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Modus Rusticus as a Model of Dutch Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portrait Painting: A Painting by Govaert Flinck in the National Museum in Warsaw

Erasmus of Rotterdam, in his *Adagia*, presented an idealized picture of the inhabitants of the Netherlands: "If you look at the manners of everyday life, there is no race more open to humanity and kindness or less given to wildness or ferocious behavior. It is a straightforward nature, without treachery or deceit and not prone to any serious vices except, that is, a little given to pleasure, especially to feasting."[1]

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch literature, the common stereotype of a Dutchman was that of a diligent, honest, prudent, responsible, modest, morally upright, modestly dressed, God-fearing, hardworking, orderly, open and hospitable citizen.[2] Such stereotype was often combined with another – that of the valiant patriot and devoted Calvinist: brave in combat, non-compromising in his love of freedom, pious in his faith, active in his civic duty, energetic in his profession, proud and self-contented. Both of these models of moral virtue – of the "good-natured," peaceful, town-dwelling citizen, as well as the expansive citizen-patriot – can be found in historiographical works such as: Emanuel van de Meteren's *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historien, van onse tijden* (Delft, 1595, 1605, revised edition: *Historie der nederlandscher ende haerder na-buren oorlogen ende geschiedenissen*, The Hague, 1614), Hugo Grotius's *Tractaet vande Outheyt vande Batavische nu Hollandsche Republique* (The Hague, 1610), and *Nederlandtsche Jaerboecken en historien, sedert het jaer MDLV tot het jaer MDCIX* (Amsterdam, 1681), Pieter Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historien* (Amsterdam, 1642), Caspar Wachtendorp's *Oude Hollandsche Geschiedenissen* (Amsterdam, 1645), and Pieter Christiaensz Bor's *Oorspronck, begin en vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen, beroerten, en borgelyke oneenigheden, beginnende met d'opdracht der selve Landen, gedaen by Keyser Karel den Vijfden* (Amsterdam, 1679–1684). The aforesaid models can also be found in descriptions of the society and country in: Romeyn de Hooghe's *Spiegel van Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1706), and in Johannes le Francq van Berkhey's *Naturlyke Historie van Holland* (Amsterdam, 1769–1779), in descriptions and chronicles of towns (about Amsterdam: Melchior Fokkens, 1664; Olfert Dappert, 1665; Tobias van Domselaer, 1665; about Delft: Dirck van Bleyswijck, 1667; about Haarlem: Samuel

[1] Quoted after: Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana Press, 1991), p. 7. See *The 'Adages' of Erasmus*, ed. and trans. by Margaret Mann Philips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 211.

[2] Antoni Ziemba, "Etos narodowy w Niderlandach XVI–XVIII wieku," in Ziemba, *Nowe dzieci Izraela. Stary Testament w kulturze holenderskiej XVII wieku* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2000), pp. 75–124.

Ampzing, 1628; about Leiden: Jan Jansz Orlers, 1641; about Dordrecht: Matthijs Balen, 1677),[3] as well as in moralizing works, such as Johan van Beverwyck's *Schat der gesontheyt* (Dordrecht, 1656), and Jan Luyken's *Het Leerzaam huisraad* (Amsterdam, 1711).

A similar stereotypical image of the people of the Northern Netherlands was presented by many foreigners writing about Holland, such as the English in the mid-seventeenth century (John Keymer, Thomas Culpeper, Henry Robinson) and the latter half of the seventeenth century (Josiah Child, William Petty), who attributed the Republic's economic boom to the ethical virtues of the Dutch, as presented in the first model. At times, this cliché was revised, such as in the negative propaganda descriptions deriving from the period of the long-lasting Anglo-Dutch conflict (Owen Fellthem, Robert Fergusson),[4] referring to modesty as crudeness, diligence as greed and the love of freedom as a tendency to rebelliousness, etc.[5]

The most comprehensive characterization of the Dutch in the seventeenth century, referring mainly to the stereotype of a "dutiful citizen and townsman," was presented by Romeyn de Hooghe in 1706 in his *Spiegel van Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden*. In his own – as well as his predecessors' – eyes, the Republic was "the most admirable, freest and safest country ever known." This was attributed to the features distinguishing the local people from those of other European states: "[...] in other countries, glory is expressed in boastful demonstrations of flags and banners, while here it is reflected in diligent and modest work; elsewhere, they boast about the excessive expenditure of money [...], whereas here they value life without debt." What further distinguishes the Dutch is their deep respect for trade as opposed to the feudal-aristocratic model of life, their rational thought, pragmatism, and lack of superstition, unparalleled industriousness, diligence, meticulousness, reliability of men in business, and women attending the home and family. And further – their constraint, love of peace, lack of aggressiveness, lack of ostentatiousness in daily life, love of silence and gentle behaviour.[6] This stereotype, even though it completely lost its real value in the hectic "Age of Wigs" – the eighteenth century, prevailed until the end of the nineteenth century, and endures to this day, albeit in the form of tourist and trade advertisements. In principle, this old stereotype provided the basis for the interpretational visions of Dutch culture and art by the likes of Hegel, Thoré-Bürger and Fromentin.[7]

[3] Melchior Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge der Wijdt-Vermaerde Koop-Stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Doornick, 1664); Olfert Dappert, *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob von Meurs, 1663); Tobias van Domselaer et al., *Beschryving der Stat Amsterdam van haar eerste beginselen oudtheydt vergrotingen en gebouwen en geschiedenis tot op den jare 1665* (Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1665 [sic!]); Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Delft* (Delft: Arnold Bon, 1667); Samuel Ampzing, Petrus Scriverius, *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1628); Jan Jansz Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stad Leyden* (Leiden: Andries Jansz Cloeting, 1641); Matthijs Jansz Balen, *Beschryvinge der Stad van Dordrecht* (Dordrecht: Symon Onder de Linde, 1677).

[4] Owen (Oliver) Felltham, *A brief character of the Low-countries under the States. Being three weeks observation of the vices and virtues of the inhabitants* (London: [s.n.], 1648) (further editions: 1652, 1659, 1676, 1699 and *A Voyage to Holland or the Dutchman Described*, Dublin: [s.n.], 1746); Robert Fergusson, *An Account of the Obligations the States of Holland Have to Great Britain* (London: [s.n.], 1711). See Douglas Coombes, *The conduct of the Dutch. British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance during the War of Spanish Succession* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), passim.

[5] Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), passim.

[6] Romeyn de Hooghe, *Spiegel van Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, vol. 1–2 (Amsterdam: Jan Ten Hoorn, 1706–1707), passim. See William Harry Wilson, *The art of Romeyn de Hooghe. An atlas of European late Baroque culture*, diss. (Harvard: Harvard University, 1974); Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches...*, op. cit., pp. 67ff.

