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Dutch Artists in England: Examining the Cultural Interchange between England and the Netherlands in 'Low' Art in the Seventeenth Century.

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Dutch Artists in England: Examining the Cultural Interchange between England and the Netherlands in 'Low' Art in the Seventeenth Century.

by

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Joanna Mavis Ruddock – Dutch Artists in England: Examining the Cultural Interchange between England and the Netherlands in 'Low' Art in the Seventeenth Century.

The seventeenth century was an incredibly fascinating time for art in England developmentally, especially because most of the artists that were receiving the commissions from English patrons and creating the art weren't English, they were Dutch. Over this one hundred year period scores of Dutch artists migrated over from the Dutch Republic and showed England this Golden Age of painting that had established Dutch artists back in the Netherlands as pioneers in their line of work.

In studies of Anglo-Dutch art, portraiture is a genre that has been widely researched; Peter Lely (a Dutch-born portraitist) is one of many widely acclaimed artists of this genre; comparative to many of the artworks and artists chosen for this research. Generally Anglo-Dutch relations, politically, economically, religiously and of course culturally there was, during the seventeenth century, so much going on between these two nations. Did this intense ever-changing relationship have an impact on that the other 'low' genres of art that was produced throughout this century?

This research involves understanding and thinking about the impact of the cultural exchange that took place between England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century on 'low' art – marine, landscape and still life painting. This research entails thinking about the origins of these genres as well as looking at individual paintings on a detailed basis and understanding how this cultural interchange manifests and translates itself through visual motifs – objects (large and small), stylistic characteristics and theme of the painting.

Various themes and interpretations - in particular iconography and iconology, descriptive versus narrative art and national identity - have been explored and considered in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the literature that already exists for this art in an effort to consider something new but to also interpret the paintings in a different way – this research has considered these paintings through the visual elements and has explained the cultural significance they provide.

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Dedicated to my beloved Grandma

Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Research Master of Art History has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Sub-Committee.

Work submitted for this research degree at the Plymouth University has not formed part of any other degree either at Plymouth University or at another establishment.

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Signed:.....Rudd............................

Date: .....4./.4./.16.........................

Introduction

Figure 1.1, Vermeer, *The Art of Painting,* 1666.

England[1]* has had a long-standing exchange with the Netherlands; it is one that is evident throughout history in many different forms: laws, paintings, battles, and marriages. The intention of this thesis is to explore the cultural exchange that occurred between these two countries and understand it is primarily the Dutch cultural influence over England in the seventeenth century. The exchange that has existed -and continues to exist- between the two nations has been a culmination of negative as well as positive events that have undoubtedly made an effect. Last year (2015) King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands joined Queen Elizabeth in laying her wreath at the cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday, which marked the 70th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands by British troops. The research conducted on the visual arts is only one of many aspects that can be explored relating to the cultural interchange.

This influence that the Dutch have had over the visual culture in England is evident in the art in subsequent centuries. The focus of this research revolves around the cultural interchange that took place during the seventeenth century when pioneering Dutch artists were commissioned by English patrons to paint their lives and the goings on around them. Not only this but also, this research will specifically be exploring the lesser-known genres of painting, marine, landscape and still life. One will explore how Dutch artists have represented English everyday life in the paintings and, specifically select motifs in the paintings that ascertain this cultural focus. Some of the paintings chosen contain symbolic iconographic meaning within certain motifs in the painting. Occasionally, the iconographic meanings will coalesce with the

[1] Jones, Clyve, *A Short History of Parliament,* Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012, pg2
*The terms England, Britain, English and, British are used interchangeably throughout this thesis largely I think due to the political situation in England during the seventeenth century. It wasn't until the Act of Union passed in 1707 that Britain was officially recognised as being 'Britain' despite the fact that 'Britain' had been under the rule of one monarch since 1603 when King James VI of Scotland became James I of England.

cultural significance of the object that is discussed. For example, a motif chosen for it's cultural significance may also have iconographic connotations as well such as the sea monsters in Cornelis Van Wieringen's painting, *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle* (figure 2.5) (1616), this particular motif will be explored more fully later; thinking about the iconographic meaning it provides for the painting but also how it is also bears cultural significance as well.

In exploring and assessing these paintings the application of the theories of three eminent art historians will be pertinent to this research. The theories will be considered from a historiographical perspective. The difference between these approaches and their implications for the topic will be considered as well. They offer fascinating and valid insights and interpretations that all aim towards a greater understanding of Dutch art. The work of these art historians has aided the formulation of a different approach that is based on a lot of their views and insights that one will employ when interpreting the paintings for each case study. Starting with Eddy de Jongh and his text titled *Questions of Meaning: theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century painting* and his article 'The Iconological Approach to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting', which both explore the iconographical approach. One will then turn to the work of Svetlana Alpers, the author of *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century,* which explores Dutch art as something completely separate and independent from the 'Italian style' of art. For Alpers, Dutch artists considered description and this is opposite to the mostly narrative art of Italianate painting. Her views challenge and criticize the way in which descriptive art has been viewed and understood in the past. Then finally moving to Mariët Westermann and her book *The Art of the Dutch Republic 1585-1718,* which concentrates on national identity. These theories will be used with the anticipation

that they will focus the interpretations and understanding made by this research of the selected paintings, and to try and accurately deduce whether or not some form of cultural interchange between England and the Netherlands took place within these paintings. The consideration of an article written by H. J. Louw titled 'Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c1600-1660', which one intends to be a model and evidentiary support for using case studies as the format for the layout of this thesis.

In the first chapter, which focuses on research methodology and historiography, one discusses the theories of De Jongh, Alpers and Westermann and considers the merits and limitations of these various ways of perceiving Dutch art and, crucially how all of these theories are central in mapping the development of Dutch art. This chapter serves as a theoretical foundation for the subsequent case studies on marine, landscape and still-life painting.

After this begins the main part of the research – the case studies. The reason for choosing the previously mentioned genres (marine, landscape and still life) is because for a long time the hierarchy of genres ranked these paintings at the 'bottom of the pile', which was the reasoning behind their selection, in an attempt to continue to bring these paintings into greater prominence.

'By the close of the seventeenth century, the academies had codified and ranked painting according to its subject matter and what was perceived as the level of technical and intellectual ability.'[2]

Ranked at the top are historical, mythological and religious scenes, followed by portraiture then genre pieces, such as landscape (and marine) paintings and lastly still lifes.[3] This hierarchy of genres has caused these genres to be forgotten about, despite the social historical and cultural importance.

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[2] Newell, D and Pooke, G., *Art History: The Basics,* Oxen: Routledge, 2008, pg65
[3] Ibid, pg65

Chapter two analyses marine paintings - paintings of ships, mostly battles, but other paintings depicting different events have also been chosen, for example ships in storms and ships entering city ports. The focus is on a selection of paintings, and each painting will be treated as a case study where the motifs in the paintings are explored for the cultural significance that they bring to the painting. For this chapter among a list of many excellent examples that evidence in one way or another the cultural exchange that took place between England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, one such painting selected is by Hendrick Vroom titled *The Return of Princes Charles and the Duke of Buckingham from Spain* (figure 2.4) dated 1623. In this particular painting the issues that are explored are the vessels in the painting, the flags and the nature of the commission thinking about in particular why it was a chosen moment in history to be remembered and also the potential reasons behind why the commission was given to Vroom. Another chosen painting is Cornelis Claesz Van Wieringen's painting *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle* (figure 2.5) painted in 1616. This work may be one of the more challenging paintings in the overall selection of paintings due to its strong allegorical message that is conveyed through the scene and particular motifs. It requires the scene to be carefully picked apart and the motifs both allegorical and cultural (or both in some cases) to be looked at and valued for meaning and significance in order for the viewer to have a clear understanding of the overall image. Another painting to be explored within the marine chapter is Ludolf Backhuysen's *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8), undated, but definitely belonging to the seventeenth century. The focus for this painting is the ship that is sailing into Plymouth but also the ship that lies on the seabed in the painting and broken pieces of it are just visible jutting out of the water. One has tried to define a broad sample of artists with quite

different exposure to English culture. The reasons that govern their motives for painting an English subject may be different from those artists living in England. One will consider whether any sort of cultural exchange can be seen in these paintings and, if so to what extent.

Chapter three will pose the same question to a different genre of painting: landscape painting. Among the selection of paintings are works by Jan Wijck who painted *A Dutch Mastiff (called 'Old Vertue') with Dunham Massey in the Background* (figure 3.2) in the 1690s, in which one explores the image of the dog, the sheep in the background and the depiction of Dunham Massey itself and how these are considered as cultural motifs, and what they communicate to the viewer. Another painting that is scrutinized in this chapter is Thomas Wijck's painting *Whitehall and St James' Park* (figure 3.1) of 1660. The cultural historical significance of this painting is the location of the painting itself, the park and Whitehall Palace are the motifs that will be discussed. Another painting, amongst others that is examined is Alexander Keirincx's *Distant View of York* (figure 3.3), painted in 1639. The location of this painting is hugely valuable in terms of its importance to this research, the location of this painting serves as the primary motif that will be considered and studied. Again, the interpretations of these paintings that will be argued will be drawn from different visual motifs and these in turn, one anticipates, will be affected by variables like the location of the artist (where he resides) and aspects such as the landscape's topography.

Chapter four will address still life paintings. The interpretation of visual motifs can potentially be easy to confuse with analysis of symbolic or hidden meaning that a painting might communicate through symbolic motifs. These symbolic motifs will be addressed but they will not contribute to the concluding findings, it is important to

note here that the symbolic (iconographic) motifs are not being disregarded in any way but one will not be going any deeper than the surface of the paintings. Some of the paintings that will be discussed in this chapter are for example Simon Verelst's *Group of Flowers* (figure 4.1)*,* painted sometime after 1669, in which the motifs that will be discussed are the species of flowers and what cultural significance they bear. Another still life example is *Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes'* (figure 4.6) painted by Edwaert Collier in 1696; the interest for this piece is in the depiction of George Wither's *Book of Emblems* of 1635. The publication of other emblem books around this time is considered in order to assess the cultural implication of this particular book on the painting. Another painting amongst others that are studied in this chapter is *Trompe l'Oeil with Writing Materials* (figure 4.7) again by Collier painted in 1702. The chapter explores the importance of the representation by Collier of the *Apollo Anglicanus* almanac. The intention is to speculate and form opinions about these visual motifs and what they inform the viewer about the cultural exchange between the Netherlands, and how easily this translates.

Ultimately, the primary goal is to show clear evidence that culturally the relations between England and the Netherlands were certainly manifested in painting in certain aspects, aspects including: flags, books, ship designs, buildings, and animals – these are examples of visual motifs. If this can be evidenced then the recognition of this cultural 'toing and froing' is hugely important to improving our understanding of why we love what we love and why culturally we are they way we are.

Chapter One

Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the historiography of the theoretical explanations of Dutch art and attempts to further understand 'low' genres of art by applying three theories as a method of explanation. Throughout this chapter it will be demonstrated that iconography will be used to identify elements of English culture in the Dutch descriptive mode of painting and these will be interpreted as signs of how the Dutch "art of describing" was appropriated by the English to express their own cultural reality. The chapter will focus on specifically the works of Eddy de Jongh, Svetlana Alpers and Mariët Westermann pertaining to this historiography and how, in a sense, Dutch art can be identified as being 'Dutch'. The work of Eddy de Jongh explores the iconological approach and "seeming realism". He makes a very strong case for the defense of the narrative and symbolism in Dutch art, which the other two texts do not focus on. Svetlana Alpers seeks to separate and independently define Northern expression (or style) from that of the Italian expression (or style) and aims to establish the identity of the Northern style. And finally, Mariët Westermann focuses on national identity, an approach that cannot be ignored in this research. With the recent formation of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, from which the art this research is concerned with was created, national identity would be something most people in many professions would be striving to establish; especially as a newly formed country they were very much in the process of establishing their identity (as a nation). This desire for independence and identity would direct the development of many things now considered 'typically Dutch'.

Given that three different theories form the research methodology for this research on seventeenth century Anglo-Dutch art, it seems appropriate to take a historiographical approach to the discussion of their theories to best represent the development of scholarly understanding of Dutch art. Eddy de Jongh, who takes a

symbolical stance on the analysis of Dutch art; there are stark contrasts between his thinking and future interpretations, such as those from Alpers which will be explored later in this chapter. The first text by De Jongh that will be discussed is titled *Questions of Meaning: theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century painting*[4].

De Jongh's texts attempt to unveil the symbolic truth in the painting, which will be suggested can be separated from the purely visual motifs that this research covers[5].

De Jongh's text addresses a key question: is there or, can there only be one method of assessing Dutch art? De Jongh has indicated that this is not a simple idea to consider. The chapter 'Opinions and Objections' reconsiders the confusing battle between Theme (Iconology) and Motif (Iconography) versus form and style, crucially exploring these ideas through what history has termed the 'low' genres of art, 'allegory and mythology as well as genre, portrait, still life and landscape are given their due.'[6] In a nutshell:

'…the main focus is on questions of meaning. The underlying premise throughout is that many seventeenth century Dutch paintings have something to say that transcends their purely visual offering.'[7]

Throughout this chapter De Jongh holds firm to his own opinions, and that is the belief in the existence of moralizing hidden meanings within Dutch art, but swings back and fourth assessing the merits and drawbacks of the ideas from other art historians and scholars. He includes Jan Baptiste Bedaux who aligns with his own ideas but draws different conclusions. He also writes of Svetlana Alpers whose views

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[4] De Jongh, E., 'Opinions and Objections' in *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-century Painting,* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000

[5] It is pertinent to mention that even though De Jongh's texts came after Alpers' book the argument for iconography and iconology has been around since the early twentieth century with the writings by Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky, which is why this research will present Eddy de Jongh's work first.

[6] De Jongh, E., 'Opinions and Objections' in *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-century Painting,* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000, pg10

[7] Ibid, pg10

are opposite to his own. De Jongh also briefly mentions Wayne Franits, 'who has condemned their [Iconologists and art historians like Alpers] propensity to divorce the form or style of a work of art from its content.'[8]

While putting forward these conflicting views, De Jongh reacts to them. Wayne Franits argues that form and style are a 'different phenomena from content' and also that form and style 'contribute other types of building blocks to the investment of meaning.'[9]

Description of an object does not affect the meaning; the object alone represents the meaning. As well as the current ideas that surround the debate of Iconology/Iconography and those who are in opposition, De Jongh also reminds us to consider the contemporary viewers of these paintings. What of the artists themselves who painted these works?

'Our knowledge of how artists saw the connections between form and content is scanty, yet they undoubtedly did have ideas about striking a balance between…iconography and execution.'[10]

'In principle, lofty subjects demanded a different manner from the so-called lower subjects.'[11] He provides work by Frans Hals as an example of his thoughts on the matter. In his text, De Jongh places relevance onto the style of painting, specifically concerning Frans Hals and the way in which the artist has applied the paint. '[H]e [Frans Hals] found that working-class types [the sitters] could be depicted more effectively with dynamic, coarsely brushed strokes.'[12] While De Jongh has considered a differential explanation alluding to Hals' adoption of coarse brush

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[8] Franits, Wayne, E., *Dutch Seventeenth-century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution*, USA: Yale University Press, pg6 in De Jongh, E., *'Opinions and Objections' in Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-century Painting,* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1995, pg 13
[9] De Jongh, E., *'Opinions and Objections' in Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-century Painting,* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000, pg10-13
[10] Ibid, pg13
[11] Ibid, pg13
[12] Ibid, pg14

strokes; being that it was due to less stringent restrictions for these commissions, he considers this to be secondary to style and its potentially symbolic connotations.

One other important facet of this chapter that De Jongh addresses is that '…writers on art are silent on key moments of meaning in genre painting…'[13] De Jongh's answer is that seventeenth century writers considered lower genres of painting not as important as the more lofty genres he claims that they felt it was 'beneath their dignity'[14] to concern themselves with anything other than the important genres. Concerning art literature, De Jongh identifies that few have written about genre painting regarding iconology/iconography or in more general terms.

Another text by De Jongh that also should be brought to light is his article; 'The Iconological Approach to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting'[15] which is more of a complete and detailed overview of the iconological approach. One must stress that the iconographical approach is the more feasible for this thesis. This is because the focus of the research here is individual motifs; the overall subject of the painting is of less significance. De Jongh has organized the topics of his article and focused them into their own sub headed sections of which there are nine.

