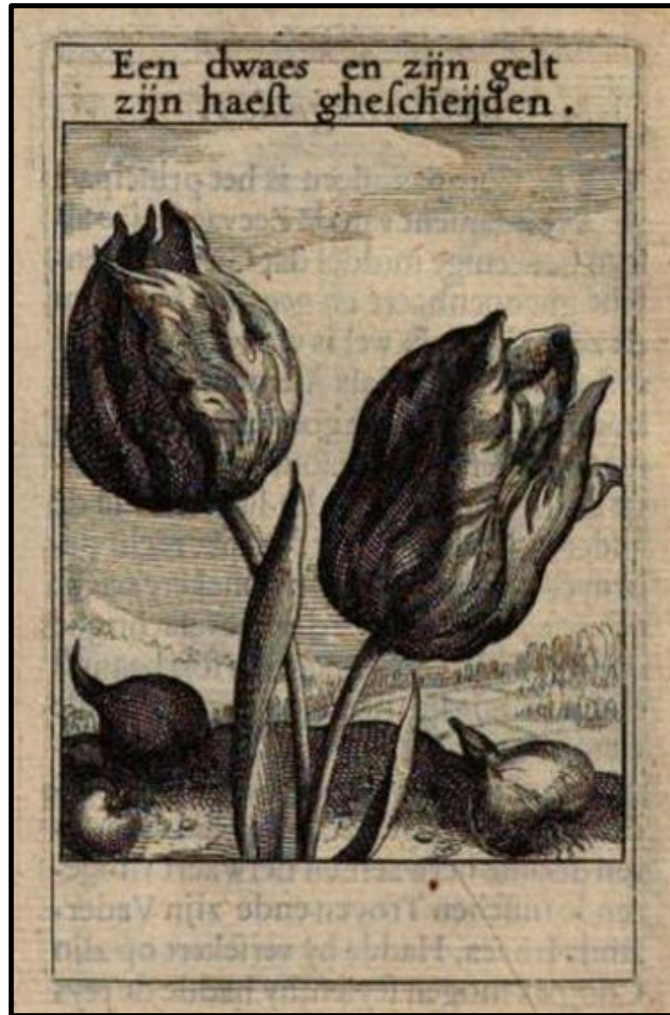


Tulip symbolism in the seventeenth-century

Dutch emblem book



Tulip symbolism in the seventeenth-century Dutch emblem book

Research Master's Thesis

Utrecht University

Faculty of the Humanities

Art History of the Low Countries

Emily Campbell

6114563

Supervisor: Prof. dr. Thijs Weststeijn

Second reader: Prof. dr. Els Stronks

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Introduction

Why study the tulip in Dutch emblem books?

This thesis provides a preliminary foundation from which to explore fundamental questions relating to Dutch emblem literature and the symbolic function of flowers, specifically the tulip, therein. This research into all of the emblem books listed in the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN) and the Arkyves databases has formed the foundation for analyzing the primary sources of this research.¹ The STCN is a bibliographic research tool which aims to contain entries for every book printed in the Netherlands for the period 1540-1800. The Arkyves image database contains images under multiple categories from various mediums, including; Medieval manuscripts, periodicals, and emblem books.² Both databases utilize subject headings for more accurate searches. As this is an ongoing project, the current information will be updated with relevant findings in the future. In its current form, this research has included all of the emblems specified above, which include flowers. The aim of this research is to explore the function and meaning of floral motifs in seventeenth-century printed books published in the Netherlands. This thesis focuses more specifically on the functions of the tulip in emblem literature. The tulip was chosen as the case study for this research due to its interesting role in Dutch culture. Although the tulip is now synonymous with objects that represent the Netherlands, such as cows, windmills, and cheese, many readers may be surprised to find out that the tulip is not native to the Netherlands. Originally from central Asia, the tulip's entry into Europe is not exactly known. Anna Pavord, a gardening correspondent for *The Independent* and the author of multiple books including *The Tulip: The Story of a Flower that Has Made Men Mad* (1999), gives a very well-researched history of the tulip's introduction into Europe. She explains that the first secure sighting of the tulip was by the German naturalist Conrad Gesner in Augsburg in 1559, who saw, drew, and described the flower

¹ The Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands database can be consulted here: <https://www.kb.nl/organisatie/onderzoek-expertise/informatie-infrastructuur-diensten-voor-bibliotheken/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn>. Date accessed: 1/7/2019.

² The Arkyves image database can be consulted here: <http://arkyves.org/>. Date accessed: 1/7/2019.

in his text *Historia plantarum* (1561).³ The tulip quickly became a favorite collecting item of many wealthy connoisseurs, or *liefhebbers*, in Dutch, and became a staple in the gardens of Dutch connoisseurs by the 1580s.⁴ Many are aware of a famous event in Dutch history, the tulipmania of 1637, in which the tulip was sold for exorbitant prices. (This event will be discussed later in the Introduction, Chapter 1, and Chapter 3.)

The primary sources of my research include a large number and variety of emblem books, which allowed for the creation of a general survey concerning the appearance of all flower varieties, including tulips, in emblem books. Emblem books form the genre of emblem literature. This became a new genre in the sixteenth-century with the publication of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (1531). Originally a favorite of the intellectual elite, the genre took off among lower classes as well in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.⁵ An emblem is made up of three parts: the title or motto, the illustration or *pictura*, and the *subscriptio* or poem which explains the motto and illustration.⁶ Plenty of authors have written on the significant position this genre held in Europe and its effect on the art and literature of the Early Modern period. Literary historians Karl Enekel and Paul J. Smith state in their introduction to *Emblems and the Natural World* (2017), "The genre of the emblem book is one of the most successful and influential inventions of early modern book production, which was born through a combined effort of Neo-Latin humanism, the printing press, and the renewal of the graphic arts through woodcuts and engravings".⁷ Additionally, Enekel and Smith state that the emblem book, from its beginning became a widespread European phenomenon.⁸ Peter M. Daly, Professor Emeritus of McGill University, states, "There is no question that the emblem, when understood both as an art form combining text and graphics, and as a mode of thought, a miniature form of allegory, helped shape most products of the print and material culture to some extent".⁹ The emblem book is potentially the best source for

³ Pavord, Anna. *The Tulip: The Story of a Flower that Has Made Men Mad*. London: Bloomsbury, 1999, 63.

⁴ Pavord. 1999, 62.

⁵ Pettegree, Andrew. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011, 246.

⁶ Alciati, Andrea, and John F. Moffitt. *A book of emblems: the emblematum liber in Latin and English*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2004, 7.

⁷ Enekel, Karl, and Paul J. Smith. "Introduction: Emblems and the Natural World (ca. 1530–1700)", in: *Emblems and the Natural World*. Brill, 2017, 1.

⁸ Enekel and Smith. 2017, 2.

⁹ Daly, Peter M. *Digitizing the European Emblem*. New York: AMS; London: Eurospan, 2003, 6.

understanding the interconnection between visual art and literature due to its bi-medial nature. This genre is also significant in that it encompasses a wide range of subjects and addresses a broader audience than most other genres. This information leads me to confidently conclude that emblem books provide a useful tool for reconstructing the intellectual frame of reference of certain seventeenth-century circles.

This survey involves all emblem book subgenres in the STCN. Focusing on a variety of emblem books provides a foundational framework for making informed interpretations further on. The role of emblematics (or the study of emblems), containing texts that borrow heavily from biblical and classical sources, played in seventeenth-century art and natural history is well known and studied. The choice to begin this research by creating a survey of emblem books results from multiple considerations. Most emblem books of the time contain illustrations accompanied by texts, which facilitates more accurate interpretations. However, the possibility certainly remains to expand the scope of textual sources in future research, such as broadening the focus to include other genres. Ultimately, an introduction into connections between floral symbolism in books with that of paintings of the same time may be attainable within the scope of future research into this subject.

The majority of entries made are compiled from the STCN database. Very few editions listed in the STCN were not digitized in Google Books, in which case they could be consulted in the University of Amsterdam's collection at Allard Pierson Museum. This has led to interesting questions regarding the presence, or lack thereof, of the tulip in Dutch emblems. The opportunity to research this field is significant in that it will reveal new information to enhance the past and current discourse on tulip symbolism and early modern print books from the Netherlands more generally. In earlier research, extensive efforts have been made to understand the meaning of floral motifs in Dutch visual media such as painting and drawing (see the historiographical overview below). However, this issue has not been nearly as extensively discussed regarding book illustrations, and any possible connections between them. This is mostly due to collections being difficult to maintain and access, as well as the illustrations being hidden from view within the books. Current or further research may also lead to interesting questions regarding the correlation between these early modern print books and flower paintings of the same time period.

Relevance to the Field

Extensive efforts have been made to understand the meaning of floral symbols in seventeenth-century Dutch visual media such as painting and drawing. The interpretive methods of the British art historian Paul Taylor (*Dutch Flower Painting, 1600-1720*, 1995) and the Dutch biologist turned art historian Sam Segal (*Geloof in Natuur: Bloemen met Betekenis*, 2012) are just two examples of well-established scholarship on this issue. However, this issue has not been nearly as extensively discussed regarding book illustrations. This is mostly due to collections being difficult to access as well as the illustrations being hidden from view within. Fortunately, there exists a large amount of primary source material available by using digitized sources and library collections. The study of the tulip as a motif has been difficult in the past as well, not only due to the previous issues of hard-to-access collections, but also due to greatly misleading claims that scholars have made about the tulip as an object of art and trade in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The evidence provided by Anne Goldgar (*Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, 2007), Professor of Early Modern European history at King's College London, who's research has proven to be very enlightening on this subject. Indeed, she is one of the first scholars to critically evaluate the literature regarding the tulip trade and make more informed conclusions based on her archival research rather than depending on wild estimations. This thesis, aims to utilize and build upon and complement her research centering around archival evidence with a focus on emblem literature, in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the iconological significance of the tulip in Dutch art and culture.

In a wider sense, this research may provide insights into expanding the methodological framework for determining floral symbolism in media other than books. For example, this research may add to the discourse on the interpretation of floral symbolism in Dutch flower pieces. Paul Taylor argues that no method yet exists to determine such symbolism in flower pieces which lack accompanying objects.¹⁰ Is it possible for this to be revealed, at least in part, by flower symbolism in book illustrations? Books were meant for frequent, if not daily, use; they were portable and highly prolific. Therefore, perhaps it is reasonable to argue that images of flowers in books could have played a significant role in the interpretation of paintings due to these considerations? In

¹⁰ Taylor, Paul. *Dutch Flower Painting, 1600-1720*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, 55.

addition to this, the appearance of flowers in books is much easier to interpret because they are never, as this research has discovered so far, stand-alone objects in an image. They are always accompanied by either classical or biblical figures or objects in an interior or landscape (or text as is the case with emblem books). Therefore, it may be possible to discover meaningful connections between emblem books and flower pieces of the same period.

Research Questions

The main focus of this research involves discovering possible keys to understanding floral symbolism in emblem books printed in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth-century. More specifically, which meanings were ascribed to the tulip in seventeenth-century Dutch art and literature? Thus, I ask the following question: to what extent can emblem books shed new light on the iconographical meanings of the tulip within the wider iconological context of the art and culture of the Dutch Golden Age? To answer this question, a number of sub-questions will be explored in the following chapters, specifically regarding how the tulip as a symbol helps reveal these wider contexts as they pertain to the examples discussed. Chapter 1 will address the following question: what is the historiography relating to the symbolic function of the tulip in seventeenth-century Dutch art? It will address the issue of whether the historiography of tulip symbolism is accurate when compared to the primary sources. This chapter will involve a discussion on the emergence of emblematics as a field of study, how this method is applied to the study of floral symbolism, and an overview of the confusing state of research regarding the tulipmania. This mania was a significant event for the socio-economic history of the Netherlands. This chapter will discuss an earlier debate on connections between culture and economics in relation to tulipmania. For chapters 2 and 3, first iconographical meanings of each emblem discussed will be analyzed. This will be followed by an iconological framework for interpreting each emblem. Chapter 2 begins the discussion on tulip symbolism. How was the tulip used as a symbol of virtue? Seven examples of emblems are included which involve concepts of devotion, chastity and honorable industry, as well as the multiplicity of Creation. These are included to highlight examples of the tulip as a symbol of virtue. Chapter 3 involves the tulip as a symbol of vice, presented by Emblem V from Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*. Here, the economic and cultural contexts of the emblem (and its author) will be examined. Finally, the research questions will be addressed in the conclusion of the thesis.

Theoretical Context

Erwin Panofsky's interpretive method

Due to this thesis's focus on interpreting the tulip as a symbol, it is imperative that this discussion returns to the roots of the study of iconography. Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) was a German-American art historian who became highly recognized with his publication of *Studies in Iconology* (1939) and *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953).¹¹ Panofsky's pioneering method was used to interpret High Medieval Christian art as other art forms such as genre, still life, and landscape had not yet been studied at the time of his analysis. Panofsky simply mentions these genres of art as lacking conventional subject matter, that is, the iconographic tradition which points to generally identifying a meaning or message of the artwork.¹² However, since Panofsky's analysis, many historians, including Bergström, Taylor, and Segal, have expanded his tripartite method of interpretation to include still life (See the discussion in Chapter 1 below). This thesis will explore to what extent Eddy de Jongh's explanation of the connection between still life and emblem books is sufficiently convincing to expand Panofsky's method to the interpretation of emblem books as well. This is the methodology which will be utilized in this thesis. For each emblem which is being analyzed, the analysis will be divided into three parts, according to Panofsky's model; a pre-iconographical description of the emblem, the iconographical analysis, and the iconographical synthesis. This theoretical model is very useful for emblematics; it is necessary, especially for the understanding of tulip emblems, to approach the analysis from the ground-up. This begins with the simpler issues of who, what, when, and where, and finally, why and how. Identifying these aspects of each emblem will allow for the formation of a stronger foundation for studying each emblem. Through this interpretive method and formal analysis, this thesis aims to illuminate the role of the tulip in Dutch emblem books. Each emblem discussed will be visually, or formally, analyzed. In this way, all the separate elements of the images will be analyzed, such as what appears in the foreground, middle ground, and background. Where the tulip appears in the image will also be of special importance. This, then, will allow for the deeper level

¹¹ More information about Panofsky can be found here: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Erwin-Panofsky>. Date accessed: 2/7/2019.

¹² Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. Boca Raton, FL: Taylor and Francis, 1972, 8.

of interpretation to understand the tulip's meaning(s). The analysis of the visual elements of the images will then be compared to the text accompanying them in order to interpret the images.

This research aims to explore more fully the different meanings of the tulip in Dutch emblem books, therefore, it is necessary to begin with the first two steps of Panofsky's method and work towards a more in-depth knowledge of the cultural context(s) from which the emblems emerged. While the first two areas of Panofsky's argument were seen as the most valid or concrete during his time, the third element of his argument, the most hypothetical of the three, has certainly become more accessible to current historians with the emergence of cultural history. Indeed, this may now be one of the most significant strengths of Panofsky's method in use today. Another element of Panofsky's approach, which is inexorably linked to the subject of this research, is his theory of "disguised symbolism"¹³. Disguised symbolism is Panofsky's term to describe the trend in the arts of the Burgundian Netherlands in which naturalism, in which the image is created to appear more life-like, is reconciled with the traditional symbols used in Christian art. Previously, these symbols had often been included in the composition in such a way that they detracted from the life-like appearance of the image. In the art of the Flemish primitives, for example, Mary would be accompanied by a vase of white lilies to symbolize her purity and this object would be presented in the image in an overtly obvious manner. With van Eyck, Panofsky argues, naturalism and symbolism were combined in such a way to create illusionistic, religiously inspired scenes.¹⁴ For example, van Eyck uses a contemporary interior as the setting and places Mary next to a table upon which rests a vase of white lilies. Now the scene is more realistic and relatable to the viewer. In this way, the symbolic objects are disguised as everyday objects and contribute to the hidden meaning of the paintings. The example of the lily, relevant to the study of floral symbolism, will be discussed next.

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate this change. Figure 1, *The Annunciation* attributed to Petrus Christus, is a painting which depicts a woman holding a book. She stands in the doorway of a building made of stone. A bird hovers over her as she engages with a winged man in front of her.

¹³ Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953; repr. New York: Harper & Row, 1971), I, 141.

¹⁴ Panofsky. 1971, I, 143.

Based on the details of the painting, such as the figures' dress as well as the building or surrounding landscape, it is not easy to geographically or temporally pinpoint this scene. However, for now discarding the title of the painting which serves as the main clue, there are hints within the image that inform the viewer. If the viewer is familiar with Western Christian biblical tradition, as well as pictorial traditions, he will identify the book as the Bible (or a prayer book), the bird as the dove (symbol of the Holy Spirit), and the man as the angel Gabriel. Having prior knowledge of the biblical story of the Annunciation will allow the viewer to recognize the woman as Mary, who is now being told she will give birth to Christ. To Mary's right, visible just behind the stone entryway, is a vase of lilies. As a symbol of Mary's physical and spiritual purity, the lilies are another hint as to the identity of the figure(s). The creator of the image recognized the need to include such an important detail in his painting. However, due to the need to keep the image naturalistic, the lilies were placed in a vase which rests on an entryway table. It is a charming and ingenious inclusion. The viewer can almost place themselves in the place of the visitor, enjoying the sight of the flowers as he enters the building.

Figure 2 is a much later example from seventeenth-century Utrecht which demonstrates a similar concept. Here, some of the same visual elements are included. The scene reveals an interior with Mary praying. The dove appears again above her. The lily is also present in the scene. This time, Gabriel holds the lily in his hand as he gestures towards the Holy Spirit. (He also holds a cattail, symbolic of Christ's future Passion.) Often times, the pictorial traditions originating in painting are taken up by artists of other mediums, such as writers of emblem or prayer books. In this case, the tradition is enhanced to become more explicit; the angel holds the flower in his hand. The lily becomes an active object in the scene. Thus, flowers are not always used as disguised symbols, but rather active elements.

Disguised symbolism, regardless of where an author falls on this issue, is relevant to the study of floral symbolism. Panofsky's concept is very useful for analyzing Dutch and Flemish art and searching through the picture plane into the relevant cultural issues which informed its creation. His argument, however, lies strongly on one side of the interpretive spectrum; just as naturalism became the preeminent trend, disguised symbolism followed suit¹⁵. This symbolism

¹⁵ Panofsky, I, 1971, 142.

supposedly applies to every object, both man-made and organic. It is important to note that Panofsky did not intend for this method to be extended to still life, including flower pieces. It can be argued that this is due to the genre being unstudied at the time of his research. Later authors, beginning with Bergström¹⁶, have sought to remedy this situation in their own research. However, the question remains: if Panofsky's method can indeed be extended to still life painting, to what extent is it applicable? This is an especially pertinent question when analyzing flower pieces, which often do not include other objects which may offer more hints into the intention of the artwork. Is it the case that all flowers retain their own separate meanings within an image? Should the image only be read as a whole? Or, are flowers only intended to beautify a work of art? Could there be a middle ground? His assumption that all realistic art incorporated symbolic objects is a step too far; it is an overgeneralization. These are all issues raised by Eddy De Jongh, who will be discussed in the next subchapter.

How relevant is Panofsky's approach in regards to emblem books? This is a very curious question, especially in regards to the tulip specifically. This thesis incorporates examples of emblems which often portray the tulip as the central focal point. It is also possible to have textual references to the tulip in the accompanying text. One such example of this is Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*. This, then, can be argued that Panofsky's method of hidden symbolism does not apply because the flower is visually and textually the main character, of sorts, of the emblem which serves to reveal the moralizing message. However, other examples will be given which utilize the tulip in a more hidden way, such as an emblem by Jacob Cats in *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven*. Therefore, Panofsky's theory of hidden symbolism can apply to Dutch emblem books and must not be discounted outright.

¹⁶ Bergström, Ingvar. *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth-Century*. London: Faber and Faber, 1956.

