emblematics, roundly dismissed as too limited in most reviews, see J. Bruyn, "Toward a Scriptural Reading of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting,* by Peter C. Sutton et al., exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987, 84–103.

16. For the significant intervention de Jongh's work represented on the whole, and for some of its problems, Mariët Westermann, review of *Kwesties van betekenis,* by E. de Jongh (Leiden: Primavera, 1995), *Burlington Magazine* 138 (Mar. 1996): 198–200.

17. Lyckle de Vries, "Jan Steen, 'de kluchtschilder,' " Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1977, esp. 85–86; and Peter C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch: Complete Edition* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1980), 41–51. For de Jongh's retort, see his review of Sutton, *Simiolus* 11, nos. 3–4 (1980): 181–85, esp. 184–85.

18. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

19. For some characteristic reviews, J. Bruyn, *Oud Holland* 49, no. 2 (1985): 155–60; E. de Jongh, *Simiolus* 14, no. 1 (1984): 51–59; and Anthony Grafton and Thomas DaCosta Kauffmann, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16 (1985): 255–65.

20. The afterlife of iconography in Utrecht is discussed in the following section.

21. Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) exemplifies the well-wrought but conservative character of Flemish art studies. A thoroughly updated Pelican History of Art volume, it sticks to a traditional organization by great artists, styles, and specialized genres. Jeffrey Muller began to address some historical origins of this conservatism in the paper "Visual Environment and Counter-Reformation in Antwerp from 1585 until the French Revolution: State of the Question," presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Chicago, 2001.

22. Jan Gerrit van Gelder, "Das Rubens-Bild: Ein Rückblick," in *Peter Paul Rubens: Werk und Nachruhm,* ed. Willibald Sauerländer et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1981), 11–45.

23. *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné of the Work of Peter Paul Rubens Based on the Material Assembled by the Late Dr. Ludwig Burchard,* 26 vols. projected (Brussels: Arcade Press and others, 1968–).

24. See ibid., vol. 1, vii–xv, for the origins and organization of the project.

25. Several publications on Rubens in this period up to 1987 are discussed by Haverkamp-Begemann (as in n. 2), 514, 516. In addition to the publications mentioned in subsequent notes, the following recent books and articles have substantially enriched our understanding of the artist's persona, working methods, and iconographic ingenuity: Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Christopher Brown, *Rubens's Landscapes: Making and Meaning,* exh. cat., National Gallery, London, 1996; Marjon van der Meulen, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* vol. 23, *Rubens, Copies after the Antique,* 3 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1994–95); Elizabeth McGrath, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* vol. 13, *Rubens, Subjects from History,* 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1997); and J. R. Judson, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* vol. 6, *Rubens, the Passion of Christ* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000).

26. Margaret D. Carroll, "The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence," *Representations,* no. 25 (winter 1989): 3–30; Lisa Rosenthal, "The *parens patriae:* Familial Imagery in Rubens's Minerva Protects Pax from Mars," *Art History* 12, no. 1 (1989): 22–38; idem, "Manhood and Statehood: Rubens's Construction of Heroic Virtue," *Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 1 (1993): 92–111; Geraldine A. Johnson, "Pictures Fit for a Queen: Peter Paul Rubens and the Marie de' Medici Cycle," *Art History* 16, no. 3 (1993): 447–69; and Svetlana Alpers, *The Making of Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). For a thoughtful review of the book by Alpers, with cogent comments on the state of Rubens studies, see Joanna Woodall, "Conversation Piece," *Art History* 19, no. 1 (1996): 134–40.

27. Alpers (as in n. 26), 1–3, acknowledges the contemporary sense of Rubens as an admirable rather than a lovable or profoundly interesting artist and proposes rewriting him along the lines of the French discursive essay rather than following the "university mode."

28. An excellent recent introduction to Rubens's varied accomplishments, and one that admits of his ambivalent status for modern viewers, is Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens, Art and Ideas* (London: Phaidon Press, 1998).

29. Studies of artistic self-fashioning and self-presentation that take account of the groundbreaking work on identity by Stephen Greenblatt have concentrated on artists in the Dutch Republic; see the works referenced in nn. 81, 92, and 103 below. Diverse articles of this nature are gathered in R. L. Falkenburg, ed., et al., *Beeld en zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse kunst, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995).

30. The traditional scholarship of Van Dyck remains a model of thoroughness; exemplary publications are the catalogues of the beautiful (if hardly revisionist) exhibitions of 1990–91 and 1999: Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Susan J. Barnes et al., *Anthony van Dyck*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1990; Christopher Brown, *The Drawings of Anthony van Dyck*, exh. cat., Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Tex., 1991; Susan J. Barnes et al., *Van Dyck a Genova: Grande Pittura e Collezionismo*, exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1997; Christopher Brown, Hans Vlieghe et al., *Van Dyck, 1599–1641*, exh. cat., Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, and Royal Academy, London, 1999; Carl Depauw, Ger Luijten et al., *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, exh. cat., Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1999. See also the many articles gathered in Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., eds., *Van Dyck 350*, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 46 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1994), and the thoughtful review of Barnes and Wheelock by Oliver Millar, *Burlington Magazine* 137 (July 1995): 466–67. The difficulties of presenting Van Dyck in a way that does not, by the museum's conscious or unconscious design, corroborate the power his portraits claim as inherent in the sitters are analyzed in a critical review of the first-mentioned exhibition; see Joanna Woodall, "Don't Be Seduced," *Art History* 16, no. 4 (1993): 657–63. See, on Van Dyck's understanding of "grace," Jeffrey M. Muller, "The Quality of Grace in the Art of Anthony van Dyck," in Wheelock, Barnes et al., 27–36; on his innovative application of sex-based portrait conventions, Zirka Filipczak, "Van Dyck's Men and Women in Humoral Perspective," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 1999: 51–69; and, on his use of costume, Emilie S. Gordenker, *Van Dyck and the Representation of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001). For a few studies of Van Dyck's relations to specific patrons and associates, all in Barnes and Wheelock see David Freedberg, "Van Dyck and Virginio Cesarini: A Contribution to the Study of Van Dyck's Roman Sojourns," 153–74, Graham Parry, "Van Dyck and the Caroline Court Poets," 247–60, and Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and Collecting in Stuart England," 281–324, and Susan E. James, "The Model as Catalyst: Nicholas Lanier and Margaret Lemon," and "Margaret Lemon: Model, Mistress, Muse," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 1999: 71–89, and 91–109.

