David Bailly, *Self-Portrait with an Allegorical Still Life*, (cat. 38, detail).

Alan Chong

Contained Under the Name of Still Life: The Associations of Still-Life Painting

Sweeping festoons, braided wreaths of flowers, and many-colored bouquets in pots and vases; and bunches of grapes and beautiful peaches and apricots, or melons and lemons, and a clear wine glass on a fully laden table; with white and colored butterflies, a Roman lizard and Calabrian tarantula, or a music book and Vanitas in eternity. Or they order kitchens with all sorts of food, of meat and fish, and delectable game, and everything that is contained under the name of still life.

SAMUEL VAN HOOGSTRATEN, 1678[1]

This understanding of still life, based on the decoration of ancient Roman grottos, is remarkably similar to our own. Indeed van Hoogstraten's ranking of specific subjects–beginning with flowers and proceeding to fruit and laid tables, while leaving for last such unpleasant items as fish, slaughtered meat, and dead game–would probably be shared by most modern collectors and museum-goers. Significantly, van Hoogstraten's rubric includes depictions of kitchens and markets like those by Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, and Frans Snyders. Simply put, a still life is a painted arrangement of inanimate objects, so while the category shares many features with nature studies, animal paintings, and illusionistic pictures, it possesses its own distinctive characteristics. Still life should also be considered principally a branch of oil painting, at least in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since drawings and prints served very different functions from the artfully composed and carefully lit worlds of still-life paintings.

The terms used to describe and classify still lifes in the seventeenth century can serve as a basis for elucidating attitudes toward the genre. Where modern categories do not conform to historical usage, these divergences need to be clearly understood and perhaps rethought, especially since certain categories that are commonly cited, including 'monochrome banquetje' (monochromatic banquet), 'tabackje' (tobacco piece), 'pronk' (opulent) still life, and 'bedriegertje' (deception), have little or no foundation in historical usage.

TERMS

Karel van Mander, in his *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604, does not employ the term 'still life' or any comparable generic phrase, although he praises the ability of painters such as Aertsen and Jacques de Gheyn to depict objects.[3] Van Mander lists the principal genres of painting, beginning with the histories and figure scenes, which he regarded as the supreme achievement of an artist (see the essay by Guido Jansen), before proceeding to group together 'animals, kitchens, fruit, flowers,' which seems to represent an early understanding of what might constitute still life.[4] Early seventeenth-century inventories similarly described paintings by the kind of object represented, with the addition of the word 'banquet,' which seems to have been applied to food placed on a table.

Around 1630, Constantijn Huygens, scholar and secretary to the prince of Orange, provided the first clear enunciation of a broad category of still life when he described de Gheyn and Johannes Torrentius as painters of inanimate objects, employing the Latin term 'inanimatus.' Huygens judges that de Gheyn, 'in inanimate things, such as books and papers and other like objects used by people, he surpassed everyone.'[5] De Gheyn's still life of 1621 certainly demonstrates these abilities (fig. 8). In the same passage, Huygens also discusses de Gheyn's paintings of flowers, thus linking flower paintings with depictions of everyday objects. Huygens repeats the Latin 'inanimatus' in characterizing the paintings of Torrentius, de Gheyn's great rival: 'In my opinion, in the rendering of inanimate objects there is an accuracy of appearance, and moreover, there is no one who could accomplish so well things of glass, tin, pottery, and iron.'[6] These are important indications that paintings of inanimate things were already considered a separate genre even in the absence of a generally accepted terminology.

In 1649, David Bailly (see cat. 38 and fig. on p. 10) was called a very good painter 'en vie coye' (or 'la vie coite'), which means of quiet or immobile life (fig. 38a in catalogue).[7] This is an almost literal translation of the Dutch word 'stilleven' (still life), which is very possible as the caption was written in Antwerp, and the usage is otherwise unknown in French. This usage actually precedes by a year the first documented occurrence of 'stilleven,' which appears in a Delft inventory of 1650 to describe a painting by Evert van Aelst, the uncle and teacher of Willem van Aelst.[8] Evert van Aelst's few surviving paintings depict tables with fruit, glasses, and flowers (fig. 1). There is a gap of seven years before the term is next documented: In 1657, the inventory of the Amsterdam dealer Johannes de Renialme lists a 'still life by Jan Lievens' valued at 150 guilders, as well as several other still lifes by Pieter van der Asch and François Rijckhals.[9] After that date,

fig. 1 Evert van Aelst, *Still Life*, dated 1639, wood, 39 × 30 cm. Sotheby's London, 7 July 1976 (lot 16).

the term is frequently encountered in Holland, where by 1670 it seems to have replaced the general descriptive categories 'bancket' and 'ontbijt.' Van Hoogstraten employs 'stilleven' often in his 1678 treatise, although it is rarely encountered in the southern Netherlands.

Other texts provide further clarification. For example, Rembrandt's collection contained 'een still leggent leven van Rembrandt geretukeert' (a still-lying life by Rembrandt retouched),[10] while the 1658 accounts of the Antwerp dealer Matthijs Musson record a painting of 'stilstaende dinghen' (still-standing things).[11] This phrase, together with a few similar passages from Cornelis de Bie's book of 1662, make up the few occurrences of the term in Antwerp. Joachim von Sandrart, writing in German in 1675, used analogous constructions such as 'stillstehenden natürlichen Sachen' (still-standing natural objects) and 'stilligenden Sachen' (still-lying things).[12] The English 'still life' was first used by William Aglionby in 1685, also to denote inanimate materials.[13] Huygens's use of the word 'inanimatis' (inanimate objects) in 1630 already closely anticipated the meaning of 'still life' as a depiction of immobile, nonliving objects.

In 1707, Gerard de Lairesse attempted an overall definition of still life:

We shall now, to help weak spirits, proceed to still life... Indeed, first of all we should clarify the word still life, which can be said to be motionless or inanimate things, such as flowers, fruit, gold, silver, wood, stone, musical instruments, dead fish, etc., all of which can, in different manners, each in its own way, serve as principal subjects, to be naturally composed on canvas or wood. With these above-mentioned objects one can find sufficient means to please all kinds of people and sensibilities, the high as well as low, the learned as well as the simple. We shall therefore choose out of many objects those we judge the most beautiful, elegant, and pleasing. First, flowers. Second, fruit. Third, gold, silver, and other precious treasures. Fourth, musical instruments. These four types, appropriate to art and well executed, can without problem be placed in salons and cabinets, just like the best paintings, provided they receive proper light and remain together with each other.[14]

fig. 2 Cornelius Norbertus Gijsbrechts, *Musical Instruments Hanging on a Wall*, canvas, 168 × 115 cm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

Couched in grudging praise for the genre, the constituent categories of still-life painting are clearly laid out, although later de Lairesse also admits to another class of still life that he finds unpleasant: vegetables and fish. 'Those who desire them may go to the market.'[15] It is somewhat surprising to find that musical instruments make up a separate category, for while lutes, violins, and flutes can sometimes be seen in seventeenth-century still lifes (fig. 2), the form was not especially common and is rarely described in inventories. Overall, de Lairesse's ranking of still-life subjects echoes van Hoogstraten's judgment, while the broad definition of still life is confirmed by its use in Dutch inventories of the second half of the seventeenth century when objects of all sorts came to be classified as still life.

MORAL MESSAGES: VANITAS

Various other terms are used to describe still lifes in the seventeenth century, and there are important shifts in usage over time as well as important differences between the northern and southern Netherlands (see Appendix). One of the most intriguing terms, since it seems to suggest a specific meaning rather than merely certain kinds of objects, is 'vanitas.' The word occurs frequently in inventories in Holland but, surprisingly, mainly after 1650, when production of obviously symbolic still lifes had declined sharply. The name 'vanitas' is rarely applied to paintings in Antwerp, although Flemish still lifes were as likely to contain symbols of transience. Inventories attribute vanitas paintings to Aertsen, Pieter Claesz (the most common artist), Jan Davidsz de Heem, Simon Luttichuys, Jan Lievens, Cornelis Brize, Abraham van Beyeren, and even Rembrandt, whose own bankruptcy inventory lists four vanitas paintings by him.[16] Many of these artists painted skulls and other symbols of transience, suggesting that vanitas pictures contained these motifs.

However, it is very likely that the term become a generic description for a wide range of still lifes.[17] De Lairesse wrote:

There is yet another type of Still life, which is not the least trifling, and with the preceding can yield a no less elegant variety. It consists of all kinds of precious things, such as gold, silver, crystal and other glasses, pearls, gemstones, and mother-of-pearl, commonly called Vanitases. The famous Kalf, who left many excellent and outstanding examples, excelled in this and above all earned the highest praise.[18]

In failing to assign any meaning to vanitas still lifes, de Lairesse's conception of the form differs from many modern interpretations, which regard many still lifes as symbolizing the emptiness of worldly existence. In moralizing emblems and prints, objects such as skulls, hourglasses, and bubbles signal the passing of time. Viewers of the seventeenth century may have similarly understood some of the objects in still lifes, especially when paintings were inscribed with clear texts. However such texts are lacking in most still lifes, while symbolic meanings have been adduced in all manner of objects. It is difficult to believe that most, if not nearly all, Netherlandish still lifes contain vanitas messages, as has been suggested.[19] While some seventeenth-century observers would have brought a moralizing interpretation to all images, it is doubtful that this was the primary response to most still lifes. Moreover, the objects represented in still lifes possess a rich array of associations and references, and the surviving seventeenth-century texts that treat still lifes interpret them in entirely different ways.

SKULLS

Skulls, which often appear in still lifes of the early seventeenth century, were so obviously connected with death that their meaning can no longer be regarded as symbolic, there being no indirect or 'hidden' connection. A skull simply is death. Representations of Saint Jerome often contain a skull, which reinforced religious meanings, and in many still lifes a skull can be seen with pens, books, papers, and candles (cats. 15, 16). Modern viewers are sometimes alarmed by the presence of a skull in a painting, but we should remember that skulls and skeletons could be seen, and were actually collected by connoisseurs interested in naturalia and science. Not only did the Amsterdam surgeon's guild collect anatomical specimens, it also possessed a

fig. 3 Hercules Segers, *Skull*, canvas, 29.2 x 26 cm. Private collection, USA.

fig. 4 Dutch or German, *Skull*, boxwood. Thomson collection, on loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

painting of a skull by Hercules Segers, which very likely survives in a remarkably detailed and evocatively shadowed picture (fig. 3).[20] The direct realism of this painting undercuts any symbolic reading, especially given the context in which it was seen. Moreover, carvings of skulls in ivory, boxwood, and other materials became popular in Germany and the Netherlands (fig. 4) and there are clear signs that a skull could be an accouterment of a scholar or intellectual. Skulls for example appear in depictions of collector's cabinets by Claesz, Gerrit Dou, Georg Hinz, and others.[21] Skulls, skeletons, and human bones could also be encountered in an artist's studio, as Jan Vos indicates in his poem 'Struggle between Death and Nature, or Victory of Painting' (Strijdt tusschen de doodt en natuur, of Zeege der schilderkunst) of 1654.[22] The symbolic value of such skulls is therefore complex since they were collected and studied for a variety of reasons, whether for scientific and anatomical study, as a collector's item representing the wonder of nature, or as a simple reminder of death and the frailty of human endeavor.

It is important to distinguish between reminders of death with the vanitas concept of the emptiness of worldly existence. Pieter Steenwijck's still life of 1653 (fig. 5) cannot simply be considered a vanitas painting, despite the presence of a skull, because the image specifically celebrates the life of Admiral Maerten Tromp, who had recently died at the Battle of Ter Heyde.[23] At the lower left is a portrait drawing of the admiral, while the laurel crown and sword allude to his military triumphs. The skull and snuffed candle symbolize Tromp's death, but the painting as a whole glorifies the admiral, indicates that his fame shall live on, and strengthens a sense of patriotism and pride.

CONQUERING DEATH

A few still lifes contain inscriptions offering clues as to their meaning. Almost more an allegory than a still life, de Gheyn's painting of 1603 (see fig. 15a in catalogue) is titled 'Humana vana' (Human emptiness). Bailly's painting of 1651 (cat. 38) bears the inscription 'Vanitas Vanit[at]um,' but, placed to one side of the composition, this text captures only one aspect of the picture, which also celebrates the virtuosity of the painter and the achievements of his profession. The inscription 'vanitas' is not much more common in still lifes than other mottoes such as 'Life is short, art is long' (Vita brevis ars lunga),[24] or 'I will not entirely die' (Non omnis moriar), a quote from Horace, by which the artist asserts a posthumous reputation (fig. 6).[25] This practice relates directly to a common theme in poetry about painting whereby pictures are praised for their ability to preserve reality with a permanence that defies death itself. Erasmus in 1522 had already compared real flowers with a painting of flowers that 'grows and pleases even in midwinter.'[26] In the seventeenth century, Vos wrote of Willem van Aelst: 'His hand, full of spirit, has painted the petal of this blossom with a luster that will never wear away. The foliage that endures heat and cold will last forever.'[27] This idea was not just a poetic topos, but a sentiment shared by other commentators, including the artists themselves. In still life, the combination of painter's tools with skulls and other symbols of transience suggests that art possesses an

fig. 5 Pieter Steenwijck, *Allegory of the Death of Admiral Maerten Tromp*, dated 1653, canvas, 79 x 101.5 cm. Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden.

fig. 6 David de Heem, *Skull, Statues, and Books*, canvas, 42 × 56 cm. Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden.

enduring permanence that outlasts death. In 1652, for example, Amalia van Solms presented the painter Daniel Seghers with a golden maulstick engraved with a skull. Rather than a vanitas symbol, the skull demonstrated that Seghers's fame as well as his paintings of flowers will conquer death. Seghers wrote that the skull is 'a sign that art continues to live and flourish even after death,' a sentiment echoed in an accompanying poem by Huygens.[28] Similarly, the theme of Vos's poem 'Struggle between Death and Nature' is that painting is the closest ally of Nature in conquering death.[29]

RELIGIOUS MESSAGES

Still lifes could convey explicit religious messages. Depictions of flowers had long been accessories in altarpieces and illuminated prayer books, a tradition continued in the seventeenth century by Jan Brueghel the Elder, Seghers, and others who painted garlands of flowers and fruit around religious scenes. (Brueghel and Seghers also employed almost identical garlands for both religious and mythological subjects; see under cat. 4). Viewers must have sought connections between such garlands and the figural scenes they framed. For example, the thorns and thistles depicted by Seghers in a painting probably made for the archbishop of Antwerp (cat. 26), relate unmistakably to Christ's crown of thorns that Saint Catherine of Siena grasps in the central scene. De Heem's representation of the Eucharist (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) is surrounded in fruit and sheaves of grain, which are a direct reminder of the bread of the Mass. A painting of a crucifix set next to a vase of flowers, made jointly by de Heem and Nicolaes van Veerendael (fig. 7), insists that the bouquet be compared with the religious objects, while the inscription – 'Maer naer d'Alderschoonste Blom / daer en siet men niet om' (But one does look at the most beautiful flower of all) – invites the viewer to contemplate the body of Christ rather than the beauty of the flowers. The artist's personality of the also affected perceptions of his or her paintings. Maria van Oosterwijck's still lifes (cat. 65) often contain clear religious inscriptions and a variety of symbolic objects. Described as exceptionally devout, the artist came from a family of Reformed preachers, which no doubt influenced the appreciation of her pictures. Even more famous was Seghers, universally known as Pater Seghers, who was among the most celebrated painters of his time (cats. 25, 26). The fact that he was a Jesuit added to his celebrity, and Seghers clearly signed his pictures with the name of his order in capital letters – JESU. His personality meant that his simple flower paintings without religious scenes (for example, cat. 25) might have been interpreted as religious images. And Seghers was also celebrated in the Protestant north where his works were especially popular at the Hague court.[30]

Given this well-defined group of still lifes with religious and moral symbols, it is doubtful whether paintings of flowers lacking explicit texts or obvious religious objects were intended to carry the same moralizing meanings, or whether most viewers would have made such associations.[31] Indeed, because only a

fig. 7 Nicolas van Veerendael and Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Crucifix and Vase of Flowers*, canvas, 103 × 85 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

small percentage of Netherlandish still lifes bear any inscriptions at all, it seems unwise to base an understanding of the genre as a whole on isolated examples.