[7] See Jan Białostocki, "Einfache Nachahmung der Natur oder symbolische Weltschau. Zu den Deutungsproblemen der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jhdt.," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 47 (1984), pp. 421–6; Agnieszka Rosales Rodriguez, *Śladami dawnych mistrzów. Mit Holandii złotego wieku w dziewiętnastowiecznej kulturze artystycznej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2008).

Needless to say, this cliché – by its very nature – was an oversimplification and generalization, which did not in fact apply to every incident in public and private life. It did not take into account the historic and social facts, such as the growing tendency to indulge in royal splendour in the times of Frederick Henry, William II and William III, or the similar phenomenon among Amsterdam patricians in the second half of the century, when Amsterdam's grand Town Hall was erected in all its palatial splendour – a symbol of that city's lust for power, in contrast to the Orangist Hague, or the characteristic pararitual "spectacularization" of public life, described by William S. Heckscher using the example of the Dutch "anatomy lessons" and by Daniël P. Snoep's regarding propagandist art.[8]

Furthermore – both the aforementioned stereotypes were subject to clear party and/or political manipulation. The pro-war Orangist Party willingly used the expansive model of the citizen-soldier: the brave patriot and uncompromising protector of the purity of faith. The virtues of fortitude, enterprise, decisiveness, tenacity and strength of character were particularly propagated in texts advocating the Orange Party's policies – for example, supporting the propaganda of William II's militaristic policy in Lambertus van den Bosch's *Leeven en Daden der Doorluchtighste Zeehelden* (Amsterdam 1676, 1683). On the other hand, this stereotype of a "peaceful, dutiful citizen-townsman" was a convenient propaganda tool for the parties advocating the need for isolationism and pacifism, both in the times of Johannes Oldebarneveld and Johan de Witt (such as Jacobus Lydius's *Belgium Gloriosum*, Dordrecht 1668).

Therefore, neither stereotype can be taken at face value or as a historical fact, all stereotypes shape, to a great extent, the mentality of the people they describe, making their views and behaviour subservient to them, as well as providing a model of the desired attitudes. Therefore, such stereotypes constitute an indispensable component of the national ethos. The above-mentioned rich seventeenth-century literature focusing on the national Dutch character is a clear manifestation of the need to justify the legitimacy of the young Republic as a new state on the political map of Europe.

Did this social and civic model of the seventeenth-century Dutchman have a direct and genuine reflection in art? Indeed it did, and in many manifestations.[9] One example is a particular group of portraits from around 1636–1646 by an outstanding student of Rembrandt, a certain Govaert Flinck, previously unknown to the public, and in 2005 included in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw.

Flinck (born 25 January 1615 in Cleves, died 2 February 1660 in Amsterdam)[10] studied from the age of 14 under Lambert Jacobsz in Leeuwarden. There Flinck met Jacob Backer, and a number of Flinck's early works, in particular his sketches, are stylistically close to Backer.[11] In

[8] William S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's Anatomy of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (New York: New York University Press, 1958); Derk Persant Snoep, *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de on 17de eeuw* (Utrecht: Alphen aan Rijn, 1975).

[9] See i.a. Ziemba, *Nowe Dzieci Izraela...*, op. cit.; Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches...*, op. cit.

[10] For Flinck – see the monograph by: Joachim W. von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck (1615–1660)* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co, 1965); Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, Bd. 2: *G. van den Eeckhout – I. de Joudreville* (Landau/Pfalz: Edition PVA, 1983); Petra Jeroense, "Govaert Flinck (1615–1660). Eine Künstlerbiographie," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 36 (1997), pp. 73–112.

[11] Peter van den Brink, Jaap van der Veen, *Jacob Backer (1608/09–1651)*, exh. cat., Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 29 November 2008 – 22 February 2009; Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, 12 March – 7 June 2009 (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2009), esp. "Jacob Backer als Lehrmeister" in the essay by Peter van den Brink, "'Uytmuntend schilder in het groot' – exzellenter Maler im Grossen. Der Maler und Zeichner Jacob Adriaensz Backer (1608/09–1651)," pp. 82–3.

1633, he moved to Amsterdam and began working in Rembrandt's atelier, where he remained for about three years. In 1636, he began producing his own, signed works. Under Rembrandt he learned how to paint biblical and mythological works and allegories, becoming a sought-after specialist, as well as portraits and landscapes. He was to become a master of landscapes.[12] One of his undisputed early works is *Landscape with a Bridge and Ruins* in the Louvre dated 1637,[13] while the *Landscape with Obelisk* (1638, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston), was long considered to be a work of Rembrandt's, until 1982, when Flinck's signature was discovered under Rembrandt's forged signature. Flinck's method of painting foliage – less free and more patchy – made it possible to attribute a further few paintings believed to be Rembrandt's landscapes to him, including *Landscape with a Bridge* in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, **fig. 1**), *Landscape with Water Castle and Carriage* in London (Wallace Collection), *Landscape with Walled City* (former collection of the Dukes of Berwick and Alba, Madrid), *Landscape with Ruined Tower* (formerly Spencer A. Samuels Gallery, New York) and *Landscape with Ruins* (private collection, Zurich). Flinck was also a valued portrait painter, as evidenced by his commissions to paint large-format collective portraits for Amsterdam's public buildings, such as *Four Governors of the Arquebusiers Civic Guard*, (1642, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), *The Company of Captain Albert Bas and Lieutenant Lucas Conijn of the Arquebusiers Civic Guard* (1645, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and *The Company of Captain Joan Huydecoper and Lieutenant Frans van Waveren* for Voetboogdoelen in Amsterdam (1648, Amsterdam Museum).[14]

In 2005, the National Museum in Warsaw bought an impressive painting by Flinck: *Portrait of a Man in a Dark Costume* (**fig. 2**). It was painted on an oak panel measuring 92 × 69 cm, and formed part of the historic collection of Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, the last King of Poland, which was then passed down to the collection of the Radziwiłł family, where it was considered to be a portrait of Prince Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Sierotka" [the Orphan].[15] Since 2006, it has been exhibited in the National Museum's Gallery of Dutch Painting.[16]

The depiction of the landscape in the Warsaw painting corresponds exactly to the formula developed by Flinck, which was so distinct from the style of Rembrandt and Bol. That formula is characterized by the fine spots of colour forming the foliage of the trees, the hallmark fluffiness of their canopies, the departure from the free strokes of Rembrandt in favour of a very

[12] Joshua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3: *1635–1642*, trans. by Desmond Cook-Radmore (Dordrecht–Boston–London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989); Cynthia P. Schneider, *Rembrandt's Landscapes. Drawings and Prints*, with contrib. by Boudewijn Bakker et al., exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 11 March – 20 May 1990 (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1990), esp. pp. 132–45, cat. nos R1–R3 and passim; *Rembrandt's Landscapes*, Christiaan Vogelaar and Gregor J. M. Weber, eds, with contrib. by Boudewijn Bakker et al., exh. cat., Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel, 22 June – 6 September 2006, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof (Zwolle: Leiden, 2006). See also Antoni Ziemba, "Nowe badania atrybucyjne nad krajobrazami Rembrandta i jego uczniów," *Ikonotheka. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 7 (1995), pp. 27–46.