In the section of his article sub headed 'Iconography and Iconology' De Jongh attempts to separate the two, he writes that 'iconography should be distinguished from what is now called iconology…such a distinction is often impossible and the two are seamlessly combined.'[16] 'According to Hoogewerff, iconology is to iconography "what geology is to geography…while in each case the former is confined to determination, the latter seeks explanation"'[17] In the another section sub headed 'Iconology and its Definitions' De Jongh essentially reiterates what one concluded for

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[13] Ibid, pg18
[14] Ibid, pg18
[15] It should be mentioned first that this was published after Svetlana Alpers book, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century,* which was published in 1983.
[16] Ibid, pg203
[17] Ibid (secondary citation - lecture), pg205-06

his previous section, that iconography and iconology are separate subjects but they are usually paired together. For the purpose of this thesis however it is pertinent to consider the two separately, as the focus of this research bares more relevance with iconography.

De Jongh's fourth section sub headed 'Panofsky's Method' is a breakdown of Panofsky's interpretive process of a work of art. He explains that for Panofsky's method there are three levels: the preiconological level (the natural subject), conventional meaning (the conventional subject) and lastly the iconological level (intrinsic meaning or content)[18]. Panofsky's method needs both iconography and iconology to uncover the 'intrinsic meaning of a work of art.

Another section of De Jongh's work that should be considered is sub headed 'The First Phase'. To briefly summarise this section De Jongh looks to the reception of Iconology's debut into the art-world, pin-pointing Van de Waal's *Three Centuries of the Depiction of Dutch History 1500-1800*. Quiet to say the least, summarily he attributes this to 'the success [or lack thereof] of scholarly publication.'[19] Though there can be many other reasons why certain texts do not receive much recognition, this is certainly one.

For the most part this thesis forms a historiographical view of the methodological approach to Dutch art but this was a continuing debate where arguments and responses are batted back and forth, and one sees here that De Jongh has responded to the initial resistance to the argument for iconography.

The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century by Svetlana Alpers is a major contribution to the study of Dutch art. Alpers' research is challenging the iconographical approach. From the beginning Alpers' has very clear

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[18] Ibid, pg206
[19] Ibid, pg214

intentions. In her mind the 'quintessence of Dutch painting must be sought in its surface.'[20] It is as Ivan Gaskell puts it in his review, her book forms part of a 'continuing debate'[21] in the art historical world. Alpers explores the differences between seventeenth century Dutch and Italian art making a clear distinction between the two, however this difference is a consequence of this rejection of iconography. 'The author's basic argument is that art history has been dominated by approaches originally developed to deal with Italian art'[22]. In the introduction, she outlines this difference between Dutch art (description) and Italian art (narration):'Dutch art can best be understood as being an art of describing as distinguished from the narrative art of Italy.[23]' She does however then state that it is not a definitive distinction[24]. Burke writes in his review 'The Art of Describing is…a set of essays with the common aim of revealing what is different, what is specifically Dutch about Dutch art.'[25] Later, he writes, '…the author seems…to be tugged towards a crude presentation of Dutch and Italian art as polar opposites…'[26] Alpers has been criticized by Burke as being in danger of 'reducing all Dutch art down to description.'[27] When one considers this statement one has to be aware that it was Dutch masters who were the pioneers of description, it is only logical to think mostly on descriptive terms about Dutch art in the same way that one would probably think mainly about the narrative when considering Italian art. Alpers' argument for the descriptive mode cannot be seen as a reductionist method for analyzing the art from this country given the notoriety of

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[20] De Jongh, E., 'Opinions and Objections' in *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-century Painting,* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000, pg13
[21] Gaskell, I., 'The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century by Svetlana Alpers', *Oxford Art Journal,* Oxford University Press, Volume 7, Number 1, 1984, pg57.
[22] Burke, P., 'The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century by Svetlana Alpers', *The Journal of Modern History,* The University of Chicago Press, Volume 55, Number 4, pg685, December 1983.
[23] Alpers, S., *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983, pgXX.
[24] Ibid, pgXX.
[25] Burke, P., 'The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century by Svetlana Alpers', *The Journal of Modern History,* The University of Chicago Press, Volume 55, Number 4, pg685, December 1983, pg685
[26] Ibid, pg685.
[27] Ibid, pg685.

Dutch masters, what set them apart from other European artists is mostly based on their ability to capture 'photographic reality'.

By focusing Dutch art around pure description, Alpers, in one's opinion, is attempting to bring Dutch art into its own context. By separating these descriptive forms of art and in the case of this research these hierarchically 'low' genres of art, the 'greatness'-the technique, skill and beauty of these paintings for the first time is not being measured against something that for a long time was considered greater. Alpers is trying to create a situation where Dutch art can be anaylsed and judged without any preconceived notions of what is defined as 'high art'.

With this in mind, looking at quote from Alpers in chapter four this illustrates one's point well about Alpers intentions:

'…in spite of the Renaissance revolution in painting, northern mapmakers and artists persisted in conceiving of a picture as a surface on which to set fourth or inscribe the world rather than as a stage for significant human actions.'[28]

There has been so much literature based around the narrative mode in art, if you consider that this literature has mainly been written with Italian art in mind one can surely understand why Alpers took the opportunity to take Dutch art in the other direction.

'The prime cause of her [Alpers'] indignation is that the study of Dutch art has been crippled by the orthodoxy pervading the entire discipline in which Italian Renaissance art is placed in a position of unquestioned supremacy.'[29]

The focus for so long has been on Italian narrative art, which is why one feels Alpers' enthusiasm for the descriptive mode should be praised.

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[28] Alpers, S., *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983, pg137.
[29] Gaskell, I., 'The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century by Svetlana Alpers', *Oxford Art Journal,* Oxford University Press, Volume 7, Number 1, 1984, pg57.

Chapter four really seems to highlight resounding importance of Alpers argument pertaining to the descriptive mode. One must accept that while Alpers understands that not all Dutch art is purely descriptive, one believes that her efforts to keep them distinctly separate are to afford clarity to the reader, and to allow one to better understand her reasons. One must not forget that Alpers was challenging hundreds of years worth of support for the Italian narrative mode.

All in all while one does not believe that it was Alpers intention to keep Dutch and Italian art in two separate spheres, by continuously highlighting the distinct differences between the two and not speaking of the Italianate presence in the Netherlands her work has undoubtedly been misconstrued. 'There was an extremely strong element of Italianism in Holland, both in theory and in practice…'[30] She was not unaware of this; what Jan Bialostocki writes, 'Alpers attempts to define the specificity of what she calls "the Dutch visual culture"…'[31] Alpers is not in disagreement with Iconology and iconography as a theory but rather De Jongh's application of them on Dutch art. We take from Alpers her understanding of Dutch art through the 'descriptive' mode for the research methodology.

Alongside Svetlana Alpers and her contributions to unveiling the mysteries of seventeenth century Dutch art is Mariët Westermann and her views and interpretations of Dutch art represented in her book *The Art of the Dutch Republic: 1585-1718*. The book is Westermann's exploration of Dutch art from a very crucial period in their history, the formation of the republic itself, thus making national identity hugely important. In particular she has involved herself in attempting to 'show how Vermeer and other Dutch artists portrayed their land and society with an

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[30] Bialostocki, J., 'The art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century by Svetlana Alpers', *The Art Bulletin,* College Art Association, Volume 67, Number 3, September 1985, pg522
[31] Ibid, pg522

unprecedented concern for "reality effect."'[32] In other words, she takes a detailed look at the Dutch pictorial culture. It appears that her overarching intentions are to link the Dutch pictorial culture to the newfound Dutch republic. The structure of her book starts out with mapping out for the reader essentially the formation of the Dutch Republic, how it gained independence and how it was subsequently governed, amongst other things. She forms a general picture for the reader, it is important because to be able to understand and interpret the art of the republic some knowledge regarding the republic itself is necessary.

Chapter one is largely concerned with the political history of the republic as well as the social and cultural history. This is irrevocably linked with religion. Despite this however, Westermann does treat religion as a separate issue in chapter two. As it was mentioned, in Westermann's book there is an intentional link between the newly formed Dutch republic and the Dutch pictorial culture. In chapter one Westermann illustrates this: 'Striking in comparison with other European markets is the virtual absence of the Dutch Church patronage.'[33] In combination with a prosperous nation and the religious practice of the Republic, there was a clear shift in the Netherlands within the art market. Not only was art being bought more by the middle classes and not just the aristocracy, but also more secular art was being produced. Art was being produced for the sole purpose of decoration, decoration of secular buildings.[34] This increased demand for these other genres of paintings, which led to 'further specialization of production, encouraging artists to concentrate on certain genres of pictures.'[35] Westermann identifies that the establishment of the Dutch Republic, in

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[32] Westermann, M., *The Art of the Dutch Republic 1585-1718,* London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, 1996, pg7
[33] Ibid, pg33
[34] Ibid, pg33
[35] Ibid, pg39

essence, created a rippling effect whereby financial fortune and religious reform brought lower genres more into the limelight of the art market.

It neatly flows to the next chapter 'Texts and Images', which discusses religion further. Westermann discusses genre scenes paintings and essentially how the new protestant nation produced paintings without violating the Calvinist doctrine[36]. Religion had a big part to play regarding the art artists were either commissioned to do or what they decided to paint. Though religious works were produced it was only to be for educational moralizing purposes, and so a lot of art, comparative to a catholic nation, was secular and 'communicated knowledge'[37]. This made room for a lot of other genres of art as Westermann points out, genre scenes, mythological works, still life paintings all of which, like religious art translated written text into literate art. One can begin to see with Westermann's style with regards to understanding art of the Dutch republic is her logical explanation for the interpretation of the art; the structure of her book reflects this well.

In short Westermann's approach was in favour of Alpers' theory regarding the descriptive mode of painting, she rejected De Jongh's view of iconography and the idea that certain motifs contained hidden meanings and messages and instead argued that Dutch art reflected Dutch history. In her book Westermann leads one through theme by theme and makes her case for politics and economy, word and images, virtual reality effect, ideologies and national identity, portraiture and self identity and lastly written and pictorial statements, which helped to construct the national identity of the Dutch from the paintings (many of the paintings that she refers to have specific links to events when the Dutch were fighting for their independence[38]). The culturally significant aspects of the painting can be defined or better understood within the

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[36] Ibid, pg47
[37] Ibid, pg47
[38] Ibid, pg104

confines of iconography but without ascribing hidden meaning. Westermann is focusing on the cultural meaning from the realistic representation of the paintings.

One now has to consider how the three theories affect the methodological approach for the research conducted in this instance. De Jongh's approach was vital for the formulation of this methodological approach because of its emphasis on the symbolic content of the paintings. The motifs in the paintings can be viewed as forms of cultural expression, which connect the Netherlandish and English contexts. It is important at this stage to also clarify the ambiguity between symbols and cultural motifs in this research. It is a fine line but there is a distinction. For instance on Van Wieringen's *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle* painted in 1616, one of the *symbols* in the painting also doubles as a cultural motif and thus makes this a perfect example to clarify the difference between a symbol and a cultural motif. In the painting Van Wieringen depicts sea monsters in the sea. As a symbol the sea monsters *symbolize* the dangers that sailors face at sea, but, as a cultural motif, sea monsters were a common element in Netherlandish imagination and in this regard can be viewed as being something that can be identified with as being culturally Dutch[39]. This distinction, accepting that these components can be viewed both as being cultural motifs and hidden symbols is also why this methodology is also dependent on the theories of Alpers and Westermann, the three can be irrevocably linked but equally, they can be thought of separately too.

Regarding Svetlana Alpers' argument that Dutch art is description of the world and should not be analyzed for hidden meanings, it seemed necessary not to look for answers in the painting beyond what lay on its surface. This was crucial for the argument of understanding the motifs as something culturally defined instead of

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[39] Russell, M., *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting,* Leiden: E J Brill/University of Leiden, 1983, pg48

being part of an arcane symbolism. One needs to be able to see the motif as visual element and not as a symbol for a hidden meaning. Alpers' argument enables the application of De Jongh's interpretation from a non-symbolic viewpoint, helping one to thus appreciate the motif in more physically literal terms. The motifs, and the way they are viewed and interpreted, in this research are not presented as conveying a hidden message, they are understood as visual elements of, in this case, Dutch culture.

Lastly Westermann, her approach focused on national identity in the hopes of modern day viewers having the opportunity to view and understand Dutch art as the contemporaries did. Westermann's argument pertaining to Dutch national identity and the portrayal of the everyday is hugely important to this thesis because it is this, the Dutch culture, that one is making a connection to using the visual motifs as the physical evidence for its existence within the paintings. Her argument allows for the application of Alpers' approach: understanding the culture of the Dutch permits one to connect culturally to the paintings and thus making it possible to visually define how the cultural context of the Netherlands appears in these works. The Dutch used the descriptive mode of painting as a way of *describing* and representing their culture, and this was something *transferred* from the Dutch to English visual production. This way of describing one's culture through paintings became something that the English adopted – the descriptive mode can be shifted to disseminate a different growing national identity, the English/British.

To briefly summarise the process and how this methodology will show the cultural interchange between England and the Netherlands: paintings will be gathered where elements (usually manifesting themselves in physical objects in the paintings) of English culture can be found. Next, the objects will be identified and examined using the iconographical approach but not going further in terms of interpreting these

motifs on a symbolic level. Instead the "descriptive mode" will be used to understand the motifs in more literal terms. Finally, all of this will help explain and demonstrate how, using this methodology, we can identify the cultural shift within these paintings between England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century; expressed through English motifs in Dutch paintings.

For this research this methodological approach is the best way to achieve the aims and identify the cultural interchange. This methodology has also demonstrated that utilizing these three theories was of paramount importance as the interpretations for this thesis are inseparably linked, each component is a vital 'cog' in the machine and without one, the machine will not work. Thus, the research considers all of these components and has allowed for the greater understanding of the cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands to be understood in 'low' genres of painting, specifically looking English visual motifs and their representation in Dutch paintings[40][41].

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[40] Throughout this thesis the case studies are referred to as being Dutch paintings (despite some that were produced in the England) because the artists themselves were Dutch and were, for the most part, trained in the Dutch ways and techniques; making their work characteristically Dutch.

[41] One will also discuss in some detail an article on H. J. Louw titled 'Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c1600-1660'. The article is about the cultural interchange between England and the Netherlands within architecture, this article has been considered as a case study for this research.

In Louw's article about the architectural interchange between England the Netherlands, he writes: 'By the end of the sixteenth-century Anglo-Netherlandish architectural interchange was a well established phenomenon.'[41] Throughout the whole article Louw continually presents differing evidence in support of this opening statement. He writes of the lifelong connection between two master mason families, the Stone's from England and the De Keyser's from Amsterdam, the influence of Dutch features in English architecture and also certain architectural movements/styles such as such as 'Artisan Mannerism' and its impact in the Netherlands. 'On the vernacular level…we have failed to detect any consistent pattern of interchange…this should not be seen as a sure indication that such an interchange did not exist at a different level.'[41] Much like Louw, the intention here is not to prove the existence of this cultural exchange in every area of art, or to prove that the exchange occurred in abundance in any one particular circumstance, but simply that such close ties with another nation led to the presence of English content in certain genres (still life, landscape and, ship).

Chapter Two

Marine

Figure 2.1, Aert Anthonisz, *An English and Dutch ship Attacking a Spaniard,* c1610.

Figure 2.2, Nooms, *A Battle of the First Dutch War, 1652–1654*, c.1654.

Figure 2.3, De Verwer, *A Dutch and An English Ship off a Harbour*, c1625.

Figure 2.4, Vroom, *The Return of Princes Charles and the Duke of Buckingham from Spain,* 1623.

Figure 2.5, Van Wieringen, *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle*, 1616.

Figure 2.6, Willaerts, *Action between Ships in the First Dutch War,* 1652-1654.

Figure 2.7, Witmont, *Action between Dutch and English Ships,* undated.

Figure 2.8, Backhuysen, *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth*, undated.

Figure 2.9, Backhuysen, *The Foundering of the 'Coronation' 90 Guns at Rame Head,* 1691.

Figure 2.10, Backhuysen, *An English Vessel and a Man-of-war in a Rough Sea off a Coast with Tall Cliffs,* c1680s.

Figure 2.11, Knyff, *Dock Scene at a British Port,* 1673.

Figure 2.12, Van de Velde the Younger, *Plymouth in 1666,* c1670.