Eddy De Jongh and the interpretation(s) of floral symbolism

An analysis of the academic debate surrounding the symbolism of Dutch art, specifically emblems, must begin with Eddy de Jongh. This includes discussions on floral symbolism and the extent to which disguised symbolism plays a role in this genre. In his contribution to *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective* (1999) titled “The Iconological Approach to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting”, De Jongh explains the development of the art historical study known as iconology which originated in nineteenth-century France as partly a reactionary movement to the aesthetic approach popularized among connoisseurs. As opposed to the iconologists, they focused only on interpreting art through the lens of “aesthetics, style, and psychology of artists rather than its content”.¹⁷ He points out the art critics’ mistake of projecting their own present-day biases on the artists of the past, namely the contemporary idea of “art for art’s sake”.¹⁸ Looking back, De Jongh describes this moment in history as emotionally driven; priority is given to the supposed psyche of the artist and intellectualism is rejected. Thus, the iconologists saw a need to reconstruct the (potential) meaning(s) of Dutch art through more evidential means. Perhaps the Dutch artists created artworks that acted as “vehicle[s] of meaning”¹⁹ in which the content of these artworks should be understood within their historical context, their relationship to cultural phenomena, and the specific ideas which they impart on the viewer.²⁰ De Jongh goes on to describe iconology as a new field of study in the Warburg Institute, which focused on the Italian Renaissance, in which scholars sought to know the function of art in its original society, how it was seen by contemporaries, and what religious and political aims it supported.²¹ While there was little communication between the Warburg Institute and Dutch art historians, two of the authorities on Dutch cultural history, Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) and Gerard Knuttel (1889-1968), suspected there was more under the surface of Dutch art. De Jongh states that Huizinga, with a background in art history, analyzed art with a combination of approaches focused on aesthetics, connoisseurship, and content.²² As such, he argued that genre,

¹⁷ De Jongh, Eddy. “The Iconological Approach to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting”, in: *The golden age of Dutch painting in historical perspective*. F. Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen (eds.), 1999, 200.

¹⁸ De Jongh. 1999, 200.

¹⁹ De Jongh. 1999, 200.

²⁰ De Jongh. 1999, 200.

²¹ De Jongh. 1999, 204.

²² De Jongh. 1999, 208.

still life, and landscape painting contained “more than meets the eye”²³ and went so far as to suggest that each and every flower contained its own symbolic meaning. While this second assertion is potentially too overly-ambitious, De Jongh is here explaining the scholars’ first foray into this field. Some of them were following very closely in Panofsky’s footsteps in ascribing his argument (which tipped far to one side of the scale) to flower pieces. His explanation continues with describing the increased institutionalization of iconography in the 1950’s and ‘60s, especially with Ingvar Bergström, author of *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth-Century* (1956). De Jongh describes Bergström as one of the first to conduct solid research into the still life genre, arguing that Erwin Panofsky’s theory of disguised symbolism can also apply to still life, genre scenes, and portraits.²⁴

De Jongh’s theory draws parallels with Panofsky’s. Both theorists posit that the issue of interpreting objects may find solutions in pictorial tradition and contemporary texts. Panofsky states that “established representational tradition” and texts and ideas “demonstrably alive in the period and presumably familiar to its artists”²⁵ are needed to firmly reconstruct possible symbolism. Arguing that seventeenth-century Dutch art functioned as a vehicle of meaning, De Jongh takes Panofsky’s comment further. He states that to reconstruct this symbolism, historians should use “[c]ontemporary and earlier literature, prints with inscriptions, emblems, and pictorial tradition itself can enable us to get some hold on the meaning of individual parts and thence ultimately on the meaning of a still life as a whole”.²⁶ Thus, the crux of his argument lies in the combination of image and text. De Jongh refers to Panofsky’s theory of disguised symbolism as “veiled symbolism”.²⁷ His method of interpreting this veiled symbolism is by identifying the various “tone-setting elements”²⁸ which help to reveal the intended impact of the scene. The elements, De Jongh argues, relate and connect with one another to emphasize meaning.²⁹ Some of these objects are easily identifiable and supposedly serve to specify which genre of still life

²³ De Jongh. 1999, 208.

²⁴ De Jongh. 1999, 208.

²⁵ Panofsky, I, 1971, 142-3.

²⁶ De Jongh, Eddy. *Questions of meaning: theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century painting*. Leiden: Primavera, 2000, 132.

²⁷ De Jongh. 2000, 130.

²⁸ De Jongh. 2000, 132.

²⁹ De Jongh, 2000, 132.

painting the image belongs to. (Such as skulls, hourglasses, and bubbles which immediately define the image as vanitas, paintings which serve as meditations on the transience of life and the inevitability of death).

There are, of course, various strengths and weaknesses to De Jongh's argumentation and he has been critiqued by other historians. There is one overarching issue which can be criticized. His theoretical framework can potentially become too mechanical or automatic, especially regarding his argument for the interpretation of vanitas paintings. While, as he argues, it is crucial to examine contemporary texts (and especially artworks with inscriptions), it is arguable that this evidence cannot guarantee that every similar artwork was created with the same intention. This becomes increasingly difficult regarding still life as it is one of the genres which lack contemporary treatises. However, De Jongh foresees this issue and recognizes that general statements cannot be made about an entire genre.³⁰ Some works may have only intended for general associations. Additionally, he states that historians must be aware of the possibility that some artworks may have been created or commissioned without any specific meaning whatsoever.³¹ Ultimately, De Jongh adds that scholars must do their best to reconstruct possible seventeenth-century intentions while being aware, to the best of their abilities, of their own biases and shortcomings³². In the end, this form of research cannot (yet, at least) yield "absolute truths".³³

Despite De Jongh's attempt to carefully explain his proposed method, there have been those who accuse him of falling to an extreme side of the spectrum. Svetlana Alpers is a prime example of this. In her text *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Alpers refutes De Jongh's argument, essentially entirely. This is especially the case for his Panofsky-inspired theory of veiled symbolism. Alpers states, "[r]ejecting the radically reductive view that Dutch art is a mirror of reality, De Jongh moves to embrace a polar opposite, which is to my mind equally reductive".³⁴ It is simply not the case that De Jongh embraces this opposite judging from his previous commentary. He openly confronts the issue of being unable to prove that all artworks

³⁰ De Jongh, 2000, 140.

³¹ De Jongh, 2000, 132.

³² De Jongh, 2000, 103.

³³ De Jongh, 2000, 103.

³⁴ Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009, 229.

were saturated with hidden meaning(s). In fact, Alpers describes both sides of the issue and places herself squarely on one side. She states, “It *cannot* be argued that Dutch emblems or the paintings related to them are curious and inventive in respect to their consideration of our moral existence. What they *are* curious and inventive about is representation”.³⁵ In her view, historians must focus on Dutch art as being descriptive, especially during this time of scientific revolution. In this way, Alpers takes the argument of Panofsky, and later De Jongh, that naturalism and hidden symbolism developed alongside each other and recognizes only the trend towards naturalism. She places prominence on the surface level of the image, such as in her discussion on Jacob Cats’ emblem books and Gerrit Dou’s “brushless, clear surfaces”³⁶ which reveals “the painterly transformation of attention to the surface of the page”.³⁷

However, De Jongh recognizes that this scientific revolution plays a role in various Dutch artworks, especially in terms of botany and classification.³⁸ It must be said that Alper’s argumentation depends on specific selections which could, even then, be used against her. She is offering an ultimatum, the very thing which she herself found unacceptable about her view of De Jongh’s argument. While her text offers a different interpretation of Dutch art, it is unconvincing in light of the evidence, tempered by a healthy amount of common sense, provided by De Jongh. The debate between these two authors demonstrates how varied opinions can be on the subject of symbolism in Dutch art. What does this mean for reconstructing Dutch views on the tulip? Did emblem writers simply seek to represent this aspect of their experience, or do tulip emblems reveal moral attitudes towards various social contexts? This thesis argues for the later.

The relevance of economic history for interpreting emblems

When addressing tulip symbolism in Dutch art, the issue of the economic history of the Dutch Republic must be discussed. This is because the tulip played a central role in the tulipmania, or the craze for collecting tulips which began in the late 16th and reached its zenith in 1637.

³⁵ Alpers. 2009, 230.

³⁶ Alpers. 2009, 231.

³⁷ Alpers. 2009, 231.

³⁸ De Jongh. 2000, 134.

Although more recent scholars have argued against the previously-held position of earlier writers who argued that the tulipmania led to widespread bankruptcy and economic decline, the tulip trade was an historical event which must receive attention from both the lens of economic as well as cultural history. This allows the academic discussion to properly place the tulipmania within its proper context. This information must then be connected to its relevance in art, in this case emblem literature.

It has been argued by historians that the Dutch Republic was the first capitalist society. Jan de Vries gives a macroeconomic analysis of the Dutch economy from 1500-1815 in his text *The First Modern Economy: success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815*. De Vries divides the economic history of the Dutch Republic into five periods and examined issues such as identifying the reason for its extreme growth and what later stagnated development. The author mentions two phases of the Golden Age economy: 1580-1621 and 1621-63. The first phase involves the rapid growth and development of trade in the Republic. The growth of trading capital, combined with significant additions of immigrants into the Republic, soon eclipsed the actual trade volume.³⁹ This led to specific developments which are important to discuss in order to put the tulipmania, discussed later, into its proper context. De Vries explains that at this stage, merchants secured the materials from suppliers through credit.⁴⁰ Additionally, customers were bound to the merchants through bills of exchange which they used to finance the commodities.⁴¹ More and more, risky enterprises became commonplace. De Vries states that the domestic market for staple commodities remained stable, however, “[t]he risks of holding inventories in this period were especially great because markets for many goods were thin and volatile”.⁴² He goes on to discuss the next phase of the economy in the Golden Age, 1621-63. De Vries states, “[a]fter the commercial crisis of 1618-21, the rate of growth of nearly all European markets decelerated”.⁴³ It is important to note here that the author makes no mention of national ruin in 1637 due to the tulip trade. The author explains this deceleration was due to the not-so-smooth transition from a

³⁹ De Vries, Jan and Ad van der Woude. *The first modern economy: success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 669.

⁴⁰ De Vries. 2010, 669.

⁴¹ De Vries. 2010, 669.

⁴² De Vries. 2010, 671.

⁴³ De Vries. 2010, 672.

precapitalist to merchant capitalist system.⁴⁴ This new system the Republic was enjoying couldn't provide a secure future for itself. De Vries states that this is due to it being the "fragile product of the privileged economic niche occupied... by the Republic".⁴⁵ Because of this, the author argues that merchant capitalism was not able to successfully transform the Dutch economy. The "self-interest" of merchants was a significant factor.⁴⁶ "Merchants profiting from exchange, it is argued, expressed little interest in technical or organizational changes that could radically lower costs, broaden markets, or increase competition"⁴⁷. Therefore, these merchants believed that keeping their profits was dependent on the monopolization of the market, thus reducing growth which led to self-imposed stagnation.

How does this discussion of the economic history of the Dutch Republic relate to the subject of this research? This genre is also extremely useful for understanding the issues that surrounded Dutch citizens, such as economic concerns. One of the authors addressing this issue is Peter M. Daly. Daly explains the issue of economic concerns in emblem literature in his article "Sixteenth-century Emblems and Imprese as Indicators of Cultural Change". As the title reveals, Daly's focus is on sixteenth-century emblems, specifically Italian emblems. He also focuses on the first emblem book, *Emblemata* (1531) by Andrea Alciato. Although Daly's research focus is different than that of this thesis, his method is incredibly valuable to this study. The author's central argument involves the ways in which emblems reveal changes of culture and the reactions of emblem writers (and by extension their communities) to those changes. He states, "A history of motifs in selected emblems may well tell us something about allegory and cultural change, because different emblem writers within different interpretive communities frequently encode the same materials differently".⁴⁸ Additionally, he states, "Emblem books do, however, provide evidence of ethical, social, political, and religious principles, and occasionally economic concerns"⁴⁹. He argues that such emblems promote existing values while referencing both general as well as specific contemporary events.⁵⁰ Specifically, emblems may have been used to address economic

⁴⁴ De Vries. 2010, 690.

⁴⁵ De Vries. 2010, 691.

⁴⁶ De Vries. 2010, 691.

⁴⁷ De Vries. 2010, 692.

⁴⁸ Daly, Peter M. 'Sixteenth-century Emblems and Imprese as Indicators of Cultural Change', in: *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*. Jon Whitman (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 2003, 394.

⁴⁹ Daly. 2003, 396.

⁵⁰ Daly. 2003, 397.

issues regarding the emerging proto-capitalist system. The case study Daly uses to illustrate this is Alciato's marriage emblem. The motto reads: "Quare contrahendum Matrimonium" or "Why one should marry".⁵¹ He explains that the epigram refers to describing the ideal circumstances for a successful life involving marriage. More specifically speaking, Daly argues that this emblem may reference the changing attitudes towards property and capital/wealth⁵². He states, "In the context of Alciato's 212 emblems such economic and social comment is a minor if overlooked aspect. While their importance should not be exaggerated, these concerns bespeak changes taking place in the culture of the time"⁵³. He also states, "[e]mblems do reveal something of the confused situation facing the middle class caught up in social and economic changes as early modern Europe went through its proto-capitalist phase".⁵⁴ Emblems involve subjects which affected all strata of Dutch society. Although, according to Daly, the subject of economics did not feature prominently in sixteenth-century emblems, it still warrants attention from scholars. This issue, in the context of seventeenth-century Dutch emblem books will be discussed in Chapter 3.

After checking this survey for connections between flowers and the economy, the STCN was searched for emblem book titles which seem to specifically involve economic concerns, on the basis of words in the title such as *oeconomica*. It must be noted that *oeconomica* was not defined the same way that the term *economy* is now used. Instead, it held a connotation for the maintenance of domestic and household affairs.⁵⁵ A few titles emerged, the first being Bernardus Gerbrandus Furmerius's 1609 edition of *Emblemata moralia, et oeconomica, de rerum usu et abusu* (1609), translated by Richardus Lubbaeus. However, no mentions of flowers were located in this text. The second title, Jacob Cats' *Proteus, of Minne-Beelden* (1658) yielded more results. In the second part of the text, titled *Emblemata moralia et oeconomica*, there are three emblems involving flowers. First, Emblem XXVI includes a pictura of an ornamental garden. Only the rose is mentioned in the subscriptio, but tulips can be seen in garden plots. The second emblem which includes flowers is Emblem XXXII; crown imperials make an appearance here. Finally, the last

⁵¹ Daly. 2003, 411.

⁵² Daly. 2003, 411.

⁵³ Daly. 2003, 410.

⁵⁴ Daly. 2003, 416.

⁵⁵ <https://latin-dictionary.net/definition/28557/oeconomicus-oeconomica-oeconomicum>. Date accessed: 8/7/2019.

emblem with flowers is Emblem XL. This incorporates roses and is mentioned by Taylor.⁵⁶ However, none of these examples linked flowers to economic issues.

Methodology

Gathering Material

Arkyves Image Database

In order to discover more about the tulip in Dutch emblems, it was necessary to utilize the most pertinent digital sources to compile information on the primary sources. Firstly, the Arkyves image database offers 33 results under the Iconclass code “25G41(TULIP)”. The Netherlands Institute for Art History defines the Iconclass system as follows: “Iconclass is a classification system designed for art and iconography. It is the most widely accepted scientific tool for the description and retrieval of subjects represented in images (works of art, book illustrations, reproductions, photographs, etc.) and is used by museums and art institutions around the world”.⁵⁷ The biggest drawback of this database is that searches must be specifically targeted, otherwise the database will crash the user’s browser. Even a search such as “25G41”, the Iconclass code for “flowers”, yields too many results which will cause the database to crash. Therefore, I simply used the Iconclass code for tulips, rather than checking all entries for flowers in which tulips may have been overlooked. This marks one area of future improvement. Another consideration when using Arkyves is that many of the search results originate in Germany after 1700, and thus outside of the scope of my current research.⁵⁸ Of the 36 results, seven are pertinent to my research in terms of date and location of printing.

Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands

The primary database used in this research is the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands or STCN. This database is a bibliographic research tool which acts as a bibliography for the period

⁵⁶ Taylor. 1995, 59.

⁵⁷ More information can be found here: <http://www.iconclass.nl/home>. Date accessed: 2/7/2019.

⁵⁸ Most of these entries emerge from Augsburg, which is not surprising as this was the first location in Western Europe where the tulip was first recorded as seen by Gesner. Taylor. 1995, 2.

1540-1800. The goal of the STCN is to contain an entry for every single book published in the Netherlands up to 1801 as well as every Dutch-language book published abroad. As of early 2018, there were listed 210,000 titles and over 550,000 editions. New titles are added to the STCN on a daily basis.⁵⁹ Few parameters were used to filter the results. The subject heading specified “emblem books” and the year of publication ranged from the period 1600-1700. This, of course, broaches the issue of depending fully on the database’s classification of an emblem book, which is a topic of hot debate among academics of emblem literature. While this is a very valid concern, given the preliminary nature of this research, this is an issue to be explored at a later time. Currently, results were filtered based on the database’s classification. This search, so far, offers 373 results for titles and editions. At this point, titles were evaluated manually. The vast majority of emblem books could be consulted online using Google Books. Of the few which were not digitized, I was able to consult most of them in the library of the University of Amsterdam’s Special Collections. An even smaller number of titles were not held in any library in the Netherlands, but these cases were very limited. Regardless of whether an online or physical edition of an emblem book was being consulted, every emblem was carefully visually examined to identify the presence of flowers.

While the primary focus of this research involves flowers within the picturae, texts were also searched manually (i.e. searching each page “by hand”) and with the OCR feature in Google Books. This allowed for a more efficient search for instances of flowers mentioned in the text. For example, each text was searched for “bloem(e)” and “bloemen”. Depending on the nature of the book, the title, and especially the title page, further searches included specific varieties such as “roos”, “ros(z)en”, “lelie”, “leliën”, or “tulp”.⁶⁰ Instances were recorded in the document with a brief summary of their context therein. Cases were also documented in which flowers (generally or specific varieties) that were present in the picturae were not mentioned in the text, as far as the OCR revealed. In addition, a very small number of cases were recorded when the title was of

⁵⁹ More information on the STCN database can be found here: <https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn>. Date accessed: 12/2/2019.

⁶⁰ These searches change, of course, depending on the language the text was published in. For example, terms such as “flos”, “flores”, “tulipa”, etc. were used when texts were published in Latin. This is also the case for texts including multiple languages.

obvious relation to this study but isn't digitized or held in a collection in the Netherlands.⁶¹ The majority of text searches relied on OCR, however, I am aware of the current limitations of this technology in terms of searches and character recognition. While I recorded a few entries of flowers mentioned in the text without being present in the picturae, future research would involve searching for all instances of flowers in the text (manually or with improved OCR technology).

Results

Of the 409 tulip books studied (373 from the STCN and 36 from Arkyves), 84 emblem books included flowers in the pictura, motto, and/or subscriptio. Of this subset, 16 emblem books included tulips. The emblems and title pages with flowers totaled 273, of which 29 included tulips. The scant inclusions of tulips surprised me, and I will return to this point later in this thesis.

All results were compiled into a document titled "Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands: Emblem Books" which compiles a survey of all instances of flowers in seventeenth-century Dutch emblem books, including engraved title pages and picturae. All entries from the STCN for the period 1600-1700 which included flowers were recorded and described. Information on the author, engraver (when possible), date, place of publication, specific flower varieties pictured, a short description of the text, as well as an image of the emblem were recorded. For the purposes of this thesis, I will only be focusing on the instances recorded which involve tulips.

Available in the Appendix⁶² is a list of all the Dutch emblems (from 1600-1700) which include tulips. This appendix is, of course, subject to change as more information surely comes to light in the future. While this research is a work in progress, certain preliminary conclusions are able to me made. Sixteen emblem books include 29 images of the tulip in varying contexts. For the purposes of this thesis, eight examples were selected out of these images to demonstrate the wealth of associations surrounding the tulip. These examples were compiled based on the general

⁶¹ One example of this being "Het hofken der gheestlicker bloemen" by Jan van Gorcum. I made a note of such examples in the interest of possible future research.

⁶² I have seen no publications on tulip symbolism which have included all emblems containing tulips. For this reason, I felt it necessary to include an appendix detailing them in this thesis.

themes which they share, these are divided into four categories in the subsequent chapters. These include emblems which have received much attention, as well as examples discussed for the first time. While the other examples have not been discussed in this thesis, they are available for analysis in the Appendix.