31. David Freedberg, "The Representation of Martyrdoms in the Early Counter Reformation in Antwerp," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): 128–38; idem, "The Hidden God: Image and Interdiction in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 5, no. 2 (1982): 133–53; and idem, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566–1609* (New York: Garland, 1988). In a trailblazing study, Keith Moxey argued the consequences of anti-iconic agitation for the development of the market-stall genre by Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Bueckelaer; Keith P. F. Moxey, *Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation* (New York: Garland, 1977).

32. This is the gist of Freedberg's argument; Freedberg, 1982 (as in n. 31), 141–44. For the stimulating effects of the 16th-century image crisis on the rise of the autonomous work of art, see Hans Belting's fundamental work *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1–2, 14–16, 458–90.

33. These studies have concentrated heavily on the patronage of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella; see for example Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas, eds., *Albrecht and Isabella, 1598–1621*, exh. cat., Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1998; idem, *Albert and Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); *El arte en la Corte de los Archiduques Alberto de Austria e Isabel Clara Eugenia (1598–1633): Un Reino Imaginado*, exh. cat., Palacio Real, Madrid, 1999; and Claudia Banz, *Höfisches Mäzenatentum in Brüssel: Kardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586) und die Erzherzöge Albrecht (1559–1621) und Isabella (1566–1633)* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 2000).

34. Walter S. Melion, " '*Ego enim quasi obdormivi* hr': Salvation and Blessed Sleep in Philip Galle's *Death of the Virgin* after Pieter Bruegel," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996): 14–53; idem, "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion in Abraham Bloemaert's *Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face* of c. 1615," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. Herbert Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 319–40; idem, "*Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam:* Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 49–72; and idem, "Memory, Place, and Mission in Hieronymus Natalis' *Evangelicae historiae imagines*," in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art Held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, ed. Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 603–8.

35. Hans J. Van Miegroet and Neil De Marchi, "Art, Value, and Market Practices in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 451–64; idem, "Novelty and Fashion Circuits in the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp-Paris Art Trade," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (winter 1998): 201–46; idem, "Dealer-Dealer Pricing in the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp to Paris Art Trade," in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, ed. Michael North and David Ormrod (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 1999), 113–30; and Filip Vermeylen, "Exporting Art across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century," 13–29, Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet, "Exploring Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España," 81–111, and Natasja Peeters, "Marked for the Market? Continuity, Collaboration and the Mechanics of Artistic Production of History Painting in the Francken Workshops in Counter-Reformation Antwerp," 59–79, the last three in *Kunst voor de markt, 1500–1700*, ed. Jan de Jong et al., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999).

36. Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

37. See also reviews of Honig's book by Hans J. Van Miegroet, *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 582–85; and Mariët Westermann, *CAA.Reviews* (posted Sept. 2000), available at www.caareviews.org/reviews/honig.html.

38. In two recent articles, Honig has extended her analysis to the quite different market and shopping genre in the Dutch Republic: Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Country Folk and City Business: A Print Series by Jan van de Velde," *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 511–26; and idem, "Desire and Domestic Economy," *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 294–315. These essays are the first serious attempts to place 17th-century Dutch paintings of markets and shopping in the larger history of the rapidly developing European commodity culture. Seventeenth-century Dutch bourgeois culture is here seen as virtually obsessed with the male prestige and excitement of the urban commodity market as a wider cultural and economic system, propelled by the necessary danger of female attachment to the alluring goods.

39. Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1575–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

40. Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1998), with further references; see also Peter Parshall, "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (winter 1998): 19–36; Jan de Jong et al., eds., *Prentwerk/Print Work, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 52 (2001). There are similarly stimulating new studies of print culture in the Dutch Republic: Boudewijn Bakker et al., *Nederland naar 't leven: Landschapsprenten uit de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat., Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 1993; Nadine Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620," in *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580–1620*, ed. Wouter Th. Kloek et al., exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1993, 167–200; and Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1996); see also the review article by Barbara Welzel, "Nordniederländische Druckgraphik und ihre Verleger," *Kunstchronik* 49, no. 2 (1996): 65–74.

41. J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630: Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1974); idem, *Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie 1572–1630* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978); and idem, *Vlaamse schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw, 1585–1630* (Haarlem: H.J.W. Becht; Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1987).

42. Eric Jan Sluijter, "Belering en verhulling? Enkele 17de-eeuwse teksten over de schilderkunst en de iconologische benadering van Noordnederlandse schilderijen uit deze periode," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 4, no. 2 (1988): 3–28; English trans. in David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, eds., *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 175–207.

43. Eric Jan Sluijter et al., *Leidse fijnschilders: Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge, 1630–1760*, exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 1988. Six of Sluijter's essays on form and meaning in Dutch art were recently published in English in his anthology *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000).

44. Peter Hecht, *De Hollandse fijnschilders: Van Gerard Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1989. For a more condensed version of the exhibition's main argument, see idem, "The Debate on Symbol and Meaning in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Art: An Appeal to Common Sense," *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 173–87.

45. See also Eric Jan Sluijter, "Over fijnschilders en 'betekenis': Naar aanleiding van Peter Hecht, *De Hollandse fijnschilders*," *Oud Holland* 105, no. 1 (1991): 50–63.