EXHORTATIONS

Many still lifes are directly concerned with the themes of study and work. De Gheyn's monumental still life of 1621 (fig. 8) depicts books, instruments, armor, and sculpture, along with a skull crowned with laurels. A prominent inscription at the bottom urges 'Servare modum, finemque tueri, naturamque sequi' (Observe moderation, be mindful of the final goal, and follow nature), a Neo-Stoic exhortation to the improvement of character through diligence.[32] Rather than merely vanitas symbols, the skull, books, and hourglass in this context also suggest that scholarly work can lead to success.[33] The laurels indicate that accomplishment shall survive death. Painted at the end of his career, at a time when de Gheyn felt challenged by artists such as Torrentius, the still life may have advanced de Gheyn's own desires for a lasting reputation.

Other still lifes from the early seventeenth century take up the theme of temperance (cats. 9, 11), referring not just to the avoidance of gluttony and excess, but also to usefulness and study. Pieter Bruegel's 1560 design for a print shows Temperance, symbolized by a bridle (also seen in Torrentius's still life, cat. 11), governing the liberal arts, including painting.[34] Other still lifes with books may also have been interpreted as exhortations to purposeful study (cats. 15, 18, 27, 28, 34, 67), since books and instruments represent an active mind, while the accompanying timepieces may suggest that time should be used well.[35] Cesare Ripa also makes these objects attributes of 'Studio: Practice in the Arts, studying.'[36] Such paintings are often called 'vanitas' still lifes, which does them scant justice. Books, pens, scientific instruments, candles, and hourglasses were items found in a study, and were often pictured in fifteenth-century Italian

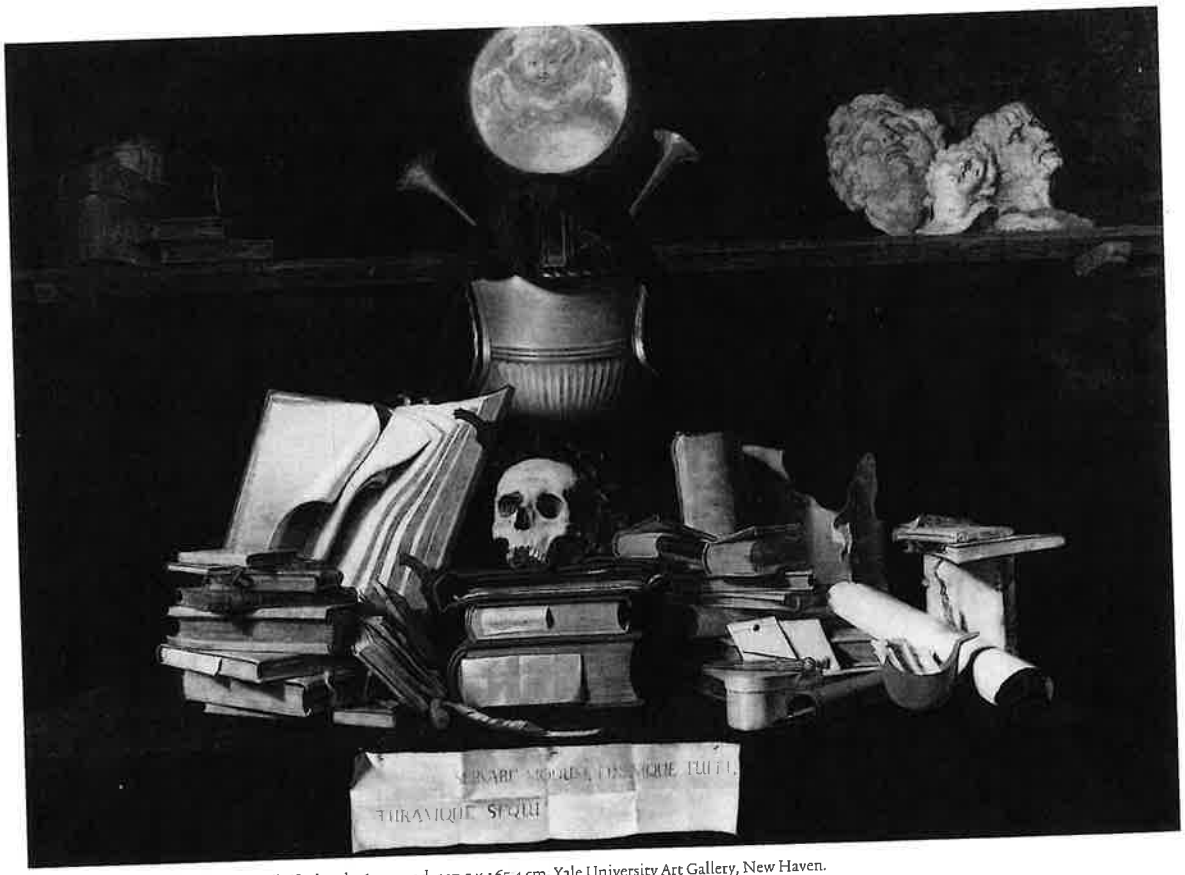

fig. 8 Jacques de Gheyn, *Allegorical Still Life*, dated 1621, wood, 117.5 × 165.4 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

intarsia (see fig. 35a in catalogue) as well as in later still lifes like the trompe l'oeil panels by Dou (cat. 35).

Still lifes of books, pens, skulls, candles, and other objects reminded viewers of scholarship, diligence, as well as the passing of time, as the still-life painter Heyman Dullaert wrote in his poem 'To my perishing candle' (Aan my uitbrandende kaerse):

> *O soon-to-be extinguished flame of my candle! Now that*
> *you thwart my progress in diligent investigation*
> *Of useful scholarship, in books full of wisdom,*
> *so richly laden for the eye eager to learn,*
> *You offer me a book, from which I can learn*
> *The rapidly expired hour of my own fleeting life.*[37]

This mixture of associations may have been a common reaction to still-life images. The few direct contemporary comments on the meaning of still lifes suggest the vagueness and multiplicity of their meaning. Remarkably, in 1578, Blaise de Vigenère had already asserted that paintings of food were 'little pleasantries and amusements' that 'do not teach us anything, and they serve nothing else than for a greater enjoyment and satisfaction to the eye.'[38] In the early decades of the seventeenth century, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, a religious thinker who assembled a rich collection of paintings as contemplative and meditative images, confessed to a lack of sophisticated motivation when he commissioned delightful natural images from Jan Brueghel the Elder:

> *An allegory can be found here in the pleasure of flowers as well as in snows frozen with ice–these are the extremes of nature, just as the earth represents winter and the sky in turn represents spring. But, on reflection, when I ordered the painting, I did not think at all of either symbols or allegories.*[39]

Instead, as we shall see, Borromeo prized Brueghel's abilities to render natural wonders, whether landscapes or flowers. Similarly, in 1707, de Lairesse complained:

> *Although we have said before that the famous Kalf excelled in still life above others, yet, like his predecessors and successors, he could give little reason for his depictions, why he showed this or that; but he only depicted what came to mind... without ever having thought of producing something of importance that might contain special meaning, or could be applied to something.*[40]

It is likely that de Lairesse knew Willem Kalf in Amsterdam. Could Kalf really give no explanation of his work, or did de Lairesse simply regard Kalf's intentions as unimportant? Since de Lairesse was principally interested in classical history and

fig. 9 Govert Flinck, *Allegorical Portrait of Gerard Hulft (1621–1656)*, dated 1654, canvas, 130 x 103 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

mythology, he assigned greater significance to still lifes consisting of allegories or the attributes of a professional, one example being Govert Flinck's portrait of Gerard Hulft, the town secretary of Amsterdam (fig. 9). Nonetheless, de Lairesse's statement shows that some observers could discern no profound symbolism in still lifes.

EMBLEMS

One of the most beautiful Netherlandish emblem books, Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* of 1614, has been frequently employed to interpret still lifes.[41] However, these richly creative images and texts were intended neither to index standard meanings nor to 'decode' oil paintings, since the format, function, and audience of moralizing prints could not be more different from that of still-life paintings. Moreover, emblems are a fully independent category of art in themselves, possessing complex, witty, poetic, and at times even contradictory meanings. One of the images most frequently connected with still lifes, Roemer Visscher's emblem of seashells illustrated with a print by Claes Jansz Visscher (fig. 10), is captioned, 'Tis misselijck waer een geck zijn gelt aen leijt' (It is odd how a fool will spend his money). The text states that with seashells, their 'only beauty is their rarity,'

a sentiment that most painters and viewers, not to mention shell collectors, would have emphatically disputed. Yet this emblem is cited at nearly every occasion shells are depicted, usually with the conclusion that shells are intentional warnings about the foolishness and vanity of worldly possessions.[42] But rather than wagging fingers at viewers, most paintings of shells (cats. 7, 23, 32, 74) celebrate the beauty, fragility, and rarity of the objects, which were brought from distant oceans for enthusiastic collectors. Artists clearly reveled in their unusual textures and sheens. Roemer Visscher's emblem remains useful for understanding contemporary attitudes because it embroiders a basic, widely held association of exotic shells: they were highly desirable collectibles, as numerous other texts proclaim. The widest and most natural reference of shells were that they were delightful, unusual, and sometimes expensive rarities.

Visscher's emblem illustrating tulips, which warns that 'a fool and his money are soon parted' (Een dwaes en zijn gelt zijn haest ghescheijden) is clearly a commentary on the increasingly high prices paid for tulip bulbs in Holland that eventually led to the tulip crash of 1639.[43] This disaster, appreciated then as now as a humorous example of financial foolishness, is an unavoidable association of nearly all paintings of tulips, especially those produced after 1639, such as Hans Boulenger's exquisite bouquet (cat. 24).

fig. 10 Claes Jansz Visscher, *Tis misselijck waer een geeck zijn gelt aen leijt*, etching (from Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 1614).

fig. 11 Claes Jansz Visscher, *Elck wat wils*, etching (from Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 1614).

Another of Visscher's emblems has been compared so often with Torrentius's still life (fig. 11; see also cat. 11) that it is sometimes thought that Torrentius must have borrowed his composition from Visscher's illustration, both made in 1614.[44] Yet the similarities between the two works cannot account for the richness and complexity of the painting by Torrentius, which even on a symbolic level contains crucial elements such as the bridle and the song that are missing from the print. Instead, both print and painting draw from a rich tradition of representations of Temperance, a theme shared by other still lifes of the period such as those by Clara Peeters (cat. 9) and de Gheyn (fig. 8).

Similarities of detail and motif should not mislead us into thinking that oil paintings were appreciated in the same way as emblems or prints. Still-life paintings present to the viewer entire, independent worlds–carefully selected, composed, and lit. Most emblems and moralizing prints include texts or subsidiary figures that are missing from still-life paintings.[45] Any evaluation of significance of a still life must consider the relationship of the picture as a whole, including its context and style, to its subject.

CELEBRATIONS OF ABUNDANCE

At about the same time Claes Jansz Visscher illustrated *Sinnepoppen*, he also produced a large-scale panoramic print of Amsterdam (fig. 12) that places familiar objects, many of them identical to those found in the emblem book, in a rather different context. On the near bank, across the harbor from the city, sits the Maid of Amsterdam, who 'receives with great pleasure all the most prominent peoples of the world, all with their most excellent trading goods.'[46] These include Spaniards who bring wine, olives, figs, and oranges; East Indians who bring pepper, pearls, and gemstones; West Indians who carry sugar, gold, silver, tobacco, parrots; the Chinese who have porcelain and silk. Netherlanders provide food for the city, including fish, meat, cheese, butter, milk, and eggs; hunters bring game birds, rabbits, and larger animals 'in order to adorn all grand meals' (om alle groote Maeltijden te vercieren). Nearest the central figure can be seen books, a globe, porcelain teacups, and gilt vessels, as well as an artist palette and brushes. In sum, nearly all the objects found in Netherlandish still lifes can be seen in this celebration of commerce and the prosperity of the city. The things depicted in still lifes were intimately associated with the wealth and trade of the Netherlands.

It was well-known in the seventeenth century that ancient Greek and Roman painters had depicted food still lifes. Philostratus in *Eikones* had employed the term 'xenia' to designate depictions of fruit, honey, milk, and other foods, and in 1578 it was translated by Blaise de Vigenère as 'les presens rustiques' (rustic gifts). The extended commentary to the text states that

fig. 12 Claes Jansz Visscher, *Panorama of Amsterdam*, dated 1611, etching and engraving, 25.5 × 112 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

fig. 13 detail from fig. 12.

fig. 14 *Les presens rustiques*, 1614, etching after Antoine Caron (from Blaise de Vigenère, *Les Images*).

such paintings represented hospitality in the form of 'presents given to one's guest,'[47] while the title plate to the chapter shows not only fruit, but also prepared dishes (fig. 14). Food still lifes thus demonstrated the abundance of the farm and rural life generally, and more importantly expressed a bounteous reception. In 1638, Franciscus Junius described xenia as 'when Painters did imitate in their pictures such things as those that had an entercourse of mutuall hospitality.'[48]

The abundance of country life was expressed in similar fashion by rural and agricultural poetry in the Netherlands, which was largely inspired by the ancient works of Horace and Virgil.[49] The popular Dutch poems devoted to country life, known as 'hofdichten,' often praised the rich variety of fruit, vegetables, and game that could be found on rural gardens and estates. Nearly all such poems, including those by Philibert van Borsselen, Huygens, and Jan Vos, describe a meal for guests exclusively drawn from produce grown on the estate, a theme that closely mirrors Philostratus's xenia as well as seventeenth-century still lifes.[50] Petrus Hondius, for example, in *De Mouse-schans* of 1621, described in copious detail the produce of his vegetable and flower gardens, while Jacob Westerbaen, writing in 1654, celebrated the joys of the hunt. These poems share with still lifes a similar set of natural associations.