Chapter Overview

First, Chapter 1 involves a discussion on the historiography of the tulip as a symbol in Dutch emblems. This begins with Eddy De Jongh and the development of emblematics to understand where the study of floral symbolism emerged. Next, the theories and methods of Paul Taylor and Sam Segal, two leading scholars on floral symbolism in Dutch art, are described. Finally, the confusing accounts of the tulipmania told by major historians will be addressed. This was a major event in the story of the tulip, and inaccurate study of it has led to misguided attributions of the tulip as a symbol. Chapter 2 begins the iconographical and iconological study of the tulip as a symbol of virtue. Seven examples reveal the tulip's association with issues ranging from devotion, chastity, and the multiplicity of Creation. Chapter 3, the tulip as a symbol of vice, involves a discussion on Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* (1614). An alternative view of this emblem will be suggested. A summary of the findings of this research will be included in the concluding section.

Chapter 1: What is the historiography relating to the symbolic function of the tulip in seventeenth-century Dutch art?

1.1 The Emergence of Emblematics

Before delving into the issues surrounding the debate on the tulip in Dutch art and society⁶³, this thesis begins with an examination of the development of the emblematic trend in art history as explained by Dutch art historian Eddy de Jongh of Utrecht University. Since the 1960s, De Jongh is one of the pioneering authors on the various methods for interpreting the varying degrees of symbolism present in Dutch art.

Eddy de Jongh and emblematic studies

In his seminal text *Questions of meaning: Theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century painting* (2000), De Jongh makes the case that textual sources are the ultimate source for reconstructing the themes and motifs used by Dutch artists. While his discussion begins with genre pieces, his theory also relates to still life and other genres which lack definitive “data”.⁶⁴ How can historians reconstruct the contemporary views of these genres? De Jongh suggests using contemporary literature (in a general sense), emblem books (especially), artworks and prints with inscriptions, and other sources which combine text with images. He is subscribing to the method of iconology in which textual sources, and their relation to images, take precedence. De Jongh’s argument for this is compelling. He explains that the “sister arts of painting and poetry”⁶⁵ were very closely connected in the seventeenth-century and painters of the age sought the same prestige as poets (or writers of literature more generally). However, De Jongh is careful to assert which

⁶³ It is important to note that the tulip does not appear in one of the preeminent monographs on symbolic art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *Emblemata : Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. Supplement der Erstaussgabe*, written by literary historian Arthur Henkel and Germanist Albrecht Schöne.

⁶⁴ De Jongh. 2000, 92.

⁶⁵ De Jongh. 2000, 92.

areas may cause confusion. While a text's (or especially an emblem's) popularity among its contemporary readership must be considered, this is not necessarily the key to understanding it. Historians must also seek to understand the "sociological context"⁶⁶ of the readership. For example, while an emblem may be very popular, some patrons were interested in creating new images and interpretations based on more little-known sources. He ultimately decides it must be a case by case assessment. A further issue he illuminates regarding iconology is historians' "base of interpretation".⁶⁷ The fault in this, De Jongh explains, is that most modern historians depend on Gerard de Lairese, an art theorist during the Golden Age, and his argument regarding symbolic scenes. De Lairese's method leads to "definitive readings"⁶⁸ of these scenes (he is specifically referencing vanitas scenes) in which separate meanings can occur within the context of vanitas. De Jongh interjects that this method of interpretation was probably limited to the smaller, more affluent circles within Amsterdam.⁶⁹ His conclusion is that logic may not be the best tool to use here, given the varied intentions of writers and artists. He states that currently, "we are not in a position to design a more relevant method" for reconstructing the symbolism of Dutch images. Instead, he argues that scholars should aim to understand the creators, thus correcting the mistakes of past scholars, especially those from the nineteenth-century.⁷⁰ (Though he rightly asserts that modern scholars will inevitably make their own mistakes.) And, fundamentally, it may be the case that no "ultimate truths" are available to us as they were neither available to the authors, artists, viewers and readers in their original context.

De Jongh explains his theory in more detail regarding still life paintings. He begins by illustrating one of the most prevalent characteristics, by his assertion, of seventeenth-century Dutch art; interpreting everyday objects as having (or being given) meaning. It must be noted that this assertion is not held by all art historians. This is a continuation of medieval forms of expression and still life painting is a good, if not the best, example of these visual metaphors. This issue still remains, however, of fully comprehending the intended meaning(s) of each image. He describes the sources for reconstruction as "[c]ontemporary and earlier literature, prints with inscriptions,

⁶⁶ De Jongh. 2000, 92.

⁶⁷ De Jongh. 2000, 98.

⁶⁸ De Jongh. 2000, 99.

⁶⁹ De Jongh. 2000, 100.

⁷⁰ De Jongh. 2000, 103.

emblems, and pictorial tradition itself” which “can enable us to get some hold on the meaning of individual parts and thence ultimately on the meaning of a still life as a whole”.⁷¹ This leads to a central concept of his argument; tone-setting elements. These are objects which relate to one another and help to reinforce the meaning of the parts. For example, a vase of flowers is easier to interpret if it is accompanied by a skull, which has a clear vanitas meaning. That being said, De Jongh is quick to interject two thoughts. First, it is currently not secure to conclude that the meaning of an image can be deduced by the added meanings of all the separate elements. (While this may be the case for vanitas pieces, it is not so for other genres of still life.) Second, one can never eliminate the possibility that the artists, patrons, or viewers did not intend for any specific meanings when creating the work. There is an independent nature to the image and definitive interpretations may not apply. With little to no contemporary writings on the genre, De Jongh admits that historians can only hope to reconstruct *possible* seventeenth-century intentions which will (inevitably) be colored by our own twenty first century biases. Therefore, general statements cannot be made about the symbolic nature of still life paintings.⁷²

1.2 Tulip Symbolism in Dutch Flower Paintings

When researching flowers in Dutch art, especially the tulip, there are two main authorities who come to mind: Paul Taylor and Sam Segal. Without mentioning Taylor and Segal, this thesis would lack a great amount of essential pioneering research.

Paul Taylor *Dutch Flower Painting, 1600-1750*

Attempting to reconstruct the contexts surrounding Dutch flower paintings, as explained by Eddy de Jongh, continues to be a difficult project for historians to tackle. With little contemporary textual information to go on, coming to secure conclusions poses a considerable challenge. One of the first and most comprehensive studies into flower paintings was completed by Dr. Paul Taylor of the Warburg Institute in London. His dissertation was published as a book

⁷¹ De Jongh. 2000, 132.

⁷² De Jongh. 2000, 140.

titled *Dutch Flower Painting, 1600-1750* (1995) and a subsequent exhibition inspired by his text was held at the Dulwich Picture Gallery.⁷³ Taylor offers a four part division of the development of flower paintings. First, Taylor describes the pioneering artists of the period 1600-1620. These include Jacques de Gheyn, Ambrosius Bosschaert, Jan Brueghel and Roelandt Savery. This era denotes an emerging scientific precision as natural history became a leading trend in the development of science as an academic field⁷⁴. This is followed by a second quarter (1620-1650), which involves numerous significant developments in the history of the Dutch Republic. The tulipmania and widespread plague are but two important events at this time. In this period, there is observed an increased skepticism towards earthly existence and this skepticism is present in the symbolic vanitas still lifes of the time. Flowers, and even the tulip specifically, became symbols of transience and ephemerality.⁷⁵ The third era (1650-1720) involves artists such as Rachel Ruysch and Jan Davidsz de Heem. It is here that attention to fine detail and a mastery of Caravaggio-like drama combine to form dynamic compositions. Finally, the last great era of flower painting (1720-1750) is one of fashionable perfection in which artists, Jan van Huysum in particular, tended to follow new fashion trends which led to a much lighter and brighter palette and appearance.

“Flowers were objects rich in association in Golden Age Dutch culture, and it would be misleading to suggest that their only connotation was one of opulence. They could also act as reminders of the inevitability of death, or as bearers of Divine messages”⁷⁶. -Dr. Paul Taylor

According to Taylor, the wealth and variety of floral symbolism recognized by the seventeenth-century Dutch is astounding. Of the numerous objects which contained symbolic meanings, flowers are among the most interesting for scholars to study because flowers can demonstrate the staying power of long-lasting religious associations, as evidenced by the rose and lily. They also reveal contemporaries attempt to better understand their expanding world in the form of exotic specimens. In Paul Taylor’s words, flowers are, in fact, “complex historical objects”⁷⁷. One flower variety which is delightfully complex is the tulip. While this complexity is

⁷³ For more information on Dr. Taylor’s research, see the following link: <https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/paul-taylor>. Date accessed: 15/5/2019.

⁷⁴ Pavord. 1999, 145.

⁷⁵ Pavord. 1999, 145.

⁷⁶ Taylor. 1995, 1.

⁷⁷ Taylor. 1995, 1.

intriguing, this makes it difficult to fully pin down the tulip's role as an object of trade and art in the seventeenth-century.

Paul Taylor writes that the appearance of the tulip in art and literature, as opposed to flowers such as the lily which contain strong religious symbolism, is “comparatively louche”⁷⁸. This, Taylor states, results from those who were traumatized by the outcome of tulipmania. The tulip supposedly becomes associated with the vices and sins of those foolish enough to value it over God. Andrew Gebhardt states in his text *Holland Flowering: How the Dutch Flower Industry Conquered the World* (2015) that after the crash of the tulip market, writers warned against the “greed in which the tulip symbolized danger and corruption”⁷⁹. Taylor brings interesting information to light on the tulipmania which predates the arguments of later historians, such as Anne Goldgar. For example, Taylor states that “the Dutch economy as a whole was not seriously affected by the tulipmania”⁸⁰. There is no discernible change in commodity prices and the spending power of the general population which can be linked to the tulip trade. Taylor states, “of course, credit spending was hit, but since credit facilities in seventeenth-century Holland were less sophisticated than they are today, the economy as a whole noticed little difference”⁸¹. Crucially, Taylor comments that the mania's “effect on Dutch psyche, however, was considerable”⁸². And, according to Taylor, the tulip became synonymous with this shock to the Dutch psyche. Given this description as nearly the symbolic antithesis of the lily, one would expect to find this reflected in emblem literature. (The lily appears in *many* emblems throughout the seventeenth-century.)

Sam Segal *Belief in nature: flowers with a message* (2012)

Sam Segal is another primary theorist relating to floral symbolism. Unlike Taylor, Segal's work encompasses more than only flower paintings. His extensive research also includes the use of flowers in drawings, prints, and illustrations. Another strength of Segal's method is his multi-

⁷⁸ Taylor. 1995, 65.

⁷⁹ Gebhardt, Andrew. *Holland Flowering: How the Dutch Flower Industry Conquered the World*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015, 68.

⁸⁰ Taylor. 1995, 14.

⁸¹ Taylor. 1995, 14.

⁸² Taylor. 1995, 14.

focused approach. He considers the political, economic, religious, scientific and artistic influences that play a part in the symbolic significance of flowers.⁸³ Segal brings a fresh perspective to the study of flowers in Dutch art due to his slightly unconventional academic background. He majored in Biology and Philosophy at the University of Amsterdam. Soon after his thesis was completed, he began publishing on Dutch still life paintings and drawings. His first publication, *Boeket in Willet* (Amsterdam, 1970), was an exhibition catalogue which incorporated his botanical and artistic knowledge to classify various characteristics based on period. This work, as well as his subsequent publications, have served to greatly increase scholarly knowledge of correct identification of the various kinds of flowers depicted in these artworks. Segal was, in fact, the first scholar to classify them in this way.⁸⁴

One of Segal's most renowned texts is *Belief in nature: flowers with a message* (2012). In this text, Segal expands upon De Jongh's method of using contemporary sources (artworks and/or texts) to better understand the possible contemporary intentions of still life paintings (and flower pieces). Segal explains that to understand flowers as symbols, many sources, both contemporary to an artwork and predating it, can be reliably used. These sources range from the Bible, the writings of early Church Fathers, encyclopaedists, ancient Greek and Roman writings on natural history, books of allegorical symbols, sample books including engravings, mottos and commentaries, florilegia, artist manuals, and dictionaries.⁸⁵ While these sources can be invaluable for reconstructing seventeenth-century intent, Segal agrees with De Jongh's warning: it cannot be assumed that all flower paintings are intended to be deeply symbolic.

1.3 Confusing Accounts: The Phases of the Tulipmania

The historiography of the tulip and its role in Dutch art and society is extremely complex and often times confusing. Conflicting reports are given and authors use a variety of sources which do not always align with one another. The next few pages will attempt to determine how each

⁸³ Segal, Sam, Ruth Koenig, and Nabio Museum of Art (Osaka). *Flowers and nature: Netherlandish flower painting of four centuries*. Amstelveen: Hijnk International, 1990, 7.

⁸⁴ Segal, Sam. *Geloof in Natuur: Bloemen met Betekenis*. Amsterdam: Bijbels Museum, 2012, 3.

⁸⁵ Segal. 2012, 19.

authors historical bias contributed to their account of the tulipmania and its reflection in Dutch emblems.

Simon Schama *The Embarrassment of Riches*

One of the first overviews of Dutch culture appears in Simon Schama's *The Embarrassment of Riches* (1987). Schama is an historian who received his Master's from Cambridge Christ College in 1969 and specializes in seventeenth-century Dutch art and European Cultural and Environmental History.⁸⁶ He approaches the study of Dutch culture through various lenses: moral, patriotic, religious, social, and economic. As such, his study greatly benefits from this broad focus which includes many perspectives. Of relevance to this thesis is Schama's description of the tulipmania both in terms of its economic effect on the Dutch Republic as well as its significant social effects. He gives one of the most in-depth accounts of the trade that I have read in the literature on the subject. Very interestingly, he begins with an explanation of the beginnings of the speculative practice in Amsterdam, namely at The Bourse, which was the only licensed location in Amsterdam to conduct the share and stock exchange.⁸⁷ He explains that this was where the *windhandel*, which is the Dutch term to describe the mania at its height, of many commodities, was able to gain a foothold in Dutch economic practice. Schama states, "Common practice to offer shares which either were not yet in their possession or for which they had not yet paid, on the assumption that they could be off-loaded for a profit by the time their initial obligation fell due".⁸⁸ This practice was bedeviled by the States, magistrate, and church as a fraudulent exercise.⁸⁹ Schama states that in the context of this emerging capitalist economy "it was in fact only a more extreme form of the practices which arose naturally in an economy where delivery times were bound to be uncertain and prolonged".⁹⁰ This connects with information given by Mike Dash, who is explained later in this analysis of the historiography. Dash discusses the development of the futures market in Amsterdam, explaining that by the early seventeenth-century the practice

⁸⁶ For more information on Schama, see: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/arthistory/faculty/Schama.html>.
Date accessed: 6/6/2019.

⁸⁷ Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. London: Collins, 1987, 349.

⁸⁸ Schama. 1987, 349.

⁸⁹ Schama. 1987, 349.

⁹⁰ Schama. 1987, 350.

of purchasing items in the stock exchange had begun among merchants for various commodities, including timber and spices.⁹¹ Understandably, the shipment and delivery of commodities was under great risks of many kinds at this early stage of global trade, which will not be enumerated here. Therefore, merchants needed quicker ways to finalize transactions, even if they did not currently possess the items. As Schama points out, since this practice of selling futures originated in The Bourse, “the chances were that it would develop spontaneously elsewhere”.⁹² This does prove to be the case, especially regarding the sale of tulips and bulbs.

Schama gives a detailed account of the tulip trade. It must be noted that Schama depends on E. H. Krelage⁹³ and N. W. Posthumus⁹⁴, which he describes as the best accounts, for most of his information on the subject. However, as pointed out by Anne Goldgar, these authors may not be the most dependable as their arguments rely on the images in pamphlet literature, the seventeenth-century alternative to newspapers (mostly confined to one subject)⁹⁵, combined with *Samenspraecken*, the most popular anti-tulip trade literature and written by an anonymous author.⁹⁶ This focus on anti-trade sources rules out other sources of information, especially emblem literature, which may provide for different interpretations. (Not to mention the very dated nature of these sources, which is an issue I will return to later in this thesis.) Taking the nature of Schama’s sources into account, it is also of interest to see how he divides the mania into four distinct categories. First, since the introduction of the tulip to Europe in the late 1550s or early 1560s until the beginning of the 1630s, the ownership of this exotic species was exclusive to upper elites which made up a small network of scholars and connoisseurs.⁹⁷ The second phase of the trade, according to Schama, occurs in the early 1630s with the professionalization of growers. This is the time when

⁹¹ Dash, Mike. *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower & the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*. London: Broadway, 1999, 133.

⁹² Schama. 1987, 350.

⁹³ Krelage, Ernst Heinrich. *Bloemenspeculatie in Nederland: De Tulpomanie van 1636-'37 en de Hyacintehandel van 1720-'36*, Amsterdam: Kampen, 1942. See page 644 of Schama’s text for this reference in his notes.

⁹⁴ Posthumus, Nicolaas. ‘Die speculatie in tulpen in de jaren 1636 en 1637’, *Economisch-historisch jaarboek* 12. 1926, 434-66. See page 644 of Schama’s text for this reference in his notes.

⁹⁵ Sneller, Agnes. “Seventeenth-century Dutch pamphlets as a source of political information”, in; *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700*. Theo Hermans and Reinier Salverda (eds.), 2017, 199-200.

⁹⁶ Goldgar, Anne. *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, 6.

⁹⁷ Schama. 1987, 353.

a “second generation of horticulturalists”⁹⁸ entered into the market, and thus adapting this market to their needs. These horticulturalists, Schama states, had previously been employed as gardeners to the elite connoisseurs of the previous (and, of course, ongoing) phase and were now seeking to make their way into the tulip trade as buyers and sellers themselves.⁹⁹ Thus, motivated, at least in great part, by business intentions, the number of individuals involved in the trade increases. The tulip was no longer confined to a small genteel clientele based mostly on its appreciation; it became a commodity for sale. It was especially easy for the number of growers and sellers to increase because there were apparently no guild regulations on the tulip trade to oversee units, sales, or agreements. Schama cites *Samenspraecken* to describe the introduction of itinerant salesmen who traveled from village to village selling bulbs at local fairs and markets.¹⁰⁰ The third phase of the trade begins in late 1636, the beginning of the *windhandel*. He explains that by late 1635, the buyers of tulip bulbs included all social groups and classes.¹⁰¹ Due to the huge demand for bulbs, sellers began trading in paper futures to increase sales, turnover, and, ultimately, their income. This emerged in full-force in the winter of ‘36-’37. This is the phase of the trade which is most commonly spoken out against by contemporary moralists. Schama is unclear about when this period gives way to the next, that of regulatory interventions as well as whether or not this intervention may have caused the market to crash.

Schama is perhaps the first historian to address the mania in terms of its cultural relevance in the Dutch Republic, rather than relying on the incredulous claims of exorbitant prices alone. His argument predates Anne Goldgar’s in which she argues solely for the social effect of the trade rather than for any supposed national financial ruin. Unlike Goldgar, Schama does not discount the possibility of financial ruin, however, much of his focus is on the changes in society brought by the trade. Most notably, the information Schama presents from *Samenspraecken* reveals how the tulipmania, and, Schama argues, other speculative manias, allowed for fundamental changes in the social structure and hierarchy of the Dutch Republic. He uses the term “economic alchemy”¹⁰² to refer to the sudden and unwelcomed ability of commoners to become rich quickly

⁹⁸ Schama. 1987, 356.

⁹⁹ Schama. 1987, 356.

¹⁰⁰ Schama. 1987, 356.

¹⁰¹ Schama. 1987, 356.

¹⁰² Schama. 1987, 362.

by believing they could convert bulbs into gold. The rituals and actions of the tavern colleges fundamentally changed the formal conventions of deal making.¹⁰³ Bulb sales were no longer limited to the small group of interconnected liefhebbers. Instead, deals were made casually with no consideration of the buyer's knowledge of the tulip or ability to pay. Additionally, traders in the colleges avoided notarial contracts as they were too expensive and regulatory.¹⁰⁴ (Which is something Goldgar does not acknowledge in her argument.) Speculative manias not only usurped the established structure of society, but many were concerned about its effects on the Dutch mentality. Schama states, "To the 'great people' there was even something sinister about a phenomenon that had so disposed men of their senses".¹⁰⁵ Most importantly of all, the tulipmania was an event in which men blatantly cast aside Erasmian humanist ideals such as avoiding risks, being content with one's role in society, and working hard for one's income.¹⁰⁶

Mike Dash and Anne Goldgar

Aside from Anna Pavord, two of the most thorough studies into tulipmania come from Anne Goldgar and Mike Dash. Chronologically, Dash's text *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower and the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused* (1999) comes first. While Dash is a Cambridge historian and widely praised for his comprehensive research, this text is written with a stylistic flair; it is easy for those who prefer novels to read this text. The majority of his research was conducted with colleagues from the University of Amsterdam. It is evident that extensive research went into writing this book, however, the lack of footnotes can make it difficult to pinpoint which source many comments originate from. He points out faults, similar to Goldgar, in the sources used by historians and economists to understand the tulip trade. However, he leans on the descriptions of *Samenspraecken* very heavily, something that Goldgar does not do. Dash does not explain why the anonymous text is reliable, he only states that it is the closest modern historians can get to a contemporary description of events. In his reliance on this text, it is often difficult to distinguish between which details come from his archival research and which stem

¹⁰³ Schama. 1987, 359.

