

ABSTRACT

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COLOR SYMBOLISM IN SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY DUTCH PAINTING**

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Numerous attributes grace the allegorical personifications in Cesare Ripa's 1593 *Iconologia*; included among these are colored gowns. In the seventeenth-century, Karel van Mander, Samuel van Hoogstraten, and Gesina ter Borch also write of the symbolism found in color. However, such color symbolism is rarely mentioned in modern interpretations of Dutch narrative paintings. Three case studies seek to test the applicability and limitations of color symbolism as an interpretative tool in narrative paintings by Karel van Mander, Samuel van Hoogstraten and Gerard ter Borch. In these, color symbolism provides the meaning behind decorum when interpreted through figures' garments. The appendix contains a comparative chart of the color symbolism in texts by Cesare Ripa, Karel van Mander, Justus de Harduijn, Gesina ter Borch, and Samuel van Hoogstraten.

Coloring the Narrative: Color Symbolism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting

By

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Dedication

To those who would have been proud.

Acknowledgements

In the spring of 2006, a young graduate student embarked on a paper about color symbolism in the work of Frans van Mieris. The thesis that is contained below, however, is radically different from this original exploration into seventeenth-century Dutch color symbolism. Many individuals helped shape and support this change, as both the paper and the student grew into something much better.

Professor Arthur Wheelock, my advisor at the University of Maryland and supervisor at the National Gallery of Art, has been the most influential person in this endeavor. It was from a side-comment in his spring 2006 course on the work of Frans van Mieris that peaked my interest in Gesina ter Borch's color symbolism. Since then, Professor Wheelock has been an incredible inspiration and guide, talking with me about my ideas, editing my drafts, inspiring me through projects at the Gallery, and overall encouraging me to discuss art with passion.

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Introduction: Coloring the Narrative

“Now we have a subject before our eyes that will be particularly conducive to prosperity in the art of painting: namely, cloth ...

Each according to his state – that is according to the honor of the person – will be clothed: Kings empurpled and adorned with crowns; and the glad youth here requires to be adorned with lovely, glittering colors. Maidens also want white to be used: in this matter painters must attend closely to everything to depict each clothed according to his state.

Black will indicate mourning as well as age, as is written of in the proper place: with it widows and oldmen are clothed. Likewise it must be that one will give to shepherds and sailors coarse-woven clothes of various greys, drawn flatly about the body, with dark folds, and one must decorate them sparingly with pretty colors.”

Karel van Mander, *Den Grondt der edel vry schilder-const*
(The Foundation of the Noble Free Art of Painting), 63, st. 1-4.

Clothing maidens in white, kings in purple, and mourners in black helps identify characters in art. Karel van Mander, however, expanded his pictorial language beyond simple decorum to use garments in the description of his figures' character. Following the tradition of noblemen bearing colored arms, symbolizing characteristics with which they strove to identify, Van Mander lists these associations in the chapter he devotes to the meaning of color.¹ Van Mander did not invent this concept, associating a figure's character with the qualities symbolized by the color of his garment. He follows the tradition that includes Cesare Ripa, whose personifications in the *Iconologia*, first published in 1593 in Rome, are garmented in gowns of color as attributes of their symbolism. Throughout the seventeenth century, Dutch individuals continued this tradition, in other art treatises as well as in contemporary literary culture. Discussed in this thesis are the art treatises of Karel van Mander (1604/1618) and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678), and the illustrated color charts of Gesina ter Borch (c.1659). Related

¹ See also page 23 - 24.

to these are Peter Paul Rubens' lost “discourse on colors” of around 1635² and a Petrarchan love poem by contemporary author Justus de Harduijn (1613).

While at least five seventeenth-century Dutch authors clearly saw the importance of colors and their symbolism, modern art historians have, for the most part, ignored this tool for interpreting art.³ This thesis will address the omission, determining the utility of color symbolism as a tool for art historical research and analysis. Color meanings from the four Dutch sources, as well as Cesare Ripa, will be analyzed, compared to each other in an extensive appendix chart, and applied to paintings to determine if color symbolism is used to enhance the narrative of a scene. With a focus on narrative paintings, I apply color symbolism to the colored garments of the paintings' figures.

Van Mander discusses the science of color theory, the study of an individual's emotional response when exposed to a color.⁴ He touches upon color perception and the way colors alter their appearance when beside other colors.⁵ But neither of these are what he intends when discussing the meaning of colors, the symbolism found in color. For the meaning of color, Van Mander refers to the way color, as a sign, signifies a particular meaning, much like other elements that make up symbols.⁶ Inherent in this tradition of

² See Magurn 1995, 401-402, letter 237, 505-506, note 5 regarding the lost treatise on colors presumably sent to Peirsac in 1635.

³ The only essay this author has found concerning seventeenth-century Dutch use of color symbolism is Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. “Colour Symbolism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting,” in Van den Doel 2005, 99-110.

⁴ For example: “Color gives courage to or frightens the people; color makes things uglier or more beautiful; color saddens or gladdens; color makes many things be criticized or praised: in short, color makes everything appear visible that is in the world created by God.” Van Mander, 75, st. 9. See also note 114.

⁵ “...like lakes accompany light blue well, and smalts [deep blue] go well with white varnish; light masticot can stand well next to green; ash-white lets itself be shadowed well with shot-gold; purple, with blue or red – yes, and the various half-tones – lets itself be beautifully highlighted. Here one must experiment in various methods.” Van Mander, 65, st. 19.

⁶ Becker in Ripa 1971, VI discusses Göran Hermerén’s differentiation between symbol and allegory being their starting point: “In allegory this [this starting point] is invariably the concept to be allegorized (the signified) – an abstraction that can be represented in the form of a personification (or a ‘story’). The

allegorical language, signs themselves have multiple meanings, depending on the context in which they are found. Through centuries of symbolic language evolution, individual signs, colors included, came to be associated with a myriad of meanings.

Symbolic associations of color are found in early civilizations. The origin of the colors was already tied to the four elements, with a color associated with each of the elements.⁷ In ancient Greece,⁸ *De Coloribus*,⁹ a spurious work formerly attributed to Aristotle, argued that complex colors derived from a combination of elements; for example, “black mixed with sunlight or firelight turns crimson,” meaning that the elements of earth and fire combined to produce crimson.¹⁰

By the Middle Ages, color symbolism had developed into a highly sophisticated language, but one that allowed for multiple interpretations.¹¹ In chivalric romances, the character of an armored knight was given by the color of his arms. In twelfth- and thirteenth-century literature, each color had various meanings; for example, red symbolized both evil and demonic intentions, but could also suggest that the character hails from the “magical Other World.”¹² In art and literature of the Renaissance, yellow

symbol, on the other hand, proceeds from a concrete situation (the sign), which is then united with – often dissimilar – ideas. As a result, one and the same symbol, removed from its context, can signify contradictory qualities.” Panofsky furthers the definition of the symbol: “Thus allegories, as opposed to stories, may be defined as combinations of personifications and/or symbols.”

⁷ In the seventh or eighth century BC, the Hindu *Upanishads* equated red with fire, white with water and black with earth. Birren 1965, 16.

⁸ The ancient Greeks associated air with blue, thus completing the set of four elements that have persisted through history. Birren 1965, 1965, 16.

⁹ The authorship of this essay has been debated. For more, see F.H.A. Marshall, “Review: *The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English. De Coloribus. De Audibilibus. Physiognomica. De Plantis. Mechanica. Ventorum Situs et Cognomina. De Melisso, Xenophane, Georgia* by Aristotle.” *The Classical Revivew*, vol. 29, no. 8 (1915), 245-246.

¹⁰ As cited in Birren 1965, 16.

¹¹ For more, see Gage 1993, 79-91.

¹² Pastoreau 2001, 59.

developed particularly complex and opposing connotations.¹³ The most decisive use of yellow garments identifies its wearer as treacherous or guilty of heresy, as found in pictorial representations of Judas, such as in Giotto's *Betrayal and Arrest of Christ* (c.1306, Padua, Arena Chapel) (fig. 1).¹⁴ However, as will be seen through interpretations of yellow in the following chapters, the color also had positive attributes.¹⁵ William Shakespeare exploited the multiplicity of interpretable possibilities in *Twelfth Night* with Malvolio's yellow stockings. Although Malvolio interprets his stockings as symbolizing his happy love with Olivia, she sees them as a sign of a suspicious or jealous temperament and has him imprisoned.¹⁶

To express the nuances of Malvolio's character and the subtleties of the narrative, decorum dictates he wears yellow stockings. Yet, it is the symbolism carried in the color yellow that prescribes the appropriateness of the color. As in the case of *Twelfth Night*, multiple meanings can be carried by a single color, yet this complicates the appropriate interpretation for the figure clothed in that color.

One glance at the chart in the appendix of this thesis reveals how complicated color symbolism can be. Within the work of a single author, one color can have numerous meanings. For Ripa, whose associations are by far the most numerous, a single color can be associated with over fifty different meanings, as is the case for white. At the same time, for all of the authors, the colors used to signify these abstract concepts are

¹³ Other colors also developed complex and opposing readings, but yellow is described here based on its centrality in the discussions of later chapters.

¹⁴ For more on Judas' and other despicable characters' representations in yellow, see Mellinkoff 1993, 48-52.

¹⁵ See chapters on Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten; also Mellinkoff 1993, 36-37.

¹⁶ Mellinkoff 1993, 36-37.

limited to such basics as black, white, red, and blue. With a limited number of signs and numerous significations, color symbolism proves itself to be extraordinarily complex.

Due to this complexity, a single author can list opposing meanings to a single color. Ripa's personifications who wear red include such diverse virtues as Charity, Cruelty, Martyrdom, and War.¹⁷ At times, such multiplicity can favorably enhance the reading of a color, as in Malvolio's yellow stockings. In the following chapter, the intricacies of yellow will be explored in Van Mander's *The Continnence of Scipio* (1600, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) (fig. 6),¹⁸ and those of red in Gerard ter Borch's *The Suitor's Visit* (c.1658, Washington, National Gallery of Art) (fig. 27), in the final chapter.¹⁹

Ripa's *Iconologia* was the seminal source for color symbolism in seventeenth-century Holland, as elsewhere. Representations of the virtues remained relatively consistent through the nine Italian, one French and one English manuscript editions published before 1644.²⁰ Thus, the edition used by Van Mander, likely Italian, contained many of the same color symbols of Dirck Pietersz Pers' 1644 translation used later in the century by Gesina ter Borch and Samuel van Hoogstraten.²¹ The appendix chart details entries from the 1603 Rome and 1644 Amsterdam editions, noting in which edition the

¹⁷ Ripa in particular, presents even more difficulties for interpretation, as the numerous editions in multiple languages do not always contain the same personifications with identical signs. Okayama 1992 is incredibly useful to sort out differences between the various editions.

¹⁸ See page 21 - 22.

¹⁹ See page 50.

²⁰ Becker in Ripa 1971, I-II, XIV; Okayama 1992, passim, charts the symbols included in the allegories from the Italian editions of 1603 and 1624, the Dutch editions of 1644 and 1677, and the French edition of 1644. In many cases, the color listed remains the same. Other symbols, however, are not consistently represented in all editions.

²¹ Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstands*, trans into Dutch by Dirck Pietersz Pers, Amsterdam, 1644. See Okayama 1992, passim, for differences found in the 1603 and 1624 Italian editions, the 1644 and 1677 Dutch editions, and the 1644 French edition. Also see the appendix for a comparison between the difference between Rome, 1603, and Amsterdam, 1644, in regards to color symbolism. Van Hoogstraten further refers his readers to Ripa for more information on color symbolism and acknowledges his debt on Van Mander's treatise for most of his information. See page 30. Gesina also uses Ripa for inspiration of her title page allegory. See page 44.

personification is found.²² For the most part, these remain consistent; however, slight alterations do occur, such as the occasional replacement of blue for gray in the Dutch edition. Other Italian personifications are not included in the Dutch edition, and Pers also adds personifications not previously listed.²³

It seems most likely that Van Mander based his color symbolism on Ripa's work, selecting a color's meaning from Ripa's personifications. A comparison of Van Mander's treatise and that of Van Hoogstraten reveals that the latter author directly copied his predecessor's list into his own treatise. However, typical to his interpretation of Van Mander, Van Hoogstraten did not include absolutely everything from *Den Grondt*, omitting some entries and expanding others.²⁴

Gesina ter Borch's color charts also inspired by contemporary art literature, but her emphasis differs from that of Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten's treatises. She relates color symbolism to the emotions of love, perhaps borrowing her ideas from a poem by Justus de Harduijn. While her color associations generally coincide with those of De Harduijn, at other times she seems to have followed Ripa or Van Hoogstraten.