It is significant that de Vigenère directly compares the ancient paintings of food both to cornucopia and to 'drolleries found in Flanders.'[51] Xenia's essential nature was to welcome guests with displays of abundance, and this too must have been a component of seventeenth-century food still lifes, witnessed especially in the large market and kitchen scenes of Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, Joannes Fyt, Frans Snyders, and others. These were often conceived in series and must have formed impressive displays. Beuckelaer's series of 1569–70 depicts vegetable, fish, and fowl markets, as well as a kitchen (see fig. 15).[52] This grouping can be considered an illustration of the process of procuring and preparing a banquet, especially since Beuckelaer's vegetable market takes places in the countryside near an orchard, while the other two markets are clearly urban, and the final scene is the interior of a large kitchen. Around 1618, Snyders produced a cycle of four market scenes for Jacques van Ophem, the receiver general for Brussels (State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg).[53] Imposing in the extreme, these depictions of game, fruit, vegetables, and fish markets aided the public ambitions of their patron by showing him to be a generous host. Snyders also painted a game still life for the archdukes Albert and Isabella,[54] and several others were acquired by the Marqués de Leganés who presented them to Philip IV. In addition, Clara Peeters painted a series of still lifes (fig. 16, fig 3 on p. 41) that depict raw foods–fowl and game birds, fish with artichokes–as well as tables laid with dried fruit, nuts, a pie, and other cooked foods.[55] A similar range of foodstuffs can

fig. 15 Joachim Beuckelaer, *Vegetable market*, dated 1569, canvas, 157.2 x 214.2 cm. Museum voor Schone Kunste, Gent.

be seen in Alexander Adriaenssen's series of six food still lifes (see fig. 3 on p. 98).[56]

The idea that guests should be welcomed with displays of abundance indicative of a well-stocked household can be judged clearly where the original setting of still lifes can be reconstructed. For Prince Johan Maurits (and perhaps even for the Mauritshuis), Albert Eckhout painted the decoration of an entire room consisting of Brazilian figures surmounted by still lifes of exotic Brazilian fruits (cats. 39a–b). Jacob van Campen similarly decorated a room in a house near Amersfoort with baskets overflowing with fruit interspersed among allegorical scenes (see fig. 9 on p. 96).[57] The collections in Florence preserve still lifes by Willem van Aelst, Otto Marseus van Schrieck, and Bartolomeo Bimbi that originally adorned the various palaces and villas in and around Florence.[58] Bimbi's imposing paintings of figs, cherries, flowers, and game were installed in La Topaia, the summer villa of Cosimo III, and welcomed guests with bountiful produce.[59] The stadhouder's palaces in Holland were also decorated with cornucopia and other still lifes. At the palace of Honselaarsdijk, the staircase was decorated with paintings (now lost) by Pieter de Grebber and Paulus Bor showing cupids surrounded by festoons of flowers, while Moses van Wtenbrouck's Flora included a cornucopia.[60] The paintings at the entrance to the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch consist of four triumphal scenes that, while related to the military and political feats of Frederik Hendrik, also display flowers, fruit, and other produce. These still-life subjects signaled the wealth and prosperity of the Netherlands under the stadhouder. To the right of the door, armor and precious vessels are carried in, as flowers are strewn on the ground (fig. 17), while on the left, overseas trade and imperial conquests are praised as exotic birds, Brazilian artifacts, Chinese porcelain, and rare fruits are displayed (fig. 18).

fig. 16 Clara Peeters, *Table with Game*, dated 1611, wood, 56 x 71 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

fig. 17 Pieter Soutman, *Triumph with Precious Vessels*, dated 1648, canvas, 380 x 220 cm. Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague.

fig. 18 Jacob van Campen, *Triumph with Goods from the East and West*, canvas, 380 x 205 cm. Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague.

Significantly, while Snyders created large paintings of markets and kitchens for grand houses, he also crafted smaller pictures of food for more modest settings, the chaotic eruptions of market and kitchen pieces being tamed for display in an urban household, although a sense of artful disorganization still prevailed (cat. 14). Usually combining game with fruit, Snyders's smaller works continue to evoke the bounty of the countryside as a welcome to guests. Smaller paintings of raw comestibles also evoked the bounty of the land. At the end of the seventeenth century, paintings of vegetables and fruit took decidedly different forms as artists focused more intently on a handful of evocatively lit items (figs. 19, 20, cats. 73, 75), although the suggestion of a well-provisioned household remains.

Game still lifes certainly possess a wide range of associations, but one of their most basic is as a depiction of food. Indeed game animals can be found in the markets painted by Aertsen and Beuckelaer (cats. 1, 2) and are a common feature in the work of Snyders and Fyt (cats.14, 43). Snyders showed game being sold

at a public market (cat. 13) soon after Antwerp laws were revised to permit such sales.[61] Traditionally reserved for the nobility, hunting in the Dutch republic became somewhat less restricted in the course of the seventeenth century, in part because the definition of the nobility itself began to loosen. Some areas permitted wealthy citizens without title to hunt.[62] In the middle and late seventeenth century, game still lifes take on an elegance and sophistication that seem to indicate an upper class or even aristocratic clientele, although this may be true for much of still-life painting generally.

Many hunting still lifes were indeed produced for princely and aristocratic patrons. Van Aelst painted game and hunting equipment for the Medici court in Florence (Palazzo Pitti, Florence)[63] and on his return to Holland repeated many of these motifs for his Amsterdam clients (cat. 61). Around 1700, Jan Weenix undertook a mammoth cycle of hunting still lifes for the Schloss Bensberg, the hunting lodge of Johann Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg, elector palatine of the Rhine (fig. 4 on p. 90).[64] Simultaneously, Weenix painted similar, if much smaller, still lifes for his Dutch patrons. Presumably, the princely patrons of van Aelst and Weenix, with their large hunting estates and grand retinues, regarded hunting still lifes very differently from Dutch collectors. Did bourgeois owners of game pieces gaze longingly at aristocratic activities in which they could not hope to partake? Or did the pleasures of hunting, whether of small or large game, cross class boundaries? Game still lifes remained images of food even as they became more opulent and ostentatious.

Paintings of game and of hunting equipment (cats. 40, 41, 43, 61, 76) became a still life specialty in the second half of the seventeenth century. For example, Cornelis Lelienbergh devoted himself to the smoky colors and soft textures of dead game birds glimpsed in dark settings (fig. 21). Both van Hoogstraten and de Lairesse approved of game still lifes, if somewhat reluctantly. De Lairesse was unhappy with paintings of horse bridles and hunting equipment, but remembered their popularity: '[H]owever, this last-named are not entirely improper, along with boars, deer, hares, as well as pheasants, partridges, and other dead birds, which generally Princes and Aristocrats like to hang.'[65] Cornelis Brize painted an imposing trompe l'oeil

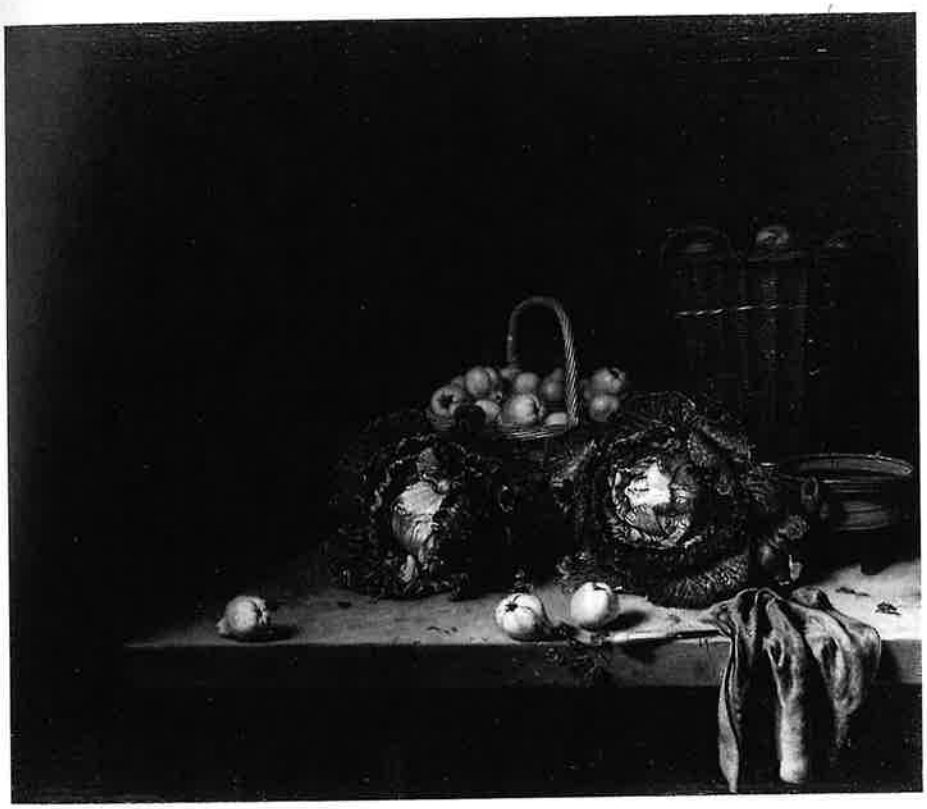

fig. 19 Hubert van Ravesteyn, *Cabbages and Apples on a Table*, wood, 33 × 37.5 cm. Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht

fig. 20 Adriaen Coorte, *Asparagus*, dated 1697, paper on wood, 25 x 20.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

fig. 21 Cornelis Lelienbergh, *Dead Birds in a Niche*, dated 1654, wood, 49.5 x 41.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

still life showing hunting rifles, horns, nets, and other paraphernalia (fig. 22), and the subject proved popular with artists such as Anthony Leemans and Cornelius Norbertus Gijsbrechts, who made his paintings of hunting equipment for the Danish court.

Many still lifes can be considered displays of food and precious objects, rather than specific meals (cats. 31, 32, 42, 59). The nature of a credenza permitted the artful and capricious arrangement of a variety of fruit, flowers, vessels, decorative objects, and even game and fish.[66] Such still lifes are quite different from the public settings of markets or the practical facilities found in kitchens and pantries. Several painters active in the middle of the 1600s, most notably de Heem, painted increasingly elaborate displays of food, vessels, and collector's rarities. Whether depicting fruit, game, foodstuffs, or precious vessels, Netherlandish still lifes retained the essential aspect of celebrating abundance.

FRUIT AND FLOWERS

Paintings of fruit and flowers were commonly paired during the seventeenth century, a tradition that may have had an unusual beginning. One of the earliest still lifes of the Baroque is Cavavaggio's *Basket of Fruit* (fig. 23), painted sometime between 1595 and 1601, and soon acquired by Cardinal Federico Borromeo.[67] Caravaggio had already perfected many of the devices that would become familiar in still lifes produced in the Netherlands. Rather than a definable interior setting, the background is a field of unarticulated color that flattens the space of the picture, while in addition, the basket hangs over the edge of the table, casting a noticeable shadow. As the first still life to enter Borromeo's impressive collection, it played an influential role on the development of Netherlandish flower painting for it seems to have stimulated the Cardinal's interest in naturalistic still life. By 1606 he began to acquire paintings of flowers from Jan Brueghel the Elder.[68] In one important sense, Brueghel's flower paintings were influenced by Caravaggio because Borromeo seems to have sought works to accompany the *Basket of Fruit*. He wanted to find a pendant to it, since in 1625 he wrote: 'It was made by Michelangelo da Caravaggio, who acquired a reputation in Rome, I would have liked to place another similar basket nearby, but no other having attained the beauty and incomparable excellence of this one, it remained alone.'[69]

Even if Brueghel's flower paintings may have been judged inferior to Caravaggio's fruit, at least in the eyes of Cardinal Borromeo, the passage demonstrates that paintings of flowers and fruit were natural companions. Joris Hoefnagel in 1592 also connected depictions of fruit and flowers: 'Wisdom produces the fruit of life, and science itself bears flowers: the former is useful, the latter decorative.'[70] Balthasar van der Ast painted pendants

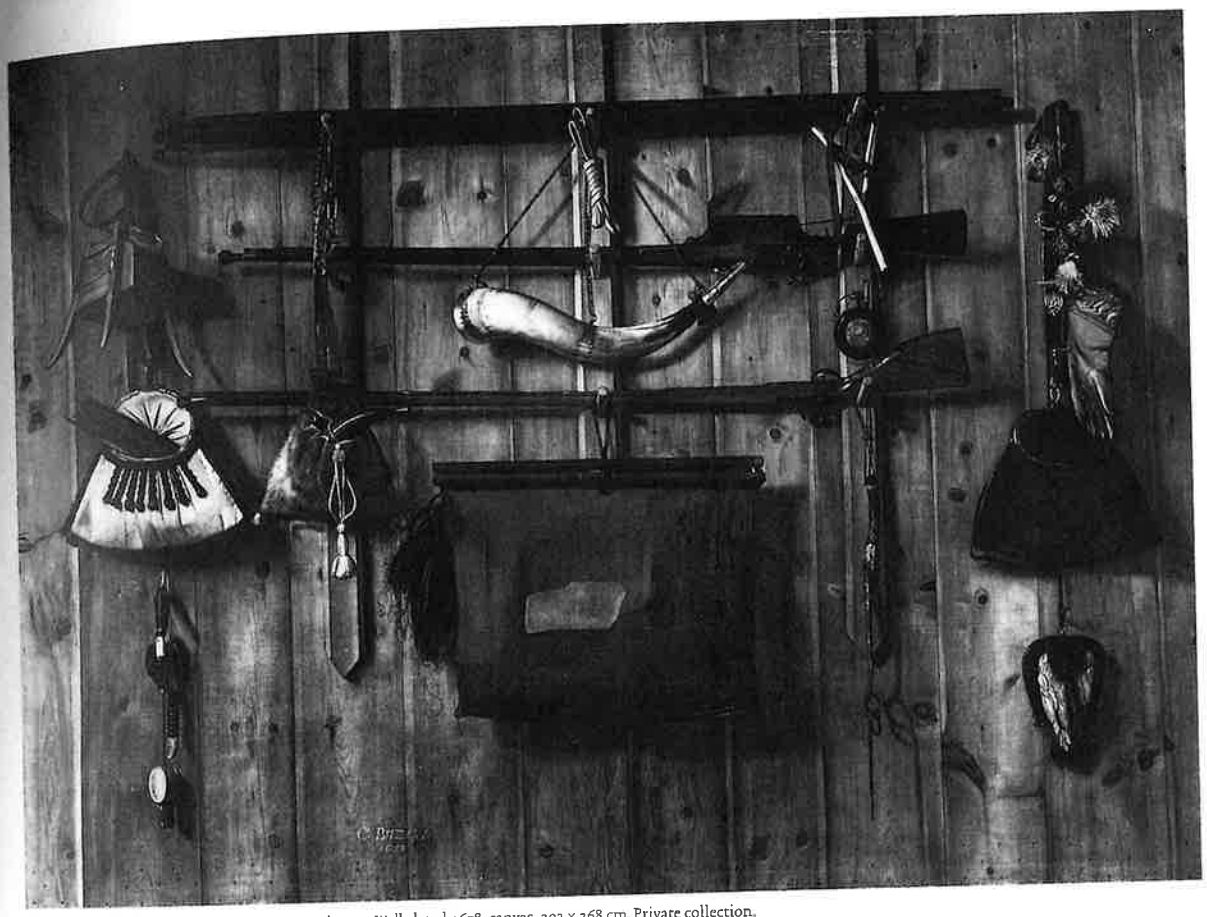

fig. 22 Cornelis Brize, *Hunting Equipment Hanging on a Wall*, dated 1658, canvas, 202 x 268 cm. Private collection.

of fruit and flowers for the stadhouder and Van Aelst painted at least one pair. At the end of the 1600s, Rachel Ruysch and Jan van Huysum (cat. 78) frequently painted pairs of pictures showing fruit and flowers.

