Beyond the Garden of Love
Reconsidering the Dutch Landscape Double Portrait in the Seventeenth Century

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“Yet they [portraits] have a noble profession
that is indispensable for mankind.
Thanks to them, we do not die
in a certain sense, and we keep
in contact with our ancestors
as descendants. That is a pleasure
that I value very much.”

“Toch hebben zij een edel en voor het mensdom onmisbaar beroep. Dankzij hen gaan wij in zekere zin niet dood en houden wij als nageslacht contact mets ons voorgeslacht. Dat is een genoegen waar ik zeer aan hecht.”

Constantijn Huygens
Mijn Jeugd, c. 1629–31

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Introduction

Utilizing portraiture as an aid in constructing one's self-presentation was not a new concept in seventeenth-century Europe. Over the course of the centuries, it was often employed as a tool to demonstrate certain aspects of an individual to a viewing public. In the Netherlands in particular, portraiture was used most notably for the regents and civic guards of the cities of the young Republic to establish their presence and power to their fellow citizens. But what about the more intimate aspects of a person's self? Marriage is one such facet that was often depicted in paint, with either pendant or double portraits of married couples forming a large portion of circulating portraits, so the notion of a married couple having their portraits painted was not a novelty. It was the full integration of the sitters into a landscape setting in a double portrait that was innovative, coming into being in the Netherlands and Flanders in the early years of the 1600s before becoming more popular and widespread in later decades. This outdoor setting and the double portrait format facilitate a degree of (calculated) informality between husband and wife that allows for more affection to be shown between the sitters, making these images a more intriguing and charming subset of marriage portraiture than others.

Like the appearances of the sitters, the landscapes themselves could be manipulated to convey certain messages and perceptions of the subjects to the viewers. The question then stands: how were seventeenth-century Dutch landscape double portraits used to contribute to the particular self-presentation of the depicted sitters? This central problem will be answered through four further lines of inquiry: To what extent were biographical details of the sitters' lives incorporated into the images? How were these portraits an interpretation of greater related societal institutions such as marriage? To what extent did the artists' individual styles, theories (where applicable), and personal connections to their patrons impact the depictions of the sitters and the nature of their landscapes? What can a reconstruction of the contemporary viewer's experience - in terms of both physical spaces and coeval art theory on viewership - add to the understanding of the process of the sitters' self-presentation?

Though the sitters are the most obvious participants in these constructions of self, there are still other contributors whose roles must be considered, and the thesis will be structured so as to assess the involvement of each of these players. The first chapter will center around the sitters themselves, looking into biographical details that may have influenced the appearance of the resulting work. Contemporary conceptions of self and marriage will also be explored in order to understand the personal and societal frameworks in which the sitters operated, subsequently impacting their self-presentations. The second chapter will examine the artists' roles in the execution of the portraits by considering the significance of their personal connections to their patrons as well as the impact of their individual styles and, where available, their theories. The final chapter considers the contemporary viewer and reconstructs their experience by answering the "where", "who", and "how" of their viewership. This last inclusion will assist in understanding how the resulting constructed selves of the sitters by the artists were perceived and how their perception by the viewer in turn contributed to the process of the sitters' self-fashioning. This format will clearly highlight the various types of participants involved and their roles in the sitters' self-fashioning by presenting each in their own chapter, but it also makes their

interconnectedness apparent and facilitates a perception of the early modern process of self-fashioning in the Netherlands.

0.1 *Explication of Case Studies and Terminology*

What is meant by the term "landscape double portrait"? In short, these are portraits of married couples painted within a landscape setting. More specifically, they are images of married couples alone with no children depicted,[1] in contemporary dress, almost always full-length, and executed by Dutch artists. There are also extant Flemish examples, but the difference in the political situations between the northern Netherlands and its southern counterpart leads to a difference in the potential self-images of its respective inhabitants. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the northern Netherlands was recognized as the independent Dutch Republic, while the southern Netherlands was still subject to Spanish Habsburg rule. This political outcome sparked an urge in Dutch citizens to foster a new *burgerlijk* identity that to some extent influenced the style and purpose of the resulting portraiture of the period. Since Flanders did not have this degree of freedom, the portraits that it produced contemporarily sometimes present different self-images of the sitters. However, a few Flemish forerunners and their impact will be mentioned over the course of the discussion.

I prefer to use "double portrait" over the "marriage portrait" moniker partly because only double portraits, and not pendants, will be considered, but also due to the lack of definition surrounding what a "marriage portrait" actually entails. "Marriage portraiture" is usually used as an umbrella term for all portraits of married couples, but there is also an implied meaning that some works are more of a "marriage portrait" than others, since they were created to celebrate the recent nuptials of the couple.[2] Other art historians have introduced the term "wedding portrait" to distinguish these types of paintings from those of less recently-married couples, but its use is not widespread.[3] Since the marriages of the couples in the presented case studies are sometimes new and sometimes already established, "double portrait" is more inclusive and avoids confusion.

The grouping of paintings that I believe fall under the subgenre of the landscape double portrait (around twenty) is still too large to discuss in-depth within the confines of this thesis, so I will instead focus on three case studies; the rest of the corpus will be listed in an appendix. The selected works are Frans Hals' portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen dated around

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[1] Family portraits have also occurred within landscape settings frequently, but to incorporate them along with landscape double portraits would require a study of a wider scope. For more information on the subject see Frauke K. Laarmann, *Het Noord-Nederlands familieportret in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw: beeldtraditie en betekenis* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003) and Marianne Katharina Antonia Giesen, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Holländischen Familienporträts im XVII. Jahrhundert* (PhD diss. Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1997).

[2] Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1986). Exhibition held in Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, 15 February - 13 April 1986, 124.

[3] David R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 162.

1622 (**fig. 1**),[4] Samuel van Hoogstraten's 1647 portrait of Johan Cornelisz. Vijgeboom and Anneke Joosten Boogaart (**fig. 2**),[5] and a 1654 portrait of Abraham del Court and Maria de Kaersgieter by Bartholomeus van der Helst (**fig. 3**).[6] These case studies were chosen on the grounds that they were the most accessible in terms of art historical research. The couples have been identified - the more information available about the sitters means a better understanding of the portraits themselves. They were all wealthy and prominent citizens whose professional activities were at least known, and in some cases, relatively well-documented. These professional details add another dimension to the self-presentations of the sitters that can be explored. The three artists were also successful and distinguished in their field, with Samuel van Hoogstraten being especially important as his art theoretical writings shed light on his approach to painting as well as ideas of contemporary viewership. The artists in each case study had a traceable link to his patrons as well. There is also information regarding the provenance and original display space of these case studies which allows for more insight into the contemporary experiences of the viewers. Within this subset of identified sitters, these three works were also chosen on the basis that they each display a different type of landscape that appears in the subgenre. The painted settings presented in these works are not formulaic since the landscapes themselves were used as an additional device that contributed to the self-fashioning of the depicted couples; the three case studies each display a different interpretation of the landscape setting that was a tangible result of the tastes of the patrons and the influence of the artists. The Massa/Van der Laen double portrait is a more imagined landscape of fantasy, while the Vijgeboom/Boogaart example is set in a real landscape, and the Del Court/De Kaersgieter double portrait is neither; it is an ambiguous landscape setting. The differences in the landscapes of the case studies will shed light on the diversity of the subgenre and the way in which the landscapes were used as a tool by the sitters and artists that aided in the resulting presentation of the public selves of the sitters.

0.2 *Historiography*

In the metaphorical ladder of studies on seventeenth-century Dutch art, portraiture has more often than not been relegated to a lower rung; until recently it was seen as a relatively straightforward genre that afforded few possibilities for exploration outside of biographical research concerning the sitters. This view has been detrimental to the study of portraiture as a whole as well as to the many types that exist under its umbrella. Marriage portraiture is one such type that itself contains a number of subgenres worthy of further research. It was only in the later decades of the twentieth century that steps were taken to rectify this previous oversight and approach portraiture, specifically marriage portraiture, with new methodologies in an attempt to understand and extract more meaning from this fruitful topic.

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[4] Frans Hals, *Portrait of a couple, probably Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*, c. 1622, oil on canvas, 140 x 166.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[5] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Portrait of Johan Cornelisz. Vijgeboom with his wife Anneke Joosten Boogaart in the garden of their country house at Dubbeldam*, 1647, oil on canvas, 102 x 130 cm, Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht.

[6] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Abraham del Court and his wife Maria de Kaersgieter*, 1654, oil on canvas, 172 x 146.5 cm, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

David R. Smith's 1982 book *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*, an expansion of his 1978 doctoral dissertation, is the first full-length publication to treat Dutch marriage portraiture on its own. Earlier studies that included marriage portraits treated the works individually, or they were discussed within the context of a singular artist's oeuvre. One such example, relevant to the later discussion, is the first case study, Frans Hals' double portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen in the Rijksmuseum. It has been both iconographically mined by Eddy de Jongh and P.J. Vinken[7] and discussed within the artist's body of work by eminent Hals scholar Seymour Slive.[8] De Jongh and Vinken's study certainly proved illuminating as it explored the symbols in the work related to love and marriage that originated in contemporary emblematic literature, pioneering the iconographical method's application to marriage symbolism in a seventeenth-century Dutch painting. This study laid the groundwork for a visual vocabulary in marriage portraiture that brings another layer of depth to the subject. Slive's discussion of the work integrates biographical details of Massa's life that could provide answers as to why this portrait is now seen as so unique among other contemporary marriage portraits. Seeing the great double portrait among the rest of Hals' work also reinforces its singularity; this was the only double portrait of a couple by the artist. However, research that puts an individual work under a microscope or in the context of an oeuvre can only go so far. Slive's study shows that the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait is unparalleled in the output of Hals, but he fails to acknowledge its many extant relatives in the seventeenth century. Studying marriage portraiture as a topic, and in this case marriage portraits in a landscape setting like Hals' double portrait, allows for all of these elements - iconography, biography, formal and stylistic qualities - to be synthesized. Placing these kinds of works alongside of one another and examining them together will lead to new, more substantive conclusions on the subgenre.

Smith's book focuses on the double and pair, or pendant, portrait in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. It is organized thematically into six chapters, covering topics like decorum and social form, typology and convention, symbolism and rhetoric, as well as examining two major artists' contributions to the genre, Hals and Rembrandt; the former in terms of his pair portraits and the latter's "conversation pieces." It is meant to provide a general overview to the topic, as Smith acknowledges that much more research into marriage portraiture needs to be done. As the title indicates, the author situates his research in the social psychology of Erving Goffman,[9] positing that these images are "masks" (based on the derivation of the English 'person' from the Latin '*persona*', or mask) or contrived identities of the sitters. According to Goffman, a person will project an image of themselves when coming into contact with others, and Smith then applies this to the patron's desired image that is projected to the viewer; marriage portraiture is a social encounter. The author connects this modern idea of the projected "mask" to Renaissance ideas of character, pointing to Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*.[10] According to Smith, artists like Rembrandt and Hals "in the Renaissance

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[7] Eddy de Jongh and P.J. Vinken, "Frans Hals als voorzetter van een emblematische traditie: bij het huwelijksportret van Isaac Massa en Beatrix van der Laen," *Oud Holland* 76 (1961): 117-152.

[8] Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals* (London: Phaidon, 2014) is the most recent monograph completed by Slive before his 2014 death that has built upon his previous 1974 monograph.

[9] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1959).

[10] Smith 1982, 7.

tradition" would have been familiar with their task to convey a patron's character through established visual formulas. However, Smith does not provide any evidence that Castiglione's work would have been known in the Netherlands or that this Renaissance mindset was still so resolutely adhered to in the seventeenth century.

The last chapter of Smith's book, "Hierogamy and Masquerade: The Romantic Marriage Portrait", is the most pertinent to the topic presented in this thesis. It is here where the Hals double portrait is grouped, along with other double portraits in landscapes like Bartholomeus van der Helst's 1654 portrait of Abraham del Court and Maria de Kaersgieter in Rotterdam, as well as pastoral portraits and *portraits historiés*. Smith pulls the titular terms from literary studies; "wedlock" refers to the conventional societal joining whereas "hierogamy" is more sacred, linked to romance and poetry.[11] The pastoral portraits and *portraits historiés* fall nicely under the idea of hierogamy, as they were born out of a literary tradition separate from that of the love garden. But Smith's chapter is not convincing that these types of portraits, where couples are dressed as shepherds and shepherdesses and literary figures like Granida and Daifilo, can be grouped together with other double portraits like that of Hals and Van der Helst. Coming from distinct literary origins, these works should be treated separately and indeed, already have been by Rose Wishnevsky and Alison Kettering.[12] Moreover, these types of portraits quickly became a trope and when a couple cannot be identified, it is extremely difficult to say whether or not the image can even be classified as a portrait. Smith points to Wishnevsky's idea that there is a direct correspondence between these pastoral portraits and the growing interest of the Dutch regent class in acquiring titles and becoming "country gentlemen," stating that such a link helps to explain the connection between gardens of love and the "neopastoral." However, his example of the Del Court and Kaersgieter double portrait is an odd choice as there are no architectural details or iconographic elements (a hunting scene, for example) that would allude to an estate either real or aspirational.

Smith also notes that these two ideas of wedlock and hierogamy are "not only different, but profoundly irreconcilable."[13] I disagree with this statement; here Smith falls too deep into the literary criticism he has cited at the expense of his own overarching thesis. He compares Simon Kick's *Portrait of Cornelis van der Graecht and Jobje Brootmans* (**fig. 4**) with another Van der Helst double portrait of an unidentified couple (**fig. 5**),[14] stating that though both depict couples in a landscape, the Van der Helst double portrait is much more of the hierogamous nature than the contrasting double portrait, and therefore fits better into the idea of a "romantic portrait." Smith is so concerned with classifying examples as images of either "hierogamy" or wedlock"

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[11] Smith 1982, 147.

[12] Rose Wishnevsky, "Studien zum 'portrait historié' in den Niederlanden" (PhD diss., Munich, 1967) and Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Totowa, New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., 1983). An exhibition on the subject was also held after the publication of this book: Peter van den Brink, ed. *Het gedroomde land: pastorale schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1993). Exhibition held in Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 29 May - 1 August 1993 and traveled to Frankfurt and Luxembourg.

[13] Smith 1982, 149.

[14] Gerard Donck/Simon Kick/Frans de Hulst (attr.), *Burgomaster Cornelis Damasz. van der Gracht and his Wife, Jopken Jacobs, in a Landscape*, c.1635, oil on panel, 76 x 106.5 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Promenading Pair*, 1661, oil on canvas, 186 x 148.5 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe.

that he does not acknowledge that this label ("romantic" portrait) is problematic as it casts out other double portraits in landscapes that do not fit its parameters, but nevertheless can still hold meaning and insight into contemporary marriage ideals. For a book where the primary focus is deciphering the social "masks" that couples are portraying in their commissioned portraits, it is an oversight to look only into those that fit a certain aesthetic mold while disregarding others that can still be related, especially in a work where the sitters are identified.

One last problematic aspect of this book is the lack of definition of what constitutes a marriage portrait according to the author. The only inadvertent criteria is that it is comprised of double and pair portraits, on which Smith focuses his study. To the surprise of the reader, it isn't until the very end of the last chapter that Smith makes a distinction between marriage portraits and "wedding portraits," works specifically made to commemorate a wedding.[15] More concrete ideas of what a marriage portrait is or is not would have helped to clarify this study.

A few years after Smith's publication, Eddy de Jongh organized one of the first exhibitions devoted to marriage and family portraiture in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. The accompanying exhibition catalog, *Portretten van echt en trouw*, is one of the other seminal studies on the subject. Here De Jongh takes what he began in his 1961 article with Vinken and expands on it by examining the works he has included iconographically, relying on contemporary emblematic literature as major sources, like Jacob Cats' *Houwelick*. The selection of pieces is mostly limited to those found in Dutch and Belgian collections, but it still provides a varied and interesting array on the theme. The three sections of the introductory essay cover the development of portraiture in the Netherlands from the late medieval period to the seventeenth century, the social context that provides a backdrop to the iconography of marriage and family portraits, and the idea that these images of "*echt en trouw*" are representative of the marital and domestic ideals of the period as seen in contemporary literary sources. De Jongh points to gestures like the *dextrarum iunctio*, or the linking of the right hands that signals a union, as such symbols that are found in emblem books and have been inserted into the visual language of these portraits. The catalogue entries themselves are broken down into seven groupings: "*Vóór het huwelijk*", "*De echtelijke staat*", "*De familiekring*", "*Liefde baart kunst*", "*Harmonie en huwelijk*", "*Ons dagelijks brood*", and "*Rollenspel*". They are quite extensive in some cases as the format allowed the author to go into more detail on individual works than what was seen in Smith's more general overview, as De Jongh includes context and biographical research in addition to his iconographic studies. The thematic arrangement makes evident the wide variety of topics that fall under marriage portraiture and while not exhaustive, it still provides a strong foundation for researchers looking to make scholarly advances in the subject.

More recently, Ann Jensen Adams has published a critical study on portraiture as a whole in which she seeks to uncover some of the "historically retrievable" responses to seventeenth-century Dutch portraits that in turn structured identities and social relations in the seventeenth-century Netherlands.[16] In order to reconstruct these responses, she notes, it is imperative that the context in which a portrait is viewed include the artist, the sitter, the patron (if they are different than the sitter), and the viewer - a structure that forms the basis of this thesis. Though artists

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[15] Smith 1982, 162.

[16] Ann Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4 and 56.

tended to specialize during this period, it is also necessary to consider that the works themselves were more often contemporarily categorized based on physical descriptions of the painting's subject matter as opposed to the defined genres that scholars have instituted and are used today, such as "portrait", "landscape", "genre painting" and so on.[17] What is referred to as a "portrait" in the twenty-first century was known in the seventeenth century more generally as a "*conterfeytsel*" if it was noted as such at all; it will be later seen that the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait was referred to in a contemporary inventory as vaguely as a "*beeld*", or an image of a human figure. Adams' study covers portraits of the individual, the family, history portraits, civic guard portraits, as well as a concluding chapter on transitional objects and potential spaces in which she outlines possible interdisciplinary studies of the process of identity formation, considering psychological approaches. This section also discusses the various types of frameworks in which a viewer's encounter with a work can take place. The chapter of family portraits and the private sphere would at first glance be most applicable to this study, but it is actually Adams' approach to the history portrait that I find to be most suitable to examining the landscape marriage portrait. She posits that modern viewers experience a "conflict between the real (portrait) and the imaginary (history),"[18] but contemporary viewers would have been able to move fluidly from one to the other; "such duality was an essential part of the experience of the work."[19] Such is the nature of the landscape marriage portrait as well, as it seamlessly blends the two facets of the more "real" portrait and the sometimes imagined landscape. Previous scholarship, like that of Smith, has tried to file these portraits under a label, like the "romantic" portrait, that does more harm than good as it puts the modern viewer's gaze ahead of that of the contemporary viewer. Adams' theory shows that there is no need to draw a line between more "romantic" garden of love landscape portraits and those that are portraits of couples in a more "mundane" outdoor setting. The weight of the impact on the viewer did not lie in the type of landscape itself, but rather in the contrived scene as a whole. Like the history portrait that placed its specific subjects in a historical or biblical scene, these landscape marriage portraits combined real individuals with completely imagined or partially embellished outdoor settings. The "slippage" between the real and contrived realms that Adams describes is integral to how they functioned for the viewer.

In her study, Adams also takes on the concept of early modern identity through an exploration of its components and how it was understood and manipulated during the seventeenth century in western Europe. During this era the region was was undergoing a period of political, religious, and economic turmoil, subsequently altering the very structures that shaped the identity of the early modern individual.[20] Adams argues that the analysis of contemporary portraits can assist in understanding the early modern process of identity formation as these works were a visual analogy of the various social structures in which a person existed, a belief that I am echoing with this thesis. Outside of Adams' 2009 book, few previous studies take on this concept in regards to the visual arts. Most extant works focus around identity in Rembrandt's self-portraits, with the more eminent contrasting examples being Ernst van de

[17] Adams 2009, 8.
[18] Ibid, 210.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid, 21.

Wetering's volume on the artist's self-portraits in his corpus,[21] and H. Perry Chapman's 1990 study on the same subject.[22] Chapman, more in tune with the ideas explored in this thesis, suggests that Rembrandt's numerous self-portraits can be seen as "a necessary process of identity formation or self-definition",[23] pointing to the growth of individualism that was occurring which resulted in personal reflections on values and beliefs as individuals of the period "attempted to reorient and reintegrate themselves"[24] in a changing society. Van de Wetering goes against this idea, instead suggesting that the artist was not using his self-portraits as a medium in which to explore the facets of his own self-identity, but that he rather understood them as a response to a demand in the art market for artists' likenesses, concluding that for Rembrandt these kinds of paintings were "no more than commodities produced for a particular sector in the art market."[25] Chapman's study laid the groundwork for an examination of early modern identity, but since it is set as the backdrop for the self-portraits of Rembrandt, it has not entirely filled the scholarly gap that surrounds the confluence of early modern identity studies and the visual arts. Furthermore, an artist's own understanding of themselves and their ensuing self-presentation can be much different from that of the everyday citizen whose profession is not rooted in the arts, but displays themselves through this medium nonetheless. The average *burgerlijk* patron wanted an image created that would present their cultivated public self to the viewer. The artist's self-portrait is, whether intentionally or not, always also a self-promotion of their artistic skill tied directly to their likeness. Fortunately, Adams has begun to rectify this lacuna in her 2009 study by reconstructing the different social factors that contributed to early modern identity and demonstrating how they manifested in various types of self-presentations in the portraiture of the period.