As previously mentioned the paintings will be treated as individual case studies and each painting has been organized into groups according to their genre. The marine works will be addressed first as this is the most complex genre for historical reasons. During the seventeenth century England and the Netherlands were embroiled in on and off Naval wars (1652-54), (1665-67) and (1672-74). These naval wars were battles fought at sea which were largely about domination of trade routes[42]. While it would seem that a series of battles might ordinarily indicate enemies at war, the Dutch and the English were far from this[43]. They shared common enemies (France and Spain) the Dutch and the English for a short period of time had joined the Triple Alliance of 1668 with Sweden in opposition of the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands by the French[44] and the Treaty of Westminster in 1674 'Dutch merchants took advantage of greatly relaxed enforcement of import rules concerning paintings…'[45]. 'Estimates suggest that somewhere between 300 and 500 paintings were imported annually from Europe into London.'[46] They were both protestant nations and the members of the royal families were related by blood and marriage. With both countries suffering losses as well as victories this was as much as anything the decider of naval might. The artists that have been selected mostly moved from the Netherlands to work in England[47] because of the working opportunities that the demand for these paintings gave them. Many of the chosen paintings are battle scenes, depicted with great verisimilitude. The style of these paintings conforms to the

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[42] Clark, C. et al., *Encyclopedia of World Trade: From Ancient Times to the Present,* New York: Routledge, 2015, pg1176

[43] Davies, J.D., *Pepys's Navy: Ships, Men and Warfare 1649-89,* Yorkshire: Seaforth Publishing, 2008, pg223 (specifically referring to the first Anglo-Dutch War and why it started).

[44] Rowen, H.H., *The Ambassador Prepares for War: The Dutch Embassy of Arnauld de Pomponne 1669–1671,* Netherlands: Springer, 1957, pg18

[45] Bayer, T.M., *The Development of the Art Market In England: Money As Muse: 1730-1900,* London: Routledge, 2015, pg17

[46] Ibid, pg17

[47] Ibid, pg17

"Dutch" descriptive mode; however, their content resonated also for the English audience. In addition to battle paintings, other scenes will be considered as well.

Crucially, what is pertinent to address before considering the paintings in this chapter is that the artists selected to inform this chapter are all from the Netherlands. The paintings that have been chosen have either been, created by artists who emigrated or immigrated to England, or, were made by Dutch artists residing in the Netherlands; but the paintings contain connections to England (subject matter). This chapter discusses specific marine paintings but it will also address the notion that the genre of marine art in its entirety only came into existence in England due to Dutch artists practicing here. 'Other Dutch artists…joined them [the van de Veldes] in London and there was soon a veritable factory of marine art is existence.'[48] The fact that Cordingly uses the word existence would suggest that prior to this moment there wasn't much marine art in England at the time and if there was it was scant. This is certainly believable as efforts to find maritime art by marine painters from this century in England has been fruitless. At the very least, it seems that the Dutch were the dominant force on the sea and with paintings of the sea. '…the Dutch were mighty force on the world's oceans…At the same time Dutch marine painting was in its heyday.'[49]

The first painting to be addressed is a depiction of an attack, but one that shows the Dutch and English coming together to fight a common enemy. It was painted by Aert van Antum or Aert Anthonisz titled *An English and Dutch Ship Attacking a Spaniard* (figure 2.1)*, c1610[50]. Immediately obvious in the painting are the varying flags that identify the nationality of the ships, which can help establish where the 'line

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[48] *Painters of the Sea,* exhibition catalogue by David Cordingly, London: Lund Humphries, 1979, pg29
[49] Gaschke, J., *Turmoil and Tranquility: The Sea though the Eyes of Dutch and Flemish Artists 1550-1700,* London: National Maritime Museum, 2008, pg33
[50] National Maritime Museum catalogue notes for Aert Antonisz, *An English and a Dutch Ship Attacking a Spaniard.* Macpherson Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

of battle' is in the painting. To the right of the painting the first identifiable flags are the cross of St George and the national flag of the Netherlands, the other flags visible on the right hand side of the painting are likely to be standard or provincial flags of either England or the Netherlands. On the left hand side the flags will be Spanish provincial flags or flags bearing the standard of those in command of the ship. The flags are an important visual motif due to the fact that the viewer can easily understand a lot from the painting based on little else, for example the countries involved. Potentially in some cases as well this might mean that you can identify the nations who are enemies or allies with one another. In the case of Van Antum's painting this is an attack between England and Netherlands against the Spanish. Judging by the amount of vessels in the painting (between two and three at the most English and Dutch ships against only one Spanish), this can probably be categorized as naval boarding[51]. There is a very small vessel in the foreground in the centre that the Anglo-Dutch vessels could use to board the Spanish ship. 'Boarding was usually conducted when the enemy was on the defensive, having suffered a mauling by broadside.'[52] In this case this is what is depicted in Van Antum's painting.

The ships in the painting completely dominate the space on the canvas. These ships are also the main visual motif that will be discussed throughout this chapter. They are one of the key features of the painting. 'In 1652 only England and the Dutch Republic had sizeable battle fleets…with the exception of Denmark and Sweden…'[53] so it would be pertinent to bear this in mind, especially from a cultural perspective, when looking carefully at the vessels in the paintings especially considering that

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[51] Barton, M and McGrath, J., *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship,* Yorkshire: Seaforth Publishing, 2013, pg8

[52] *Instructions for training a ships crew in the use of arms in attack and defence,* by Lieutenant William Pringle Green, Royal Navy Commander of His Majesty's Brig *Resolute,* 1812. National Maritime Museum Manuscript, JOD/48 cited in Barton, M and McGrath, J., *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship,* Yorkshire: Seaforth Publishing, 2013, pg8

[53] Konstam, A., *Warships of the Anglo-Dutch Wars 1652-1674,* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011, pg8

English, on at least one occasion imitated the design of the Dutch flyboat[54]. The ships are also in very close proximity, which tricks the mind into thinking the action perhaps was more fast-paced which especially in comparison modern-day warfare they certainly weren't[55]. This kind of trick would be hard to pinpoint, if it was deliberate or artist employing tactics to render the battle in a more ideological (not necessarily heroic but dramatic) way; due to the fact that it is unlikely that Antum would have seen the battle take place first hand meaning that he would have to rely on the sources of others (verbal or written accounts) for accurate information. These reports no doubt would not have been entirely accurate due to the very nature of the mind (memory, subjectivity and also then how this is perceived by the person receiving this information). More interesting about this painting is the attention that Antum has given to the sailors on board the ships[56], lives that could be lost. This consideration that Antum has given the sailors is important to bear in mind, it would make a lot of sense if this were indeed a naval boarding operation as a key aspect of such an attack would revolve around the action once the enemy was aboard the targeted ship. Contrary to what the flags might tell the viewer (represents nations in battle or at war) small scales attacks and actions between vessels such as this were not always ordered by government. Davies, in his book titled *Pepys's Navy: Ships, Men and Warfare 1649-89* he outlines how the first Anglo-Dutch War started: 'The first Anglo-Dutch war began because the British and Dutch fleets encountered each other off Dover and simply began to fight, despite having no orders to do so…'[57]. Perhaps it's a reflection of naval 'squabbling' but from the perspective of the everyday life of

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[54] Zahedieh, N., *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700,* Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010, pg152

[55] Notes from meeting with Dr Elaine Murphy.

[56] National Maritime Museum catalogue notes for Aert Antonisz, *An English and a Dutch Ship Attacking a Spaniard.* Macpherson Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

[57] Davies, J.D., *Pepys's Navy: Ships, Men and Warfare 1649-89,* Yorkshire: Seaforth Publishing, 2008, pg223

a sailor. Interestingly this alleged attack on this Spanish boat seemingly occurred around 1610, during the truce with Spain[58]. While this doesn't offer evidence of a *direct* cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands, this attack took place during the Dutch War of Independence. In the moment that Van Antum produced this painting, England and the Netherlands were allies during a fundamental point of the making of Dutch history. However, the flags communicate to the viewer something else, despite the orders to attack did not come from government one could argue that the hostile feelings that provoked this particular battle perhaps might have been born from the sentiments of the everyday sailor or civilian of the respective countries. It is not uncommon or unusual that there can be a difference of opinion between a countries government and it's people. Perhaps this painting is representative of these all to common differences of opinion.

Reinier Nooms painting, *A Battle of the First Dutch Wars, 1652-1654* (figure 2.2), is a scene of 'unidentified action from the first Dutch wars'[59]; the visible flags are Dutch and English (British). It is painted in a monochromatic style very typical of Dutch art during the century, human activity is acknowledged but is not prominent in the painting. Crucially the scene appears slow-paced; it is still a vivid scene with movement but one that is also moving at a realistic pace. Given that 'he [Nooms] spent his early life at sea'[60], this makes sense that scene has a more faithful (as far as the pace of the battle is concerned) feel to it. Nooms as well has taken on a large scene (potentially the whole battle), he seems focused on not just the action of warfare but the devastation that it brings about as well, note the sinking of a English (British) ship in the right foreground. His painting is detailed enough to clearly see that the

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[58] Forrest, G.C, et al., *The Illustrated Timeline of Military History,* New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2011, pg115
[59] National Maritime Museum, catalogue notes for Renier Nooms, *A Battle of the First Dutch War, 1652-1654.* Greenwich London, 18 Dec 2015.
[60] Ibid

ship in the foreground to the left of the canvas has holes in her sails an attempt made by the enemy to try and 'demast' the ship[61]. The drama from the smoke and the clouds in this painting also intensifies the realism in the image; true to Dutch technique the painting is very much like a photograph. His understanding of perspective has given great depth to the painting allowing him to paint a very vast scene. Even things as seemingly insignificant as wind direction have been included, one can see how the clouds painted on the left of the canvas are sweeping across to the right, note also how this movement is mirrored in the smoke billowing from a recently fired gun and the flags too are fluttering in the same direction. It is clear after studying the painting that depicting a battle wasn't the only important aspect to Nooms; creating a scene true to life observing all detail to achieve a sense of accuracy, that before the Dutch 'age of observation' was usually second to content and narrative etc. The flags serve as important cultural motifs, the familiarity with one's native flag creates a more personal relation to the scene. Depending on the side the viewer would align themselves; this would either be scene of victory or devastation. Judging by the amount of ships (in the background) this isn't a skirmish or an unplanned encounter or, in the case of Van Antum's painting a naval boarding operation, this was a planned battle likely flotilla[62] or fleet action, but judging by the size of the ships it is more likely to be fleet. This is a depiction of a battle from the First Anglo-Dutch Wars, 1652-54 and during this time what one may have imagined might be more apparent is the decorative differences between the ships in Van Antum's painting of 1610 and Nooms' painting of c1654. In his book *Warships of the Anglo-Dutch Wars 1652-1674* Konstam discussed the modifications made to one

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[61] Demasting a ship was common practice in naval warfare, and was an alternative to trying to sink the enemy. The tactic involved firing canons at the masts to try and break them, this would leave the ship unable to move/retreat/flee from the enemy and leave it open and vulnerable to attack and capture.
[62] Flotilla is a group of small naval vessels (two or more squadrons).

particular ship *Sovereign of the Seas,* he mentions that a lot of the 'grand decoration was removed.'[63] It is likely that this was in part due to the fact that this lavish decoration was a 'Royalist characteristic' but also that during the English Interregnum, when Cromwell was Lord Protector, being a devout Protestant (Puritan) nation decoration was not approved of. But if this was anything like the iconoclasm that the churches suffered in England in the sixteenth century one can reasonably anticipate the changes to the ships be quite obvious and evident. This is corroborated by the mention about the design of Dutch and English ships by Konstam. '[T]he ships of both nations were generally similar in appearance…as the Dutch emulated the design of English heavy ships…'[64] The fact that the nations were both Protestant might have something to do with their similar taste in decoration as well. That is certainly something to bear in mind looking for evidence of a cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands is the influence that the respective nations had over each other's ship designing and building.

The next marine painting to be considered is Abraham de Verwer's painting titled *A Dutch and an English Ship off a Harbour* (figure 2.3) painted around 1625. The painting depicts a harbor scene with an English and Dutch ship. This is not a battle scene and yet could perhaps be mistaken for one as you can see the gun ports of the British vessel are open (if the ships were not engaged in battle their gun ports weren't usually open in a situation like this).[65] Topographically speaking De Verwer's painting is accurate, there is nothing wrong with his depiction of the gun ports however, from a realistic outlook this is not an accurate depiction, as it's far more likely that the gun ports would have been closed, especially if one accepts the

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[63] Konstam, A., *Warships of the Anglo-Dutch Wars 1652-1674,* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011, pg13
[64] Ibid, pg8-9
[65] Notes from meeting with Dr Elaine Murphy [Date of meeting 09/03/2015]

speculated view that this is a scene from a Dutch port[66]. Notice also how the English vessel does not have its sails down; is the ship anchored? This is more evidence to suggest that the open gun ports are not an act of aggression if it were, by folding away the sails (rendering the ship stationary) the ship would leave itself vulnerable to attack[67].

Perhaps De Verwer's painting provides one with a good opportunity to be able to see the similar design and features of the Dutch and English vessels[68], the painting provides us with a relatively good view of both ships something that other paintings analysed so far has not afforded us with.

Moving onto the next artist Hendrick Vroom, 'the father of maritime painting[69]' the chosen depiction from his oeuvre of work depicts the English fleet returning to English soil. It is titled *The Return of Princes Charles and the Duke of Buckingham from Spain* (figure 2.4)*,* painted in 1623; it was likely to have been painted as a commission for Prince Charles and/or the Duke of Buckingham[70] but most likely for the Duke of Buckingham. 'Buckingham's satisfaction with the work is revealed in Daniel Myten's portrait of the Duke posing against the very same painting.'[71] The painting is a depiction of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham returning from Spain after a failed attempt at a marriage negotiation between Prince Charles and the Spanish infanta.[72] 'The painting marks the end of what started as an audacious

[66] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Abraham de Verwer, *A Dutch and English Ship off a Harbour.* Palmer Collection, Greenwich London*,* 18 Dec 2015.

[67] Notes from meeting with Dr Elaine Murphy.

[68] Bender, J., *Dutch Warships in the Age of Sail 1600-1714: Design, Construction, Careers and Fates,* Yorkshire: Seaforth Publishing, 2014, pg12 (Glossary of terms some terms mentioned regard vessels or features of vessels. Bender has noted the English equivalents.

[69] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, *The Return of Prince Charles from Spain, 5 October 1623.* Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Russell, M., *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting,* Leiden: E J Brill/University of Leiden, 1983, pg188

[72] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, *The Return of Prince Charles from Spain, 5 October 1623.* Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

escapade…'[73] Fascinatingly this painting, to put it bluntly, represents a political failure and yet the event became the subject of a painting; it may also be worthwhile noting that during the time that Vroom was working on this painting or shortly after its completion 'war was officially declared between Great Britain and Spain in March of 1624.'[74]. This however was not the first time that Vroom was commissioned to create a painting of a scene depicting the English navy against the Spanish Armada. '…in 1592 his first important commission called for designs for a suite of ten tapestries…the patron was Lord Howard of Effingham, British admiral of the fleet.'[75] 'On the right of the picture and on the port tack is the *Prince Royal* with the Prince and the Duke on her half-deck and following her on the same tack are the *St Andrew*, *Defiance* and *Bonaventure*'.[76] Though it might just be because it is England but the bad weather if it is anything to go by might reflect the mood of the entourage, it is clear Vroom hasn't reflected the subject returning home in victory, a dark sky and a calm sea. As with many Dutch paintings at the time Vroom's shows the same monochrome palette that is iconic of Dutch marine art. This is also a fairly sizeable painting almost three metres in length, it gives off the feel of a panoramic view which echoes the magnitude of the fleet.

Focusing on the ships in the paintings and their significance, what is interesting about this painting is that it is apparently a depiction of the whole fleet with the *Prince Royal, St Andrew*, *Defiance* and *Bonaventure,* followed by second rate and third rate frigates and so on[77]. It is doubtful as to whether Charles would have *needed* the entire fleet for his voyage, so it seems that there could have been an ulterior

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[73] Ibid.
[74] Murdoch, S., *The Terror of the Seas?: Scottish Maritime Warfare 1513-1713,* Leiden: Brill, 2010, pg160
[75] Silver, L., *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial in the Antwerp Art Market,* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 2012, pg220
[76] Ibid
[77] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, *The Return of Prince Charles from Spain, 5 October 1623*. Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

motive Charles traveling with the entire navy. England's naval history thus far was one of power, this modern identity of a seafaring nation that England had recently claimed, rising from the defeat of the Spanish Armada back in 1588[78], is one that the Stuart's no doubt would have wanted to hold on to. This move to travel with the entire fleet as well as the painting to commemorate the event could be translated as a display of power and might by England to a nation that had been defeated by them less than fifty years before. There was arguably no one better to work on this commission than the 'father' of maritime painting himself.