46. David Freedberg, "Science, Commerce, and Art: Neglected Topics at the Junction of History and Art History," in Freedberg and De Vries (as in n. 42), 376–428. Joaneath Spicer is preparing a study of the concept of *naer het leven* (after life) drawing in Netherlandish culture, taking for her starting point the drawings in this genre made in Prague by Roelandt Savery. See also *Word and Image* 11, no. 4 (1995) for a collection of articles on "Art and Curiosity in Northern Europe," edited by Peter Parshall. Studies of scientific

naturalism and collecting in Central Europe and Italy have placed Dutch researches in a wider European setting; see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Thea Vignau-Wilberg, *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii, 1592: Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600* (Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1994); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

47. Claudia Swan, *The Clutius Botanical Watercolors: Plants and Flowers of the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998); and idem, "Jacques de Gheyn II and the Representation of the Natural World in the Netherlands ca. 1600," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1997.

48. An originating connection between Renaissance naturalism and illusionist painting has been argued by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of Trompe l'Oeil in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (1991): 43–64.

49. Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). See also Brusati's essay on Netherlandish artistic investment in the genre of the realist still life: "Stilled Lives: Self-Portraiture and Self-Reflection in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Still-Life Painting," *Simiolus* 20 (1990–91): 168–82. For the peculiarly Netherlandish, middle-class character of van Hoogstraten's perspectival ambitions, see also Joanna Woodall, "Love Is in the Air: Amor as Motivation and Message in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Painting," *Art History* 19, no. 2 (1996): 208–46.

50. Philip Steadman, *Vermeer's Camera: Uncovering the Truth behind the Masterpieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 27–28.

51. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Perspective, Optics, and Delft Artists around 1650* (New York: Garland, 1977); and Walter A. Liedtke, *Architectural Painting in Delft: Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, Emanuel de Witte* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1982). Interest in Dutch artistic practices of perspective and optics has been furthered by the researches of Martin Kemp; see Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). Studies of Dutch architectural painting in this vein that remain pertinent include Rob Ruurs, *Saenredam: The Art of Perspective* (Amsterdam: Benjamins/Forsten, 1987); and Jeroen Giltaij, Guido Jansen et al., *Perspectives: Saenredam and the Architectural Painters of the 17th Century*, exh. cat., Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1991. For the full environmental view of Pieter Saenredam, see Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok, *Pieter Saenredam: The Painter and His Time* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz and SDU, 1990).

52. The cases for Vermeer's use of the camera and for a connection between van Leeuwenhoek and Vermeer have been stated most fully, with a review of the essential researches and contrary opinions of others, by Steadman (as in n. 50), 44–53. Steadman proposes other candidates who might have initiated Vermeer into the field of optics as well, 53–58. For the divergent view that Vermeer could have painted his work "without any optical device other than his eye," see Jørgen Wadum, "Contours of Vermeer," in *Vermeer Studies*, ed. Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1998), 201–23, esp. 201–4; and idem, "Vermeer in Perspective," in *Johannes Vermeer*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1995, 67–79.

53. Wadum, 1995 (as in n. 52). Although Wadum offers compelling evidence for Vermeer's pin-and-string perspective construction, his conclusion that Vermeer did not use the camera obscura to obtain spatial definition is needlessly hasty, especially in light of Steadman's experiments.

54. Steadman (as in n. 50).

55. Steadman (as in. n. 50), 126–28, and for other examples, 113–17, 147. The curious shadows and odd mirror reflection in *The Music Lesson* in the British Royal collection have often been remarked; see *Johannes Vermeer* (as in n. 52), 100, 108; and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Vermeer and the Art of Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 94.

56. Michael Montias's discovery, reported in "Vermeer's Clients and Patrons," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987): 68–76, and *Vermeer and His Milieu: A Web of Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), was unfortunately discounted in the catalogue of the great Vermeer exhibition of 1995, which gathered many of the paintings van Ruijven must have owned. See the reticent comments of Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Vermeer of Delft: His Life and His Artistry," in *Johannes Vermeer* (as in n. 52), 15–29, esp. 22–23.

57. Daniel Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting*, trans. Terry Grabar (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Edward Snow, *A Study of Vermeer*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Bryan Jay Wolf, *Vermeer and the Invention of Seeing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and David Hockney, *Secret Knowledge: Rediscovering the Lost Techniques of the Old Masters* (New York: Viking Studio, 2001). In 2001 David Hockney convened a major New York conference of artists, art historians, art critics, and philosophers on the impressive optical apparatus he believes premodern painters, including Vermeer, to have used.

58. This quality places him squarely within the history of Dutch painting in the 1650s and 1660s, and particularly painting in Delft. As the great grouping of paintings from this period in the recent exhibition *Vermeer and the Delft School* enabled us to recognize more clearly, Carel Fabritius, Daniel Vosmaer, and church perspective painters such as Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte were engaged by similar interests; see Walter Liedtke et al., *Vermeer and the Delft School*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and National Gallery, London, 2001, esp. cat. nos. 16, 18, 20, 40, 81. Further south, in Dordrecht, Nicolaes Maes and Samuel van Hoogstraten developed pictorial structures that set up analogous tensions between the seen and the unseen, the seeing and the unaware.

59. Wolf (as in n. 57), 143–88.

60. Wheelock (as in n. 55); and see his leading contributions to *Johannes Vermeer* (as in n. 52).

61. For example, Lisa Vergara, "*Antiek* and *Modern* in Vermeer's *Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid*," in Gaskell and Jonker (as in n. 52). The health and variety of Vermeer studies are evident in the collection in which Vergara's essay appeared, occasioned by the Vermeer exhibition of 1995. See also Wayne Franits, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

62. Nanette Salomon, "From Sexuality to Civility: Vermeer's Women," in Gaskell and Jonker (as in n. 52), 309–25.

63. A mere sampling of these publications of the last quarter century: Albert Blankert, *Nederlandse 17e eeuwse Italianiserende landschapschilders/Dutch 17th Century Italianate Landscape Painters*, rev. ed. (Soest: Davaco, 1978); Albert Blankert et al., *Gods, Saints, and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Detroit Institute of Arts, and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1980; Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Golden Age* (Totowa, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram, 1983); Eric Jan Sluijter, *De "heydensche fabulen" in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw: Schilderijen metverhalende onderwerpen uit de klassieke mythologie in de noordelijke Nederlanden, circa 1590–1670* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000); R. L. Falkenburg et al., *Goltzius-Studies: Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42–43 (1991–92); Joaneath Spicer et al., *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, exh. cat., Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and National Gallery, London, 1997; Kloek et al. (as in n. 40); Paul Huys Janssen, *Jan van Bijlert, 1597/98–1671: Catalogue Raisonné* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1998); Albert Blankert et al., *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-Century Painting*, exh. cat., Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1999; and Peter Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth: 17th-Century Dutch Artists in Italy*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2001.