The differences in the character of color symbolism found in the works of Ripa, Van Mander, Van Hoogstraten, and Gesina ter Borch reveal that, it is extremely difficult to establish an overall dictionary of color symbolism in Dutch literature of the seventeenth century.²⁵ It is, thus, crucial to proceed with caution when using color as an interpretative tool for assessing the meaning of a painting, and extremely important to

²² See appendix.

²³ An example of a Pers addition is *Wissel* (Draft/Exchange), a personification very apt for Dutch culture. At the same time, Faith as represented in a blue gown does not make it from the 1603 Rome edition to the 1644 Dutch one. See appendix.

²⁴ See page 29 - 30.

²⁵ For more warnings on the pitfalls inherent in the interpretation of signs and symbols, see Gombrich 1972, 1-22. As noted by Gombrich 1972, 14, this issue is not unique to colors, but for all signs.

consider color within the broader character of the image. This “principle of intersection,” as termed by Gombrich, considers the numerous interpretations of a single attribute, such as color, and the intersection of an attribute’s meaning and the context in which it is located.²⁶

The case studies examined in the following chapters test the applicability of color symbolism as discussed by each of the three main authors, Karel van Mander, Samuel van Hoogstraten, and Gesina ter Borch in their own oeuvres. Gombrich's “principle of intersection” is applied by considering color symbolism within the context in which the colors are found. In the case of narrative paintings, in which meaning is read through the color of a figure’s garment, context and color symbolism must converge with proper decorum. Only then can it be determined if the correct symbolic meaning is read.

Difficulties present themselves when reading meaning into a figure’s dress. In the historic reality of the seventeenth century as well as in painting and literature, decorum dictated that particular types of clothing related to a figure’s sex, age, rank, wealth, occupation, and moral character.²⁷ Additionally, an artist may have included a particular colored garment for compositional purposes. Additional cautions regard color terminology, which has changed considerably throughout the years, and may alter our modern concept of a named color, for example, the term pink, often associated with colors we now describe as yellow.²⁸ These concerns need not limit the applicability of

²⁶ Gombrich 1972, 8.

²⁷ Mellinkoff 1993, LIII; also Lurie in Harvey 1995, 12-18

²⁸ This issue does not arise in this particular study, but is something to consider when employing color symbolism from written text to visual image.

It is also important to consider issues of condition; whether the pigments have changed color over time or whether a dirty varnish distorts proper color reception. Reproductions of paintings also affect the perceived color, an issue affecting all of the works studied, except Gerard ter Borch’s *The Suitor’s Visit* (c.1658, National Gallery of Art, Washington) and Gabriel Metsu’s *The Intruder* (c.1660, National Gallery of Art, Washington), which I have been able to study in person.

color symbolism, but they must be taken into consideration in any discussion of the role of color in a pictorial narrative

Van Mander offered numerous ways in which garments may be used in a painter's repertoire of artistic tools: as a colored field by which to enhance the aesthetics of the composition,²⁹ as decorum to denote a figure's social standing according to contemporary fashion;³⁰ or, also as decorum, to identify the characteristics of a figure through color symbolism.³¹ The following case studies, focused on the literature and paintings of Karel van Mander, Samuel van Hoogstraten, and Gesina ter Borch, navigate these intricacies in the attempt to assess the applicability of each of their color symbolism to narrative paintings. Only by understanding the extent to which each of these authors used their own color symbolism can the tool be applied to work by artists for whom we do not have corresponding literature.

²⁹ See page 15.

³⁰ For example, see page 53.

³¹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 78-81.

Painting by the Book: Karel van Mander

When Van Mander set out to write *Het Schilder-Boeck* (*The Painting/Painter's Book*) in 1595,³² he did so with the goal to advance the practice of painting, “schilderen,” to “schilderconst,” the art of painting (fig. 2).³³ This major treatise, published in 1604 with a second edition in 1618, consists of six books: *Het Grondt der edel vry Schilderconst* (*The Foundations of the noble free art of painting*), a didactic poem describing the practical and theoretical framework for the art of painting; three books containing the lives of artists, divided into ancient, Italian, and Northern; a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; and the *Wtbeeldinge der figuren*, which included allegories and personifications similar to those in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. Each book had a unique purpose and audience,³⁴ but Van Mander's overall goal was to enhance the art of painting, raise the ability, learning, and status of contemporary painters, as well as to educate the gentlemen who viewed paintings and became patrons of the arts. Rather than simply a manual task, Van Mander viewed the art of painting as “above all a work of intellectual interest, *curiositas*.”³⁵ As objects, whose “artifice” was grounded in theory, manual virtuosity, and history, paintings belonged to the wonders collected by art lovers

³² Melion 1991, 202, nt.2, citing van Regteren Altena, suggests Van Mander drafted the *Schilder-Boeck* between 1595 and 1603; The anonymous biographer of Van Mander in the 1618 edition claims that Van Mander wrote “the greater part of his *Book on Painting* while living in “Sevenberghen House, between Haarlem and Alkmaar,” finishing only by 1606, Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 30.

³³ Miedema 1993-1994, 60.

³⁴ “The iconological section is certainly meant to be used by painters, poets and amateurs, in order to enhance their invention. The didactic poem is rather more useful for brushing up knowledge one actually had already, in a literary form, perhaps as a sort of mnemonic. And the biographies are certainly written in the epideictic strain, to glorify the art of painting and to promote the profession of the artist.” Miedema 1993-1994, 60.

³⁵ Miedema 1993-1994, 60.

for their *kunstkamerin*, collectors' cabinets.³⁶ Whether bound for the *kunstkamer* environment or displayed on their own, the elevated level of the art of painting, *schilderconst*, “presupposes the inseparability of theory and practice, *ars* and *usus*.”³⁷

Van Mander may have been the first, and certainly most important, art theoretical writer in the Netherlands, but he is preceded by a multitude of authors concerning themselves with similar pursuits in Italy. Leon Battista Alberti, Giorgio Vasari, Gian Paolo Lomazzo, and Cesare Ripa, all wrote theoretical treatises and histories of the arts in Renaissance Italy, themselves influenced by the writings of the ancients.³⁸ Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* inspired Van Mander, who borrowed directly from Vasari for his lives of the ancient and Italian painters. For his *Wtbeeldinge der figueren*, or personification of the figures, Van Mander drew upon Ripa's *Iconographia*, publishing it “in order to enhance their [painters, poets, and amateurs] invention.”³⁹ Ripa's *Iconographia* probably also inspired the last chapters of the *Grondt*, in which Van Mander discusses the meaning of colors.⁴⁰

The *Grondt* is the foundation of Van Mander's teachings to young artists.⁴¹ Paralleling the multiple ways one can view a painting, for pure amusement or through the judgment granted those versed in theory, the *Grondt* contains both technical advice and

³⁶ Melion 1991, 193, nt.11.

³⁷ Melion 1991, 193, nt.11.

³⁸ Melion 1991, 203.

³⁹ Miedema 1993-1994, 60.

⁴⁰ See appendix.

⁴¹ Miedema 1993-1994, 60 notes that this was not a trade book, for learning the art of painting, but rather a guide, “for brushing up knowledge one had already,” or “to provide the interested professional with some additional knowledge.” The translation and commentary of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and the book on personifications are the other two books of the *Schilder-Boeck* that are directly practical to the working artist.

erudite theories.⁴² How thoroughly Van Mander adhered to the “inseparability of theory and practice” he preached can be judged by examining his own painted works. By first establishing the direct connection between Van Mander’s treatise and his paintings in subject matter, execution, and compositional ordering, the extent to which he employs color symbolism in his painted works may be explored.

In his instruction to young painters, Van Mander dedicates chapters two through six to the lessons of drawing as the basis for learning to construct and compose histories. Van Mander believed, however, that “through colors the dead lines of drawing begin to move and to live and they are truly resuscitated.”⁴³ Consequently, the final chapters deal primarily with issues related to color, including the ideal placement of colors, technical advice on painting color, the nature of color, and the meaning to be read in color.⁴⁴ They conclude with two chapters listing the nature and meaning of color, including color symbolism.⁴⁵ However, before assessing how closely Van Mander applies color symbolism to his own paintings, the extent to which he followed his other theoretical recommendations in his paintings must be established.

In the *Grondt*, Van Mander recommends the painting of histories as the most important subject a painter can represent.⁴⁶ Only in histories may a painter include elements from all other genres, such as landscape, figural composition, and still-life

⁴² Miedema 1993-1994, 62-63; By technical advise, I am thinking of chapters such as “Of the Ordering and Invention of Histories,” where Van Mander suggests specific compositional formats for history paintings. I consider his chapters on the nature and meaning of color to be more theoretical in nature, as these enhance the meaning, rather than the aesthetics, of the painting.

⁴³ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 69, st.1.

⁴⁴ Miedema 1993-1994, 60, note 13 discusses the scheme of the poem, derived from Italian art theory and rhetoric, which centers the poem around chapter 7, which deals with light.

⁴⁵ The final two chapters, on color and meaning, were likely drawn from an earlier draft of the poem, and added to the final version to complete the symbolic ordering of fourteen chapters centered around chapter seven. Miedem 1993-1994, 60; see also note 45.

⁴⁶ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 5.

vignettes of flowers, animals, and objects, all composed or “ordered,” in a way that is coherent and pleasing to the eye.⁴⁷ As an artist, Van Mander followed this advice and exclusively painted mythological, biblical, or historical subjects.⁴⁸

The composition, or “ordering,” of histories is difficult to execute well, for the painter must ensure the elements are both pleasing and diverse, and are harmoniously combined to narrate the story.⁴⁹ Van Mander identifies two methods for ordering a history composition: “simple histories”⁵⁰ that contain few figures, akin to “giv[ing] their meaning verbally or with the pen in few words”⁵¹; and complex histories, including many elements, for

... the eyes in their eager sweep search for all beauty of Pictura’s domains in many places, in order to amuse themselves, wherever desire with pleasure leads them, hungering to see more, above and below, like spoiled guests tasting many foods: for in variety applied with artfulness the Charities delight.⁵²

This complex method “illuminates the history more like life when one introduces many and varied faces...”⁵³ which both increases the delight from viewing the painting, as well as the ability to understand the narrative.

⁴⁷ Melion 1991, 5-6; also Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 26-30.

⁴⁸ The only exceptions to this are two genre paintings, one portrait, and one miscellaneous plaque among twenty-eight attributed paintings. Leesberg 1993-1994, 46-53.

⁴⁹ “For painters, ordering is also found to be of greatest importance, for in that the excellence and the power of art lie bound together, as much perfection, and spirit, as understanding consideration, thought and universal experience. Therefore there are few who are perfectly able in invention, who we hear praised as surpassing in comparison to others. Since this is so, O picturers, let us then concern ourselves principally with ordering in our compositions, be it in the open air, in house or room, or wherever we have to place our figures; and that certain rules and laws will be followed by the history that we have applied ourselves to, according to its requirements.” Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 26, st.2-3.

⁵⁰ Van Mander’s “simple histories” follow the precepts of Leon Battista Alberti and Gualtherus Rivius. Melion 1991, 8-9.

⁵¹ “... And such sober utterances accompany their reputation with much greater honor than the abundance of babbling and chattering, as hollow casks which sound the loudest...” Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 29, sta.28-29.

⁵² Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 29, st.33. This latter method also finds its origins in Rome, where Van Mander worked with the Zuccari, as well as in Venice. Leesberg 1993-1994, 35.

⁵³ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 29, st.35.

Van Mander's earliest histories, such as *The Altarpiece of St. Catherine* (c.1582, St. Maartenskerk, Courtrai) (fig. 3), are structured as "simple histories," demonstrating the more distilled and focused Italian *istoria*.⁵⁴ Paintings from the 1590s to his death in 1606, however, exemplify the more complicated method that Van Mander obviously came to prefer.⁵⁵ Three paintings in particular, *The Crossing of the River Jordan* (1605, Rotterdam, Boijmans-van Beuningen Museum) (fig. 4), *The Dance Around the Golden Calf* (1602, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum) (fig. 5), and *The Continenence of Scipio* (1600, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) (fig. 6), though subtly different, all demonstrate elements of Van Mander's compositional rules for this complex method.⁵⁶ The fact that Van Mander painted these works in the same period he composed the *Schilder-boeck* links the work of the artist and the theorist.⁵⁷

Much as Van Mander does in the biographies in his *Lives*, the anonymous biographer of Van Mander's *Life*, who published in the second edition of the *Schilder-Boeck* in 1618, uses Van Mander's own paintings as illustrations of the proper methods, techniques, and "orderings" for history paintings.⁵⁸ Mentioned in the biography of Van Mander as one of "his last and greatest works,"⁵⁹ *The Crossing of the River Jordan* is exalted for these elements that make a good history painting, namely, good portraiture

⁵⁴ Leesberg 1993-1994, 12.