Regarding the flags, this painting shows the entire fleet with St George's cross in a small canton and numerous stripes of blue, white and gold[79] - this was the Stuart Royal Navy Squadron ensign. One of the other prominent flags in the painting is the Royal Standard of England – and also technically of Ireland and Scotland as well. The third flag, which looks to be an all blue flag with a red cross and saltire is likely to be the Union Jack – the flag was first used in 1606. These three flags have massive historical significance as they all represent the unification of England to Scotland and Ireland (albeit unofficially). As a visual motif they represent the beginning of the unification of England, Scotland and Ireland. The flags also communicate the pride of English royalty in their fleet. Despite the event resulting in political failure, it is a demonstration of power and Vroom has employed his skills in the painting, applying his Dutch knowledge of painting with English cultural motifs.

Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen's work; *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle* (figure 2.5), painted in 1616 is a completely different scene entirely; but still represents naval hostility from one nation to another.

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[78] Winfield, R., *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1603-1714: Design, Construction, Careers and Fates,* Yorkshire: Seaforth Publishing, 2009, pgvii
[79] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, *The Return of Prince Charles from Spain, 5 October 1623*. Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

Starting off with the palette there is a lot more range and depth to the colours used. The main focus of the painting is the two ships in the centre of the painting, 'a Dutch fluyt is shown in starboard-broadside view'[80] and the approaching English vessel is 'in broad port-bow view, and firing her guns to starboard.'[81] There is no logic to the way in which Van Wieringen has chosen to illuminate the scene, from a realistic standpoint at least. He is quite literally shedding light on the areas that bear importance to the allegorical message being conveyed in the painting. Light has been cast on the 'two ships approaching each other at the opening of the skirmish.'[82] There is a third ship in the painting 'identified as French by the flag showing *fleur-de-lis*, sails towards the two others…'[83] Light also illuminates the centre of the painting, also onto a rock in the foreground to the right hand side, and lastly on the small beach, which occupies the left hand side of the canvas. 'This painting is an allegorical evocation of the perils of seafaring but also seems to record a particular incident…'[84] that incident being between an English privateer[85] and a Dutch merchantman close to a Huguenot strong hold in France.[86] 'Further inland, in an imaginary landscape, a stag hunt is depicted…[that] reflects the encounter at sea, not least since the Dutch ship's flag shows a stag…'[87] What is fascinating about this painting is that, the French Huguenots, the Dutch and English all have something in common, they all belong to branches of the Protestant faith, arguably something that might or should unite them

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[80] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Cornelis Claesz Van Wieringen, *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle,* Caird Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.
[81] Ibid
[82] Gaschke, J., *Turmoil and Tranquility: The Sea through the Eyes of the Dutch and Flemish Artists 1550-1700,* London: National Maritime Museum, 2008, pg178
[83] Ibid, pg178
[84] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Cornelis Claesz Van Wieringen, *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle,* Caird Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

[85] A privateer is an armed ship owned and crewed by private individuals holding a government commission and authorized for use in war, especially in the capture of merchant shipping.

[86] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Cornelis Claesz Van Wieringen, *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle,* Caird Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.
[87] Gaschke, J., *Turmoil and Tranquility: The Sea through the Eyes of the Dutch and Flemish Artists 1550-1700,* London: National Maritime Museum, 2008, pg178

against a common enemy. Despite La Rochelle being a Huguenot strong hold the majority of France was still a Catholic country. Why has Van Wieringen turned this into an allegorical scene? This painting is regarded as an 'ex-voto' piece- a traditional thank - offering for divine deliverance - relating to the otherwise unrecorded incident'[88] this may go someway to explaining the allegorical nature. However, whether this is an allegorical painting or not, it does depict an event in history and therefore it could be argued it can be appreciated as such. One cannot disregard any of the allegorical meaning behind the painting but this aspect will be set aside for the sake of the aims that this research is trying to fulfill. Can it be viewed as simply being the depiction of an event in Anglo-Dutch history? It certainly shows a skirmish between the English and the Dutch just off the French coast. These battles did not occur everyday but the battles did shape the naval history of these two countries and certainly had a rippling effect on land via trade and within the art world.

Once again in terms of visual motifs we look to the flags in the paintings, on the English vessel, one sees the familiar flag of the Stuart Royal Navy Squadron ensign, the next flag along to the left looks the like the cross of St George with four smaller red crosses in each of the quadrants on the flag. This design bears resemblance to the Jerusalem cross, which has religious connotations; 'the five crosses represent the five wounds of our blessed Lord; or Christ and the four quarters of the earth.'[89] This is not a flag that England/Great Britain would have used at this time but perhaps this flag bears more allegorical meaning for the painting – it would certainly tie into the religious tone for the painting. The Jerusalem cross is also known as the Crusader cross. If this is the cross that van Wieringen intended to depict then he is showing the

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[88] Ibid, pg178
[89] Seymour, W, W., *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art,* New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1898, pg365

English vessel to be some type of crusader. The inscription in the painting to the lower right of the painting reads in Dutch:

"Fully laden, the master cares not for the fierce sea rover [pirate]; standing fast in the fear of God his ship sails in fighting thus, not taken by surprise into La Rochelle."[90]

Despite the iconographic and iconological meaning in divine terms, these words have significance to what is occurring in the painting on a more temporal level. That is the Dutch, are being attacked by the English. There is indeed no escaping the divine connotations of this painting, which is reinforced by the 'presence of sea monsters in the water, hinting at the dangers of the deep'[91]; the dangers to the Dutch being the English perhaps. The depiction of sea monsters is a common component in early Netherlandish marine painting[92]. Not only do the sea monsters have divine inferences but they also have cultural significance too. Margarita Russell explains in her book *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine painting* that the sea monsters and other apparitions 'were not simply decorative fill-ins…'[93] they were 'firmly believed in.'[94] Although the sea monsters in paintings symbolize the dangers of the seas, they also indicate a general and quite widespread fascination with the idea that sea monsters were quite possibly real.

Depictions of sea monsters appeared in mariner's charts, some, such as Hans Saverij I even created detailed studies of the fearsome beasts[95]. Certainly this captivation in sea monsters seemed to have travelled from the Netherlands to England if we look at Lucas Jansz. Waghernaer's sea-atlas *Spieghel der Zeevaert* (1584); which was subsequently translated into English just a few years later –

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[90] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Cornelis Claesz Van Wieringen, *A Dutch Merchantman Attacked by an English Privateer, off La Rochelle,* Caird Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Russell, M., *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting,* Leiden: E J Brill/University of Leiden, 1983, pg48
[94] Ibid, pg48
[95] Ibid, pg46-50

(*Waghernaer's) The Mariner's Mirrour* (1588). If one looks at the frontispiece of the translated book, at the bottom is an illustration of an English ship (identifiable by the Cross of St George) with two formidable looking sea monsters on either side of the vessel. There is no doubt that there is a strong cultural exchange evident in this painting, identifiable by the flags (English) and sea monsters (Dutch).

Action between Ships in the First Dutch War (figure 2.6)*,* dated 1652-1654 was painted by Abraham Willaerts. The painting is believed to be the Battle of Kentish Knock (an English victory); the Dutch were at a disadvantage because their ships were not as heavily armed.[96] As a painter it can arguably be quite difficult to show in a painting that one naval force is more heavily armed than another, but at the same time he may still want to convey which naval force was superior or the victor and this could change from battle to battle. One could argue that the artist used the composition as a way to project this. Occupying the centre of Willaerts' painting is the battle itself, Willaerts has captured both sides in the very midst of the battle with ships from either force both firing canons. English superiority is shown off in this painting by the domination of English ships in this scene, even though the size of both fleets was alike. [97] The ships belonging to the English take centre stage and to the right, one can perhaps even suggest that seeing two English ships engaged with only one Dutch vessel could be a subtle sign to the viewer about how heavily armed the English were compared to their Dutch rivals. The flags could potentially be viewed as indicators of, in this case, a country's naval power. Indeed this is what (some may argue) was extremely culturally significant to the Dutch - its navy; 'the Dutch

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[96] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Abraham Willaerts, *Action Between Ships in the First Dutch War, 1652-54,* Caird Collection, Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.

[97] Ibid.

Republic [by 1648] was widely recognized as Europe's leading maritime state…'[98] Flags and the ships themselves have proven to be important indicators of cultural identity, and, it is wrong identification of a nation based on a ships design that, at least in one instance, led to an attack on the wrong nation by the English[99]. It could be suggested that, to a contemporary viewer in particular living anywhere in Europe principally during the mid part of the seventeenth century, would see the flag of the Dutch Republic and automatically be reminded of the newly formed state's maritime power.

Thinking now about techniques utilized by the artist, firstly the palette somewhat reminiscent in style when compared to Van Antum's painting, going for a fairly dark palette, the artists somehow manage to slow the speed of the scene down by using duller-looking colours. However, this is upstaged by the vibrancy of the colours used to paint the flags in both paintings. The very first thing the viewer will notice about the works are the flags, this tactic goes some way into helping the viewer decipher what's happening without being told using words. As with many other marine paintings the canvas space is dominated by ships, and depending on the level of detail, features of the ships in the art can go someway to indicating whether the ships are engaged in warfare or not.

Using a very different style from the previous paintings analysed so far is Heerman Witmont's *Action between Dutch and English Ships* (figure 2.7)*,* undated, however 'this painting is thought to relate to an action during either the Second or Third Dutch

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[98] Hattendorf, J.B., *Talking About Naval History: A Collection of Essays,* USA: Naval War College Press, 2011, pg49
[99] Ibid, pg50

Wars, 1665-67 and 1672-74.'[100] The medium employed by Witmont in this painting is a method pioneered by Dutch artists[101]:

'The technique of grisaille involved drawing with pen and ink, or ink wash, on prepared gesso panels or canvas and is more accurately described as pen-painting (penschilderij). This technique enabled the drawing to be highly detailed and demonstrate the artist's ability and knowledge of shipping. Pen-painting was pioneered by Witmont and his friend Willem van de Velde the Elder, who were its two finest practitioners.'[102]

Likewise with Witmont's painting as is with the painting by Willaerts', one cannot make out the line of battle between the two fleets suggesting that this scene was captured late into the battle possibly towards a decisive end. To the far left of the painting in the background one can see ships belonging to the Dutch fleet, the stripes on the flags are only just apparent. Then to the far right, the painting shows an English and Dutch ship engaged in battle, smoke billowing from the gap between the two ships confirming canon fire. Without the colour range of paint the focus becomes very drawn to the level of detail rendered by the artist. Unlike the other paintings, the image is so much more crisp, he is able to paint each individual gun port, the ropes that are connected to the sails and the masts on the ships, also the sailors on board the vessel and the ornate design that is visible on the back of the Dutch ship to the right. The painting seems to focus more on the anatomy and detail of the ships rather than what is going on. This emphasis and appreciation for the accurate description of the ships highlights an interest and importance (to the artist) regarding realism. It goes beyond the desire of aesthetics and leans more closely towards photographic reality and wanting to paint every single minute detail possible. Compared to the other marine paintings covered so far, they are nowhere near the detail and precision that

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[100] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Heerman Witmont, *Action Between Dutch and English Ships,* Greenwich, London, 18 Dec 2015.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.

Witmont has achieved. In addition to this, the rest of the scene Witmont and has left in the background drawing as little attention as possible anywhere else. One's eye is immediately drawn to the Dutch vessel and when your gaze moves away from the main feat you are immediately drawn back, his obsession with the ship becomes ours.

In addition to battle scenes some cultural symbols, such as flags appear in port and harbour scene paintings as well, for these we look towards Ludolf Backhuysen, three paintings by this artist have been chosen. Born in Emden, Germany[103] he is not Dutch by nationality but was Dutch trained in his trade. 'After his death there were few marine painters to match the work of his generation, and the seascape declined in Holland....'[104] The first painting that has been chosen is titled *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8)*,* which has no date but definitely belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century. The next painting is titled *The Foundering of the 'Coronation' 90 Guns at Rame Head* (figure 2.9)*,* painted in 1691 and lastly *An English Vessel and a Man-of-war in a Rough Sea off a Coast with Tall Cliffs* (figure 2.10)*,* which was painted in the 1680s. Interestingly it appears that Backhuysen never visited England and although these paintings do not make up a significant percentage of his oeuvre it is an interesting anomaly. One will address *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8) and *The Foundering of the 'Coronation' 90 Guns at Rame Head* (figure 2.9) together. The scene in *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8) portrays an English vessel sailing into Plymouth in stormy style; it is tugging a small boat from its stern. To the right of the yacht is a group of people in a small rowing boat; some passengers are watching with interest, the choppy waves (which echo the landscape) and dark sky speak of a storm, the looming and rocky-looking coast makes

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[103] Isham, H F, *Image of the Sea: Oceanic Consciousness in the Romantic Century,* New York: peter Lang Publishing, 2004, pg10
[104] Ibid, pg10

the scene of the storm more dramatic and seemingly dangerous. These dangers are made all the more real by the evidence of shipwreck to the right of the yacht. Something quite noteworthy that should be considered about the wreck is that it is positioned in very close proximity to both the yacht and the little rowing boat; it is just peaking up above the waves in middle of the painting. Curiously in 1691 Backhuysen painted the sinking of HMS Coronation, a ship which was demasted in a storm and then began to fill with water after several planks 'gave way.'[105] If the wreck depicted in his undated work, *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8)*,* were the HMS Coronation, then one would be somewhat closer to identifying a date for the painting. But it is interesting for another reason, if one accepts that the wrecked ship in *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8) is indeed the HMS Coronation then perhaps the paintings were or could be considered as part of series? It could be argued that the shipwreck that is depicted in this painting, along with the dangerous and stormy water, was history repeating itself. Moving on now to *The Foundering of the 'Coronation' 90 Guns at Rame Head* (figure 2.9)*,* depicts HMS Coronation in distress. Reminiscent of many of his marine paintings the sky is dark and stormy, the waves are big and dramatic, HMS Coronation, which occupies the middle of the canvas, is being tossed around like a ragdoll. The loss of the ship and the men on board is made even more tragic by how close the vessel is to the shore, Backhuysen lights up the shore, shining like the possibility of salvation, and in the dark covered in shadow and storm is HMS Coronation. It's an extremely intense and evocative scene, and Backhuysen represented the event with great accuracy. However, based on the highly probable assumption that he never came to England, one would have to conclude that he imagined the scene as he had done with *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure

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[105] Hepper, D J., *British Warship Losses in the Age of Sail, 1650-1859,* East Sussex: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1994, pg14

2.8). Turning attention finally to *An English Vessel and a Man-of-war in a Rough Sea off a Coast with Tall Cliffs* (figure 2.10), thought to have been painted in the 1680s is again an English vessel depicted in English waters, close to an imagined landscape. Central to the depicted scene is the English man-o-war vessel, which like many of Backhuysen's paintings is caught out in a storm, the rough sea and the vivid and theatrical sky make no mystery of the fact. This painting has a very similar composition to *An English Yacht Sailing into Plymouth* (figure 2.8), with a small boat being tugged from the stern of the ship, and passengers in a small rowing boat to the right of the canvas. It is not surprising that the paintings are similar in this way as many artists particularly in a country such as the Netherlands where the demand for painting was high, given the accessibility of the market, it was very common for artists to use and reuse one basic composition for a multitude of paintings.

In all three of these paintings the two main cultural motifs are the flags and the landscape, although the landscape to someone who knows the English coast quite well may not recognise the topography, especially seeing as they are all paintings in very specific locations. It is curious that Backhuysen would choose to paint very specific areas of England despite never visiting. Perhaps it had something to do with who the patron or potential buyer was, he may have been specifically aiming these particular paintings to the English art market.