¹⁰⁴ Schama. 1987, 359.

¹⁰⁵ Schama. 1987, 362.

¹⁰⁶ Schama. 1987, 362.

from *Samenspraecken*. Additionally, Dash admits that “no proper history of the subject based on archival sources”¹⁰⁷ has been completed. “This, then,” he states, “is the true story of the tulip mania”.¹⁰⁸ This is certainly a bold statement. Dash, apparently, has completed this archival research fully and comprehensively. I struggle to depend on the veracity of this claim, especially since other arguments have been offered in subsequent years. (Not to mention the fact that it is highly unlikely to fully exhaust any historical subject in light of new evidence or research methods.) Giving Dash the benefit of the doubt, this statement may simply be meant as a creative literary device. While he uses archival sources throughout the text, the combined dependence on *Samenspraecken* causes me to question many details regarding the tulip trade. Very interestingly, Dash is the first author on this subject to not mention Roemer Visscher (1547-1620), a wealthy grain merchant and writer during the Golden Age. Not a word is spoken about his tulip emblem in *Sinnepoppen*, Visscher’s most famous emblem book which is so often referenced in the study of tulip symbolism. This is significant because he includes some discussion on emblematic literature’s inclusion of the tulip, namely that of Jacob Cats, a Dutch poet who was one of the most popular emblem writers of the seventeenth-century, and his approval of floral connoisseurship. Dash states,

“Despite the censure the tulip occasionally attracted from the more Calvinist elements of Dutch society, the tacit approval of moralists such as Father Cats encouraged the connoisseur’s enthusiasm for the tulip, whose beauty was after all one of those minor miracles wrought by God, and whose cultivation involved honest toil in the open air (an activity heartily recommended by Cats himself)”.¹⁰⁹

This brief and vague mention of the more Calvinistic “elements” of Dutch culture is as close as Dash gets to mentioning Visscher. Not only this, but also his use of the term “occasionally” to describe the attacks made on the tulip is interesting in light of my research. However, I am not inclined to believe that Dash heavily considered the emblematic literature when conducting his research (especially since he references Schama, not Cats himself). He makes no special mention

¹⁰⁷ Dash, Mike. 1999, xvii. Later, in Dash’s explanation in his Notes section (see page 258) he explains that the most important Dutch sources of the tulipmania are the Solicitor’s Acts in various city archives. He mentions A. van Damme’s *Aanteekeningen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Bloembollen: Haarlem 1899-1903*. Van Damme’s collection of journal articles, Dash explains, was the result of chance findings rather than systematic research.

¹⁰⁸ Dash. 1999, xx.

¹⁰⁹ Dash. 1999, 86. Note, he is actually referencing Schama, pages 211, 293, 437.

of emblems when describing the nature of his research, he only mentions archives, pamphlets, and previous historians. I therefore cannot fully depend on Dash's description of the quality of the attention the tulip garnered, however, his comments align with the findings of my own research into the emblematic literature of the seventeenth-century.

Comparing and contrasting the arguments and methods of Dash and Goldgar proves to be an interesting, as well as difficult, exercise. It is surprising how two authors using similar evidence can reach such different conclusions. To briefly summarize each, Dash offers two sides of the story of tulipmania: the connoisseurs and the florists of the tavern colleges. These two story lines remain separate and distinct until (and this is my own interpretation of his argument) they converge with the 5 February 1637 auction in Alkmaar. Although this event was purely attended by "connoisseurs and affluent dealers"¹¹⁰, the high bids (though not always actualized) became a widespread knowledge which helped fuel the speculation craze of those in the taverns. Like Goldgar, Dash provides archival evidence of the connoisseurs' side of the trade. He differs greatly, however, by relying almost solely on *Samenspraecken* regarding the side of the tavern colleges. He states that, unfortunately, there are not any (secure) firsthand accounts of how the trade was conducted in these tavern colleges, especially during the mania's height in December '36 and January '37.¹¹¹ That being said, Dash argues in favor of depending on the anonymous author of *Samenspraecken*. He states, "the three *Samenspraecken* appear to have been written by an author with a detailed knowledge of the tavern colleges, and they give a vivid picture of the mania at its height".¹¹²

Goldgar does not do this. Her argument centers around and expands upon only one of Dash's storylines: the connoisseurs, or liefhebbers. *Samenspraecken* enters her discussion on flawed sources, which are usually very biased and/or propagandistic in nature. She, therefore, finds her research only on that which is present in the various city archives (she's conducting the archival source research which Dash lamented hadn't been completed yet). This leads the critical reader to a problem: while Goldgar's research is, arguably, as historically accurate as possible,

¹¹⁰ Dash. 1999, 174. He mentions in the notes on this chapter that, based on evidence from Posthumus, there are only three confirmed bidders at the Alkmaar auction; Gerrit Adriaensz. Amsterdam, Jan Cornelisz. Quaeckel, and Pieter Gerritsz. van Welsen.

¹¹¹ Dash. 1999, 163.

¹¹² Dash. 1999, 163.

does this focus lead her to overlook details which are present in Dash's account of the mania? Could Dash's argument for the tavern colleges have merit despite his dependence on an uncertain contemporary source? Goldgar's argument is simple: the tulip trade was populated by a select group of wealthy (mostly) men who were most often connected with one another in various ways. Using the archives, she debunks the recurring idea that the common population joined the trade in any significant way. However, if Dash's description of the poorer classes entering the trade around 1635, when the more common bulbs became cheaper and sold in great quantities, is accurate, then why would it not have been possible for these tavern college attendees to participate? It may be the case that these bulbs were so plentiful and inexpensive that they circumvent the issue of the trade in tulip futures at exorbitant prices. Thus, these participants would have been paying a reasonable price for the real thing, making legal action unnecessary. Does Goldgar account for this in her description of the trade? Anne Goldgar has convincingly pointed out, the story of tulipmania has been greatly over exaggerated and not based on hard evidence. With the information she presents to the contrary of earlier writers as well as the lack of attention paid to the flower in Dutch emblems, it appears that the trade was not of national economic significance at the time as previously thought.

This is especially convincing when considering the argument of Anne Goldgar in light of this evidence. In her text titled *Tulipmania: money, honor, and knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, Goldgar argues against the commonly held misconception, built upon conjecture and propagandistic publications, that tulipmania was a widespread phenomenon that affected all economic strata of Dutch society and ultimately ended in the financial ruin of a great number of citizens.¹¹³ She instead argues that it led to a societal crash or a crisis of virtues and trust, rather than a nation-wide financial disaster, within the small circles who participated in the tulip trade.¹¹⁴ It was this subsequent fear of new social values exhibited by the trade (greed and dishonesty) which inspired such virulent claims against the tulip after the market crash. Her argument is therefore centered around the understanding that the tulip trade was almost exclusively populated by a small number of considerably wealthy participants.

¹¹³ Goldgar. 2007. It is important to note here that Paul Taylor is also skeptical of the supposed widespread economic disaster which the tulip trade caused.

¹¹⁴ Goldgar. 2007.

Of the wealth of evidence she provides, Goldgar includes information on the income and expenses of the average citizen based on profession. Therefore, she explains that the working class and the upper middle class would have been unable to participate in the trade of highly sought after bulbs under any circumstances. Additionally, she argues with archival evidence that the general public was not involved in most notarized sales, as well as the longest chain of tulip-futures purchases recorded (which was five people long and made up of upper-class citizens), thus arguing against the misconception that even the poorest citizens commonly tried their hand at getting rich quickly by entering into this out of control and sketchy business. Therefore, it may not have been the case that the average person, even those wealthy enough to access emblem books, would have solely or mainly focused on the tulip as a symbol of a trade in which they most likely didn't participate. Instead, it is shown in the primary sources that the tulip continued to be associated with various other contexts, such as the brevity and transience of earthly existence, which affected all of society. Scholars have taken other literature genres into consideration when making the claim that the tulip is inexorably linked with the trade, however, it seems reasonable to conclude that a secure source for understanding the tulip as a symbol would be emblem books.

It is entirely possible that the tulip only came to be strongly associated with tulipmania after the seventeenth-century and Goldgar makes a good case for this in her text. It would also be a possibility that such an association was held by foreigners rather than the Dutch population at the time.

Conclusion

These accounts by major scholars in this field are enough to confuse even the most astute reader. In the case of Schama, he uses *Samenspraecken*, as well as other early twentieth-century authors which depended on the same text, almost exclusively. While this contemporary text does contain many details of the tulip trade, it must be noted that the author of this text is anonymous. Scholars simply cannot yet know about the author's full intention when writing what became the most famous anti-tulip trade text. From this source, Schama divides the trade into four phases.

Dash also depends on *Samenspraecken*, as well as archival evidence from Amsterdam. He then divides the trade into two phases. Diverging from these authors, Goldgar uses only archival information from larger cities such as Haarlem, Amsterdam (both the centers of the trade), and Enkhuizen, and Hoorn as smaller centers to inform her conclusions. In her own way, Goldgar is throwing out the sources which she argues to be inaccurate and attempts to form a new foundation from which to understand the tulip's role as an item of art and trade in Dutch culture. She argues that there was only one phase, involving connoisseurs, of the tulip trade.

There have been significant changes regarding this issue in the academic discussion. It would seem appropriate to move away from sources previously used, such as *Samenspraecken* and other pro or anti-trade literature, which may not be as reliable as previously thought. On the other hand, Goldgar's method of solely depending on archival materials, though they include multiple centers of the trade, can also be considered slightly questionable. Is it possible that Schama and Dash are correct that, once the trade developed past a certain point, it became possible for the average citizen to participate in the trade? As such, perhaps these citizens were not willing or able to bring their subsequent arguments to court or a notary? For the purposes of this thesis, this issue will be left open ended. Yet by exploring the appearance of the tulip in emblem books, this thesis will contribute to the debate by pointing out to what extent the average reader, be they educated elite or middle class, may have been informed of the mania through this genre.

Chapter 2: The Tulip as a Symbol of Virtue

Emblem books are an important source to reconstruct the virtues that were esteemed and promoted by the humanist emblem writers.¹¹⁵ Indeed, the tulip has many rich associations with virtue in this genre and this is the case throughout the seventeenth-century. This thesis will expand upon the discussion of the tulip as a symbol of devotion (to both earthly and divine kingship), the honorable industry of maidens and widows, and the experience of God in the multiplicity of Creation.

The following case studies were selected based on their ability to highlight to the issues described above. Joachim Camerarius's emblem is the first example because it is the first Dutch emblem to include tulips. This emblem was also significant for the development of later emblems, which will be discussed. Gabriel Rollenhagen's emblem is included as an example which bridges the example of Camerarius with later emblems. The examples by Jacob Cats demonstrate his ability to incorporate the tulip in various contexts. The emblem by Claes Jansz Visscher serves to expand upon Sam Segal's discussion of tulip symbolism. While a discussion on every tulip emblem would be ideal, due to the constraints of this thesis, and the reader's patience, a selection based on the significance of the emblem books and authors was needed.

2.1 Devotion

A discussion on the symbolic function of the tulip in emblem literature must begin with Joachim Camerarius and his publication titled *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una* (1590). Although this emblem book dates to the late sixteenth-century, just before the period of this research, it is important to include because it is dedicated to emblems of plants, herbs, and flowers. This is the first Dutch emblem book to associate tulips with symbolic meaning.¹¹⁶ The tulip's natural inclination to follow sunlight during the day and close its petals at night led Western writers, beginning with Camerarius, to associate this flower with divine and

¹¹⁵ Papy, Jan. "Camerarius's *Symbolorum et emblematum*: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation", in: *Mundus emblematicus : studies in neo-Latin emblem books*, Enenkel, Karl A.E. and Arnoud S.Q. Visser (eds.). Turnhout: Brepols, 2003, 218.

¹¹⁶ Segal, Sam. "Die Symbolik der Tulpe", in: *Tulpomanie : die Tulpe in der Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2004, 68.

earthly love as well as obedience and loyalty.¹¹⁷ This is also the first instance of associating the tulip with heaven¹¹⁸, or devotion to God, an association which is later used by other artists in various media, such as Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel.¹¹⁹ Camerarius's text undoubtedly influenced the emblems of tulips to come in the seventeenth-century. Second, an emblem by Gabriel Rollenhagen and Crispijn van der Passe from *Emblemata volsinnighe uytbeelsels*, which draws many similarities to that of Camerarius, will be discussed.

Joachim Camerarius *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum*
centuria una

Pre-iconographic Analysis

The first emblem to be discussed is emblem LXXXVIII by Joachim Camerarius (See Figure 3 in Images below). The *pictura* will first be examined separate from its text. Camerarius's tulips appear in the foreground of a landscape scene. Small shrubs appear on either side of the tulips, drawing the eye further into the background. Rolling hills behind the tulips are dotted with trees and bushes. Mountains appear faintly in the background. A castle and its grounds appear on the right side of the image. The left side is only populated by trees and brush. Just to the right of the tulips in the middle ground, a tiny person can be seen walking through the landscape and holding a tool of some kind. The sky is cloudless with no visible sun, there are no suggestions of these made by the artist. The strongest shadow appears just behind and below the tulips, as if the source of light is present above them out of the viewer's sight. Two of the three tulips have raised blooms which face the right side of the image. The third bloom is lowered, crossing behind the other two stalks and looking towards the left side. This tulip is noticeably smaller than the others and is closed unlike the others.

¹¹⁷ Taylor. 1995, 67.

¹¹⁸ Segal uses the term "Himmel" in the German translation of his article titled "Die Symbolik der Tulpe".

¹¹⁹ Segal. 2004, 69.

Iconographic Analysis

An examination of the emblem's text must be made in combination with the visual analysis to understand the author's full intent. The motto reads: "Languesco sole latente" or "I wilt (or fade) when the sun is hidden". This, of course, directly relates to the tulip's diurnal and nocturnal behavior in which it opened its petals during the day and lowered its closed bloom at night. This behavior fascinated emblem writers and inspired the association with the two forms of kingship, earthly and divine. Many compositional details support the text of the emblem. Two of the three tulips stand proudly on their stalks which both showcase three leaves. They seem to peer adoringly towards the right side of the *pictura*, in which appears the walls and spire of a castle. Their blooms lift towards the light source (the unseen sun) as they focus towards the castle and its grounds. The tulip closest to the castle is notably larger than the others. The third and smallest tulip, whose leaves are hidden behind the largest tulip, hangs its flower forlornly while looking towards the left side of the *pictura*, towards the wilderness.

Iconological Analysis

The visual and textual elements of Camerarius's emblem bring the viewer's attention to devotion and loyalty to the prince, or ruler. Just as the tulip was loyal to the sun and seemed to despair at its nightly setting, human subjects flourished under the direction of the prince (and ultimately God Himself). In this emblem, Camerarius brings the focus more to its religious connotation in the poem. The explanation states, "How this flower grows limp and wilts if the sun is not shining, our consciousness disappears without the celestial light".¹²⁰ Thus, the author brings the reader's attention to the need to depend on God's radiance and wisdom in his life. However, as Sam Segal points out, Camerarius adds that there are many more options for interpretation than this one alone.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Segal. 2004, 68. The original translation from Segal's article, translated into German, is as follows: "Wie diese Blume schlaff wird und verwelkt, wenn die Sonne nicht scheint, so verschwindet unser Bewusstsein ohne das himmlische Licht".

¹²¹ Segal. 2004, 68.

It is quite interesting that the first emblem of tulips does not reveal, either in text or visual details, whether or not the tulips are of an exotic variety. However, it is important to note here that in 1590 all tulips, no matter the variety, were rare, exotic specimens. They only populated the gardens of very wealthy and connected liefhebbers. Perhaps it is possible that the flamed patterns (caused by an aphid virus) had not occurred yet in the liefhebbers' gardens? That being said, it is interesting that the first depiction of tulips in emblem literature does not seem to be concerned with the tulip's visual appeal, but rather its symbolic, God-given, meaning. This is again the case in the following example by Gabriel Rollenhagen.

Gabriel Rollenhagen *Emblemata volsinnighe uytbeelsels*

Pre-iconographic Analysis

Camerarius's emblem inspired the imagery of following emblems, one example being Gabriel Rollenhagen (See Figure 4 in Images below). A second example of the tulip as a symbol of devotion, engraved by Crispijn van de Passe, is emblem 25 from Rollenhagen's *Emblemata volsinnighe uytbeelsels* (1615). This emblem follows the example of Camerarius, with the exception that the tulip appears with other similarly associated flowers, such as the sunflower, marigold, and dog's tooth. Additionally, the sun shines brightly down upon the castle and its garden. A wall surrounds the castle grounds and it is surrounded by a line of trees beside and behind it. A tulip appears in the group of flowers; it looks towards the castle in full bloom; the sun's bright rays shine directly onto it. Similar to the royal procession exiting the castle in the middle ground, the flowers form a line.

Iconographic Analysis

This emblem takes Camerarius's approach to the next level. Rather than being far in the background, the castle/palace is clearly seen in the middle ground. In this emblem, a procession of people can be seen proudly marching out of the palace, rather than a tiny, solitary figure seen in the landscape. The processional line of people exiting the castle is mimicked by the flowers, which

appear in an orderly line. Very importantly, the sun is fully present in Rollenhagen's image. Whereas Camerarius merely referenced the sun in the text (paradoxically not presenting it in the image), Rollenhagen is sure to include it (complete with a human face, or even the face of God?).

Much of the symbolism in Rollenhagen's emblem is corroborated by the text as well. The motto and subscriptio give a further explanation of the pictura. The motto reads: "At the hint of the king".¹²² This is followed by: "nobles turn the crowd, they usually follow the prince's palace mind". This connects with the imagery of the emblem which includes the procession leading out of the castle, as well as the formation of the plants in the foreground.

Iconological Analysis

Sam Segal gives an explanation of this emblem. He states that the emblem's text describes the destiny of royal subjects to follow the royal kingdom.¹²³ There are two royalties at play here, the earthly and eternal. The castle is of this world and the earthly followers of the prince can be seen in front of it. The sun symbolizes God's holy kingdom. The divine rays of light reach down to directly touch nature which God had created for mankind. Segal explains that here, the tulip acts as a symbol of submission to God's divine will as well as submission to the power of earthly royalty (as ordained and guided by God).¹²⁴

With even a brief reading on the history of the Netherlands, it is possible to understand the state of affairs in the Dutch Republic at the time of this publication. While intended to pacify the conflicts plaguing the Republic, the Twelve Years' Truce, which lasted from 1609-21, served to escalate the national tension even to the point of near civil war.¹²⁵ With tensions this high, it would be reasonable to posit that Dutch society wanted to reach for a leader. Perhaps Rollenhagen recognized this issue and created an emblem to bring it to a literary audience. While it cannot be

¹²² Segal. 2004, 69.

¹²³ Segal. 2004, 69.

¹²⁴ Segal. 2004, 69.

¹²⁵ Wielenga, Friso. *A History of the Netherlands: From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017, 49.

known exactly if this is the case, the message of Rollenhagen's emblem certainly speaks to the issue of divine and earthly leadership and servitude.

2.2 Chastity and Honorable Industry

Jacob Cats' *Hovwelyck. Dat is De gansche gelegentheyt des echten staets* (1625), a book which involves the virtuous destiny of women, begins with a discussion on the maiden. It is titled "Maeghde-Wapen" (See Figure 5 in Images below), or Maiden's Weapon (or coat of arms). This chapter is followed by "Wegh-Wyser ten Hovwelyck uyt het Dool-Hof der Kalver-Liefde", or emerging from the "puppy love" stage into marriage. Many chapters on motherhood follow, as well as instruction for being a proper Christian housewife. Finally, Cats ends *Hovwelyck* with a guide for widows entering the final stage of their virtuous and godly lives (See Figure 6 in Images below). It is in the first and last chapters involving the maiden and widow where Cats incorporates the tulip.