⁵⁵"...how shall this not be held as the best, seeing this work brought forth from the fullest art, from the learned hand of Buonarotti..." Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 27, st.17; Leesberg 1993-1994, 27, suggests a homogeneity among the paintings of the period 1598-1606, of which these three are included.

⁵⁶ Leesberg 1993-1994, 35, suggests that the large-format histories of around 1600 contain the same compositional scheme, the one recommended by Van Mander in the *Grondt*. "He recommends, first, filling the lateral areas of the composition with robust foreground figures, architecture, or other staging elements, and keeping the center open, whereby the scene represented there will gain in 'welstand,' or good appearance. The figures in the central foreground should be shown seated or reclining, thus ensuring visual access to the background, where there are smaller figures and a landscape in the distance. The background must be well painted... Finally, he recommends arranging the figures in groups, standing or lying down as well as seated, as the Italians also did."

⁵⁷ Melion 1991, 2; Leesberg 1993-1994, 27, note 127.

⁵⁸ Melion 1991, 1; Van Mander/ Miedema 1604/1618, 25-29.

⁵⁹ Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29.

skills for the faces,⁶⁰ variety and movement in the foreground figures,⁶¹ “inventive” composition, and well-executed fauna and still-life studies.⁶²

The very elements celebrated by the anonymous biographer are articulated in the *Grondt*. As recommended in Chapter V: “Of the Ordering and Invention of Histories,” Van Mander, in *The Crossing of the River Jordan*, composes figures in all of the “seven modes, or ways of movement,” that are possible due to the body’s “many limbs:” “standing upright” (the Levite bearers), “bending down,” (those lifting the heavy blocks as seen from the front and the back), “to the right side; to the left,” (the beautifully posed figures sitting and discoursing at the lower right), “yielding or going from us” (those moving towards the Promised Land), “then coming towards” (the turbaned figure before the Ark), “staying in one place in the round, like a circle...” (the central, standing couple).⁶³ The figures are each spaced freely to allow them to move, provide “a pleasant effect,” and “not overload [the] groundspace.”⁶⁴ They are also arranged in “various groups, which are little gatherings or troops of people, here standing, lying, and there sitting.”⁶⁵ As for the nature of the figures, they differ greatly in “their placement, stance, activity, shape, nature, character and disposition,”⁶⁶ from the menial laborers, grunting in the effort to lift the heavy block, to the calm refinement of the standing woman, and the relaxed ease in which the seated women and children enjoy their pause before the journey

⁶⁰ “in which he has depicted himself, sickly but a good likeness, as a Levite or bearer, and also the original owner of the painting, Isaac van Gerven with his first wife.” Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29.

⁶¹ “The foreground figures are very agitated, talking earnestly and in active poses denoting the act of carrying and other exertions.” Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29.

⁶² “The composition is most inventive. It is adorned with a landscape, charming and light, with witty handling of the paint. On the ground are many shells and small conches, and also greyhounds and a red harrier growling viciously at each other. In my judgment the story is portrayed properly and well.” Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29.

⁶³ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 26, sta.4-5.

⁶⁴ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 26, st.6 -7.

⁶⁵ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 27, st.14.

⁶⁶ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 28, st.21.

across the river. A subtler difference of disposition is demonstrated in the contrast of the Levite bearers of the Ark, included among them the likeness of Van Mander,⁶⁷ with the stone-carriers who lead them. In dress and carriage, two entirely different types of characters are shown, and differ greatly in their ability to carry their loads, suggesting perhaps, the difference between merely carrying a load, and bearing the Testament of God.

As with many of Van Mander's later histories, *The Crossing of the River Jordan* employs a basic compositional scheme with foreground figures framing a distant landscape. In this painting, Van Mander encourages the eye to plunge into the distant landscape by leading it back along the path the Israelites take towards the Promised Land.⁶⁸ He also allows the patron and his wife, the main figures, to "stand out, standing in a high place... so they rise above the others."⁶⁹

To bring additional artistic variety to the composition, Van Mander recommends "include[ing] in [the] histories an abundance of horses, dogs, or other tame beasts, also beasts and birds of the forest... also adornments, rigging and ornaments – many sorts of fantasy in abundance," such as the shells in the foreground. Besides simply providing visual pleasantries or demonstrations of the artist's technical skill, these accessory elements serve a compositional purpose. In this painting, the shells along the bottom emphasize the ground before the laborers and help frame the action.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 26-29. "... one of his last and greatest works, the piece that shows the children of Israel passing over the Jordan and carrying the ark of the covenant, in which he has depicted himself, sickly but a good likeness, as a Levite or bearer, and also the original owner of the painting, Isaac van Gerven with his first wife."

⁶⁸ "For our composition must enjoy a fine character, to the delight of our senses, if we allow there a place of penetration or a vista, with small background figures and a landscape at a distance, into which the vision may plunge." Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 27, st.12.

⁶⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 29, st.36; Also see note 67, above.

⁷⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 28, sta.24; 26, st.6-7.

Another large, horizontal history of a few years earlier, *The Dance Around the Golden Calf* (Frans Hals Museum, 1602), similarly displays Van Mander's rules for the ordering of history paintings.⁷¹ In this work, the focus of the painting is the worshippers reveling around the Golden Calf, set far into the distance. The merry groupings of vividly-dressed figures⁷² frame the central narrative and serve as

the foundations of the balance in [the] composition: whenever you properly fill both sides of your pictorial field with you large foreground figures, buildings or other stuff, and then have the mid-ground freely open, then you will not be able to bring within there so little, that it will at once produce a balance.⁷³

As recommended, none of these figures extend beyond the edge of the painting, but have ground, draped cloth, or other framing elements that distance them from beyond the pictorial scene.⁷⁴ Several of these figures, through their gestures and gazes, aid the eye's movement to the distant figures dancing around the Golden Calf.⁷⁵ In the far distance, Moses returns from Mount Ararat with the Ten Commandments.

Through the merrymaking Israelites, the Golden Calf, and the accurate depiction of Moses returning, Van Mander has followed his own advice and has thought "through well and thoroughly first the content of the subject ...undertaken, by reading and rereading (the text)..."⁷⁶ He does not centralize the focus of the history, Moses's anger at the Israelites for idolatry, as he did by featuring the saint's martyrdom in *The Altarpiece of St. Catherine*. However, by implying the narrative through the confrontation that

⁷¹ This painting is also highlighted by Van Mander's biographer. Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29.

⁷² Van Mander recommends filling the composition with variety equivalent to that Nature provides. Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 28, st.20.

It seems here that he has competed with nature through the vivid colors of the Israelites' gowns as well as their form.

⁷³ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 27, st.11.

⁷⁴ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 28, st.24 and Leesberg 1993-1994, 36, though in discussion of *The meeting of Jephthah and his daughter*.

⁷⁵ Melion 1991, 4.

⁷⁶ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 26, st.7.

would happen upon Moses's return from the mountain, Van Mander allows the viewer to anticipate the event.⁷⁷

Containing major elements of the narrative in both the foreground and the background, *The Continnence of Scipio* of 1600 vividly epitomizes Van Mander's ideal compositional ordering. Trees serve as *repoussir* framing devices, while stones, drapery, and plants distance the figures from the outer edges. The foreground elements "enclose the whole entire scope of their story as if closed in a circle so that a part of the figures representing the history remain standing like the center point in the middle, like a picture which many look upon or worship."⁷⁸ The central figures can be identified as Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the Roman commander seated in red, and Allucius, the Celtiberian prince in blue-green, holding the hand of his beloved fiancée. The surrounding figures, a combination of half-nude and fully clothed figures in a great variety of poses,⁷⁹ gaze at and lean towards these central figures. They, in turn, focus upon each other, Scipio gesturing towards the young couple with his palm leaf, and the young lovers looking back upon him. Scipio's own gaze incorporates the other noteworthy characters into the narrative, the parents of Allucius's intended bride. While gesturing towards the young couple, he directs his attention and words towards the elderly parents, lying prostrate in the lower left. In this, "the important figures... stand out,

⁷⁷ Melion 1991, 4; It is interesting to note that Van Mander frowns upon obscuring the subject of the narrative (Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 31, st.45), yet it takes intense penetration into the painting of *The Dance around the Golden Calf* for one to view the narrative in its entirety. It could be argued that, because the Golden Calf is placed so prominently, Van Mander does not obscure the narrative, but I am convinced that he is not as concerned about losing the subject matter among so many elements as he is against providing multiple episodes of a story in a single painting. This, however, seems to be what he does in *The Continnence of Scipio* by including a battle (either in Carthage or in Celtiberia), as well as the Continnence in a single painting.

⁷⁸ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 28, st.23.

⁷⁹ "It is also proper that one combines nude, clothed and half-clothed figures." Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 28, st.22.

standing in a high place or sitting so they rise above the others; and those they address must be distinguished by displaying obedience, in a low place and pushed away. So following all our personages, for these must be set on all sides to do their actions, as fine actors.”⁸⁰

The main figures, particularly Allucius and his beautiful princess, stand in the middle of the composition, and serve to guide the eye into the background vista, “allow[ing]... to see over them for many miles.”⁸¹ Another narrative plays out in the distance:

Here... [striking] fearfully in battle; elsewhere a crowd in the distance is fleeing; in front, horses and riders should fall over one another, some naturally foreshortened; here a little crowd is fighting with great gestures, and there too a little group lies weakly defeated,⁸²

This scene illustrates Scipio’s victory over Carthage, helped in part by the Celtiberians recruited by Allucius’s praise of the magnanimous Roman general.

The fact that Van Mander’s compositional theories are applicable to his later paintings makes it probable that Van Mander followed other theories in *The Grondt*, particularly those concerning the symbolic meanings in color. Unfortunately, one needs to be cautious in assessing Van Mander’s use of color symbolism, since in only one, *The Contenance of Scipio*, does the color of clothing play an important compositional and narrative role.⁸³

⁸⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 29, st.36.

⁸¹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 27, st.12.

⁸² Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 27, st.15.; also noted by Leesberg 1993-1994, 36 that this distant view follows quite closely Van Mander’s concept of what events should occur in the distance.

⁸³ Leesberg 1993-1994, 46-53; Another problem is found in paintings such as *The Feast of Venus*, in which the lack of clothed figures prohibits any reading of color symbolism; Most of Van Mander’s paintings are not reproduced in color, which prevents study of their colors (example: *The Meeting of Jephthah and his Daughter*, Sotheby’s, London, 1972; and all paintings reproduced by Leesberg 1993-1994). Of the

The stories of Scipio were widely popular from antiquity through the seventeenth century.⁸⁴ In the *Grondt*, Van Mander includes Scipio, along with Alexander the Great, as an example of temperance or self control. He equates the two military heroes with the biblical proverb, “He who is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he who rules his spirit than he who takes a city.” (Proverbs 16:32).⁸⁵ The story of Scipio was known to the seventeenth-century Dutch through Livy,⁸⁶ Valerius Maximus,⁸⁷ Pedro Mexia,⁸⁸ Cesare Ripa,⁸⁹ Petrarch⁹⁰ and others. Though other episodes in the history of Scipio were popular in literary and artistic traditions,⁹¹ even in another painting by Van Mander,⁹² the events

paintings discussed so far, in *The Crossing of the River Jordan* only the historical portraits of the patron and his wife are featured in the foreground. *The Dance Around the Golden Calf* includes many revelers in vibrant costumes, but only Moses, depicted in the distance, is identifiable. *The Continnence of Scipio*, on the other hand, depicts a clear narrative with identifiable figures, clothed in brilliant gowns and cloaks.

A grisaille painted on the back of the copper plate of *The Continnence of Scipio* can be interpreted as Cybele, the goddess of earth and nature, instructing mankind while she points to a personification of history. Van Mander’s own philosophy, “history teaches man lessons about human nature and the way to live one’s life” is thus reinforced through this grisaille, and enacted through Scipio’s demonstration of virtuous deeds on the front of the copper plate. Golan 1994, 173-174; Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 11, st.49. Van Mander’s inclusion of color symbolism may be related to this emphasis on the painting’s role as an instruction tool.

⁸⁴ Golan 1994, 44.

⁸⁵ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 76, st.17 – “Scipio and Alexander the Great made a great fame arise for themselves with warlike deeds, one as well as the other; and they were considered all the more valiant for restraining their desire for the bodies of beautiful women. Yes, in order not to see lovely-colored females, some have chosen blindness, fearing to lose control over their passions.”; also Golan 1994, 171; Amsterdam 1993-1994, 539

⁸⁶ Golan 1994, 160, mentions the availability of Livy to the seventeenth-century Dutch.