[13] See items in previous note and Jacques Foucart, *Peintres rembrandtesques au Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Pavillon de Flore, 27 October 1988 – 27 March 1989 (Paris: Éd. de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), pp. 58–67.

[14] Sumowski, op. cit., pp. 1146–7, cat. nos 714–5, p. 1149, cat. no. 717.

[15] The face bears the number of the Stanisław August Collection "162," painted with minium. It was sold in 1819 (as stated in the inventories drawn up by Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Galerja Stanisława Augusta*, Lvov 1932, cat. no. 162).

[16] First published in Antoni Ziemba, *Wokół Rembrandta. Lastman, Lievens, Fabritius, Flinck i inni. Obrazy ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie i Muzeum-Pałacu w Wilanowie*, publication accompanying the exhibition, The National Museum in Warsaw, 27 October – 3 December 2006 (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2006), p. 16.

detailed depiction of the foliage; while the trees' canopies are not painted as a whole, as in Rembrandt's paintings, but rather as a "cushion" dotted with leaves and branches. The whole composition makes for a soft and liquid structure, in great contrast to the decisive "punches" of Rembrandt's brush, or Bol's "flowing" paint.

The painting discussed above fits firmly into the most typical group of Flinck's works, portraits painted against a landscape background. These include *Portrait of Dirck Jacobsz Leeuw* (1636, Amsterdams Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, **fig. 3**), *Portrait of a Boy* (1640, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham) and *Portrait of Dirck Graswinkel and His Wife* (1646, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, **fig. 4**).[17] All of these examples depict the figures in a form characteristic of Flinck: the models are always shown in a "truncated" form with somewhat massive and stocky proportions. The head and hands dominate the entire figure. The artist paid particular attention to the face and hands: he placed visible spots of pinkish red on the cheeks, which is typical of Flinck's early portraits; he applied thick, layers of paint to model the hands. The shoes are rendered in a similar way, using "thick" paint.

The sophisticated play of colours is also typical. The dark greys and glossy blacks of the clothes and the cool white of the collar are set against a background of pale brownish-grey with shades of pale green interwoven with yellows, as well as the greyish blues and pinks of the sky.

The aforementioned stylistic analogies make it possible to assume that this portrait was painted after his work of 1637 (*Portrait of Dirck Jacobs van Leeuwen*, Amsterdam) but before that of 1646 (*Portrait of Dirck Graswinkel with His Wife*, Rotterdam). As a result, the painting can be dated to the period between 1640 and 1645. It was the time when Flinck, though still under the strong influence of Rembrandt, was already able to paint works that were distinct from Rembrandt's school in terms of their composition. Also, after 1642, he adopted the fashionable formula of the Flemish style, which is completely absent from our painting. It seems that the painting was created soon after the artist left Rembrandt's atelier and became independent – but before Flinck turned toward the Flemish style of painting, and when he was still trying to battle against the pressure of the Rembrandt school, as well as the Flemish-Italian fashion. For example, in the Rotterdam *Portrait of Dirck Graswinkel and His Wife* dating from 1646, an X-ray reveals that Flinck painted the present models, Dirck Graswinkel and Gertruyt van Loon, over the original image of an unknown married couple dressed in different clothes, ornamented with lace, dating from the late 1630s (most probably when the first version of the painting was created), and placed them against the existing landscape; he modelled the folds of the woman's dress and the man's clothes in the new Flemish, fluid fashion, bringing out the gloss of the fabric.[18] The *Portrait of a Married Couple* in Karlsruhe (Staatliche Kunsthalle, **fig. 5**), and a pair of marital portraits from the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (**figs 6–7**), all signed in 1646, were ostentatiously painted in accordance with the Van Dyck Flemish-like style making use of the Titian tradition (of Venice): the figures, assuming elegant poses, are placed before or behind the balustrade of a garden loggia against a background of luxurious drapery and a park landscape.[19] It appears that this type of portrait and the Flemish-like manner in painting

[17] Sumowski, op. cit., p. 1117, cat. no. 685, p. 1124, cat. no. 692, p. 1145, cat. no. 713. *Portrait of Dirck Graswinkel* – see *Kopstukken. Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600–1800*, Norbert Middelkoop, ed., exh. cat. Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 10 October 2002 – 26 January 2003 (Bussum: Uitgeverij Thoth; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2002), p. 214, cat. no. 78.

[18] *Kopstukken...*, op. cit., p. 214, cat. no. 78.

[19] Sumowski, op. cit., p. 1148, cat. no. 716 and pp. 1134–5, cat. nos 702–3; *Kopstukken...*, op. cit., p. 35, figs 38a and 38b. Other portraits by Flinck using this formula – see Sumowski, op. cit., p. 1132, cat. no. 700 (*Portrait of a Man*

itself was popularized in Amsterdam by Joachim von Sandrart, a cosmopolitan painter who stayed in that city from 1637 to ca. 1643 (e.g., *Portrait of Hendrick Bicker* and *Portrait of Eva Geelvinck*, 1639, Amsterdam Museum,[20] **figs 8–9**). Besides Flinck, the new manner was adopted in particular by Jacob Adriaensz Backer, Jacob van Loo and Bartholomeus van der Helst, and to some extent even Rembrandt (*Portrait of Andries de Graff*, 1639, Museumslandschaft Hessen-Kassel, Kassel, Schloß Wilhelmshöhe, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister).

The Warsaw painting, however, completely lacks that Flemish-like manner and refinement, as if their omission or rejection was intentional, which suggests the deliberate use of the convention of a realistic image in a vernacular and homely setting, as opposed to the fashionable Flemish convention.

The very clothes worn by the models attract one's attention: restrained, severe and modest: a simple hat, a uniformly dark coat, a short, laceless colour attached to the kaftan underneath and a lack of lace on the cuffs. It is not worth trying to pinpoint the particular status of the model or his association with particular strict religious groups such as the Mennonites, as this type of clothing may simply indicate that he was a rich townsman or patrician.