Jacob Knyff's *Dock Scene At A British Port* (figure 2.11), was painted in 1673. The scene Knyff painted shows 'English and Dutch ships taking on stores or cargo at a port. Although the port is probably imaginary, the activities relating to the loading has been closely observed.'[106] Also customs relating to naval etiquette have been

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[106] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Jacob Knyff, *Dock Scene at a British Port, Greenwich, London,* 18 Dec 2015.

documented by Knyff in the painting[107] '[A] royal yacht is arriving on the left and this

has prompted the firing of the salute.'[108] Firing salute only used gunpowder with no

canons, it was a courtesy to fire guns at ships when leaving or entering a port'[109]

Knyff was one of many Dutch artists to move to England to improve his job

prospects[110], so its slightly surprising that he didn't depict a port that really exists. But

this could simply be out of the want to create scene that has no association with any

historical event. A key part of this painting pertinent to the research is the English

flyboat beside the pier that was possibly Dutch built[111].

> 'Mid-seventeenth century Englishmen had viewed the Dutch shipping industry
> with awe…English ship builders made little effort to imitate these designs, and when
> such boats were used in English trade they were usually captured or purchased from
> the Dutch.'[112]

The flyboat then can serve as a motif that represents quite a tense aspect of the

Anglo-Dutch relationship. One that points to issues that the Navigation Acts

provoked[113]. It has been attributed by Wilcoxen and Zahedieh that the Navigation

Acts of 1651 had been successful for all intensive purposes[114]. The purposes being

that the English wished to balance out the inequity that they felt was occurring within

maritime activity in Europe and America[115]. The significance of the Navigation Acts

for the research being undertaken is that the English imitated the design of a Dutch

flyboat and then referred to those boats as being English.

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[107] Notes from Dr Elaine Murphy
[108] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Jacob Knyff, *Dock Scene at a British Port, Greenwich, London,* 18 Dec 2015.
[109] Notes from meeting with Dr Elaine Murphy
[110] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Jacob Knyff, *Dock Scene at a British Port, Greenwich, London,* 18 Dec 2015.

[111] Ibid.
[112] Zahedieh, N., *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700,* Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010, pg152
[113] Ibid, pg150
[114] Zahedieh, N., *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700,* Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010 and Wilcoxen, C., *Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century,* New York: SUNY Press, 1987
[115] Wilcoxen, C., *Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century,* New York: SUNY Press, 1987, pg15

'These prize ships were naturalised so that they were treated as English-built and Davis argues that "these are the years which reconstituted the English fleet with Dutch fly-boats.""[116]

The purpose of the painting might just be more of the focus on the ships themselves with an interest in depicting observed customs between naval forces, loading and unloading cargo. There is a real interest here in daily life and 'mundane' tasks that many people wouldn't necessarily see as a worthy subject for a painting. It could be likened to 'people-watching' today, but not only this, these activities that seem boring and unimportant are always the tasks that keep society moving. The cargo being loaded might be goods on a ship bound for markets in Europe to be traded, the man-o-war ships that would frequent ports were for England the first line of defence against attack from another country. Dutch artists were people watchers and, in one's opinion, they had a knack for painting objects, scenes and people that some in everyday life often take for granted.

The final painting to discuss is a painting attributed to Willem van de Velde titled *Plymouth in 1666* or *View of Plymouth Sound and the Citadel from Around Jennycliffe* (figure 2.12) as it is also known. It is dated c1670, confirmed also by the report of Rodger Quarm.[117] Before delving into the subject of the painting, it would be pertinent to address the authorship. It has been confirmed by experts, including Quarm that this painting attributed to Willem van de Velde the Younger is likely to be not by him at all, due to the fact that it doesn't seem to resemble a typical painting by the artist.[118] The painting still remains as a case study here because, even though it is not a Van de Velde, it is highly likely that another Dutch artist painted it. Quarm suggests in the report that it could be by Jacob Knyff. Something else perhaps

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[116] Zahedieh, N., *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700,* Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010, pg150
[117] Research report from Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery.
[118] Ibid

deserving of some explanation is, and this was touched on earlier regarding something written by Cordingly in his exhibition catalogue *Painters of the Sea*, is the seeming lack of existence of marine paintings in England before the beginning of the seventeenth century. There was, it seems, a gap in the art market that Dutch artists seemed to fill and they did so happily. This gap provided them with work and therefore money, but perhaps there could also be an ulterior motive to their interest in working in England. Ormond, in his book titled *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770,* writes:

'…the images produced by the Van de Veldes, as Dutch immigrants, contain no hint of propaganda, serving to emphasis the importance of admiration, emulation and subtle rivalry in the making of national identity.'[119]

Ormond seems to be suggesting that Dutch artists were not only driven to paint in England and for English patrons on financial grounds but also because they were from a newly formed country, an Empire, they were showcasing themselves as Dutch artists.

Chiefly this chapter has focused on two very culturally significant motifs of marine paintings, the flags and the ships themselves. Culturally one can understand a lot from the design of a ship and a country's flag. The designs of ships were very specific to that nations needs and indeed as pointed out by Konstam in his book *Warships of the Anglo-Dutch Wars 1652-1674,* in the case of the Dutch fleet there was a need for their navy to protect their merchant ships[120]. Navies of any country also needed a good understanding of the geography of the land and sea. In the case of the Dutch they had to negotiate with shallow coastal waters, which 'dictated the design of their warships,'[121] and this was characterised more as a constraint on the design as oppose

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[119] Ormond, D., *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770,* Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2003, pg1
[120] Konstam, A., *Warships of the Anglo-Dutch Wars 1652-1674,* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011, pg8
[121] Ibid, pg8

to a characteristic that they opted for[122]. Economic factors also dictated design, 'the use of a square-transom…was economic…as square-transomed ships were quicker and cheaper to build.'[123] Dutch warships also lacked greatly in decoration, and so too did English Commonwealth warships, however after the restoration of the monarchy they were more lavishly embellished[124]. For the English the use of its fleet for different purposes led to a need for a different design of ship compared to their ship-of-the-line (war ship) the *Sovereign of the Seas*, something fast and more agile, such as the *Constant Warwick* – a frigate[125]. 'This fast, light, but powerful vessel formed the basis of a new warship.'[126] This means that it is likely that some contemporary viewers would discern origins of a ships design without the flag, and indeed, as it has been pointed out in this chapter, a flag does not necessarily culturally match to the design of a ship. So with the two motifs (the flags and ships) together in the painting it, at times, can be clear to see the cultural interchange that has taken place particularly within the maritime world as is the case with Knyff's painting *Dock Scene at a British Port* (figure 2.11).

What is hopefully evident in this chapter is the cultural motifs some English (the flags and ships), while others, such as the sea monsters, most notable in Van Wieringen's painting represent the Dutch. There is clearly a cultural exchange occurring, which appears within these Dutch descriptive mode paintings alongside English cultural motifs and the English were actively seeking these paintings from the Dutch. 'Dutch painting is generally considered to have been rather important and

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[122] Ibid, pg19
[123] Ibid, pg22
[124] Ibid, pg22
[125] Ibid, pg11
[126] Ibid, pg11

much esteemed in seventeenth-century England…'[127] Interestingly, Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma Van Voss in their book titled *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800): Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Leiden 21-22 April 1995,* stated that 'the dominance of Dutch art fell short of creating in England and the Dutch Republic a common artistic culture distinct…' [128] In other words we have not witnessed complete convergence of cultures but an exchange of ideas and that is evident in the art in this chapter.

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[127] Groenveld, S and Wintle, M., *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century,* Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994, pg150
[128] Roding, J and Heerma Van Voss (eds)., *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800): Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Leiden 21-22 April 1995,* Larenseweg: Verloren Publishers, 1996, pg90

Chapter Three

Landscape

Figure 3.1, Wijck, *Whitehall and St James' Park, London*, c1660?

Figure 3.2, Wijck, *A Dutch Mastiff (called 'Old Vertue') with Dunham Massey in the Background,* c1690s.

Figure 3.3, *Distant View of York,* 1639.

Figure 3.4, De Jongh, *The Thames at Westminster Stairs, 1631-*1637.

Figure 3.5, Vorsterman, *London from Greenwich Hill,* c1680.

"In the Low Countries the first quarter of the seventeenth century saw the birth of an immensely rich and various school of landscape painting, but there was nothing comparable in England."[129] Before entering into the case studies, it is worth perhaps mentioning some general information regarding the cultural transfer within 'low' genre paintings between the Netherlands and England. It is a topic that has been *identified* in the research of many scholars but it has yet to be addressed or discussed at length, that is the recognition of Dutch artists contribution to the development and advancement of certain genres of art in England during the seventeenth century. For example, Waterhouse in his book titled *Painting in Britain 1530-1790;* it is a fairly brief mention as discussion of the issues addressed in this thesis was not something that was integral to the aims of his book. Another source of note is Tim Batchelor's exhibition catalogue *Dead Standing Things,* in which he talks about the origins of the term still life, which further supports this idea of the valuable contribution the Dutch made to English art – incomer artists introduced still life paintings to England from the Netherlands[130]. Another noteworthy source is *The Old English Landscape Painters* by Colonel M H Grant, he provides an annotated list of old English artists working between sixteenth and the nineteenth century, but interestingly some of the earliest English landscape painters he mentions are born in 1771. It could be that this book was an account of only the more successful or well known artists working in England, as Bense writes in his book: 'In April 1669 Pepys and his wife went to John Loten, a landscape painter long established in London but there saw "no good pictures…"'[131] 'The very word 'landscape' was a Dutch importation into England in

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[129] Waterhouse, E., *Painting in Britain 1530-1790,* London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1953, pg42
[130] *Dead Standing Things,* Exhibition catalogue edited by Tim Batchelor et al, London: Tate Britain, 2012, pg1

[131] Bense, J F., *The Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third,* United States: Springer, 2013, pg204

this century for something which had to be imported from abroad.'[132] Gordon and

Gordon substantiate this in their book *Hobbema and Heidegger: On Truth and*

Beauty, they write:

'It is also a wondrous fact that a number of Dutch landscape painters who lived
during the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, invented and created the field of
landscape painting…Moreover, these Dutch painters created landscape paintings in
which, "the truth of what is has set itself to work."'[133]

An identical situation occurred within the still life genre and this was outlined

previously regarding the origins of the term still life.[134]

Wherever the origins of landscape painting can be found this was a genre (much

like still life) that was introduced into England and embraced. '…the Stuarts…viewed

landscape painting with a severely practical eye: as a source of topographical records

of a town…'[135] It is hard to know whether the introduction of landscape painting

would have existed without the interest of the King and members of his court, but one

of the painters whom is discussed later in this chapter - Claude de Jongh - certainly

makes the case of general interest in English landscapes beyond court circles[136].

The first of the landscape case studies is *Whitehall and St James' Park* (figure 3.1)

painted roughly around 1660 (the restoration of Charles II) by Thomas Wijck (or

Wyck). Immediately the first noticeable aspect of the painting is the viewpoint, the

artist was overlooking the St James' Park, perhaps in order to get a good view of

Whitehall Palace as well. In-keeping with Dutch style however, a large portion of the

canvas has been dedicated to the sky. To the far right of the painting one can see two

rows of trees running parallel to each other. The palette of this painting, unlike the

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[132] Ibid, pg42
[133] Gordon, H and Gordon, R., *Hobbema and Heidegger: On Truth and Beauty,* New York: Peter Lang, 2008, pg80
[134] In the epilogue of the exhibition catalogue *Dead Standing Things*, the author writes a paragraph about the introduction of the term still life and its origins, which falls under identical circumstances to the term 'landscape'. This essentially shows that these genres were not in existence or at least were not very well known in England until the emigration of many Dutch people (artists).
[135] Millar, O., *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen,* London: Phaidon Press, 1963, pg25
[136] Bryant, J., *Kenwood, Paintings in the Iveagh Bequest,* English Heritage Publishers 2012, pg62-4

monochrome colours so characteristic of Dutch landscape artists, is warm, reminiscent of Italianate style paintings. Even the clouds in the sky contain very soft hues of orange and yellow, something that one wouldn't typically see from Dutch paintings. This, however, is hardly surprising as Wijck spent some years working in Italy before his sojourn in England; and he was clearly influenced. '…for long he remained faithful to the way of constructing such views that he had worked out during his few years in Italy.'[137] Fortuitously for him, Charles II was very fond of the Italianate style, and Wijck became a popular artist in England, 'The work of both men [Thomas and Jan Wijck, father and son] became popular throughout Britain…'[138] The inclusion of an Italianate landscape may seem unusual due to the nature of the research but the Italianate style of painting was popular in England at the time and one cannot ignore the influence that that potentially would have had on paintings made by artists fulfilling the requests of their patrons[139]. It cannot be avoided that there are unmistakable stylistic Italian traces in the painting, but this does not and cannot diminish the Anglo-Dutch aspect of the painting, after all the king could have sought an Italian painter to produce the painting, but he chose instead Thomas Wijck. This painting of St James' Park was probably a way of documenting the work that Charles II did after his restoration. Charles II had the park redesigned, changes were already evident as early as October 1660.[140] It is clear that he was influenced by French gardens as his designs imitated those of the French.[141]

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[137] Trezzani, L., 'Thomas Wijck' in *The Bamboccianti: Painters of Everyday Life in 17th-century Rome,* Italy: Banco di santo Spirito, 1983, pg225
[138] Gibson, K., 'Jan Wyck c1645-1700: A Painter with "a grate deal of fire"', *The British Art Journal,* Volume 2, Number 1, pg3
[139] Frijhoff, W and Spies, M., *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: 1650, Hard-won Unity,* UK: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2004, pg525
[140] Stedman, G., *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-century France and England,* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013, pg69-70
[141] Ibid, pg60-70

Whitehall Palace is also a significant landmark to Charles II; his father, Charles I, was executed outside Whitehall roughly eleven years before this painting was made. To depict both landmarks in a painting together like this that holds so much historical significance and also pain, but victory too. It is, in essence, an extremely powerful image. It is almost as if Wijck was painting the death of the monarchy, and then its rebirth through Charles II's redesign of St James' Park. St James' Park has been placed in the foreground, with Whitehall in the background, almost as if there is a chronological sequence to the painting. Whitehall in the background is a symbol of the past, and the new redesigned St James' Park represents the current situation in England at the time Wijck created the painting. This potential representation of the death and rebirth of the monarchy is a hugely culturally significant visual motif.

Continuing on with the case studies with Jan Wijck's painting, *A Dutch Mastiff (called 'Old Vertue') with Dunham Massey in the Background* (figure 3.2)*, painted in the 1690s. The main feature of this painting is not the landscape that is depicted in the background but instead is the black pug that occupies the foreground. The dog (Old Vertue) sits proudly completely central in the painting staring out into the distance (to the left), the very tip of his tongue has escaped and is slightly drooped onto his lower lip. To the left of the canvas in the background is Dunham Massey itself. Above taking flight over the scene is a swallow and then to Old Vertue's left a shepherd with his sheep and sheep dog. The animals in this painting speak volumes on a very cultural level.

Thinking about the importance of the animals specifically in this painting both sheep and dog have a special place in the hearts of the English and Dutch, respectively. The pug became quite popular with the Dutch, they were imported into Holland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and then when William III

and Mary II came to England in 1688 to overthrow James II, pugs accompanied them.[142]

From a trading perspective in England sheep were a very important commodity. 'Until the era of the Industrial Revolution wool was, without question, the most important raw material in the English economic system.'[143] Wool affected almost everyone, and not just those in England; '…continental textile industries relied heavily upon England for their supplies of finer raw material.'[144] The wool industry has such a significant place in the everyday life and culture of England that it is impossible to ignore the flock of sheep that are depicted in Wijck's painting. As well as there being a clear cultural transfer (the Dutch influence on art in England); it is possible in this instance, and in others, that the culture and everyday life of the Englishman have not been forgotten. However it is accepted that given this painting is a pastoral scene, this may not be the reason for their depiction. Both reasons are relevant and neither can reasonably be ruled out. The trading of wool (cloth) between England and the Netherlands during the seventeenth century is worth mentioning here due to the somewhat fraught situation that England found itself in:

'One of the most memorable depressions in the annals of the English textile industries began in 1620…The export trade declined by one third; the price of wool fell.'[145]

This was mainly due to more European countries taking an interest in textile manufacturing (Netherlands, Italy, Spain and France)[146]. This increase in competition eventually had an effect on the prices of English wool. To add fuel to the fire Bowden writes in his book titled *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England:*

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[142] Maggitti, P., *Pugs: Everything about Purchase, Care, Nutrition, Behavior, and Training,* New York: Barron's Educational Series, 2000, pg6
[143] Bowden, P.J., *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England,* London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1962, pgxv
[144] Ibid, pgxv
[145] Lipson, E., *The Economic History of England Volume III: The Age of Mercantilism,* London: A. & C. Black Ltd, 1943, pg305
[146] Bowden, P.J., *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England,* London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1962, pg186-187

'The Flemish States, in April, 1612, in their endeavor to re-establish the manufacture of woolens…decided upon prohibiting the importation of English cloth. The stage was therefore well set for the events which followed the inauguration of Alderman Cockayne's disastrous project.'[147]

Cockayne's project of 1614 put a stop to cloth exports from England to the Netherlands. The project had been approved in the *hopes* that it would help English (cloth) producers take away control from the Dutch in cloth-finishing manufacturing.[148] This however backfired against the English, and didn't have the desired outcome. It should be pointed out that the English wool trade with Europe was probably not in Wijck's mind when he created this painting, but it is a noteworthy mention - the wool trade - because this tension that existed between England and the Netherlands - the depression in the textile industry - during this time would have affected everyone involved in wool and cloth production in England from sheep shearing to cloth finishing.