0.3 *Theoretical Framework*

The landscape double portraits will be approached in this thesis through the lens of self-fashioning, a concept first put forth by literary historian Stephen Greenblatt.[26] In his study on the subject in English literature of the sixteenth century he suggested that "there were both selves and a sense that they could be fashioned," pointing to the lives and works of the likes of Edmund Spenser and Christopher Marlowe, among others.[27] This suggestion, though valid, then raises questions regarding the rate at which the vocabulary that early moderns used caught up to the evolving concepts of self during the period. Though the term "identity" will be used throughout this thesis, I must note that it is a more modern addition that I am employing for lack of a better term contemporary to the period and place. Notions of the manifold aspects of the self were present in the early modern Netherlands, but the Dutch lacked a lexicon in which it could be described. A consultation of the *historische woordenboeken*, or historical dictionaries, compiled

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[21] Ernst van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings: vol. IV The self-portraits 1625-1669* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff Publishers, 1982).
[22] H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
[23] Chapman 1990, xvii.
[24] Ibid, 5.
[25] Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter Thinking* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 302.
[26] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980)
[27] Ibid, 1.

by the Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal shows no equivalent of the"*identiteit*" that is used today in the dictionaries of its earlier variants: *Oudnederlands* (c.500-1200), *Vroegmiddel-nederlands* (c.1200-1300), and *Middelnederlands* (c. 1200-1500).[28] Its first known written appearance in a dictionary does not come until 1756, where it is defined most closely as it would be today: a unique self with characteristic qualities, synonymous with individuality.[29] However, "identity" in English that also follows this definition surfaced in 1638, so the word and its meaning in this sense could still have been available to the Dutch in the seventeenth century. The word "*zelf*" seems to be what was most readily available and used, appearing in dictionaries as early as 1625 in modern Dutch, with variants going back a few centuries.[30] As can be inferred from this data, it is difficult to find a precise qualifying term for this early modern phenomenon, so I will use "self" and "identity" throughout as those appear to be closest in meaning and in chronology to what the seventeenth-century Dutch citizen would have understood.

Greenblatt's concept of early modern self-fashioning was accepted and gradually applied to the art historical study of portraiture, as seen in Adams' *Public Faces and Private Identities* where concepts of self and identity in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century are explored in relation to the portraiture of the period. The following thesis will take this groundwork in a new direction by applying the concept of self-fashioning to landscape marriage portraits, images that have previously only been examined from iconographical perspectives that led to their erroneous "romantic" label. Within this framework, it is then possible to make the argument that the portraits were more than just nuptial images; they are highly constructed public self-presentations of the sitters. Previous examinations into early modern self-fashioning, like that of Greenblatt, only considered the role of the individual who was doing the self-fashioning. The role of those perceiving the resulting self-fashioned image was not taken into account, despite the assumption of their presence in the process; when fashioning a self, it is implied that this self is then meant to be displayed to a viewer otherwise the self-fashioning is rendered moot. In this thesis I will amend and expand on this approach by drawing in all of the players involved in the production of the landscape double portraits - including artists and viewers - to illustrate that self-fashioning can go beyond the sitters themselves and be impacted by other satellite forces in portraiture.

0.4 *Methodology*

Since the seventeenth-century individuals depicted in these double portraits constructed and manipulated the way they present themselves in the resulting images, the works themselves are then some of the most important sources used in this thesis, with the selected case studies being the point of departure for the ensuing discussion. In the first three sections of the first chapter, the works will be explored through visual and iconographical analysis in order to discover which details of the paintings, from clothing and accessories to aspects of the landscape

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[28] Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, "Historische woordenboeken: Nederlands en Fries," accessed April 10, 2018, gtb.inl.nl.

[29] Ibid, given definition: "Het in zichzelf één, blijvend, uniek zijn; het hebben van kenmerkende eigenschappen; individualiteit." No dated origins are available for either "individueel" or "individualiteit".

[30] Ibid. It must be noted that these are the first recorded instance of the words being written and defined, so they could have been used at an earlier date only verbally.

itself, were representative of both the couples' personal details like their economic and professional statuses, as well as indicators of the main cultural institution of marriage that is ever-present in these images. The paintings themselves cannot be taken as credible documentary sources of the biographies of the sitters, but they instead offer insight into the sitters' self-conscious attempts at identity formation in these instances. Archival documents such as inventories and notes of sale will be relied upon additionally as concrete biographical sources; the sketch of the sitters' lives provided here will then highlight which aspects were included or excluded in their landscape double portraits. Contemporary philosophy on the self, most prominently that of Michel de Montaigne, will also be briefly considered in the fourth section in order to assemble an overview of how aware individuals were of their "selves" during the period. Montaigne's writings were widely disseminated and read in the Netherlands in the seventeenth-century; his influence on Dutch literature and its subsequent availability to and potential influence on the sitters will be explored.

Since the sitters were not the only ones whose influence is seen in the final product, other contemporary documents like baptismal and personal records will be used in the following chapter to realize the nature of the relationships between the sitters and the artists who painted them and to establish the social networks in which artists and sitters existed. These personal relationships and networks are integral to the discussion as they were some of the peer groups in which identity formation operated. Art theory of the period will also be consulted, particularly the writings of Samuel van Hoogstraten as he produced one of the case studies, to get a clearer idea of how the artists' theoretical approach to painting - what subjects or methods they may have deemed most important - may have influenced the appearance of the sitters and the landscape in which they are situated. A stylistic analysis of each case study's artist will be included as well in order to determine if and how the artist's personal touch was a comment on the status of the sitters as connoisseurs.

Contemporary art theoretical writing also includes ideas on how paintings, and portraits in particular, were approached and interacted with during the period; these ideas will be consulted when reconstructing the seventeenth-century viewer's experience in the last chapter. In addition to theory, contemporary inventories and extant provenances will also be consulted to answer the questions of original locations and subsequent viewers beyond the sitters, rounding out the "where" and "who" of viewership. Through this combination of methods, it is made clear that these landscape marriage portraits were indeed products of self-fashioning. They were a means by which one could present a controlled image of themselves publicly in the burgeoning civic experiment of the Dutch Republic, a society that was still coming into its own after decades of political and religious strife. As Adams suggests, portraits were active agents in identity creation during the period;[31] they were translations of the different personal, social, and professional coteries to which an individual belonged, initially formulated according to the wishes of the individual. The rising popularity and accessibility of marriage portraiture in the Netherlands led to a diversification of the genre and the birth of subgenres like the landscape variation at hand. This variety offered allowed couples to represent themselves in a manner more

[31] Adams 2009, 21.

suited to their specific desires and was a consequent component in the advancement of individualism in the seventeenth century.

Chapter I: *Dramatis personae*

Portraits begin with the patron. In most cases, the patrons are also the sitters of the manifold portraits that have survived to the present day. They are the impetus of creation, as they commission the work and are more often than not responsible for delineating the visual program of their likenesses. Consequently, their presence in the finished product is visible through more than just a representation of their physical image.

Since the images discussed in this thesis are blends of portrait and landscape, I will first become familiar with the biographies of the portrayed sitters by considering who they were, examining their professions and their possessions, as all of this information may have affected the resulting portraits, particularly the landscape in which they reside. Of course, these individuals were among some of the wealthiest citizens of the Republic during the period. In their cases, their money bought them status, power, and material possessions, but in a less tangible sense, it also bought them a place in history's memory. Their wealth and prominence meant that their lives and activities were more well-recorded, especially visually, than those of their less fortunate fellow-citizens, whose identities have been lost to time. There are still many portraits of affluent citizens who remain a mystery, but they belong to the same strata as those we have identified, and their images remain available even if their names are not. After getting to know the patrons themselves, the state of relevant cultural institutions to which they belonged will be assessed in order to understand how these social peer groups impacted the way they fashioned their likenesses through portraiture. I will explore the development of the early modern awareness of the self through contemporary sources ranging from the earlier writings of French philosopher Michel de Montaigne, one of the first writers to turn his intellectual insight inward on himself, to Dutch texts both literary and didactic, like dictionaries, to determine the degree to which the patrons would have be aware of a self that could be constructed and how they utilized this concept in their own portrayals. Finally, the institution of marriage is fundamental to the discussion since the sitters in these case studies, and in all landscape double portraits, present themselves as a unit, strengthened by the format of the double portrait itself. It is this aspect of themselves that the sitters have chosen to highlight most clearly in these paintings, so it will prove useful to examine contemporary concepts of marriage and the roles of the genders within this union, often popularized through contemporary literature like Jacob Cats' *Houwelick* and various *epithalamia*. A brief look into the garden of love will follow, as this theme was widely-known and established in Europe by the seventeenth century and easily evoked through a landscape setting.

I.1 *Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*

Isaac Abrahamsz Massa and Beatrix van der Laen were married in Haarlem on April 25, 1622, the same year in which their portrait is thought to be dated.[32] Massa was baptized in Haarlem's *Grote Kerk*, also known as the *Sint-Bavokerk*, on October 7, 1586 as the son of Antwerp-born Abraham Massart and Sara Trexor. Their Flemish origin was delineated on the various birth registries of their children, with Abraham noted as being "from Antwerp"; these

[32] De Jongh 1986, 124.

registries also include spellings of the family name as Massart, Massaert, and Massa, most often used today.[33] Massa's father was a silk merchant, and his mother "also carried on a business in lace,"[34] so it is no mystery as to why the family relocated to Haarlem, a hub of linen and silk production at the time. He was the older brother to Jacob (1588), Abraham (1590), Suzanna (1592), Christiaen (1595), and Lambert (1596). Less is known about Beatrix van der Laen. This is often the case with women during the period as their gender automatically ranked them below men. Since Van der Laen was the wife of a wealthy diplomat and merchant, she had no need to work, which subsequently lead to less of a documented historical footprint. A similar situation occurs with the women of the two other couples discussed in this thesis. Van der Laen was baptized in 1592, the daughter of a Haarlem burgomaster, and she resided in the nearby town of Lisse until she was married at the age of thirty.[35]

Massa made a name for himself primarily through his trade with Russia. In his early teens he was apprenticed to merchants who traded in the area, living there for eight years and becoming fluent in Russian.[36] According to his own narrative, *Een Cort Verhael van Begin en Oorspronck deser Tegenwoordighe Oorloogen en Troebelen in Moscouia totten jahre 1610 onder 't Gouuernement van Diuerse Vorsten Aldaer*, or a history of the troubles he witnessed in Moscow, he was never formally educated.[37] Massa returned to Holland in May of 1609, but he would make three more extended trips to Russia before his marriage in 1622 and three more known trips afterwards.[38] In addition to his activities as a merchant, Massa was also known for his cartographic contributions. He acquired maps of Moscow (**fig. 6**), risking life and limb of himself and his Russian contacts, as providing maps to a foreigner was considered high treason. He also mapped the north and west coasts of Russia and Siberia and wrote a description of the land there, as well as an ambitious map of Scandinavia that covered Sweden, Norway, Denmark, North Germany, Finland, the Baltics, and parts of Russia.[39] Precise details of his activities in Sweden are unknown, but they must have been considerable as Massa was granted a letter patent of nobility by King Gustavus Adolphus on March 7, 1625.[40] His brother Lambert initially served as an agent for Massa during his business dealings in Moscow but then became involved in the tulip trade and was also connected with various art dealers, a marker of his status as a well-off *liefhebber*.[41] Records of his other siblings are scarcer, but they do appear in the registries of the baptisms of their children, for which Massa sometimes stood witness.[42]

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[33] Johannes Keuning, "Isaac Massa, 1586-1643," *Imago Mundi* 10 (1953): 65.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid, 71.
[36] Slive 2014, 66.
[37] Isaac Massa, *A Short History of the Beginnings and Origins of These Present Wars in Moscow under the Reign of Various Sovereigns down to the Year 1610*, trans. into English by G. Edward Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 4.
[38] Keuning 1953.
[39] Ibid, 78. For a more detailed look into the maps themselves, see 74-79.
[40] Ibid, 72.
[41] Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: money, honor, and knowledge in the Dutch golden age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 122 and 148.
[42] Keuning 1953, 73. These documents will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Two children were born from the marriage of Massa and Van der Laen: Abraham and Magdalena. Massa must have passed down his business experience and linguistic acumen to his son, as Abraham served as an interpreter for a diplomatic mission to Russia in 1647.[43] Massa's professional involvements in Russia were even reflected outside of the home the couple shared on Kruisstraat 49 in Haarlem where, to this day, a *gevelsteen* reads "In den Moscoviter" (**fig. 7**).[44] Archival documents also show that the couple owned a property outside of Haarlem that was sold by Massa in 1642, a few years after the death of Van der Laen.[45] She was buried in the *Grote Kerk* in Haarlem on August 20, 1639. Massa married Maria von Wassenburgh less than a year later on April 22, 1640. Two sons were baptized: Jacobus on November 10, 1641 and Wilhelmus on February 15, 1643.[46] However, Massa would not see them grow up as he died just a few years later; like his first wife Beatrix, he was buried in the *Grote Kerk* in June of 1643.[47]

Eddy de Jongh described their double portrait by Frans Hals as "een huwelijksportret in de ware zin des woords,"[48] as the ascribed 1622 dating aligns it with the year of the couple's marriage, making it a true marriage portrait. Much has been made of the seemingly relaxed nature of the couple's pose, the first instance of such a composition in the Netherlands that I have come across in my research. Massa leans against a small sandy knoll, left arm akimbo, right hand resting on his chest. Van der Laen is seated to the left of her husband, resting her right arm on his shoulder, her hand casually draping off the front. Their smiles, also unusual in portraits up to this point, are a marker of their happiness and content in their married life. However, when they are given a second glance, these poses actually seem a bit uncomfortable. It is not the most natural thing to rest a hand on the hip when seated as Massa does. Likewise, leaning onto someone's extended arm like Van der Laen does seems tenuous at best, not to mention that this pose forces Massa to essentially elbow his new wife in the ribs. But these poses were necessary to visually indicate certain aspects of the couple's united persona that they wished to convey with this portrait. Massa's akimbo posturing is a reference to the long-established convention of masculine power.[49] His gesture towards his heart is a reference to love, also used to represent friendship and virtuous love for God.[50] On the other side, Van der Laen's seemingly thoughtless gesture is also no accident. This right hand, the focal point of the compositional group that the couple forms, is

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[43] Keuning 1953, 71.
[44] "Woonhuis van Isaac Massa," Oneindig Noord-Holland, accessed March 15, 2018, https://onh.nl/verhaal/woonhuis-van-isaac-massa.
[45] Oud Rechterlijk Archief Haarlem, inv.nr. 316, fo. 219vo-220. Many thanks to Machiel Bosman for assisting with the legibility and transcription of the document.
[46] Keuning 1953, 73.
[47] Ibid.
[48] De Jongh 1986, 124.
[49] Smith 1982, 43. See also Jonathan Spicer, "The Renaissance elbow," in *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).
[50] During the period, both marital relationships and friendships were based on the same foundation of virtue, represented in their highest forms as free from the stain of base carnal love. Subsequently, representational lines were often blurred and many symbols were used to represent both kinds of love. For example, in the 1603 illustrated edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the emblem of "Love Toward God", *Desiderio verso Iddio*, makes this gesture (**fig. 8**), while Rubens also depicted himself in this pose in his *Self-portrait in a circle of friends from Mantua*, c. 1602-05, oil on canvas, 77.5 x 101 cm, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (**fig. 9**). This duality is also seen in the symbol of the elm and the vine which will be discussed later.

a means to display the very reason for the portrait commission: the wedding band, their marital union manifested in a physical object (**fig. 10**).

Van der Laen wears her rings on her forefinger, a fashionable statement during this period as rings in the first half of the century were often worn this way, pointed out by Marieke de Winkel in her study on seventeenth-century fashion in Rembrandt's paintings. In later decades, it was more on-trend to wear wedding rings on the thumb which will be seen in one of the other case studies. Only women wore these rings; the wedding ring was often a plain band given during the ceremony that was relatively inexpensive.[51] Luckier brides of wealthier men, like Van der Laen, also received much more costly rings with diamonds and other stones.[52] This is just one indicator of the status of the modish, affluent couple. Their clothes, though in the dark "sober" tones popular at the time, are nonetheless expensively made and the height of fashion. Massa's ensemble follows popular French styles, while Van der Laen is dressed in what was considered the "Spanish style." As is seen in the painting, this consisted of a *vliegerkostuum* with *schouderwielen*, or "shoulder wheels", worn with a white ruff and white cap. This costume is also a physical reference to their married state. De Winkel found mentions of a *vlieger* only in the inventories of married women during the period, and in a contemporary Dutch-Spanish dictionary, *vlieger* is translated as *ropa de casada*, or marriage clothes.[53]

Outside of their clothing, the landscape in which Massa and Van der Laen sit also reinforces their married state. Though the couple is doubtless the focal point of the composition, the landscape takes up a significant portion of the work and is more than just a backdrop. Two sets of couples stroll through an idyllic and classically-inspired garden complete with a fountain, a statue of a female figure, and some peacocks (**fig. 11**). These couples are dressed differently than the central figures; their outfits are more in line with the colorful ensembles seen in the courting couples of Willem Buytewech (**fig. 12**).[54] More importantly, in these couples the women are positioned to the right of their partners, a stance opposite of the traditional heraldic positioning in which Van der Laen and Massa are placed: the man on the *dexter*, or right side (the viewer's left), and the woman on the *sinister* side (the viewer's right). This indicates their status as unmarried women, since in courtship women were seen as holding the upper hand, whereas the power dynamic shifted in the married state.[55] The landscape, most likely a fantasy space dreamed up by Hals and Massa, then acts as a foil to the married couple. In the background, it is the space from which they have emerged, the garden of love of the young, and left behind in their transition to marriage. This is a joyous change, as is inferred from their smiles and from the plant emblems that occupy their space in the foreground. The thistle in the lower left corner by Massa is a symbol of fidelity, stemming from its German name, *Männertrau*.[56] Most importantly, the vine winding around the elm centered directly behind the couple is one of

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[51] Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 67.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid, note 99, 286.
[54] David R. Smith, "Courtesy and its discontents: Frans Hals's 'Portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen,'" *Oud Holland* 100, no. 1 (1986): 13. See Willem Buytewech, *Voorname vrijage*, ca. 1616-20, oil on canvas, 56.3 x 70.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
[55] Smith 1982, 87.
[56] Slive 2014, 72.

the most important symbols, as it is echoed in the poses of Massa and Van der Laen; she is supported by her husband as the vine is supported by the elm (**fig. 13**).[57] This emblem also appeared in Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, first published in 1531 (**fig. 14**), and Jacob Cats' *Emblemata Moralia et Aeconomica* of 1618 (**fig. 15**) to denote a lasting and mutually supportive relationship.[58]

Though this landscape appears fantastical, it could have been inspired by the aforementioned garden property the pair owned outside of Haarlem.[59] It has also been posited by Elisabeth de Bievre that the sandy foreground and vegetation are ecological indicators that point to the dune-filled outskirts of the city.[60] Despite this potential basis in reality, it is of interest to note that the couple was not particularly inclined to use an entirely real landscape to show off their status as holders of country property, as was the case with other landscape double portraits like that of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and his wife which will be discussed later (**fig. 16**).[61] Instead they chose to have the landscape function as an underscoring of their newly married state, signaled to the viewer through their clothes, the plant imagery, and even background details like the promenading couple, frozen for eternity in this initial moment of young marital bliss.

I.2 *Abraham del Court and Maria de Kaersgieter*

Abraham del Court, the son of Limburg-born Servaes Pietersz del Court and Barbe de Hasque, was baptized in the *Waalse Kerk* in Leiden on September 27, 1623. His father was a cloth merchant, establishing his business in Amsterdam after the family's short stay in Leiden, and Abraham followed his father into this profession.[62] He was an apparent success, setting up shop on the Kalverstraat and being appointed syndic in 1650, giving him the responsibility of determining the quality of the cloth that was being produced and sold by his guild. It was at the end of this prosperous year that Del Court married Maria de Kaersgieter in December in the *Waalse Kerk* of Amsterdam.[63] De Kaersgieter was also a child of parents who had emigrated from the southern Netherlands, art dealer Joris de Kaersgieter and Judith Cruydenier. She was baptized in the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam on January 18, 1632. The couple had eight daughters, but a lack of further documentation of their later lives leads to the assumption that they died early, though four were still living at the time of De Kaersgieter's death in 1660. She was buried on November 16 in the same church where she was married just ten years earlier.[64] After her death, Del Court moved to Scotland, continuing his work in the port town of Ayr where English wool was exported. It is not known whether any of these surviving daughters accompanied him there, or when he actually died or where he is buried; it is presumed to be around 1663.[65]

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[57] De Jongh 1986, 126.
[58] Smith 1986, 5-7.
[59] This cannot be determined for certain as the sale document gives no descriptive information of the property itself.
[60] Elisabeth de Bievre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures, 1200-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 105-6.
[61] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and Lucia Wijbrants*, 1666, oil on canvas, 134 x 161 cm, private collection.
[62] Judith van Gent, *Bartholomeus van der Helst: Een studie naar zijn leven en werk* (Zwolle: W Books, 2011), 240.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, 240.
[65] Ibid.

Signed and dated 1654 on the bottom left corner of the bench that the couple sits on, this double portrait is not quite as close to the date of their actual marriage as was the case for the Massa/Van der Laen portrait, commissioned shortly before or after their actual wedding in 1622. At this point, Del Court and De Kaersgieter had been married for around three or four years, but there is no doubt that this portrait was meant to commemorate their still-recent union. Del Court leans towards his young wife, seated to his left of course, gently holding her right wrist with his left hand. The hands are once again the center of the composition, and like Beatrix van der Laen, De Kaersgieter displays her diamond ring only this time on her thumb, following the changing trends (**fig. 17**).[66] This pose is also a variation on the *dextrarum iunctio*, the traditional joining of right, or *dexter* hands that was the hallmark of a sacred bond since ancient Rome, signaling their married status and reinforced by the positioning of De Kaersgieter's ring. In the portrait, the two join opposing hands as it is a more natural pose than trying to force the two rights hands to join elsewhere. De Kaersgieter looks out at the viewer while lightly clasping a rose still attached to the bush at her left. Roses also have a long history of being associated with love, with their blooms and thorns alluding to its joys and its pains.[67] It has also been suggested by Van der Helst monographer Judith van Gent that the particular flower held by De Kaersgieter, not fully opened, is a reference to the still-young state of their marriage.[68] The jet of water spurting up behind her, presumably from a fountain that is not visible to the viewer, is one last symbol of their matrimonial state (**fig. 18**). It could be a reference to the popular concept of the "fountain of marriage" that emphasized the virtues of purity and cleanliness through the symbolism of the water.[69]

The landscape is somewhat dark and ambiguous.[70] The bench that the couple sits on and the garden hint towards a possible garden space, but there are otherwise no indicators that this is a specific space, or even a symbolic fantasy like that of the Massa/Van der Laen portrait. An infrared examination of the painting showed that there was once a house present in the top left corner, but it was overpainted at some point.[71] I have not come across any documentation that shows Del Court owning a property outside of Amsterdam, so it is impossible to say whether this once-extant house was ever based in reality. It is even more uncertain as to why it was painted out: maybe it was not aesthetically pleasing to the couple? In this situation, especially in light of the overpainted house, it seems that the landscape functions more as a backdrop, so the more ambiguous the space, the better. Its darkness and relative emptiness is an effective foil to the figures of the couple that dominate the composition. It also visually contrasts with the brilliantly executed luminous clothing of both Del Court and De Kaersgieter.