The tall hat with a bent rim was a popular headwear from 1610 until the 1660s. Such hats were worn by different tiers of the Dutch townspeople, usually those who were better off; nevertheless, they always differentiated their wearers from other, more fashionable individuals, who wore, for example, shorter hats, sometimes with slightly rounded tops, and a broader, bent, soft rim. Such headwear denoted a sign of belonging to the respectable class of regents, public institution administrators, elders of guilds, hospitals and orphanages (e.g., Cornelis van der Voort's *The Regents of Binnengasthuis in Amsterdam*, 1617, Amsterdam Museum;[21] Werner Jacobsz van den Valckert's *Elders of the Grootkammer Guild in Amsterdam*, 1622, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin;[22] Ferdinand Bol's *Regents of Leprozenhuis in Amsterdam*, 1649, Amsterdam Museum,[23] **fig. 10**; Jacob A. Backer's *Regents of Nieuwezijds Huiszitten- en Aalmoezershuis in Amsterdam*, ca. 1650–1652, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).[24] The hat plays the same role in Rembrandt's famous paintings *Portrait of Cornelis Claes Anslo and His Wife* (1640, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), *Portrait of Jan Six* (ca. 1654, Collection Six, Amsterdam) and in the so-called *Staalmeesters – Portrait of the Syndics of the Drapers' Guild* (1662, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). It was also sometimes worn by acclaimed and recognized painters, such as Jan Asselijn in Rembrandt's sketch from 1647 (B 277). This type of hat could also be accompanied by more decorative attire (ruffs, lace collars, ornamented kaftans, richly draped cloaks) and elegant scenery in the background featuring drapery or a column (such as the portraits by Cornelis van der Voort: *Arnodus van der Hem*, ca. 1620, antiques market; *Laurens Reael*, 1620, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).[25] It would

Standing under a Loggia, 1645, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn), p. 1141, cat. no. 709 (*Portrait of a Young Woman with Peaches*, 1656, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart), p. 1143, cat. no. 711 (*Man from the Munter Family*, 1658, whereabouts unknown), p. 1144, cat. no. 712 (*Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1659, formerly Galerie Internationaal, The Hague).

20 *Kopstukken...*, op. cit., p. 115, cat. nos 19a and 19b.

21 Ibid., p. 184, cat. no. 60.

22 Ibid., p. 168, fig. 106.

23 Ibid., p. 190, cat. no. 64.

24 Van den Brink, Van der Veen, *Jacob Backer...*, op. cit., p. 62, fig. 62 and p. 250, cat. no. A132 (*Œuvrekatalog der Gemälde Jacob Backers*).

25 *Kopstukken...*, op. cit., p. 49, fig. 59a and p. 154, cat. no. 43.

often distinguish a serious *pater familiae*, or family "elder," from the younger, more richly and fashionably-dressed members of the family or social group (such as *Family Portrait* by Bartholomeus van der Helst from ca. 1655, Hermitage, St Petersburg[26] or *Family Portrait* by Barend Graet dating from 1661, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).[27] Solemnity, reserve, modesty and simplicity could also be emphasized by another detail of attire – a collar without a lace trimming. Dirck Jacobsz Leeuw, in the aforementioned early portrait by Flinck dating from 1636, wears the same type of attire, only complemented by gloves, a sign of noble origin or aspiration to a high social status.

The cane held by the model is another important element in the picture. The motif of a cane or a staff, for the model to lean on, is ever present in Flinck's paintings. Most typically, however, it is a shepherd's staff of a different shape (e.g., *Portrait of Rembrandt*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). A short, grooved and ornamented cane, appearing in portraits by Flinck and other painters, is the sign of a high social status, that of a patrician or regent, and is not, as may be presumed, a pilgrim's staff. The boy in the painting dating from 1640 (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham) holds a near identical cane, although, judging by his clothes, he also belongs to the regents' class. Later, Rembrandt was to place a very similar cane in the hands of an extremely wealthy factory owner and merchant hailing from Dordrecht–Amsterdam, and a member of the highest patriciate, Jacob Trip, in his portrait of 1661 (The National Gallery, London). Rembrandt himself holds a similar cane in his *Self-Portrait Wearing Gold Clothing* dating from 1658 (Frick Collection, New York), revealing his aspirations to the role of patrician.

The figure portrayed by Flinck in the Warsaw painting is therefore surely a member of a higher Dutch social class, possibly from Amsterdam, an individual from the circle of regents. The model – by its pose, entourage and dress – is presented in accordance with the archetype of the Dutch moral and civic virtues: modesty, restraint, diligence, honesty, peacefulness, prudence and responsibility.

In his later works, Flinck presented a completely different type of portrait against a landscape background:[28] *Portrait of a Young Girl as Flora* (Musée municipal, Nantes, **fig. 11**) and *Portrait of a Young Girl as a Shepherdess* (1650, whereabouts unknown, **fig. 12**).[29] Even though these paintings combine a portrait with a complex landscape background, like many other portraits by Flinck, they reveal the new, Flemish-like manner, which was not yet present in the Warsaw painting and associated group of paintings. In addition, the later works reveal the Italian-Flemish *modus pastorale* style, which Flinck readily adopted under Jacob Backer's influence. Flinck's landscape portraits dating from ca. 1646–1660 also make reference to the Van Dyck model, namely the "formal-garden" and "parkscape" portrait, presenting an elegantly-posed figure visible behind the balustrade of a garden loggia, under a luxuriously-draped hanging curtain, against a park landscape (the aforementioned pair of marital portraits dating from 1646 from the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh).

These portraits carry a completely different message from that of the Warsaw portrait. Through their conventional aura and scenery presented in an Italianate and Flemish-like

26 Ibid., p. 36, fig. 39.

27 Ibid., p. 40, fig. 46.

28 Hilbert Lootsma, "Tracing a Pose. Govert Flinck and the Emergence of the Van Dyckian Mode of Portraiture in Amsterdam," *Simiolus*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2007/2008), pp. 221–36. See Sebastien A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Enkele portretten 'à l'antique' door Rembrandt, Bol, Flinck en Backer," *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, vol. 32, no. 1 (1980), pp. 2–9.

29 Sumowski, op. cit., p. 1076, cat. no. 645 and p. 1116, cat. no. 684.

manner, they symbolize a cosmopolitan model of a pastoral lifestyle belonging to the court and aristocratic tradition, which was actively promoted by the Orangist circles and the Orange-Nassau princes of The Hague. It was a self-identifying social model with political connotations, developed mainly in the Orangist and associated courts and court circles (e.g., Paulus Moreelse's *Countess Sophia Hedwig von Nassau-Dietz with Her Children as Caritas-Demeter*, 1621, Paleis Het Loo Nationaal Museum, Apeldoorn,[30] **fig. 13** ; Gerrit van Honthorst's *Elisabeth Stuart, "The Winter Queen,"* 1642, The National Gallery, London[31]; Jacob A. Backer's *Maria Elisabeth Margravine of Brandenburg-Bayreuth as Diana*, 1649, Schloß Bayreuth[32]), but was also present among the high patriciate of the richest towns and cities of the Netherlands, namely the upper crust of the regent class. Whenever such model was used (as in *Family Portrait in the Park* by Bartholomeus van der Helst, ca. 1655, Hermitage, St Petersburg – with the motif of greyhounds and hunting trophies making reference to hunting as an elite pastime), it was an expression of specific social aspirations, a testimony of and a tool for acquiring political status, an indication of links to the court, or an indication of competition with the local Dutch aristocracy or with the model of aristocratic life in the neighbouring Flanders. Such model is detectable, for example, in *Portrait of a Young Girl as Diana* by Abraham van den Tempel from 1669 (The National Museum in Warsaw, **fig. 14**).