Jacob Cats *Maeghde-Wapen*

Pre-iconographic Analysis

An angel looks down upon the scene, dropping rosebuds as he hovers over. Two maidens stand outside in an open field; a few buildings are suggested in the background on the right hand side of the engraving. They hold up the coat of arms showcasing the tulip. The maidens' hands are connected by a wreath of rosebuds and the coat of arms is surrounded by rosebud vines which grow out of the ground below it. Both women hold exotic birds and are accompanied by a sheep, on the right, and a dog, on the left. The maidens are depicted differently, one in a plainer and simple dress; no objects accompany her. The second is dressed much more finely with intricate detailing and jewelry. She is accompanied by multiple books as well as an embroidery hoop.

Iconographic Analysis

The title page of “Maeghde-Wapen” features an angel, backlit by the divine light of God, holding a banner presenting the motto “Lateat dvm pateat” or “It remains hidden until it opens”. It is no coincidence, then, that none of the roses in the image have bloomed yet, as this corresponds with the motto. This, as well as an example discussed in the next subchapter, is the first pairing of a dog and tulip. The choice of visually representing the maiden’s coat of arms is quite intriguing. The flower and vase are juxtaposed against a black background. Very reminiscent of flower still lifes of the age, this contrast of dark and light accentuates the tulip and draws the viewer’s eye to it (not to mention its central placement as well). The coat of arms which the two women hold is itself a three-dimensional diamond. A highlight and lowlight can be seen on the left side of the shape, giving away its volumetric form. However, the scene which is presented on the surface of the coat of arms appears three-dimensional itself; it does not follow the slightly skewed angle of the diamond’s shape. This is accentuated by the marble tabletop upon which the tulip vase rests which parallels the outer border of the illustration rather than the angle of the coat of arms. Is this meant to convey a painted surface or a window into another reality? The visual confusion caused by the unparallel lines suggests that it may not be a painted surface. Regardless, the viewer looks at (or into) a three-dimensional scene of a tulip firmly rooted in an ornate flower pot.

The title page of *Maeghde-Wapen* does pair the tulip with a dog (as a symbol of loyalty), similar to *Zeeusche Nagtegael*, which will be discussed in the next subchapter. Also, there are some small suggestions of a flamed pattern on the tulip, hinting at its rarity, but this is not accentuated by Cats. Aside from this, the way in which the tulip features in the title page is unique. Both women share the burden of holding up the coat of arms; they are connected to it through the cord as well as the rosebud vine. The maiden on the right side of the engraving is more simply dressed than the woman on the left. She also lacks all of the accessories and objects present with the opposing woman. Instead, she calmly looks down at the sheep which stands to her left, its leg gracefully pointing the viewer’s attention to a banner with the word “een-voudicheyt” or “innocence/simplicity”. By contrast, the woman on the left side of the engraving is much more opulently dressed with a more intricate dress and jewelry. She carries an embroidery hoop, on which can be seen a bird’s nest in a tree. A mother bird dutifully cares for her three chicks. At the woman’s feet sits a dog, anticipating its next command. On either side of the dog are books, two

of which include sheet music and one that appears to be formatted similar to an emblem book (which depicts an image that looks similar to a bird?). The banner below the dog and books reads “leer-sucht” or “zeal/greed for learning”.

Iconological Analysis

The first inclusion of the tulip in *Hovwelyck* involves the virtue of chastity. The details of the image, especially the tulip still life support this symbolism. The handles of the tulip vase are in the form of mermaids (or sirens) and frame a band of (presumably) dancing men. Perhaps this is meant to symbolize the seductive power of women over men? Perhaps this is part of Cats teachings on instructing women to properly channel this power for positive outcomes (outcomes that benefit family and society)? The iconography of the tulip helps to corroborate this. The tulip grows straight and proud out of the decorative pot. It reaches towards the upper part of the image. The angle of the coat of arms helps to visually support its journey towards the angel above, and ultimately towards God’s divine light which shines brightly above. A swarm of bees (presumably meant to symbolize men) swarm around it. Despite the attention the tulip receives, it is steadfast in its decision to remain closed until the proper time to bloom arrives, again connecting with the motto.

There is an obvious difference between the two women. The maiden on the right symbolizes a simple wisdom, perhaps she is the embodiment of the female’s natural state as argued by Cats. This is corroborated by her accompanying banner which says “een-voudicheyt”. The second woman may symbolize the willingness to learn and master the art of homemaking and motherhood. Her banner reads “leer-sucht”. These details lead to a few interpretations. First, perhaps both women are different versions of the same maiden. The maiden on the right appears younger than the one on the left. The woman on the left, who appears older and more experienced, might symbolize the development of the maiden as she flourishes in her role. Second, perhaps the more experienced woman is intended to inspire the maiden; she may be a role model figure for the young woman who is about to enter this stage of life.

Jacob Cats *Weduwe*

Pre-iconographic Analysis

The tulip next appears in the chapter of *Hovwelyck* titled “Christelick Hvys-Wyf Vertoont in de ghestalte van Weduwe”. The viewer looks through a three-dimensional frame into the scene. Moving from back to front, the viewer sees the interior of a household. There is a back room with windows and wall decorations. A stairway leads into the main room of the house which is brightly lit by the window (or fireplace?) to the left. A dog lays on the floor, looking towards the widow on the left. The widow, appearing on the left side of the engraving, is the only figure in the room. She can be seen sewing a piece of cloth. In the foreground, the tulip is seen in a glass vase resting on the tabletop. A skeletal hand, emerging from a cloud, reaches from the right hand side of the image, grasping the tulip’s stem.

Iconographic Analysis

This scene occurs in a beautiful and well-kept household. In the back room can be seen wall decorations and spotless windows which allow for maximum light to enter into the home. There may even be the suggestion of folded laundry on the back table. The stairway leads into the main room of the house, complete with a spotless tiled floor, which is brightly lit by the source of light to the left. An old, skinny dog lays on the floor, looking towards the widow on the left side. She, alone but for her faithful companion, repairs a piece of clothing. The widow sits fully in the light next to the window, perhaps a suggestion of her virtuous life of following God’s will. On the table in front of the window, there is a tulip in a glass vase.

Iconological Analysis

The widow from *Hovwelyck* is quite distinct in emblem literature. Cats follows some other authors by depicting an exotic variety of tulip as well as including a dog in the scene, however, the rest of the emblem does not follow the example of any preceding emblems. Simon Schama

explains that this emblem by Cats is inspired by the tulip's original symbolic association with eternity in Sufi tradition. Schama states that Cats emblem, "shows an image of virtue rather than vice: an elderly widow awaiting her end with her attribute of honorable industry, the distaff, and that of fidelity, her (equally aged) dog. The imminence of her end is symbolized in the scaly hand of death grasping the stem of the tulip".¹²⁶ Cats is showing here an emblem which visually presents the final stage of the widow's life, the culmination of her virtuous and godly industry. She has cared for the home, family, and, by extension, the state. The interior of her home is in good order; clean and bright. This can be directly paralleled to the quality of her inner spirit as well. Cats's emblem showcases one of the most beautiful examples of tulips in emblem literature. This tulip, one of the most prized varieties due to its flamed pattern, has already bloomed. Just as man's life is short, the tulip's bloom does not last long. The hand of death, skeletal and ominous, has grasped the flower's stem. The slight bend in the tulip's stem visually suggests that it will soon be abducted from its home into death's embrace. Perhaps even the glass vase, distinctly different from the vase in *Maeghde-Wapen*, is meant to symbolize the widow's fragile state. Though she diligently looks down at her work, the widow seems aware of what is about to happen. Despite this, she seems unafraid of the final journey that soon awaits her.

The influence of Calvinism on daily life in the Dutch Republic cannot be forgotten in the context of this emblem of the widow. Calvinism's general emphasis on spiritual purity and transience are major factors at play in understanding this example. Verses from the Bible, specifically Isaiah 40:8 (Jesaia in Dutch), were referenced by emblem writers such as Cats. The verse reads: "Het gras verdort, de bloemen valt af: maer het wort onses Godts bestaet in der eeuwichheit"¹²⁷. Scripture informed readers as to the brevity of earthly life and the need for spiritual purity. Virtuous behavior was necessary for entering God's kingdom after death. The tulip, here, brings attention to this issue. Paul Taylor explains that "most people in seventeenth-century Holland were well aware of the transience imagery associated with flowers, it being perhaps the

¹²⁶ Schama. 1987, 354.

¹²⁷ Note: this passage is transcribed from the 1637 publication of the Statenvertaling, the first translation of the Bible from its original text into Dutch. The Statenvertaling can be viewed here: <http://www.bijbelsdigitaal.nl/view/?mode=1&bible=sv1637&part=1>. Date of access: 2/7/2019. The same verse in the NIV is as follows: "The grass withers and the flowers fall, but the word of our God endures forever."

commonest metaphorical cliché of the century”¹²⁸. Though it is not a given that all people would have viewed flowers in this way, especially when considering flower pieces alone, emblem books such as Cats’s reveal more information to connect flowers (the tulip) with transience.

2.3 The Multiplicity of Creation

A significant element of tulip symbolism, though one seldom discussed, is the tulip’s role as a symbol of the multiplicity of God’s Creation. This symbolism, interestingly, can be directly connected to paintings, specifically Jan Brueghel. In discussing contemporary thought, Sam Segal states, “Plants and animals were understood as rich in form and color, admiring manifestations of the Creation of God”.¹²⁹ He explains that Jan Brueghel, as early as the first decade of the seventeenth-century, intended his flower pieces to express “God’s formidable creation”¹³⁰, this can be seen in his correspondence with his patron Cardinal Borromeo. The first example to be discussed will be an engraving by Claes Jansz Visscher after Adriaen van de Venne in *Zeeusche Nagtegael* (1623). This will be followed by a discussion on two illustrations featured in publications by Jacob Cats’s *Werelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven* (1637), and *Grondt-Houwelick, dat is: Beschrijvinge van d’eerste Bruiloft, gehouden in den Paradijse, tusschen Adam en Eva, eerste voor-ouders aller menschen, in: Alle de wercken* (1658).

¹²⁸ Taylor. 1995, 47.

¹²⁹ Segal. 2004, 70. Text in original German: “Pflanzen und Tiere wurden als formenreiche und farbenprächtige, Bewunderung heischende, Manifestationen der Schöpfung Gottes verstanden.”

¹³⁰ Segal. 2004, 70. “Gottes formenreicher Schöpfung”.

Claes Jansz Visscher after Adriaen van de Venne in *Zeeusche Nagtegael*

Pre-iconographic Analysis

The first example discussed here is an engraving by Claes Jansz Visscher after Adriaen van de Venne. This engraving comes from *Zeeusche Nagtegael* (1625) (See Figure 7 in Images below). Here, an old man is seen tutoring a young man as they stand in the garden of a mansion. The men stand in the shade of a tree, accompanied by a dog. The old man holds a small tulip and points towards another plant in the plot to their left. The young man is dressed ornately in a ruffled collar and plumed hat. Behind them, more of the garden can be seen, as well as the estate. An archway with classically influenced columns leads out of the garden. The large estate complex appears in the background, leading the viewer's eye to the birds flying in the partly sunny sky.

Iconographic Analysis

What iconographic traditions do the emblems in this subchapter follow? What basic information can historians learn about these emblem's context? Beginning with the engraving in *Zeeusche Nagtegael*, the scene is set in a garden, there are many flower beds carefully arranged to showcase the owner's specimens. Behind the garden, a beautiful estate can be seen connected by a beautiful arched walkway. A dog sits in the old man's shadow, presumably waiting to receive his master's attention. Dogs are the symbolic representation of loyalty and devotion, which makes a lovely pairing with the tulip that has not been seen previously to this emblem as well as Cats' title page to *Maeghden-wapen* (1625). A wonderful detail seen in previous emblems is the way the tulip faces the object of instruction. Typically, the tulip is seen craning towards the sun, which is explained as God's divine love. Here, the little flower directs its sight towards the flower bed which the old man gestures towards.

Based on his form of dress and his nonchalant body language, the young man does not yet appear to be moved by the old man's teachings. He represents the need for the young and inexperienced to learn from the old and wise. As he looks down towards where the old man is pointing, his large plumed hat showcases his flaunting nature. He is obviously spending more

attention on his outward appearance than his inner nature. The emblem's motto reads: "Ex minimis patet ipse Deus" or "God manifests Himself in the smallest".¹³¹ Sam Segal explains that the subsequent poem involves an explanation that "the hand of God is to be read throughout Creation".¹³² After this poem is an explanation of the first chapter of Genesis, in which God created the earth. Even in the smallest part of Creation, such as the little tulip, God's design can be seen and "read" by mankind.

Iconological Analysis

Visscher includes the tulip in this scene in a very interesting way. Visually, the tulip can be interpreted at least three ways. It is, of course, the object of discussion; it is the object which is demonstrating the lesson to be learned by the young man. The old man is holding a tulip and gesturing towards a second plant. Additionally, the tulip appears to be listening to the old man's lecture, straining to look towards where he points. (Even the tree branches in the upper left corner of the image do the same.) The tulip shows the young man how to be an avid listener to God's message, manifested in nature. A third interpretation of the tulip's visual representation may involve the tulip as the mentor in the scene. Perhaps it is the tulip, which the old man holds, which is communicating through him. Because he has already read God's message from Creation, the man follows the tulip's example as it looks towards the bed of tulips. Such a variety of possibilities in interpretation will also be discussed in Chapter 3 regarding Visscher's engraving of tulips in *Sinnepoppen*.

It is very interesting that this emblem was engraved by Claes Jansz Visscher, the same artist who engraved the emblem of tulips in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The emblem in *Zeeusche Nagtegael* (1625), which comes after that of *Sinnepoppen* (1614), depicts the tulips as being much more involved in the scene than its preceding appearance in *Sinnepoppen*.

¹³¹ Segal. 2004, 72.

¹³² Segal. 2004, 72. "Dass die Hand Gottes überall in der Schöpfung zu lesen ist".

The examples of this chapter tie in with a convincing argument made by Eric Jorink in his text *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715* (2010). The crux of Jorink's argument involves reconstructing the understanding of nature in the Dutch Golden Age as being deeply connected to textual sources, both ancient and, especially, biblical. Jorink states, "Nature was regarded fairly literally as a book of divine meanings. Animals, plants, shells and stones were not just considered in terms of economic or medical value, but above all as a starting point for Christian reflections".¹³³ Additionally, W.B. Ashworth explains in his article "Natural History and the Emblematic World View" (2017) that as part of nature's pattern, "animals [and plants] were living characters in the language of the Creator".¹³⁴ Jorink explains that much of this belief system was inspired by St. Augustine, Philip Melancthon, and John Calvin. Augustine argued that the first book of God is the Bible, of which all knowledge is based. The second book is the Book of Nature, which reveals divine Scripture and its moralizing message to man.¹³⁵ Melancthon continues with this argumentation. He argued that nature, God's Creation, contained "traces or signs of God"¹³⁶ in which the Creator intended mankind to recognize His power. Thus, the emerging sciences such as botany, mathematics, and medicine, which sought a greater understanding of nature, were a method of recognizing and celebrating God the Creator through His Creation.¹³⁷ In addition, Ashworth states that each element of the world (and universe) contained many hidden meanings which could be discovered through study.¹³⁸ Therefore, to fully understand a peacock, for example, one would need to understand its physical and environmental attributes as well as its symbolic associations.¹³⁹ Not only did an animal, or plant's, visual and physical characteristics matter, but also its inner, hidden meanings given by God. Such meanings could be understood through man's experience with nature. This is shared by Calvin in his argument for design. Because there is a Creation, there is a Creator, who is the one true God. The glory of God's "sovereignty and design" can be recognized in nature, which continuously benefits

¹³³ Jorink, Eric. *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715*. Brill, 2010, 71.

¹³⁴ Ashworth, W.B., "Natural History and the Emblematic World View", in: *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, eds. Lindberg, David Charles., and Robert S. Westman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, 307.

¹³⁵ Jorink. 2010, 41.

¹³⁶ Jorink. 2010, 44.

¹³⁷ Jorink. 2010, 45.

¹³⁸ Ashworth. 2003, 312.

¹³⁹ Ashworth. 2003, 312.

from God's interventions.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, the first step towards understanding and glorifying God is seeing Him in nature, which surrounds every man and is self-evident.¹⁴¹ To illustrate his argument for reconstructing this seventeenth-century thought, Jorink, conveniently for this thesis, uses the example in *Zeeusche Nagtegael* to describe the men who are viewing a part of nature and learning God's wisdom from it.¹⁴² Jorink offers a slightly different translation of the motto: "God is visible in the miniature", however, the meaning remains the same.

A significant element of the tulip's context must be considered when examining its association with the multiplicity of Creation. One of the main reasons for the tulip's popularity in the seventeenth-century was its variability of color, shape, and, especially, pattern. While explaining the fascination with the tulip, Anne Goldgar explains, "'Diversified' was the key to such a preference. Besides the brightness of the colors of tulips, their extreme variety produced a growing wonder in enthusiasts becoming more familiar with their own and others' tulips".¹⁴³ The tulip proved to be an interesting experiment for growers to attempt to better understand the breeding process to produce the highly sought after varieties. It was possible for tulips to look completely different from the mother plant in terms of color and flamed patterns. This is due to reasons of "cross-breeding, mutation, and disease"¹⁴⁴, which these growers were ignorant to at the time. To them, these changes seemed completely spontaneous and infinite in their possibilities. It was this multiplicity of possibilities which led emblem writers to associate the tulip as a symbol of Creation itself.

¹⁴⁰ Jorink. 2010, 45.

¹⁴¹ Jorink. 2010, 46.

¹⁴² Jorink's explanation of this emblem can be seen on page 71.

¹⁴³ Goldgar. 2007, 40.

¹⁴⁴ Goldgar. 2007, 40.

Jacob Cats *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven*

Pre-iconographic Analysis

Another connection between the tulip and Creation is its inclusion of it in scenes of Creation in emblem books by Jacob Cats.¹⁴⁵ These examples are quite unique in emblem literature. The first of these is *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven*, which was, interestingly, published in 1637 (See Figure 8 in Images below). (The same year as the tulip market crash.)

In this example, three tulips are included on the left hand side of the image next to a tree. They appear to the left of Adam and Eve, and above two monkeys, in the Garden of Eden. All of the animals in the scene appear in pairs, to complement Adam and Eve as God's sacred couple. However, the tulips, which are the only recognizable plants in the scene, appear in a group of three. Although the tulips appear in a shadowed area of the scene and are quite dark in value, a strong ray of sunlight travels down from God to alight on one of the tulips which faces towards the sun (God).

The second example of the tulip in scenes of Creation is an engraving in *Proteus, ofte Minne-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden.; Alle de wercken* (1658) (See Figure 9 in Images below). This emblem differs from the first in that three groups of tulips can be seen on either side of the image. Tulips are included again on the left hand side of the figures, above a pair of dogs. Two groups of tulips are shown on the right hand side, accompanied by a pair of leopards, lions, and below a pair of monkeys on a tree branch. The tulip is again prominently displayed as the only identifiable plant in the image.

¹⁴⁵ In addition to the two editions mentioned here, a similar emblem can be seen in Cats' 1661 edition of *Alle de Wercken* published by Jan Jacobsz Schipper.

Iconographic Analysis

The two examples by Cats, *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven* and *Proteus, ofte Minne-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden.; Alle de wercken*, discussed above, are unique in emblematic literature. Here, the tulip is included in a scene in which God is sanctifying the “marriage” between Adam and Eve (and by extension the other pairs of animals depicted). The two engravings from the 1637 and 1658 editions differ from each other as well. While similar in concept, some details of the poses of Adam and Eve, and differences of placement can be seen. The edition of ‘37 shows Adam leaning towards Eve, he is taking a step towards her and reaching out to her almost as if approaching her for the first time after he awakes. They clasp hands and Eve brings her left hand up to her heart; the image is one of an emotional union. A pair of dogs, the quintessential symbol of fidelity, appear between them. The clouds which separate to reveal God’s divine light sweep back towards the horizon, seemingly encompassing all of Creation. The edition of ‘58 is quite different by comparison. This time, Adam almost appears to lean away from Eve and his pose is stationary. They both bring their hands up to their hearts as they clasp hands. The clouds now encircle the figures only. Now, rather than a pair of dogs appearing between Adam and Eve, they are now moved to the left side of the image, next to some tulips. In this later edition, more exotic animals are featured. The edition from ‘37 includes more well-known animals such as dogs, cats, rabbits, birds, and a tiny pair of snails. The edition from ‘58, though it also contains more familiar animals, incorporates lions, leopards, elephants, and ostriches.