64. The lure of Central European styles and genres for a newly powerful urban middle class is the subtext of Kloek et al. (as in n. 40), and the elite ambitions of various classical modes can be gleaned from Blankert et al., 1999 (as in n. 63). In a careful study, Kettering (as in n. 63) convincingly tied patronage of pastoral painting to an internationally stylish but politically reduced aristocracy.

65. For the difficulties of using a post-Winckelmannian classification of the classical for a wide range of 17th-century Dutch pictures, see Mariët Westermann, review of Blankert et al., 1999 (as in n. 63), *Burlington Magazine* 142 (Mar. 2000): 186–89.

66. Bob Haak, *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984). Accounts that seem to suggest that there might be a Dutchness of Dutch art continue to be received with considerable suspicion, even though few of those accounts argue for a transcendental, *Blut-und-Boden* view of Dutchness. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "An Independent Dutch Art? A View from Central Europe," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13, no. 1 (1997): 359–69, has argued that it is difficult to distinguish a uniquely Dutch art from southern Netherlandish art, for the straightforward reasons that cosmopolitan art was popular in the republic and that Dutch artists were coveted and active abroad, particularly at the European courts. For attempts to historicize the early visual representation of Dutchness, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987); H. Perry Chapman, "A *Hollandse Pictura:* Observations on the Title Page of Philips Angel's *Lof der schilder-konst*," *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 233–48; idem, "Propagandist Prints, Reaffirming Paintings: Art and Community during the Twelve Years' Truce," in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Adele Seeff (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 43–63; and Mariët Westermann, "Local Color: Painting and Proto-National Awareness in the Dutch Republic," in *Dutch Art from the Rijksmuseum*, ed. Akira Kofuku, exh. cat., National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, and Prefectural Museum of Art, Nagoya, 2000, 28–38.

67. For its acceptance of the notion of great art and artists, for its emphasis on the realist genres, and for its infectious and undisciplined enthusiasms, the insufficiently updated Pelican volume by Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), remains, to me, the preferable textbook. See Mariët Westermann, review of Slive in *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1998): 74–75.

68. Eric Jan Sluijter, "Overvloed en onbehagen: Interdisciplinariteit en het onderzoek naar zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse beeldende kunst," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 14, no. 2 (1998): 231–45; for recent considerations of the shared interests of anthropology and Netherlandish art history, see R. L. Falkenburg, "Iconologie en historische antropologie: Een toenadering," in *Gezichtspunten: Een inleiding in de methoden van de kunstgeschiedenis*, ed. M. Halbertsma and K. Zijlmans (Nijmegen: Sun, 1993), 139–74; and Herman Roodenburg, "Over

scheefhalzen en zwellende heupen: Enige argumenten voor een historische antropologie van de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 9 (1993): 152–68.

69. The variety of historicist claims made by "contextual" studies is exemplified in a stimulating set of studies published under the auspices of the Getty Center: Freedberg and de Vries (as in n. 42). Most of these studies are in some way concerned with market mechanisms and their effect on the reception of 17th-century art.

70. Hessel Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst,* 2 vols. (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker en Gumbert, 1973); idem, *Karel van Manders Leven der moderne, oft deestijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche schilders en hun bron: Een vergelijking tussen Van Mander en Vasari* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1984); and Hessel Miedema et al., *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious German and Netherlandish Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilderboeck (1603–1604),* 6 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99).

71. See for example Hessel Miedema, *Kunst, kunstenaar en kunstwerk bij Karel van Mander: Een analyse van zijn levensbeschrijvingen* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1981); idem, *Fraey en aerdigh, schoon en moy in Karel van Manders Schilder-boeck* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1984); and idem, "Karel van Mander: Did He Write Art Literature?" *Simiolus* 22 (1993–94): 58–64.

72. Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and Marten Jan Bok, "Art-Lovers and Their Paintings: Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* as a Source for the History of the Art Market in the Northern Netherlands," in Kloek et al. (as in n. 40), 136–66.

73. Michael Hoyle and Hessel Miedema, trans. and eds., "Philips Angel, *Praise of Painting,*" *Simiolus* 24 (1996): 227–58. Angel's text has been subject to divergent readings: Chapman, 1986 (as in n. 66); Hessel Miedema, "Philips Angels *Lof der schilder-konst,*" *Oud Holland* 103 (1989): 181–222; and Eric Jan Sluijter, *De lof der schilderkunst: Over schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613–1675) en een traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993).

74. Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (Dordrecht, 1718–21). Lyckle de Vries, "Achttiende- en negentiende-eeuwse auteurs over Jan Steen," *Oud Holland* 87 (1973): 227–39; H. Perry Chapman, "Persona and Myth in Houbraken's Life of Jan Steen," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 135–50; Bart Cornelis, "A Reassessment of Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh,*" *Simiolus* 23, nos. 2–3 (1995): 163–80; idem, "Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh* and the Canon of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," *Simiolus* 26, no. 3 (1998): 144–61; Peter Hecht, "Browsing in Houbraken: Developing a Fancy for an Underestimated Author," *Simiolus* 24, nos. 2–3 (1996): 259–74; and Hendrik J. Horn, *The Golden Age Revisited: Arnold Houbraken's Great Theatre of Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2000). Horn helpfully makes available major chunks of Houbraken's text in English, but these quotations are unfortunately interspersed among lengthy paragraphs in which the author cavils against the sickly condition of Netherlandish art studies infected by postmodern identity politics. Recent close studies of other early modern art treatises produced in the Dutch Republic include Gregor J.M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des "lebenden" Bildes: Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst" von 1654* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1991); and Lyckle de Vries, *Diamante gedenkzuilen en leerzaeme voorbeelden: Een bespreking van Johan van Gools Nieuwe Schouburg* (Groningen: Forsten, 1990).