Like the previous case study, the couple is urbanely dressed in expensive styles that align with the latest fashions. De Kaersgieter's dress is typical of the 1650s, displaying the new

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[66] De Winkel 2006, 67.
[67] De Jongh 1986, 172.
[68] Van Gent 2011, 241.
[69] De Jongh 1986, 171-2.
[70] It is possible that the darkness of the wooded background seen today is the result of paint discoloration over the centuries and that Van der Helst's original work was not meant to appear so mysterious. However, the ambiguity of the space remains regardless of the brightness (or lack thereof) of the landscape.
[71] Van Gent 2011, 241.

conical collar that had replaced the now-outdated millstone ruff Van der Laen wore in earlier decades.[72] Its rich silk glistens like water, decorated down the middle and along the hem with thick embroidery. The quantity of white Flemish bobbin lace on her collar and cuffs is also an indicator of style and expense, as is the black lace on Del Court's garments which was imported from France.[73] His slashed sleeves and collar tassels are another sign of elegance, along with his broad-brimmed hat. In addition to her ring, his wife is roped in pearls around her neck and both wrists, even in her hair. It has been suggested by Patricia Wardle that these outfits may even have been their wedding clothes.[74] If that is true, then it contributes even more to the idea of this as a portrait commemorating their marriage. However, their clothing also essentially acts as an advertisement for Del Court: the quality of the materials is a tribute to his discerning eye that he utilized as syndic. As a *lakenkoopman*, a merchant of a wool cloth, *laken*, Del Court was part of one of the Dutch Republic's most lucrative trades. After the French went to war with the Spanish in 1635, the port of Calais closed, cutting off the overland route through which Spanish wool was delivered to the southern Netherlands, causing it to be stockpiled in Dover.[75] Dutch merchants then bought up this surplus of raw materials at a low cost, encouraging the manufacture of fine cloth in their own country. Leiden was one of the bigger manufacturers of the *laken*, but the trade was controlled by an elite circle of merchants in Amsterdam of which Del Court was part. The material was one of Holland's pre-eminent textile products and was sold extensively in foreign markets like Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia.[76] This was Del Court's bread and butter, and even though the couple's clothing is more silk and satin than *laken* it nevertheless is one of, if not the most important factor of the painting. The scale of Del Court and De Kaersgieter, essentially life size, reinforces this concept. They dominate the space, their figures taking up the entire breadth and almost the height of the canvas. The detail and effort put into its execution far outweighs that of the landscape, which seems to just have been an aesthetic choice. Especially in consideration of the painted-over house, the best inference is that the couple wanted to be depicted with as few visual distractions as possible. They still wanted their double portrait to be fashionable and aesthetically pleasing, which accounts for the treatment of their clothing and the landscape, but they wanted no risk of competing with the landscape for the viewer's attention, which may explain why it is so ambiguous a space and why the iconographic program is so sparse.

I.3 *Johan Cornelisz Vijgeboom and Anneke Boogaart*

Johan Vijgeboom was born around 1600 in Dordrecht, part of the relatively isolated Mennonite community in which he served as deacon. He was a deacon in the Mennonite Brothership (*Doopsgezinde Broederschap*), a community which played an influential role in his life. His main profession was as a grocer; his shop on the Kleine Spuistraat was marked by a hanging board outside that depicted a fig tree, a quaint reference to his name. He was assisted in

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[72] Frithjof van Thienen, "Het Noord-Nederlandse Costuum van de Gouden Eeuw," in *Het Costuum: een geschiedenis van de mode*, ed. James Laver (Amsterdam: Van Ditmar, 1951), 240.
[73] Patricia Wardle, "Seventeenth-Century Black Silk Lace in the Rijksmuseum," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 33, no. 4 (1985): 217.
[74] Ibid, 215.
[75] Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 194.
[76] Ibid, 261.

the store by his niece Maria van Eppenhof.[77] There is no recorded date of his marriage to Anneke Boogaart, nor is her birth date known, but an estate inventory taken after Vijgeboom's death describes the painting and notes Boogaart by name along with Vijgeboom as the figures in the painting.[78] Judging by Vijgeboom's birth year and their appearance in the painting, this portrait was most likely not made to commemorate a new marriage as they would have been a bit older by the painting's date of 1647, though it is not totally out of the question. Boogaart died a few years later in 1650, and Vijgeboom remarried in less than a year; his marriage to his second wife Maria Jacobdr Metschaert took place in Amsterdam on September 14, 1651.[79] He was buried on November 5, 1665 in the *Grote Kerk* of Dordrecht, survived by his second wife who would live until 1673.[80]

While still in a landscape, the Vijgeboom/Boogaart portrait is visually distinct from the two previous case studies. Unlike the Massa/Van der Laen and Del Court/De Kaersgieter portraits, the artist has devoted more of the canvas to the landscape scene itself than the figures of Vijgeboom and Boogaart. Instead of a portrait of a couple against the backdrop of a landscape, it is more of a landscape with the couple portrayed inside of it. In the foreground they stand together, full-length, slightly to the viewer's right but at a much smaller scale than the other case studies. They are dressed simply in a reflection of their Mennonite background: both in black, offset by the whiteness of their collars, with Vijgeboom wearing a broad-brimmed hat and Boogaart in a starched ruff and simple cap. Boogaart wears no jewelry, not even a wedding band, unless it is on her right hand, hidden by Vijgeboom's left hand that holds hers. This lack of attention to the ensembles of the pair is in stark contrast with the previously-discussed double portraits, as the clothing of the other couples is rendered with great attention to detail. It is most likely the result of Vijgeboom and Boogaart's Mennonite sensibilities; they would not have been interested in the fussy and extravagant fashions of the time. However the couple did have financial means, so their seemingly-simple clothes would still have been made from high-quality materials. He offers his wife a tulip while they stand towards the center of an enclosed garden, symmetrically organized and neatly manicured (**fig. 19**). Hedges line the cross-shaped path, while a linear bed of tulips runs through the center.[81] Their garden is not populated with younger courting couples like the Massa/Van der Laen portrait; the figures in the garden towards the back left are also Vijgeboom and Boogaart, pictured in multiple locations to show their movement through the landscape. Outside of the gates, a large estate house rises up in the background, extending through the back and flanked by a smaller building to the right. Based on

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[77] John Loughman, "Portret van een echtpaar in een tuin: Nieuwe aanwinst van Samuel van Hoogstraten," *Dordrechts Museum Bulletin* 3 (2006): 4.

[78] Michiel Roscam Abbing, *De schilder & schrijver Samuel van Hoogstraten, 1627-1678: eigentijdse bronnen & oeuvre van gesigneerde schilderijen* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1993), 35. Original document in the Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, archive 20, inventory 101, f. 520v.

[79] Ibid, 64.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Though it is not certain if Vijgeboom and Boogaart were actively involved in the tulip trade, it has been noted (Goldgar 2007, 149) that Mennonites were one of the largest groups dealing in tulips and were particularly inclined to sell among their own, most likely due to the insular nature of their communities. Vijgeboom then could have purchased bulbs from a community member and had them planted in his garden.

contemporary documentation, there is reason to believe that this landscape was that of a *hofstede* in Dubbeldam owned by the couple.[82]

Though the exact nature of that property and the extent to which this painting accurately represents it remains unknown, in this study merely having at least an origin in reality is of importance; it sets the tone of how this couple wanted to be represented. As Mennonites, Vijgeboom and Boogaart were less likely to place emphasis on fashionable clothing or more ostentatious status symbols than their counterparts in this study. Theirs was a religious community that, though its members could and did accumulate fortunes through commerce like Vijgeboom, preferred to dedicate themselves to their familial and spiritual networks.[83] They would have preferred to have been portrayed in their space as it most likely was. Despite its garden setting there are no more illusory elements that are the hallmarks of a symbolic, imagined landscape. There are almost no indicators of their marital status, since this was probably painted years after their wedding. The patrons saw no need to commemorate the marriage itself with this portrait; it is instead highlighting themselves as landowners who enjoy their space.[84]

I.4 *Ideas of Self in Early Modern Europe*

Now that the biographies of the case studies have been established, it is imperative that the predominant conceptions of self during the period are examined in order to understand how aware the sitters were of a "self-image" and how they would have tried to construct it via their portraits. Did individuals feel the need to give cultural expression to notions of personal identity? To what extent was the sitter's preference for a specific manner of portrayal determined by traditional ideals and self-fashioning? By answering these questions, the landscape double portraits can be interpreted more accurately. This section will explore the degree to which the seventeenth-century Dutch citizen was aware of their identity and its changeability dependant on the individual's social context through prominent philosophical ideas in circulation, the contemporary language in use, and of course, visual sources that point to this kind of awareness.

The concept of the self was already coming into being as a malleable concept during the Renaissance; individuals were beginning to understand that by engaging in the process of "self-fashioning" (but not coined as a phrase until the twentieth century by Stephen Greenblatt) they could construct their own identity through artful manipulation of what they wished to reveal.[85] This consciousness that identity could be shaped inherently implies that it is a multifaceted thing - by controlling and compiling it one is actively deciding which parts to

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[82] Roscam Abbing 1993, 35. In the posthumous estate inventory of Vijgeboom, the painting is described as "Den schilderie vande hofstede onder Dubbeldam daer Jan Cornelis Vijgenboom ende Anneken Joosten Boogaert in geconterfeyt staen." However, John Loughman (Loughman 2006, 5) has argued that no mention of an estate was documented in his possessions. Vijgeboom did own land in Dubbeldam, where many *Dordtenaren* had land or estates, but the exact nature of this asset is unknown.

[83] Michael Driedger, "Mennonites, Gender and the Rise of Civil Society in the Dutch Enlightenment," in *Sisters: Myth and Reality of Anabaptist, Mennonite, and Doopsgezinde Women ca. 1525-1900*, ed. Mirjam van Veen et al (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 236.

[84] The original hanging location of the painting also has ramifications for the image that the couple wished to convey; this will be described more thoroughly in the last chapter on viewership.

[85] Greenblatt 1980, 2.

include, highlight, and exclude. In his essay on self-representation in early modern Europe, Peter Burke points out that the context in which the individual finds themself is the determining factor in the act of self-fashioning. Depending on the situation, "people saw themselves as Florentines (say), as Italians, as Christians, as males, as soldiers and so on."[86] Identity was not a fixed conceit, but rather a flexible apparatus in flux according to particularities of a social situation. This versatile identity is pertinently displayed in the 1626 portrait of Isaac Massa (**fig. 20**), painted by Frans Hals a few years after his double portrait with Beatrix van der Laen.[87] The more introspective nature of this portrait is much different from that of the earlier jovial double portrait, without a doubt due to the contrast between the situations: one presents Massa alone, alluding to his professional involvements, while the other is Massa the married man, united with his wife under the mantle of marriage. Since the double portrait was most likely painted as a celebration of the nuptials of Massa and Van der Laen, symbols of love and marriage abound in order to reinforce the newly-joined status of the couple. The seeming-casualness of their intertwined pose also presents a united front; there is no room for doubt in this portrait that the couple is choosing to hone in on their shared identity as a married pair. However in the 1626 portrait of Massa where he is depicted alone, the landscape painted behind him no longer refers to him as the proud new husband, but rather as the active, worldly merchant who has established himself through business and diplomatic ties to Russia.[88] In both cases, Massa utilized portraiture as a tool through which different aspects of his public self could be displayed as separate images, highlighting the early modern mentality of a self-presentation dependent on peer groups of which the sitter was part.

I am not aware of any extant singular portraits of the other five members of my case studies, but even without a visual foil their double portraits are evidence enough that the institution of marriage is the foundation on which they are shaping and presenting themselves in these images. Their format also assists in this goal; their existence in the same space within a singular frame ensures that they can never be separated, inextricably linking themselves to one another, a tangible reminder of the bonds of marriage. Contemporary ideas of self mirrored this connection. Ann Jensen Adams has noted that individuals, though still in possession of a sense of self, were always seeing that self in terms of its many social situations, as a human in relation to other human beings; this is known as "distributed agency". This would be through communal groups that were familial, religious, political, or professional.[89] In these case studies, it is of course more familial, specifically marital, as the couples in question would have understood their own identities in relation to that of their spouse. This was made manifest in these portraits through visual cues like the previously-discussed heraldic positioning of the sexes, since women had to defer to their husbands once wedded in the marital state.

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[86] Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," in *Rewriting the self: histories from the Renaissance to the present*, ed. Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1997), 18

[87] Frans Hals, *Isaac Abrahamsz. Massa*, 1626, oil on canvas, 79.7 x 65 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

[88] This portrait will be explored more thoroughly in the following chapter, especially in terms of Massa's relationship to the artist.

[89] Adams 2009, 23.

Paintings and other material objects were some of the most important instruments through which an individual could construct their public self during this period.[90] Portraits in particular steadily grew in number during the course of the Renaissance and into the seventeenth century, becoming increasingly individualized and directly correlating with the heightened awareness of self and self-fashioning.[91] Naturally, these material objects were expensive and only available to those of the upper strata of society and subsequently, this freedom to explore identity and manipulate one's self-presentation to the world was a privilege afforded to a smaller elite population than society as a whole. These "cultural productions" emphasized and encouraged individual qualities as they provided a proper arena for them to be displayed to the public.[92]

This new turn towards an awareness of the power of self-presentation was the product of a long historical process which, for brevity's sake, cannot be explored in detail, but one of the main ways in which this focus on self and identity bled through to the seventeenth century from the preceding decades was through philosophical writings, especially those of the French philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592). Montaigne was one of the first early moderns to turn to inward to himself, pioneering the personal essay as a literary genre. In his most famous work, *Essais*, published in 1580, he strove to describe humans, but most importantly himself, in an utterly candid manner. For him, this was a means to self-knowledge; the "impersonal lore" about the nature of humankind espoused by Plato was no longer enough. He believed it necessary to root around inside and discover one's own form.[93] Through this method, Montaigne could reconcile "his own particular way of living in flux,"[94] and understand the ever-changing nature of his own self. His writings were an intellectual exercise in which he could explore larger contemporary concepts of self - what it meant, how it was perceived, how it could be utilized - by using himself as a test case. Despite the weight that Montaigne's writings hold today, they were not met with the same acclaim at the time of their publishing. Critics were naturally quick to lambast his works as self-indulgent and short-sighted. In the present, it must also be recognized that in his introspections Montaigne was focused on a male-dominated perspective of which women were not part. He believed them to be aesthetic creatures whose main virtue was that of beauty.[95] As this was the commonplace view in early modern Europe, it did not detract from the prevalence of his ideas, particularly the Netherlands.

Montaigne's ideas and writings reached the Netherlands through his friendship with humanist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), with whom he regularly corresponded until his death. Lipsius, in turn, propagated Montaigne's work throughout his intellectual circles in Leiden and Leuven where its reception was "immediate (dating from around 1585) and widespread."[96]

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[90] Burke 1997, 24.
[91] Ibid, 25.
[92] Jonathan Sawday, "Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century," in *Rewriting the self: histories from the Renaissance to the present*, ed. Roy Porter (New York Routledge, 1997), 53.
[93] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 181.
[94] Ibid, 179.
[95] Sawday 1997, 52.
[96] Paul J. Smith, "Montaigne and the Low Countries - Synopsis and New Perspectives," in *Montaigne and the Low Countries (1580-1700)*, ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3.

Translations from the original French into Dutch began as early as 1585, the oldest translation of his work in any language.[97] Montaigne's ideas on the self continued to gain traction in the Dutch Republic over the next few generations, inspiring later Dutch poets and emblematists like Otto van Veen (or Vaenius, c. 1556-1629), P.C. Hooft (1581-1647), and Jacob Cats (1577-1660), securing his legacy in this region. His work trickled out to a broader audience as well, as Paul J. Smith's research into seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch library auction catalogues shows; Montaigne's work was present in 38% of the catalogues, showing a consistently high presence over the course of the century.[98] Though there is no way for certain to know if the couples in the double portrait case studies were directly familiar with Montaigne's work, it is a safe assumption that his ideas of the self were in circulation even through to the seventeenth century in their Dutch environs, appearing in emblem books like Roemer Visscher's 1614 *Zinne-poppen*. In this volume one emblem shows a woman looking at herself in a mirror, captioned "*Ick geeft haer weder*" or, "I conjure her up"[99] (**fig. 21**) - a visual representation of the idea that aspects of the self could be constructed, or conjured, according to the needs of the individual dependent on the social situation. Furthermore, the accompanying text reads, "what role you will play in the world, must you form in yourself."[100] Though mirrors were often used to as a warning against vanity in still-life paintings and other visual sources of the period, they were also seen as a tool for one to understand oneself; the titles of didactic books were often presented as "mirrors".[101] This concept was even emblazoned on physical mirrors, as seen in a surviving seventeenth-century example that instructs its onlooker in large script sprawling over its reflective surface, "*Kent u zelven*", know thyself (**fig. 22**).[102] To know and understand one's self through their mirror-image was "more than an isolated notion" in the seventeenth century, and came from Socrates' ancient example of advising his students to examine their reflection in a mirror so that they may learn about themselves.[103] In the case of the landscape double portraits, the couples are conjuring up images of themselves as successful examples of virtuous marriage, formed through the medium of the painting. Contemporary literature like that of Visscher would have been very much available to the affluent and educated couples who were commissioning double landscape portraits, and even though it is uncertain if they specifically owned or read these sources, their existence shows that these ideas had become part of popular Dutch culture and were most likely familiar to its citizens.

Another interesting point centering around the idea of self in these landscape double portraits is that the sitters deliberately chose to be placed in a landscape, but still remain utterly individual. There could have been some idealizing here and there as after all, it is impossible to

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[97] Johan Koppenol, "The Early Reception of Montaigne in Holland: Van Hout, Coornhert and Spiegel," in *Montaigne and the Low Countries (1580-1700)*, ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 142.
[98] Smith 2007, 5.
[99] Adams 2009, 42, translation by Adams. From Roemer Visscher, *Zinne-poppen*, Amsterdam: W. Iansz., 1614; Amsterdam: Johannes van Ravesteyn, 1669, p. 154, Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
[100] Visscher 1614, Part III, no. XXX, 154.
[101] Eric Jan Sluijter, "'Een volmaekte schildery is als een spiegel der natuer'. Spiegel en spiegelbeeld in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de 17de eeuw," in *Oog in oog met de spiegel*, ed. Nico J. Brederoo (Amsterdam: Aramith Uitgeverij, 1988), 150.
[102] Thijs Weststeijn, *The visible world: Samuel van Hoogstraten's art theory and the legitimation of painting in the Dutch golden age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 321.
[103] Ibid.

know what these individuals *really* looked like, but they made the decision to be visually represented as their contemporary selves, dressed in their familiar, albeit expensive, clothing. This choice is noteworthy when it is considered in light of other options that were present during the period, like the very fashionable *portrait historié* (**fig. 23**) that involved dressing up as Biblical or historical characters, or the pastoral portrait where sitters were clad in either generic pastoral garb (**fig. 24**) or as a specific character from popular literature, like Hooft's Granida from his 1605 play of the same name.[104] That is why these landscape double portraits are so unique: they exist in their own space between more conventional portraits with nondescript, monochromatic backgrounds and these full theatrical pastorals. They straddle the line between reality and fantasy by presenting themselves contemporarily in a constructed or imagined landscape, though as was noted these could sometimes have a basis in reality. It is still striking to see that within these constructed landscapes, the sitters chose to retain their contemporary appearance which, at the risk of conjecture, I believe indicates some sense of awareness of the self whether conscious or not; the patrons knew they could leverage the power of their own image, perhaps slightly altered but still recognizable as individuals of their particular time and place, through self-fashioning. It also has to do with social status, as the patrons of pastoral portraits tended to belong to the titled nobility and those with more courtly leanings, inspired by the pastoral literature that idealized the lifestyles of the elite landed gentry.[105] This lofty root most likely did not appeal to the patrons of the landscape double portrait who were usually wealthy but self-made businessmen with no noble aspirations, as seen in the case studies.[106] The act of dressing up in such theatrical ensembles would have probably been especially antithetical to Vijgeboom and Boogaart and seen as frivolous to their Mennonite sensibilities, though as was mentioned, they did own property outside of Dordrecht.

Though ideas of self and identity were extant in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth-century, individuals understood their own self as a multifaceted persona that was adapted to the social situation in which they found themselves.. This was not the highly individualized and united sense of self that is dominant in the twenty-first century.[107] In this study, the persons in question would have inherently understood that these double portraits, and subsequently the images of themselves they projected, were very much placed within the institution of marriage and part of that social convention. This nuptial context and its influence on the landscape will be discussed momentarily. To return to the work of Adams on seventeenth-century identity, she rightly cautions that in this vein of research, it is only possible to identify the "sites of concern" and the debates that were occurring during the period, as the concept of the self and self-presentation was not as precise and neat as one would like it to be. In reality, it was "an unsystematic and frequently contradictory patchwork of inherited beliefs, notions, and assumptions together with personal observations in which physiognomic principles

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[104] Both the *portrait historié* and the pastoral portrait are their own separate (though related) genres, so they cannot be treated fully here. For an overview on the subjects see: Wishnevsky 1967; Kettering 1983; Jos Koldeweij, Rudie van Leeuwen, Volker Manuth, eds., *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historié in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

[105] Kettering 1983, 10.

[106] This is also the case for the rest of the landscape double portraits I have compiled in the appendix. Though some are of unknown couples, I believe their style of dress is comparable to the case studies presented here, indicating their status as wealthy *burgers*, not titled nobility.