⁸⁷ Golan 1994, 169; Valerius Maximus also authored “an influential book of *exempla*... one of the most important sources for the virtuous deeds of Roman Republican figures in later seventeenth-century Dutch thought. Golan 1994, 26.

⁸⁸ An intermediary between Valerius Maximus and the Italians, Pedro Mexia was known by Van Mander and commented upon in the *Grondt*. See Golan 1994, 29, 44, note 26, and Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 13, stanza 64.

⁸⁹ Only the *Continnence of Scipio* is mentioned by Ripa. Golan 1994, 174-175

⁹⁰ Though Petrarch’s popularity would make it seem that his *Africa*, an epic Latin poem, would have been widely sourced for the story of Scipio, this poem was not readily accessible. Lack of printed editions (a dearth between 1558 and 1872) due to its unpopularity has been claimed to be because it was written in Latin, rather than Italian. See Petrarch 1977, xiii-xiv.

⁹¹ Golan 1994, 16-19, 21, 160-207.

⁹² Van Mander is ascribed another painting of the life of Scipio by his anonymous biographer. (Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29) Most other authors, however, seem to equate *The Continnence of Scipio* (1600) with the painting described in the *Lives*, “showing the battle between Hannibal and the younger Scipio, in which the fighting and skirmishing is very fierce. Some of the figures are in Roman dress, some are fleeing or defending themselves stoutly, and become smaller as they recede into the distance. Between

following Scipio's defeat of the Celtiberians, commonly called the Continenca, or Magnanimity of Scipio, were the most popular with the Dutch.⁹³ Traditional depictions of the Continenca of Scipio focus on the Roman's self control and denial of worldly pleasures. Such readings stem from Ripa's *Respectability*, under which heading Scipio is listed, and Cicero's emphasis on his magnanimity and generosity.⁹⁴

Details and specifics in the Continenca of Scipio are emphasized by Van Mander's use of color symbolism. Upon the Roman general's victory over the Carthaginian-allied Celtiberians, Scipio is given a beautiful Spanish princess as a prisoner of war. An inquiry into her circumstances reveals that the girl is engaged to Allucius, a prince of the Celtiberians.⁹⁵ Scipio calls forth Allucius and the girl's parents, the latter of whom bring with them gold to purchase her freedom. After witnessing the love and passion Allucius has towards his intended bride, Scipio releases the girl into her lover's care. Addressing her parents, he then states that, should his position in life as a soldier have allowed him the pleasure of taking a wife, he hoped that he would have cared as deeply for her as Allucius does his bride. The girl's parents then beg him to take the ransom they have brought in gratitude, but instead of accepting the bounty for himself, Scipio gives the gold to Allucius as a marriage present. Overcome by the Roman's generosity, Allucius then encourages his countrymen, formerly in alliance with Carthage,

the combatants one sees the mighty elephants with their armoured castles filled with able-bodied archers, hung around with shields. One crashes to the ground, causing great devastation with its fall and its trunk. The work is so full of action that the eyes lose themselves in it. In the distance, beneath an overhanging mountain, they fight with might and main, with dying men and piles of corpses of men and beasts; the sky is turbulent and strange. The painting was made in 1602" (Van Mander/Miedema 1604/1618, 29). The description of the latter in the biography proves that they are not the same painting.

⁹³ Golan 1994, 17-18.

⁹⁴ Golan 1994, 174-175; "A magnanimous man is known especially for two things, of which one is keen to the contempt of worldly things, that is evident, that a man must not wish nor desire, for what is not honest and decent; and that no man, neither through the dismay of the heart, nor through fortune must allow these things to accommodate and overwhelm him." (nt28); also Amsterdam 1993-1994, 539.

⁹⁵ Livy mentions Allucius as a prince; Maximus names him Indibilis. It seems that the more popular naming is Allucius, hence I will call him such. Golan 1994, 161, 169.

to support Rome's campaign against Carthage, thus aiding Scipio's victory over the African city.

In Van Mander's interpretation, the main action of the story takes place in the foreground. Scipio sits enthroned upon a rock and addresses the girl's parents, who prostrate themselves before him, while gesturing towards Allucius and his fiancée with a palm leaf. The three main characters, Scipio, Allucius, and the Spanish girl, are highlighted by their raised position near the center of the composition, the girl's luminous yellow gown shimmering against the cooler greens and blues of the background and other characters' costumes.⁹⁶ A battle scene raging in the background foretells the eventual outcome of Scipio's actions, as Carthage lies in ruins.

The multitude of colorful garments, in a palette adopted from Lucas van Leyden,⁹⁷ illustrate Van Mander's allusion between painting and flowers in the *Grondt*, where he writes that, much as in a bouquet of flowers or a blooming meadow, artists should provide variety in the colors of garments. The cool greens and blues of the background and trees serving as repoussir elements frame the vividly-clad figures and further the comparison to flowers against their foliage.⁹⁸

Placed almost in the exact center of the composition, the Spanish girl is the only figure clothed in blooming yellow, a color that seems to glow in contrast to its muted surroundings. Van Mander often mentions the aesthetic use of yellow, recommending it as "friendly with green,"⁹⁹ and suggested that it be complemented by blue, for it, much as

⁹⁶ It is in Maximus's, not Livy's, account of the story that the young lovers clasp hands, as seen in Van Mander's composition. Maximus, as quoted in Golan 1994, 169.

⁹⁷ Almost all of his latest works employ this palette. Leesberg 1993-1994, 27; See also note 7 in the introduction regarding interpreting colors.

⁹⁸ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 67, st. 1-5.

⁹⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 46, st.23.

the sun in the sky, is more dazzling because of the contrast.¹⁰⁰ The fiancée's pale yellow underskirt and darker "saffron"¹⁰¹ gown demonstrate Van Mander's suggested manner of placing like-colors one by the other by using "soft transitions."¹⁰² Elements of a less-intense yellow at the edges of the composition, the gold offerings below Scipio's seat, and the cloak of the Roman soldier on the left, help move the eye along the picture's foreground.¹⁰³

Much as Van Mander recommends in *Den Grondt*, the strangely-colored blue garment of Allucius sets itself off against this brilliant gold,¹⁰⁴ a color that is also pleasing next to red of his cloak.¹⁰⁵ As the "glad youth," his station in life required dressing in vibrant colors,¹⁰⁶ and Van Mander followed his own advice about depicting shot-silk cloth, in painting the red-highlighted fabric around his upper legs.¹⁰⁷ But by clothing Allucius in such a distinctive blue-green, Van Mander also created a beautiful arc extending from the purely blue skirts of the fiancée's mother kneeling in the lower left to the woman standing to the left of the figural group on the right. This bow is reflected by the curve of the blue sky, which helps focus attention upon the beautiful Spanish girl, dressed in yellow, the focus of the scene. Finally, Allucius' blue-green garment draws the

¹⁰⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 67, st.6-7.; Van Mander also and uses the color in *The Dance around the Golden Calf* on the woman dancing at the left and gesturing towards the Golden Calf to help draw the eye to the background.

¹⁰¹ Amsterdam 1993-1994, 540.

¹⁰² Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 68, st.9.

¹⁰³ By artist's achievement, I specifically mean his incorporation of both clothed and half-nude figures, as well as an assortment of figural poses, still life, flora, which has already been discussed in the composition section.

¹⁰⁴ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 67, st.7.

¹⁰⁵ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 67, st.7.

¹⁰⁶ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 63, st.4.

¹⁰⁷ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 65, st.18-19: "Now, in silks and various glittering cloth the Venetians are generally highly praised, who know well how to work with colors, and to execute their things so that the highlights really seem to come out: but one ought always importantly to add such highlights in shot-silk cloth as may best agree with the neighboring colors,/ so that they do not work against eachother [*sic*] – like lakes accompany light blue well..."

eye to the distant city of Carthage, perhaps alluding to Allucius' role in the destruction of the city.¹⁰⁸

Van Mander encouraged his “grateful pupils... to learn to compose Histories and to represent diverse things with their allegorical attributes,”¹⁰⁹ among them, color. He first mentioned the importance of color in Chapter VI: “The Depiction of Emotions, Passions, Desires and Sufferings of Men,” when he notes that the Greeks, as known through the writing of Aristides of Thebes, had depicted the emotions (of figures?) with colors.¹¹⁰ Another Greek, Euphranor of Corinth, dedicated an entire book to “color’s secrets,”¹¹¹ a lost work that Van Mander attempts to replace through the last two chapters in *Den Grondt*, Chapters XIII and XIV, which describe “The Source, Character, Power and Use of the Colors,” and “Meanings of Colors: What can be Indicated with Them.”¹¹² After explaining the nature of colors in Chapter XIV, Van Mander introduces the meanings that they convey in paintings.

The scientific climate in which Van Mander lived helped foster his ideas about colors. However, medieval attitudes also inform his work, particularly in the claim that “the colors... have their origins in the four elements, hard or soft....”¹¹³ He additionally mentions the spiritual context of the emergence of color, and superstitious convictions, particularly in the power of colors, as, for example, the colored spots of red or black on a

¹⁰⁸ See note 77.

¹⁰⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 35, st. 88.

¹¹⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 36, st.3.

¹¹¹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 76, st.24.

¹¹² These two chapters are from an earlier version of the *Grondt*, added to the final composition to complete the didactic scheme organized along the theories of rhetoric. This may account for their unique presentation, being more a list than a poetic discourse. See Miedema 1993-1994 60. Also, it is in chapter 13, the second to last, that Scipio is mentioned.

¹¹³ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 74, st.4.

newborn baby that were believed to result from the mother's fearful thoughts.¹¹⁴

According to Van Mander, the symbolic readings of color correspond in large part to the elements, temperaments, ages of man, seasons, planets, and virtues. Many of these interpretations are likely influenced by the personifications in Ripa's *Iconologia*, who are often clothed in particular colors.¹¹⁵

The limited color available by which to describe a plethora of symbols required multiple, frequently contradictory, interpretations of each color. This presents difficulties when using color symbolism to enhance a narrative reading of a painting, a problem acknowledged by Van Mander; "the colors signify many concepts, of which I now, having washed my dirty hands, will here leave off..."¹¹⁶ However, it is clear that Van Mander did not wash his hands entirely of color symbolism, and later artists use the diverse readings of color symbolism to their advantage (as will be seen in later chapters).

"Writing is encompassed in the power of color,"¹¹⁷ which has already been demonstrated to enliven the drawn form.¹¹⁸ Van Mander's statement comes at the end of a passage discussing "the art of writing on white with black, by which men hold in their memory art, science, and many histories," and through which power may be gained.¹¹⁹

Much as the Peruvians "read" meaning into colored cords and knots, one may read the

¹¹⁴ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 75, st.10-11; The psychology of color had been explored by the ancients and was experiencing a revival in the seventeenth century. However, only basic concepts were explored by Van Mander, such as the idea that the fright caused by viewing something bloody or simply terrifying can have an impact upon a child's skin color.

¹¹⁵ See appendix for comparisons.

¹¹⁶ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 81, st. 30.

¹¹⁷ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 76, st. 24.

¹¹⁸ See note 43.

¹¹⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 76, st.18-24; not only discussing Western writing, but also the "reading" of colored cords and knots by Peruvians.

narrative of a painting through the colors of the figures' garments, both singularly and as a group.¹²⁰

Van Mander recommends using colorful garments to aid in the identification of particular characters important to the narrative. According to decorum, kings should be “empurpled and adorned with crowns;” youths cloaked in vibrant, glittering colors denoting their virility; maidens in pure white; those in mourning or having advanced in years shall be in black; and workers such as sailors and shepherds shall be dressed in the coarse grey wool they are known to wear.¹²¹

Advancing beyond decorum, Van Mander associates colors with symbols, which help elucidate the meaning of history scenes such as *The Continnence of Scipio*.¹²² A prime example is gold (or yellow). The history, qualities, and meanings of Gold occupy twenty of the thirty-two stanzas of chapter fourteen. As metal, gold “indicated (its wearer) to be rich, wise, noble, magnanimous, and of high rank,” virtues often associated with rulers, whose heads are crowned in gold,¹²³ and is “the trusted, active belief’s power,” as seen in the arm-bands of Rebecca.¹²⁴ The luminous color of gold is associated with “nobility and high estate” in heraldry, the sun, faith, and the golden years of a youth to the age of twenty.¹²⁵ But most importantly, gold, and by association, yellow,¹²⁶ is “the forefront among the colors,”¹²⁷ unsurpassed in beauty, and “cheerful and exceedingly

¹²⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 76, st.22-23.

¹²¹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 63, st.3-4.

¹²² The color symbolism reading would be another level of interpretation available to the knowledgeable viewer. Miedema 1993-1994, 63.

¹²³ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 79, st.11.

¹²⁴ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 79, st.10.

¹²⁵ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 80.