Oil paintings of flowers arranged in vases arose almost simultaneously in the first decade of the seventeenth century in several different cities, probably as a complex dialogue drawing from similar sources. Karel van Mander in 1604 reported that de Gheyn, then working in Leiden or The Hague, had already painted vases of flowers, one of which was sold to Rudolf II (for a later example (see fig. 2 on p. 53). Roelant Saverij's earliest known flower paintings were made in Amsterdam or Prague in 1603 (fig. 6a in catalogue), perhaps inspired by de Gheyn's example. Dated 1605 are the earliest known examples by Jan Brueghel the Elder, working in Antwerp, and Ambrosius Bosschaert, working in Middelburg. There were almost certainly earlier examples by these artists that do not survive. Brueghel had visited Prague in 1604 and may have seen have still lifes by Saverij or de Gheyn. In 1606, Brueghel began a flower painting for Cardinal Borromeo (fig. 24) to whom he described some of his intentions:

Without instructions, I have begun and destined for your excellency a bunch of various flowers that will be found very beautiful, as much for naturalness as for the beauty and rarity of various flowers, some are unknown and little seen in this area; for this, I have been to Brussels in order to depict some few flowers from nature that are not found in Antwerp.[71]

Brueghel stresses three factors: the naturalism of the painting, the beauty of the flowers, and finally their rarity. In a later letter, he repeated the same issues, adding a statement about the amount of effort he has lavished on the painting 'of flowers all made after nature: I have put all my ability into this picture.

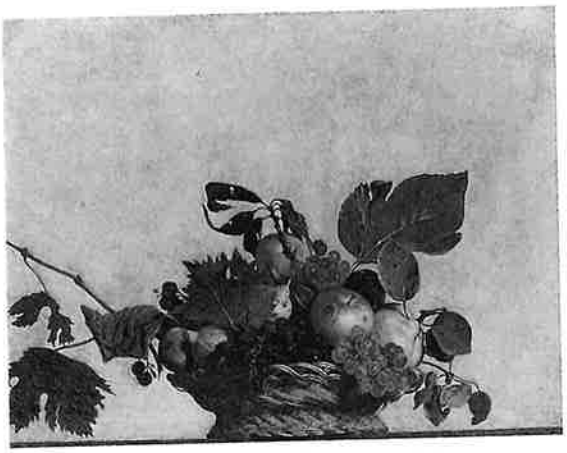

fig. 23 Michelangelo da Caravaggio, *Basket of Fruit*, canvas, 31 × 47 cm. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

I believe that such rare and varied flowers have never been finished with similar diligence: in winter it will make a beautiful sight: some colors closely approach nature.'[72]

These concerns about the desirability of the actual object and the artistry involved in its depiction can serve as a model for understanding seventeenth-century appreciation of still lifes. It is crucial to realize that Cardinal Borromeo did not draw moral or symbolic lessons from his flower paintings, but appreciated their delights and the maker's ability.

Many still lifes were claimed to have been made after life. Van Mander states that the still lifes of Aertsen, Beuckelaer, as well as the flower paintings of Cornelis van Haarlem and de Gheyn were all painted 'nae t'leven' (from life).[73] Jan Brueghel writes of 'il quadro delli fiori fatta tutti del natturel' (the painting of the flowers all made after nature) and also speaks of 'naturalezza' (naturalness). Even Seghers, in the catalogue presumably meant only for his own eyes, writes of his earliest work 'naer het leven'[74] Painters began to claim that their work was virtuosic and especially faithful to nature. Brueghel wrote that he painted directly from real flowers without the aid of drawings or sketches,[75] and that he needed to travel to Brussels in order to see rare blossoms. A century later, Jan van Huysum made almost identical claims in the name of naturalism. He sometimes placed two dates on his paintings because one blossom had to be added later, and in 1742 wrote that a painting was delayed because he had to procure some special flowers.[76]

THE DELIGHTS OF SPRING IN WINTER

In his *Colloquia*, Erasmus compares a painting of flowers to real blossoms:

> *Moreover, we are twice pleased when we see a painted flower competing with a living one. In one we admire the artifice of nature, in the other the genius of the painter, in each the goodness of God.*[77]

A debate ensues as one discussant notes that the painted garden 'grows and pleases even in midwinter.' His companion complains that a painting has no fragrance and 'a picture, too, grows old.' 'Yes, but it's longer-lived than we are.'

This influential passage firmly established the idea that a painting could provide delight in winter and even outlast death. For example, the text was used by Joris Hoefnagel in 1597 to caption two depictions of fruit and flowers (Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu).[78] Brueghel wrote to Cardinal Borromeo that his paintings would be a special delight in winter, while Borromeo himself stated that images of the fruits and flowers of spring were a visual delight in the winter, when the real things were unavailable.[79] Jan Vos wrote in his 'Flowers painted by van Aalst' (Bloemen door van Aalst geschildert) that van Aelst's bouquets (cat. 60) provide enjoyment in winter that can even exceed nature:

> *Here comes the sweet spring to appear in the wintertime,*
> *Nature, who with her own brush, stupefies all who paint*
> *Begins, now that she sees this, to languish out of pure regret.*[80]

Given the considerable tradition of literature devoted specifically to paintings of flowers, it may be less relevant to rely on literature about flowers generally as a means of interpreting paintings. Because some texts and emblems describe the perishability of real flowers, still lifes have been assigned identical meanings.[81] However, oil paintings of flowers ought to be understood very differently from textual descriptions of flowers, if only because oil paintings were often praised in poetry as exceeding the durability of the real thing. Hoefnagel's *Archetypa* of 1592, a set of prints illustrating a vast array of insects, flowers, and fruit, contains a broad selection of texts that range from the sorrowful and religious to the joyous, witty, and bawdy. Some texts evoke the short life span of flowers, while others proclaim the joy of spring.[82] Even the work of Seghers, which has so much explicit religious imagery, was appreciated in the seventeenth century for the beauty of the flowers, as Joachim von Sandrart, Joost van den Vondel, and Jan Vos write.[83] These expressions of delight focus not just on the beauty of the flowers, but also on the power of the artist, the imitative and evocative qualities of painting providing equal measures of pleasure.

The subsidiary objects in still lifes have often been interpreted as vanitas symbols, insects in particular being thought of as destructive creatures that consume flowers and fruit. Yet Joris Hoefnagel's *Archetypa* and the illuminated manuscript *Ignis* (part of the *Four Elements*, National Gallery of Art, Washington., D.C.)

fig. 24 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Vase of Flowers*, 1606, copper, 65 × 45 cm. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

are reminders, echoed in contemporary texts, that insects were intensely studied as marvels of nature.[84] The painted insects, perfection in miniature, were perhaps less warnings about the vanity of life, than about the microcosm of nature. Except for the works of Jan van Kessel (fig. 25), which mimic the look of these studies, Hoefnagel's compositions have no successors in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting. However, insects, worms, and snails are almost ubiquitous accessories in still lifes, especially flower pieces, and seem to act as observers and onlookers. In environments usually devoid of human participants, they are surrogates for viewers, exploring the interstices of bouquets, feeling the surfaces of various materials, and viewing objects from different viewpoints.

RARITIES

Jan Brueghel emphasized that some of the flowers he depicted were extremely difficult to find, and almost a hundred years later van Huysum also sought unusual species. De Lairesse also urged painters to choose rarities: 'the beauty and virtue of a still life comes only from the most highly selected objects: I say selected, meaning that out of all flowers, the most beautiful and rarest must be chosen, excluding the common and poor; similarly with fruit and other things.'[85] Brueghel also compared the beauty and rarity of the flowers he painted with other objects he included in the picture (fig. 24):

Under the flowers I have made a jewel, with medallions, and handmade rarities. Then Your Excellency can judge if the flowers do not surpass gold objects and jewels.... In this box, I send twelve of the most beautiful and rarest shells that come from the Indies on Dutch ships: Please, Excellency, do not regard them as mere trinkets.[86]

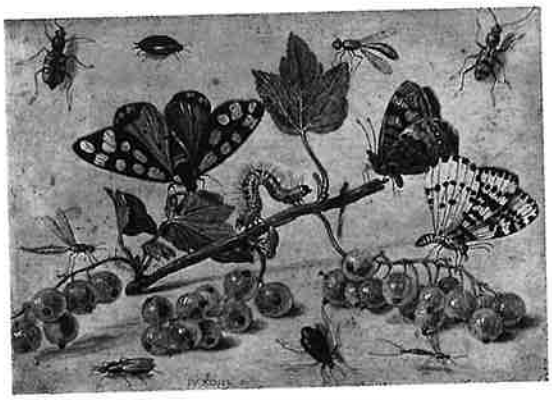

fig. 25 Jan van Kessel, *Insects and Fruit*, copper, 11 x 15.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

This is a clear indication of the preciousness and desirability of sea shells, which were here meant to be directly compared with a still life. Since the sixteenth century, shell collecting had been an aspect of intellectual activity, and Erasmus and Dürer were reportedly avid collectors. In the early 1600s, the collection of Cornelis van Blyenburch in Amsterdam was commemorated in poetry by Philibert van Borsselen (1614), while the collector Jan Govertsen was portrayed with some prized specimens by Cornelis van Haarlem and Hendrik Goltzius. Rembrandt also had a large collection of shells and produced a striking etching of one example.[87]

The collecting of natural and artificial objects became enormously popular in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Whether called 'Kunstkammer,' 'Wunderkammer,' or 'Curiositeiten-kamer,' such collections were not only a sign of wealth and status, but also demonstrated intellectual discernment and scholarship. Although there was no fixed pattern or set of rules, certain broad principles were shared by most collectors, especially a fondness for mixing natural objects such as shells, fossils, seeds, preserved animals, and ethnographic objects with works of art made of unusual materials. Especially important were the courts of Vienna and Copenhagen, which not only collected objects on a massive scale, but also acquired optically striking still lifes by Samuel van Hoogstraten, Wallerand Vaillant, and Cornelius Norbertus Gijsbrechts, objects of wonder in themselves.

Almost all the unusual objects depicted in still lifes could also have been seen in sophisticated collections. The collections of Rudolf II in Prague, Charles I in London, and the court in Copenhagen are inventoried in great detail, but good records also survive of more middle-class collectors in the Netherlands.[88] Painters were among the most avid collectors of objects and rarities, as seen most obviously in the households of Rembrandt and Rubens. The impressive collections found in Amsterdam and Antwerp help us gauge the associations of still life pictures. Skulls and skeletons were objects of scientific interest and study. Globes and scientific instruments were valued both for their utility and their beauty (cat. 35). Gold and silver vessels had obvious value, but Chinese porcelain also commanded high prices. One further example might be the swords that can often be glimpsed in still lifes and depictions of studios. The Japanese sword in Harmen Steenwijck's painting (cat. 36) has been interpreted as a symbol of Christianity or of wealth, but it might be more relevant to remember that Asian swords were highly desirable collector's items, found in the royal collections of Denmark and England, as well as in Rembrandt's atelier.[89]

Frans Francken, Willem Kalf, Jan van der Heyden, and others (cats 12, 48–51, 67) recorded specific objects, even if the owner of

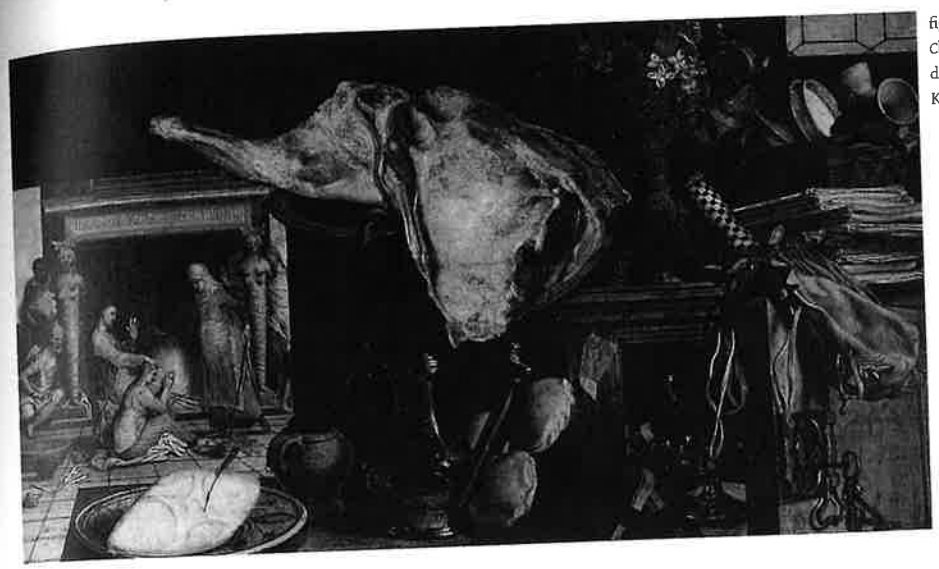

fig. 26 Pieter Aertsen, *Still Life with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, dated 1552, wood, 60 x 101.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

the painting may not have owned the particular objects shown. While some collectors commissioned still lifes, depictions of wondrous objects in general reminded all viewers of the passion of collecting, of the exotic lands that produced such rarities, and even of the Dutch trade that brought goods to Europe (as Jan Brueghel indicated).

The themes of abundance, celebration, and collecting found in some Netherlandish still lifes might have been expressions of the power and sophistication of owners. Indeed some Netherlandish still lifes are so sumptuous and opulent, like the banqueting tables staffed by African pages, that they seem uncomfortably aggressive assertions of wealth and status. In the seventeenth century, as with our own age, the idea of luxury was full of contradictory associations of comfort and excess, as well as pride mixed with guilt. 'Luxuria' was seen an evil, identified with lust, gluttony, and excess. However, no source connects still-life painting with the concept of excess, although some scholars have interpreted food and fine objects as warnings about the evils of luxury and the emptiness of worldly existence. No less moralistic, Roland Barthes and other writers have seen in Dutch still lifes an obsessive concern with material goods, an indication of the consumer fetish.[90] It may be prudent to set aside such judgments. While no doubt some observers condemned elaborate still lifes as gluttonous, others may have found pleasure in abundant displays suggesting comfort and welcome. Similarly, images of expensive and rare items, whether shells, gold cups, or imported porcelain, might have been seen as vain excess, although more often they would have recalled the enthusiasm of collectors and the elegance of beautiful things.