[107] Adams 2009, 22.

persisted alongside astrology, humoral theory, and increasing confusion about what constituted character and what might be its signs."[108] Therefore, with this section I selected a few major contemporary ideas that contributed to this patchwork in order to illustrate that the sitters of the landscape portraits were indeed aware of the power of their self-presentation.

I.5 *Marriage and the Garden of Love*

The institution of marriage in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century was entering a new, more equalized phase thanks to the theological and humanist ideas that were planted in the previous century. Prominent reformers like Martin Luther and Erasmus were attempting to shake off the established Catholic dogma that advocated celibacy by promulgating marriage as an "honorable" state.[109] There was a shift in ideology from obedience being the dominant factor in the marital state to love, seen as a key factor for a "godly" coupling.[110] Women were still expected to be examples of virtue and to submit to their husbands, but in this changing notion of marriage wives were now seen as "trusted junior partners in the marital enterprise."[111] This idea, as Wayne Franits has put forth, was mirrored in the organization of gender roles that crystallized in the United Provinces during the seventeenth century as capitalism took a firmer hold on society.[112] More and more, work was moved outside of the home, and these professional exterior spaces became the realms of men. The domestic sphere then belonged to the woman, seen as the head of household matters (more in middle to upper class homes) in charge of maintaining the home, supervising servants, caring for the children, and when applicable, advising her husband.[113] Since business was now separated from the home, a new emphasis was placed on private family life that was distinct from the personal dynamics of previous centuries.[114]

Due to this increasing focus on blissful marital unions and happy homes, it was more accepted for Dutch couples to show affection in public and be more informal with each other in front of others, sometimes to the surprise of visiting outsiders. The virtue of Dutch women especially had to be continually affirmed to foreigners as they engaged in behaviors like kissing publicly, speaking openly, and strolling unaccompanied; this kind of conduct was unheard of in other areas of Europe, especially France.[115] Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais, a visiting French writer, was stunned when dining at the home of a burgomaster in Alkmaar who, after complimenting his wife on the meal, was thanked with a kiss in front of the company. However, he was able to withstand the shock and see the *gezelligheid* of the situation, commenting that in

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[108] Adams 2009, 68.
[109] Wayne Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 66.
[110] Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 421.
[111] Franits 1993, 68.
[112] Ibid, 64.
[113] Ibid, 64.
[114] Smith 1982, 10.
[115] Schama 1987, 402.

the Dutch Republic marriage "is as charming as it is holy."[116] This informality is seen most notably in the Massa/Van der Laen portrait, and though it is not the standard in the landscape double portrait, the subgenre still exhibits a degree of gestural tenderness not necessarily seen in other forms of portraits of married couples, such as pendants.[117] This is partially due to the format, as the couples have to interact in their shared space in order to avoid an awkward composition, and partially due to the location, as landscape and garden settings had long been associated with love.

The Massa/Van der Laen double portrait dated around 1622 is, as was stated earlier, the earliest example of a double landscape portrait by an artist in the northern Netherlands. However, there is reason to believe that it was directly inspired by Rubens' 1609 self-portrait with his new wife, Isabella Brant, as it is possible that Hals had seen the painting during a trip to Antwerp in 1616 (**fig. 25**).[118] In this Flemish prototype for the Dutch landscape double portrait, Rubens is also modifying an earlier tradition: the theme of the garden of love that stretches back in Europe for centuries. As was mentioned in the beginning of this study, I do find the previously-posited "romantic" label problematic for these portraits, as they are so much more, but the element of love in these images is undeniable; Van der Laen leans casually on Massa, smiling, while Vijgeboom affectionately offers Boogaart a tulip, gently clasping her hand, and Del Court twists himself towards De Kaersgieter, gazing adoringly at his young wife. It makes sense that the continuing emphasis on this emotional aspect developed in Dutch portraits of married couples, as the partnership and unity of marriage was uniquely strong in the Netherlands at this time. The wedded pair was to enjoy each other's company above all else.[119] Since the iconographical fauna of the case studies was already touched upon through visual analysis, it is now time to walk through a succinct account of the garden of love theme in order to survey the preexisting ties between love and landscape in early modern Europe that established the outdoors as an amorous space suited for couples in visual art, specifically the Dutch double portraits at hand.

The notion of the garden of love in the seventeenth century was one that was literary in origin, taking shape in medieval poetry but with roots going as far back as antiquity to the *locus amoenus*, or the lovely place. Homer and Theocritus had both been early descriptors of idealized landscapes in their work, but the the origins of the term *locus amoenus* itself are first mentioned in connection with Virgil; in his *Aeneid*, completed between 29 and 19 BCE, the titular hero ascends to the paradise of Elysium: "devenere *locos* laetos et *amoena* virecta" (Aeneid VI, 638), coming to joyful and pleasant or lovely places.[120] These pleasant places were used in classical

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[116] Ibid, 421. Originally published in Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais, *Le Hollandois, ou Lettres sur la Hollande ancienne et moderne* (Frankfurt: 1738). This is an eighteenth-century source but still proves relevant and reflective of an outsider's view of the familiar relations of the Dutch.

[117] There are indeed exceptions, most famously Hals' pendant portraits of Stephanus Geeraerdts (oil on canvas, 115.4 x 87.5 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp) and Isabella Coymans (oil on canvas, 116 x 86 cm, private collection), from around 1650.

[118] Smith 1982, 153. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Honeysuckle Bower*, c. 1609, oil on canvas, 178 x 136.5 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[119] Schama 1987, 421.

[120] Ernst Robert Curtius, "The Ideal Landscape," in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Bern: Francke, 1948; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 192. Italics mine to emphasis the origin points of the term.

literature as rhetorically ekphrastic devices as a means for the writer to exercise their descriptive skills.[121] It was not until the fourth century that commentator Servius connected "amoenus" to "amor", a linguistic parallel comparable to that of "lovely" and "love" in English.[122] The "lovely place" then becomes a place of love. This concept filtered down through the centuries, reappearing most prominently in poetry of northern Europe in the Middle Ages where the literary garden of love begins to cross over and materialize into a visual theme. One of the best and well-known examples of this transition is the French poem *Roman de la Rose*, first written in 1230 by Guillaume de Loris then continued by Jean de Meun around 1275; it enjoyed immense and continual popularity in the following fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was even translated into Middle Dutch around 1280. In the poem, the first-person narrator recounts a dreamlike vision to the reader in which he pursues his love, the titular Rose, through an allegorical enclosed garden - a tale of love set in a lovely place.

Hundreds of sets of illustrations of the *Roman* survive, constituting the first visual programs of the garden of love (**fig. 26**).[123] However, not much is known about how these illuminated copies were commissioned and executed, or if any kind of formal instructions were given to the illuminators.[124] The images are fairly simple, depicting the protagonist as he passes through garden settings, often with foliage and fountains as hallmarks. They seem to be blends of pagan gardens devoted to Venus, goddess of love, the Biblical *hortus conclusus* often associated with Marian imagery, and Edenic paradises.[125] The walled aspect of the gardens also echo the courtyards that were found in medieval castles and estates during the period. The overarching popularity of the *Roman* spread these illustrations around northern Europe, where in the following centuries the garden images began to take on a life of their own, becoming more populated with animals and figures engaging in activities like drinking from a single cup, feasting, joining hands, and crowning each other with garlands; actions that are directly related to contemporary practices of engagement and matrimony.[126] Lovers in gardens were also often-used topoi in allegorical illustrations of the spring season or associated months.[127] The theme grew so prevalent and so diverse that it began to branch out in different directions, from more low-brow

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[121] Ibid, 192.
[122] Curtius 1948, 192.
[123] Literary scholar John V. Fleming has analyzed these extant illustrations in his full-length study and provides much more detail than can be gone into here. See John V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).
[124] Fleming 1969, ix.
[125] De Lorris alludes to three specific texts in the *Roman* that touch on both of these aspects: *Somnium Scipionis* by Cicero, the *Ars amatoria* by Ovid, and the Latin bible. See John V. Fleming, "The Garden of the *Roman de la Rose*: Vision of Landscape or Landscape of Vision?" in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington: Meriden-Stinehour Press, 1986), 209.
[126] Roberta Smith Favis has analyzed the theme in Netherlandish and German engravings, where it took hold most strongly. See: Roberta Smith Favis, "The Garden of Love in Fifteenth Century Netherlandish and German Engravings: Some Studies in Secular Iconography in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974). The garden of love theme also made its way to Italy during the Renaissance, but it died out much sooner there than it did in northern Europe. See: Paul F. Watson, *The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance* (Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press, 1979).
[127] Sara Miller Wages, "Changing views: the origins and iconology of garden images in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1999), 16-17.

and sexually explicit depictions that tended to be produced only in prints to more virtuous images, and more relevant to this study, portraits.

In the Netherlands of the seventeenth century, the garden of love theme was still echoed in contemporary literature, seen especially in the poetry of P.C. Hooft and Jacob Cats where it crossed over into the realm of marriage, celebrating the new reformed ideas of the period. Some of Hooft's poetry drew on another ancient tradition, *epithalamia*, or poems written for brides on the way to the marital chamber; one of his such works described a wedded couple's first union as climaxing in a garden full of flowers.[128] Similarly, the frontispiece for Cats' 1625 *Houwelick*, a didactic work addressed to women through all stages of their lives, including that of maiden and wife, depicts couples strolling through a garden setting (**fig. 27**).[129] As is usually the case, there is no hard proof that couples had read these works, but their prevalence in society combined with the rich tradition of the garden of love that prevailed over the centuries in northern Europe is evidence enough for the theme making its way in popular culture as a familiar trope. By the seventeenth century it was so established that patrons could evoke the garden of love by using an outdoor setting in their portraits, while adjusting the landscape to still suit their own purposes, like using a real landscape in the case of Vijgeboom and Boogaart.

As was seen, the patrons' selection of the landscape double portrait format was colored by a variety of influences, both personal and societal. Couples could choose to directly celebrate a recent marriage, focus on their newly-married status, or highlight their social or professional identities. Some also utilized their landscape portraits as records of their extant properties, placing more emphasis on the setting itself over nuptial symbolism. All of these options were made possible by a growing early modern self-awareness and philosophies that explored the mutability of identity; individuals could select which aspects of themselves to display depending on what they wanted to convey in specific social contexts or to certain peer groups. In the context of marriage, particular to the subject at hand, a landscape setting echoed the long-established garden of love theme. These outdoor spaces could evoke more sentimental emotions that were in tune with the affectionate partnerships of the seventeenth-century Netherlands. From these presented examples it is clear that the sitters' self-presentation was influenced by aspects of their personal details, but also by the cultural institutions to which they belonged. The weight of choice was held in the hands of the sitters, but as will be demonstrated in the succeeding chapters, a complete understanding of landscape double portraits can only be achieved by marrying the roles of the patrons with those of their respective artists and viewers in the resulting images.

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[128] Wages 1999, 22. Originally from P.C. Hooft, "Bruiloftsang op het Huwelijck van Willem Janszoon Hooft en Ida Cornelis Quekels," 1605, "Van Vlechten, Lippen, Hals, op dat ick niet wil noemen, T'hans keerende op het geen dat ghy nu overslaet: Soo dweerelt wufte bye, in eenen hof vol bloemen, … ."

[129] Frontispiece from Jacob Cats, *Houwelick* (Middelburg, 1625), housed in the Universiteits-Bibliotheek Amsterdam.

Chapter II: The Artist in the Landscape

Alongside of their patrons, the artist is the other integral member in this relationship of mutual dependence. Though the clients were usually responsible for setting the terms and conditions of their own depictions, the artist's role in the final product can hardly go unnoticed. Patrons commissioned their artists deliberately, often on a basis of familiarity with both the painter themselves and their artistic style. This closeness, and sometimes friendship, between artist and patron directly shaped the resulting portrayals. It is much easier to accurately portray someone with whom you have an already-established connection than someone who you have only just met. Of course, in terms of "accuracy" here, I mean a more acute representation of the public personas of the sitters that were key to their representations in their respective landscape double portraits rather than an exact verisimilitude. In the three case studies examined in this thesis, the patrons all had a personal connection to the artist who painted them. The following chapter will outline the nature of these relationships as well as reflect on the impact of the chosen artists' styles and where applicable, theories, along with placing the landscape double portraits in the artists' oeuvres to see if they are derivations from other works or whether they stand alone. I will argue that the combinations of these factors contributed to the format and content of the three landscapes at hand and the subsequent representation of the couples who reside in them.

II.1 *Frans Hals and the Imagined Landscape*

As a painter of civic guard pieces and numerous portraits, Frans Hals was no stranger to representing individuals. He was also a prolific painter of married couples; about one-quarter of his existing oeuvre is comprised of these pendant portraits,[130] but the double portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen is the only portrait of a couple that exists in this format by Hals. There is no extant document concerning the commission for the piece, nor is there any surviving correspondence between Hals and Massa or personal records that recall their relationship, but the paper trail of archival documents and surviving works by Hals are undeniable testaments to the way in which the lives of the Hals, Massa, and Van der Laen families were woven together.

It is not known exactly when the two men met, but Hals and Massa had to have come in contact with each other before or around the early 1620s, as the date assigned to the double portrait based on stylistic grounds is 1622. Both men had familial ties to Antwerp, Hals being born there and Massa's parents originating there, but resided in Haarlem in the early seventeenth century; this community most likely provided common ground and was the impetus for their acquaintance. The double portrait by Hals of Massa and his first wife, Beatrix van der Laen, is the first visually documented instance of the artist and patrons' paths crossing. If the attributed date of 1622 is correct, then it would be around one year later when Massa would stand as witness to the baptism of one of Hals' daughters, Adriaentje, on July 21, 1623.[131] Massa's sister Susanna was also witness to a Hals family baptism: the baptism of Hester, daughter of Frans' brother Dirck, on November 17, 1624.[132] In a less decorous but nonetheless documented

[130] Slive 2014, 62.
[131] Irene van Thiel-Stroman, document #29, "1623, 21 juli - Doop van Adriaentje, dochter van Frans Hals uit zijn tweede huwelijk," in *Frans Hals*, ed. Seymour Slive ('s-Gravenhage: Gary Schwartz, 1990), 379-80.
[132] Ibid, note on document #91, 394.

capacity, the Hals and Massa families were further linked as Massa's nephew, Abraham (son of the aforementioned Susanna), was purportedly the father of a child born out of wedlock to Hals' daughter, Sara, in 1640.[133] On the Van der Laen side, Hals had also previously painted Beatrix's maternal uncle, Paulus van Beresteyn, around 1620.[134]

The close relationship between the Hals and Massa families, particularly between Frans Hals and Isaac Massa, is further corroborated by the existing confirmed portraits that Hals painted of Massa over the years. In addition to the double portrait of Massa with his first wife, Hals painted two more (known) portraits of his friend; the first came a few years later in 1626 (**fig. 20**), and the second was completed almost ten years later around 1635 (**fig. 28**) - dates that testify to the enduring quality of their bond.[135] Though I was initially hesitant to use the word "friend" to describe Hals and Massa's relationship, I believe, given the informality and intimacy of the subsequent portraits painted over the years and their additional personal entanglements, that the term is appropriate. As Luuc Kooijmans has pointed out, friendship in the early modern period was a qualifier used to distinguish the familial and social networks of an individual, constituted of persons that one would expect to stand with them, but also be willing to take responsibility for if such a situation arose.[136] There was also an expectation that the relationship would be mutually beneficial to its participants by providing services like money lending, marriage arranging, providing guardianship, and so on. Additionally, this concept of friendship was also loosely based on kinship, with friends often referring to each other as "cousin" regardless of the strength of the blood ties (or lack thereof) which bonded them.[137] With this in mind, Hals and Massa would appear to be friends in the seventeenth-century notion of the term. They did share a familial tie through the child of Massa's nephew and Hals' daughter (though out-of-wedlock), and both men were of use to each other. Massa was an affluent patron that provided Hals with income through his commissions, and Hals in turn provided his artistic services, helping Massa and Van der Laen to solidify their social standing through his representations of them. The 1626 portrait is particularly pertinent to the current discussion. Massa sits in an ambiguous indoor space, and though his chair is positioned away from the viewer, he has turned himself to face somewhat frontally. His gaze follows something to his right, and his mouth is partially open, on the verge of speaking. His right arm drapes over the back of the chair, and his hand lightly holds a sprig of holly. According to Slive, this is the earliest known life-sized portrait in which a subject is seated in such a way.[138] The informality of Massa's pose and the momentary quality that it exudes are repeated in the later portrait, as Hals

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[133] Van Thiel-Stroman 1990, document #91, "1640, 23 december - Doop van Maria, een buitenechtelijke dochter van Frans Hals' dochter Sara," and document #93, "1642, 7 mei - Verklaring van drie vrouwen inhoudende dat Abraham Potterloo de vader is van Sara Hals' dochter Maria," 394.

[134] Seymour Slive, ed., *Frans Hals*, exhibition catalog ('s-Gravenhage: Gary Schwartz, 1990), 192.
Frans Hals, *Paulus van Beresteyn*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 137.1 x 104 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

[135] Frans Hals, *Isaac Abrahamsz. Massa*, 1626, oil on canvas, 79.7 x 65 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.
Frans Hals, *Isaac Abrahamsz. Massa*, c. 1635, oil on wood panel, 21.3 x 19.7 cm, The San Diego Museum of Art.

[136] Luuc Kooijmans, "Risk and Reputation: On the Mentality of Merchants in the Early Modern Period," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. C. Lesger and L. Noordegraaf (Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995), 31.

[137] Ibid, 32.

[138] Slive 2014, 65.

once again captured Massa in a lively instance of discourse with his lips parted and his left hand gesturing. In both works Hals displays a familiarity with his subject and a desire to translate his vitality and individuality to the viewer.

This concern with conveying the sitter's identity is well-solved in the 1626 portrait of Massa with the inclusion of a small landscape behind the subject's left shoulder (**fig. 29**). Spindly conifers tower over the smaller trees in this forest scene, swaying and bending in the wind. This landscape is not a recreation of a Dutch vista that may have existed outside of the room in which Massa sits, but instead it is a pictorial device that is used to convey an aspect of who Massa was. This portrait presents Massa the man, a successful merchant and diplomat who, by 1626, had already made five trips to Russia, including his eight-year stay early in his life that allowed him to become immersed in the culture, returning to Holland in 1609 speaking fluent Russian and able to report on the turbulent events of the *Smuta*, the "time of troubles" in Moscow in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[139] The northern landscape, denoted by the looming conifers,[140] is a possible reference to this experience and professional aspect of his public persona, incorporated by Hals in a way that seems natural to the composition.[141] This small verdant view then functions in a way similarly to the much larger landscape setting that Hals had already employed in his double portrait of Massa and Van der Laen. Of course, the scenery and plants he used there were much different, as in that situation Massa is cast as the newly married husband and the landscape he resides in with Van der Laen exists appropriately in a world of love and marriage, as was outlined in the previous chapter. But both the solitary 1626 portrait of Massa and the double portrait with his wife use the landscape as a fulcrum to present different aspects of their public selves that are central to each work. The holly branch that Massa holds in his hand can be seen as a symbol of friendship or loyalty, an inclusion that further cements the existing bond between artist and model.[142]

Hals did use landscapes as a backdrop in a handful of other portraits, but most of these settings lack the specificity and individualization of those found in the 1626 Massa portrait and the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait.[143] I would like to briefly discuss these examples to highlight that though the convention of a landscape in a portrait was not limited to the Massa portraits in Hals' oeuvre, the way in which he connected the self-presentation of these sitters to the landscape was unique. His first use occurs in a family portrait circa 1620 of the Van

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[139] Keuning 1953, 65.

[140] Firs, spruces, and generic interpretations of conifers were often used in Dutch landscape painting to indicate a "Nordic" or "Scandinavian" scene. See Seymour Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael: Master of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 4 and 261, note 8.

[141] Slive has posited that the landscape was not painted by Hals, but by the Haarlem landscape specialist Pieter Molijn. See Slive 1990, cat. 21, 192 and Slive 2014, 67. If this landscape was indeed executed by Molijn, I do not think it detracts from the present argument since the composition itself was determined by Hals with potential input from Massa.

[142] Slive 1990, cat. 21, 192.

[143] I am purposefully excluding landscape elements in Hals' civic guard portraits as well as the landscape backgrounds in his images of generic fisher boys and girls. I believe their content and purpose to be too different from the topic at hand to warrant their inclusion in this discussion.

Campens (**fig. 30**).[144] Here the landscape appears to function mainly as a general background and does not add much meaning to the work. Though there was originally a larger vine symbolising marital fidelity behind the infant in the lower left corner, the success of the portrait comes from the dynamic composition and interactions of the numerous family members rather than from their relation and incorporation into the landscape.[145] Similar situations are found in Hals' later family portraits from the late 1640s.[146] Once again, the landscapes here are more generic; they are merely a space to be filled by the large families. The meaning comes from the personal attributes of the figures or the gestures that they make, like fruit held by the children or the joined hands of the parents. This seems to have been a convention that Hals employed, as all of his known family portraits take place in a landscape setting.

Two other portraits that incorporate landscapes exist in the artist's oeuvre. The first is his full-length portrait of Willem van Heythuysen circa 1625, the only solitary full-length portrait that Hals would paint (**fig. 31**).[147] Though the glimpse of a strolling couple in a garden is visible to the left of the work, the theatrical backdrop and cascading curtain before which Van Heythuysen stands takes over the composition. The garden is reminiscent of the one featured in the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait, but the proud posturing and ostentatious set is more Flemish in origin, aligned with the courtly portraits of Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. Details like the billowing curtain as a backdrop with inclusions like columns are seen time and again in portraits like that of Marchesa Maria Grimaldi and Marchesa Brigida Spinola Doria by Rubens, the titled nobility (**figs. 32-33**).[148] The presentation of a sword or cane was also a popular conceit in portraits of male nobles, most famously seen in Van Dyck's full-length hunting portrait of Charles I (**fig. 34**).[149] It appears that in this portrait Van Heythuysen was very much interested in projecting a public persona that would align him with the more aristocratic circles of society. But this does too seem to be a similar case of tailoring the portrait to one aspect of the sitter's desired self-projection, like the case of Massa, as Hals would portray Van Heythuysen later in life in a much more personal and relaxed manner.[150] His portrait dating

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[144] This portrait is actually comprised of two separate pieces, but it has been generally accepted that they form one coherent work. Unfortunately, they are still housed in separate collections.
Frans Hals, *Van Campen Family Portrait in a Landscape*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 151 x 163.6 cm, The Toledo Museum of Art, and *The Children of the Van Campen Family with a Goat Cart*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 152 x 107.5 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

[145] This youngest child was added in after her birth by Salomon de Bray in 1628. For a reconstruction of the portrait before the inclusion of this figure, see Slive 1990, cat. 10, 157.