Iconological Analysis

None of the literature regarding tulip symbolism has mentioned the images from Cats' scene of Creation. However, Sam Segal makes one brief comment in his text “Geloof in Natuur: Bloemen met Betekenis”. Segal states, “Furthermore, the glorious Creation was associated with tulips because of the multiplicity of shapes and colors”.¹⁴⁶ This is also mentioned in his article “Die Symbolik der Tulpe” in *Tulpomanie: Die Tulpe in der Kunst des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts*.

¹⁴⁶ Segal. 2012, 26. Segal’s original passage in Dutch is as follows: “Verder werd de glorievolle Schepping in verband gebracht met tulpen, vanwege de veelvuldigheid van vormen en kleuren”.

I have not encountered any other authors who make this claim, and Segal does not reveal the specific sources, besides the emblem in *Zeeusche Nagtegael*, which led him to this conclusion. However, these examples by Cats directly link the tulip to scenes of the Garden of Eden in which they are included alongside the multitude of animals also created by God.

Conclusion

How do the tulip emblems discussed in this chapter reveal the wider cultural context of the Dutch Golden Age? Again, the three categories of symbolism were chosen based on the major groupings of tulip emblems. Also, these groups of emblems illuminate various issues at play within the cultural context of the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age. The emblems of Camerarius and Rollenhagen reveal the contemporary views of devotion and loyalty to leadership, both earthly and heavenly. When considering the historical context of Rollenhagen's emblem book, it is possible that his emblem responds, perhaps generally, to the overarching issue of armed conflict and tensions. The following emblems by Cats, relating to the virtue of chastity and honorable industry, reveal social expectations of women throughout the various stages of their lives. The tulip is here associated with maidens coming into their role as married women as well as honorable widows approaching their last stage of life. Finally, the emblems by Claes Jansz Visscher and Cats associate the tulip with God's Creation (and reading Creation for the Word of God). Cats's scenes of the tulip in the Garden of Eden were included for the first time in a discussion on tulip symbolism to build off of the argument of Sam Segal. Combined, these emblems tell the story of some of the most important issues seen by the seventeenth-century Dutch.

Chapter 3: The Tulip as a Symbol of Vice in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*

Historians writing on floral symbolism in Dutch art, including Paul Taylor, Sam Segal, Anna Pavord, and Simon Schama, waste no time in providing various examples of the tulip's role as a symbol of vice. The most often used examples are from propagandistic pamphlets which spoke out against the *windhandel*. For all the emblematic literature involving flowers, authors give but one example of the tulip as a symbol of vice; emblem V from Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*¹⁴⁷ (See Figure 10 in Images below), engraved by Claes Jansz. Visscher (no relation).¹⁴⁸ This is the emblem of choice for authors who wish to explain the tulip's role in seventeenth-century Dutch culture, especially as it (supposedly) relates to the tulipmania. Authors go only as far as to say that this emblem speaks out against the tulip trade and its follies. However, very little in-depth information is given on this emblem in regards to its context. This thesis aims to expand upon the current analysis of Visscher's emblem in order to ascertain its relevance within emblematic literature. Just how representative is the tulip emblem in *Sinnepoppen* of the tulip's role in emblem books of the Golden Age?

3.1 Pre-iconographic Analysis

First, an analysis will be given for this image removed from the text and preceding image. Two flamed tulips dominate the foreground of the emblem. Their stems intertwine and disappear off the edge of the image. Behind them, three bulbs appear in the shaded middle ground. In the background can be seen a rolling landscape which is dotted with trees and divided plots of land. Clouds float above in the sunny sky. This division between foreground, middle ground, and background presents the scene in three layers: tulip blooms, bulbs, and landscape.

¹⁴⁷ Important to note is that authors often gloss over how Visscher relates to other emblem writers of the time period. They do not specify if he is truly representative of the genre as a whole.

¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, although Claes Jansz. Visscher's printing house was of great importance in the seventeenth-century, his contributions are understudied.

3.2 Iconographic Analysis

Although the image is colorless, the seventeenth-century viewer would have had no trouble identifying the tulips as among the most prized varieties due to their flamed pattern. Interestingly, and quite unique in emblem literature, the middle ground includes tulip bulbs placed above ground for viewing pleasure. As a lovely example of compositional design, the three bulbs mimic the diagonals of the two tulip flowers. In the lower left-hand corner, the smallest bulb takes on an almost anthropomorphized role. It seems as if it is a youngling following the example of the much bigger tulip, perhaps looking up to it and wishing for the day when it will too become a beautiful tulip. The imposing size of the tulips makes the bulb seem all the smaller and insignificant in comparison. (Important to note, the bulbs were ultimately the objects traded rather than the tulip blooms themselves.) The background opens up to a bright, sunny landscape, presumably at least partly consisting of the spacious countryside garden of the grower. Fluffy clouds sweep over the peaceful vista and help to partly shade the precious flowers so as not to over-expose them to the sun's rays. The visual details of this emblem must have been decidedly influenced by Camerarius's tulip emblem. Minus the tulip bulbs in Visscher's middle ground, nearly all other features exist in both emblems: tulips in the foreground with a rolling mountain vista occurring in the background. All visual elements considered, this image seems one of serenity which plays out uninterrupted behind the tulips. This, however, is far removed from the scene which Roemer Visscher intended to impart on the reader-viewer, as evidenced in the emblem's text.

The text which Visscher includes with the emblem tells a very different story from what the visual elements may suggest. The famous motto "A fool and his money are soon parted" appears ominously over the scene. As the emblem is intended to be read from top to bottom, motto, pictura, and poem, respectively, it is understood that the title be the first part of the emblem encountered by the viewer. Therefore, the motto would probably have immediately served to produce a bias in the viewer before they had fully viewed the image of the tulips. They viewed the image with the knowledge that whatever was pictured was intended to symbolize something wasteful, the product of foolish actions. And the owner of these objects was foolish for believing in their false value. The poem located below the image states the following:

“This Emblem is not so very different from the previous one, springing as it does from the same reason, so enough will have been said in the previous one; for a strange little shell or a new little flower, it’s nothing other than poppycock (tuylery); but the shell-lunatics don’t have to waste so much money or buy or maintain the gardens of the Flowerlovers”.¹⁴⁹

This direct textual link to the previous emblem is exceptionally interesting and will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3. Considering only the text from emblem V at this time, the reader learns that, even more than shell-collectors, flower enthusiasts (or *liefhebbers*) are guilty of wasteful excess. Purchasing tulips comes with more expenses than simply the object itself, namely in the form of garden space and maintenance. Additionally, the tulip as an object, specifically as an object of intrigue or wonder, is compared to that of shells. Regardless of what “strange” and “new” object it is, Visscher presents it as something frivolous and fleeting. The term he uses, *tuylery*, is a play-on-words which can refer to a joke as well as a beautifully ordered bunch of flowers.¹⁵⁰

What, if any, iconographic tradition does Roemer Visscher’s emblem follow? It is apparent that Claes Jansz. Visscher, the engraver, was inspired, at least in part, by Camerarius’s tulip emblem of 1590. (See Figures 11 and 12 in Images below) This influence can be seen in the division of space within the emblem. The tulips in both emblems feature prominently in the foreground. Behind them, a mountainous, forested landscape is seen. (In the case of *Sinnepoppen*, which aims to comment against the Dutch tulip growers and enthusiasts, this choice of landscape is paradoxical as it is obviously not that of the Dutch Republic.) Visscher follows his predecessor’s example by including this outdoor garden/landscape scene, minus the castle. As stated previously in Chapter 2, the first tulip emblem by Joachim Camerarius does not specify the variety or prestige of the flower pictured. Emblem V from *Sinnepoppen* is the next emblem to incorporate tulips (the text was composed in 1590, the same year Camerarius’s text was published). Claes Jansz Visscher does not follow the example Camerarius gives. Instead, he clearly conveys to the viewer the tulip’s status as a rare variety. Visscher also differs from his predecessor by including the tulip bulbs,

¹⁴⁹ Goldgar. 2007, 85.

¹⁵⁰ Goldgar. 2007, 85.

which no other examples have been shown to do at this time. This links with Roemer Visscher's knowledge of the grower's and enthusiast's collecting habits.

What basic information about this emblem's context can we glean from the motto, pictura, and poem? One observation historians can make is that Emblem V is an example of the Dutch fixation on various virtues and vices. A recounting of this moral fixation hardly needs to be told here; numerous studies have been completed which convincingly reveal this cultural phenomenon. Emblem literature is replete with these moralistic teachings and aphorisms. The examples of this thesis, which can all be seen in the attached Appendix, all include these moral lessons for the reader. Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* is no exception. As we can see in his text, Visscher is attempting to convince the viewer of his perspective. That is, he considers spending money, especially large sums, on exotica as a vice. This includes not just the cost of the objects themselves, but the "hidden costs" accrued in their care and maintenance as well. Visscher's perspective on this issue reveals one aspect of philosophical thought in the Dutch Republic: Erasmian Humanism. This issue will return in the iconological analysis.

In addition to these issues, Visscher's emblem reveals that it was created during a period of global trade. More specifically, it reveals a small portion of the collecting mania for global exotica that overtook much of Europe in (and previous to) the seventeenth-century. The reader/viewer can see that, in this case, it is the tulip (also directly linked to shells) which commands attention. The collecting craze for these objects existed to such an extent in connoisseur circles that Visscher thought it necessary to comment upon it. It is no great surprise that it would be these objects which stirred up such an interest. Small objects such as shells and flower bulbs could be easily transported because they did not need to take up much cargo space, not to mention not needing constant maintenance until their final destination. The fact that Visscher explicitly connects the tulips to shells is something rarely considered by historians, and this will be discussed in section 3.3.

3.3 Iconological Analysis

When Visscher's emblem is included in the historical discussion on floral symbolism, and even tulip symbolism, it is rarely accompanied by an explanation of its context. The only historian to include such a discussion in the cultural sense is Anne Goldgar, and her argument will be analyzed in this sub-section. Due to this lack of placing this emblem within its appropriate context, this thesis aims to provide a foundation from which to begin the discussion. As such, Visscher's emblem will be discussed in a three-fold context: economic, cultural, and Visscher's circle. In order to discover if Visscher's tulip emblem is representative of what emblem literature has to say about tulips as a whole, this emblem's place not just within this genre, but also its place in the wider context must be taken into account. First, Visscher's emblem will be analyzed in the context of economic concerns during the Dutch Golden Age and their inclusion in emblem books.

The Economic Context of *Sinnepoppen*

The question posed here is as follows: to what extent did economic concerns play a role in the iconography of the tulip? This is a large question that cannot be answered within the scope of this thesis. However, it is a topic that is inexorably linked with the tulip. The impetus for this question arose while reading Peter M. Daly's text "Sixteenth-century Emblems and Imprese as Indicators of Cultural Change" (Discussed in the Introduction). Here, Daly argues the emblem is a mode of thought of the time as well as a form of art itself. He also advocates for the emblem's central role in shaping print and material culture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth-century.¹⁵¹ In describing the origins of the genre, Daly states, "sixteenth-century emblem books are more or less unorganized collections of self-contained statements on a variety of topics. Emblem books do, however, provide evidence of ethical, social, political, and religious principles, and occasionally economic concerns".¹⁵² As a case study to demonstrate these, Daly discusses the first emblem book, Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (1531). Of interest for this thesis is that economic factors are

¹⁵¹ Daly. "Sixteenth-century Emblems". 2003, 383.

¹⁵² Daly. 2003, 396.

of little concern to Alciato, only occurring in one emblem, which involves marriage.¹⁵³ Daly argues that however little economics features in sixteenth-century emblems, scholars should not overlook this issue as it speaks to the cultural change occurring in the proto-capitalist early modern era.¹⁵⁴ Although Daly is focused on sixteenth-century Italy, this does not in any way diminish his argument and method within my own research. In fact, the question he raises is quite interesting when posed in the context of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth-century. To date, I have not encountered literature which explains emblems as a reflection of the economic concerns of the time. Were economic concerns of special import in this genre? When conducting my research into all the emblem books in the STCN, this subject was not at the forefront of my attention, therefore I cannot make any accurate claims at this time. However, I have consulted all of the results I collected regarding the appearance of flowers in emblem books. At this time, it seems that Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* is the only emblem book which connects a flower to an economic situation, in this case the dangers of overindulgence in *exotica*. Other than this example, the only other somewhat similar examples may be Dirck Pietersz Pers' *Bellerophon* (1614) and Jacob Cats' *Proteus, ofte Minne-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden; Alle de wercken* (1658). Both authors include picturae with the motto "all that glitters isn't gold". While this is a moralizing message involving one placing value not on earthly possessions but on virtue, it is not as concrete as that of Visscher. Besides this, there are many examples of flowers symbolically representing the wealth of God's creation, however, this is far removed from the nature of this specific question and research focus. How many emblem writers in the Dutch Republic did include economic factors in their emblems? How does the tulip in *Sinnepoppen* compare to these? Or, if Visscher's is the only one of its kind, or makes up a small portion, why is this so? What could potentially make tulips different enough to single out in this context?

These findings on this correlates information provided by other authors. For example, Bernhard F. Scholz states in his article "De 'economische sector' in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*." (1990), "One of the main characteristics of *Sinnepoppen* includes, it seems to me, the important role of the economic sector of society. Actually, *Sinnepoppen* is the only emblem

¹⁵³ Daly. 2003, 410.

¹⁵⁴ Daly. 2003, 410.

book in which the functioning of this sector is so extensively discussed”.¹⁵⁵ It is no surprise that Visscher, an author as well as a wealthy grain merchant, would be interested in writing from this point of view. It is necessary here to specify what Scholz is referring to when he uses the term “economic sector”. This is different from how we would define it with today’s economic terms of producing and consuming goods. Instead, it is a synonym for the seventeenth-century term *oeconomica*, which has to do with the management of household affairs.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, Scholz is focusing on the behavioral aspects represented in *Sinnepoppen* which relate to maintaining a livelihood and acquiring property, and especially on the connection of these behaviors to the values, virtues, and vices as viewed by Visscher.¹⁵⁷ Scholz goes on to explain that the ‘realistic’ nature of Visscher’s emblem book lies in his depiction of daily objects connected to these behaviors. He gives the example of Emblem V, the tulips and bulbs, as the objects of a ‘definitive behavior’¹⁵⁸ (liefhebbers trading large sums for tulips and bulbs) which is not a veiled or abstracted metaphor, thus allowing the reader-viewer to find this behavior all the more reprehensible. He then moves on to the emblem preceding that of the tulips, the buying of shells. Visscher obviously disapproves of the purchasing of these objects as a waste of money on worthless things. Scholz is quick to point out Visscher’s hypocrisy, however, when he defends the moral high-ground of the sellers of *exotica*, as long as they receive their wealth without lying and by offering a fair price for the objects.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Scholz, Bernhard F. ‘De ‘economische sector’ in Roemer Visschers *Sinnepoppen*’, in: *De zeventiende eeuw. Jaargang 6*. 1990, 18. Scholz’s original passage in Dutch: “Tot de in het oog springende kenmerken van de *Sinnepoppen* hoort ook, zo komt het mij voor, dat de economische sector van de samenleving er een kwantitatief vrij belangrijke rol in speelt. In feite zijn de *Sinnepoppen* het enige mij bekende embleemboek waarin het doen en laten in deze sector van de maatschappij zo uitvoerig aan de orde komt.”

¹⁵⁶ <https://latinlexicon.org/definition.php?p1=2040129&p2=o>. Date accessed: 23/2/2019.

¹⁵⁷ Scholz. 1990, 18.

¹⁵⁸ Scholz. 1990, 21. Scholz uses the term “bepaalde vormen van gedrag”.

¹⁵⁹ Scholz. 1990, 23.

Roemer Visscher's and Claes Jansz Visscher's Circles

Besides Scholz's comment on *Sinnepoppen* being the only one of its kind to so extensively include the 'economic sector' in its emblems, he also brings another interesting piece of information into the discourse: the prologue of *Sinnepoppen* states that its primary purpose is to entertain friends. (This text was, after all, published after Visscher's artistic circle urged him to do so.¹⁶⁰) Scholz brings his argument to a close with this very revealing suggestion:

Perhaps one should therefore not attempt to distil a coherent vision of the economic reality of 17th century Amsterdam from a book such as *Sinnepoppen*. Perhaps every 'Sinnepop' should be understood as a trace of a social reality that has not yet been clarified by systematic argumentation regarding large literary works containing contradictions and fractures.¹⁶¹

Scholz's caution is justified. This information suggests, in my view, that Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* is even more of a unique case in emblematic literature than has previously been considered. This emblem book is the only one discovered so far which portrays the tulip in such an invective way. Additionally, according to Scholz, it is the only one which incorporates *oeconomica* to such an extent. The author himself also explains that this text is primarily meant for entertaining friends. Thus, *Sinnepoppen* showcases the worldview of Visscher and his circle, and it is dangerous to ascribe this view to the whole of Amsterdam much less the entire Dutch culture of the seventeenth-century, as many authors have been wont to do.

It is important to note as well that Roemer Visscher was a member of the well-known Amsterdam Chamber of Rhetoric, De Eglentier.¹⁶² His textual references to excessive spending on

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.kb.nl/en/themes/book-history/more-special-books/sinnepoppen>. Date accessed: 23/2/2019.

¹⁶¹ Scholz. 1990, 26. "Misschien moet men derhalve ook niet proberen om uit een boek als de *Sinnepoppen* een samenhangende visie op de economische werkelijkheid van het 17e-eeuwse Amsterdam te destilleren. Misschien moet elke 'Sinnepop' worden opgevat als een spoor van een sociale realiteit die nog niet door systematische verwoording door middel van traktaten en grote literaire werken van tegenstrijdigheiden en breuken gezuiverd is."

¹⁶² Spies, Marijke. "The Amsterdam Chamber De Eglentier and the ideals of Erasmian Humanism", in; *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700*. Theo Hermans and Reinier Salverda (eds.), 2017, 87. De Eglentier was a chamber of rhetoric, which were civic societies. Their members were highly educated and promoted the arts of poetry, literature, and the instruction of moral

ephemeral collecting items, which ultimately reference irresponsible citizenship, are an example of the influence of Erasmian Humanism. Hanan Yoran gives an interesting discussion on Erasmian Humanism in his text *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the humanist Republic of Letters* (2010). Yoran explains that the adherents of humanism “sought to reform all aspects of European society, from children’s manners to theology”.¹⁶³ Additionally, humanists believed the central aim of their educational program “was to fashion a moral agent and a responsible citizen”.¹⁶⁴ It is clear in the text of Emblem V that Visscher believed such commercial behavior was the antithesis of responsible citizenship.

It seems that little analysis has been made in this area of research, not only on Visscher himself, but also into the engraver of the image. Both men did not create this work in a vacuum which was separated from their own personal beliefs and agendas (as well as those in their circle(s)). Roemer Visscher’s status as a wealthy grain merchant and Claes Visscher’s strong religious conviction may have contributed in some way to the tulip’s portrayal in *Sinnepoppen*. Peter van der Coelen gave an analysis of Claes Jansz Visscher’s personal agenda in his article “Claes Jansz. Visschers bijbelse prentenboeken” (1994-5). Van der Coelen is specifically discussing here Visscher’s intentions when publishing his biblical picture books. He states, “It has recently been suggested that Visscher’s foundation was strongly influenced by his religious position”.¹⁶⁵ He also explains that Visscher was an active member of the Reformed congregation as well as a deacon of Nieuwekerk.¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, there exist large gaps in knowledge on this subject.

Given the current state of research on Roemer Visscher’s *Sinnepoppen*, much more analysis must be undertaken to more fully understand the author’s role of this popular genre in the Dutch Republic and its effect on contemporary thought.

living. More information can be found here: <https://www.britannica.com/art/rederijerskamer>. Date accessed: 3/7/2019.

¹⁶³ Yoran, Hanan. *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the humanist Republic of Letters*. Lanham: Lexington Books, Lanham, 2011, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Yoran. 2011, 4.