The idyllic portrait, with the image of a person against the backdrop of a park or garden, hunting wood or unspecified nature scene (but never domestic nature!), was an iconographical mode which featured strongly in Dutch art as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of the early examples is a pair of portraits by Pieter Pietersz: *Cornelis Jorrisz* and *Gertje Willem Backersdr* dating from 1589 (copies in Amsterdam Museum).[33] This modus is also visible in the famous portrait of patricians by Frans Hals: *Married Couple in a Garden, Probably Isaac Massa with His Wife Beatrix van der Laen* dating from ca. 1622 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, **fig. 15**), emulating Rubens's model of a marital portrait in idyllic garden scenery (Rubens's *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brandt in the Honeysuckle Bower*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich); *Portrait of Willem van Heythuysen* dating from ca. 1625 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), presenting a figure against a garden pavilion with rich drapery and a pergola in the background, as well as *Portrait of a Family against a Background of a Garden* dating from 1635 (Cincinnati Art Museum).[34] This mode is represented by a pair of portraits of children, *Martinus Alewijn as a Shepherd* and *Clara Alewijn as a Shepherdess* by Dirck van Santvoort from 1644 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, **figs 16–17**); however, introducing to the Flemish-like portrait-painting formula the background of a domestic landscape, such as in the Warsaw painting, but taken a step further. Our painting could also be compared to a pair of exquisite portraits of an unknown married couple of the regent class (?) by Jacob A. Backer dating from ca. 1647 (Museumslandschaft

30 Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw. Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat., Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, 2 February – 15 May 1986 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1986), cat. no. 78.

31 Neil MacLaren, Christopher Brown, *The Dutch School 1600–1900* (London: The National Gallery, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 193–5. National Gallery Catalogues, vol. 1–2.

32 Van den Brink, Van der Veen, *Jacob Backer...*, op. cit., pp. 162–3, cat. no. 34 and p. 249, cat. no. A128 (*Œuvrekatalog der Gemälde Jacob Backers*).

33 *Kopstukken...*, op. cit., p. 256, cat. nos 105a and 105b.

34 *Frans Hals*, Seymour Slive, ed., exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1 October – 31 December 1989; Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 January – 8 April 1990; Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, 11 May – 22 July 1990 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1989), pp. 162–3, cat. no. 12, pp. 178–9, cat. no. 17, pp. 270–1, cat. no. 49.

Hessen-Kassel, Schloß Wilhelmshöhe, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister and Colección Torelló, Lienzo-Barcelona, **figs 18–19**), with the motif of a balustrade and drapery revealing a park or woodland landscape.[35] A similar combination of the formulas is present in *Portrait of a Youth with a River Landscape* by Pieter Nason dating from 1648 (The National Museum in Warsaw; see fig. 17, p. 28),[36] where the man, although depicted in a Flemish-like pose and style, stands against a local landscape typical of Jan van Goyen.

The Warsaw portrait of an elderly man and associated pictures with a domestic landscape in the background therefore constitute a clear opposition and alternative to the pastoral or decorative garden convention, popular since the 1640s – paradigmatically the court (or the quasi-court), elite convention, making reference to the model of a fashionable, cosmopolitan man, inspired by the Italian court convention and by the ideal of the *gentiluomo* codified by Baldassare Castiglione in *Il Cortigiano* (1528).

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the society of the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands (or Dutch Republic) was an equilibrial cluster of three large social classes with distinct political strategies.[37] The first was the Orangist faction, supporters of rule by governors hailing from the families of the Orange-Nassau princes, developing an aggressive, warring, militaristic policy, as well as expansionist diplomacy in the international arena, thus aiming to establish the Republic as a fully legitimate state and power, as well as to counter-attack the attempted conquest by Spain. The party could usually (not always) count on cooperation from the predicants (*predikanten*), a wide group of morally rigorous preachers and ardent Calvinists, who were hoping to increase their social influence as a result of the Orangists' rhetoric about the "protection of faith" as a tool of their expansionist policy. On the other side were the regents – patricians and governors of large cities, provincial and community institutions. They led a policy of peaceful isolationism, aiming to strengthen the economic well-being and political stability of the state and of the city oligarchs and, above all, simply to secure their own well-being and power. Naturally, the Orangists, rightly suspected of crypto-monarchic tendencies, nurtured the model of the courtier, cosmopolitan, *gentiluomo* or military leader. The Regents, on the other hand, generally propagated the model of a citizen of the Republic as a local patriot, and developed the Dutch nation's "innate" virtues: love of family and motherland, their "own" Netherlands landscape, industriousness and activity in their "own country," reserve and lack of ostentation, etc. Sometimes, however, whenever they wanted to underline their aspiration to oligarchic power in the Republic, to a higher quasi-aristocratic and quasi-seigneurial status, they would use the model of the court *gentiluomo*. The Regents would use both politically conditioned social models manipulatively and expediently when commissioning Dutch portraits: ordering paintings either in the realistic convention, devoid of any splendour and representation, while at other times, as we have seen, they would use the international Italianate or Flemish-like pastoral, "garden-park" or elegant court convention.

[35] Van den Brink, Van der Veen, *Jacob Backer...*, op. cit., p. 156–7, cat. no. 31 and p. 250, cat. no. A132 (*Œuvrekatalog der Gemälde Jacob Backers*). The connection between the two portraits as *pendants* is unclear.

[36] *Konfrontacje, inspiracje, spotkania... Arcydzieła malarstwa europejskiego z muzeów amerykańskich i polskich*, Hanna Benesz, ed., Maria Kluk, curator of the exhibition, exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw, 28 February – 4 May 2003 (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2003), pp. 38–40, cat. no. 11 (Maciej Monkiewicz), with earlier literature.

[37] See i.a. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches...*, op. cit., passim; Ziemba, *Nowe Dzieci Izraela...*, op. cit., passim; Gerrit Groenhuis, *De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977).

Flinck's Warsaw portrait is undoubtedly an expression of the first propaganda strategy. It presents the figure in very modest clothing, against a domestic rural landscape, accentuating the civic and local patriotic virtues, in accordance with the stereotype described at the outset. The painting corresponds to the local-patriotic ideology of the Regents.

Both models of life – court and civic – as well as the two fascinations – the Italian (Italianate) or the domestic Dutch (realistic-topographical, rustic-rural) – find their perfect embodiment in the figure of Constantijn Huygens (1596–1697).[38] Curiously, this unusual representative of the highest Dutch social echelons, and one of the highest authorities in Dutch social and cultural life, is a perfect example of the tendencies that Flinck both presented and challenged in his Warsaw painting.