[146] Frans Hals, *Family Group in a Landscape*, c. 1645-8, oil on canvas, 202 x 285 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, and *Family Group in a Landscape*, c. 1647-50, oil on canvas, 148.5 x 251 cm, National Gallery, London.

[147] Frans Hals, *Willem van Heythuysen*, c. 1625, oil on canvas, 204.5 x 134.5 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[148] Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of a Noblewoman with a Dwarf, probably Marchesa Maria Grimaldi*, c. 1606, oil on canvas, 241.3 x 139.7 cm, Kingston Lacy Estate, Dorset and *Portrait of Marchesa Brigida Spinola Doria*, 1606, oil on canvas, 152.5 x 99 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. The portrait of Spinola Doria also once had a landscape to the left like Van Heythuysen's portrait, but it was cut off along with the lower portion (it was originally a full-length portrait) at some point during the nineteenth century.

[149] Anthony van Dyck, *The King Hunting*, c. 1635, oil on canvas, 250 x 157 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

[150] Frans Hals, *Willem van Heythuysen Seated in a Chair*, c. 1638, oil on wood panel, 47 x 36.7 cm, private collection. Hals also made a later version after Van Heythuysen's death: *Willem van Heythuysen Seated in a Chair*, c. 1650-3, oil on wood panel, 46.5 x 37.5 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels. Two other versions of the portrait exist, but they are not by Hals. See Slive 2014, 181.

almost ten years later depicts Van Heythuysen once again in full-length, but this time he is seated in an interior, balancing on his almost precariously-tilted-back chair with one foot steadying him on the ground and the other crossed over his knee (**fig. 35**). Like Massa, he leans his elbow over the back of the chair, but instead of looking over his shoulder, he looks out at the viewer with a soft, open expression, his mouth open as if about to speak. This more intimate indoor scene echoes that of the 1626 Massa portrait, but it still acknowledges Van Heythuysen's earlier self-presentation, as he could not resist the inclusion of another curtain, theatrically drawn over the right corner. Massa was not interested in such airs.

The last instance of the artist using a landscape background in a portrait is a family group with a similar Flemish touch to that of Van Heythuysen's early portrait.[151] This work is intriguing in that it includes more of a domestic interior that features a table and chairs while still existing outdoors (**fig. 36**). The receding landscape is also compelling as it includes a manicured garden as well as a stately home in the distance. Unfortunately, like all but one of Hals' family groups, the sitters remain anonymous, so it is extremely difficult to ascertain what, if any, meaning the landscape may have held for this family, or whether the garden and house in the background may have had roots in any real properties held by the family.

Hals' style itself, seen in his recognizable brushwork, was also essential in assisting Massa and Van der Laen with cultivating an air of sophistication in their double portrait. In the seventeenth century, portrayal was sometimes seen as a performative act.[152] The "performances" could appear more natural, but they were nevertheless carefully composed. Patrons chose their artist for a reason; at the very least, they would have been familiar with the artist's previous works and style. As I have shown, by the time they commissioned their double portrait around 1622, Massa and Van der Laen would have known Hals as an artist and as a friend. They would have been aware of his skill in portraying individuals in a distinct and lively manner using his painterly style, appearing to dash off his strokes on the canvas, seen in earlier works like his first *schutterstuk* of the Saint George militia company.[153] Hals' spirited and recognizable way of portraying humans dovetailed nicely with contemporary Dutch art theory that expounded on the correlation between individuality and representation. Though there are few visual traces of Karel van Mander in Hals' work, aspects of his teacher's theory resonate with his personal style. According to Van Mander, a figure's individuality was best conveyed through specific activity, and in his didactic poem *Den Grondt der edel vry schilderconst* he provided suggestions for how to best differentiate figures through their movement and postures.[154] He concludes the section by noting: "Kortom, alle figuren moeten een effect maken naar [vereiste van] de kracht en het gemoed van iedere personage en ook naar hun activiteit …," or, in short, all figures must make an effect according to the power and mood of each and also their activity.[155] The distinctness of

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[151] Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Dutch Family*, c. 1635, oil on canvas, 111.8 x 89.9 cm, Cincinnati Art Museum.
[152] Christopher D.M. Atkins, *The Signature Style of Frans Hals: Painting, Subjectivity, and the Market in Early Modernity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 38.
[153] Frans Hals, *The Banquet of the Officers of the St George Militia Company in 1616*, oil on canvas, 175 x 324 cm, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.
[154] Atkins 2012, 47.
[155] Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, trans. into modern Dutch by Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), 126.

the figure must be portrayed in painting through their expression and physical attitudes. Furthermore, this sense of individuality was seen to be heightened if the artist were to depict his subject in one particular moment of movement - as is seen here in the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait.[156]

Hals captured this transience by applying his singular style and methods to a more informal posing of the figures in the double portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen. The relaxed way in which the couple is situated in the landscape, with Van der Laen leaning on her husband, is influenced by the familiarity that they would have had with the painter, as was previously demonstrated. Their casual poses, enhanced by details like Van der Laen's hand draped on her husband's shoulder and Massa's slightly parted lips, indeed give a sense of the momentary; they appear very much alive and could shift at any second. Of course, the pose would not necessarily be successful in conveying this sense of vitality if it were not accompanied by Hals' technical skill. There is no contemporary documentation on this work, but it is still possible to get a sense of Hals' working process by looking into the documentation and technical analyses of his other pieces. In his book on Hals' so-called signature style, Christopher Atkins suggested that Hals began to transfer his more painterly or "sketchy" aesthetic to his portraiture in the 1630s, putting forth his 1633 portrait of Pieter van den Broecke as a prime example (**fig. 37**),[157] but I would argue that this painterly element is already visible in the 1622 double portrait. Van der Laen's face is painted a bit more smoothly than that of Massa, but this was an oft-used gender-based difference in Hals' portraits.[158] Similar passages can be seen across the two portraits: The quick dark dashes under Massa's eyes and around his mouth that give depth to his face are almost duplicated in *Pieter van den Broecke*, along with the light strokes that suggest curling facial hair and the dark lines used to indicate the shadow under the chin (**figs. 38-41**). The treatment of Van der Laen's dress, particularly in the right sleeve and upper skirt (**fig. 42**), is also treated with loose, visible strokes that are even more "painterly" than any of those found in the Van den Broecke portrait cited by Atkins.

The illusion of a painting that was quickly and fervently completed that Hals devised in his works was the result of a deliberate multi-level process. The artist began with a basic brush sketch in black or brown that outlined the figure(s) on the already-prepared ground. He then painted broad sections of "underpaints"; black clothing was first underpainted in browns or grays, while skin tones were done in white or a pink/red tint. The last phase in which the figures and background were built up was the most elaborate, with Hals using multiple brushes during the session. He worked up backgrounds and figures at the same time, but he would often leave

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[156] Van Mander 1604, 49-50.

[157] Frans Hals, *Pieter van den Broecke*, c. 1633, oil on canvas, 71.2 x 61 cm, The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London. See Atkins 2012, 14 and 155.

[158] Rough brushwork has a long history of being associated with masculinity in art, noted in theory from Michelangelo to Van Hoogstraten. See Thijs Weststeijn, "The Gender of Colors in Dutch Art Theory," in *Meaning in Materials: 1400-1800*, ed. Ann-Sophie Lehmann et al (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 192-3. Anna Tummers also compares the rough brushwork of Hals to that of his Flemish and Italian counterparts in "Frans Hals - meester van de rake portretten," in *Frans Hals: Oog in oog met Rembrandt, Rubens en Titiaan*, ed. Anna Tummers (Rotterdam: nai010 Uitgevers, 2013.

the heads and hands for last.[159] This was most likely because the artist painted his models' faces from life, increasing the semblance of vitality. Commission documents from Hals' partially completed *Meagre Company* support this working method. Though it involved a back-and-forth struggle with the patrons that eventually ended with Hals losing the commission and leaving the work to be finished by Pieter Codde, the letters between Hals and his clients show that he required the sitters to be present for part of his process so he could paint their faces from life.[160] Since the artist seemed to enjoy a close relationship with Massa and Van der Laen, and they all lived in Haarlem, it would have been easy for Hals to arrange sitting sessions for their double portrait. Massa was in Holland from 1619 to 1624, the period in which he was married on April 25, 1622, giving Hals plenty of time to complete the work.[161]

I would like to suggest that Hals' style also commented positively on his patrons, acting as a marker of their elevated taste due to his distinct manner of painting. As Walter Liedtke pointed out in his article on Frans Hals, the art markets in Haarlem and Amsterdam were dominated by the growing upper-middle class, and these clients were generally more receptive to innovations in portraiture than their noble counterparts in The Hague.[162] As was mentioned earlier, Hals' bold, somewhat rough style was aligned with contemporary art theory that praised such a style as the superior way to create depictions of individuals that seemed more natural and more alive. In their selection of Hals, patrons like Massa and Van der Laen demonstrated that they were knowledgeable connoisseurs of art, in tune with current fashions. The style of the painting itself would establish them as arbiters of taste. Around the time of the double portrait, Hals was a well-known and highly regarded artist, having already completed important commissions like the *St George Militia Company* along with portraits of wealthy Haarlem citizens like Van der Laen's aforementioned uncle, Paulus van Beresteyn. By this point Hals' fame had extended outside of Haarlem as well, as he had also completed works for patrons in Amsterdam like his endearing portrait of the young but prominent Catharina Hooft.[163] Commissioning and displaying a portrait by Hals, especially one so large like Massa and Van der Laen's double portrait, would have also functioned as a status symbol; his distinct style would have been instantly identifiable in the strata of art-purchasing society to which Massa and Van der Laen belonged. The exact original price of the work is not known, but such a painting would have been a luxury object at this time that was an indication of the means and prestige of the patrons.[164] It size also demonstrates that the patrons had a large enough home with ample wall space to accommodate such a picture.

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[159] Walter Liedtke, "Frans Hals: Style and Substance," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 69, no. 1 (Summer 2011): 4-48, based on reports of technical investigation done before the 1989 Hals exhibition in Haarlem.
[160] Atkins 2012, 56-7.
[161] Keuning 1953.
[162] Liedtke 2011, 34.
[163] Frans Hals, *Portrait of Catharina Hooft with her Nurse*, 1619-1620, oil on canvas, 86 x 65 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.
[164] Atkins 2012, 155.

II.2 *Samuel van Hoogstraten and the Landscape after Nature*

Unlike Hals, Samuel van Hoogstraten is not remembered as a portraitist; his oeuvre shows a wider variety of subject matter, though portraits do constitute a considerable portion. It is also remarkable that portraits are so well-represented in the oeuvre of an artist who, according to his own theory, did not hold them in as high of a regard as other painting genres. However, an examination of Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, published shortly before his death in 1678, will show that the artist's ideas on the art of painting were already manifested in his 1647 double portrait of Johan Cornelisz Vijgeboom and Anneke Joosten Boogaart and were responsible for the realistic setting of the scene.

As was the case with Hals, Massa, and Van der Laen, surviving seventeenth-century documents link Vijgeboom, Boogaart, and Van Hoogstraten. There does not appear to be quite as strong of a relationship between the patrons and artist as occurred in the previous section, but the documents nevertheless show that they had familial connections and, for a time, moved in the same social circle. All originated in Dordrecht, though Van Hoogstraten spent some time in Amsterdam learning in the workshop of Rembrandt; he had returned to Dordrecht by 1646 as an independent master, shortly before the Vijgeboom/Boogaart double portrait was completed in 1647. Dordrecht was also home to a substantial Mennonite community, of which Van Hoogstraten, Vijgeboom, and Boogaart were part. Van Hoogstraten's baptism into the community at age twenty-one is recorded in the Dordrecht registers in 1648;[165] this practice of adult baptism was a distinguishing feature of the religion. Vijgeboom was recorded as a deacon in the same church and served in this position until his death in 1665.[166] Mennonite communities like this one in Dordrecht were often restrictive and segregated from the larger society, choosing to follow their own stricter policies.[167] It is highly likely that Van Hoogstraten, Vijgeboom, and Boogaart knew each other because of this highly insular group when he painted their portrait, though he would be forced out of the Mennonite community when he married a non-member in 1656 and consequently joined the Reform church.[168]

Further documentation links the two families, with sources specifically surrounding Van Hoogstraten, Cornelis Terwen, son of Vijgeboom's sister Jannetje Cornelisdr, and Cornelis van den Hoogenboom; the wives of Terwen and Van den Hoogenboom, Segertje Verbeeck and Lijsbeth L. Verbeeck, were sisters.[169] The three men stood witness to a statement of good conduct for a Hendrick van Heuven in Dordrecht in 1665,[170] and after returning from London in 1663 Van Hoogstraten was sure to bring back greetings to his '*bijzondere vrienden*', or special friends, 'Srs. Hogeboom en K. Terwe.'[171] Van Hoogstraten also dedicated a poem to his

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[165] Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 46.
[166] Roscam Abbing 1993, 64.
[167] Brusati 1995, 17.
[168] Ruud Lambour, "Het doopsgezind milieu van Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705) en van andere schilders in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam: een revisie en ontdekking," *Oud Holland* 125, no. 4 (2012): 197.
[169] Roscam Abbing 1993, 64.
[170] Ibid, 63.
[171] Ibid.

'*besonderen vriendt*' Cornelis van den Hoogenboom on his birthday in 1669.[172] He received other commissions from this family network as well, painting Terwen's family in 1661,[173] and a brother and sister-in-law of Segertje Verbeeck in 1650;[174] a work by Van Hoogstraten is also listed in the possession of Terwen's brother Jacques.[175] These documented connections show how Van Hoogstraten was linked to Vijgeboom, mostly through their shared Mennonite background and Van Hoogstraten's friendships with Vijgeboom's nephew and others in the family network. Some of the dates of these documents also subsequently show that though Van Hoogstraten was formally shunned from the Mennonite community because of his marriage to an outsider, the cut was not necessarily clean as he continued to associate and maintain friendships with those still in the community.

Even so early in his career, as Van Hoogstraten was just twenty when he painted the double portrait in question, the young artist was keenly aware of the power of a carefully cultivated reputation, as Celeste Brusati has pointed out in her study of the artist. It was no accident that, after the death of his father when he was thirteen, he ended up in the workshop of one of Amsterdam's most successful painters: Rembrandt van Rijn. At the point when Van Hoogstraten was taken in as a student around 1642, his master was at a career high having just completed the *Nightwatch* and was one of Amsterdam's most in-demand artists. Surely Rembrandt's clout would have followed the emerging artist as he established himself back in Dordrecht. Knowing Van Hoogstraten from the Mennonite community, Vijgeboom would have seen his return as an opportune moment to commission a portrait of himself and his wife from a student trained by a prominent and respected master. A piece from such an artist would, like the Massa/Van der Laen portrait, be seen as a status symbol for the couple and cement them as influential high-ranking members of the town.

On the other side of this equation, the freshly-arrived Van Hoogstraten was interested in using affluent patrons to elevate his status as well. He says as much in his *Inleyding*, as he instructs his readers that they must seek their "fortune" first on their own merits, but "then afterwards ensure, that through zealous Maecenases' he gains the favour of Princes or Kings: or gets the respect of successful merchant folk. For without the help of favourable supporters and advocates, who noisily promote him, it will be hard for him to become known."[176] For Van Hoogstraten, a commission from the notable spice merchant Vijgeboom was an offer he could not refuse. This eagerness to cultivate a prominent clientele was certainly not unique to Van Hoogstraten in the seventeenth-century, but his putting these thoughts to paper is more rare; there are no such personal writings that would provide insight into the theories of the other artists in this study, Hals and Van der Helst.

Since Van Hoogstraten was one of the few contributors to seventeenth-century Dutch art theory, it is more than appropriate to turn to his writing at this time. Though it was not published

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[172] Roscam Abbing 1993, 63.
[173] Brusati 1995, 373, D-18. Van Hoogstraten also painted the Terwens around 1648, 368, A-7.
[174] Roscam-Abbing 1993, 64.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, trans. Charles Ford (Rotterdam: François van Hoogstraten, 1678), 310.

until the very end of his life in 1678, the ideas he presents in the *Inleyding* were most likely compiled over the entirety of his career and can already be seen germinating in the Vijgeboom/Boogaart double portrait from 1647; his artistic principles would consequently be responsible for the nature of the work.

Van Hoogstraten divided his treatise into nine parts to accord with the nine mythological Muses. In his second chapter, "Polyhymnia", the artist expounds on portraiture, which he refers to as "*konterfeyten*". He finds it a lower form of art than other pursuits like history painting, but he nevertheless advises his readers on how to proceed down the path of painting likenesses. Van Hoogstraten's primary scruple with the subject is the ease with which painters become "beguiled" by the face to the detriment of the rest of the composition. He believes that "to be able to make a good face is very commendable, but to make a balanced figure with a merely competent face, is better."[177] However, he later concedes that this hierarchy is fluid; a portraitist's work can rise above its counterparts if "their faces abounded with some kind of intelligent animation,"[178] which the artist most likely strove for in his own depictions of human beings.

This preoccupation with likeness and the creation of a complete image in a composition colors the whole of his treatise; the undercurrent of the *Inleyding* is following nature. This idea was greatly influenced by the philosophy of Neostoicism that was prevalent during the period, an ideology that combined the elements of the personal ethics of Hellenistic Stoicism with contemporary Christianity.[179] In 1674, Van Hoogstraten's brother published the translated version of the main Neostoic text in the Netherlands, Justus Lipsius' *De constantia*.[180] A central tenet of Neostoicism was the interrelationship between meaningful human behavior and nature. Through this belief the painting of more everyday scenes and subjects fulfilled an ethical function, as they were based on an examination of life and nature. In this view, "even the painting of landscapes could be seen as a meaningful activity."[181] Nods to this principle are woven into Van Hoogstraten's theory; he never misses a chance to quite literally urge his amateur readers to use their eyes to the utmost and immediately transpose their vision to paper:

> "Therefore, O Young Painters! Let it not be enough for you, to represent the general form of your model, or of that person, whom you will portray; but to study, with a selective and meticulous eye, which beauties or particular charms, or what actual features you discover to be there, and then to copy those with all your might, by that means your face will live, and achieve a pleasing spirit."[182]

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[177] Van Hoogstraten 1678, Ford trans., 44.
[178] Ibid, 87.
[179] Ann Jensen Adams has previously connected Neostoicism to seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture, see Adams, "The Three-Quarter Length Life-Sized Portrait in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Cultural Function of *Tranquilitas*," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[180] Weststeijn 2008, 39.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Van Hoogstraten 1678, Ford trans., 45.

Van Hoogstraten similarly addresses his student readers directly on the subject of painting nature:

> "Step into the wood, O Young Painter! Or climb the hillside, so as to paint distant horizons, or tree-filled prospects; or to gather up rich nature with pen and and chalk in your sketchbook. … imprint the characteristic features of things in your mind, in order to be able later to help your imagination, whenever nature's examples are unavailable, with provisions stored up in your memory."[183]

The artist stressed the importance of observation in painting, sketching from life wherever possible so that these impressions could be recalled and used in later paintings. Van Hoogstraten based his argument for the elevation of the painter above the position of a craftsman on this idea of observing and recording the entire visible world.[184]

This close adherence to nature directly correlates with the type of double portrait that Van Hoogstraten created for Vijgeboom and Boogaart. It has not been fully confirmed, but it is assumed that they are situated in the garden of their own known estate in Dubbeldam, a village once located east of Dordrecht. Having been acquainted with his sitters, it is likely that the artist would have already been following the advice he was to later espouse, and at least sketched the estate and his sitters (separately, not posed *in situ*) from life before rendering them in paint. It is also interesting that, unlike the Hals and Van der Helst portraits, the sitters are not the large focal point of the scene. Instead, they appear as elements within their landscape, more aligned with Van Hoogstraten's interest in creating a natural scene, though in this instance it is the more cultivated landscape of an estate than the wild and untouched countryside. His format that emphasizes the scope of the landscape naturally makes the figures smaller so that they fit to scale within their setting; for this reason much less detail is spent on them. Their faces are rendered with individualistic enough features that allow them to be identified as Vijgeboom and Boogaart, but their clothing seems to be painted as a mere necessity. The tulip in Vijgeboom's hand is painted with more detail than both of the couple's outfits. This lack of detail is not because they both wear black, making it harder to render aspects of their monochromatic ensembles. Hals was appreciated for his ability to exquisitely reproduce clothing details in a singular hue, most famously admired by Vincent van Gogh who noted that the artist "must have had twenty-seven blacks."[185] In this painting, Van Hoogstraten appears to have one. Of course, as was posited in the previous chapter, this lack of focus on frivolities like clothing would have also accorded with the personal outlook of the couple. The artist's later portraits, like that of Ferdinand von Werdenburg[186] (**fig. 43**) and various members of the Pauw family[187] show that he was more than capable of rendering his subjects with more detailed facial features and clothing, so the lack of

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[183] Van Hoogstraten 1678, Ford trans., 139.
[184] Weststeijn 2008, 106. Of course, this is a condensed simplification of the philosophy and purpose behind Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding*. For a more in-depth and conclusive view, see the cited study.
[185] "Frans Hals heeft wel zeven en twintig zwarten." Vincent van Gogh to Theo van Gogh, October 20, 1885, letter 536, http://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let536/letter.html.
[186] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Portrait of Ferdinand von Werdenburg*, 1652, oil on canvas, 192.4 x 134.6 cm, Museum Briner und Kern, Winterthur, Switzerland.
[187] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Portrait of Franco Pauw*, 1671, oil on canvas, 125 x 101.5 cm, private collection.

attention on these features in the Vijgeboom/Boogaart double portrait is most likely due to the personal preferences of the patron.