75. Samuel van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: Anders de zichtbaere werelt* (Rotterdam: Fransois van Hoogstraeten, 1678); Brusati, 1995 (as in n. 49); on van Hoogstraten's text, see also the meticulous documentation of Michiel Roscam Abbing, *De schilder en schrijver Samuel van Hoogstraten 1627–1678: Eigentijdse bronnen en oeuvre van gesigneerde schilderijen* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1993).

76. Sluijter (as in n. 73).

77. Paul Taylor, "The Concept of *Houding* in Dutch Art Theory," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 210–32; and idem, "The Glow in Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Dutch paintings," in *Looking through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research,* ed. Erma Hermens, *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1998): 159–78.

78. For an introduction in English to this rich body of work, see Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1991). The lively study of 17th-century Dutch literature is now threatened by recent retirements from Dutch University departments in literature. Not all professorships have been retained.

79. Lawrence Otto Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art: Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); looking closely at writing on still life, Goedde fruitfully extended this type of analysis to still-life painting, moving well beyond the by then traditional *vanitas* reading of every painting with a flower or candle or timepiece in it: "A Little World Made Cunningly: Dutch Still Life and *Ekphrasis,*" in *Still Lifes of the Golden Age: Northern European Paintings from the Heinz Family Collection,* ed. Ingvar Bergström et al., exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1989, 35–44.

80. R. L. Falkenburg, "'Schilderachtig weer' bij Jan van Goyen," in *Jan van Goyen,* by Christiaan Vogelaar et al., exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 1996, 60–69. Landscape studies in general have flourished recently. For an analysis of the development of a protonational landscape vision in the early 17th-century series of prints of Haarlem, see Catherine Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); and Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View; Haarlem and Its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th–17th Century," in Reindert L. Falkenburg, ed., et al., *Natuur en landschap in de Nederlandse kunst 1500–1850, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (1997): 52–115. The latter volume offers a wide range of studies exemplifying new work on Netherlandish landscape. For thoughtful accounts of indigenous-looking Dutch landscape imagery, with welcome emphasis on prints, see also Boudewijn Bakker and Huigen Leeflang, *Nederland naar 't leven: Landschapsprenten uit de Gouden Eeuw,* exh. cat. Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 1993, and Walter S. Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

81. H. Perry Chapman, "Jan Steen, Player in His Own Paintings," in *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller,* by H. Perry Chapman et al., exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1996, 11–23; Mariët Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997); and idem, "*Fray en Leelijck:* Adriaen van de Venne's Invention of the Ironic Grisaille," in de Jong et al. (as in n. 35), 215–51.

82. Wayne Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); idem, " 'For People of Fashion': Domestic Imagery and the Art Market in the Dutch Republic," and Martha Hollander, "Public and Private in the Art of Pieter de Hooch," in *Woonculture in de Nederlanden,* ed. Jan de Jong et al., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 295–316, 273–93; idem, "The Divided Household of Nicolaes Maes," *Word and Image* 10 (1994): 138–55; and idem, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

83. Alison McNeil Kettering, "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin," *Art History* 16, no. 1 (1993): 95–124; Salomon (as in n. 62); Elizabeth Alice Honig, "The Space of Gender in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered,* ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 187–201; H. Perry Chapman, "Women in Vermeer's Home: Mimesis and Ideation," in de Jong et al. (as in n. 82), 237–71; and Mariët Westermann, " 'Costly and Curious, Full of Pleasure and Home Contentment': Making Home in the Dutch Republic," in *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt,* by Mariët Westermann et al., exh. cat., Newark Museum and Denver Art Museum, 2001, 15–81. For an analysis of domestic still-life painting in similar terms, see Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Imag(in)ing Prosperity: Painting and Material Culture in the 17th-Century Dutch Household," in de Jong et al. (as in n. 82), 195–235.

84. Mariët Westermann, "*Woonculture* in the Netherlands: A Historiography in Progress," in de Jong et al. (as in n. 82), 7–33.

85. Berger Hochstrasser (as in n. 83); C. Willemijn Fock, "Werkelijkheid of schijn: Het beeld van het Hollandse interieur in de zeventiende-eeuwse genreschilderkunst," *Oud Holland* 112 (1998): 187–246; a revised version in English, "Semblance or Reality? The Domestic Interior in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting," appears in Westermann et al. (as in n. 83), 83–101; and Westermann (as in n. 83).

86. C. W. Fock, "Kunstbezit in Leiden in de 17de eeuw," in *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht,* vol. 5, by Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. W. Fock, and A. J. van Dissel (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1990), 3–36; J. Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in Freedberg and de Vries (as in n. 42), 331–76; Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker, eds., *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735,* exh. cat. and essay volume, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, 1992; Jan van der Waals, *Een wereldreiziger op papier: De atlas van Laurens van der Hem (1621–1678),* exh. cat., Koninklijk Paleis, Amsterdam, 1992; Peter van der Ploeg, Carola Vermeeren et al., *Vorstelijk verzameld: De kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia,* exh. cat., Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1997; John Loughman and J. Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000); and Eric Jan Sluijter, " 'All Striving to Adorne Their Houses with Costly Peeces': Two Case Studies of Paintings in Wealthy Interiors," in Westermann et al. (as in n. 83), 103–27.

87. A few pioneering studies: Marten Jan Bok, "Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580–1700," Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Utrecht, 1994; J. Michael Montias, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Art History* 10, no. 4 (1987): 455–66; idem, "Art Dealers in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," *Simiolus* 18, no. 4 (1988): 244–56; idem, "Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 358–73; and Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age,* trans. Catherine Hill (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

88. See Reindert Falkenburg and Mariët Westermann, introduction to de Jong et al. (as in n. 35), 7–11, and the diverse studies gathered in that volume. For a staunchly economic view of artistic change, see Jonathan Israel, "Adjusting to Hard Times: Dutch Art during Its Period of Crisis and Restructuring (c. 1621–c. 1645)," *Art History* 20, no. 4 (1997): 449–76.