Constantijn Huygens's father Christiaan, secretary to William of Orange, bought his son up in the open-minded, broad, humanistic, courtly tradition. Constantijn studied sciences, natural sciences, history, literature, rhetoric, ethics and philosophy, and took up law at the university in Leiden. Naturally, he was fluent in Latin, Greek and the modern languages in use in the cosmopolitan court circles of Europe at that time; besides Dutch, he spoke Italian, French, German, English and Spanish. His father also ensured that his son was erudite in the fields of poetry, music and art. In 1611, he employed the printmaker Hendrick Hondius to give him drawing lessons (Jacques de Gheyn, Junior, was the first to be considered for the position of teacher, but he rejected the offer).[39] This allowed the young Huygens to engage in amateur architectural design later on.[40] He also had a musical education. Constantijn learned to play the violin and lute perfectly; at the age of 11, he would give public concerts in the diplomatic and court circles of The Hague; later, he also performed before Charles I, the King of England. He composed over 800 pieces (39 preserved in *Pathodia sacra et profana*, published in Paris in 1639). He travelled extensively, and became familiar with Italy, England and Germany. He stayed in Venice and London during his diplomatic career. In 1625, he was appointed secretary to Frederick Henry and until the end of his long life (d. 1687), would remain in the service of successive Stadholders: William II and William III. He conducted many important diplomatic missions, sometimes very difficult ones, such as the position of envoy to the court of Louis XIV, the King of France, from 1661–1665. He was a man of the world, familiar with the customs of the European courts, as well as academic and artistic circles. He had connections with many outstanding political and academic figures.[41] He personally knew Francis Bacon and John Donne (whose works he

[38] Hendrik A. Hofman, *Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687). Een christelijk-humanistisch bourgeois-gentilhomme in dienst van het Oranjehuis / A christian-humanist bourgeois-gentilhomme in service of the House of Orange* (Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1983); *Constanter, leven en werk van Constantijn Huygens*, Tanja G. Kootte, ed., exh. cat., Museon, The Hague, 28 March – 31 May 1987; Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, 21 June – 21 September 1987 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1987); Leendert Strengholt, *Constanter. Het leven van Constantijn Huygens* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1987); *Huygens in Noorder Licht. Lezingen van het Groningse Huygens-symposium*, Nanne Frederik Streekstra, Petrus E. L. Verkuyl, eds (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit, 1987); *Constantijn Huygens 1596–1686. Het tweede Groningse Huygens-Symposium*, Nanne Frederik Streekstra, ed. (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit, 1997).

[39] A. R. E. de Heer, "Het tekenonderwijs van Constantijn Huygens en zijn kinderen," in *Leven en leren op Hofwijck*, Victor Freijser, ed. (Delft: Delftse Universitaire Pers, 1988), pp. 43–63.

[40] G. Kamphuis, "Constantijn Huygens, bouwheer of bouwmeester," *Oud Holland*, 77 (1962), pp. 151–80; Wouter Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture. A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Architectural Relations from 1625 to 1700* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1980), passim; Robert van Pelt, "Man and Cosmos in Huygens' 'Hofwijck'," *Art History*, vol. 4 (1981); *Leven en leren...*, op. cit.; Frans R. E. Blom, H. G. Bruin, Koen A. Ottenheym, *Domus. Het huis van Constantijn Huygens in Den Haag* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999).

[41] *Constantijn Huygens. Zijn plaats in geleerd Europa*, Hans Bots, ed. (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

translated), corresponded with Descartes and discussed the language of poetry and the rules of versification in French poetry with Corneille. He was also on close terms with virtually all of the significant contemporary Dutch academics, writers and artists. Furthermore, he had links with philologists and poets: Daniel Heinsius, Pieter C. Hooft, Gerbrand A. Bredero, Joost van den Vondel, as well as Jacob Cats, the patron of his literary beginnings. He employed the following painters himself or on behalf of the Orangist prince: Rembrandt, Van Honthorst, Jordaens, as well as numerous other artists from many different circles.

Huygens combined the cosmopolitanism and ethos of an academic – citizen of the universal Republic of Arts and Sciences and an accomplished court *gentiluomo* – with a deep respect for the national tradition, culture and landscape as the model citizen of the Republic of the Netherlands. His poetry is the perfect literary example of that. The epic *Batava Tempe* (1621), praising the beauty of The Hague and the charming avenue lined with linden trees in Voorhout where he lived, compares it with other cities, and describes the daily life during different parts of the day and different seasons; he transports the reader into the reality of the Dutch tradition of the pastoral poetry of Virgil and Theocritus, and the Italian idyll. In the poem *De uytlandige Herder* ([Shepherd in a Foreign Country], 1622), written during his diplomatic service in England, Huygens puts in the mouth of the lonely shepherd, seated beside beach scenery, a song of lament and longing for the domestic landscape, the memory of which makes him indifferent to the charms of foreign nature, which only appears beautiful to him insofar as it reminds him of the dunes of the Netherlands. *Stedestemmen* [Voices of the City] (1624) is a cycle of poems about Dutch cities, their praiseworthy history and the present. The epic poem *Hofwijck* (1651), describing Huygens's own suburban residence and garden, transfers the Italian *villeggiatura* model onto the Dutch landscape and the domestic culture of the rural life of the aristocracy. *Zee-straet* [Road to the Sea] (1667) is a panegyric in praise of the road connecting The Hague to the coast, which he inspired and funded. The satire *Kerkyraia mastyx, 't Kostelijk mal* (1622), praises the Dutch prudent style of life and ridicules the fashion for foreign attire. In the farce *Trintje Cornelis* (1653), Huygens adapted the adventurous motif from Boccaccio's *Decameron* – the motif of the revenge of a seduced maiden – proving that he could descend from the lofty tone of court language to informal speech: with phenomenal skill and linguistic and philological prowess, he contrasted the Netherlands' dialects – both Dutch and Southern-Brabant. Huygens's poetry encompasses the two aspects that we are concerned with in reference to the seventeenth-century Dutch portrait. It is phenomenal in its description, recording and documentation of the *domestic* world: the landscape, the views, the weather, climate and daily life. It is very specific and at the same time flexible, impressive and full of subtlety, consciously taking over, adapting and portraying different conventions and paths of the literary tradition. It is both classical-antique in its style, as well as Baroque-Italian in accordance with the spirit of Marini. It is often intentionally outlandish, premeditated and contrived, full of allusion, playing with the reader's imagination and *memoria*, astonishing with its brave comparisons and metaphors. It intrigues with its original juxtaposition of words and impressive literary images. In a nutshell, it is truly cosmopolitan poetry, borrowing from the Italian and Italianate court tradition, while at the same time realistic in its description of daily life and the domestic landscape.