According to Van Hoogstraten, "a well made painting is like a mirror of nature, in which things which do not exist, seem to exist and which tricks one in an acceptable, pleasing and praiseworthy way;"[188] he would also adapt his handling of paint as a means to mirror nature in the most complete manner possible. In his opinion, an artist should not be preoccupied with pursuing a certain style or establishing their own. Rather, they should adjust the manner in which they paint according to what they are painting. All parts of the visible world have their own distinct material properties, and the artist should strive to paint each component in the style that best portrays these properties.[189] This is demonstrated in the Vijgeboom/Boogaart double portrait, as the garden foliage is treated in a looser manner, conveying a sense of movement that would occur in the plants if a passing breeze was to send them rustling. The house and the figures are painted in a way that gives them a sense of solidity. Van Hoogstraten's work at this point may not have been visually recognizable through an acute sense of style like that of Hals, but this appears to have been a conscious choice. Consequently, the painting would have been a marker of the status of the sitters through the subject matter by depicting them as well-off citizens in their own country estate, as opposed to showing their wealth through the "brand-name" of the painter.

II.3 *Bartholomeus van der Helst and the Ambiguous Landscape*

Like the two other case studies, Bartholomeus van der Helst's role in contributing to the depicted self-presentation of the sitters centers around both his relationship to them and the way in which his personal style commented on aspects of his clients.

There is significantly less documentation that establishes a relationship between Van der Helst and Del Court and De Kaersgieter, but what survives is enough to link them through societal connections. Like the situation between Van Hoogstraten, Vijgeboom, and Boogaart, the initial acquaintance between Van der Helst and his patrons centered around their religious affiliation and location. Through his wife Anna du Pire, Van der Helst was a member of the *Waalse*, or Walloon church, the French-speaking counterpart of the Reformed church; the couple both descended from Flemish immigrants and established themselves in Amsterdam at the time of their marriage.[190] Similarly, Abraham Del Court was also the son of Flemish immigrants, and he was baptized in the *Waalse Kerk* in Leiden.[191] He married Maria de Kaersgieter, who had Flemish heritage as well, in the *Waalse Kerk* in Amsterdam in 1650. Unfortunately, she would too be buried in this same church just ten years later at the age of twenty-nine.[192] Housing records put the two families in close physical proximity to each other as well. Van der Helst held multiple properties in Amsterdam, but documents show that in the 1650s, the time he painted the

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[188] Van Hoogstraten 1678, Ford trans., 25. This concept of creating a "mirror of nature" that serves to "trick" also has implications for the experience of the viewer, but this will be discussed in the next chapter.
[189] Weststeijn 2008, 90.
[190] Van Gent 2011, 26.
[191] Ibid, 240.
[192] Ibid.

portrait in question, he had moved to the Nieuwe Doelenstraat. Del Court lived just a short walk away on the Kalverstraat.[193] Through their shared church and neighborhood, the couples would have been well-acquainted with each other.

The suggestion that the association through the *Waalse Kerk* community led to the portrait commission is strengthened by the rate at which this occurred for the young artist; it seems to have acted as a catalyst for his early commissions, with his growing reputation subsequently spreading through word-of-mouth. His very first commission, requested when he was just twenty-four, came from the church as they were looking to decorate their new orphanage on the Laurierstraat; Anna du Pire's grandfather was also a deacon of this church and may have put Van der Helst's name in for consideration.[194] The patrons were happy with his resulting regents portrait,[195] and consequently his star began to rise. The regents portrait led to other group portrait commissions, like his *schutterstuk* completed around 1640,[196] which led to commissions for personal portraits from Amsterdam's richest and most prominent families, such as the Bickers whom he painted on multiple occasions. By 1654, Van der Helst was an established portraitist for the city's elite, and the prices he commanded certainly reflect that. No commission documents survive for the Del Court/De Kaersgieter double portrait, but other extant commissions give an idea of the artist's economic situation during this period. In 1650, Van der Helst was contracted by Willem Vincent van Wyttenhorst to paint two half-length portraits of himself and his wife, Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst.[197] The artist spent six weeks at his patron's estate to complete the works and was in turn paid 330 guilders in addition to room and board and the costs of six weeks' working time. To put this in perspective, the average skilled Dutch craftsman made about 20 stivers per day, or about 300 guilders per year.[198] He was clearly able to carve out a space for himself as one of the more sought-after portraitists by Amsterdam's upper echelons and beyond, as he produced work for patrons in Rotterdam as well as the nobility.[199] By selecting Van der Helst as their portraitist, Del Court and De Kaersgieter would have been making a conscious choice as the quality of his work, his prominence as an artist, and the prices he commanded were a testament to their own status as wealthy citizens who had the taste and means to acquire such a luxury object.

Van der Helst displayed a great technical aptitude for recreating the qualities of fabrics in his works, particularly those of the bright silks and satins used in women's fashions in the second half of the seventeenth century, seen in portraits like that of a young girl from 1645 (**fig. 44**)[200]

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[193] Van Gent 2011, 28.
[194] Ibid, 37.
[195] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *De regenten van het Walenweeshuis*, 1637, oil on canvas, 133 x 147 cm, Stichting Hospice Wallon, Amsterdam.
[196] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Schutters van de compagnie van kapitein Roelof Bicker en luitenant Jan Michelsz. Blaeuw bij de bierbrouwerij De Haan*, c. 1640-43, oil on canvas, 235 x 750 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
[197] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Wilhelm Vincent van Wyttenhorst*, 1650, oil on canvas, 82 x 66 cm, private collection, the Netherlands, and *Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst*, 1650, oil on canvas, 82 x 69 cm, private collection, the Netherlands.
[198] Van Gent 2011, 33.
[199] Ibid, 41-42 and 229.
[200] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a Girl*, 1645, oil on canvas, 75.4 x 65.3 cm, National Gallery, London.

and of Maria Stuart in 1652 (**fig. 45**).[201] The artist's older brother Lodewijk was trained as a silk merchant, the profession of their paternal grandfather,[202] and living so near to the Kalverstraat's "Rode Laken," a concentrated area of cloth merchants, Van der Helst would have had the chance to familiarize himself with fabrics on a regular basis. His skill in replicating such materials would have been particularly appealing to Del Court in light of his profession as a *lakenkoper*. The selection of Del Court as *staalmeester* in 1650 would have furthered the importance of high-quality fabric replication in his portrait, as by that point his position would have made him a judge of the quality of the material that was being sold through his guild. Van der Helst's smoother, less visible brushstrokes are well-suited to the depiction of such materials, as seen in the double portrait of Del Court and De Kaersgieter. With these finer strokes, the artist creates strong shadows and highlights on the clothing of his patrons that more accurately conveys its capacity to reflect light as well as its considerable weight, indicators of the high caliber of the material. This ability to recreate draped fabrics, particularly one so reflective as satin, was a special challenge to the portrait painter and marked his exceptional mimetic skills. The effects of light on the cloth would have been observed from life, either through a sitting with the patron or via a draped mannequin (or a combination of both), as even the slightest change in either the light source or the position of the fabric would result in a different pattern of reflection.[203] The hem of De Kaersgieter's dress that pools around her elevated left foot is a particularly beautiful example of this combination of smooth shadow and highlight that makes the cloth appear tangible (**fig. 46**). Van der Helst's polished brushwork also allows for an adept expression of detailing, articulated in the lacework on both of the couple's outfits, De Kaersgieter's pearl jewelry and hair accessories, and Del Court's shirt tassels that brightly contrast against his dark overcoat.

It is also interesting to position this piece in Van der Helst's oeuvre, as it proves to be both unique and prevalent among some of his other works. This was only one of three known double portraits by the artist, and it does have the distinction of being the first. The second was completed in 1661(**fig. 5**), but the couple has not been identified, and the third, a double portrait of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and Lucia Wijbrants, came over ten years after the first (**fig. 16**). All are depicted within a landscape. At first glance, the anonymous couple appears to be set in a landscape that is just as anonymous as their identities. Other elements seen earlier in the Del Court/De Kaersgieter double portrait are paralleled here as well, like the elegant treatment of the woman's blue satin gown, and the way the man gazes at his partner and holds her wrist as Del Court does to De Kaersgieter. However, their positioning holds the explanation of their landscape. Here the woman is placed in the heraldically dominant right-hand position that is usually reserved for men in double and pendant portraits of couples. Such a role reversal traditionally indicates a pair of unmarried or engaged lovers, as before marriage the woman was seen as the enchanting love object whose whose beauty and powers of seduction left her companion utterly captivated, much like the partner of this promenading woman.[204] This positioning of the 1661 pair and its implications lead to the safe assumption that theirs is a

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[201] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Maria Stuart*, 1652, oil on canvas, 199.5 x 170 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
[202] Van Gent 2011, 22 and 24.
[203] Arie Wallert, "The Miracle of Gerard ter Borch's Satin," in *Gerard ter Borch*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art Publishing, 2004), 32.
[204] Smith 1982, 150.

garden of love, a place which, being already joined in marriage, Del Court and De Kaersgieter would have passed through. Of course, married couples can still retain elements of this love garden in their images as the aforementioned double portrait shows along with Hals' Massa/Van der Laen double portrait and others outside of this study, but these images also tend to contain more symbolic nods towards their marital status, differentiating them from young lovers.

The landscape of Jan Hinlopen and Lucia Wijbrants is also unlike that of Del Court and De Kaersgieter's portrait. Dogs pace at the couple's feet, a few figures populate the background,[205] and a carriage led by horses heads towards an estate house in the distance. This is probably Pijnenburgh, the property purchased in 1647 by Hinlopen's mother and left to him at her death.[206] These visible indicators of land holdings and Hinlopen's sweeping gesture are signs that the couple is situated in their own real landscape, pointing to their wealth and status.

Outside of the three double portraits, Van der Helst had also used landscapes in some of his other works. Before the Del Court/De Kaersgieter double portrait, landscapes only appeared in the background of a portrait of a man in 1648, the first instance in his oeuvre of a figure before a complete landscape,[207] and in two family portraits from 1652 and 1654.[208] In the case of the first family group, the landscape is clearly fictional, as indicated by the raised platform on which the group is placed and the cherubim tumbling around the scene behind them. In the 1654 grouping, the outdoor landscape proves a suitable and more natural scene for the artist to include routine symbols like the dogs and the fruit held by the young Maria (**fig. 47**). Like the Hinlopen/Wijbrants double portrait, this family group also contains architectural details in the landscape that connect it to an identifiable location. In the case of the Van Aras family, their landscape can be identified as the silhouette of the city of Haarlem lies on the distant horizon, therefore the estate in the middle ground would be their home in Overveen.[209] Once again, this serves as a status indicator and a commemoration of their family life, and these landscapes seemed to be a standard device for Van der Helst as an artist.

Van der Helst would use the landscape backdrop as a device more frequently in his later paintings, but most instances are of a similar situation as the previously discussed double and family portraits in that they all include details that delineate the landscape as either completely imagined or based in reality. These later examples include pendants of an unidentified man and woman where once again Haarlem can be determined by St. Bavo's in the distance,[210] and

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[205] The foremost female figure and the child she holds are mostly likely Hinlopen's first wife, Leonora Huydecoper, who had died after complications from childbirth in 1663, and their young daughter Geertruyt. See Van Gent 2011, 327.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a Man*, 1648, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 88.5 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. See Van Gent 2011, 203.

[208] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a family (probably Willem Visch and Eva Bisschop, their daughter Laurentia and her husband Adriaen and their son Willem)*, c. 1652 and 1661 [the inclusion of the child Willem], oil on canvas, 236 x 345 cm, Hermitage, St. Petersburg, and *Jochem van Aras, Elisabeth Claes Loenen and their daughter Maria van Aras*, 1654, oil on canvas, 169.5 x 197.5 cm, Wallace Collection, London.

[209] Van Gent 2011, 239.

[210] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a man* and *Portrait of a woman*, 1655, oil on canvas, 111.5 x 97.5 cm, private collection. See Van Gent 2011, 249-250.

pendants of Samuel de Marez and Margaretha Trip where statues of classical figures like Diana refer to more idealized, fictional spaces and the dogs that de Marez leads refer to pleasures like hunting that were congruent to country life in general.[211]

But no background figures populate Del Court and De Kaersegieter's space. No animals roam their landscape, and no architectural fixtures can point to a definite location. They sit alone on a bench in their rather dense forest, with only the singular jet of a fountain and a rosebush for company. Of course, these last two inclusions are definitely symbolic in nature, but the landscape itself does not have the ease or lightness of the love garden displayed in the 1661 double portrait. This ambiguity is further complicated by a discovery during a 2004 infrared investigation.[212] Behind the treetops on the left-hand side of the painting, there was originally a house that has been since painted over.[213] No records of property holdings outside of Amsterdam exist surrounding Del Court and De Kaersgieter, so it cannot be said if this was based on a real country home owned by the couple, but their affluence and social standing place it within the realm of possibility. However, reasons for the house being eliminated are harder to surmise and can only be speculated. Did Van der Helst decide that it did not work for the composition and paint over it? This seems a bit strange since Del Court and De Kaersgieter would have stipulated that their estate (if it existed) be depicted to show off their wealth like Hinlopen and others and would not have taken its elimination lightly. Did the couple themselves not like the final result and want it altered? In this situation perhaps they wanted their painting to completely feature themselves with minimal aesthetic interruptions, or maybe they wanted to evoke a more general garden of love setting. Either way this move by the artist, whether by his own choice or that of his patrons, altered the final composition and directly affected the appearance and tone of the scene, making it a more ambiguous space that is almost singular in Van der Helst's oeuvre and certainly different from the two previous case studies.

As was seen in all three case studies, the artist was directly involved in the resulting self-presentation of his patrons through two major channels: personal relationships and his own particular style. Hals' friendship with Massa provided him with insight into his personality and character that led to a greater understanding of the image of a virtuous but loving marriage that the couple wished to project, along with the creation of a unique landscape - mostly imagined and unparalleled in the artist's oeuvre - that underscored this mission. His recognizable brushwork resulted in a highly lively and vibrant double portrait that would have also been a calling card of quality to viewers. The Mennonite circle to which Van Hoogstraten, Vijgeboom, and Boogaart belonged centered them in the same socio-religious background that was a factor in the difference in their self-representations; their wont to de-emphasize worldly goods meant that they were placed more unassumingly in their landscape, without the spotlight on clothes and

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[211] Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Samuel de Marez* and *Margaretha Trip*, 1661, oil on canvas, 132 x 112 cm, private collection. Van Gent 2011 notes (300) that De Marez did have a country estate, Maarsburgen, but I do not think there are clear enough indications to prove that this location is definitively depicted in the pendants.

[212] See Ella Hendriks, K. Levy-van Halm, and J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, "Report concerning a preliminary technical investigation of paintings exhibited during the Frans Hals exhibitions, held from May 11 to July 22 1990 in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem," Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, The Hague.

[213] Van Gent 2011, 241. I am working on the assumption that the house was painted over contemporarily and not at a later date as Van Gent's brief mention does not make the timing clear: "Bij het onderzoek infraroodreflectografie, op 2 februari 2004, werd duidelijk dat er in eerste instantie achter de boomtoppen linksboven, een huis geschilderd is geweest."

jewelry found in the other double portraits. Van Hoogstraten's own interest in nature also played a role in determining the format as he wished to paint from nature's example and follow her as closely as possible, creating a more realistic scene. Finally, Van der Helst's proximity to the neighborhood of the Amsterdam cloth merchants and involvement in the *Waalse Kerk* led to him crossing paths with Del Court and De Kaersgieter. His familiarity with Del Court's profession allowed him to highlight this through a focus on the material and detail of the couple's clothing, with the ambiguous landscape serving as more of a backdrop. The fineness of the Van der Helst's brush strokes also ensured that the expensive fabrics and the small details of the ensembles would be rendered with grace and precision. In these instances of landscape double portraits, the artist's personal connections and the idiosyncrasies of his technique worked symbiotically, resulting in works that were well-suited to the manner in which his patrons wished to present themselves to their social circles.

Chapter III: Out of the Frame

Now that the patrons and the artists who portrayed them have been examined, it is time to step outside of the physical borders of the landscape double portrait and consider these works in regards to the viewer. This last player, though one of the more difficult components to reconstruct, completes the trifecta of roles that influence the landscape double portrait's outcome. It could even be argued that the viewer was the most important of the three, since the self-presentation of the patrons and the work of the artists was executed explicitly with the knowledge that the final product would be seen as a visual object. In this section, three key questions surrounding the viewership of these landscape double portraits will be asked: where were the paintings viewed? Who was viewing them? And how were they viewed? The first question will be answered by considering, when known, the painting's specific location, along with contemporary inventories of homes of similar social and financial standing to note the types of spaces in which comparable portraits were viewed; this will help to fill in the gap for the case studies whose original location has not been preserved. After the locations have been established, the viewers of the portraits can be inferred based on the accessibility levels of their display spaces. Due to the dichotomy between the personal nature of a marital relationship being depicted and the performative aspect of the couples' self-presentation in these double portraits, both private and public viewers come into play. Provenance also provides clues as to who was viewing these portraits after the original patrons were gone. As for the last component, or the "how" of viewership, it is essential to try to reconstruct the mindset of a seventeenth-century viewer as they looked upon a painting, particularly a portrait, in order to understand the ways in which they would have considered and interacted with the work. Though no contemporary reminisces of the particular case studies discussed here have survived, there are still many instances of early modern encounters with works of art that mainly spring from Renaissance ideas of vision and viewing. This consideration of viewership adds a final dimension to this study and completes the analysis of the works, as their expected and accounted for presence helped to determine how the paintings ultimately functioned as self-fashioned images.

III.1 *Where? Portraits on Display*

The Netherlands of the seventeenth century was a society whose homes were covered in paintings, surpassing its European counterparts. Though art production was high in other parts of Europe like Italy and France, theirs was predominantly an art that functioned in public and religious contexts, enforced by traditional patrons like the Catholic church and the nobility. The Dutch *burgers*, due to the anti-image policies of the dominant Calvinist church and the States General that checked the power of the *stadhouder*, were then the major patrons of art that would be created for their more personal use.[214] Since Dutch society was increasingly family-oriented, portraits were naturally suited to grace the walls of *burger* homes, reminding their inhabitants of family members both past and present.[215] Portraits reinforced this new dynamic as they allowed the sitters a figurative space in which to "reinvent themselves" according to relationship-based

[214] Eric Jan Sluijter, "'All striving to adorne their houses with costly peeces': Two Case Studies of Paintings in Wealthy Interiors," in *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 103.
[215] Smith 1982, 10.

ideals.[216] Portraits of married couples, like those at the center of this study, were found in Dutch homes at unprecedentedly high levels for the time, as this type of portraiture stemmed from a usually noble origin.[217] However, Dutch citizens were repurposing this aristocratic tradition to advance their own distinct developing identity to those who would view their portraits in their homes.

The layout of the *burgerlijke* Dutch home fluctuated over the course of the seventeenth-century, subsequently determining where art was displayed within the space. In earlier decades a *voorhuis*, or front room, usually comprised the majority of the front of the house as it would be used for receiving business associates, away from the more private areas of the home. As time progressed and business dealings increasingly moved away from domestic spaces to their own external spaces, the *voorhuis* became smaller and smaller as walls went up to form *zijkamers*, or side rooms. These side rooms then became the more prominent space for entertaining guests, along with the large, formal *zaal* usually in the back of the house on the upper floor, as the *voorhuis* diminished to an entrance hall.[218] These semi-public areas of the house into which guests were invited were naturally the most expensively decorated and furnished. It was these rooms where the majority of paintings would be displayed, and among these paintings would almost always be the most expensive of the family's holdings as a tangible indicator of their wealth and status, as Klaske Muizelaar and Derek Phillips have noted in their joint study on aspects of display in the Dutch Golden Age.[219] However, the personal rooms on the upper floors used exclusively by the family would still be decorated with paintings, most likely consisting of smaller pieces or works of a more personal nature. An affluent city-dwelling family would have at least fifty paintings in their home during the period.[220] Like other pieces of furniture, the paintings were integrated into the home in rooms where inhabitants and invited guests would go about their daily life. It wasn't until the later decades of the century that rooms specifically delineated for the display of art, "galleries" or "repositories", would appear.[221]

With the emphasis on family at this point in Dutch society, family portraits and portraits of married couples were well-represented among contemporary inventories, but their exact locations in homes often varied. Their more personal nature combined with their function as art objects to be admired is most likely why they appear in almost all areas of Dutch homes. In John Michael Montias' study of Amsterdam inventories between 1630 and 1665, 101 portraits of married couples (some pendants) are listed. The majority, consisting of 28 pairs, that have a noted display room are placed in the *voorhuis*. An additional 31 pairs are listed in either the *zaal*, the *groote kamer*, or "great room", and the *beste kamer*, the "best room", all rooms which would

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[216] H. Perry Chapman, "Home and the Display of Privacy," in *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 143.
[217] Mariët Westermann, "'Costly and Curious, Full off pleasure and home contentment': Making Home in the Dutch Republic," in *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 49.
[218] Klaske Muizelaar and Derek Phillips, *Picturing Men and Women in the Dutch Golden Age: Paintings and People in Historical Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 32-33.
[219] Ibid, 37.
[220] Ibid.
[221] John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 31.

be used for social entertaining. These portraits are also listed in rooms with more restricted access, usually reserved for just the family: 26 pairs are found in either the *achterkamer*, the *binnenkamer*, or the *bovenkamer*; the "back room", the "inner room", and the "upper room", respectively.[222] In these private quarters, personal portraits would act as more intimate artifacts or reminders of the family's lineage.[223]

How did a family distinguish portraits that were fit for public consumption from those that would be placed in their personal chambers? The answer lies, of course, in the content of the portrait itself. Contemporary inventories show time and again that larger, more showy pieces where the sitter "presented his or her public self-image" were almost always hung in the social spaces of the home.[224] Among these types of portraits would usually be the aforementioned relatives of the landscape double portraits, the *portrait historié* and the pastoral portrait, as their inherently performative subject matter necessitated a more public audience. Though marriage and family life was now becoming a more private and personal matter, couples still sought to present themselves as an example of the successful, loving Christian marriage. As demonstrated earlier, the sitters in landscape double portraits were well aware of the public image of marital harmony and professional acumen that was proffered in these pictures, so it makes sense that they too would be displayed for their guests to admire and enjoy. Their sheer size and expense would also be factors for their location in grander rooms; they were regarded as luxury objects and would therefore be displayed more conspicuously than other paintings on the walls.[225] One instance is a double portrait listed in a 1676 estate inventory in which the painting of the deceased and his wife was described as hanging above the chimney, known as a *schoorsteen-stuk*; the painting would be made to fit exact dimensions or even set into the wall above the fireplace.[226] Prominent Amsterdam citizen Pieter de Graeff and his wife Jacoba Bicker also had their portraits in the great room of their house, along with related items like genealogical charts that marked the prominence of their families.[227] They displayed at least eight landscapes that depicted family properties as well,[228] an interesting inclusion since, as was discussed earlier, these images of real landholdings were sometimes incorporated as the backgrounds of some landscape double portraits, reinforcing the notion that they would have been meant for more openly accessed spaces.[229] The value and quality of the portrait even superseded the identity of the sitter on occasion, in terms of prominence of display, with a prime example being Rembrandt's now-famous life-size pendants of Marten Soolmans and Oopjen Coppit.[230] Coppit

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[222] Deborah Babbage Iorns, "Viewing between the frames. Considering the display of Rembrandt's pendant marriage portraits," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 65 (2015): 188. See also: 'The Montias database of 17th century Dutch art inventories,' http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php.