THE STILL LIFE AS TOUR DE FORCE

Still lifes were virtuoso tests of an artist's skill; the intricacies of composition, arrangement of space, and rendering of materials were all problems to be conquered. From its very beginnings, Netherlandish still lifes were praised as tours de force. Karel van Mander commended Aertsen's paintings for their sophisticated reflections and astonishing verisimilitude.[91] Aertsen's subjects and devices proved influential for the development of later still lifes. In the foreground of one painting (fig. 26) a table has been set with baked goods and a pewter pitcher, while a vase of flowers along with linen and pottery rests atop a cabinet. Protruding into our space is the open door of the cabinet, atop which hangs a money bag, a common motif in later still lifes. This collapsing of space and perspective is underscored by the meat resting on a dish in the upper part of the composition, which reaches into our space. Later artists continued Aertsen's experiments with space. In Claesz's 1623 painting (Musée du Louvre, Paris), a viol protrudes forward, inviting the viewer to pick up and play the instrument. Many still-life painters allowed a knife or plate to hang off the edge of the table, just as open cabinets challenge the viewer's perception of space (cats. 35a–b, 53, 56).

The narrow spatial depth encountered in most Netherlandish still lifes heightens the importance of composition and arrangement. Objects can be brought close together without the distractions of a larger setting, allowing the viewer to attend to color, texture, and form. Still-life painters often combined disparate objects that share peculiar similarities. Willem Heda habitually arranged several objects of silvery and gray tones

to display his prowess at distinguishing surface and hardness (cat. 22); Joannes Fyt compared the similar textures of baskets, thistles, and animal fur in order to subtly differentiate forms. Some artists, like David Bailly, sought to include a bewildering variety of materials in one picture to display their skills (cat. 38), while others contrived to show a single object from different angles (fig. 27, cat. 72), a strategy common in flower painters (cats. 3, 24). De Lairesse seemed to understand that reductive settings allowed the powers of still-life painters to be fully displayed when he recommended that objects be set against a flat wall or wood paneling.[92]

Many painters called attention to their craft by included the tools of their trade in their paintings such as palettes, brushes, and other objects commonly found in artist's studios such as books, sculptures, and globes. Some painters–Bailly, van Beyeren, Gijsbrechts, van Hoogstraten, Luttichuys, Peeters, and van Roestraten–showed themselves in their still lifes as reflections in mirrors or vessels, as painted portraits, or through letters or awards. Whether witnessed in such self-portraits and autobiographical objects, amazing visual tricks, or the flaunting of artistic ability, still-life painters were among the most self-conscious of artists.

While many still lifes depicted rare or expensive objects, the paintings themselves were precious objects worthy of collecting. This mingling of the real and the depicted is seen most vividly in a story recorded by Cardinal Borromeo. Jan Brueghel the Elder requested payment for a flower piece, probably the work in fig. 24, by painting into the still life a piece of jewelry of the equivalent price:

> *But no less violent is the battle of the flowers, whose value Brueghel himself, the artist, indicated with a most charming invention. He painted at the foot of the vase a diamond, the sight of which makes us understand that which we would have thought just the same: that the value of the work is the same as the gem.*[93]

The art market provides one of clearest indicators of the status of still life, especially as foreign courts eagerly sought the works of the Netherlandish still-life painters. Indeed without the patronage of foreign rulers, still-life paintings would have developed in a very different manner. Roelant Saverij achieved considerable success in Prague at the court of Rudolf II, who also acquired still lifes by Aertsen and de Gheyn. Brueghel's early flower pieces were created for Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milan. Van Aelst achieved success at the court in Florence, a pattern repeated by van Hoogstraten and Wallerand Vaillant in Vienna, and Gijsbrechts in Copenhagen. Rachel Ruysch and Jan Weenix received the patronage of the court in Düsseldorf.

fig. 27 Albrecht (?) van der Schoor, *Skulls on a Table*, canvas 63.5 × 73 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

DELIGHTFUL DECEITS

The idea that art is a deception was a common theme in seventeenth-century writing on art that derives ultimately from ancient texts about the convincing verisimilitude of painting. Paintings of all subjects were praised for their deceptive abilities. It is sometimes thought that a trompe l'oeil picture could be called a 'bedriegertje' or an 'oogenbedrieger' (deceptions, eye deceptions) in the seventeenth century, but in fact this cannot be documented.[94] The terms 'trompe l'oeil' or 'quodlibet' are of much more recent vintage.[95] Still lifes were sometimes singled out for their deceptive nature. Karel van Mander specifically praised Aertsen's kitchen scenes, saying the artist is 'Indeed a great dexterous, sly deceiver of human eyes, also an amusing liar.'[96] Joost van den Vondel claimed to be deceived by flowers painted by Seghers, as well as by papers depicted by Cornelis Brize (cat. 55); Arnold Houbraken similarly praised the still lifes of van Hoogstraten.[97]

Obviously deceit and deception are not necessarily good things, so limits should be defined. This is an remarkably consistent theme in seventeenth-century writing on art, beginning in 1637 with Franciscus Junius citation of Philostratus that good pictures present 'delusions' (ooghenspooksel) that are 'pleasant, so doth it not deserve the least reproach' (ghenoughelick ende onschandelik bedrogh).[98] The idea was repeated in almost identical fashion by Jan de Brune the Younger in 1644[99] and most famously in 1678 by van Hoogstraten, who declared that a 'perfect painting is like a mirror of nature, which makes things that do not exist appear to exist,

and which deceives in an acceptably entertaining and praiseworthy manner.'[100] While this passage is celebrated for the enchanting phrase 'mirror of nature,' van Hoogstraten also subtly warns against unacceptable forms of artistic enjoyment.

Could the trickery of deceptive painting degenerate into childish displays? An illusionistic still life by van Hoogstraten so impressed Emperor Ferdinand III that the monarch reportedly exclaimed: 'This is the first painter to have deceived me' (Dit ist der eerste Maler die mir betrogen heeft). But Houbraken suggests that this was little more than showing off by a young prodigy at court. 'And though the painting of such things had advantages at the time, his was too great a genius to keep to them, so he made his work principally to paint portraits, histories, and perspectives in rooms (which seems to be an opening in the wall which extends beyond the room).'[101] It is interesting that Houbraken believes van Hoogstraten's interior perspectives (see fig. 2 on p. 60) were more important than his trompe l'oeil still lifes (cats. 52–54). These passages echo van Mander's description of young painters who learned to paint by making still lifes. Aertsen began by painting kitchens before turning to altarpieces while Beuckelaer in turn was trained by painting food and other objects from life. Van Haarlem and de Gheyn painted flowers as training exercises.[102] Van Mander implies that still life is a youthful exercise which a good painter abandons in favor of better subjects.

Van Hoogstraten expressed displeasure with certain subjects found in still-life pictures which nonetheless managed to attract buyers:

Art has certainly come to such misfortune that one finds that in the most famous art cabinets most of the pieces are such that a good master ought to make merely for delight or as a game, such as here a bunch of grapes, a pickled herring, or a lizard, or there a partridge, a game bag, or something even less. Such things, while they have their charms, are nothing more than diversions of art.[103]

Since van Hoogstraten is known to have painted amusing and deceptive little still lifes, his condemnation may have been directed equally at his own early work.

Other observers, however, were quite happy to partake of the amusement and trickery which good paintings could provide. Jan de Brune the Younger wrote, 'Certainly, it gives one joy without measure when one is deceived by a false likeness of things.'[104] Free of the constrictions of art theory and professional reputation, which may have encumbered the observations of van Hoogstraten, de Lairesse, and Houbraken, many seventeenth-century observers simply wanted to be astonished by pictures, and this sense of wonder seems to have been an essential part of the appreciation of still lifes.

That a painting could be a joke is found in ancient texts, in particular Pliny's story of Zeuxis and Parrhasios, but it was rejuvenated in the seventeenth century. Blaise de Vigenère compared Philostratus' ancient category of food painting called xenia to Flemish drolleries.[105] Ferdinand III was impressed not only by van Hoogstraten's still life but also by a trompe l'oeil by Sébastien Stoskopff which he was given in 1651 (see fig. 8 on p. 64). Sandrart reports that the emperor actually laughed at the artistic deception of a painted print that he attempted to lift off the canvas.[106] More ordinary observers also delighted in clever paintings. An inventory drawn up in Amsterdam in 1678 lists 'Some amusement before and around a chimney by Brize' (Eenige snakery voor en om de schoorsteen van Brisé), which may be a cut-out picture that extended in front of and above the chimney.[107] The use of the word 'snakery' (meaning 'drollery' or 'joke') clearly evokes the sense of fun of an illusionistic painting.

Samuel Pepys, the English diarist who can represent the intelligent observer who was neither artist nor professional critic, was eager to be delighted by trompe l'oeil paintings. In January 1663, he visited Thomas Povey where he seems to have seen the illusionistic painting by van Hoogstraten now at Dyrham Park. 'But above all things, I do the most admire his piece of perspective especially, he opening me the closet door and there I saw that there is nothing but only a plain picture hung upon the wall.'[108] On a return visit, Pepys exclaimed anew, 'Here I was afresh delighted with Mr. Povys house and pictures of perspective; being strange things, to think how they do delude one's eye, that methinks it would make a man doubtful of swearing that ever he saw anything.'[109] Such responses are reminders of the sense of awe and pure pleasure viewers brought to convincingly painted and artfully constructed still lifes in the seventeenth century.

Perhaps more than figural painting, still lifes lend themselves to multiple levels of understanding since still lifes generally lack a text-based narrative and viewers could bring a variety of understandings to pictures. Some viewers undoubtedly sought religious and moral meanings in still lifes, as they would have in nearly all the pictures they viewed. Other persons, probably far more numerous, would have brought associations connected with daily life in the Netherlands. It is perhaps easy to forget that so many of the objects depicted in still lifes were actually eaten, consumed, used, or collected, and therefore might have possessed natural references. Very likely, collectors of books, shells, skulls, porcelain, jewels and so forth, also purchased still lifes, making the fascination with objects and with the depiction itself intimately connected.

The search for a single meaning of any still life ought to be avoided. So much scholarship implies that if one is clever, careful, or diligent enough, the true meaning of an image will be revealed. The specific context of each painting–its composition, handling and light, and even its mood–demands individual consideration. Moreover, many still lifes simply contain too

many different objects to fit into a single reading. Individual motifs have multiple and ambiguous associations, which leaves any discussion of meaning open-ended. Still lifes frequently leave traces of their making with signs of the artistry and craft of the painter. Many artists have included self portraits, personal possessions, or the tools of their trade lying about their still lifes. Moreover, in the displays of artistic prowess that captured the textures, surfaces, and shadows of objects, still lifes were often virtuoso pieces–tests of the painter's power to delight.

I am grateful for the advice and assistance of Celeste Brusati, Jaap Engelsman, and Ken Boha.

1 Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 75: 'zwierige festons, vlecht bloemkranssen, en stelt veelverwige ruikers in potten en vazen; en Wijntrossen en schoone Pers en Abrikoos, of Meloen en Citroen, en een helderen Wijnroomer op een zwangeren Dis; met witte en geverfde Papeljoentjes, Roomsche Haegdis, en Kalabrische Tarantel, of Muyzijkboek en Vanitas in der eeuwicheit. Of zy bestellen keukens met allerley kost, van Vlees en Visch, en bekoorlijk Wiltbraet, en al wat onder den naem van stil leven begreepen is.'

2 For example, paintings of tobacco and smoking equipment are scarcely mentioned in inventories, although art historical literature often calls such paintings 'tabakjes.' In fact, this term is almost never used in the seventeenth century to denote a painting as such. Isolated examples can be found of '1 roockertje' (Haarlem, 1676; see Bredius 1915, p. 1850), 'tabacx schilderijtgens' (Haarlem, 1624), and to 'touback-bancquettiën' (Antwerp, 1653, and Amsterdam, 1681) and 'bancquetje van Taback' (Amsterdam, 1680). Paintings are called 'een biertie met een toebackje' (Amsterdam, 1669, by van Beyeren; see Bredius 1915, p. 426) or 'een schilderijtje van een kannetje en tabackje' (Amsterdam, 1682; see Getty 1996), but these are diminutives of tobacco rather than a term for a painting. 'Tabacksgereedschap' occurs after 1700. In addition, although it may seem like a small point, the often-cited terms 'bancketje' and 'ontbijtje' rarely occur in those exact forms, but are more commonly encountered in inventories as 'bancket,' 'banquet,' 'bancketgen,' 'ontbijt,' or 'ontbijten.' See Appendix.

3 Van Mander 1604, fol. 33v (Grondt, ch. 7:53–54); see Miedema 1973, vol. 1, p. 201:
'Hoe glansende Visschen, Tennen en eeren, / Malcander de Reverberaty deelen, / Exempel in langhe Piers tafereelen.' (How gleaming fish, and tin and copper vessels distribute their reflections [literally, reverberations] among themselves, as exemplified in Aertsen's panels.)

4 Van Mander 1604, preface (voorrede): 'Ist niet de volcomenheydt in beelden en Historien, soo mach het wesen Beesten, Keuckenen, Fruyten, Bloemen, Lantschappen, Menselrijen, Prospecktiven, Compartimenten, Grotissen, Nachten, Branden, Conterfeytselen nae t'leven, Zeen, en Schepen, oft soo yet anders te schilderen.' (If not perfection in figures and histories, so it might be animals, kitchens, fruit, flowers, landscapes, buildings, views, cartouches, grotesques [or grottos], night scenes, fires, portraits after life, seas, and ships, or other kinds of things to paint.)

5 Huygens 1897, p. 67: 'at inanimatis, qualia aut libri, aut chartae sunt, aut quaevis humani usus instrumenta, omnes superavit.' Gasten 1982, p. 14, suggests that Huygens is making some philosophical point by using the word 'inanimate,' which can literally mean 'un-souled' (in Dutch, 'onbezielde'); Gasten did not consult the Latin original. 'Inanimatus' simply means an inanimate or nonliving thing; see R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (London, 1965), p. 239.

6 Huygens 1897, p. 82: 'arbitrari me, in exprimendis inaniamtis monstri similem esse, nec temere extiturum, qui vitrea illa et stannea et fictilia et ferrea lucida fere nec.'

7 The self-portrait of David Bailly was engraved by Coenraet Waumans in 1649 with the caption, 'il est un fort bon peintre en pourtraicts, et en vie coye: estant fort en la desseinne a la plume etc.' (he is a very good painter in portraits, and in still life, being strong in pen drawing, etc.). The print first appeared in Joannes Meyssens, *Image de divers hommes desprit sublime* (Antwerp, 1649), and later in de Bie 1662, p. 271. See Vorenkamp 1933, p. 8; Bruyn 1951, p. 148; Hollstein 1949, no. 34.