¹²⁶ “We begin with yellow as the noblest because it indicates the beautiful color of gold.” Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 78, st. 2.

¹²⁷ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 79, st. 14.

beautiful, yes, wonderfully noble.”¹²⁸ By clothing Allucius’s fiancée in gold in *The Continnence of Scipio*, Van Mander emphasizes both her great beauty and noble birth.

Gold’s more sinister side also plays into the meaning of its color, however, as the greediness caused by desire for gold “has always contrived much ill over the whole world.”¹²⁹ As Scipio’s actions demonstrate, “all harms are to be blamed on the immoderate desires of our weaknesses and not on gold.”¹³⁰ By denying himself the pleasure of his desire, the woman clad in gold, the Roman proved his continence greater than temptation. Scipio’s decision to return the golden-clad girl to her fiancée is reinforced by his refusal of the gold vessels offered as ransom for her return, an act that emphasizes Scipio’s self control, or continence.

“Also through the color that was next to [gold] [the colors together] could give a further new meaning.”¹³¹ Standing next to his intended bride in a blue tunic and leggings, Allucius helps complete the reference to Scipio’s restraint from greed and desire. Gold “[b]y blue... was meant... the enjoyment of the world’s delights and pleasures,” which Allucius and his fiancée here represent.¹³² In Livy, it is exactly those worldly pleasures that Scipio refuses:

I considered that in my own case, if my thoughts were not totally engrossed by the affairs of the public, and I were at liberty to *indulge the pleasurable pursuits adapted to my time of life*, especially in a lawful and honourable love, I should wish that my affection for my intended bride, though warm even to a degree of extravagance, should yet be viewed with an indulgent eye; and I therefore resolved, in your case, where no tie of duty confines me, to do all in my power in favour of your passion...¹³³

¹²⁸ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 78, st.7, 9.

¹²⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 78, st.2.

¹³⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 78, st.3.

¹³¹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 79, st.11.

¹³² Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 79, st.12.

¹³³ Livy as in Golan 1994, 161.

Ripa, who depicts Scipio when illustrating, “Respectibility,” quotes Cicero, the great Roman Stoic, when describing Scipio’s virtues.

A magnanimous man is known especially for two things, of which *one is keen to the contempt of wordly things*, that is evident, that a *man must not wish nor desire, for what is not honest and decent*; and that no man, neither through the dismay of the heart, nor through fortune must allow these things to accommodate and overwhelm him.¹³⁴

According to Van Mander’s color symbolism, the blue worn by Allucius in Van Mander’s painting does not appear to have a unique symbolic role meaningful to the continence of Scipio.¹³⁵ In the 1624 Italian and 1644 Dutch editions of Ripa’s *Iconologia*,¹³⁶ a “saphir of celestial colour, has a Virtue to reconcile,” represents “Love Reconciled.”¹³⁷ It is quite tempting to read Allucius’ blue garments in this manner, for Scipio reunites the Celtiberian with his beloved. However, such a reading must be taken with care, as it is unclear whether Van Mander would have interpreted the color in this manner, for the edition of Ripa most likely used by Van Mander does not associate sapphire with “Riconciliatione d’Amore.”¹³⁸

Scipio and the other Roman soldiers wear red cloaks. As the established color of the soldiers’ uniforms, the cloaks should be eliminated from further readings with color symbolism. Interesting associations with red, however, suggest that Van Mander’s usage of the color was not arbitrary. Van Mander associates red with “grandeur and courageous bravery,” characteristics Scipio required for his success as a general, as well as, “fiery

¹³⁴ Cicero as quoted by Ripa and translated in Golan 1994, 175, 212, nt 28.

¹³⁵ Van Mander is much more limited in his interpretation of the other colors. For blue, he lists associations with the planet Jupiter and Thursday, the virtue Justice, the inexperienced boy up to age fifteen, the “short-tempered Choleric,” air, and autumn. Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 80-81.

¹³⁶ Refer to note 38 and appendix for Ripa’s likely influence on Van Mander.

¹³⁷ Ripa 1709, 262.

¹³⁸ See appendix.

Love,” which the Roman general repressed.¹³⁹ However, in opposition to Scipio’s virtuous nature, is the connection between red and the Sanguine temperament, “full of blood,”¹⁴⁰ which can also be seen in Ripa’s associations of red with War, Wrath and Vengeance.¹⁴¹ These contradictions demonstrate that colors, like emblems, have multiple interpretations, and care must be taken when applying color symbolism to the narrative.

With many different associations, a literal reading of the narrative through color symbolism is rarely possible. However, *The Continnence of Scipio* demonstrates that, despite the complexity, Van Mander applied his recommended color symbolism to enhance the narrative. Though he claims to have “washed [his] dirty hands” of the various concepts with which colors are associated, Van Mander’s application of color symbolism to his own paintings suggests that he values the tool of color symbolism more than he would like to reveal.

¹³⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 80, st. 26.

¹⁴⁰ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 81, st. 29.

¹⁴¹ Ripa 1709, 9, 123, 57; also see chart in appendix; Ripa also corresponds red with Charity, and Undauntedness, two virtues which Scipio seems to demonstrate.

Always Going One Step Further than Those Before Him: Samuel van Hoogstraten

It was not until 1678 that a treatise equal to the breadth of Van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck* was published,¹⁴² Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (Introduction to the Elevated School of Painting) (fig. 7). Van Hoogstraten rewrote Van Mander's tome to be more effective and useful as a didactic tool for young artists, and expanded it with additional material gleaned largely from Franciscus Junius' *Paintings of the Ancients*, a compilation of all the major texts on ancient painting techniques, published in Dutch in 1641.¹⁴³ Van Hoogstraten, who wanted his readers to perceive him as erudite and immensely learned,¹⁴⁴ filled his treatise with citations from ancient and contemporary authors, which he gleaned from two main sources, Van Mander and Junius.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² A few treatises did attempt the genre of art literature in the Netherlands, such as Philip Angel's *Lof der Schilderconst* (1642), but none of these matched the breadth of scale of Van Mander's or Van Hoogstraten's. Brusati 1995, 220-221.

¹⁴³ Van Hoogstraten had multiple purposes for publishing the *Inleyding*, such as the promotion of art as a liberal arts of the highest strata, promotion of his art and career in specific, and as an apology for the artist as capitalist, profiting handsomely on his trade. Brusati 1995, 135-136; Chapman 1997, 333; Shaw-Miller 1998, 156.

Van Hoogstraten's use of the nine Muses to organize his treatise emphasizes the goal of elevating the art of painting: "It is possible that many will think it strange that I am bringing this work out in the name of the nine Muses. They may think this, first of all, because this title, which was already given to the histories of the ancient Herodotus, has made the credibility of those histories enormously suspect of some who thought that with the license of the Muses Herodotus had overly embroidered certain things in order to delight the mind. But this could not have deterred me since I was not writing a history, but rather analyzing a liberal art for which impassioned urgings are often more to the point than simple factual rules. Secondly, someone may offer that the Muses, while they can certainly be regarded as the mistresses of poetry, can in no way be seen as Paintresses. To this I would reply that since ancient times the name of the Muses has been used to designate various forms of wisdom, learning, and skills, and that in addition to the sisterhood of painting and poetry... the offices of these goddesses are as well suited to the parts of painting as if they had been designed for no other end..." (cited in Brusati 1995, 223).

¹⁴⁴ Brusati 1995, 222.

¹⁴⁵ Brusati 1995, 222, 218; A few additional references from other art literature are incorporated by Van Hoogstraten, but notably, only when available in Dutch translations. Though claiming to have been widely read and traveled, it seems Van Hoogstraten siphoned material only from easily accessible references. Brusati 1995, 222.

Most of Van Hoogstraten's color associations are comparable to those of Van Mander.¹⁴⁶ Inconsistencies between their texts occur, however, and Van Hoogstraten does include color associations that Van Mander did not mention.¹⁴⁷ Some of these differences can be traced to the influence of the Italian author, Cesare Ripa, whose *Iconologia* was translated into Dutch in 1644 and to whom Van Hoogstraten refers his readers for more associations.¹⁴⁸ Other differences may have been due to changes in culture that had occurred in the intervening years, as the color symbolism lists of Gesina ter Borch from the 1650s (explored in the next chapter) share some similarities with Van Hoogstraten's altered color symbolism.

The emphasis Van Hoogstraten places on color symbolism seems significantly greater than in Van Mander's treatise. Rather than including color symbolism primarily in the last chapter, a late addition to an already-completed work,¹⁴⁹ Van Hoogstraten incorporates color symbolism with other discussions of the nature of color, fluidly weaving it into the text. Some color symbolism associations are still isolated in their own chapter, but that chapter is situated within his book dedicated to color and the muse, *Terpsichore*.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ See appendix; Van Hoogstraten does structure his lists differently, presenting them not as lists but as full sections dedicated to all aspects of color, from pigment and origins to symbolism and use. This restructuring aimed to present the material in a more accessible manner for working artists.

¹⁴⁷ Refer to appendix; Van Mander lists "moderate riches," a different wording for essentially the same concept, as "gold-yellow by flesh color." (Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 79) Flesh color may be interpreted as pink, thus relating the words of the two authors.

¹⁴⁸ Van Hoogstraten/Blanc 1678, 357. See appendix, particularly for green as equated with hope, purple or brown with winter, and yellow for summer.

¹⁴⁹ See note 45.

¹⁵⁰ Chapters III and IV in *Terpsichore*, Book VI.

A student of Rembrandt van Rijn,¹⁵¹ Van Hoogstraten had learned art in the bustle of a successful master's workshop and had practiced his craft at the Viennese court, in Rome, Regensburg, and London. His treatise was aimed at instructing young artists much as was done by such institutions as the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. His interest in providing academic training for artists is evident in his title of his title, *Introduction to the Elevated School of Painting*. In contrast to Van Mander's *Den Grondt*, which is presented in a long, didactic poem, Van Hoogstraten wrote in simple prose, dividing the material into nine "classrooms," each headed by one of the muses. Each muse oversees the instruction of one element of painting, such as Terpsichore, "the goddess who adorns both the painter and the poet with her ornaments" in the sixth book, and who instructs about color.¹⁵²

Arnold Houbraken, one of Van Hoogstraten's pupils and another theorist,¹⁵³ describes Van Hoogstraten's method of instruction:

It so happened that one of his pupils showed him the sketch of his figure composition (which everyone had to do each week), but had given little attention to the proper movements of the figures and just set them down haphazardly. Soon came the pronouncement, "Now read the text." And then the question, "Is that supposed to be the figure who is speaking that?" If the answer was yes, then his reply was usually, "Imagine that I am the other person to whom you must say that and say it to me." If the pupil then gave the speech according to the letter of the text, without expression and with his hands in his pockets, or if he spoke it as stiffly as a statue, Van Hoogstraten would say, "Pockets were made to carry and to keep money from slipping through one's fingers." Then he would immediately get up from his place and let the pupil sit in it, saying, "Now I shall show you how it is done. Pay attention to the gestures, the stance, and the posture of my body as I speak."¹⁵⁴

According to his former student, Van Hoogstraten relied more on demonstrative than pedantic methods. Rather than simply telling his student the proper manner of illustrating a subject or figure, the master made his point by showing an example of his work. In this

¹⁵¹ Arthur Wheelock posits that Rembrandt may have utilized color symbolism in some of his paintings. See Wheelock in Van den Doel 2005.

¹⁵² Brusati 1995, 249.

¹⁵³ Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders-en schilderessen*. 3 vols. Ed. P.T.A. Swillens. Amsterdam, 1718-21; Maastricht, 1974.

¹⁵⁴ Brusati 1995, 86-87, 281, nt.85.

manner, the *Inleyding* may be seen as Van Hoogstraten's written instruction and his paintings as demonstration by example, illustrating concepts described by his words. An excellent example of the relationship existing between Van Hoogstraten's texts and paintings is found in his description and use of color symbolism.¹⁵⁵

Though known primarily for his witty trompe l'oeil still lifes, painstaking perspectives, and flattering portraits, Van Hoogstraten also produced a number of genre paintings during the years he was composing the *Inleyding*. Many of these include a beautiful young woman in an elegant interior or fantastical courtyard; within this category are tender scenes depicting a young mother's devotion to her newborn child.¹⁵⁶ Compositionally, Van Hoogstraten focuses on only one or two figures, making them larger in scale than those in contemporary genre paintings, and minimizing attention to the comfortable interior settings.¹⁵⁷ Among Van Hoogstraten's genre scenes a striking similarity of colors emerges in that the women are generally dressed in white and gold (or yellow) garments: three tender scenes of a young mother attending to her infant in the cradle,¹⁵⁸ two versions of a doctor's visit,¹⁵⁹ one fortune-teller scene,¹⁶⁰ and a woman depicted within a perspective painting of a courtyard.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ Van Hoogstraten preaches, "Theory is worthless without practice and though practice without instruction sometimes promises something, art cannot reach any kind of perfection unless one practices it constantly and directs it according to the infallible rules of instruction." Van Hoogstraten in Brusati 1995, 224, note 23.