[223] Loughman and Montias 2000, 42-43.

[224] Ibid, 46.

[225] Muizelaar and Phillips 2003, 166.

[226] Loughman and Montias 2000, 107.

[227] Muizelaar and Phillips 2003, 74-77.

[228] Ibid.

[229] Painted versions of familial landholdings were a popular convention originating in the tradition of the Italian villa, as these painted landscapes were used to both promote the owner's status and provide a visual complement to the actual country views, contributing to the *paragone*. See Tracy L. Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[230] Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portraits of Marten Soolmans and Oopjen Coppit*, 1634, oil on canvas, 208 x 132 cm, jointly owned by Musée du Louvre, Paris and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

retained ownership of the portraits after Soolmans' death, and they were displayed in her new home with her second husband, former VOC captain Maerten Daey. Interestingly, as noted in the inventory of possessions after Coppit's death in 1689, the pendants hung in the *voorhuis*, or the very first space that a visitor would encounter in the home - the home of her second husband. Portraits of Coppit and Daey were instead placed in the *groote kamer*, a room in which the family spent time as well as used to entertain visitors.[231] Portraits of Daey and his first wife were relegated to the *achterkamer*, or the back room.[232] Clearly, the quality and size of the portraits were important enough factors in certain situations to deem the prominence of their area of display.

As was just demonstrated, portraits of couples could be anywhere in a Dutch home in the seventeenth century, though a correlation is generally found between the visual grandness of the portrait and its level of accessibility to visitors. It is now time to consider the spaces of display of the landscape double portraits in this study. No inventory of Isaac Massa's possessions has survived, so the original location of his double portrait with his first wife Beatrix van der Laen can only be surmised. Based on the information previously posited, it is highly likely that such a painting was displayed in a public area of the couple's Haarlem home; its almost-square format could even mean that it was a *schoorsteenstuk*, hung above the mantle of a *groote kamer* or *zijkamer*. In the work the couple presented themselves as financially and matrimonially successful, a public image that was meant to be seen by a wider array of viewers. The prominence of Hals as an artist also elevates the painting, along with the beautifully executed garden landscape. This was an image meant for an audience larger than only Massa and Van der Laen. Though Massa's inventory no longer exists, the painting does still appear in a household inventory of a seventeenth-century Dutchman: that of well-to-do Amsterdammer Jan Six (1618-1700) and his wife Margaretha Tulp (1634-1709). At some point in the second half of the century, presumably a time after Massa's death in 1643, the double landscape portrait came into Six's possession.[233] Jan Six was a noted appreciator and supporter of the arts throughout his life; he was most famously immortalized by his friend Rembrandt in a 1654 portrait.[234] There is no evidence that Six had personally known Massa, over thirty years his senior, so it is most likely that his acquisition was fueled by his recognition of the work as a piece of superior artistry. It became an important piece to Six, as he left it to his wife in his will, and it even survived the selection of Six's paintings put up for an auction held to raise money for the widowed Tulp in 1702.[235] In a 1710 inventory taken after Tulp's death, the Massa/Van der Laen double landscape portrait is recorded as being hung in the *groote zijkamer* alongside a few other landscapes, listed as "*Beelden in een landtschap van F. Hals*".[236] It would stay in the Six family until its acquisition by the Rijksmuseum in 1851.

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[231] Babbage Iorns 2015, 189.
[232] Ibid.
[233] There are no records of when or how Six purchased or acquired the painting. After Massa's death it would have presumably passed on to one of his children, most likely one of the two from his first marriage to Van der Laen. However, daughter Magdalena predeceased her father in 1637. It could have been left to son Abraham as a memento of his parents, then sold upon his death (date unknown) or it could have been sold after Massa's death.
[234] Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Jan Six*, 1654, oil on canvas, 112 x 102 cm, Six Collection, Amsterdam.
[235] I.H. van Eeghen, "Anna Wijmer en Jan Six," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 76 (1984): 58.
[236] Ibid, 67.

Its place in the *groote zijkamer* is quite telling, as that was a space used for both housing visitors and as a space for the family. The Six inventory lists both a "*konstkamer*" and a "*konstzaal*", or two separate rooms devoted to the display of valuable art and art objects in the home. It was in these spaces where Six's own portraits and those of his wife and family were displayed, no doubt as a means to impress those who visited the home. Though Six most likely acquired the Massa double portrait because he appreciated its skillful execution and its status as a work by a master painter like Frans Hals, he placed it not in his *kunstkamers*, but in a not-so-showy space that his family would occupy in a less formal manner. Perhaps it was the friendly and loving informality that characterizes Massa and Van der Laen in their portrait that caused Six to deem it more well-suited to the *zijkamer* over the *kunstkamers*, a reminder of marital harmony hanging in the home. Even outside of its patron family it could still retain its original meaning in a sense and serve as such an image for a new family. The presence of other landscapes in the room, some by prominent landscape painters Gillis van Coninxloo and Jan van Goyen, is another compelling detail. Six was perhaps also trying to create a space organized by genre here; he may have valued the landscape aspect of the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait, as he had no known personal connection to the couple themselves, and wanted to foster a sense of cohesion by surrounding the painting with other landscapes scenes. Unfortunately, the reasonings behind Six's display methods of the double portrait can only be surmised in this way, but its specific place in a domestic space of the home meant to both entertain and to be used by the family is still useful in showing that the work was appreciated for its subject matter as well as its formal qualities.[237]

Despite the domestic nature of the landscape double portrait, there were occasions in which it was displayed in public spaces outside of the home. The Vijgeboom/Boogaart double portrait by Van Hoogstraten is one such rare example. Naturally, this derivation from the usual setting would have consequences for how it was viewed. In Vijgeboom's posthumous inventory the double portrait of the couple is listed as hanging in his shop on the Kleine Spuistraat of Dordrecht.[238] At this point in the mid-seventeenth century, the retail shop was becoming "modernized" in a sense, emphasizing the actual display of products that were increasingly becoming branded with producer and distributor names.[239] Cities in the Netherlands, most notably Amsterdam, were also undergoing infrastructural improvements that better facilitated the public lives of its citizens; public lighting, waste removal, and street paving all contributed to a modernizing cityscape. As metropolitan areas were built-up, less space remained for street markets, a staple of the previous century, making way for the rise of enclosed, individual shops.[240] The act of shopping, a task usually reserved for the servants in affluent households, was moving towards a more "polite ritual". Shopping was transforming into a pleasurable leisure activity, so retailers strove to orient their spaces to embody this change as the physical

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[237] Of course it must be also taken into account that though this example is from a period contemporary to the completion of the painting, it was not the original location nor owner and would have naturally functioned differently and held different meanings for the Sixes than Massa and Van der Laen.

[238] Loughman 2006, 4.

[239] Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11.

[240] Clé Lesger, "Urban Planning, Urban Improvement and the Retail Landscape in Amsterdam, 1600-1850," in *The Landscape of Consumption: Shopping Streets and Cultures in Western Europe, 1600-1900*, ed. Jan Hein Furnée and Clé Lesger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 107.

appearance of the shop would mimic the status and gentility of both its owner and its target clientele.[241] With these developments in mind, it is easy to see why Vijgeboom would have chosen to display his double landscape portrait with his wife in his shop instead of in his home. The large painting, with its emphasis on the cultivated garden of what is assumed to be the couple's property in Dubbeldam, would have been meant to impress browsing customers. It gives the dual impression of Vijgeboom as both a dedicated husband to his virtuous wife, and as a successful businessman able to afford such an enviable property. In this setting, the double portrait would act as a type of bait for the ideal customer; Vijgeboom would want to attract wealthier clients to give his shop an air of respectability. Mennonites separated themselves from governmental affairs, not allowing their members to hold public offices, so the economic sphere was where they could stand out and establish their name outside of the church.[242] It is clear that Vijgeboom understood this and used his landscape double portrait to bolster his business and personal standing in his community.

III.2 *Who? A Consideration of Potential Viewers*

Without any firsthand accounts concerning remembrances and initial impressions of the case-study paintings, it is impossible to know exactly who the contemporary viewers of landscape double portraits were. However, a general idea of the intended audiences can be constructed based on the previous discussion that concerned the spaces in which the works hung. Considering who the viewers of these double portraits were can provide more insight into how the portraits then functioned in their original display spaces as they were meant to be seen by certain groups of viewers.

Since it was most typical for landscape double portraits to be hung in the home, the majority of their viewers would have been the families to whom they belonged, as well as any household staff and outside visitors given access to the rooms in which they hung. Visitors to the home were meant to be impressed by the paintings in numerous ways. First, by the sheer size and the skillful execution of the double portraits - they would have been forced to acknowledge such large, lavish works that shared their space. Second, by the subject matter itself: the image of the couple bound together was an indicator of the roles they played as husband and wife in their domicile. The landscape would have also directed the viewer toward their upper-class status and any country properties they may have owned. Viewers that were invited into the home may have been relatives outside of the immediate family, friends, colleagues, or other business associates;[243] a good impression of the homeowners was a social necessity. It is harder to understand the role of any staff as viewer since they were more of an incidental onlooker to the paintings. It is less likely that they had time to stop and contemplate these double portraits like a member of the family or a guest while going about their daily tasks; they certainly were not meant to, and it is highly improbable that their gaze was even considered by the patron or artist. It can only be surmised that if they did have a moment to consider such pieces, the works would reinforce the power dynamic and status discrepancy between employer and employee. A

[241] Stobart 2013, 113. Stobart's study mainly focuses on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, but he notes that these developments were widespread across northwest Europe during the period, see page 90.
[242] Driedger 2014, 236.
[243] Babbage Iorns 2015, 188.

seventeenth-century household servant would not be able to afford such a luxury, in addition to their social standing not deeming them significant enough to commemorate in such a manner. Servants appeared in seventeenth-century painting only as either accessories to their employers in portraits, or as didactic types in "low-life" genre paintings. Their lowly status was used as a visual synonym for bad behavior, as seen in Nicolaes Maes' *The Eavesdropper* in which the central female figure warns the viewer to remain quiet so they too can take part in watching an unaware female servant who has abandoned her household duties in favor of a male suitor's attentions.[244]

More is understood about the sitters and their immediate families as the viewers of these landscape double portraits. For this group of viewers these types of images, and portraits more generally, were a way to commemorate family members both living and dead. This function of portraiture was a convention long acknowledged, notably by Italian humanist Leon Battista Alberti's in his seminal work *Della pittura* (1435) where he expounded on the "divine power" of painting individuals, as such depictions "let the absent be present" and "show [to] the living, after long centuries, the dead, so that [these] become recognized with the artist's great admiration and the viewers' pleasure;"[245] this was one of the main purposes of painting according to him. His sentiments still rang true two centuries later, especially for the seventeenth-century family-oriented Dutch, since portraits like these were tangible reminders of both the prominence and longevity of the family. The upper echelons of Dutch society continually commissioned portraits of themselves and their spouses and children and inherited portraits of their deceased kin as well. Families could proudly display their lineage through portraits, and parents could be assured that their legacy would continue to live on in their images when posthumously bequeathed to their children. These ideas behind family viewing are reinforced by other documents that have been recorded as being displayed in rooms along with double and pendant portraits, such as genealogical charts, family trees, and marriage agreements.[246] Though there is no doubt that landscape double portraits were meant to impress, the main viewers were still understood to be the sitters and their immediate family; they spent the most time viewing the portraits as they lived among them. In their aforementioned study of Amsterdam inventories, Loughman and Montias had also noted that more often than not family portraits were listed in household inventories without a price, indicating that they had no market value since they were meant to be passed on to the next generations.[247] There are exceptions, as was seen with the Massa/Van der Laen double portrait that at some point made its way to the Six family. The Vijgeboom/Boogaart double portrait also fell out of the family's hands at some point, most likely due to a lack of heirs.[248] However, the Del Court/De Kaersgieter double portrait managed to remain in the family for over two centuries until it was sold to Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in 1866.[249] The seller was "Mr. A. del Court van Krimpen," or Aalbrecht Arend del Court van

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[244] Nicolaes Maes, *The Eavesdropper*, 1657, oil on canvas, 93 x 112 cm, Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht.
[245] Leon Battista Alberti, *On painting*, trans. Rocco Sinisgalli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 44.
[246] Jan Six's inventory lists his marriage agreement displayed in his *konstzaal*, which also included portraits of himself and his wife, Muizelaar & Phillips 2003, 73.
[247] Loughman and Montias 2000, 183, note 93.
[248] Based on the provenance compiled before the most recent auction of the painting. See Sotheby's Amsterdam, *Old Master Paintings, Including the Art History Reference Library of a Continental Collector*, 15 November 2005, 62.
[249] Based on documentation in the museum's file on the painting, inv. nr. 1296.

Krimpen from Haarlem, a descendant of Jacob del Court, the portrayed Abraham's brother. This provenance also gives credence to Van der Helst monographer Judith van Gent's supposition that Del Court and De Kaersgieter's eight daughters all died young, as Del Court's brother would have been a plausible next-of-kin for the double portrait to passed on in the event of having no direct heirs.[250] This double portrait was apparently a prized possession of the family, acting as a memento of deceased loved ones and a reminder of the family's illustrious history for the generations who came too late to have known Abraham and Maria in life. Provenances with similar familial longevity are noted by Deborah Babbage Iorns in her study on pendant portraits by Rembrandt.[251] Though the landscape double portraits were meant to impress those outside the family who would be viewing them, it is evident that they had the most meaning and importance for the sitters and their immediate family.

III.3 *How? Understanding the Seventeenth-Century Viewing Experience*

After exploring where these paintings were hung, and who would be the most likely viewing public, the last task required in the consideration of the viewer of double landscape portraits is to try to understand how they would have been viewed. Art historian Wolfgang Kemp posited this as "reception aesthetics" in a 1998 essay on the subject, in which the methodology is reconstructing the "original situation" of viewing.[252] By re-establishing such a situation, it is possible to more fully comprehend the meanings of the paintings, as the viewer was the last integral player in seventeenth-century portraiture. It was generally understood in the early modern period that portraiture was the most self-conscious genre of painting, in terms of the patrons.[253] The sitters knew that they would be viewed and constructed the many facets of their painted representation, from clothing to gestures. The viewer then completed the painting; without their presence, there would be no purpose to the works. By exploring the early modern viewer's experience when encountering these landscape double portraits, the last dimension of meaning can be drawn out from the works.

In the seventeenth century, a greater focus was inherently needed from the viewer when looking at the landscape double portrait than what is required from viewers of the same or similar works four centuries later due to differences in setting. Today, the three case studies presented here, along with others belonging to their subgenre, are all housed in museums. They are displayed on monochromatic walls, presented in a neat eye-level line with the other works that share their rooms, brightly lit and spacious. Viewers enter these spaces with the knowledge that they are there to view art in a space that was designed for this purpose. The seventeenth-century viewer of the landscape double portrait was entering a home. Though there were certain individuals who created *kunstkamers*, the viewer was more often a friendly visitor to the home there for social or business purposes. The paintings hung on the walls of rooms that were lived

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[250] Van Gent 2011, 240.
[251] Babbage Iorns 2015, 186-7.
[252] Wolfgang Kemp, "The Work of Art and Its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetic of Reception," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 185.
[253] Jodi Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7-8.

in, where they competed for attention with the myriad of other works that hung all over; they were most likely above eye level as well. Due to landscape double portraits erring on the larger side, they were probably more than capable of holding their own in their original locations, but they still did not exist in a visual vacuum. Light also played a large role in an individual's encounter with the paintings. Natural light changes over the course of a day, therefore changing the visibility of the work. Especially in the evenings, paintings in these early modern spaces would not have been "uniformly visible."[254] If a viewer really wanted to look at the painting, they would need to approach it as close as possible, even holding a candle to it inch-by-inch to uncover its details and intricacies. The act of viewing in the seventeenth century involved an intentionality and physical engagement with the painting that is not instinctual to twenty-first-century viewers in large part because of a shift in environmental factors.

This active physical engagement with the paintings was a natural complement to contemporary ideas surrounding portraiture and its subsequent viewership that stemmed from the Renaissance. In her study on Italian Renaissance portraiture, Jodi Cranston suggested that the surrounding culture recognized portraiture as a dialogue between picture and viewer, akin to written discourse.[255] As in a discourse, at least two individuals were assumed present to facilitate the process of viewing successfully: the beholder and the beheld. Paintings are different in that they add a third element to this combination: the artist. Kemp, in his aforementioned essay on reception, pointed to the parallel idea of the "blank" in literary theory, meaning that a work of art is intentionally "unfinished" without a beholder;[256] the viewer's observation and interaction with the work brings it to completion. This connection between dialogue and portraiture that was popularized in the Renaissance was strengthened in the arts with the development of the self-aware sitter. Portraits began to turn towards their audience, acknowledging their viewers with direct eye contact. Though sitters have been looking out at their viewers for centuries, this new incarnation of visual connection was strengthened by physical cues that suggested or even directly initiated an encounter with the viewer. One of the earliest examples of this occurred in the North with Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of a Man in a Red Turban* (**fig. 48**).[257] The three-quarter view of the subject allows him to confront the viewer and contribute much more effectively to a shared experience as the eye contact initiated by the sitter and his engaged body language brings the viewer directly into his space, blurring the line between painted canvas and reality.[258] This convention became more prevalent over the next few centuries, and indeed at least one of the sitters of landscape double portraits make eye contact with their viewers, inviting them to share in their lovely landscapes by holding their gaze. Both Massa and Van der Laen look out at their viewers, while in the other two examples only the women, Boogaart and De Kaersgieter, look out at us.[259] This detail, only one of the two acknowledging the viewer, is perhaps a more

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[254] Muizelaar & Phillips 2003, 166.
[255] Cranston 2000, 7.
[256] Kemp 1998, 188.
[257] Cranston 2000, 16-17. Wendy Stedman Sheard also points to this work as the seminal portrait concerning the relationship between beholder and beheld. See: Wendy Stedman Sheard, "Giorgione's Portrait Inventions c. 1500: Transfixing the Viewer," in *Reconsidering the Renaissance*, ed. Mario A. Di Cesare (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), 168.
[258] Cranston 2000, 7-8.
[259] Women looking out at the viewer could suggest that they were to be viewed as an object of love meant to be courted, despite their already-married status, since the eyes were contemporarily thought to be the vehicle through

effective tool since it heightens the sense of the momentary. Vijgeboom and Del Court are both still focused on their respective wives, so the gaze of the women makes the viewer feel as though they have suddenly stepped into the scene and interrupted a very real moment.

These types of beholder-beheld interactions also align with the concept of theatricality, or the subject's awareness that they are being watched.[260] In her article on the subject, art historian Hanneke Grootenboer explained that theatricality is the result of behaviors that are premeditated to fit within a set of conventions; it is "calculated, affected, or studied social behavior"[261] or "social role-playing"[262] employed to transmit a specific constructed image to the audience. This is certainly the case with landscape double portraits. One or both of the sitters are always looking out at the viewer, establishing a connection and an awareness of their presence. The sitters were also highly aware of and controlled how all aspects of the work - from poses, to clothing, to symbols, to the landscape and the artist's own hand - came together to send a very specific, constructed image of themselves out to the world. They are not quite so dramatic or so literally theatrical as pastoral portraits and *portraits historiés*, where the sitters donned costumes and sometimes new personas, but landscape double portraits are prime examples of the concept of theatricality per Grootenboer's explanation. The seemingly-spontaneous attitudes of the couples do not diminish their painted likenesses being a quite deliberate construction used to convey their wealth and matrimonial status to their viewers, but it does help in making them appear more alive, enhancing the suspension of disbelief with which early modern viewers approached portraits.

From the Renaissance through to the seventeenth century, paintings were written about and experienced by viewers as though they were alive. This kind of interaction was supported by theories of vision that were popular during the period. As Thijs Weststeijn has pointed out, seventeenth-century theories on painting explained the process of viewing as an experience by which qualities passed both ways: to and from the viewer.[263] The work, presumably those with human figures or portraits, should affect its beholder through its lifelikeness, and in turn the viewer bring them alive via their imagination. This idea of interacting with a painting as one would with a real human being is found in Alberti's treatise, as he illustrates his theory that painting makes the present absent with "historical" examples of individuals reacting to the painted likenesses.[264] In the early modern period, there is no shortage of anecdotes across Europe that detail the everyday encounters between the living and the painted. Leonardo da Vinci recalled creating "a painting which represented a female saint, which was bought by someone

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which love's arrows first struck. See H. Rodney Nevitt, Jr., "Vermeer on the Question of Love," in *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 97-100.