8 'Een stilleven van Evert van Aelst,' inventory of Judith Willemsdr. van Vliet, Delft; Bredius 1915, p. 1439; noted by Vorenkamp 1933, p. 7; de Pauw-de Veen 1969, p. 141. No earlier example has been found of 'stilleven,' while the considerable span of time before the next usage raises doubts about the word's currency.

9 'Een stilleven van Jan Lievens'; Bredius 1915, vol. 1, pp. 231, 236.

10 Strauss, van der Meulen 1979, p. 351 (no.25). Similar terms occur only rarely in inventories: Haarlem, 1657: '1 stuck van eenige stilstaende kreeften'; Haarlem, 1658: 'Stilstaent leven onbekent'; Getty 1996, doc. nos. N-2467, N-5256. Dirck van Bleyswijck in *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* (Delft, 1667), p. 845, wrote of a 'schilder van stil leggent-goet' (painter of still-laying goods).

11 Duverger 1968, p. 104: '6 Schoon plaren gelyck as voore: een Batalie, een van Devosie, een van Blommen, een van schoen Fruyt, een van stilstaende dinghen, d'ander een Fabule met schon fugure.'

12 De Bie 1662, pp. 273, 412, uses the terms 'stilstaende dinghen' and 'stilstaende werck' (still-standing things / work). Sandrart 1925, pp. 164 (Soreau), 176 (Torrentius), 182 (Stoskopff), 185 (de Heem: 'stillstehenden natürlichen Sachen'), 349 (Clara Peeters, Hinz, and 'stilliegende Dingen' for Hamilton), 250 (van Hoogstraten).

13 Aglionby 1685, pp. 22–23 (cited by Talley 1983, p. 138). Aglionby contrasts figural or 'Flesh' painting with the depiction of material: 'very Gloss of Damask, and the softness of Velvet, with the Lustre of Gold'–'those things are but still Life, whereas there is a Spirit in Flesh and Blood.' The term 'still life' is commonly encountered in London auction catalogues beginning in 1689 (28 June 1689). Sanderson 1658, p 19, employed the term 'dead-standing things' to describe still lifes that were not flowers: 'And in dead-standing things, Little-House [probably Simon Luttichuys], a Dutchman.'
The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1897ff) speculates that the term 'still life' originally meant 'living things portrayed in a state of rest.' However, all early usages indicate depictions of inanimate objects; de Pauw-de Veen 1969, p. 141, similarly refutes Vorenkamp 1933, p. 9.
Other terms were employed in England. The 1649 inventory of Charles I's paintings lists on several occasions a 'Dutch banquett' (Millar 1970, pp. 201, 315). The auction of Peter Lely's collection of 18 April 1682 lists 'A Vanity' by Roestraten.

14 De Lairesse 1740, vol. 2, p. 259: 'zullen wy nu tot behulp der zwakke geesten tot het Stilleven overgaan. ... Doch voor af moeten wy eerst het woord Stilleven verklaaren; zynde zo veel te zeggen als onbeweegelyke, of zielelooze dingen, als bloemen, vruchten, goud, zilver, hout, steen, muziekinstrumenten, doode visschen, enz. konnende alle op verscheidene manieren, doch elk op zyne beurt, tot hoofdstoffen dienen om iets daar van op doek of paneel natuurlyker wyze op te stellen. Met deze genoemde voorwerpen kan men genoegsaame middelen vinden om allerhande slag van menschen en zinnen te voldoen, zo wel hooge en laage, als geleerde en eenvoudige. Wy zullen dan uit veele deze navolgende, welke wy de schoonste, cierlykste, en aangenaamste oordeelen, tot voorwerpen verkiezen. Eerstelyk, de Bloemen. Ten tweden, Vruchten. Ten derden, Goud, Zilver, en andere kostelyke Schatten. Ten vierden, Muziekinstrumenten. Deze vier soorten, konstig geschikt en wel uitgevoerd, mogen zo wel als de beste Schilderyen in zaalen en kabinetten zonder hinder geplaatst worden, mits hun behoorlyk licht ontfangende, en by malkander blyvende.'

15 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 260: 'Wat koolen, wortelen en raapen, als mede kabeljaauw, zalm, haring, spiering, en diergelyke dingen aangaat, welke slegte en gemeene vercieringen zyn, niet eigen noch waardig om binnens huis in kamers te hangen, die zullen wy voorby gaan: die ze lust, mag zich na de markt

vervoegen.' (Cabbage, carrots and turnips, together with cod, salmon, herring, smelt, and such things, which are poor and common displays, not even worth hanging in the hidden inner rooms, these we should pass over: those who desire them may go to the market.) Lairesse repeats these sentiments on p. 267.

16 Works by Pieter Claesz are more often labeled 'vanitas' than those of any other artists (records from 1661, 1669, 1670, 1672, 1673). The inventory of Pieter Codde of 1636 lists 'een Vanitas van Johannes de Heem' (A. Bredius, in *Oud Holland* 6 [1888]: 189), as does an Amsterdam inventory of 1684 (Getty 1996, doc. no. N101). Works by Willem de Poorter, Jurriaen Streeck, Jan Treck, and Jan Vermeulen are also called 'vanitas.' For Rembrandt's inventory of 1656, see Strauss, van der Meulen 1979, pp. 351, 361 (nos. 27, 28, 120, 123). The term 'vanitas' could also be applied to an allegorical figural painting, rather than to a still life, which is the case with case of Jan Brueghel's letter of 1632 cited by de Pauw-de Veen 1969, p. 156.

17 Less common than 'vanitas' are actual mentions of skulls in paintings ('doodshooft,' etc.), and even rarer are paintings which are called 'ijdelheid' (1644, 1660, 1661, 1664) or 'memento mori' (1675). See Table 1.
Only rarely are more explicit descriptions available. A still life in Rembrandt's inventory is described as 'Een dito [Vanitas] vanden selven [Rembrandt] met een scepter gereturkeert' (Strauss, van der Meulen 1979, p. 361). A painting in Amalia van Solms's inventory of 1676 lists a 'Vanitas off bekranst doodshooft' (Vanitas or garlanded skull); Drossaers, Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, vol. 1, p. 372.

18 De Lairesse 1740, vol. 2, p. 266–67: 'Daar is noch een andere soort van Stilleven, die van de geringste niet is, en by de voorgaande een welstandige en niet min cierlyke veranderinge zoude geeven. Het is die welke in allerhande kostelykheden bestaat, als goud, zilver, kristalle en andere glazen, paerlen, edelgesteentens en paerlemoer, gemeenlyk *Vanitassen* genaamd. De vermaarde Kalf, die veel heerlyke en uitmuntende voorbeelden daar van heeft nagelaaten, heeft in deze zeer uitgemunt, en boven allen den hoogsten lof verdiend.'

19 For example: van Gelder 1936, p. 164; Bergström 1956, esp. pp. 154–90; I. Bergström, in Leiden 1970; de Jongh 1971, pp. 152–54; Heezen-Stoll 1979; Lammers 1979, pp. 406–15; Gerhard Bott, in Münster 1979, pp. 432–46; Sonnema 1980; Sam Segal, in Amsterdam 1982, pp. 15–24; Bergström 1982; J. Bruyn, in Amsterdam 1993, p. 117. For early discussions of the method, see van Gelder 1936 and Rudolph 1938.
A more moderate approach is taken by de Jongh 1982, although he still claims (p. 28) that 'the so-called vanitas, is in fact absolutely unambiguous in character. The ravages of time have not destroyed the meaning of the idiom contained in skull, hourglass, and burnt-out candle; this has never been open to an alternative reading.' Many of the same problems Eric Jan Sluijter (1988, 1991) noted about the study of genre painting is applicable to still-life scholarship. The emblematic approach has been repeated so often that some writers assume they were the currency of seventeenth-century belief.

20 The painting was given to the guild by Jan Zeeuw in 1663 when it was described as 'Een Cranium geschildert door Hercules Zeegers' (A cranium painted by Hercules Zeegers); Middelkoop 1998, p. 27 note 93. Segers made an etching on linen depicting a skull (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam).
On the display of medical specimens, see Julie Hansen, 'Resurrecting death: Anatomical art in the cabinet of Dr. Frederik Ruysch,' *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 663–79, esp. pp. 668, 669.

21 See paintings by Hinz in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg (dated 1666); Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam; Schloss Sanssouci, Berlin; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. See also the illumination by Joseph Arnold (Ulmer Museum). Hamburg 1996; Amsterdam 1992, vol. 2, p. 56, 66.
Dou painted an artist at an easel, surrounded by books, a lute, a globe, and a skull (Newhouse Galleries; Melbourne 1997, no.39), while Claesz shows a skull among the many collectibles in a crowded artist's studio or collector's cabinet (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

22 Vos 1662, p. 138: 'Hier leit een doodshoofdt, hier een menschebeen.'

23 For a rich interpretation of the painting, see E. de Jongh, in Auckland 1982, no. 44. In 1655, Anthony Leemans also painted a still life dedicated to Tromp; Bergamo 1995, pp. 198–200, repr.

24 For example: Evert Collier, *Books and Musical Instruments*, dated 1692 (Raphael Valls, London).

25 Jochen Becker, in Münster 1979, p. 456; Frankfurt 1993, no. 38; Taylor 1995, pp. 70–71.

26 From the *Colloquia*. See *Opera omnia*, part 1, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 236; Erasmus 1997, p. 179.

27 Vos 1662, p. 567; Houbraken 1718, vol. 1, p. 230: 'Zijn handt, vol geesten, heeft het bladt van dit gebloemt / Beschildert met een glans, die nimmer zal verflensen. / Het loof dat heet en koudt verduurt zal eeuwigh staan.'
In 1646, Joachim Oudaan also stressed the power of art to outlast the real flowers:
'Maer ach! wat is 't een korte poos! / En 't bloemtge moet verdorren: / Weer weet men middel, dat de roos / Soo niet sal over snorren, / Soo niet en sal versterven / Sy duurt in vaste verven, / Door Zeuxis hand, / Op maet geplant, / Veel bet, dan in nat sant: / Hier komt het syn pinceel te bord, / En stelt sig schrap, 't begint'er / Een streepje dat een bloempje word, / Dat sal de scharpe winter, / In 't midde van de korsten / Van aengedronge vorst, en / Gepakte snee' / In lentens stee, / Met lust aenschouwen mee.' (But alas! What a short time / Before the bloom must wither: / Yet one knows a means by which the rose / will not flash by, / will nor die / It lasts in permanent colors / By Zeuxis's hand / planted to order / much better than in wet sand. / Here it is brought up by his brush, / And braces itself, starts / A line which turns into a flower, / That will with pleasure watch, / Instead of Spring, / Bleak Winter / Amidst the crusts / Of pressing frost, and / Packed snow.). [From: Oudaan 1712, vol. 2, p. 126, 'Op een blompot' from 'Op schildery, teikening en Naelde-werk: ten Huise van Joffr. J. V. D. B.' (Johanna van de Burg).] See also the essay by G. Jansen in this catalogue.

28 For Seghers's letter, see Delen 1943, p. 94: 'een ghecroont doortshooft, in teecken dat de konst oock naer de doot leeft ende bloeyt.' Huygens's poem is published in ibid., p. 91: "Tis Seghers doods hoofd inder daed. / Soo sal 't syn wesen, vroegh of laet. / In onverwelckelicke Croonen / Sal syn' gedachte bij ons woonen. / De blommen die hy tleven gaf / En lang geplant heeft om syn graf, / Die zullen hem het leven geven / En doen syn sterfdagh overleven.' (It is indeed Seghers's skull. So it shall be, sooner or later. In unfading crowns, shall his memory live with us. The flowers to which he gave life and long ago planted around his grave, these will give him life, and allow him to outlive his dying day.). The poet Jacques Catenus responded on behalf of Seghers: 'Den schilder sal vergaen, Syn bloemen sullen blyven staen.' (The painter shall perish, his flowers shall remain.). On the gift, see Delen 1943; The Hague 1997, no. 35.

29 Vos 1662, pp. 123–41 (see also Weber 1991, pp. 256–67). Vos 1662, p. 139, writes: 'Nu sprak Natuur, geheel door rouw verkracht, / ô Schilderkunst! O liefste van mijn kinderen! / Op, help u moeder, want zy is in noodt; / Mijn oude krachten, ziet gy, zijn aan 't minderen: / Al wat ik immer schiep is voor de Doodt.' (Now Nature speaks, torn by sorrow, / O Painting! O most loved of my children! / Rise up, help your mother now that she is in danger, / My old powers, you see, are in decline / Everything I have created is threatened by Death.').

30 Seghers made many paintings for collectors in Holland, including Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms, Constantijn Huygens and other courtiers, and Seghers's relatives in Amsterdam. See Couvreur 1967, nos. 59–62, 69, 86, 88–95, 109, 185, 190, 203, 214–17.

31 Some writers, however, have unconvincingly suggested that the few examples of still lifes with explicit symbolic inscriptions can define the meanings of the entire genre; see Haak 1984, p. 118; Xander van Eck, review of Taylor 1995, in *Simiolus* 24 (1996): 82.

32 The quote is from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, book 2, ll. 381–82. Hugo Grotius, a friend of de Gheyn, published an annotated ed. of Lucan in 1614 and must have suggested the quote to the artist (Lucan, ed. Hugo Grotius, *Pharsalia* [Leiden, 1614], p. 35). See Merrill 1960. Beneath the inscription, perhaps in a deliberate palimpsest, is a second motto: 'Finit coronat opus' (the end crowns the work), which reinforces the meaning of the other inscription.

33 Miedema 1975, p. 14, provides the most

convincing interpretation of the painting. Heezen-Stoll 1979, pp. 221–22, gives a complicated Neo-Stoic reading but fails to treat some of the picture's important components. Heezen-Stoll regards the painting as a vanitas image and implausibly sees most vanitas imagery as essentially Neo-Stoic.

34 Van Bastelaer no. 138; print after Pieter Bruegel's drawing dated 1560 (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam).

35 Miedema 1975, pp. 13–16.

36 Ripa 1644, p. 358a ('Studio: Oeffeningh in de Konsten, Studeeringe'). See Miedema 1975, p. 15.

37 Heyman Dullaert, *Gedichten* (Amsterdam, 1719; reprint Groningen, 1978), p. 63: 'O haast gebluschte vlam van myne kaersl nu dat / Gy mynen voortgang stut in 't naerstig onderzoeken / Van nutte weetenschap, in wysheidvolle boeken, / Voor een leergierig oog zoo rykelyk bevat, / Verstrekt gy my een boek, waar uit te leeren staat / Het haast verloopen uur van myn verganklyk leven.'

38 Vigenère 1614, p. 266: 'Philostrate a de coustume d'entremesler quelquesfois de petites plaisanteries & ioyeusetez, où il s'esgaye comme pour une recreation du subiect principal. ... Ce qui ne nous apprend pas rien de soy, et ne sert d'autre chose que pour un plus ample contentement & satisfaction de l'oeil.' See Koslow 1995, p. 49.