This stance is confirmed by Huygens's interests and viewpoints on art, presented in his biography written in Latin between 1629 and 1631.[42] The most famous fragment, which has

[42] Trans. into Dutch: *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens door hemzelf beschreven*, trans. by Albertus H. Kan (Rotterdam: Donker, 1946); revised ed.: Rotterdam, 1971; Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, trans. [from Latin] and commented by Christiaan Lambert Heesakkers, Maria Adriana Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, ed. (Amsterdam:

been comprehensively analyzed by researchers, is the intelligent comparison of the work of young Leidenians: Rembrandt and Lievens, clearly exposing the opposition between the domestic and the Italianate styles (both of the young painters, Huygens writes, emulate the Italian and Rubenesque models, not having been on an educational trip to Italy, and only drawing on the local tradition and local collectors' resources).[43] Equally interesting is his account of his acquaintance with other artists (or knowledge of them), intended to constitute the *who is who* of the Dutch art scene of the time. Huygens mentions nearly thirty artists. This review of outstanding, renowned artists served to glorify domestic art, while at the same time revealing his personal artistic choices. The review presents the acclaimed, cosmopolitan Italianists: Jacques de Gheyn, characterized as an "artist of the highest level," and as a genial printmaker, excellent painter and garden designer, and Hendrick Goltzius, referred to as the best printmaker ever, but a poorer painter. Rubens is featured here as "one of the seven wonders," "prince of painters," "Apelles among painters." Huygens then goes on to describe two portraitists. He considers Paulus (Jan Anthonisz) van Ravesteyn from The Hague as an excellent portraitist, who, in the author's opinion, remained underestimated. Michiel van Mierevelt, on the other hand, Huygens writes, was a true *princeps* in this field, an heir of the tradition of the master portraitists – Holbein and Pourbus, though Huygens regrets the fact that Van Mierevelt's output at that time was weaker than his early works. There is a clear tendency in this choice of painters: the first of the two painters represents the formula of the international court portrait and the second – the formula of the local, domestic, realistic portrait of a townsman.

In addition, Huygens mentions more than twenty other artists, including: Van Honthorst, Bloemaert, Lastman, Jan Wildens, Cornelis van Poelenburch, Moses van Uyttenbroeck (Wittenbroeck), Esaias van de Velde, Jan van Goyen, Johannes Torrentius. He also points to the fascination with landscape painting (reflecting his interest in depicting nature in particular, as is evident in his poetry): "The crop of landscape painters in our Netherlands is indeed so great and renowned that he who wishes to name them all one after the other would fill an entire volume."[44] Again, the choice of Italianists in the list, such as Poelenburch, who painted fantastical landscapes reminiscent of the scenery of the Italian Campagnia, or Van Wittenbroeck, who painted visions of picturesque dense forests and pastoral landscapes, alongside the masters of single-toned, realistic vistas, such as Van de Velde and Van Goyen, is typical in this selection. This illustrates Huygens's characteristic approach, combining the fashionable fascination with Italy, its culture and nature, with an attachment to the domestic landscape of the Netherlands.

Querido, 1971). On Huygens' interests in art: J. A. Worp, "Constantijn Huygens over de schilders van zijn tijd," *Oud Holland*, 9 (1891), pp. 123–8; B. A. M. Feer, "Constantijn Huygens. Kunstkenner en adviseur," in *Constanter, leven en werk van Constantijn Huygens*, op. cit., pp. 19–21; A. Nieuwenhuis-Van Berkum, "Huygens als kunstadviseur. Schilders, aankopen en opdrachten," in *Huygens in Noorderlicht...*, op. cit., pp. 113–26; Hans Vlieghe, "Constantijn Huygens en de Vlaamse schilderkunst van zijn tijd," *De zeventiende eeuw*, 3/2 (1987), pp. 119–21; Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler. Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers* (Cologne: DuMont, 1996) (2nd ed.), pp. 202–23; Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (Frome and London: Butler & Tanner Ltd, 1999), pp. 9–12.

[43] Jan Białostocki, "Lievens i Rembrandt," in *Jan Lievens. Ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts*, Rüdiger Klessmann et al., eds, exh. cat., Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 6 September – 11 November 1979 (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1979), pp. 13–20; Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt. Sämtliche Gemälde in Farbe* (Stuttgart [u.a.]: Belser, 1987), pp. 72–7; Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, "Rembrandt, Lievens en Constantijn Huygens," in Christiaan Vogelaar et al., *Rembrandt & Lievens in Leiden*, exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 4 December 1991 – 1 March 1992 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), pp. 48–59; Ernst van de Wetering, "Rembrandt's Beginnings – an Essay," in Ernst van de Wetering et al., *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, exh. cat., Staatliche Museen Kassel, 3 November 2001 – 27 January 2002; Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 20 February – 26 May 2002 (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2001), pp. 22–57, esp. pp. 24–7.

[44] *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens...*, op. cit., p. 73.

Flinck's Warsaw portrait, in its depiction of the landscape, makes a reference to the second vernacular convention. It presents a charming, though very ordinary, rural Dutch landscape, under a great mass of cloudy sky. The representation adapts the formula of the topographical, tonal, monochromatic landscape by Pieter de Molijn, Salomon van Ruysdael, Jan van Goyen, Pieter de Neyn (**fig. 20**) and other masters. This type of landscape, which is also featured in seascapes (Jan and Julius Porcellis, Simon de Vlieger, Van Goyen and Jan van de Cappelle), became generally fashionable in the late 1620s, and in particular in the 1630s and 1640s. Simon Schama and Walter S. Gibson duly pointed to its political-communal character, as a vehicle for rhetoric on identity and "patriotic geography:"[45] the local, homely landscape, the alternative to the Italian, Italianate or fantastical-cosmic *Weltlandschaft* of Patinir and Bruegel, was to define the communal place – namely the Dutch people's own land, where they could carry out their business, tame and control nature, land and water. Such landscape served as a tool to build Dutch social identity, as well as an instrument of political propaganda, confirming the independence and legitimacy of the Republic of the Provinces of the Netherlands, which was not recognized by international law as a state on the European political stage until the Treaty of Westphalia (Münster, 1648). The role of the landscape was to show the Dutch people's attachment to their land and their domestic, local privileges connected to the land, place and topography. The Warsaw painting undoubtedly refers to that ideology of homeliness, by presenting a representative of the regent class against a Dutch landscape.

Flinck's Warsaw painting also displays an ostentatious choice of an alternative to the court convention, not only by the homeliness of the scenery, but also through the artistic formula adopted. Like the tonal-monochromatic, realistic topographical landscapes, our painting is a product of the so-called *snelle techniek* or "fast method." This was a very specific painting method: small-format, with a limited colour palette, painted with rough, fast brushstrokes, without any polish or detail – therefore a cheap and effective technique.