The next feature of this painting to discuss is the Pug, the main feature of the painting, Old Vertue. According to records Old Vertue died and was buried in 1702.[149] This means that it was likely that this painting was painted to completion when Old Vertue was still alive, or very shortly after his death. As stated above, the Pug became the official dog of the House of Orange and in 1688 Queen Mary II and King William III traveled from the Netherlands to England with a Pug as their companion of choice. The pug, after its immigration to England, soon served as a symbol of support to the new Protestant monarchs.[150]

'During the turbulent late seventeenth century, when Protestants and Catholics battled over who would control the British throne, a Pug in a portrait served as a

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[147] Friis A., *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade,* Copenhagen and London: Oxford University Press, 1927 cited in Bowden, P.J., *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England,* London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1962, pg186-187

[148] Brenner, R., *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653,* London: Verso, 2003, pg210

[149] Toms, J., *Animal Graves and Memorials,* Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 2006, pg17

[150] Campbell-Thornton, K., *The Everything Pug Book: A Complete Guide To Raising, Training and Caring for your Pug,* USA: F+W Publications, 2005, pg8

subtle social commentary, symbolizing that the person portrayed was a supporter of William III over the deposed Catholic monarch James II.'[151]

Much like in the same way that Mary II and William III overthrew James II so did the pug; by replacing the toy spaniel as the favourite dog of England's kings of the Stuart dynasty.[152] Future monarchs such as Queen Victoria also chose Pugs as her four-legged friends.[153], Culturally and, in some cases, religiously, animals were a significant part of the life of a seventeenth century English man/woman and certainly we get a good sense of the admiration and affection that Old Vertue's owner had for him. Edward Morris in his book titled *Public Art Collections in North-west England: A History and Guide* he writes, 'he [Old Vertue] occupies the position in which an eighteenth-century portrait would be the prerogative of the owner of the house.'[154]. 'Seventeenth century English people…identified animals as creatures deserving of special attention…'[155] the painting of Old Vertue certainly supports this view. However at the other end of the spectrum, some animals were signs of good or bad luck, others were omens and even the actions of animals sometimes were believed to be foretelling in some way[156]. Even today certain superstitions are still believed by some, for example, black cats being bad luck. It seems that dogs have had an impact in many areas, including the language 'M. P. Tilley records 113 proverbial uses of the word 'dog' in sixteenth – and seventeenth century England.'[157] Dogs have clearly had an impact of English culture from the language to medicine.[158] Along with the English culture and heritage embedded in this painting, right in the foreground [Old

[151] Ibid, pg8
[152] Ibid, pg6
[153] Ibid, pg6
[154] Morris, E., *Public Art Collections in North-west England: A History and Guide,* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001, pg19
[155] Dejohn Anderson, V., *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed,* London: Oxford University Press, 2006, pg45
[156] Ibid, pg45-47
[157] Jenkins, K and Munslow, A., *The Nature of History Reader,* New York: Psychology Press, 2004, pg111
[158] Ibid, pg111

Vertue] is something culturally important to the Dutch now also a significant part of English culture and everyday life.

The building depicted in the painting is not the Dunham Massey that stands today. 'The house itself was radically altered early in the twentieth century after years of neglect and no architect of national significance has ever worked on it.'[159] In fact the house was 'added to' and changed quite consistently from early in the seventeenth century until the mid 1940s and shortly after that (1970s) the house became the property of the National Trust[160]. The building would have been greatly important to Booth for its connection to him and his family, which is perhaps why he commissioned a painting of it. 'Dunham Massey…has always been passed by inheritance since being granted to the de Massey family in the time of William the Conqueror.'[161] Hence the name, but it was during the fifteenth century that it came into the hands of the Booth family[162]. So in the case of Dunham Massey the painting contains genealogical significance as do many other English manors, estates etc belonging to English nobility. So much of what makes the English/British landscape iconic is the homes of nobility and royalty. Each of the motifs discussed in this painting (Old Vertue, Dunham Massey and the sheep) represent slightly different cultural aspects of English/British society - companionship, genealogy and trade and the economy.

Moving on now to painter Alexander Kerinicx and a work that was part of quite an important series, regarding the Anglo-Dutch interchange. *Distant view of York* (figure

[159] Morris, E., *Public Art Collections in North-west England: A History and Guide,* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001, pg21
[160] Sambrook, P., *A Country House at Work: Three Centuries of Dunham Massey,* Swindon: National Trust Books, 2006, og10-11
[161] Lomax, J and Rothwell, J., *Country House Silver: From Dunham Massey,* Swindon: National Trust Books, 2006, pg11
[162] Ibid, pg11

3.3), painted in 1639, there are nine other paintings that belong in this series but the focus will only be on this one.

'Charles I's commission for this group of landscapes seems to have arisen from the deteriorating political situation in his kingdom... All present a distant view of a castle or town in the north of England or in Scotland, set in its surrounding countryside'[163]

This particular depiction is exactly as the title suggests, it is a lofty 'distant' view of York Minister. 'Keirincx's view of Charles' houses represents one of, if not the earliest, examples of house portraiture in English art, one which was adapted from continental models, particularly in its incorporation of the "birds-eye" perspective.'[164] This is hardly surprising given that the term landscape is derived from a Dutch term for the genre[165] and this was something that was mentioned briefly in beginning of this chapter. It is certainly an accepted argument that landscape paintings was a minor genre in England that didn't really that didn't become anything significant until the English artists began looking to the work of Dutch artists[166]. As stated previously the political situation in England during this time was deteriorating and may have prompted this commission. As with many other sites in England, York became the scene of a battle between royalists and parliamentarians in 1644 (the Battle of Marston Moor), it was apparently the largest, in terms of numbers, battle to have taken place on English soil, but certainly at least the biggest of the English Civil Wars[167]. But it is imperative to mention that this battle was fought *after* this series was commissioned. King Charles had also, in 1642 so again after the commission of the series, made York the capital. It could still contribute in some way to explaining

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[163] Tate Britain. Catalogue notes for Alexander Keirincx, *Distant View of York,* Tate Collection, Millbank, London, 27 June 2015.
[164] Sluijter, E, et al, *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550-1800,* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2002, pg139
[165] Bense, J F., *The Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third,* United States: Springer, 2013, pg42
[166] Murray, C. J., *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850,* London: Routledge, 2013, pg646
[167] Newman, P. R., *The Battle of Marston Moor, 1644,* Chichester*:* Anthony Bird Publications, 1981, pg1 see also Barratt, J., *The Battle of Marston Moor 1644,* Gloucestershire: the History Press, 2013, pg5

why Charles had York painted, there must have been a great deal of personal significance to location for Charles.

The building alone is not the only culturally important feature, the surrounding area that Keirincx also includes in the painting, is also important to Charles. This painting shows that he is an expansive landowner, it's a display of might and its cultural significance regarding York and its importance to Charles I. 'In April 1642 Charles left London and moved to York with his court….for the next 6 months York was the capital of England.'[168] It is almost ironic that only four to five years after this painting was complete a struggle for power took place here, and only ten years after its completion Charles I was executed. Historically and politically the painting holds important English cultural connotations.

The next artist to be introduced is Claude De Jongh, unlike many of the artists that have been written about thus far, he seems to have no connection with the crown[169]. Which is arguably why his sojourn in England is not that well documented. In fact Hayes writes that '…a certain amount [of his activities in England] may be learned from his topographical drawings…his activity here is not supported by documents…'[170] In other words, one has to look to the paintings for the evidence of his stay here. But the accuracy with which they have been created puts us in good stead for supposing that he did indeed work here for a brief period. The topographical view being examined for this case study is his painting titled *The Thames at Westminster Stairs* (figure 3.4)*,* painted between 1631-7. The painting depicts the River Thames, bustling with boats and human activity, and this is juxtaposed by the calm of the river. There are people going about their daily business (the figures to the left in the foreground and in the boats in the mid-ground and background.) What is of

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[168] Malam, J., *Yorkshire, A Very Peculiar History,* Brighton: Salariya Book Company Ltd, 2014, pg132-148
[169] Hayes, J., 'Claude De Jongh', *The Burlington Magazine,* Volume 98, number 634, 1956, pg3
[170] Ibid, pg3

particular interest is the boat that is edging towards the right-hand side of the panel. It is likely to be someone important as the rowers seemed to be dressed in some sort of livery and the boat itself appears to be gilded with gold. De Jongh has certainly given us an eloquent display of his skill with this painting. His brushstrokes are so fine that they are barely noticeable; he has beautifully and effectively rendered the calm of the Thames and the reflection of London in it. Despite the goings on in the painting the boats passing on the river, people lingering in the foreground, the calm of the river has taken over the painting, it seems to spread and weave through every brushstroke. The naturalistic look rendered throughout the entire painting is certainly a very Dutch characteristic, but the palette seems to have a more Italianate feel.

It would appear that De Jongh visited England on several occasions first in 1615 and then again in 1625 there were also subsequent visits after this and it was on his visit in 1625 that he sketched Westminster[171], and this no doubt, would have been the drawing he referred to when he later came to paint the scene. Interestingly, the provenances of some of his other paintings suggest that the clientele for his English scenes were not English, but it would not be a surprise that his clientele had some form of connection to England and that is perhaps why they bought/commissioned these works[172]. This is important as it indicates that the English were not the targeted audience of this painting. This is a snapshot view of London life and given that this painting was completed roughly as long as a decade after the initial sketches were drawn, it is likely that De Jongh wasn't worried about creating an accurate topographical view of the city but rather it was a case of capturing the activity and culture of the city.

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[171] Bryant, J., *Kenwood, Paintings in the Iveagh Bequest,* English Heritage Publishers 2012, pg62
[172] Ibid, pgs62-4

The final painting to be addressed for the landscape chapter is Johannes Vorsterman's painting, *Greenwich and London from One Tree Hill* (figure 3.5) of c1680. From a historical *and* geographical perspective this painting is rich with information and detail. Unsurprisingly there is a reason behind this painting's creation:

'After the plague and subsequent Fire of London, the king was anxious to establish a palace away from such potential dangers of the crowded City. The painting's intention is thus to reinforce the rebirth of the monarchy and position Greenwich, well outside the City, at the heart of the project.[173]

From a cultural perspective there has been a concerted effort to disseminate the idea that England is doing well under a monarch, Charles II would no doubt have needed to convince a few people at least that the restoration of the Stuart's was the right thing for England. The grounds of the palace are teemed with deer 'a feature of the Park since the reign of Henry VIII'[174] (presumably for hunting), showing that after a plague and the fire in 1666 there is no shortage of food. The remodeling taking place on the palace and the new Observatory both owned by the crown could indicate that there is no shortage of money either. The ships and warships that are docked on the Thames could be an indicator of the naval strength of England as an emerging maritime force. It is a painting that in a word defines rejuvenation.

The main cultural aspects that have been addressed in this chapter have largely been related to buildings –the homes of Charles I or Whitehall etc - or landscapes – St James' park - of some historical significance. But in reality the each painting bears different features that need their own individual interpretation, probably alluding to the outlines made by the patron or dictated by the artists as judged to be right for the selected art market (they are more personal to the patron). Arguably, however, this

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[173] National Maritime Museum. Catalogue notes for Johannes Vorsterman, *Greenwich and London from One Tree Hill,* Hospital Collection, Greenwich, London, 27 June 2015

[174] Ibid

could be a cultural motif characteristic of English landscape paintings of the seventeenth century – as this is something that is consistent with most if not all of the paintings, thinking in particular of Keirincx's landscape series for Charles I and Jan Wijck's painting of Old Vertue and Dunham Massey. The Dutch artists tailored the paintings to the individual needs of the patron.

Chapter Four

Still Life

Figure 4.1, Verelst, *Group of Flowers,* after 1669.

Figure 4.2, Van der Vinne, *Vanitas with Royal Crown,* after 1649.

Figure 4.3, *Still Life of a Print of King Charles I and an Upturned Crown,* 1649-1702.

Figure 4.4, Collier, *Trompe l'oeil Letter Rack,* 1700.

Figure 4.5, Collier, *Still Life,* 1699.

Figure 4.6, Collier, *Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes',* 1696.
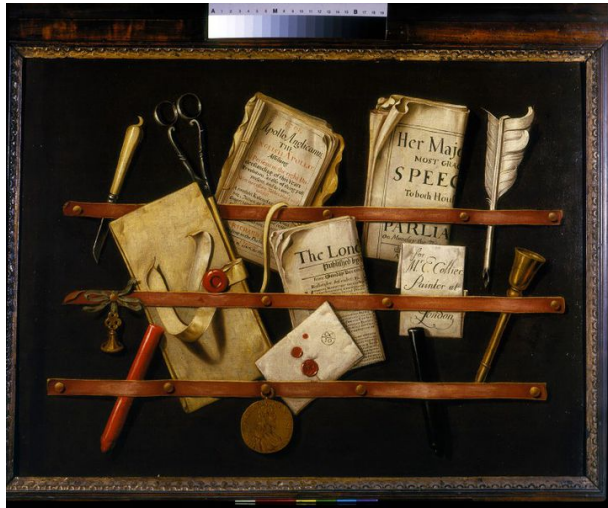
Figure 4.7, Collier, *Trompe l'Oeil with Writing Materials,* c1702.

Figure 4.8, Collier *Letter Rack,* c1698.

Figure 4.9, Roestraten, *Still life with King John's Cup,* c1700.

Before beginning with the still life case studies it is vital to note that this research is primarily dealing with the cultural aspects of the visual motifs in the paintings but these cultural motifs sometime coalesce with the hidden iconographic meaning (the two will always be differentiated). Some of the paintings will be dealing with the motifs that contain the hidden meanings, and this will again be briefly addressed for the sake of differentiating hidden symbolic from cultural meaning.

'Like the majority of British art from this period, the genre [still life] was introduced through the work and influence of incomer artists, largely from the Netherlands.'[175] This statement is corroborated by the origins of the terms used to describe still life paintings, as they are known today. Still life paintings were not always referred to as such:

'Writing in the 1650s, the author William Sanderson referred to such paintings as 'dead-standing-things', the term 'still life' (from the Dutch 'stilleven') only appearing in the following decades.'[176]

'Dead standing things' was obviously not a direct translation for the Dutch terms 'stilleven' or 'pronkstilleven', but was the title an author gave the genre based on what he saw. But of course not all still life paintings are an amalgamation of 'dead standing things'. The later adoption of the direct translation of 'stilleven' (still life painting) indicates that a cultural transfer from the Netherlands to England; the growing popularity of still life paintings and, with this came the adoption of Dutch ways of painting and terms used to describe the works. This is supported further by Vroom's comments in his book titled *A Modest Message as imitated by the Painters of the Monochrome Banketje,* he writes ('referring to various sorts of still-lives'[177])

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[175] *Dead Standing Things,* Exhibition catalogue edited by Tim Batchelor et al, London: Tate Britain, 2012, pg1
[176] Ibid, pg38
[177] Vroom, N R A., *A Modest Message as Imitated by the Painters of the Monochrome Banketje,* Netherlands: Interbook International BV, 1980, pg10

'…their names are so typically Dutch that no English equivalents can be found.'[178]

And it is supported still further in other sources, to quote one more Wahrman, in his book titled *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age,* writes:

'This lineage is preserved in the Indianapolis museum caption that describes the trompe l'oeil as a "still life, about 1696." It is a deliciously apt choice of words…it was precisely at that moment "about 1696," when Collier put his brush to canvas, that the term *still life* was introduced into the public record of the English language.'[179]

The still life genre covers a range of subjects, such as flower pieces, breakfast, banquet and animal pieces and indeed it would seem that the origins of these words can also be traced back to the Dutch. Norbert Schneider in his book titled *Still Life* writes, 'The term *still life* was not used until the mid-17th century, and we first come across it in Dutch inventories.'[180] He goes on to state further that this term still life (stilleven) was not the only term used to refer to the paintings. He lists some examples, *fruytagie* ('fruit piece'), *bancket* ('banquet') and *ontbijt* ('breakfast')[181]. The animal and flower pieces which were the paintings Sanderson likely had in mind when he referred to the genre as 'standing dead things', and indeed there were British painters, William Gow Ferguson (Scottish) for example, at the time working on paintings of 'dead standing things' but these were very few and far between and in fact 'that there were no gamepiece painters active in Britain until the 1720s.'[182] (Ferguson was an active gamepiece painter in Utrecht and The Hague[183]). But what about the other still life paintings, the letter racks, banquet pieces and other non-ephemeral still lifes.