89. See E. Melanie Gifford, "Jan van Goyen en de techniek van het naturalistische landschap," in Vogelaar et al. (as in n. 80), 70–79, for a sensitive interpretation of scientific analysis of van Goyen's tonal landscape mode; and

Eric Jan Sluijter, "Over Brabantse vodden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw," in de Jong et al. (as in n. 87), 115–43, for interpretative care in the analysis of the market for small easel pictures.

90. Recent studies of a productive feminist cast include Hollander, 1994 (as in n. 82); Kettering (as in n. 83); Salomon (as in n. 62); Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Proverbial Reframing: Rebuking and Revering Women in Trousers," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 13–34; and Honig, 2001 (as in n. 38). For a fully gendered critique of Rembrandt, or rather of modern Western visuality by way of "Rembrandt" as its paradigm, see Mieke Bal, *Reading Rembrandt: Beyond the Word-Image Opposition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Until the publication of these studies, which seek to deconstruct the limitations and possibilities of femininity in Dutch visual representation, feminist approaches to the historiography of Dutch art were focused on the recovery of the works of female artists and their cultural status in the 17th century. Judith Leyster has long been the favored subject of this first-hour feminism, although Geertruyt Roghman now shares her role. These studies tend to see the works of these female artists as repositories of self-consciously female points of views, in ways that the objects seem unable to sustain. See Frima Fox Hofrichter, *Judith Leyster: A Woman Painter in Holland's Golden Age* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989); Pieter Biesboer et al., *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World,* exh. cat. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, and Worcester Art Museum, 1993; and Martha Peacock, "Geertruydt Roghman and the Female Perspective in 17th-Century Dutch Genre Imagery," *Women's Art Journal* 14, no. 2 (1993–94): 3–10.

91. The role of the arts in fostering city identification has long been a topic of local interest in Dutch cities and their museums. Thorough studies of the visual culture of urban identity in Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, and Utrecht have been published by Leeflang (as in n. 80); Elisabeth de Bièvre, "Violence and Virtue: History and Art in the City of Haarlem," *Art History* 11, no. 3 (1988): 303–34; idem, "The Urban Subconscious: The Art of Delft and Leiden," *Art History* 18, no. 2 (1995): 222–52; and idem, "Of Gods and Shepherds: Utrecht, Rome and London," in *Utrecht: Britain and the Continent, Archaeology, Art and Architecture,* British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, vol. 18 (London: British Archaeological Association, 1996), 262–69. For unusually full records of the 17th-century artistic output of Leiden, Utrecht, and Delft, respectively, see Sluijter et al. (as in n. 43); Spicer et al. (as in n. 63); and Liedtke et al. (as in n. 58).

92. B. Haak, *Regenten en regentessen, overlieden en chirurgijns: Amsterdamse groeppsortretten van 1600 tot 1835,* exh. cat., Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, 1972; Neeltje Köhler and Koos Levy-van Halm, *Frans Hals: Militia Pieces* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz and SDU, 1990); Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw,* exh. cat., Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1986; Joanna Woodall, "Sovereign Bodies: The Reality of Status in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portraiture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject,* ed. Woodall (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1997), 75–100. Rembrandt's novel ways of making the face central to the construction of subjectivity have long been a source of fascination. For trenchant studies of his practices, see H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); and Joseph Leo Koerner, "Rembrandt and the Epiphany of the Face," *Res* 12 (1986): 5–32.

93. Falkenburg et al. (as in n. 29), which carries a wide range of such studies, several of which nuance the theatrical model of self-presentation into a complex mechanism of self-identification. David Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1982), was the first study of this kind. For an investigation along these lines of the pose with arm akimbo in portraiture, see Joaneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," in *A Cultural History of Gesture,* ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 84–128.

94. Woodall (as in nn. 49 and 92); Westermann (as in n. 66); and H. Perry Chapman, "Home and the Display of Privacy," in Westermann et al. (as in n. 83), 129–52. For more assertive studies of this kind, see Honig, 2001 (as in n. 38), and Richard Helgerson, *Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), esp. chap. 4, "At Home in the Dutch Republic: Soldiers and Enigmatic Girls," which presses rather too hard on paintings of women and soldiers to yield evidence of bourgeois masculine anxiety.

95. Shelley Perlove, "An Irenic Vision of Utopia: Rembrandt's *Triumph of Mordecai* and the New Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 56, no. 1 (1993): 38–60; idem, "Awaiting the Messiah: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Late Work of Rembrandt," *Bulletin of the Museums of Art and Archeology, the University of Michigan* 11 (1994–96): 84–113; Michael Howard Zell, "Protestant Imagery and Jewish Apologetics: Rembrandt's Encounter with Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994; idem, *Reframing Rembrandt: Jews and the Christian Image in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Marcel G. Roethlisberger, "Bloemaert's Altar-Pieces and Related Paintings," *Burlington Magazine* 134 (Mar. 1992): 156–64; and Xander van Eck, "From Doubt to Conviction: Clandestine Catholic Churches as Patrons of Dutch Caravaggesque Painting," *Simiolus* 22, no. 4 (1993–94), 217–34.

96. *Zo wijd de wereld strekt: Tentoonstelling naar aanleiding van de 300ste sterfdag van Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen op 20 december 1979,* exh. cat., Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1979; E. van den Boogaart, ed., *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil; Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of His Death* (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979); and P.J.P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil: Animals, Plants, and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1989). See also Bergvelt and Kistemaker, eds. (as in n. 86); and *Een wereldreiziger* (as in n. 86). For a thoughtful analysis, particularly of the political uses of geography, see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Ph.D. dissertations by Dawn Odell on the Dutch-Chinese encounter and by Rebecca Parker Brienen on the Dutch project in Brazil are in an advanced stage of progress.