¹⁶⁵ Coelen, Peter van. “Claes Jansz. Visschers bijbelse prentenboeken”, in: *De boekenwereld. Jaargang 11, 1994/95*, 113. Van der Coelen’s original text is as follows: “Recentelijk is naar voren gebracht dat Visschers fonds in sterke mate beïnvloed zou zijn door zijn religieuze positie.”

¹⁶⁶ Van der Coelen. 1994/95, 113.

The Cultural Context of Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*

Collecting Culture

When analyzing emblems, it can be easy to overlook its cultural nuance, and even its possible connection to other emblems in the book. This is especially the case with the tulip emblem in *Sinnepoppen*, which contains a direct textual connection to the preceding emblem. In this case, the preceding emblem involves collecting shells. Thus, the emblem of shells which precedes (and connects with) that of the tulip in *Sinnepoppen* illuminates the issue that the tulip was but one of the exotic items popular at the time. It is therefore crucial to maintain an awareness of the historical context of the collecting culture in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, and Europe generally.

The fourth emblem in *Sinnepoppen* of the exotic shells begins with the motto: “It is bizarre what a madman spends his money on”.¹⁶⁷ (See Figure 13 in Images below) The following subscriptio explains the remarkable change which has taken place: objects once given to children as toys are now worth fortunes.¹⁶⁸ The emblem on the next page, the tulips, is explicitly connected to that of the shells. Something not elucidated previous to Goldgar’s inspection is the connection between Emblem IV and V. Visscher himself states the similarities between them; they arose from the same concerns and the commentary of Emblem IV applies to that of the tulips. What makes the purchase of tulips and bulbs so much worse, however, is the need not just for the object itself. Enthusiasts must also buy, or procure access to, a garden and provide for the maintenance of it. It is obvious here that the buying of shells and flowers (tulips and bulbs) for exorbitant amounts (as he perceives them) is seen by Visscher as reprehensible. This is where much of the literature analysis ends. However, there is so much more to the story, much more that Visscher offers in these emblems.

Of special importance, certainly considering the collecting culture in the period, is that the text of *Sinnepoppen* was written in 1590.¹⁶⁹ Simon Schama, when describing the first phase of the tulip trade, makes note of the fact that the tulip was present in gardens in the Dutch Republic by

¹⁶⁷ Goldgar. 2007, 84.

¹⁶⁸ Goldgar. 2007, 84.

¹⁶⁹ Segal, Sam. *Tulips Portrayed: The Tulip Trade in Holland in the Seventeenth Century*. Lisse: Museum voor de Bloembollenstreek, 1992, 15.

1590. However, and this is significant to note, it was specifically confined to the gardens of elite connoisseurs.¹⁷⁰ Schama argues that the tulip only became accessible to the lower classes as of the winter of 1635, many decades after *Sinnepoppen* was written. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that emblem IV and V are commenting only on the craze for collecting exotica, not the tulipmania itself (because it did not yet exist).

Social Values

His comments directly address another concern besides the economic effect (or detriment) of enthusiasts, concern which is brought into the discourse by Goldgar. It involves the issue of sudden change and the disruption of socially acceptable values. Surprisingly, Goldgar doesn't seem to take this connection further.¹⁷¹ There is another aspect which may deserve additional attention. As stated by Goldgar, Emblem IV ridicules the buying of objects which were once given away to children. Though this may not directly connect to the gift culture of collectors prior to shells (and tulips) acquiring monetary value, it is interesting that Visscher is pointing out this sudden change. The tulips and shells were once objects meant for exchange or gifts, assuming he is referencing this and not relying totally on a literal reading of only giving them to children. Now, these items are worth the fortunes of kings.

Andrew Gebhardt, who is heavily influenced by the research of Goldgar, in *Holland's Flowering* (2014) explains that the entire problem with tulipmania, which connects to the greater collecting craze, lay in the deeply shocking nature of the trade as it developed and changed.¹⁷² What began with Clusius as a gift economy based on trust, gentility, and the open reciprocation of knowledge swiftly changed. Now that enough interest for the tulip had spread, a new economic enterprise emerged and it was a ruthless, backstabbing rush for money in the early capitalist nation. Even more than the supposedly high prices paid for *exotica*, which might have only been referenced as the laughable vices of the wealthier classes, what shook many in Dutch society to

¹⁷⁰ Schama. 1987, 353.

¹⁷¹ After offering Emblems IV and V, Goldgar discusses why shells and tulips were objects of wonder at the time. Her explanation is one of material and textural engagement with collectors.

¹⁷² Gebhardt. 2014, 78.

their core was the break from traditional values. This, indeed, is the crux of Goldgar's argument in *Tulipmania*. The tulip was not an example of a rare and expensive object which led to the bankruptcy of the nation, but it was one which revealed the ugly nature of the emerging economic system. When the market fully entered into the collecting culture, these new values (avarice, disloyalty, and social distance) eclipsed those of the polite and honor-bound small liefhebber societies. As Goldgar states, "Market forces began to intrude on a world that otherwise (despite its many merchant members) was not of the market".¹⁷³ And it was exactly the fear of these new values rewarded by the market which sparked the most fear in seventeenth-century Dutch society. Goldgar states, "comments on tulipmania have been comments on capitalism, and they never speak of it with approval".¹⁷⁴

Visscher's emblem in *Sinnepoppen* marks a valuable perspective on the tulip trade, and the trade in *exotica* more generally. While it cannot be used as an overarching commentary, it offers insights into Visscher and his circle.

Conclusion

As the sole emblem which associates the tulip with vice, emblem V of Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* was a crucial addition to this thesis. However, this emblem is certainly not representative of the corpus of emblems in the Appendix of this thesis. As such, the examples of emblems which present the tulip in the context of virtue far outweigh the only emblem which presents it in the context of vice. Claes Jansz Visscher, the engraver of these emblems, drew inspiration from Camerarius in the visual presentation of the tulips. The disjointed nature of the visual (created by Claes Jansz) and textual (created by Roemer) presentation of the tulip is an interesting detail; it deserves future attention by emblem scholars. Emblem V was compared to its preceding emblem in *Sinnepoppen* for the purposes of identifying their direct textual connection. This reveals that rather than arguing against the tulipmania, which had not even occurred yet at this point, Roemer Visscher was commenting on the vices of the collecting craze affecting much

¹⁷³ Goldgar. 2007, 57.

¹⁷⁴ Goldgar. 2007, 316.

of Europe at this time. He was making a statement regarding perceived societal flaws in the form of wasteful consumerism, rather than the tulipmania.

This is the only example that they offer from emblem literature as, after carefully searching every emblem book listed in the STCN, this appears at this time to be the only emblem of its kind. Even Jacob Cats does not seem to portray the tulip to this extent; one does not get the impression that the tulip in his emblem books is a symbol of tulipmania or the greed which led to it. This emblem seems to form the center of the consensus on the tulip's definition and reception. This is problematic for a number of reasons, two of which being too dependent on such a limited example (even taking into consideration *Sinnepoppen*'s popularity) and overlooking the tulip's potentially wider range of associations. There is some fault on the choice of depending on this emblem specifically as it is, discovered up to this date in the available emblem literature, the only emblem which explicitly connects the tulip to the trade, and vice more generally. No other emblem has been as definitively clear in portraying the tulip as a symbol of vice as Visscher's.

The reasons why previous authors have not recognized this issue may vary, however, it is imperative that research in this subject does not neglect Visscher's position within emblem literature to discover if his moralizing commentary is representative of the genre as a wider whole. Unfortunately, little is currently known about Claes Visscher and his publishing house, therefore definitive conclusions about his motivation cannot be made at this time.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to provide answers to the question, to what extent does a survey of the use of tulips in emblem books correspond with the insights from the historiography? A first overarching question this thesis has sought to explore is whether or not the historiography relating to the symbolic function of the tulip in seventeenth-century Dutch art reflects what can be seen in the primary sources (emblem books). Numerous well-established art historians have explored the tulip as a symbol. Much of their evidence supports the understanding that the tulip functioned as a multifaceted symbol. As has been argued in Chapter 1, however, some of their evidence and explanations regarding the complex relationship between the tulip as depicted in art and literature and its role as an object of trade is not satisfactory.

Based on the visual evidence of all emblem books searched in the STCN, it seems that *Sinnepoppen* is the only emblem book which specifically ties the tulip to money and greed, and the collecting craze itself. Because of this, there is uncertainty of the accuracy of Taylor's argument in regards to its "louche" associations. Was the tulip really so vilified by Dutch writers as they claim it to be? Regardless, when it comes to the visual evidence as demonstrated by the primary sources, it seems that the overarching statement of the tulip as a symbol of vice, especially the tulip trade specifically, is not upheld.

A sub question posed to answer the research question was, in which iconographic contexts does the tulip appear in seventeenth-century Dutch emblem books? This thesis highlighted four major categories of symbolic associations; devotion, chastity and honorable industry, the multiplicity of Creation, and the collecting mania. These categories were chosen in order to bring renewed scholarly attention to the wide variety of functions the tulip had in seventeenth-century Dutch emblematic literature. Emblem writers continued to incorporate old and new associations with the flower, regardless of whether the tulip was explicitly depicted as a rare flamed variety. It is indeed true that Roemer Visscher's portrayal of the tulip is significant in the study of this subject, however, his view is not representative of the other images collected during the course of this research.

It is only *Sinnepoppen* which paints the tulip in such a bleak light, directly connected to the follies and vices of collectors. Many subsequent authors have then, incorrectly, connected this to the tulipmania. The other examples of emblems with tulips discussed here involve virtues. These emblems involve a large variety of pictorial traditions and cultural contexts. As such, it is impossible to pin down the tulip to one major symbolic association, good or ill. In the case of emblem literature, it is possible to argue that the authors and readership of such books would not have unanimously associated the tulip with vice, certainly the tulipmania. Only a few examples have been highlighted in this thesis, however, these examples showcase the large variety of associations and contexts in which the tulip functioned.

What can emblem books bring to further understand tulip symbolism in Dutch art and culture?

As discussed in this thesis, the story of the tulip in the context of emblematic literature is much more complex than many historians have previously considered. As has been demonstrated in this paper, the tulip functions more frequently as a symbol of virtue than a symbol of vice in emblem books, in contrast to the previous interpretations by Taylor. Emblem books also help scholars to reconstruct potential contemporary views on various symbolic elements (in this genre as well as other genres and mediums) such as the tulip. The issue of how contemporaries (of various social classes) viewed the tulip cannot be simplified only to how it is portrayed in Visscher's emblem, or any one emblem or writer for that matter. Likewise, this thesis has not argued that any other emblems, such as those by Jacob Cats, are representative either, though numerous authors have argued in favor of this.¹⁷⁵ Instead, it is necessary to examine all available sources to make more accurate conclusions. Although an emblem book may be published by one of the most well-known and prolific writers of the time does not immediately mean the emblem fully reflects contemporary thought.

¹⁷⁵ Jansen, Jeroen. 'The Emblem Theory and Audience of Jacob Cats', in: *Imago Figurata: The Emblem Tradition and Low Countries: Selected papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August, 1996*. John Manning, Karel Porteman, and Marc van Vaeck (eds.). Brepols publishers: Turnhout, Belgium, 1999, 227.

Returning to an issue posed in the beginning of this thesis, how do the results of this research reflect Panofsky's theory of disguised symbolism and De Jongh's similar theory of veiled symbolism? Panofsky bases this theory on pictorial tradition, while De Jongh combines this with the textual evidence of the emblems. The latter method is indeed more applicable, especially in the case of tulip emblems. This is because there is direct texts corresponding to the emblems which help to understand them. Additionally, the tulip, as seen in this research, did not have the extensive pictorial history like Panofsky's example of the lily. However, De Jongh's extension of Panofsky's theory does apply to some emblem books which are not as definitive in terms of their presentation and description of the tulip. How can this be taken further? De Jongh discusses the connection between emblem books and paintings of the same age and there exists an opportunity to systematically research this connection. In this way, perhaps the hidden symbolism of emblem books can be securely applied to that of paintings as well.

This thesis sought to present a more accurate view of the tulip in Dutch art of the seventeenth-century, specifically emblem books. While many historians have presented the tulip as a symbol of vice and virtue, too much weight has been placed upon a single emblem from this time period, tipping the discussion too far towards the tulip's association with vice. Future research on tulip symbolism might be able to fill the gaps that this research has identified but been unable to answer, namely the contrasting stories of the tulipmania, the lack of research into Roemer Visscher and Claes Jansz Visscher, and the connection(s) between tulips in emblem books and flower pieces.

Images



Figure 1. Attributed to Petrus Christus, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1450. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2. Engraving from *Paradys der zielen, beplant met veele schoone gebeden*, 1674.

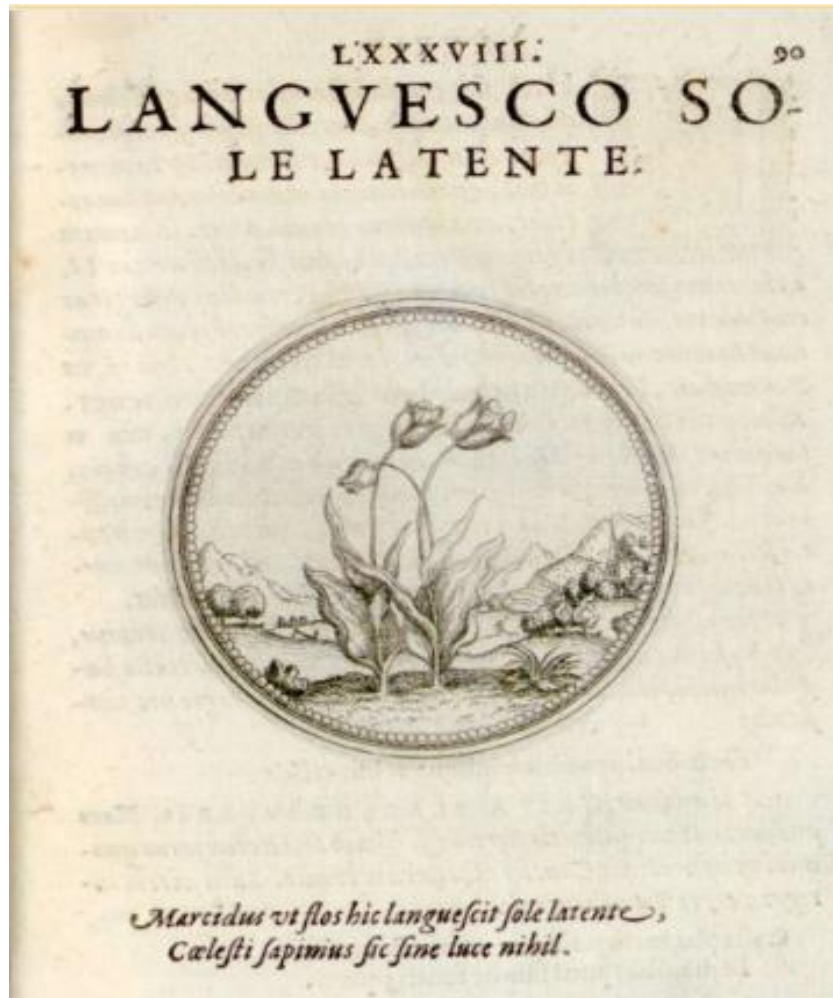


Figure 3. Joachim Camerarius, Emblem LXXXVIII, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumptorum centuria una*, 1590.



*Ad regis nutus, procerum se vertere turba,
Adsolet, et sequitur Principis, Aula, animum.*

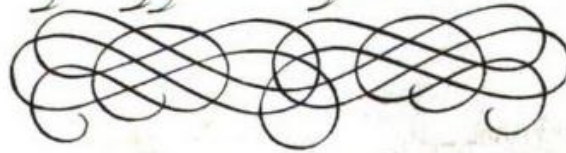


Figure 4. Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Emblemata volsinnighe uytheelsels*. Page 25. Arnhem, by J. Ianszen, 1615-1617. Shelfmark: OTM: O 02-7. Collection of Allard Pierson.



Figure 5. Jacob Cats, Title page of “Maeghden-Wapen” from *Hovwelyck. Dat is De gansche gelegentheyt des echten staets.* Middleburg, by Jan Pietersz van de Venne and Adriaen van de Venne. 1625.



Figure 6. Jacob Cats, “Weduwe” from *Hovwelyck. Dat is De gansche gelegenthey des echten staets.* Middleburg, by Jan Pietersz van de Venne and Adriaen van de Venne. 1625.

Ex minimis patet ipse Deus.



Niet isser oyt van God soo cleyn en slecht geschapen,
Of 'twijst sijn Schepper aan ;

Figure 7. Claes Jansz Visscher after Adriaen van de Venne, emblem from *Zeeusche Nagtegael*. 1623.



Figure 8. Jacob Cats, *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven*. Dordrecht, for M. Havius printed by H. van Esch, 1637.



Figure 9. Jacob Cats, *Grondt-Houwelick, dat is: Beschrijvinge van d'eerste Bruiloft, gehouden in den Paradijse, tusschen Adam en Eva, eerste voor-ouders aller menschen, in: Alle de wercken*. Amsterdam, J.J. Schipper, 1658. Collection of Allard Pierson.

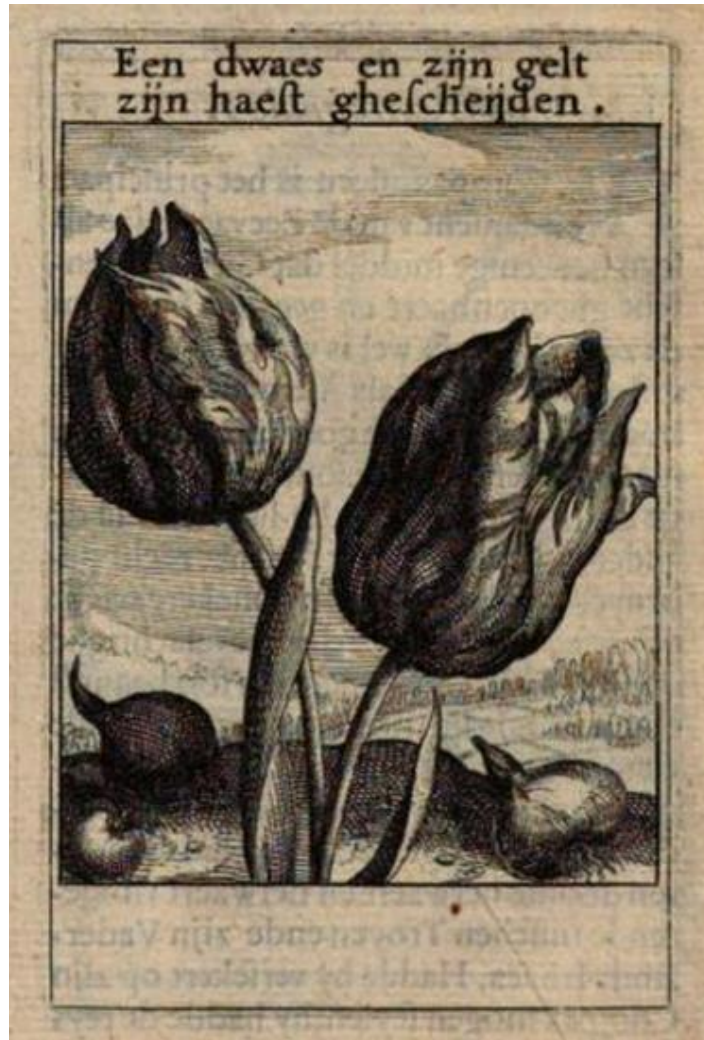
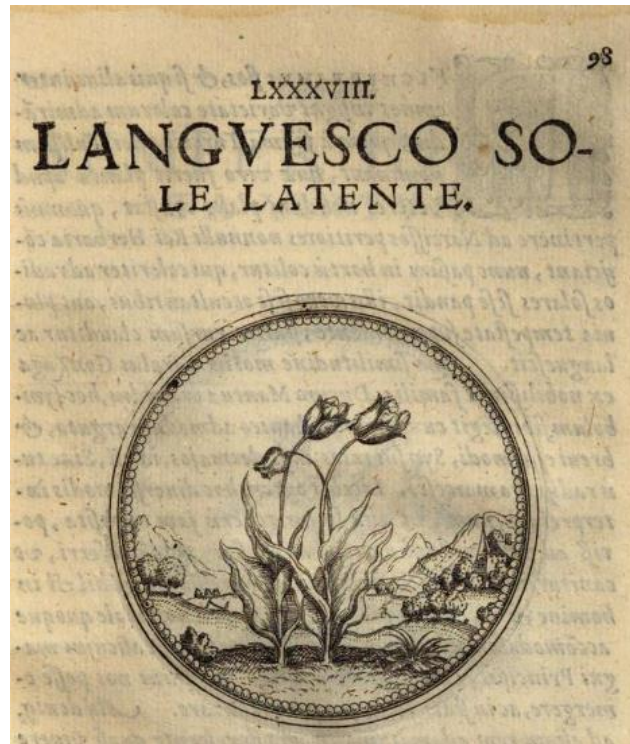
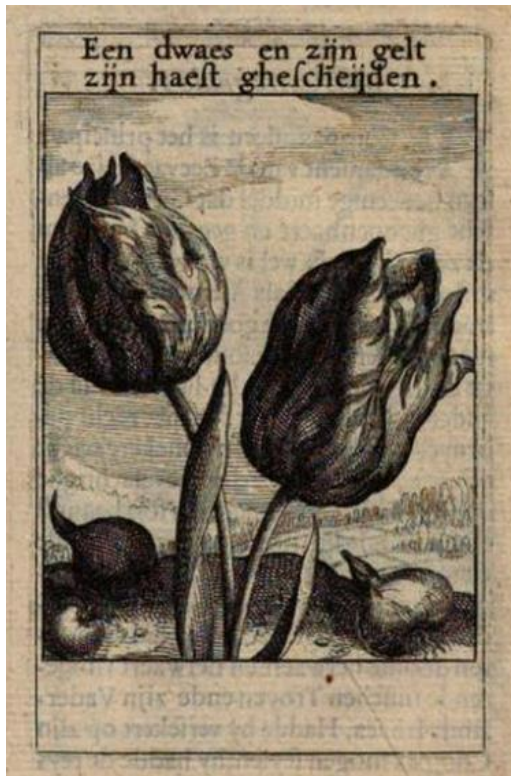


Figure 10. Roemer Visscher, Emblem V, *Sinnepoppen*, I. Amsterdam, by W. Iansz., 1614, p. 5., shelfmark: OTM: OK 62-9148. Collection of Allard Pierson. This emblem incorporates the iconic motto: "A fool and his money are soon parted".