¹⁵⁶ Reasons for this sudden production are not clear, though this author suggests a connection between his personal life and professional output. Van Hoogstraten died childless in 1678. Much as Rembrandt produced a great number of intimate scenes of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child in the early 1640s, the same years that saw great joys, such as the birth of his son, Titus, and personal tragedies, such as the death of his wife, Saskia, so Van Hoogstraten may have been dealing with a personal tragedy through artistic means. That said, it is entirely plausible that these scenes were merely fashionable, for Pieter de Hooch, too, produced a great number of them around the same time. Brusati 1995, 120-121.

¹⁵⁷ For instance, compare Van Hoogstraten's works with those of De Hooch of a similar subject (*Suckling Mother and Maid*, 1670-75, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

¹⁵⁸ A total of five paintings depicting a young mother and child are still known by Van Hoogstraten. Of these, *Woman with an Infant in a Cradle* (Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum); *Two Women by a Cradle* (1670, Springfield, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts); and *Interior with a Woman by a Cradle and View*

This repetition of comparably colored garments cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence, even though similarities in dress within an artist's oeuvre are not unknown in seventeenth-century genre painting. For example, Ter Borch's shimmering white satin skirt with gold embroidery, seen in numerous paintings, suggests it was a studio prop or garment readily available for the artist to study,¹⁶² and the yellow satin *jak*, the loose informal jacket worn by refined women and often luxuriously constructed in velvet with white fur trim,¹⁶³ trimmed with ermine that appears in numerous paintings by Vermeer is most likely the garment recorded in the inventory of his estate.¹⁶⁴ However, Van Hoogstraten's women in white and yellow never wear the precisely same garment, which ranges from loose robe to gown to a fur-trimmed velvet *jak*. Most of these paintings include a woman in a white gown with golden embroidery, jacket, or shawl, but in the perspective painting, the woman wears a golden gown over a white underskirt. While it is certainly possible that Van Hoogstraten used white and yellow for purely aesthetic

of a Room to the Left (Sotheby's New York, Thursday, January 27, 2005, lot 101); show the young mother in white and gold. The other paintings of this subject are: *Interior with a Woman by a Cradle and a Book on a Lectern* (formerly The Hague, Doncker Curtius collection); *Interior with a Woman by a Cradle and Views into Adjacent Rooms* (formerly Richmond, Ham House); Brusati 1995, 121-123, 358-359. The painting formerly in the Doncker Curtis collection is "very colorful, with a woman wearing white headcovering and blue dress, red coverlet on cradle to right." Catalogue of exhibition of the Doncker Collection, held in The Hague in 1881. Brusati 1995, 359. An image or description of the painting formerly in Richmond was not available for study.

An additional painting of a similar subject, *The Virgin Mary with a Cradle* is listed in the 1676 document noting Thomas Robijn's sale of two Van Hoogstraten paintings to Hendrick Broeckman. Brusati 1995, 375, cat. D-29.

¹⁵⁹ Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and Christie's London, December 9, 1994, lot 287.

¹⁶⁰ Christie's Amsterdam, November 8, 1999, lot 108

¹⁶¹ Mauritshuis, The Hague

¹⁶² See Alison McNeil Kettering, "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin," in Franits 1997, 98-115, for various depictions of this skirt. Also, see page 56, particularly note 259.

¹⁶³ Marieke de Winkel. "The Interpretation of Dress in Vermeer's Paintings," in Gaskell and Gonker 1998, 328-329.

¹⁶⁴ Montias 1989, 339, document 364. Inventory of movable goods from Vermeer's estate, 29 February 1676. "A yellow satin mantle with white fur trimmings" was listed in the third room, "In the great hall (*groote zael*)."

purposes, the contexts in which the color combination is presented suggest its symbolic use in decorum.

In *Two Women by a Cradle*, (1670, Springfield, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts) (fig. 8), a young mother, dressed in a white robe edged in yellow satin, sits beside her infant's bassinette.¹⁶⁵ She turns back the covers while gazing adoringly at her sleeping newborn. Behind her, an older woman, perhaps a nurse, dressed in deep red velvet, peers over her shoulder. The two women are alone in the room, whose curtains have been drawn, revealing only a sliver of light that helps illuminate the central figures. Through a door, an ornately-gilded room is seen.

In a comparable work, the young woman in *The Young Mother* (1670s, Hannover) (fig. 9) sits alone with her sleeping child in a well-lit room of red drapery and tapestries. This mother, dressed in a white gown embroidered in gold, with a golden shawl enveloping her shoulders, directly engages the viewer, with a sense of a quiet vigil permeating the scene.

The mother in a third work, *Interior with a Woman by a Cradle and View of a Room to the Left* (c. 1670, Sotheby's New York, January 27, 2005, lot 101) (fig. 10), is described by Brusati as wearing a pale green satin gown. However, the slight green hue of the woman's gown seems to be a reflection of the satin material, contrasted against the crisp blue-white of her linen apron.¹⁶⁶ Golden embroidery at the edge of her hems and in the shawl over her arm reverberate with the color of the wicker cradle in which the child lies.

¹⁶⁵ As opposed to the garments of the young mothers, the wicker bassinette appears to be a studio prop. I would like to thank Marjorie Venit for this observation.

¹⁶⁶ Brusati 1995, 359, no. 68.

The tenderness with which Van Hoogstraten portrays these young mothers, doting upon their child or quietly watching over the sleeping infant, is reminiscent of scenes of the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child, a subject Van Hoogstraten is known to have painted.¹⁶⁷ Although now lost,¹⁶⁸ his painting of this subject may have been similar to Rembrandt's *Holy Family* (1646, Kassel, Staatliche Museen) (fig. 11), in which the Virgin holds her child, perhaps as she places him in his cradle, while Joseph toils in the background. Van Hoogstraten based other religious scenes on Rembrandt's example, finding inspiration for his *Adoration of the Christ Child* (1647, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum) (fig. 12), in Rembrandt's painting of the same subject from the previous year (1646, National Gallery, London).¹⁶⁹ Lifting the covers to present the Christ Child to the admiring shepherds, the Virgin would appear just as natural within a seventeenth-century domestic interior, as the sense of tenderness with which she attends to her infant parallels that of the mothers in Van Hoogstraten's domestic genre scenes, particularly the one with Sotheby's in 2005 (fig. 10). The golden colors of Mary's shawl and the cloth draped over her lap, as well as her black gown over a white collar recall those found in seventeenth-century domestic wardrobes.

Around 1670, about when Van Hoogstraten began to paint domestic scenes of mother and child, he painted *The Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* (c.1670, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (fig. 13). In this painting, Mary kneels reverently before the angel, who leans over the clouds and seemingly whispers to the

¹⁶⁷ Brusati 1995, 375. D-29 is described by Thomas Robijn in a notarial document of January 31, 1676, noting the sale of two paintings by Van Hoogstraten to Hendrick Broekman, as "Twee stucken schilderije van Samuel Hoochstraete t'een synde een Marije beeltie met een wiechje ende het andere een juffr. Voor gout en beijde van eene groote."

¹⁶⁸ However, Franits identifies the painting as the Springfield *Two Women and a Cradle*, and the pendant of a doctor's visit as the one in the Rijksmuseum. Franits 2004, 147-149

¹⁶⁹ Brusati 1995, 33, 276, note 48.

Virgin. Mary, who receives the news with grace and tranquility, wears a black gown, white collar or undergown, and gold shawl.¹⁷⁰ The repetition of this color scheme in these two depictions of Mary¹⁷¹ reinforces the hypothesis that Van Hoogstraten employed color symbolism to imbue his domestic scenes of maternal subjects with appropriate decorum.

Purity, the most identifying characteristic of the Virgin Mary, is symbolically associated with white by Ripa, Van Mander, and Van Hoogstraten.¹⁷² Though not officially adopted as the Virgin's color by the Catholic Church until 1854, white has symbolized her purity since the fifth century.¹⁷³ While only her collar is white in Van Hoogstraten's paintings,¹⁷⁴ it acts to surround her head in white, suggesting the Virgin's purity through the pale glow around her face.

As with Van Mander, Van Hoogstraten equates gold with faith as well as wisdom, nobility, and generosity.¹⁷⁵ Like gold, black is also associated with wisdom, but it is additionally linked to mourning. In *The Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* black thus alludes to the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Each of the three colors, white, gold, and black, pertain to elements of Mary's character, which, combined, create greater symbolic depth in the narrative. For his domestic scenes of mother and child, Van Hoogstraten eliminated black from the mothers' wardrobe, for these mothers were not burdened by the

¹⁷⁰ Liedtke 2007, 374, 376, note 2 disagrees with Adams' argument in New York 1988, 75, that interprets the Virgin's garments as contemporary. Adams further reads the dress as blue, corresponding to Pacheco's treatise on blue and the Virgin, though Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. and I see the dress as black.

¹⁷¹ Referring only to these works of Mary in her maturity, as opposed to images of her childhood (*Education of the Virgin*, present location unknown, Christie's London, May 25, 1978, lot 162).

¹⁷² see appendix. White can also be seen as innocence, etc., but purity most fits the Virgin

¹⁷³ Pastoreau 2001, 55; Interestingly, it was only in the 19th century as well that the concept of the Immaculate Conception, whereby Mary is born free of sin, was only adopted as dogma in 1854, but had existed in practice since much earlier; but Protestants don't necessarily believe in the concept of the Immaculate Conception. Regardless, Mary is a virgin throughout her life, and can, thus, be associated with white

¹⁷⁴ See note 170 on contemporary fashion.

¹⁷⁵ See appendix. Van Hoogstraten also associates the topaz, golden in color, with faith. Van Mander lists the beauty of gemstones (77, st.26), but does not equate any symbolism with them.

concerns of the Virgin Mary; however, he retained gold and white, with their corresponding symbolism.¹⁷⁶

Van Hoogstraten likely painted his cradle scene as a pendant to *A Doctor's Visit* (c.1670, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (fig. 14), which also depicts a woman in white and yellow/gold garb.¹⁷⁷ Such scenes were popular in the mid seventeenth-century, particularly in the work of Jan Steen, Gerrit Dou, and Frans van Mieris,¹⁷⁸ and the subject found additional resonance in the numerous medical dissertations and theatrical farces of that time.¹⁷⁹ The meaning of this subject in paintings has been interpreted in multiple ways. Jan Steen's images of doctor's visits often contain comical elements of pregnant women and quack doctors, in line with contemporary theatrical farce,¹⁸⁰ but Frans van Mieris' paintings focus more sympathetically on the plight of the young woman. As Van Hoogstraten's interpretation of the subject is not humorous, his intent is less than clear.

In a well-furnished bourgeois room, a young woman sits beside a table, dressed sumptuously in a quilted yellow *jak* trimmed in white fur and a shimmering white satin skirt. Her impeccable dress contrasts with her listless expression, as she quietly gazes out from the scene and rests her slippered foot delicately on a charcoal warmer. Behind her a man, perhaps her husband or father, observes the doctor, who examines a vial of the

¹⁷⁶ Kettering in Franits 1997, 111 notes that the male viewer would equate female figures in white satin, as seen here and in the art of Gerard ter Borch, as "secular Virgins."

¹⁷⁷ Brusati 1995, 120-129, 379. The two pendants are: D-49. *Two Women and a Child in a Cradle*, and D-50. *A Sick lady with a man, a Doctor and a Cat*, both found in the December 2, 1760 estate inventory of Elisabeth Françoise Pauw, no. 23; Both Brusati and Franits 2004, 147-149, see the two pendants as Springfield's *Two Women with Cradle*, discussed above and the *Doctor's Visit*, Rijksmuseum, now being discussed. The copy of *A Doctor's Visit* (see note 158, listing the works) also has the same color scheme. Regarding the thematic relationship between cradle and doctor's visit scenes, see Brusati 1995, 124, 296, note 135-136 and in this essay, pages 41-41.

¹⁷⁸ See Washington and Amsterdam 1996, 150; See also The Hague and Washington 2005, cat. 13 and 40.

¹⁷⁹ In Otto van Veen's *Amorum emblemata*, he includes an emblem related to lovesickness, stating, "By whome the harme is wrought the remedie is found,/ The causer of the smart, is causer of the ease,/ Hee cures the sicknesse best, that caused the disease,/ Loue must the plaster lay, where loue hath made the wound." Van Veen 1608, 168-169; Washington and Amsterdam 1996, 152.