97. Van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* (as in n. 6).

98. For a summation of some recent and forthcoming studies, see Stephanie Dickey's review of *Rembrandt by Himself,* ed. Christopher White and Quentin Buvelot et al., exh. cat., National Gallery, London, and Mauritshuis, The Hague, 2000, *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 366–69. For a good introduction to the variety of Rembrandt studies, see the wide range of interpretative strategies brought to bear on his *Bathsheba* of 1654 in Ann Jensen Adams, ed., *Rembrandt's "Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

99. Such a Rembrandt emerges from Mieke Bal's adventurous *Reading Rembrandt* (as in n. 90), a book ultimately more interested in what Rembrandt can do for contemporary cultural critique than in what that critique might make us see about Rembrandt.

100. Chapman (as in n. 92).

101. Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

102. White and Buvelot et al. (as in n. 98), but despite the no-nonsense tone of its essays the catalogue entries give wider latitude for interpretation by laying out the various possibilities without coming down strongly for any given one.

103. Hans Belting and Dagmar Eichberger, *Jan van Eyck als Erzähler: Frühe Tafelbilder im Umkreis der New Yorker Doppeltafel* (Worms: Werner'sche, 1983); Craig Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991); Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Brusati, 1995 (as in n. 49); and an extraordinarily rich series of studies of the self-defining artistry of Hendrick Goltzius: Walter S. Melion, "Karel van Mander's 'Life of Goltzius': Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600," *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989): 113–33; idem, "Hendrick Goltzius's Project of Reproductive Engraving," *Art History* 13, no. 4 (1990): 458–87; idem, "Love and Artisanship in Hendrick Goltzius's *Venus, Bacchus and Ceres* of 1606," *Art History* 16, no. 1 (1993): 60–94; idem, "*Memorabilia aliquot Romanae strenuitatis exempla:* The Thematics of Artisanal Virtue in Hendrick Goltzius's *Roman Heroes,*" *Modern Language Notes* 110 (1995): 1090–1134; idem, "Self-Imaging and the Engraver's *Virtu:* Hendrick Goltzius's *Pietà* of 1598," 104–43, and Eric Jan Sluijter, "Venus, Visus en Pictura," 337–96, both in Falkenburg et al. (as in n. 63).

104. Huygens famously lamented Rembrandt's and Jan Lievens's refusal to travel to Italy, where, in Huygens's view, they would have not only learned from antique art and its heirs but also made Italian artists want to compete with them. See Mariët Westermann, "Making a Mark in Rembrandt's Leiden," in *Rembrandt Creates "Rembrandt": Art and Ambition in Leiden, 1629–1631,* ed. Alan Chong, exh. cat., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 2000, 25–49, esp. 34–35.

105. Bal (as in n. 90), 326–46.

106. Harry Berger Jr., *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 427–61, with stimulating thoughts on Rembrandt's tactics of "revisionary allusion."

107. Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting,* trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Arasse (as in n. 57); Snow (as in n. 57); and Wolf (as in n. 57). For similarly stimulating and historically problematic interpretations of Dutch visual culture from the outside, see Hal Foster, "The Art of Fetishism: Notes on Dutch Still Life," in *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse,* ed. Emily Apter and William Pietz (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 251–65; and Helgerson (as in n. 94). For a critique of art history and museum display practice centered on a phenomenological response to Vermeer's *Woman Standing at a Virginal* (National Gallery, London), written by a scholar of Dutch art, see Ivan Gaskell, *Vermeer's Wager: Speculations on Art History, Theory and Art Museums* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000). The disinterest within Netherlandish art history in outsider interpretations of its objects of study causes very few of these books to be reviewed in the specialized literature. Reviews of these texts tend to appear in English, American, and French journals, and their reviewers are typically authors of similarly unconventional studies and rarely historians of Netherlandish art. See for examples reviews of Bal (as in n. 90) by Michael Podro, *Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993): 699–700, and Griselda Pollock, *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 529–35; Mieke Bal's review of Alpers (as in n. 101), *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 138–43; Ivan Gaskell's reviews of Arasse (as in n. 57), *Burlington Magazine* 137 (July 1995): 468, and Stoichita, *Burlington Magazine* 140 (Aug. 1998): 570–71; and Bryan Wolf's review of Berger, *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 566–69.

108. Ernst van de Wetering, "Leidse schilders achter de ezels," in *Geschildert tot Leyden anno 1626,* ed. M. L. Wurfbain et al., exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 1976, 21–31.

109. Chapman (as in n. 92), 34, 84–85.

110. Stoichita (as in n. 107), 237–40, 250–51; and Wolf (as in n. 57), 3–5. The latter sees the painting as Rembrandt's serious joke about the artist's privileged sight, the painting's autonomy, and the artist's anxiety of painting either too much or too little; this reading will annoy many because it needlessly compares the scenario to a Western face-off at high noon and makes much of the presumably silly appearance of the painter. Like Stoichita, Wolf confuses panel and canvas in the references to the picture itself and the picture within it (both of which are panels). Specialists tend to carp on this kind of inattentiveness to material conditions of the object; see for example the review of Stoichita by Gaskell (as in n. 107). Nonetheless, Wolf's thick description makes sense of Rembrandt's refusal to tell us whether there is anything on the panel on the easel, and how that ambiguity makes modern authorial claims for the artist's privileged sight.

111. Bal (as in n. 90), 247–70. For a sympathetic review, see Michael Ann Holly, "Quoting Rembrandt," *Semiotica* 104, nos. 3–4 (1995): 355–64.

112. Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 18.

113. White and Buvelot et al. (as in n. 98), 120–21, acknowledge that the figure of the painter resembles Rembrandt but discount the significance of the likeness, considering the painting "a general picture of 'the painter in his studio.' " See also Chong (as in n. 104), 90–91; the reluctance to explore the painting's possible significance for Rembrandt and his career is peculiar in the latter catalogue, which rightly emphasized and historicized the young Rembrandt's ambitions.