The development and popularization of that method in the 1620s and 1630s had many contributing factors. Jonathan I. Israel attributed the *snelle techniek* to the economic crisis in the Northern Netherlands after the expiry of the truce with Spain in 1621, which led to a global trade embargo on Dutch products, a slump (or at least a slowdown) in Dutch overseas free trade and a collapse in the trade in herring and wood in the Baltic region.[46] In Israel's opinion, the new art forms, such as: "fast technique," a reduction in expensive dyes and pigments, a decrease in the number of orders, as well as the development of the free market based on the principle of "more for less," were a direct result of the crisis.[47] Contrary to Israel's view, John

[45] Simon Schama, "Dutch Landscapes. Culture as Foreground," in Peter C. Sutton et al., *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2 October 1987 – 3 January 1988; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 3 February – 1 May 1988; Philadelphia Museum of Art, 5 June – 31 July 1988 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), pp. 64–83; Walter S. Gibson, *Pleasant places. The rustic landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). See also: Martin Warnke, *Political Landscape. The Art History of Nature*, trans. by David McLintock (London: Reaktion Books, 1994); Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft. Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) and Büttner, *Landscape Painting. A History*, trans. by Russell Stockman (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2006).

[46] Jonathan I. Israel, "Adjusting to hard times. Dutch art during its period of crisis and reconstructing (c. 1621 – c. 1645)," *Art History*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1997), pp. 449–76; Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 863–81.

[47] I criticized this hypothesis in the chapter "Snelle techniek – 'szybka maniera': inwencja artystyczna i wytwór nowego gustu, pomysł na poszerzenie rynku sztuki czy rezultat kryzysu gospodarczego?," in Antoni Ziemba, *Iluzja i realizm. Gra z widzem w sztuce holenderskiej 1580–1660* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), pp. 265–75.

Michael Montias, Marten Jan Bok and Michael North deemed the "fast technique" an attempt to expand the market to create attractive offers for potential clients, in addition to the system of official and private commissions. The fast technique of painting was meant to be a product of the free contemporary art market in Holland, i.e., in the 1620s and 1630s, as well as a way of creating a new market demand. The new type of painting sold easily because it was cheap and it created demand because, being mass-produced, it generated a fashion for a "simple though artistically sophisticated" product.[48] It seems that the most sensible interpretation of the "fast technique" was to treat it as a particular artistic concept and invention, an idea for a new type of painting, aiming to please the *novitas* customer and to excite him with the virtuosity obtained from such modest means – measuring up to the famous model of Apelles, who painted using only four colours: white, ochre, red and black (Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, XXXV, 50).[49] Artists had various motivations for adopting "Apelles' invention," depending on their social or financial position, although it was always a conscious step in their career development.[50] Samuel van Hoogstraten was probably right in claiming that many artists adopted the formula of a fast and cheap painting method, not so much for material gain, as for winning a reputation among art lovers. In his description of Jan van Goyen's technique, he emphasizes the latter's conscious rivalry (*wedstrijd*) with the inventions of Jan Porcellis and François de Knippbergen – the masters of single-tonal "grey" or "greyish-brown" landscapes and seascapes. In Van Hoogstraten's opinion, the quintessence of such painters' mastery, especially that of Van Goyen, was the ability to control the "chaos of natural hues" and to extract the true world order concealed within that chaos, by means of the virtuosity and confidence of the brushstroke.[51] The limited palette and modest technique brought that virtuosity to the fore, making reference to the aforementioned Apelles's model in Pliny's work, as well as the generally known "courtly" model of elegant nonchalance in mannerist literature (*sprezzatura* in Baldassare Castiglione's work): the feeling of an apparent artistic ease, which appeared stronger the more technical difficulties the artist had to overcome.

On the other hand, in the case of Jan van de Cappelle, he was probably the last of the artists who had to succumb to the need to economize in their work and production. He belonged to the rich Amsterdam elite, being a tradesman, art dealer and outstanding collector. From 1648/1649 to 1660, he became the master of the simple, "quiet" seascape, in my opinion not

[48] John M. Montias, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Art History*, vol. 10 (1987), pp. 455–66; Montias, "The influence of economic factors on style," *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 49–57; Marten J. Bok, *Vraag en aanbood op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt 1580–1700 / Supply and demand in the Dutch art market, 1580–1700* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 1994), pp. 116–7; Michael North, *Kunst und Kommerz im Goldenen Zeitalter. Zur Sozialgeschichte der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 120–4; Michael North, "Kunst en handel. Culturele betrekkingen tussen Nederland en steden in het zuidelijke Oostzeegebied," in Karel Davids, Jan Lucassen, *A Miracle Mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 286–7.

[49] In this direction – of considering the tonal, monochromatic formula as a consciously chosen rhetorical model – go the intentions of the article by Eric J. Sluijter's ("Jan van Goyen als marktleider, virtuoos en vernieuwer," in Christian Vogelaar et al., *Jan van Goyen*, exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, 12 October 1996 – 13 January 1997 (Leiden–Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), pp. 39–59, esp. pp. 45–48) as well as Lawrence O. Goedd's ("Naturalism as Convention. Subject, style, and artistic self-consciousness in Dutch landscape," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art. Realism Reconsidered*, Wayne Franits, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 129–43) both tend in this direction, i.e., acknowledging the tonal monochromatic formula as a conscious selection of a rhetorical model.

[50] Ziemba, *Iluzja i realizm...*, op. cit.

[51] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (Dordrecht: Fransois van Hoogstraeten, 1678), quoted after: Sluijter, *Jan van Goyen als marktleider...*, op. cit., pp. 45–6.

as a result of purely economic processes, the dynamic of supply and demand or cost-saving production. Nor did he need to revert to the *snelle techniek* to augment the income from his numerous profitable commissions. He lived in times of economic wellbeing in the Netherlands and was, himself, rich enough. It seems, therefore, that his choice of the most modest type of seascape paintings was dictated by a completely different motivation. Being a collector himself, and aware of the popularity of the paintings by Porcellis and de Vligeur, he wished to create paintings for collectors. For that reason, he chose the modus of a small format, intimate and seemingly simple and yet virtuoso painting (e.g., *Ships Becalmed*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne) – which fitted the collectors' model at that time, which by then had moved on from collecting exclusively "accomplished pieces" to those that revealed their mastery in "spontaneous" brushstrokes, and an emotional mood. Van de Cappelle developed a new kind of expression of landscape representation. He reduced the element of the sea to an aura of complete calm of the coastal waters and inland rivers and canals. This formula was a novelty (though it had its prototypes in the paintings by Porcellis and de Vlieger). This novelty, used on a broader scale and in a multitude of paintings, became popular as an attractive innovation. Van de Cappelle did not mass-produce his paintings but created smaller quantities, probably hoping that they would be purchased by connoisseurs from the social and artistic elite; people who would appreciate the quality of hues and mood instead of seeking any painterly "flamboyance."

In the Warsaw painting (and the aforementioned associated paintings), Flinck combined the *snelle techniek* as a specific convention and artistic invention, with an ideological and propaganda message. In presenting a portrait of a man from the regent class using the model of a reserved, respectable citizen and in accordance with the ideology of the local "Dutch patriotism of the land," he created a piece of work that constituted an alternative to the cosmopolitan and court fashion. Thus, he was able to offer his client a perfect image of "identity," no doubt reflecting his status, socio-political position and ideological leanings.