39 Bottomeo 1625, p. 25; Bottomeo 1997, pp. 40–41: 'Subest Mysterium tamquam florum amoenitas, et nives adstrictae gelu, sunt extremae naturae, et tanquam hiemis facie tellus, Vevis imagine Caelum repraesentetur. Sed nihil ego symbola, mysteriaque ista respiciens, rem sic depingi ipsam iussi.'

40 De Lairesse 1740, vol. 2, p. 268: 'Hoewel wy hier voor gezegt hebben, dat de vermaarde Kalf in de Stillevens boven anderen heeft uitgemunt, heeft hy nochtans, zo min als zyne voorgangers en navolgers, reden van zyne verbeeldingen weeten te geeven, waarom hy dit of dat vertoonde: maar slechts het geen hem in den zin schoot. ... verbeeld, zonder eens zyne gedachten te hebben laaten gaan om iets van belang voort te brengen daar een byzondere zin in stak, of't geen ergens op toegepast kon worden.'

41 Visscher 1614. These emblems were first used extensively by Bergström in 1947 (see Bergström 1956, pp. 155–59), although van Gelder 1936, pp. 164, 166, refers to them. For other examples of the emblematic approach, see de Jongh 1967; de Jongh 1971; Braunschweig 1978 (especially nos. 19, 20, 24, 27, 30); Haak 1984, pp. 125–28; Bruyn 1996. Revisions to this approach can be found in Raupp 1983; Bedaux 1990, pp. 74–84. The best correctives can be found in McGrath 1984 and Sluijter 1991 (especially note 56).

42 It is remarkable how often the print is cited: Bergström 1956, pp. 155–56; de Jongh 1967, pp. 69–70; T. van Leeuwen, in Auckland 1982, p. 42; Welu 1982, p. 38; S. Segal, in Osaka 1990, p. 158; M. Vandenven, in Liedtke et al. 1992, p. 307; J. Bruyn, in Amsterdam 1993, p. 117, fig. 8; P. van Thiel, in Amsterdam 1993, p. 585 [under no.256]. The print is discussed in other contexts: Boston 1980, no. 54; Berlin, Amsterdam, London 1991, vol. 2, p. 250. A balanced view is presented by S. Segal, in Delft 1988, pp. 77–78.

43 The tulip emblem is cited in Bergström 1956, p. 156; Braunschweig 1978, p. 42; N. Schneider, in Münster 1979, p. 308; Welu 1982, p. 38; Osaka 1990, p. 158; J. Bruyn, in Amsterdam 1993, p. 117, fig. 7; Amsterdam 1994, p. 8; Schneider 1994, p. 135; Taylor 1995, p. 6; Brussels 1996, p. 59; Washington 1998, no. 79. On the tulip crash and the images it generated, see Krelage 1942; Amsterdam 1994.

44 De Jongh 1967, pp. 57–59; C. Klemm, in Münster 1979, pp. 174–78; Welu 1982, p. 36; ter Kuile 1985, p. 30–31 (who argues in addition that the admonition, 'Elck wat hij wils', 'might equally apply to sumptuous ['pronk'] still lifes'); F. Meijer, in Amsterdam 1993, p. 605; Slive 1995, p. 278.
Other uses of Visscher's emblems include: fruit 'Vroech rijp, vroech rot' (C. Klemm, in Münster 1979, pp. 174/178; Amsterdam 1993, p. 117; Schneider 1994, p. 121); books 'Kruijt voor de wilde woeste' (Schwarz 1987, p. 26; E. de Jongh, in Frankfurt 1993, p. 27).

45 Many of the moralizing prints used to interpret still lifes contain elements that cannot be found in still lifes. Often cited (for example, ter Kuile 1985; Utrecht 1991, p. 40) is Theodoor Matham's print of 1622, which is inscribed 'Vanitas.' Although a still life is seen in the foreground of the print, a lively merry company glimpsed in back is essential to the meaning of the print. See Amsterdam 1997, p. 181, fig. 6. A print after David Vinckboons dated 1620 shows a laid table with a couple and highly suggestive images on the wall (ibid., no. 29).

46 Hollstein 1949, no. 125 (and fig. 147a): 'ontfangende met groote blijdschap alle de voornaemste Volckeren des Aerdbodems, elck met hare voortreffelijckste Koopmanschappen.' See: I. de Groot, R. Vorstman, *Sailing Ships: Prints by Dutch Masters* (Amsterdam, 1980), no.20, repr. The text describing the figures is reprinted by C. P. Burger, in *Jaarboek Amstelodamum 16* (1918): 93–95.

47 Vigenère 1614, pp. 265–69. Vigenère's annotation to Philostratus begins (p. 267): 'Ce tableau est intitulé *xenia* [Greek], comme qui diroit *Hospitalitez*, à sçavoir les dons & presens qu'on fait à ses hostes. Les Latins les prenoiet pour ce que nous appellons *Estreines*.' He continues (p. 268): 'i'ay tourné *Presens rustiques*, à cause que *xenia* [Greek] signifie aussi toutes manieres de presens.' Xenia is discussed again in the section devoted to 'Les estreines de village' (p. 505). First published in 1578, Vigenère's translation and commentary on Philostratus was widely reprinted in the seventeenth century. The commentary on xenia is linked to the work of Snyders and discussed in detail by Koslow 1995, pp. 46–49. See Philostratus, *Imagines*, trans. Arthur Fairbanks (Cambridge, 1931), book 1, no. 31; book 2, no. 26. Xenia is also discussed in Vitruvius, book 6:7,4.

48 Junius 1991, p. 137. Junius cites Vitruvius as well as Philostratus.

49 One of the most popular Virgilian poets was Charles Estienne, whose *De re hortensi libellus* was published in Paris in 1536; his *Praedium rusticum* (Estienne 1554) was soon translated into Dutch (Estienne 1566) and appeared in numerous later eds. in Antwerp and Amsterdam.

50 Van Veen 1985, pp. 14, 17, 19, 34, 141; Koslow 1995, pp. 91–93; de Vries 1998, pp. 276–79. All the *hofdichten*, except those by Jacob Cats and Jan Baptista Wellekens, describe a meal for guests made up of food from the estate (de Vries 1998, pp. 38, 46, 50, 62, 124, 167, 277). The term *hofdicht* normally translated as 'country house poem,' but this is only partly accurate. The Dutch word was not employed until the eighteenth century and the English term misleadingly suggests grand manors. Inspired by Virgil and Horace, these poems are concerned with houses, gardens, and farms in the country. The best surveys are van Veen 1985 (first published in 1960) and de Vries 1998.

51 Vigenère 1614, p. 266: 'descriptions des fruictages, à guise de cornes d'abondance'; p. 505: 'ces Drolleries qu'on apporte de Flandres.'

52 Ghent 1986, nos. 8–11. Karel van Mander reports that Beuckelaer painted pendants of fish and fruit markets (van Mander 1604, fol. 238v). Lucas van Valckenborch painted a cycle of market scenes showing vegetable, fruit, meat sellers (ca. 1590, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

53 Koslow 1995, pp. 109–35. Koslow first identified van Ophem as the patron, and has rightly stressed the importance of the cycle. Each canvas measures about 210 x 343 cm.

54 Robels 1989, no. 42. The game piece for the archdukes is recorded in *The Allegory of Sight and Smell* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Rubens (Museo del Prado, Madrid); see Koslow 1995, p. 18.

55 Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 798–805, repr. [1619, 1620, 1621, 1622].

56 Originally a series of six, four remain in the Museo del Prado, Madrid [1341, 1342, 1343, 1344] depicting fish, game, cheese with a herring. See Spiessens 1990, nos. 136–39, repr.; Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 98–101, repr. The series was commissioned by the Marqués de Leganés who gave them to the Spanish king in 1652.

57 There are nine panels in all. See Amsterdam 1995, pp. 74–77, pl. VI.

58 Florence 1998.

59 *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence*, exh. cat. Detroit Institute of Arts; Palazzo Pitti, Florence (1974), nos. 105–6; Florence 1998, pp. 62–81; *Bartolomeo Bimbi: Un pittore di piante e animali alla corte dei Medici*, ed. S. Meloni Trkulja, L. Tongiorgi Tomasi (Florence, 1998); *La natura morta in villa: Le collezioni di Poggia a Caiano e Topaia*, exh. cat. Poggio a Caiano (Florence, 1998).

60 Slothouwer 1945, pp. 269 ('kindertjens en festoenen' by Bor, 1638), 270 ('cornecopia' by Wrenbrouck, 1638); The Hague 1997, p. 41 ('vliegende kinderen, met Bloem Festoenen' by de Grebber).

61 Koslow 1995, pp. 98–99.

62 For example, Zuid-Holland revised its hunting regulations in 1623 to permit citizens with an income of more than 100 guilders a year to hunt; Jan van der Eyck, *Corte beschrijvinghe mitsgaders hondvesten, priviligien, costumen ende ordonnantien vanden Lande van Zuyt-Hollandt* (Dordrecht, 1628), p. 428 ('Ordonnatie vande Jacht').

63 Chiarini 1989, nos. 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, 1.10, repr. (dated 1652–53).

64 Mannlich 1805, vol. 2, pp. 136–39; Stechow 1969; Eikemeier 1978. On the collection of Johann Wilhelm, see Möhlig 1993, and under cat. 77 in this publication.

65 De Lairesse 1740, vol. 2, p. 260: "t Zelfde is het ook met paardetuigen op houte planken geschilderd, ook allerhande jachttuigen: doch deze laatste zyn niet heel oneigen, benevens zwynen, herten, haazen, als mede faisanten, patrysen, en andere doode vogelen meer, welke gemeenlyk van der Vorsten en Edellieden zin af hangen.' The idea is repeated on p. 267.

66 This combination is occasionally encountered in inventory descriptions. For example, the imperial collection in Vienna around 1619 possessed a painting of '1 niedelendsch credenz mit confect' (Köhler 1906, no. 238).

67 Borromeo was in Rome up to 1595 and then from 1597 to 1601; he was a friend of Cardinal Francesco del Monte, a patron of Caravaggio. See Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York, 1983), p. 381; Mina Gregori, in *The Age of Caravaggio*, exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1985), pp. 262–65.

68 It is possible that Brueghel had already given Borromeo a small painting, *Mouse and a Rose* (parchment on copper; Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan). The correspondence is unclear; see Jones 1993, pp. 236–37; Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij 1996, p. 49.

69 Borromeo 1625, pp. 32–33; Borromeo 1997, pp. 50–53: 'Fecit eam Michael Angelus Caravagensis Roma nactus auctoritatem, volueramque ego fiscellam huic aliam habere similem, sed cum huius pulchritudinem, incomparabilemque excellentiam assequeretur nemo, solitaria relicta est.' Caravaggio's basket is mistakenly said to contain flowers rather than fruit ('fiscellae, ex qua flores micant'), which implies that the companion piece ought to be flowers. Jones 1993, pp. 82, 97 note 87, observes that in 1617 Brueghel did paint a basket of flowers, although not for Borromeo (Ertz 1979, no. 322, fig. 371).

70 Joris Hoefnagel, *Archetypa* (1592); Vignau-Wilberg 1994, pp. 81, 195 [part IV, no. 10]: 'Sapientia fructum producit vitae, fert ipsa scientia florem: Prodest illa, sed haec ornat.'

71 Bedoni 1983, p. 109, letter of 14 April 1606: 'senza ordine ho principiata et destinato a V.S.Ill.mo una Massa de vario fiori gli quali reuceravi molto bello: tanta per la naturalleza come anco delle bellezza et rarita de vario fiori in questa parto alcuni inconita et non peiu visto: per quella io son stata a Brussella per ricrare alcuni fiori del natural, che non si trove in Anversa.' Bedoni's transcriptions from the letters preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, are more accurate than those in Crivelli 1868 (compare ibid., p. 63). On 17 June, Brueghel wrote again describing the still life (Bedoni 1983, pp. 110–11); the phrase 'del natturel' is repeated in a letter of 25 August (see note 72 below). The correspondence between Brueghel and Borromeo has been treated by Freedberg 1981, Bedoni 1983, and Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij 1990 and 1996. On Borromeo, see Quint 1986, Jones 1993, Borromeo 1997.

72 Bedoni 1983, pp. 111–12, letter from Brueghel to Borromeo dated 25 August 1606: 'il quadro delli fiori fatta tutti del natturel: in detto quadro ho fatto tanto quanto sapir farre. Credo che non sia mai fatto tanti raro et vario fiori, finita con simila diligensa: d'inverna farra un bel vedere: alcuni colori arriveno appressa poca il natural.'

73 Van Mander 1604, fols. 243v, 238r, 292v, 294v.

74 Couvreur 1967, p. 93, no. 1: 'De eersten die naer het leven en myn eijgen ordinantie is een crans van alle Soorten van bloemen.'

75 Bedoni 1983, p. 126 , letter to Ercole Bianchi, 22 April 1611: 'Gli fiori besoigni fare alle prima, sensa desseigni o boitssaturo: tutti fiori vengono in quatra mesi, et sense invencioni besoigni giungere in seime con gran discretcion.'

76 Several paintings by van Huysum bear double dates; see for example the work in the National Gallery, London, no. 796. A pair of paintings in the Mountain collection are dated 1731/1732 and 1732/1733 (Grant 1954, nos. 11, 162). In 1742, Van Huysum wrote to the agent of the Duke of Mecklenburg about delays to a commission; Schlie 1900, p. 141.

77 From 'The Godly Feast' (Convivium religiosum); Erasmus 1997, vol. 1, p. 179. For the Latin original, see *Opera omnia*, part 1, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 236.

78 Watercolor on vellum; see Frankfurt 1993, no. 108, repr.; Prague 1997, p. 398, repr. The two works are apparently pendants since Erasmus's text is divided between them.

79 Jones 1993, p. 81, rendering a Latin manuscript by Federico Borromeo, *Pro suis studiis* (1628), fols. 254v–255r.

80 Vos 1662, p. 566; also quoted in Houbraken 1718, vol. 1, p. 230: 'Hier komt de lieve lent by wintertijdt verschijnen / Natuur, die al wie maalt door haar penseel verdooft, / Begint, nu zy dit ziet, van enkle spijt te quijnen.' The theme is repeated in Vos 1662, pp. 534, 572–73; see also Joachim Oudaan's poem of 1646, note 27 above.

81 On vanitas symbolism of flowers generally, see Bergström, in Leiden 1970; Bergström 1982 (where paintings of flowers are compared with Jacob Matham's vanitas print of 1599 after van Mander); for a valuable discussion of floral symbolism, see Segal in Osaka 1990, pp. 30–34. See also Taylor 1995, pp. 43–76.