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[178] Ibid, pg10
[179] Wahrman, Dror, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age,* USA: Oxford University, Press, 2012, pg26
[180] Schneider, N., *Still Life,* Köln: Taschen, 2003, pg7
[181] Ibid, pg7
[182] *Dead Standing Things,* Exhibtion catalogue edited by Tim Batchelor et al, London: Tate Britain, 2012 , pg27
[183] Roding, J and Heerma Van Voss (eds)., *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800): Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Leiden 21-22 April 1995,* Larenseweg: Verloren Publishers, 1996, pg346, note 8

This chapter will be looking at a variety of still life paintings; the case studies include a flower piece, various letter racks that in some cases also function as dedicatory pieces and also paintings that visually communicate a strong cultural message.

The first painting that will be examined is perhaps one of the most complex paintings in this chapter. *Group of Flowers* (figure 4.1) painted by Simon Pietersz Verelst, probably sometime after 1669. As is the case with many of his flower pieces, the painting depicts a vase of flowers set on a table. The background is generally dark with no indication of what kind of space the flowers are in, as this is a study of flowers this makes sense; a background is not necessary. Some of the species of flowers Verelst has used on multiple occasions, which was common practice. Studies are made of a particular species of flower (for example Verelst's study of *Tulips,* this is '[o]ne of several water-colour drawings of flowers of the above average size…'[184]) and then these may be referred to for paintings where the artist may want to use it for a particular composition. This drawing of the tulips was used to confirm that one of the most prominently depicted flowers in his painting *Group of Flowers* (figure 4.1) was a tulip as well. The other very large and dominating flower in the bunch droops low, comparative to the other flowers. If one were to look for the hidden meanings within this particular piece, it might be suggested that this is a memento mori – Latin for "remember you will die"[185] - painting, with the drooping (dying) flower echoes the transience and temporality of life. With little information to go on the other large flower, which is pale pinkish orange colour, in the group could either be a rose or a peony, both present interesting interpretations for the painting. Roses are the official

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[184] Lewis, F., *Simon Pietersz Verelst 'The god of Flowers': 1644-1721,* Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis Publishers Ltd, 1979, pg41
[185] Gerding, E, F., *Law, Bubbles and Financial Regulation,* Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2013, pg512

flower of England, and the unofficial flower of the Netherlands is a tulip. This certainly was not atypical practice for still life paintings. If we accept that the flower is a rose it has significance as an English flower. 'At the present time the rose is used by his Holiness the Pope when desiring to confer special recognition on a sovereign…It was conferred on Henry VIII and Mary I…'[186] It's relevance to English monarchs dates back as far as the founding of the Houses of York and Lancaster and the Wars of the Roses.[187] The rose's significance to England cannot be denied. If however the flower is a peony, then we look to the notion of the peony being the 'king of flowers'[188] or the queen.[189] Regarded as 'the most aristocratic of all the flowers'[190] and seemingly royalty in its own right, or certainly it is regarded as such, it is arguably a flower fit for a king. The cultural motifs – the flowers – clearly indicate a cultural exchange, the species of the flowers would be immediately recognizable to a lot of people and thus could serve as some kind of cultural flower representation of the nations.

Moving onto a vanitas still life painting by Vincent Laurensz Van Der Vinne, titled *Vanitas with Royal Crown* (figure 4.2) painted in 1649, the year of Charles I's execution. Quite unsurprisingly the painting is a memento mori and it is more than likely to have been painted after Charles' death, given that he was executed in January of that year. This painting contains within it the inescapable reminder of death and even the consequences that may sometimes follow (the skull in the background in the top right corner). In the foreground of the painting, the crown, the main attraction (usually considered the ultimate symbol of power) is painted precariously on the edge

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[186] Pemberton, J., *Roses: Their History, Development, and Cultivation,* U.S.A: Applewood Books, 2008, pg4-6
[187] Ibid, pg6+7
[188] Thacker, C., *The History of Gardens,* California: University of California Press, 1979, pg56
[189] Li, L, H., *The Garden Flowers of China,* New York: Ronald Press Co, 1959, pg12+22
[190] Ibid, pg22

of the table, close to toppling – reflective of the political situation in England at the time. Weighted down underneath, the portrait of the deceased king - the fact that the crown rests on the image of a recently deceased king may also symbolize the death of the monarchy as well; after Charles' execution the monarchy was abolished and for the next eleven years England was a republic. Behind the crown, unsealed parchment, weapons, and plumes (a symbol of the cavaliers) symbolizing the destiny and ambition of men. The words 'denckt op tent' are clearly written on a piece of scroll parchment in the background of the painting (top right). This would be considered as a momento mori painting if one were to look at it from an iconographic perspective. Even musical instruments sometimes serve as memento mori objects – broken or dusty instruments indicate the passage of time[191].

The topic of Charles I's death was one that Van Der Vinne revisited on a couple of occasions; and there are various variations of this painting that exist. One such example is *Still Life of a Print of King Charles I and an Upturned Crown* (figure 4.3), only this time different motifs are employed but again they too hint at the temporality of life. On a table covered in a green velvet cloth are several objects, including a print of Charles I held down on the table by a flute an upturned lute, or mandolin, and an upturned crown in which is a glass goblet containing a tulip and a peony (or a rose), behind the crown is an open book and to the right of the book is a helmet with a red plume, at the back of the table is a globe, an inkwell and quill and some books. To the right of the painting is a blue silk cloth hanging in folds.

Much like the flowers in Verelst's painting, which were explored earlier, the two in Van der Vinne's painting appear to be a tulip and a rose or a peony – the flowers again have two meanings the hidden symbolic meaning, hinting at the transience of

[191] Ausoni, A., *Music in Art,* California: Getty Publications, 2009, pg56

life, these flowers reminding the viewer of death, and the cultural aspect where focus shifts to the species of the flowers and understanding the cultural significance of that particular flower in England and the relationship with the Netherlands at the time. The two flowers stand alone in the middle of the upturned crown, one tulip and one peony, or rose. Whatever the species at this point, whether it is a peony or a rose, both bear significance to the political situation in England in 1649. The flowers seem to, near the end of their life. They have just passed the peak of life and they are now dying. Looking to the flower, whose species is somewhat ambiguous at this point, as a rose it could represent the dying struggle of the monarchs in England, who seem to find themselves on the ever precarious perch of power, be the threat coming from claimants to the throne or from the ever increasing power of parliament. If the flower is a peony then it literally seems to represent the likely subject of the painting, the death of a king. Of course the other wilting flower is the tulip, typically accepted unofficially as the flower of the Netherlands. Evidence suggests that some of the first tulips or tulip bulbs arrived in the Netherlands roughly in the 1580s[192]; this was around right around the time that the Dutch were fighting for their independence against the Spanish. Its arrival into the newly forming Dutch Republic may have then been something that the Dutch associated with their eventual freedom from Catholic Spain. These two paintings are teemed with English cultural motifs, the crowns, Charles I's portrait, the plumes (feathers) and coupled with the fact that the tulip (representing the Netherlands) was never far behind, it can definitely be suggested that some form of cultural exchange is occurring.

Representations of letter racks by Edwaert Collier are also important testimonies of such interactions. The *Trompe L'oeil Letter Rack* (figure 4.4) of c1700 shows an

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[192] Goldgar, A., *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, pg33

array of disorderly arranged objects. The objects displayed in the painting are as follows: a pair of scissors, an almanac, two newspapers, a letter opener, quill, magnifying glass, a letter, a watch – a reminder of temporality and transience, two combs, seal wax – partly used again this is another momento mori symbol, other writing implements and portrait miniature. The main cultural motif that pertains to representation of English culture is the Apollo Anglicanus almanac. The objects have been placed behind (and in some cases they hang in front of) the red straps that seem to be secured to a wall or a board of some kind. The objects that hang over the straps, the watch and the portrait miniature help create the *trompe l'oeil* illusion. The Dutch trompe l'oeil paintings started from the tradition of the use of the curtain as a trompe l'oeil element in religious paintings and from the 1650s the Dutch started in the device in secular pieces; in particular vanitas paintings[193]. The curtain also alludes to the competition between Zeuxius and Parrhasius; Parrhasius is able to deceive Zeuxius with his painting of a curtain, Zeuxius mistakes it for a real curtain and asks for the curtain to be drawn to reveal Parrhasius' work to realise the curtain *is* the painting[194]. This is a quintessential *trompe l'oeil* painting when the eye perceives an illusion as reality. It is only our logic and knowledge that is telling us that the objects we see before us are not 3-dimensional.

Collier was one of many Dutch artists, who despite Charles II's invitation to settle in England remained in the Netherlands. This however, did not stop him from creating paintings suited for the English market:

'He appears to have been in London for a short time, about 1695-98…It should be remarked that Dutch painters seem to have done still life arrangements…with English

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[193] Hollander, M., *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth Century Dutch Art,* London: University of California Press, 2002, pg72
[194] Mansfield, E., 'A New Parrhasius: Duane Hanson's Uncanny Realism', in Wallace, I L and Hirsh, J., Contemporary Art and Classical Myth, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011, pg246

letters and newspapers – presumably for the English art market.'[195]

Not to mention that he also Anglicized his name his name[196] perhaps to better sell his paintings in Britain. Interestingly, Collier modified this painting; the original date on the painting on the title page of the almanac was 1696 and was then subsequently changed to 1676. Also the monogram of William III has been concealed.'[197] One might consider whether its current function as a dedicatory piece to Admiral Michiel de Ruyter was its original function. Interestingly this painting, it seems, started out as a painting intended to be dedicated to William III and it would seem that alterations made by the artist shows his change of heart. One of the noteworthy factors that sparked one's interest in this is that both Admiral de Ruyter and William III were serving the Dutch Republic militarily at the same time. The two at the very least were on amicable terms. Nicholas Rodger, in his book titled *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History 1649-1815,* wrote '…he [De Ruyter] worked cordially with William III, who confirmed him as commander-in-chief.'[198] It is highly plausible that it was the patron's idea to alter the piece.

The other thought provoking feature of this painting is the feature of the Apollo Anglicanus almanac. Collier did not remove this English motif despite the painting now being a dedicatory piece to a Dutch admiral; this could possibly be due to the fact that it was still relevant to the patron.

'Almanacs in England flourished from the middle of the sixteenth century to about 1700. Their peak years were 1640-1700, but across the course of the entire seventeenth century they were the most popular printed books in England.'[199]

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[195] Waterhouse, E., *Painting in Britain 1530-1790,* London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1953, pg115-116

[196] Kloss, W et al, *More Than Meets the Eye: The Art of Trompe L'oeil,* Columbus: Columbus Museum of Art, 1985, pg22

[197] Hunterian Art Gallery. Catalogue notes for Edwaert Collier, *Trompe L'oeil Letter Rack,* Glasgow, 30 Aug 2015

[198] Rodger, N., *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History 1649-1815,* London: Penguin, 2006, pg82

[199] Smyth, A., *Autobiography in Early Modern England,* England: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pg17

Being as popular as they were almanacs have huge significance and so within this painting they serve as an English cultural motif, not mention that this painting was produced right at the height of their popularity giving a strong indication that if this wasn't commissioned by and English patron it was likely that this painting was made for the English art market - however this would throw into question the dedication of the painting. Perhaps it was originally intended for the English art market, but then maybe the patron changed his mind about the commission. Interestingly, around this time there does not appear to be confusion just about the subject and intention of Collier's paintings but also regarding his whereabouts at the time he painted them.

'From 1706 there are at least a dozen trompe l'oeil letter racks and..."prints" of the five senses: these alternate erratically between Dutch and English, and their signatures between London and Leiden, all in one year.'[200]

Wahrman has thankfully offered one some explanation into this irregular pattern of work.

'Rather than recording Collier's physical movements, it seems more plausible to interpret these alternating Dutch/English references...as acknowledgements of precisely this mutual mirroring of the personal and political...Dutchness and Englishness are inseparably braided together...'[201]

Collier's situation serves as a wonderful example of the cultural interchange between England and the Netherlands; it has become so intertwined that it is virtually inseparable.

The next case study that for this chapter is another painting by Collier, titled *Still Life* (figure 4.5), oil on canvas painted in 1699, the painting again features writing implements quite prominently. Almost exactly central to the painting placed on a table of indeterminable size is, an inkpot with a quill, a candle (for melting the wax and or for better light), the wax stick and a pounce pot. The writing implements rest

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[200] Wahrman, Dror, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age,* USA: Oxford University, Press, 2012, pg206
[201] Ibid, pg206

on a pamphlet and this seems to be preventing it from falling off the table, written on the front of the newspaper that drapes over the table is "His Majesties Most Gracious Speech To Both Houses of Parliament on Wednesday the First of February 1698- London Printed by Charles Bill and the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb, deceas'd Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1698." Behind the writing implements stands an open book, opened to a page, which reads: "A Description of the World, Containing Europe, Asia, Africa and America." It was suggested in a letter from Dr Peggy Munoz Simonds to the Tate that the volume could be Petau's *A Geographical Description of the World Describing Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* although Collier has slightly modified the title.[202]

Underneath the book is a letter signed 'E Collier 1698', and to the other side of the book, on the left, is another piece of paper with 'Mr E Collier Painter at London'. 'A folded vellum document on the velvet-covered table bears a wax seal that hangs down. A stick of partly used sealing wax projects over the edge of the cloth…'[203] and another piece of paper, which rests just behind the sealing wax, has scribed on it the words: 'VITA / BREVIS / ARS / LONGA.' ('Life is short but art lasts long').'[204] The painting has a very clear message - the transience of life - that is transmitted through hidden symbols to the viewer.

One of the more interesting features of this painting is Collier's signature his Anglicized name and the reference he makes to himself as a 'Painter at London'. It is likely that there are a number of reasons why Collier chose to Anglicize his name Jo Kirby addresses this somewhat and indirectly, '[l]ocal artists…felt some resentment at

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[202] Simonds, Peggy. Letter to Tate. 14 Feb 1996. MS. N.p.
[203] Tate. Catalogue notes for Edwaert Collier, *Still Life.,* London, 28 June 2015
[204] Ibid

the fact that prestigious commissions went to foreign painters.'[205] But it is likely that it was simply a matter of where he produced the painting that dictated how he signed the painting. Walter A Liedtke in his article 'Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', writes: 'On still lifes dating from between that year [1702] and 1706, the artist often added "Leyden" or "tot Leyden" (in Leiden).'[206] Commissioned or not we know the target audience for this painting was likely to be someone that could read and write, and therefore would have been owned by someone 'wealthy and educated.'[207] Despite Collier supplying both English and Dutch art markets with his work we know from the English texts in the painting, the market this work was intended for. Other information we can take from this, if one looks closely at the globe, the geographical location that Collier has chosen to depict is the Pacific Ocean, which spans between America and Asia. At the beginning of the seventeenth century this area of the world was largely unexplored by European nations and so during this century and continuing well on into the eighteenth century England (Britain), as well as other nations, began exploring the lands around the Pacific Ocean; William Dampier, who was a British navigator explored parts of Southeast Asia, Austraila and the Bismarck Archipelago[208]

It is likely that this painting could have been for a patron, who was interested in the exploration of the New World, or perhaps was an explorer themselves given the nature of the objects; referring here not just the globe, but the book as well. Writing implements also would be vital for an explorer or someone in contact with an explorer for the purpose of diary keeping and letter writing. Despite these paintings not

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[205] Kirby, J., 'The Painter's Trade in the Seventeenth Century: Theory and Practice' in *Painting in Antwerp and London: Rubens and Van Dyck,* National Gallery Technical Bulletin, Volume 20, 1999, Pg1
[206] Liedtke, W.A., 'Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', in *Metropolitan Museum of Art,* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volumes 1-2, 2007, pg130
[207] Tate. Catalogue notes for Edwaert Collier, *Still Life,* London, 28 June 2015
[208] Burney, J.,"Voyage of Captain William Dampier in the Roebuck to New Holland", *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* **4**. London: G. & W. Nicol, 1803 pg389-95

becoming quite as popular as they were on the European continent. This research shows that Dutch artists managed to spark and maintain interest for these types of paintings in England.