Figures 11 and 12. Emblem from *Sinnepoppen* on the left and emblem from *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una* on the right for visual comparison.

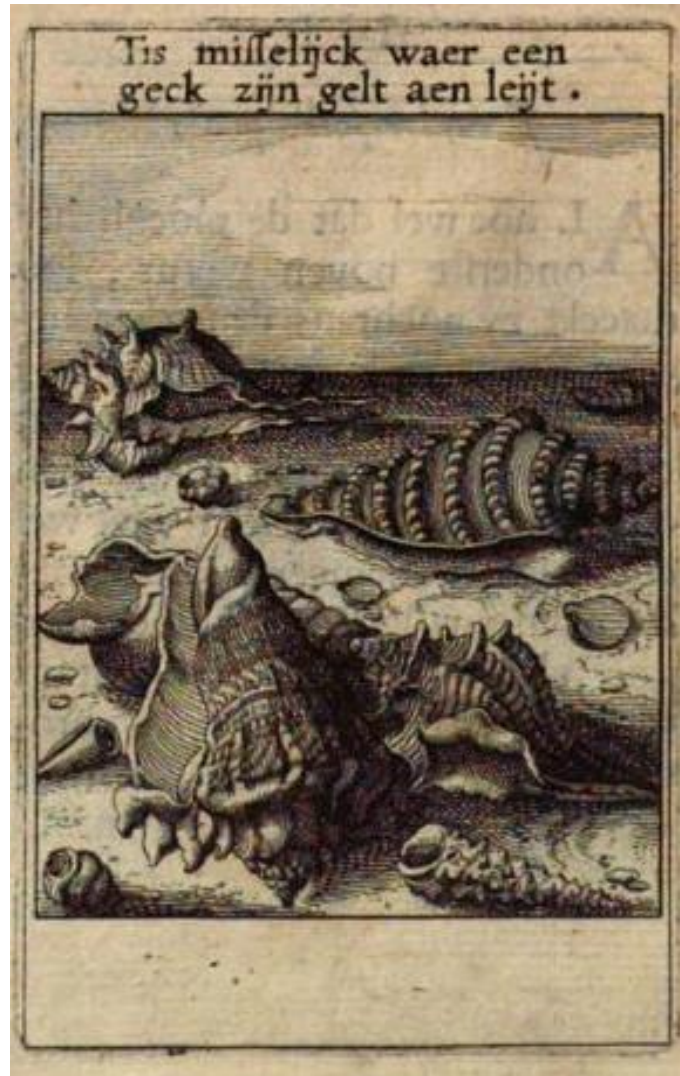


Figure 13. Roemer Visscher, Emblem IV, *Sinnepoppen*, I. Amsterdam, by W. Iansz., 1614, p. 5., shelfmark: OTM: OK 62-9148. Collection of Allard Pierson.

Appendix: List of Tulips in Dutch Emblem Books (1600-1700), in chronological order

Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una, Emblem LXXXVIII*

Date: 1590

Place: Nuremburg

Printers: Johann Hofmann and Hubert Camoxius

Google Books: (Austrian National Library) <https://books.google.nl/books?id=pkIcAAAaAAJ&pg=PA9-IA2&dq=symbolorum+et+emblematum+ex+re+herbaria&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjN6PC-3NjeAhXDfFAKHxf5AbIQ6AEIPzAD#v=onepage&q=symbolorum%20et%20emblematum%20ex%20re%20herbaria&f=false>

Page: 90



Three tulips can be seen in the foreground of the image.

Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, Emblem V

Date: 1614

Place: Amsterdam

Publisher: Blaeu, Willem Jansz Amsterdam, 1608-1639

Engraver: Claes Jansz. Visscher

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=852559267>

Google Books: (Library of Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam)

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=dKZpAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Sinnepoppen.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjW2YOag4veAhUmpIsKHegNBrAQ6AEINjAC#v=onepage&q=Sinnepoppen.&f=false>

Page: 5



Two tulips can be seen in the foreground. Behind them appear three tulip bulbs.

Gabriel Rollenhagenius, *Emblemata volsinnighe uytbeelsels*

Date: 1615

Place: Arnhem

Publisher: Jansz, Jan Arnhem, 1597-1629

Engraver: Crispijn van der Passe

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=04407039X>

Google Books: (University Library Ghent)

https://books.google.nl/books?id=H4hbAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Emblemata+volsinnighe+uytbeelsels.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjNhfq61_eAhUMgHMKHbFTB3IQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=Emblemata%20volsinnighe%20uytbeelsels.&f=false

Page: 25



A tulip appears in the foreground accompanied by other flowers associated with devotion.

Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht ofte ampt der jonck-vrovvven, in eerbaer liefde, aen-ghewesen door sinne-beelden = Officium puellarum, Emblem XXVI*

Date: 1618

Place: Middelburg

Publisher: Hellen, Hans van der, 1618-1661

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=830294937>

Google Books: (No identifying marks)

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=yDtmAAAaAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Maechden-plicht+ofte+ampt+der+ionck-vrovvven&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjstbGjpLeAhXE2aQKHUdGDVYQ6AEIKzAA#v=onepage&q=Maechden-plicht%20ofte%20ampt%20der%20ionck-vrovvven&f=false>

Page: 53



Tulips in multiple flowerbeds appear in this emblem of an ornamental garden.

Text by P.T.L (Utrecht), Pas, Crispijn van de (I) Utrecht, 1612-1624, 1629, *Tronvs Cypidinis sive Emblemata amatoria*

Date: ca. 1618

Place: Utrecht

Publisher: Pas, Crispijn van de (I), 1612-1624, 1629

Engraver: Crispijn van de Passe de Oude

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=065688090>

Library of Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam

Plaatsnummer: OTM: OK 79-20

Page: 12



The tulip appears in a garden flower bed with another flower associated with devotion, the sunflower.

Adriaen van de Venne, *Zeeusche Nagtegael*

Engraver: Claes Jansz Visscher

Date: 1623

Google Books: (University Library Ghent)

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=0hxKAAAACAAJ&pg=PP8&dq=zeeusche+vande+Venne&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj8svih1ubhAhXCJFAKHxzAJAQ6AEIPzAD#v=onepage&q=zeeusche%20vande%20Venne&f=false>

Page: 21



The tulip appears in the center of the image, held by an old man. Other flowers, which may be tulips, are seen in the plot behind them.

Jacob Cats, *Hovwelyck. Dat is De gansche gelegenthey des echten staets*

Date: 1625

Place: Middleburg

Publisher: Venne, Jan Pietersz van de (wed.) Middelburg, 1625-1626; Venne, Adriaen van de 's-Gravenhage, 1625-1635

Engraver: Adriaen Pieterszoon vande Venne, Jan Gerrits Swelinck

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=840515898>

Google Books: (Library of Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam)

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=JgdpAAAaAAJ&pg=PA11-IA27&dq=Hovwelyck.+Dat+is+De+gansche+gelegenthey+des+echten+staets.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjoiervSvpLeAhWR6qQKHSiDMUQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=Hovwelyck.%20Dat%20is%20De%20gansche%20gelegenthey%20des%20echten%20staets.&f=false>

Page: I (***) iij



The tulip appears on the coat of arms held up by the two women.



Vriendinnen inde praem van uwen druck gefeten,
Is yemant onder u gheneghen om te weten
Hoe datmen na de kunst een vrouwe toonen kan,

The tulip appears in the glass vase in the foreground.

Jacob Cats, *Proteus; Emblemata Moralia et Economica; Galathee, Emblem IL*

Date: 1627

Place: Rotterdam

Publisher: Pieter van Waesberge

Engraver: Adriaen Pieterszoon vande Venne, Jan Gerrits Swelinck

Washington Folger Shakespeare Library-STC 4863.5 folger_ill_063866

Page: 8



The tulip appears in the book, which appears to be an emblem book, which the woman reads.

Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuven tijdt*, Emblem LII

Date: 1632

Place: 's-Gravenhage

Publisher: Burghoorn, Isaac 's-Gravenhage, 1632-1655

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=038108895>

Google Books: (Dutch National Library)

https://books.google.nl/books?id=hJ7UtKSpNSEC&pg=PP21&dq=Spiegel+van+den+ouden+ende+nieuven+tijdt.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwje-bKSZLeAhUR_aQKHeu3CoQQ6AEIKzAA#v=onepage&q=Spiegel%20van%20den%20ouden%20ende%20nieuven%20tijdt.&f=false

https://books.google.nl/books?id=hJ7UtKSpNSEC&pg=PP21&dq=Spiegel+van+den+ouden+ende+nieuven+tijdt.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwje-bKSZLeAhUR_aQKHeu3CoQQ6AEIKzAA#v=onepage&q=Spiegel%20van%20den%20ouden%20ende%20nieuven%20tijdt.&f=false

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LII.

Ogni fiore al fin perde l'odore.



The tulip appears in the foreground just above the banner displaying the motto.

Jacob Cats, *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den troy-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven*

Date: 1637

Place: Dordrecht

Publisher: Havius, Matthias Dordrecht, 1633-1643; Esch, Hendrick van Dordrecht, 1633-1682

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=831773278>

Google Books: (Library of Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam)

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=9QZpAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP9&dq=%27sWerelts+begin,+midden,+eynde,+besloten+in+den+troy-ringh,+met+den+proef-steen+van+den+selven.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwixqJLx7JneAhVRDewKHcbVBKMQ6AEIKTA#v=onepage&q='sWerelts%20begin%2C%20midden%2C%20eynde%2C%20besloten%20in%20den%20troy-ringh%2C%20met%20den%20proef-steen%20van%20den%20selven.&f=false>

Page: 7



The tulip appears on the left side of the image, above a pair of monkeys and below a bird on a tree branch.

Moretus, Balthasar (I), *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der societeyt Iesv*

Date: 1640

Place: Antwerp

Publisher: Officina Plantiniana, 1596-1698; Moretus, Balthasar (I) Antwerpen, 1617, 1621-1640

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=311715540>

Google Books: (Austrian National Library) https://books.google.nl/books?id=C-pVAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA370&dq=Af-beeldinghe+van+d%27eerste+eevwe+der+societeyt+Iesv&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjv5ND5lpreAhUOKVAKHaoKD_8Q6AEIMzAB#v=onepage&q=Af-beeldinghe%20van%20d'eerste%20eevwe%20der%20societeyt%20Iesv&f=false

Page: 120



The tulip appears in the ornamental border surrounding the scene.

Engraved by Crispijn van de Passe de jongere, *Les vrais portraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la chrestienté, desgisees en bergéres = Ware afbeeldinghe van eenige der aldergrootste [...] vrouwen:*

Date: 1640

Place: Amsterdam

Publisher: Pas, Crispijn van de (II=de jongere) Amsterdam, 1639-1652; 1655; Broersz. Joost Amsterdam, 1634-1647

Engraver: Crispijn van de Passe de jongere

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=850907306>

Google Books: (Library of Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam)

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=ocpmAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Les+vrais+portraits+de+quelques+unes+des+plvs+grandes+dames+de+la+chrestiente&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiEwO-pkZzeAhWHKFAKHAMFBgMQ6AEIKzAA#v=onepage&q=Les%20vrais%20portraits%20de%20quelques%20unes%20des%20plvs%20grandes%20dames%20de%20la%20chrestiente&f=false>

Page: 11, 14, and 15



The tulip is held, sometimes in combination with other flowers, in the womens' hands.

Jacob Cats, *Overdom, buyten-leven, en hof-gedachten, op Sorgh-vliet*

Date: 1656

Place: Amsterdam

Publisher: Schipper, Jan Jacobsz Amsterdam, 1639-1670

Permalink: <http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=840986858>

Google Books: (No identifying marks) <https://books.google.nl/books?id=UwY-AAAaAAJ&pg=PP18&dq=Ouderdom,+buyten-leven,+en+hofgedachten,+op+Sorghvliet.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjbmOzfspjjAhUGUIAKHdd5AtIQ6AEIOTAC#v=onepage&q=Ouderdom%2C%20buyten-leven%2C%20en%20hofgedachten%2C%20op%20Sorghvliet.&f=false>

Page: after J.J. Schipper's dedication to the reader, and 37



(Detail) The tulip appears in a vase of flowers and is accompanied by a boy blowing bubbles.



The tulip appears next to crown imperials in a garden flower bed.

Jacob Cats, *Proteus, ofte Minne-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden; Alle de wercken*

Date: 1658

Place: Amsterdam

Publisher: Schipper, Jan Jacobsz Amsterdam, 1639-1670

Google Books: (Bavarian State Library)

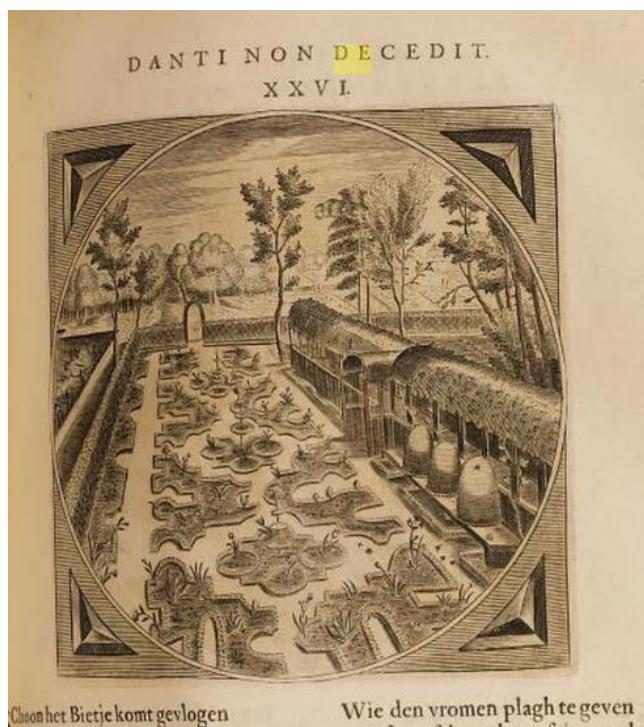
https://books.google.nl/books?id=d00_AAAAcAAJ&pg=RA5-PA49&dq=Proteus,+ofte+Minne-beelden+verandert+in+sinne-beelden;+Alle+de+wercken&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj0t-XrmaDiAhXK-6QKHfmiA5g4ChDoAQhTMAy#v=onepage&q=Proteus%2C%20ofte%20Minne-beelden%20verandert%20in%20sinne-beelden%3B%20Alle%20de%20wercken&f=false

Emblem XXI



The tulip can be seen in a vase on the table. *Sinne en minne-beelden*. Pg 42.

Emblem XXVI



The tulip again appears in the flowerbeds of an ornamental garden. *Emblemata moralia et oeconomica*. Pg 133.



The tulip appears on the coat of arms that the women hold. *Houwelijck, Maeghde-Wapen*. Pg 8.



The tulip appears in the foreground of the image. *Houwelijck, Weduwe*. Pg 190.



The tulip is seen here worn with other flowers as a headpiece. *Galathea, ofte Harders-Klachte, Aen de Eerbare, Seden-rijcke, Segen rijcke, Jonck-vrou*. Pg 12.



The tulip is seen in the foreground above the banner displaying the motto. *Spiegel van den Ouden en Nieuwen Tyt*. Pg 62.



The tulips appear on the right and left sides of the image accompanied by many pairs of animals. *Grondt-Houwelick, dat is: Beschrijvinge van d'eerste Bruiloft, gehouden in den Paradijse, tusschen Adam en Eva*. Pg 3.

Emblem XL



The tulip appears in a flower bed alongside crown imperials. *Hof-Gedachten*. Pg 102.



The tulips are seen in the plots of an ornamental garden. *Voor de levendige*. Pg 15.

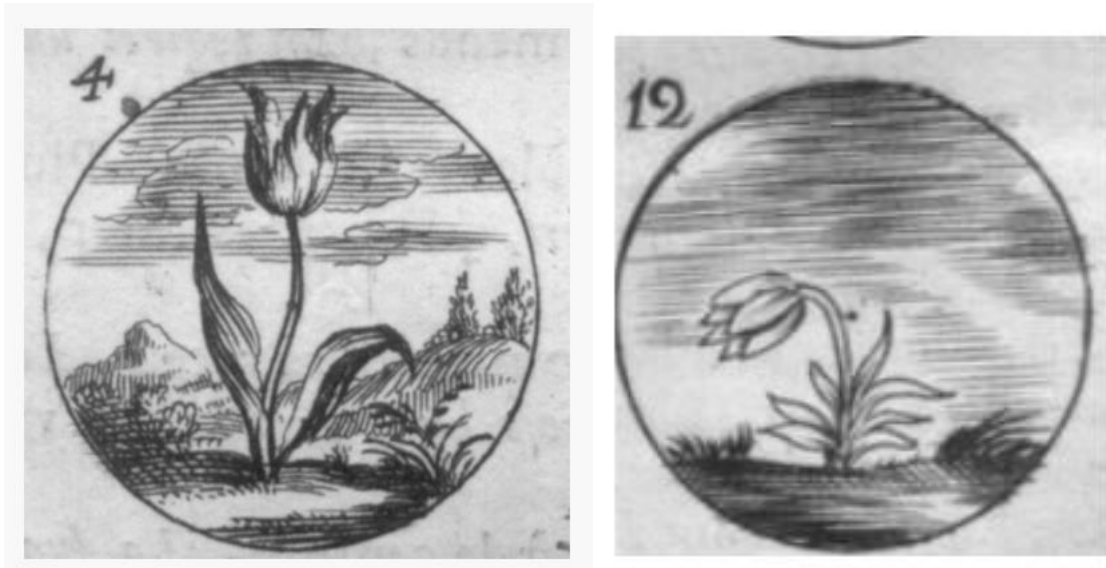
Daniel de la Feuille, *Devises et emblèmes anciennes et modernes*,
Emblems 4 and 12

Date: 1691

Place: Amsterdam

Utrecht Universiteitsbibliotheek · RAR LMY DEVICES 1, 4°; 102 pp

Page: 102



An upright tulip and a bent tulip can be seen in these small emblems.

Cesare Ripa, Daniel De La Feuille, *Essay d'un Dictionnaire*, Emblem 3

Date: 1700

Place: Amsterdam

Leiden Private Collection, 4°, 204pp

Page: 204



Tulips held by the personification of sincerity.

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