¹⁸⁰ Washington and Amsterdam 1996, 152.

young woman's urine for diagnosis. From the shadows behind the doctor and man, a bed with curtains and white sheets is visible. On a table protected by a rich tapestry a pitcher and small bottle are set on a white sheet. In the shadows between the maiden's soft silk skirt and the tapestry is a cat with a mouse caught between its paws. Up the stairs along the left side of the room, two additional rooms can be seen, both decorated fashionably with gilt-leather wall coverings and fine paintings.

Many of these pictorial elements are similar to those in doctor's visit scenes by other artists, including the doctor examining a urine specimen, a beautifully-dressed young woman in a brightly colored velvet and fur jacket over a white satin skirt, and allusions to love through paintings or decorative objects: the tapestry on the table, for example, with cherubim surrounded by a garland of roses, alludes to love, as does the painting of Venus and her companions above a doorway in the back room.¹⁸¹ Some elements refer to the ailment *furor uterinus*, or uterine hysteria, the condition of an inflamed uterus, which seemed to plague young women at that time.¹⁸² Van Hoogstraten's image, however, also contains elements that are difficult to interpret. For example, one could read the woman's clasped hands, unique among scenes of this subject, as a sign of melancholy, "an emotional symptom of *furor uterinus*." This gesture is further associated with sloth, the physical inactivity that is both a result and cause of hysteria, a reading reinforced by the maiden's listful expression and pale-green pallor.¹⁸³

An additional painting, seen above the fireplace in the far room with gilded leather walls, is based on a portion of Giorgio Ghisi's engraving after Raphael's *School*

¹⁸¹ This opinion is confirmed by Franits' reading of the scene. Franits 2004, 149.

¹⁸² See Dixon 1995, *passim*.

¹⁸³ The unique gesture can be found in Gestus K, "Tristitia animi signo," from John Bulwer, *Chirologia: Or the Natural Language of the Hand*. London, 1644 and described by Dixon 1995, 69-70. The green pallor is discussed by Franits 2004, 149, and Dixon 1995, 72.

of Athens (fig. 15).¹⁸⁴ The particular part of the painting shown depicts the lower left of Raphael's fresco. In the seventeenth century, the fresco was not read as Plato and Aristotle among other ancient philosophers, but rather as Saints Peter and Paul preaching to the philosophers and Evangelists.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, the portion of the engraving Van Hoogstraten included would have been interpreted as the grouping of the Evangelists. By including this image, Van Hoogstraten introduced a religious element to his scene.¹⁸⁶

The decorative elements refer to both profane and spiritual love,¹⁸⁷ the two means by which the maiden may be cured of *furor uteris*. Earthly love, as represented by Venus and the putti, will satisfy the cravings of her womb, while spiritual love encourages faith and the love of God for healing, as represented by the depiction of the Evangelists. The popular *Schat der gesontheyt* (Treasury of Good Health), by Jan van Beverwyck, first published in 1641, counseled that the remedy to all illness was for the afflicted to take refuge in God.¹⁸⁸ Most paintings of this subject include only one approach towards healing, though the approach varied. For example, Steen included a heart on the dog's collar and a young boy assuming the attributes of Cupid in his *Doctor's Visit* of c.1661-1662 (Victoria and Albert Museum) (fig. 16) thereby suggesting that physical love could cure the young woman's malady.¹⁸⁹ The woman's red jacket may

¹⁸⁴ Dixon 1995, 173-174, and Franits 2004, 147-149; Like Van Hoogstraten, De Hooch includes a representation of the engraving in his *Company Making Music* (Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig). *Tot Lering en Vermaak*, Rijksmuseum, 1976, 137. Steen bases his *School for Boys and Girls* (National Gallery of Scotland) on Ghisi's engraving. Smith 1981, 159.

¹⁸⁵ As far back as Giorgio Vasari, the fresco had been interpreted with a religious element, identifying the group in the left foreground as the Evangelists. Later interpretations further developed this idea, identifying the center figures, today known as Plato and Aristotle, as Saints Peter and Paul. Giorgio Ghisi's engraving for Hieronymous Cock, a detail of which is through the far doorway of Van Hoogstraten's painting, Gutman 1941, 420-421.

¹⁸⁶ Gutman 1941, 422-423.

¹⁸⁷ Franits 2004, 149; Dixon 1995, 173-174. I would also like to thank Breanne Robertson for discussing this issue with me.

¹⁸⁸ Washington 2000, 116.

¹⁸⁹ Washington and Detroit 2004, 152.

further allude to physical love. However, in another painting featuring a woman in a red *jak*, Van Mieris's 1657 version (Vienna) (fig. 17) of the subject, a spiritual remedy is emphasized by showing the maiden holding a copy of the New Testament.¹⁹⁰

The inclusion of antipathetic paths to heal uterine hysteria suggests ambiguity in Van Hoogstraten's narrative. However, the color symbolism of the scene argues that this maiden will remain pure,¹⁹¹ recovering her health through solace in God and scripture.¹⁹²

As has been seen previously, the yellow of the woman's jacket was described by Van Mander as a glad, noble, beautiful color that also represented faith.¹⁹³ By dressing the patient in a color denoting faith, Van Hoogstraten confirms that his ailing young woman will turn towards her faith to assist her in her recovery. Van Hoogstraten was the only seventeenth-century Dutch artist to use a yellow *jak* in a doctor's visit scene,¹⁹⁴ though the fashion of a colorful jacket over a white skirt permeates many paintings of this subject. In their paintings discussed above, both Steen and Van Mieris dress their patient in a red *jak*; however, the interpretations of these works are diametrically opposite and only in Steen's work can red be interpreted according to its color symbolism. The white

¹⁹⁰ The Hague and Washington 2005, 107.

¹⁹¹ One hypothesis about the ailment, *furor uterinus*, was that it was caused by spoiled menstrual blood and thus plagued maidens, nuns, and widows. Dixon 1995, 49.

¹⁹² This opposes the reading that, as the pendant to a scene containing a mother and her newborn child, the paintings illustrate pregnancy and birth, or malady and resolution, suggesting attainment of earthly love and sexual relations as the remedy. Brusati 1995, 12; Franits 2004, 149.

¹⁹³ See pages 25-26 and appendix.

¹⁹⁴ Dixon 1995, 1. Vermeer's wife's yellow satin *jak*, found in the inventory, suggests that the color was fairly fashionable. See also note 33.

skirt may suggest purity in most scenes of this subject,¹⁹⁵ but may also simply reference contemporary fashion.¹⁹⁶

In Van Hoogstraten's *The Doctor's Visit*, the spiritual character of the scene is reinforced by a slight halo emanating from the maiden's figure. Emphasized by the shimmering white and gold of the woman's garments and skin, and distinctly opposed to the darker hues found in her surroundings and companions, the halo further alludes to the Virgin, and elaborates the character of the sitter.

When interpreted in this manner, the connection between Van Hoogstraten's *Doctor's Visit* and the cradle scene argued as its pendant is clarified.¹⁹⁷ The two subjects appear to relate to each other as ailment and cure, for, together, the pendants include elements contained in the rituals of childbirth.¹⁹⁸ Considering the color associations with virtues characteristic of the Virgin Mary, it is also possible that both of these subjects served to associate contemporary women with the Virgin, bestowing on them her virtues even as they participate in the rituals of daily life, illustrating the Virgin before and after the divine birth of her son.¹⁹⁹

Beyond scenes of new mothers and doctors visits, Van Hoogstraten used the combination of white and gold in other paintings as well, as in *A Gypsy Telling the Fortune of a Young Couple* (fig. 18). In this instance, however, it is unclear how the

¹⁹⁵ See appendix; also see page 36-36; The ailing women in doctor's visit scenes are occasionally interpreted as pregnant, which would contradict such a reading of purity. For an additional reading, which finds the white skirts worn by women in bordellos as mockery of the chaste Dutch maiden in genre paintings, see Kettering in Franits 1997, 114.

¹⁹⁶ For further reading, see Kettering in Franits 1997, 98-115, and Irene Groeneweg, "Court and City: Dress in the Age of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," Translated by Michèle Hendricks and edited by Ingrid Grunhill, in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 201-218, as well as the following chapter.

¹⁹⁷ see above, note 177.

¹⁹⁸ Brusati 1995, 124 and Franits 2004, 148-149.

¹⁹⁹ Kettering in Franits 1997, 110-111, discusses the male audience viewing women in white satin as "Secular Virgins," akin to those found in the works under examination.

woman's white gown with gold embroidery and a golden cloak enhances the narrative.

The fact that Van Hoogstraten includes a young woman dressed in a golden gown with a white underskirt, an interesting reversal of the color scheme seen in another work,

Perspective with a Woman Reading a Letter (Mauritshuis), reinforces that color

symbolism may lend itself to intriguing readings of the painting, but colors can be, at times, simply a compositional choice.

Wearing their Hearts on their Sleeves: Gesina and Gerard ter Borch

Around mid-century, in the province Overijssel, seemingly miles from any major artistic center, a family produced some of the most beautiful images in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting.²⁰⁰ However, the work of Gerard ter Borch, the only member of the Ter Borch family to pursue the arts professionally, was far from unknown outside his native Zwolle and Deventer.²⁰¹ In distant Dordrecht, in the southwest corner of the United Provinces, the paintings of Ter Borch were not only known, but admired. Samuel van Hoogstraten included *Gallant Conversation/ Paternal Admonition* (c.1654, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) (fig. 19) in his painting, *The Slippers* (Paris, Louvre) (fig. 20), where it is seen through a doorway, a clever inclusion of figural elements without the inclusion of actual figures in the work.²⁰²

The Ter Borchs did not only send art from Overijssel to the other provinces, but they also collected prints by Rembrandt, Dürer, Annibale Carracci, and other artists, as is evident in the copies made by Moses ter Borch, one of Gerard's younger brothers.²⁰³ Gerard Sr., the patriarch of this artistic family, began collecting drawings and prints from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century while in Italy (c.1604-c.1611), and this collection grew through the years.²⁰⁴ Frequent trips to The Hague in relation to his post as Licensee of Zwolle surely enabled him further opportunities to collect works from the more cosmopolitan Holland. Subsequently, his eldest son, Gerard, would also have

²⁰⁰ This chapter was inspired by ideas first suggested in Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. "Colour Symbolism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," in Van den Doel 2005, 99-110.

²⁰¹ Both Gerard, Jr., and Gerard, Sr. traveled extensively throughout the United Provinces and Europe.

²⁰² Brusati 1995, 84-86; Gerard, Jr. has left some evidence of his travels and interaction with other Dutch artists, including Vermeer. See Wheelock in Washington and Detroit 2004, 2-17.

²⁰³ Kettering 1988, I: 286-351; Prints found in the Ter Borch estate were accessioned into the Rijksmuseum's collection with the other drawings. Kettering 1988, I, vii-viii.

²⁰⁴ Kettering 1988, I: 4.

connected the family with greater cultural trends through his travels. Indeed, poetry, songs, emblems, and other literature from Amsterdam and elsewhere are copied meticulously into the *Materi-Boeck* (begun 1646), *Poetry Album* (begun 1652), and Family Scrapbook (begun 1660) of Gesina ter Borch, Gerard's half-sister.

The title page of Gesina's Family Scrapbook (fig. 21), the latest of her albums, provides evidence of the influence that Dutch culture had on her literary and pictorial world. Quoting directly from Cesare Ripa, Gesina illustrated an allegory of Painting's Triumph over Death.²⁰⁵ She was guided in the allegorical language by her close friend, Hendrik Jordis, an Amsterdam merchant with whom she was acquainted in the 1650s, for he penned an "explanation" to accompany the illustration.²⁰⁶ He may have introduced other aspects of literary and pictorial culture to the young amateur.²⁰⁷ Indeed, in another reference to her title page illustration, elaborating upon his accolades, Jordis wrote, "The Argument of the Gods, or the Triumph of Painting over Death," which references Van Mander's *Den Grondt* in an endnote.²⁰⁸ These connections to Ripa and Van Mander are important when considering the symbolism found within the works of the Ter Borch family.

Included within the albums of Gesina are three sheets referring to the color symbolism of love (fig. 22).²⁰⁹ Although conceptually differently from the color

²⁰⁵ Family Scrapbook, fol. 2 recto; explanation folios 3 recto – 5 recto, as well as in the poem on folio 6 recto-verso, all by Hendrik Jordis, 616.

²⁰⁶ Some suggestion of a possible courtship between the two is possible, though no conclusions can be made. Ultimately, Gesina would never marry, and Jordis seems to disappear from mention in her life soon after. His advice seems more of a prescription, which Gesina religiously follows. Kettering 1988, II:618.

²⁰⁷ Kettering 1988, II:362.