Moving on to another of Collier's paintings titled *Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes'* (figure 4.6)*,* oil on canvas painted in 1696. George Wither's *Book of Emblems* (1635) was one of many emblem books to be published over the course of a few centuries. The emblem books contain illustrations that usually contain a religious or secular moral message using the delivery of these allegorical images accompanied by texts about the images. Of course this means that this particular painting that we are now addressing by Collier is full of hidden messages; the skull in the top left corner is a reminder of death, in the foreground of the painting the cello, which has a broken string also reminds one of the passing of time[209]. The piece of paper, adjacent to the skull reads: "vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas" from the Old Testament book of Ecclesiastes means 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity'. The wine and the fruit are symbols of fleeting pleasures over time they turn bad and rot. Instead of the focus being on these motifs the attention will be on the *unhidden* motifs that indicate the cultural transfer. Positioned on the left of the canvas is Wither's *Book of Emblems*, opened out on the title page, so the viewer can clearly see. Again this is probably an action thought out by Collier, if this was intended for an English customer it would hardly make sense depicting one of the emblem books that had been published in the Netherlands. There were a few to choose from: Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes,* published in Leiden in 1586, Daniel Heinsius' Quaeris quid sit amor, published in the Netherlands in 1601, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria,* published in 1611 in the Netherlands, Daniel Heinsius

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[209] Ausoni, A., *Music in Art,* California: Getty Publications, 2009, pg56

again with *Het Ambacht van Cupido,* in 1615 published in Leiden, along with works published by Jacob Cat's in 1618 (which is seemingly one of the more well known emblem books), Daniel Cramer and Conrad Bachmann's publication in 1617, and there are many more that were published all over Europe particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Attention needs to be drawn to this because Collier's choice regarding this particular emblem book must have been deliberate; of all the emblem books one is aware of so far this is the only one to have been published in England. If it was a choice made to please the patrons of this painting he could've also chosen the emblem book by Geoffrey Whitney who was an English poet who had contacts in the Netherlands. This painting is definitely a good example of the cultural exchange, given the wide range of emblem books available; Collier's choice in this case is likely to have been deliberate.

Another Collier painting, *Trompe l'Oeil with Writing Materials (figure 4.7),* painted in c1702 is in terms of composition and subject matter is very similar to *Still Life* of 1699 (figure 4.5). Some paintings, such as the ones that have been selected to evidence this research, are dedicatory pieces, usually in relation to someone of great influence, with the devotion being disseminated through the use of various everyday objects:

'There is also a folded newssheet, a copy of the almanac Apollo Anglicanus and a medal representing Charles I. These three items allude to the accession of Queen Anne, which occurred on 8 March 1702 (1701 old style).'[210]

Many of the objects that feature in this painting were also used in the *Still Life* (figure 4.5) of 1699. The objects included were '…a quill, sticks of sealing wax, a stamp and a paper knife.'[211] Again some of these objects, in particular the medal of Charles I remind us of death (or they are supposed to) the medal is the memento mori

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[210] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue notes for Edwaert Collier, *Trompe l'Oeil with Writing Materials*, London, 28 June 2015
[211] Ibid

element. Regarding the culturally significant features of the painting the object, which holds the greatest importance, in a lot of ways, is the *Apollo Anglicanus* - this is an annual calendar that contained important dates and statistical information. 'Almanacs were everywhere in early modern England. By the 1660s, it is estimated, one could be found in every third household.'[212] 'Almanacs, everyone agrees, were common objects and useful commodities.'[213] It would be safe to say at this point that this is an excellent example of an everyday English object being represented in a still life painting. It is an important object due to its very nature of being common and something typically found in the household. The following text is an excerpt taken from the front page or the first page of the 1694 *Apollo Anglicanus,* which is a general summation of its content and who it is intended for:

'The English Apollo: Affiliating All Persons is the Right Understanding of this Years Revolution, and also of things past, present and to come. With necessary Tables plain and useful. A Twofold Kalendar…more plain and full than any other, with the Rising and Setting of the sun, the nightly Rising and Setting of the Moon…Exactly calculated for every day. Of general use for most men…'[214]

The use of the phrase "affiliating all persons", really just highlights that this almanac was intended for everyone regardless of social status. It's inclusion into Collier's painting on more than one occasion shows its significance in English society. Thinking also about the contemporary viewer it, among the other items featured, would have been an easily identifiable item for anyone – again the evidence of this cultural interchange being very prominent in these paintings.

Another example is Collier's *Letter Rack* (figure 4.8), painted in c1698. His letter racks are very similar and consistent in their style; speaking of the unmistakable effect

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[212] Capp, B., *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800,* London: Faber and Faber, 1979, cited in Kassell, L., 'Almanacs and Prognostications', *CAM Magazine,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pg431
[213] Kassell, L., 'Almanacs and Prognostications', *CAM Magazine,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pg431-2
[214] Richard Saunder, *Apollo Anglicanus: The English Apollo 1694,* London: The Company of Stationers, 1694, (title page).

of trompe l'oeil that leaves its viewers awe-inspiringly befuddled. 'It is important to realize that these variations between paintings and within paintings cannot be the result of coincidence or carelessness...In Collier's painting the repetition of patterns...ensure[s] the recognition of intentional design'[215] Like with some of his other letter rack paintings there are an array of objects strapped by red leather straps to a brown board, some of the objects on this letter rack appear in other paintings[216], such as: the pair of scissors, a letter opener, quill, a letter, two combs and seal wax. Other objects that are included in this painting that differ from other letter rack paintings are the depiction of the London pamphlet and sheet music. 'In Holland...Collier specialized in still lifes, especially of the vanitas variety. The vanitas message continued into his English letter rack trompe l'oeils as well.'[217] This could perhaps be the result of the slight changes in cultural preferences that Collier clearly noticed he had to adjust to. Collier did not invent a new art form... 'Rather, upon arrival in England he turned to a form with which...he singled it out as that best suited for his new needs.'[218] The question still remains, why did Collier feel the need to paint pictures of writing implements and other objects attesting to the written word? It is suggested by Wahrman that 'England in the late seventeenth-century witnessed something of a linguistic revolution.'[219] Spelling for example was something that was becoming 'standardized'. The printing presses in England worked to 'stabilize' printed spelling.[220]

'And nothing could describe better Collier's own project, capturing in his painted renditions of printed materials these same tensions between the dynamic variability of the present and imagined fixity of print.'[221]

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[215] Wahrman, Dror, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age,* USA: Oxford University, Press, 2012, pg60
[216] Ibid, pg28
[217] Ibid, pg27
[218] Ibid, pg33
[219] Ibid, pg58-59
[220] Ibid, pg59
[221] Ibid, pg60

Writing and printing presses is, as stated before, something that was being revolutionized in England in the seventeenth century. It has already been verified earlier in this chapter that some published works - referring here to the almanac *Apollo Anglicanus* - were in many homes all across the country during this time. Thinking about this from the perspective of 'the everyday' this would make reading more accessible if spelling was more regulated.

'The information explosion of the late seventeenth-century profoundly shaped his work…The still lifes that Collier painted in London also took a new turn in comparison to his earlier Dutch ones…Collier's paintings from his English period manifested great enthusiasm for new the waves of change…Print was on the move, and Collier was moving with it.'[222]

Collier allowed what was going on around him to completely influence his work, unapologetically so. This results in the Dutch artist using his skill to portray English culture and the everyday straight onto the canvas that results in the cultural exchange between the English and Dutch societies.

The next and final painting that will be discussed is by Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraten, titled *Still life with King John's Cup* (figure 4.9)*,* completed c1700, oil on canvas. Roestraten emigrated to England in the 1660's and resided here until his death in 1700[223], so this painting was created right at the end of his career. The main feature of the painting is King John's Cup, which is set on a table in the foreground of the painting to the left. 'Traditions says, that this cup was given to the Corporation of Lynn, by King John.'[224] However it is apparent by the design that this is not to the case, in fact Taylor guesses the more likely creation of the cup to around Edward III's time (reigned from 1327-1377) and that further decorative additions were added to the

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[222] Ibid, pg67

[223] Shaw, L, B., 'Pieter van Roestraten and the English 'vanitas'*', *The Burlington Magazine,* London: Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd, 1948, pg402

[224] Taylor W., *The Antiquities of King's Lynn,* Oxford: Oxford University, 1844, pg140

cup later, seemingly during the Henry VII's reign and then again during the reign of King James.[225] This is substantiated by other sources, one notable source being *The Art Journal London,* which states, 'It is now satisfactorily determined from internal evidence, to be a work of the fourteenth century.'[226] The cup is gilted with silver, it is embossed and enameled and weighs 73 ounces. The compartments depict figures dressed in opulent clothing, engaged in the ancient sport of Hawking.[227] 'The cup, which holds a full pint- was usually filled with sack (wine) at civic festivals, when all present drank from it with certain ceremonies, to the health of the King and Queen.'[228] It seems that the cup goes some way to maintaining a relationship between the monarchy and the people. The cup is used at civic ceremonies for drinking to the health of the monarch/s and interestingly the beverage that it is filled with is wine. It could be suggested that this civic ceremony in some ways mirrors the religious practice of taking communion.

In Roestraten's painting featured to the right of the cup is a selection of fruit, grapes and apples perhaps, that have seemingly fallen out of the wicker basket they were placed in (regarding time and transience, the fruits while they may look delicious and ready to eat this is only a temporary state and they will soon get old and rot). Perched on the basket is a bird that looks to be a species of finch. Behind the bird, in traditional trompe l'oeil fashion is a piece of cloth that perhaps is being used as a curtain and is partly obscuring the background. In an article titled 'Pieter van Roestraten and the English 'vanitas'*' the author Lindsey Shaw had this to say of Roestraten:

'[He] was one of the more successful of the many Dutch painters who tried to make a living in England…he caught and sustained the interest of aristocratic patrons

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[225] Ibid, pg140
[226] 'Relics of the Middle Age Art', in *The Art Journal London,* London: Virtue, volume 4, 1852, pg338
[227] Taylor W., *The Antiquities of King's Lynn,* Oxford: Oxford University, 1844, pg140
[228] Ibid, pg141

by transposing the traditional iconography of the still life into compositions of the fashionable with which they surrounded themselves.'[229]

Shaw taps into an aspect of Roestraten's career that is vital for this research, with regards to substantiating the aims and hypothesis. In a nutshell Shaw states that Roestraten modified his way of painting to suit his new audience. He took his Dutch style and English objects and created something new, the 'English vanitas'. '…he encapsulates not only this material elegance but also the fashionable rituals of aristocratic life.'[230] This is one of the main purposes, to prove that Dutch masters in various ways have conveyed everyday life, in particular English everyday life, into these paintings; in this case it would be specific object/s in the paintings. Within the paintings the motifs themselves seem to target different social classes of English society. The almanacs, which has been stated, were accessible to many people. King John's cup too was something that was potentially accessible to everyone; it was used in civic ceremonies (drinking to the health of the monarch/s) events that were probably attended by people from varying social classes. The other paintings that contain more 'exclusive' objects such as the Roestraten's *Vanitas with Royal Crown* are not necessarily something that would entirely personally relatable to everyone however from the perspective of national identity it is still somewhat personally significant.

Shaw's words, about Roestraten *transposing* Dutch tradition, apply directly to this painting. His painting, likewise with Collier's trompe l'oeil letter racks, is reminiscent once more of the competition between the ancient masters Zeuxius and Parrhasius. There is this link between the ancient beginnings of still life painting, through to its continual development by the hands of the Dutch masters and this finally shifting to

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[229] Shaw, L, B., 'Pieter van Roestraten and the English 'vanitas'*', *The Burlington Magazine,* London: Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd, 1948, pg402
[230] Ibid, pg402

English everyday life. Whether Roestraten has consciously or unconsciously recorded this developmental link, it may never be known, but it could be argued it is impossible to ignore.

Conclusion

England undoubtedly has an extremely strong connection to the Netherlands historically, and it is one that still exists today. This venture was an investigation into the extent to which this relationship can be evidenced in art through visual motifs, signaling a cultural exchange between the two nations. Crucially however this research has taken a slightly different approach by looking at certain genres of paintings, that back in the seventeenth century, weren't as highly regarded as some other types of paintings, such as history painting or mythological subjects – the hierarchy of genres is something that has been detailed in the introduction and its relevance for this research is also explained.

Through this research one has raised the importance of these paintings (marine, landscape and still life) as visual documentation of our pasts that show us culturally the seventeenth century way of life. Through this investigation it provides us with a better understanding of the relationship that England had with the Dutch. For example, certain events such as the trade and maritime wars that England had with the Netherlands that took place largely throughout the whole of the seventeenth century and, surprisingly how little this seemed to affect the art world and in particular the migration of Dutch artists during this time.

In the first chapter of this research paper one explored the advantages and limitations of three scholars, De Jongh, Alpers and Westermann, who have contributed noteworthy and insightful views to the 'demystifying of Dutch art'. The original aim for selecting a methodology was to review afore mentioned theories and to choose a single theory to which the research relates. However it was realized very quickly, that they all add invaluable contribution to the research.   The inclusion of all three theories - considering them in chronological order - demonstrates to the reader,

that not only have many explanations been considered for the interpretation of Dutch art, but that also it possible that all three provide evidenced and credible arguments.

In summary the methodology understands the importance of all three theories in the interpretation of Dutch art, and considers certain aspects of each to form the approach applied to viewing and understanding Dutch paintings. Eddy de Jongh – who aligned himself with Erwin Panofsky on the side of the iconographical/iconological argument – understood Dutch art through themes and motifs that conveyed hidden meaning within the painting. De Jongh's approach to comprehend Dutch art through symbolic motifs was the aspect that inspired the use of cultural motifs in this research – identifying the cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands through visual motifs.

From Svetlana Alpers, viewing Dutch art as description, appreciating Dutch art - not for what is hidden and needs to be deciphered – for its natural realism, the photographic reality of the depiction of a scene or in other words viewing and appreciating Dutch art in purely visual terms. This research has not ventured beyond the surface of the painting (other than to distinguish iconographic or hidden symbols from the cultural motifs), because the cultural aspects are explored through the visual motifs.

And lastly Mariët Westermann and the importance of national identity – the motifs discussed in all the paintings have been selected because the represent culturally their respective nations in one way or another.

To outline then this methodology looks for the cultural, visual motifs in the paintings to gain greater understanding of, in this case, the cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

The research methodology was applied to a selection of paintings categorized into the following genres: marine, landscape and still life. Each painting represented a case study that evidenced and supported the research methodology. Through this the cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands can be evidenced through visual motifs identified in each painting. An example of which includes the Dutch exportation of marine paintings, which until the seventeenth century was almost non-existent in England in earlier centuries. A good example of this cultural exchange within landscape paintings is, Jan Wijck's painting *A Dutch Mastiff (called 'Old Vertue') with Dunham Massey in the Background* (figure 3.2). The dog was one of the visual motifs that were discussed in the painting. Old Vertue represents the breed of dog adored by the people of the Netherlands that was then subsequently introduced into England by William III and Mary II in 1688, soon after the dog was adopted into 'everyday' English life, of course there were other motifs in this painting that indicated this cultural interchange. In still life paintings we can take the example of Verelst's *Group of Flowers* (figure 4.1)*, where by the cultural exchange takes place through the species of flowers that Verslst purposely chose. In the case of still life painting, the entire composition of the painting would have been dictated by the artist, down to the species of flower and where the flower should be compositionally. It is unlikely that any flowers would have been added without thought into to what they represent. Within all the case studies presented here, there is certainly clear evidence for this cultural exchange between England and the Netherlands, this was arguably both a conscious and unconscious decision made by the artist.

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