82 'Great is the honor of spring and the beauty of the scented flowers' (Magnus veris honos et odorae gratia Florae); 'All things flourish in spring, and in the springtime all things are in flower; and the whole world glows with the sweetness of Venus' (Omnia vere vigent, et veris tempore florent et totus fervet Veneris dulcedine mundus). Vignau-Wilberg 1994, pp. 72, 68. For texts on the short life of flowers, see ibid., pp. 61, 66, 71, 75, 76. Often cited is Emanuel Sweerts's *Florilegium* of 1612 (Bleiler 1976, pp. viii–ix): 'to understand how short and trivial life is; and on the other hand, how great is God's mercy. ... These give us to know that man's life is nothing else than a flower of the field, which withers soon.'

83 Sandrart 1925, p. 185, praised Seghers's 'great diligence and neatness' (grossem Fleiss und Sauberkeit) in representing flowers. Vondel 1927, vol. 5, p. 497 (the poet claimed to have been deceived by Seghers's colors). Vos 1662, p. 534, compared Seghers's paintings to spring; For other examples, see Delen 1943.

84 Vignau-Wilberg 1994, pp. 37–40.

85 De Lairesse 1740, vol. 2, p. 260: 'dat de schoonheid en deugd van een Stilleven alleenlyk in de alleruitgelezenste voorwerpen bestaat: ik zeg uitgelezenste, meenende daar mede dat men uit alle bloemen de schoonste en raarste moet verkiezen, gemeene en slegte uitgezondert; desgelyks met de vruchten en andere dingen.'

86 Bedoni 1983, pp. 111–12, letter of 25 August 1606: 'Sotti i fiori ho fatta una Gioia con manefatura de medaiglie, con rarita del mano. Metta poi VS Ill.mo per judicare, se le fiori non passeno ori et gioii. Con il sig. Herculi manda un scattoli con il quadrettin delli prossession: spera che sarta aproposita. In detto schattoli ho misso 12 coccilli delli piu belli et raro che vengono del India con li navi hollandesi: prega vs Ill.mo accettar per una cosetta de poca pretici.' Ercole Bianchi was an agent of Borromeo. For a different transcription of the letter, see Crivelli 1868, pp. 74–75 (used by Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij 1996, p. 50 note 18), where the rarities are 'del maro' (of the sea).

87 In his 'Kunst Caemer' described in the bankruptcy inventory of 1656 were 'een groote quantiteit hoorens, seegewassen / gietwerk op 't leven afgegooten en veel andere rariteiten'; Strauss, van der Meulen 1979, pp. 349ff. Rembrandt purchased shells at auction; see Scheller 1969, p. 82. On shell collecting in the Netherlands, see Amsterdam 1992; Copenhagen 1983.

88 On Rudolf II, see Bauer, Haupt 1976; for Charles I, see Millar 1960, Millar 1970; for the Copenhagen Kunstkammer, see Dam-Mikkelsen 1980 and Gundestrup 1991. An impressive example of a bourgeois 'Cunstcamer' is the collection of Christiaen Porrett, an apothecary in Leiden; see Porrett 1628. See also Rembrandt's collection (Strauss, van den Meulen 1979; Scheller 1969); and generally Amsterdam 1992.

89 Vos 1662, p. 138, decried a painter's studio: 'Hier hangen schilden, hier beroeste zwaarden. Hier leit een doodtshooft, hier een menschebeen. Hier pronkt een leeuwshuidt, hier gepeesde boogen. Wat varder boeken met een oude bandt.' Andries Pels, *Gebruik en misbruik des tooneels* (Amsterdam, 1681),

p. 36, wrote of Rembrandt: 'Harnassen, Moriljons, Japonsche Ponjerts, bont, / En rafelkraagen, die hy schilderachtig vond.'

90 Barthes 1964; Foster 1992. See also Schama 1987; Schama 1993. I am grateful for the discussions I have had with Elizabeth Honig.

91 Van Mander 1604, fol. 243v: 'Hy heeft hem begheven te maken keuckens, met allerley goet en cost nae cleven, so eyghentlijck alle de verwen treffende, dat het natuerlijck gheleeck te wesen.' (He devoted himself to making kitchens, with all types of goods and food from life, so exactly catching the colors, that it seemed to be real.) See also footnote 3.

92 De Lairesse 1740, vol. 2, p. 261: 'verbeeldende de eerste als of het tegen een vlakke muur of schot hangende geschilderd waar; en de twede, als leggende op bank, tafel, of op de grond.' (the first depicting as either hanging against a flat wall or wainscot, and the second, as lying on a bench, table, or on the ground).

93 Borromeo 1625, p. 26; Borromeo 1997, pp. 40–41: 'At florum pugna non minor spectatur, quorum pretium Artifex ipse Bruguelus lepidissimo commento indicavit. Pinxit enim in imo vase adamantem, quo inspecto intelleximus id, quod etiam alioqui statuissemus; gemmarum scilicet aestimationi indicaturum par esse operis huius pretium.' See also Quint 1986, p. 245; Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij 1996, pp. 60, 89 note 48.

94 The acceptance of these terms is a curious instance of false historicism. E. de Jongh (in Auckland 1982, p. 145) could state, 'A common seventeenth-century word for the trompe-l'oeil in Holland was *bedriegertje*, a deception piece, and this name reflects the quintessence of the phenomenon very well.' The term 'schijnbedrieger' is applied to a trompe l'oeil still life in an Amsterdam sale catalogue of 20 April 1801 (lot 156, by W. Draaijenburg); in S.J.M. van Moock's *Nouveau dictionnaire français-hollandais* (1824), p. 1312, 'bedriegertje' is a translation of 'trompe-l'oeil.' Burda 1969, p. 3, noted that no archival sources could be found for the terms 'oogenbedrieger' and 'bedriegertje,' but they have been employed by Vorenkamp 1933, p. 111; Blankert 1978, p. 20; and numerous others.

95 The French term 'trompe-l'oeil,' now used to describe illusionistic painting, is first as early as 1800 when a painting by Louis Boilly was given the title 'Un trompe l'oeil' at the Paris Salon, which must refer to one of the artist's numerous illusionistic still lifes (J.J. Guiffrey, *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions* [Paris, 1869], vol. 7: Salon 1800 [an VIII], no. 38). Quodlibet (literally, whatever pleases) has long meant a whimsical combination of ideas or texts in philosophical debates and was applied to trompe l'oeil rack pictures in the eighteenth century. The term occurs frequently in German sales catalogues from 1752 on, and is used to describe paintings by Gijsbrechts in Copenhagen (9 Feb. 1789, lot 80) and in London (10 March 1802, lot 46).

96 Van Mander 1604, fol. 33r, *Den Grondt der edel vry schilderkonst*, chap. 7:55: 'Jae een groot behendlich listich bedriegher / Van s' Menschen ooghen, oock een cluchtigh liegher.' Miedema 1973, vol. 2, pp. 200, 532, traces the idea of artistic deception to Plato.

97 On Seghers, see Vondel 1927, vol. 5, p. 497: 'Natuur vergeef het my: / Dat bloempenseel heeft my bedrogen.' On Brize:, ibid.: 'Papieren, bul, en brief, of schyn bedrieght ons oogh.' In addition, de Bie 1662, p. 215, wrote that flowers painted by Seghers were so real that bees attempted to land on the picture. Houbraken reports that both the still lifes of van Hoogstraten and the cutouts of Cornelis Bisschop 'deceived' many; Houbraken 1718, vol. 2, pp. 157, 221.

98 Junius wrote his treatise on the art of the ancients in Latin (Junius 1637) and translated it himself into English (Junius 1638). See Junius 1991, p. 51: 'a good Picture is nothing else in it selfe but a delusion of our eyes. This deceit,' sayth Philostratus, 'as it is pleasant, so doth it not deserve the least reproach: for the be possessed with things that are not, as if they were; and to be so led with them, as that wee (without suffering any hurt by them) should thinke them to be; cannot but be proper for the reviving of our minde, and withall free from all manner of blame.' For the Dutch ed., see Junius 1641, p. 43, where delusion is translated as 'ooghenspooksel.' Erasmus in the *Colloquia* notes the deception of fake marble: 'Lepida profecto impostura.' (An artistic deception indeed.); *Opera omnia*, part 1, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 236; Erasmus 1997, p. 179.

99 De Brune 1644, p. 435 (book 4, ch. 9): 'haar bedrogh is een genuchelik en onschandelik bedrogh.' The same words are used in Houbraken 1718, vol. 2, p. 221, and a similar passage appears in Johannes Evertsz Geesteranus, 'Idolelenchus', printed in D.R. Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke Rymen, om te lesen ofte singhen* (Amsterdam, 1647), pp. 223, 229. For this and other examples, see Sluijter 1991, pp. 187 note 70, 203–4.

100 Hoogstraten 1678, p. 25: 'Want een volmaekte Schildery is als een spiegel van de Natuer, die de dingen, die niet en zijn, doet schijnen te zijn en op een geoorlofde vermaekelijke en prijzelijke wijze bedriegt.' See also p. 274.

101 Houbraken 1718, vol. 2, p. 158: 'En schoon 't schilderen van diergelyke dingen, in dien tyd goed voordeel aanbragt, zoo had hy te grooten geest, om zig daar mee op te houden, maar maakte voornamentlyk zyn werk van Pourtretten, Historien en Perspectiven in Kamers (waar toe dan een gat in den muur buiten het vertrek om door te zien gemaakt werd) te schilderen.'

102 On Aertsen, see van Mander 1604, fol. 243v; on Beuckelaer, fol. 238r; on Cornelis van Haarlem, fol. 292v; on de Gheyn, fol. 294v.

103 Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 76: 'Zeker de kunst is tot zulk een misfortuin gekomen, datmen in de beroemste kunstkabinetten het meestendeel stukken vind, die niet anders, dan voor een lust of als in spel van een goet Meester behoorden gemaekt te worden, als hier een Wijntros, een Pekelharing, of een Haegdis, of daer een Patrijs, een Weytas, of dat noch minder is. Welke dingen, schoonze ook hare aerdicheden hebben, alleen maer als uitspanningen van de kunst zijn.'

104 De Brune 1644 (1994 ed.), p. 435 (book 4, ch. 9): 'Zeker, het vervroolikt yemand buiten maat, wanneer hy door een valsche gelikenis der dingen wort bedrogen.'

105 See footnotes 47 and 51.

106 Sandrart 1675, p. 310; Sandrart 1925, p. 182: 'biss sie endlich selbst über dem Kunstreichen Betrug gelachtet.'

107 Bredius 1915, p. 1,250. The work was valued at eight guilders by the painter Melchior d'Hondecoeter, who may have also dictated the entries. The collection also included a 'wapentuygh' by Brize, which may be similar to fig. 22.
The term 'snakerij,' like 'drollig,' is sometimes used to describe the presumably humorous genre paintings of Cornelis Bega, Jan Miense Molenaer, and others; see Getty 1996, doc. nos. N-4330, N-875; also N-121, N-252.

108 Pepys 1970, vol. 4, p. 26; also p. 18 and note 1 (Pepys does not give an artist of the perspectives). Although van Hoogstraten describes having dinner with Povey, he does not say Povey was a patron (van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 188; Brusati 1995, pp. 92–93). John Evelyn (*Diary of John Evelyn*, entry for 1 July 1664) says a perspective he saw at Povey's house was by 'Streeter,' which is confusing since this could mean Hoogstraten or Robert Streeter (1624–680), an English still-life painter described as a painter of 'perspectives.' However, the two paintings by van Hoogstraten at Dyrham Park (Brusati 1995, nos. 89, 90) came from Thomas Povey since William Blathwayt, owner of Dyrham Park, was a nephew of Povey, and bought 112 works from Povey in 1693 (J. Kenworthy-Browne, *Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire* [1990], pp. 57–58; there is also a list in the Gloucestershire Record Office).
The large interior perspective at Dyrham Park is dated 1662, which makes it likely to be the painting been seen by Pepys in January 1663 since Hoogstraten arrived in London in May 1662.

109 Pepys 1970, vol 5, p. 277 (21 Sept. 1664).

APPENDIX:

Common terms applied to still lifes in Netherlandish inventories of the 17th century

In a survey of common terms for still lifes (shown as a percentage of the surveyed group), it is clear that the vast majority of terms came from a small group of standard terms: 'bancket,' 'blompot,' 'bloemcransen,' and 'fruytagie' (and related forms). In Holland after around 1670, the term 'bancket' declines in frequency as 'stilleven' increases. Somewhat surprisingly, the word 'vanitas' becomes more popular later in the century. Toward 1700, constructions such as 'fruitstuck' and 'bloemschilderij' became more common. Moderately frequent are still lifes with 'vissen' (as well as oysters and shell fish) or with a 'roemer' (and other vessels). Very rare are descriptions of paintings with tobacco, books, and shells. In Antwerp the word 'stilleven' is almost entirely absent, while 'vanitas' and 'ontbijt' are also less frequent. Unsurprisingly, 'kransen' (flower garlands) are much more common in Flanders.

References to markets, kitchens, and animals (unless specifically described as dead) were not surveyed since there was no sure way to distinguish still lifes from other types of painting; there is also an absence of any consistent terminology for game pieces. It should also be noted that 'bancket' could also refer to meals such as the banquet of the gods or the banquet of Belshazzar; obvious instances of this were omitted (as was 'maaltijd'), but no doubt some examples included in this survey referred to figural scenes. Similarly, some vanitas paintings probably included other types of allegories.

TERMS	1600–1624	1625–1649	1650–1674	1675–1699	1700–1725
Stilleven			5	16	18
Vanitas		2	9	1	10
	–	*	2		
Blompot		18	19	14	15
(Bloempot)	23	19	15		
Blomencrans, feston	3	*	1	2	
(also with subject)	3	7	12		
Met bloemen, etc.		9	2	6	3
	7	8	8		
Bloemstuk		–	*	2	10
(schilderij)	2	*	1		
Bancket		25	12	4	1
(banquet, bancquet, bancketgen)	35	25	22		
Ontbijt		18	12	2	1
(ontbijten, ontbijtie)	–	2	*		
Fruytagie		15	14	11	7
(fruytage, fruytagieken)	18	18	19		
Met fruyt		9	9	14	14
(mandeken)	7	9	8		
Fruytstuck		2	2	2	6
(also schilderij)	–	1	1		
Fish		6	5	6	5
	2	5	7		
Roemers, vessels		2	6	5	2
	–	1	1		
Dead birds, etc.		–	1	3	3
	–	2	2		
Skulls		2	2	1	1
	3	*	1		
Other objects	1	1	2	3	
	1	2	2		
TOTAL in survey		313	863	811	566
	146	691	1218		

Shown as a percentage of total still lifes surveyed. Inventories from Holland are in bold, those from Antwerp appear in Roman below. Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number; – indicates the term did not occur; * indicates that it constituted less than 0.5 percent. Because there is insufficient documentation, Dutch inventories were not surveyed for 1600–24 and Flemish inventories were not surveyed for 1675–1725. Sources: Bredius 1915, Duverger 1968, Duverger 1984, Getty 1996 (and the Provenance Index database), Strauss, van der Meulen 1979, and other archival sources.