[260] Hanneke Grootenboer, "How to Become a Picture: Theatricality as Strategy in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portraits," in *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture*, ed. Caroline van Eck and Stijn Brussels (Oxford: Wiley, 2011), 122.

[261] Grootenboer 2011, 122.

[262] Ibid.

[263] Thijs Weststeijn, "The Painting Looks Back: Reciprocal Desire in the Seventeenth Century," in *Ut pictura amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700*, ed. Walter S. Melion et al (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 267. For a more in-depth look at contemporary vision theories see: *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, ed. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carman (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

[264] Alberti 1435, 44-45.

who loved it, and he wanted me to remove the symbols of that saint, so that he could kiss it without impropriety. But in the end his conscience overcame his sighs and his passion, and he had to remove it from his house."[265] Da Vinci's statement must be taken with a grain of salt, as this may be an exaggeration by the artist used to buttress his own ability in recreating a likeness akin to flesh and blood. Regardless of its veracity, the existence of the tale points to the importance of this conceit during the period. This idea was present in France as well, as similar narratives come from the diary of Jean Heroard, the court physician who recorded the daily life of the young dauphin before he became Louis XIII of France (1601-1643). Part of Louis' morning routine was not greeting his still very much alive parents, but rather greeting their portraits.[266] An entry dated April 5, 1606 notes that the child was "Very gay, ran from one end of the room to the other, where there were the portraits of the King and Queen saying to them 'Good morning Papa, good morning mama' and giving a little wave and bow to each of them";[267] a clear embodiment of Alberti's earlier-elucidated idea of the portrait as a surrogate for its living counterpart.

Examples of the normalcy of interacting with paintings as though they were the living are also found in the Netherlands in the seventeenth-century. A return to Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding* shows numerous occasions in which this occurs as he uses such examples to emphasize the thesis of his text: the importance of painting after nature. According to the artist, "It is not enough, that a figure is beautiful, there must be a certain capacity to move (*beweeglijkheyt*) in it, which *must have power over the spectators*,"[268] and his subsequent tales show that indeed images do have such a power to trick their viewers into thinking them alive, spurring a reaction. He points to most of the usual ancient suspects, seen also in Alberti. His readers would most likely already be familiar with the stories surrounding Apelles and Protogenes that he recounts, but more interesting and poignant are inclusions of anecdotes from his own experience. Van Hoogstraten reminisces on a scene from his childhood, no doubt a memory embellished by hindsight, that he deems a "*geytenoordeel*", or a "goat-judgement":

> "It happened once, that my father Theodoor painted a goat from life in a Bacchanalia, which I, being still very young, held for him, by means of ropes and cords, in order to keep her in the correct position, which end I achieved with great labour: and the painted goat being by now nearly completed, and my father stepping back from the piece … the goat by chance became aware of the painted one, which she, as if inflamed by anger, attacked, breaking the ropes, and throwing me down to the ground, flying with such force with her horns towards her painted sister, that she tore through the canvas, and destroyed the Picture; to the distress of him, who had displayed his industry so commendably in it."[269]

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[265] Stedman Sheard 1992, 118. From Da Vinci's original writings first published as *Trattato della pittura* in 1651.
[266] Katlijne Van der Stighelen, "'Amoris et doloris moumentum.' Portraits and how they were perceived in the Baroque age," in *Pokerfaced: Flemish and Dutch Baroque faces unveiled*, ed. By Katlijne Van der Stighelen, et al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 260.
[267] Van der Stighelen 2008, 260. Originally from *Journal de Jean Heroard*, ed. Madeleine Foisil (Paris, 1989).
[268] Van Hoogstraten 1678, 292. Italics mine.
[269] Ibid, 170.

As is the case with the aforementioned Da Vinci episode, what matters most in this recollection is not the story's grounding in an actual event but the content of the story itself. With this tale Van Hoogstraten places contemporary Dutch painting as a successor to the ancient and Renaissance traditions of following nature and underlines the continued importance of a viewer's reaction to the vitality and lifelikeness of paintings during the period, whether animal or human.

Many short Dutch poems addressing paintings as if they were the living still survive as well.[270] One such example is a short verse in which poet Simon Ingels self-referentially addresses a painting of himself:

"To my likeness
By D. Bleeker
To him
NON OMNIS MORIAR

Bleeker made you sit and painted
And drew me from my countenance
With your lively paints,
I thought, now I shall not die;
But that much is not given,
To remain alive after my life.
If it is not true for me, it will certainly
And truly be so, through BLEEKER."[271]

Here Ingels acknowledges the concept of surrogacy: he knows that even though his mortal body will die, this portrait can retain eternal life and keep him alive. He can even interact with it while still living. Portraits during the period were painted to facilitate these interactions between the beholder and the beheld, through a combination of a mirroring of nature that Van Hoogstraten held in such high esteem and poses that would animate the painted body similarly to one of flesh and blood. This began in the Low Countries with the earlier-noted portrait by Jan van Eyck in which the subject angles himself towards the viewer, and comes to an apex in Dutch portraiture of the seventeenth century in a striking example by Van Hoogstraten's master, Rembrandt. His 1641 portrait of Agatha Bas, the superior half of a pendant pair formed with her husband's portrait, is painted in a manner that forces an encounter (**figs. 49-50**).[272] Like her husband Nicolas van Bambeeck, Bas is situated in an illusionistic archway that is integrated into their poses.

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[270] Gregor Weber has examined these addresses to the "living pictures" through the example of poet Jan Vos. See Weber, *Der Lobtopos des 'lebenden' Bildes: Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst" von 1654* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991).

[271] Translation from Dutch in Van der Stighelen 2008, 257-8. Original text: "Op mijne Afbeelding door D. Bleeker. Aan de zelve. NON OMNIS MORIAR. Bleeker doen gy zat en maalden, En my uyt mijn trony haalden Met uw levendige verven. Dacht ik, nu zal ik niet sterven; Maar, dat veel niet is gegeven, Blyven leven naar mijn leven. Is 't door my niet waar, 't zal zeeker En waarachtig zijn, door BLEEKER. From Simon Ingels, *De getrouwe herderin. Lantspel. Door S.I. Met eenige Gedichten van de zelve* (Amsterdam: Abraham van Blanken, 1658), 30.

[272] Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641, oil on canvas, 105.4 x 83.9 cm, Royal Collection Trust, Buckingham Palace, and *Portrait of Nicolas van Bambeeck*, 1641, oil on canvas, 105.5 x 84 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

Looking out at the viewer, he leans his right elbow out of the painted frame and rests his other hand on its edge. However, the deep black of his robe and the voluminousness of his sleeve somewhat dim the effect of the jutting elbow. Bas is more brightly illuminated; her left hand rests against the side of the archway to the viewer's right, her thumb curling over its edge, while she displays an open fan with her right hand that comes out of the painted frame. The illusion of the archway creates a painted division of space between the space that Bas and Van Bambeeck occupy and the space of the viewer. Because that the sitters, particularly Bas, cross this painted barrier means that they have entered into the space of the viewer, blurring the line between the painted and the real. If propriety would allow, one might even be able to reach out and take the fan from her hand. This effect is heightened through the extreme detail in which Rembrandt's renders the details of costuming and face. Portraits like these are contemporary examples of the interaction that was intended between beholder and beheld, painted into existence.

After examining the how, who, and where of the viewership of landscape double portraits, it is clear that they were made for aspects of both public and private observation; they are a personal theme made for a more general audience. This is seen in their display in the social spaces of the seventeenth-century home, or sometimes even in public. Their viewership was comprised of the sitters themselves and the immediate family, but persons outside of these relationships were still most definitely factored in as potential viewers. Viewers were also meant to thoroughly interact with the works as though these painted likenesses were the sitters themselves in some cases, illustrated by contemporary art theory and ideas of viewing; portraits themselves even became more illusionistic in their appearance so as to facilitate these kinds of interactions, seen in examples like the aforementioned Bas portrait. Taking this intended role of the viewer into account is fundamental to understanding the animus of these works and the social roles that they realized once out of the artist's studio and on to the wall.

Conclusion

As has been displayed over the course of this thesis through the three main case studies, examining early modern practices of self-fashioning and the construction of identities in the Netherlands proves fruitful in interpreting the landscape double portrait subgenre. Landscape double portraits were an oft-used tool through which seventeenth-century Dutch sitters could fashion their public image and immortalize it in paint. The newly-won independence of the Republic was marked by a developing sense of self in its citizens and a desire to understand the many facets of one's self by learning to visually manipulate its presentation. The opportunities afforded by the rapidly diversifying art market paralleled this growing appetite for self-fashioning and led to a variation of more specific subgenres in portraiture such as the landscape double portrait in question. Through these types of works, the sitters could synthesize aspects of the different social and cultural institutions in which they moved. However, they did not act alone in this endeavor. Self-fashioning through portraiture was not a single-individual process but rather the result of many participants, and only by analyzing the roles of each player in portraiture production can the mechanism of early modern self-fashioning be more completely comprehended. The artists' connections to their patrons afforded insight into their personal and professional values, resulting in the finished products. Their individual styles also played a role in determining the final appearance of the sitters and the nature of their landscapes, along with

establishing the sitters as affluent connoisseurs. The viewer, often the most overlooked contributor, is the last piece of the puzzle in these self-fashioned images. As is shown in seventeenth-century theory, their presence was anticipated in a painting's production; the viewer was meant to interact with the final product. Without their existence on the other side of the canvas, the painted details of the work are done in vain. The display spaces of the landscape double portraits facilitated their viewing by being in the more public spaces of the home, or even the sitters' place of business, ensuring that they would be seen by a wider audience than just that of the depicted individuals.

In understanding that seventeenth-century Dutch landscape double portraits were highly complex self-fashioned images, more can be understood about the way individuals perceived themselves during the period. This was clearly a phenomenon more widespread than is usually accounted for in the study of portraiture, but one that can hopefully be rectified in future studies by including examinations of not just the sitters, but of all those involved in portraiture production and reception as was undertaken in this thesis. This approach succeeds in providing a more complete understanding of the process of early modern self-fashioning and how it was utilized through portraiture, allowing works that were previous pigeonholed into an ill-fitting category to be understood as more multidimensional. However, this approach was made possible only by standing on the shoulders of those that have examined these works before through other methods, like iconographical and biographical research. The differences between the twenty-first century individual's understanding of self and that of the early modern are perhaps too large, leading to a lack of the examination of its formation and role in the lives of these historical antecedents. However, this thesis has shown that the concept of a mutable identity was greatly understood and utilized by early modern individuals to assert a cultivated self-presentation. Unlike their medieval forebears whose place in society was divinely determined, the early moderns began to fashion themselves in relation to the social groups in which they operated. They recognized that "to abandon self-fashioning is to abandon the craving for freedom, and to let go of one's stubborn hold upon selfhood, even selfhood conceived as a fiction, is to die."[273] In visually pronouncing their self-fashioning through portraiture, the seventeenth-century Dutch sitters and those that contributed to the resulting works ensured that their selfhood remained very much alive almost four centuries later.

[273] Greenblatt 1980, 257.

Appendix I: List of Landscape Double Portraits

This list is a compilation of paintings in addition to the discussed case studies that fit the parameters of the landscape double portrait as outlined in the introduction, assembled with works found in various exhibition catalogs (included in the bibliography) and through the online database of the Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis (RKD). They are arranged chronologically.

1. Anonymous, *Double portrait of an unknown couple*, c. 1625-1649, oil on panel, 107 x 89 cm, auctioned by Phillips London on 7 July 1992.
2. Douwe Juwes de Dowe, *Double portrait of Johan Rouse and Maria Olycan*, c. 1625-1649, oil on canvas, 62.5 x 72.4 cm, auctioned by Venduehuis der Notarissen on 26 April 1994.
3. Gerard Donck, *Portrait of a couple in a landscape*, c. 1627-1640, oil on panel, 70.5 x 104.5 cm, Landesmuseum Mainz, Mainz.
4. Gerard Dou and Nicolaes Berchem, *Double portrait of a couple, possibly Johan Wittert van der Aa and Ida Popta*, c. 1635, oil on panel, 76 x 62.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
5. Gerard Donck and Simon Kick (attr.), *Portrait of Cornelis van der Gracht and his wife Jopken Jacobs in a landscape*, c. 1635-38, oil on panel, 76 x 106.5 cm, National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen.
6. Thomas de Keyser, *Double portrait of Frederick van Velthuysen and Josina van Schonevelt*, 1636, oil on panel, 115 x 80.5 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
7. Anonymous, *Portret of Arnoud van Beaumont and Johanna Lindeman*, 1637, oil on canvas, 189 x 230 cm, auctioned by Christie's Amsterdam on 14 November 1991.
8. Herman Doncker, *Portrait of an unidentified couple*, c. 1640, oil on panel, 67 x 54 cm, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels.
9. Anonymous, *Portrait of a couple in front of Muiderslot, wrongly identified as Coenraed Burgh and Christine Hooft*, c. 1640s, oil on canvas, 110 x 142 cm, Rijksmuseum Muiderslot, Muiden.
10. Govert Flinck, *Double portrait of Dirck Graswinckel and Geertruyt van Loon*, 1646, oil on canvas, 107.5 x 91 cm, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
11. Ferdinand Bol, *Double portrait of a man and a woman in a landscape, possibly Hendrick Trip and his wife*, c. 1650, oil on canvas, 116 x 146 cm, Instituut Collectie Nederland, Amsterdam.
12. Nicolaes Lissant, *Portrait of a couple in a garden landscape*, c. 1654-1696, oil on canvas, 139 x 184 cm, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.
13. Circle surrounding Barend Graat, *Portrait of a couple sitting in a wooded landscape*, c. 1660, oil on panel, 47.6 x 40.3 cm, private collection, Hamburg.
14. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and Lucia Wijbrants*, 1666, oil on canvas, 134 x 161 cm, private collection, Brussels.
15. Circle surrounding Jan Verkolje I, *Portrait of a man and a woman*, c. 1675-1699, oil on canvas, 98 x 107.5 cm, auctioned by Sotheby's London on 8 April 1987.
16. Pieter de Hooch, *Portrait of an unknown man and woman*, 1684, oil on canvas, 109.3 x 127.5 cm, auctioned by Christie's New York on 11 January 1989.

17. Daniel Haringh (attr.), *Portrait of a couple on the terrace of an estate*, ca. 1690, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 59.5 cm, Olivier Coutau-Bégardie, Paris.
18. Anonymous, *Double portrait of Jacob van Wassenaer and his wife Jacoba van Liere*, ca. 1690, oil on canvas, 144 x 87 cm, Kasteel Duivenvoorde.

Appendix II: Figures

Fig. 1 Frans Hals, *Portrait of a couple, probably Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*, c. 1622

Fig. 2 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Portrait of Johan Cornelisz. Vijgeboom with his wife Anneke Joosten Boogaart*, 1647

Fig. 3 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Abraham del Court and his wife Maria de Kaersgieter*, 1654

Fig. 4 Gerard Donck/Simon Kick/Frans de Hulst (attr.), *Burgomaster Cornelis Damasz. Van der Gracht and his Wife, Jopken Jacobs, in a Landscape*, c. 1635

Fig. 5 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Promenading Pair*, 1661

Fig. 6 Map of Moscow in the *album amicorum* of Isaac Massa, ms 78 H 56, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

Fig. 7 *Gevelsteen*, Kruisstraat 49, Haarlem

Fig. 8 Cesare Ripa, "Love Toward God", fig. 83, *Iconologia*, 1603

Fig. 9 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-portrait in a circle of friends from Mantua*, c. 1602-05

Fig. 10 Detail of fig. 1, Beatrix van der Laen's wedding rings

Fig. 11 Detail of fig. 1, landscape

Fig. 12 Willem Buytewech, *Voorname vrijage*, c. 1616-20

Fig. 13 Detail of fig. 1, elm and vine

Fig. 14 Andrea Alciato, "Amicita post mortem durans", *Emblemata*, 1621 ed.

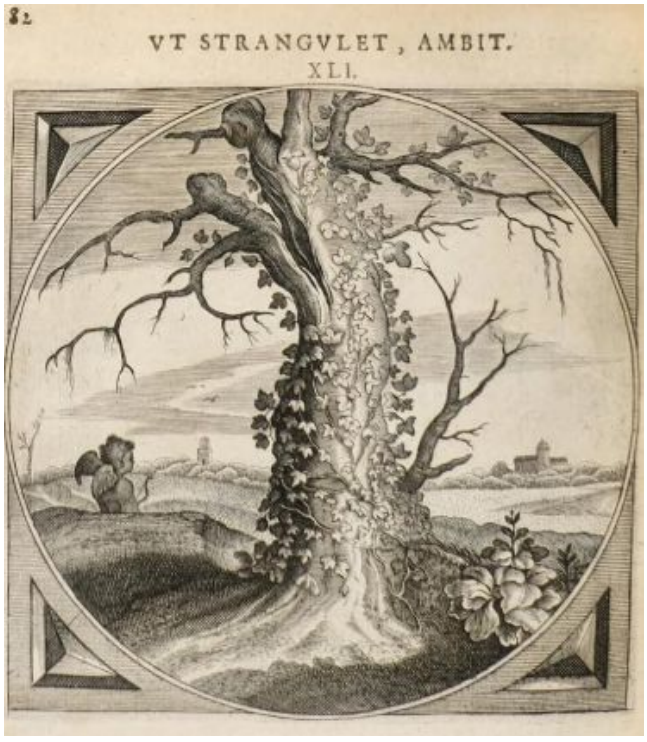

Fig. 15 Jacob Cats, "Ut strangulet, ambit", *Emblemata Moralia et Aeconomica*, 1627 ed.

Fig. 16 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and Lucia Wijbrants*, 1666

Fig. 17 Detail of fig. 3, Maria de Kaersgieter's wedding ring

Fig. 18 Detail of fig. 3, fountain

Fig. 19 Detail of fig. 2, the couple

Fig. 20 Frans Hals, *Isaac Abrahamsz Massa*, 1626

Fig. 21 Roemer Visscher, "Ick geeft haer weder", *Zinne-poppen*, 1614

Fig. 22 "Kent u zelven" mirror, 17th c., in situ at the Museum Ons'Lieve Heer op Solder, Amsterdam

Fig. 23 Cesar van Everdingen, *Diogenes looking for a man (Portrait of the Steyn family)*, 1652, oil on canvas, 75.9 x 103.6 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague

Fig. 24 Jan Mytens, *Portrait of a couple as Granida and Daifilo*, c. 1640-70, oil on canvas, 112 x 143.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 25 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Honeysuckle Bower*, c. 1609

Fig. 26 Anonymous, miniature from the *Roman de la Rose*, c. 1390, Tournai, MS G.32 fol. 5v, Morgan Libary & Museum, New York

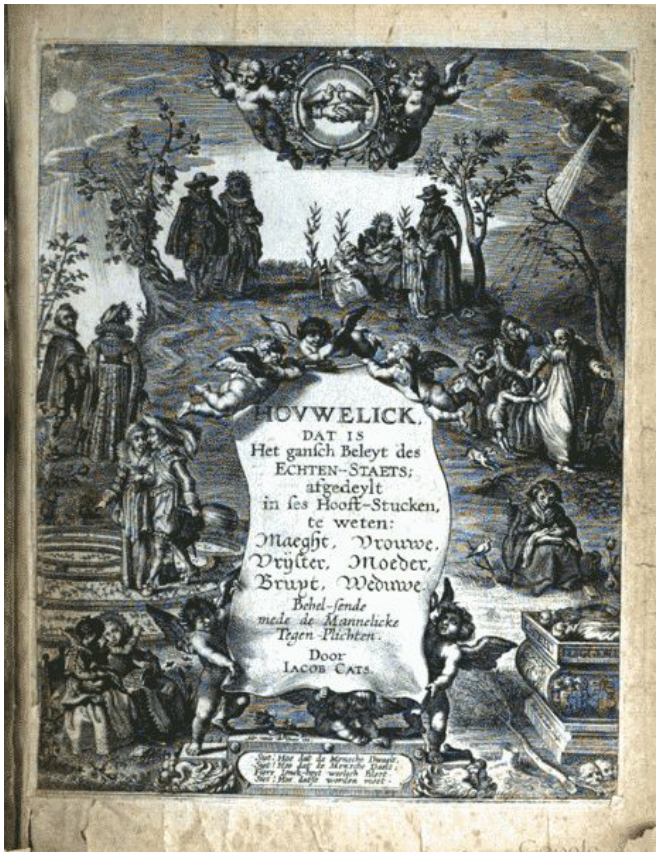

Fig. 27 Frontispiece from Jacob Cats' *Houwelick*, 1625

Fig. 28 Frans Hals, *Isaac Abrahamsz. Massa*, c. 1635

Fig. 29 Detail of fig. 20, landscape

Fig. 30 Frans Hals, composite of now-separate Van Campen family portraits, 1620

Fig. 31 Frans Hals, *Willem van Heythuysen*, c. 1625

Fig. 32 Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of a noble woman with a dwarf, probably Marchesa Maria Grimaldi*, c. 1606

Fig. 33 Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Marchesa Brigida Spinola Doria*, 1606

Fig. 34 Anthony van Dyck, *The King Hunting*, c. 1635

Fig. 35 Frans Hals, Willem van Heythuysen Seated in a Chair, c. 1638

Fig. 36 Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Dutch Family*, c. 1635

Fig. 37 Frans Hals, *Pieter van den Broecke*, 1633

Fig. 38 Detail of fig. 1, Massa's eye

Fig. 39 Detail of fig. 37, Van den Broecke's eye

Fig. 40 Detail of fig. 1, Massa's chin

Fig. 41 Detail of fig. 37, Van den Broecke's chin

Fig. 42 Detail of fig. 1, Van der Laen's skirt

Fig. 43 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Portrait of Ferdinand von Werdenburg*, 1652

Fig. 44 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a Girl*, 1645

Fig. 45 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Maria Stuart*, 1652

Fig. 46 Detail of fig. 3, De Kaersgieter's dress

Fig. 47 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Jochem van Aras, Elisabeth Claes Loenen and their daughter Maria van Aras*, 1654

Fig. 48 Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of a Man in a Red Turban*, 1433, oil on oak, 26 x 19 cm, National Gallery, London

Fig. 49 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Nicolas van Bambeeck*, 1641

Fig. 50 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641

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