114. J. P. Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966–68).

115. The famous map of the seventeen Netherlandish provinces in the shape of the heraldic Leo Belgicus, invented by Michael Aitzinger in 1583, was republished many times in the Dutch Republic during the 17th and 18th centuries; for most known versions, see H.A.M. van der Heijden, *Leo Belgicus: An Illustrated and Annotated Carto-Bibliography* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1990). Even when the savvy publisher Claes Jansz Visscher successfully adjusted the format to a Leo Hollandicus (a map of the leading province Holland rather than all of the Dutch Republic; see ibid., no. 23.3), publishers kept issuing maps of the seventeen provinces as if they formed a geopolitical whole.

116. The cosmopolitan aspirations of the stadtholder's court in The Hague have been well charted in two exhibitions. See for the collections of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms, van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. (as in n. 86); for courtly rituals in The Hague, Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, *Vorstelijk vertoon: Aan het hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*, exh. cat., Haags Historisch Museum, The Hague, 1997. For a close analysis of a fine album produced by Adriaen van de Venne for this court, see Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1988).

117. Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* (Antwerp, 1662).

118. Houbraken (as in n. 74).

119. Van Miegroet and De Marchi, 1994 (as in n. 35); Honig (as in n. 36); and de Jong et al. (as in n. 35).

120. Joanna Woodall, *Amor, Mors, Memoria: The Mimetic Art of Antonis Mor*, forthcoming.

121. Schama (as in n. 66), Chapman, 1986 and 2000 (as in n. 66), and Westermann (as in n. 66).

122. Haverkamp-Begemann (as in n. 2), 510.

123. Occasionally, European resistance to what is perceived as modish American concern for identity politics still erupts in virulently dismissive reviews; more typically it amounts to quiet neglect. In 1995, a leading Dutch newspaper lambasted a stimulating conference on different types of women in 17th-century art (with Dutch and American scholars participating in equal measure), and the following year the former head of the department of paintings at the Rijksmuseum spent many pages lamenting the decline of the discipline registered in a volume of the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* dedicated to self-representation in and through art. See P.J.J. van Thiel, review of Falkenburg et al. (as in n. 29), *Simiolus* 25 (1997): 238–46. Similar sentiments, frequently unargued and ventilated with references to the "jargon," "subjectivity," and lack of "common sense" of the texts under review, continue to circulate in the pages of *Oud Holland*, *Simiolus*, *Burlington Magazine*, and Dutch newspapers and magazines.

124. For recent themes of the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, see nn. 29, 35, 40, 63, 80, 82 above. *Dutch Crossing* and *De Zeventiende Eeuw* frequently publish articles of theoretical interest, including partial proceedings of their annual interdisciplinary conferences. Along with the highly current *Historians of Netherlandish Art Newsletter*, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* also offers the most comprehensive short-review listings of publications on 17th-century Netherlandish culture.

125. W. Th. Kloek, W. Halsema-Kubes, and R. J. Baarsen, *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm/Art before the Iconoclasm: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1525–1580*, trans. Patricia Wardle, exh. cat., 2 vols., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1986.

126. Kloek et al. (as in n. 40).

127. Van Mander presented Goltzius's absorption of Bartholomeus Spranger's complex design principles in the mid-1580s as the seed of the rebirth of the pictorial arts in Haarlem. Goltzius's engraving after Spranger's *Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche* has rightly been seen as a watershed for the history of art in Haarlem and the Dutch Republic; see Kloek et al. (as in n. 40), 19–20, cat. nos. 1, 2. For van de Venne's understanding of the young republic as a social paradise of sorts, see Westermann (as in n. 66). For a sharp review of the exhibition's problematic title and premises, see Hessel Miedema, "Dageraad der Gouden Eeuw," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 10, no. 2 (1994): 241–51.

128. The attrition of scholarly interest evident in the Rijksmuseum's exhibitions (countered partly by such focused shows as *Adriaen de Vries, 1556–1626* of 1998–99, with additional venues at Stockholm's Nationalmuseum and the J. Paul Getty Museum) stands in striking contrast to the continued flourishing of exhibitions with a scholarly base generated in the United States and Great Britain. Examples of such projects include Joaneath Spicer et al. (as in n. 63); *Johannes Vermeer* (as in n. 52); Walter Liedtke et al. (as in n. 58); and the shows mentioned in n. 129 below. In a more positive development, the Rijksmuseum has begun to issue three distinct series of collection-based publications of considerable scholarly weight: complete catalogues of different areas of the collection, particularly in the decorative arts; smaller, well-illustrated books that survey the most striking aspects of these different areas, from German stoneware to sculpted portraits; and "Rijksmuseum dossiers," extended scholarly essays for a general audience about particular artists, media, and genres represented in the collection.

129. Peter C. Sutton et al., *The Age of Rubens*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1993. Sutton had previously staged similarly thorough shows of Dutch genre and landscape paintings and of their new interpretative models, in each case bringing new material to bear. See Peter C. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (West), and Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1984; and Sutton et al. (as in. n. 15).

130. Ben Broos et al., *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, exh. cat., Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990.

131. A short survey of interdisciplinary research in the history of Dutch art has recently been published by Sluijter (as in n. 68); for the history of Dutch art in America, see Walter Liedtke, "The Study of Dutch Art in America," *Artibus et Historiae* 21, no. 1 (2000): 207–20, focused on individuals rather than institutions or methodological practices.

132. Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen, *De Gouden eeuw in perspectief: Het beeld van de Nederlandse zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in later tijd* (Nijmegen: Sun, 1992), translated as *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective* by Andrew McCormack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

133. E. de Jongh (as in n. 16), translated as *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting* by Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000).

134. Franits (as in n. 83).

135. Christiane Hertel, *Vermeer: Reception and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). The 2002 issue of *Dutch Crossing*, edited by Amy Golahny, will be dedicated to Rembrandt's historiography, as is Catherine Scallen's forthcoming book.

136. *Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History* (Waanders Publishers) is one recently launched series of considerable promise in its dedication to critical scholarship, and Cambridge University Press and Brepols carry similar lists.