²⁰⁸ Kettering 1988, II:670-671; Family Scrapbook folio 158 recto – 174 recto.

²⁰⁹ The repetition of this chart suggests the importance of the material. The sheet included in the Family Scrapbook (folio 181) is signed and dated 1659, lending a date to all three. Kettering 1988, II:440, folio 39v., 111, 181.

symbolism found in the treatises of Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten, these nevertheless also associate meaning and color.²¹⁰ Consisting of a single line for each color, identified as symbols of love by the colored hearts beginning each row, Gesina, with the assistance of her brother, Harmen,²¹¹ compiled a list of colors and their symbolic associations to love. Absent from their discussion are associations to the temperaments, seasons, and elements, included by Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten. This difference reflects the origin of the Ter Borchs' symbols in contemporary popular literature, rather than established art theory.

Many of Gesina's poems either directly or indirectly refer to the musical and emblematic literature of the seventeenth century, for example, the inclusion of partial or complete emblems by the great Dutch moralist, Jacob Cats.²¹² More related to her interest in love issues, are the emblems of Otto van Veen, published in Antwerp in 1608 as *Amorum Emblemata*.²¹³ While not directly referenced by Gesina, one emblem illustrates the concept Gesina has alluded to in her color chart. In the *Omnis Amatorem Decvit Color* (fig. 23), a cherub stands upon a hilltop overlooking a castle and an Arcadian valley. In his left hand, the cherub holds a chameleon, while emphasizing its central importance to the meaning of the emblem by pointing to it with his right hand. The caption, entitled, "As loue [love] will," reads:

Gesina often repeated favorite motifs, such a couple illuminated only by moonlight, and literary works, such as the Ripa allegory included as the title page of her Family Scrapbook, and poems. Kettering 1988, II:467.

²¹⁰ Refer to Introduction for further examination on the differences between the works and appendix for full comparison.

²¹¹ Harmen wrote and Gesina illustrated these works. Kettering 1988, II:440.

²¹² For example, Folio 97r in the Poetry Album copies Cats' emblem, "*De Vorsch is naeckt gelijk een pier/ En 'tis nochtans een vrolick dier*," from the *Spiegel vanden ouden ende nieuwen tijdt*, The Hague 1632, 62 (emblem XVI). Kettering 1988, 463.

Gesina's choice from Cats' emblems reflect her interest in his morals, appealing to society to temper greed and for maidens to behave chastely, as in fol. 59r (Kettering 1988, II:449-450). Such inclusions are a minority compared to the abundance of poems describing amorous affairs and Petrarchan tragedy.

²¹³ Van Veen 1609, passim.

As the camelion is, so must louer bee,
 And oft his colour change, lyke that whereon hee standes,
 His louers will his will, her bidding his commands,
 And altred from himself right altred as is shee.²¹⁴

Much as the chameleon changes his colors, the lover must alter himself to adapt to the mercurial nature of love. The emblem, describing the various moods of love, connects the morals of Van Veen to the color symbolism of love illustrated in Gesina's color chart.

Gesina and Harmen were not the only seventeenth-century romantics to apply color to the tumults of love. Perhaps also drawing inspiration from Van Veen's emblem, or a greater cultural trend, Justus de Harduijn included aspects of color symbolism in his 1613 sonnet, "Weerlijcke Liefden tot Roose-mond."²¹⁵ Addressing his beloved, his Roose-mond, or Ruby Lips,²¹⁶ the author firsts lists the associations one thinks of in relation to colors. His virtues and vices bear remarkable resemblance to the connotations Gesina and Harmen report in their color chart.²¹⁷ He then applies the colors to describe the state of his courtship, which, having been spurned by his beloved, follows the traditional Petrarchan storyline. He wears a "garment [made] of largely checked, ash grey hair/ As a clear evidence of my labor and misery," a color, he writes, associated with "labor and sweat, sadness, fear, and pain." Scorned by his beloved, the author will never wear green, the color of "hope full of consolation," again, and will don orange, evidencing his despair, "in order to end my pain in this way."²¹⁸ Here, the colored garment one wears displays the wearer's emotions or state.

²¹⁴ Van Veen 1608, 62-63.

²¹⁵ Harduijn 1613, Sonnet 45. I would like to thank Arthur Wheelock for drawing my attention to this poem, given to him by Alison Kettering. The colors noted have been compared to other documents on color symbolism in the chart.

²¹⁶ Use of color to describe one's beloved was fairly common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century love literature. For an amusing satire of this genre, see Shakespeare's sonnet 130 in the 1899 edition of his sonnets.

²¹⁷ See appendix.

²¹⁸ Harduijn 1613, Sonnet 45.

The complexities of love provide the subject material for much of Gesina's albums. Following contemporary literary fashion, Gesina includes many poems and songs of Petrarchan or pastoral sympathies.²¹⁹ Imitating the poetry of Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), who exalts his beloved Laura, yet cannot obtain her, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Petrarchan literature places the maiden on a pedestal, lauding her beauty and chastity.²²⁰ Her suitor, of no match for her, pursues her nonetheless, and either laments his rejection by such drastic means as suicide, or finds solace in her mere existence.²²¹ Such poems contain great contrasts of emotion, particularly the great love and desire felt towards his beloved, compared to the desolation and grief he experiences upon her scorn.²²² While none of the Petrarchan poems in her albums are composed by Gesina herself,²²³ she illustrates many of them, sourcing lines from the literature or enhancing them through her original pictorial compositions. Gesina's particular interest in this genre is evidenced by the poems and songs about desperate and scorned suitors, cruel mistresses, and the tragedies of love that she includes. Often, these verses contain a pastoral element, setting the characters in an Arcadian countryside where their love may be pursued.

One of Gesina's particularly finished illustrations, *Gentleman greeting a lady outside her house at night* (c.1658-1659) (fig. 24) corresponds to the poem about the doomed courtship of Jacks and Elizabeth, published in Amsterdam in 1654 as by W.

²¹⁹ On the popularity of love songs, see Nevitt 2003, 53.

²²⁰ Forster 1969, 2-3; Minta 1980, 8. Forster contrasts this with the contemporary, male-dominated society.

²²¹ The power given to women in Petrarchan literature has been noted to contrast with contemporary, male-dominated society. Forster 1969, 2.

²²² Moore 2000, 7.

²²³ Poems copied into the albums seem to be either published by the poets, or composed by Gesina's acquaintances for inclusion. It does not appear that she wrote any of the poems herself. Kettering 1988, II, passim.

Schellinks.²²⁴ Bowing deep in submission to his beloved, Jacks, a Brabander, greets the Hollander, Elisabeth, with “Good evening, Betty, love, I say, I, I, I am your slave ... ready *tout jour* to do your pleasure.” With a face screwed in contempt and reserved body language, including hands crossed in physical barrier, Elisabeth replies with cruel disdain, jeering at the Brabander’s “droll speech and inflated complements,” filled with the rhetoric and language plays fashionable in the southern Netherlands. Elisabeth also remarks on his clothes and manners, which Gesina accurately depicts in her drawing as well, showing the ribboned Jacks bowing low as though presenting himself in court.²²⁵ The entire interaction between the Brabander and Hollander ends in defeat for the pursuant, as it must be assumed, for nothing in the poem nor the accompanying illustration suggests the young man ever had a chance. His request for a kiss from “Betic’s sweet beak” is scorned, and the would-be lover is sent back from where he emigrated.²²⁶

Gesina’s illustration, placed below the text on the recto of the sheet, shows the would-be lovers below a sympathetic moon on a starry night. Before an old city, whose square includes other couples, Jacks approaches Elisabeth in front of her home, where she greets him with reserved disdain. Without entering the threshold space, Jacks prostrates himself before his lady, head slightly raised to meet her gaze. As in the courtly manner, Jacks turns out his legs, which are adorned with ribboned stockings, part of the Brabander costume ridiculed by Elisabeth. He removes his hat, showing its open side to his love, which is partly visible to the viewer. Still within the realms of her home, here

²²⁴ *De olipodrigo, bestaande in vrolijke gezanden, kusjes, rondeeltjes, levertjes, bruilofts- en mengelrympies*, Amsterdam, 1654.

²²⁵ The character of Jacks is based on the type epitomized by Bredero in his character of Jerolimo in the *Spaanschen Brabander* (1617). Kettering 1988, II:467.

²²⁶ Kettering 1988, II:467.

extended to the front threshold, Elisabeth stands with reserve, leaning slightly back, her face showing the scorn she will inflict upon her suitor. With her hands crossed, she prevents Jacks from entering her physical space, for it would be improper for a Holland woman such as herself to engage with an immigrant from Brabant.

This pictorial composition of a man bowing before his lady found favor in Gesina's pictorial vocabulary. In the Poetry Album, corresponding to a popular poem/song, *Een nieu lieken seer cortoy*, whose Petrarchan lyrics of a lover's lament Gesina had earlier copied into the *Materi-Boeck*, Gesina illustrates a sitting woman, receiving the greetings of her gentleman caller (fig. 25).²²⁷ He has removed his hat, displaying it open towards the viewer, and lends himself into a slight bow, left arm open and legs turned out, much as in the previous illustration.

Gesina's pictorial language was not her own invention, but clearly established within the prints accompanying literature of Petrarchan courtship ritual. The illustration to an emblem in Jan Krul's *Eerlycke Tytkorting* (Honorable Pastimes, Haarlem, 1634), titled "De Overdaed en Doet Geen Baet" ("The Excess that Brings No Profit") (fig. 26), depicts a young man entering a room with a similar greeting to the suitor in Ter Borch's painting.²²⁸ He stands, hat doffed, slight bow, facing his beloved. The emblem warns such suitors not to trust the encouragement of a woman, for such a courtship is most likely to result in grief and sorrow. He laments, "If you never intend to have me, why so much courtship?/ It would honor you best to send me straight away."²²⁹ Such cruelty on

²²⁷ Kettering 1988, II:451, 549.

²²⁸ Washington and Detroit 2004, 124; Gesina includes multiple other poems by Krul in her album, for example, an excerpt from *Minne-popiens*, 1638, which she copies on folio 10r of her Poetry Album, and illustrates with a pastoral love scene. Kettering 1988, II, 426-427, 491.

²²⁹ As cited in Washington and Detroit 2004, 27.

the part of the maiden, who engages in eye contact with her suitor, is directly within the confines of Petrarchan literature.

The poses of the young man in Krul's print and Gesina's illustrations find resonance in the painted work of Gesina's eldest brother, Gerard.²³⁰ In *The Suitor's Visit* (c.1658, Washington, National Gallery of Art) (fig. 27), a young gentleman caller enters a room to be received by his beloved. He bows slightly, while retaining eye contact with the beautiful young woman standing before him, clasping his hat in his right hand and gesturing with his opened left. His legs are turned out in a similar, though not exact, manner as Gesina's illustrated suitor. Like Elisabeth, the Holland woman too proud to receive the advances of the Brabander, Jakes, Gerard's young woman stands upright, with her hands joined before her. Though without accompanying poetry, this couple may also be read as illustrating Petrarchan concepts of love and courtship, particularly when employing Gesina's color symbols to the central couple.

Much as Roose-Mond's lover wears colored garments to express his scorned fate,²³¹ the central figures in *The Suitor's Visit* wear colors that help emphasize their role in the narrative. A young man in black bows before a beautiful lady in a red corset and shimmering white skirt.²³² According to Gesina and Harmen's chart, black suggests "steadfastness," "carnation," is "revenge or cruelty," columbine (pink) is love, and white,

²³⁰ Gesina and Gerard had many connections: she was his model and they depict similar subject matter and figural motifs. She drew with her younger brothers, who seem to have had instruction from their older brother and father. Wheelock in Washington and Detroit 2004, 12.

A connection can be argued for other visual connections between Gerard and Gesina, for example, *The Introduction* (c.1662, Polesden Lacy, The McEwan Collection, The National Trust) and Gesina's illustration of a young man kissing his beloved's hand (Poetry Album, fol. 97r). Washington and Detroit 2004, 141-143.

²³¹ See note 215.

²³² Arthur Wheelock identifies Gesina as the model for this painting. Conversation 05/2006. Sitting at a table beside the central couple, a young woman playing the lute is dressed in blue. According to Gesina, blue represents jealousy.

as almost always, is “pureness.”²³³ Additionally, according to Ripa and Van Mander, black is associated with mourning, and red with love.²³⁴ Simply read, the colors suggest that the suitor pursues his beloved with unwavering faith, drawn to her pure, sweet nature.²³⁵ However, his advances are rebuffed by the cruel maiden, and the young man retreats, grief-stricken and brokenhearted.²³⁶ Such a tragedy parallels the Petrarchan poems which Gesina so energetically copied into her albums.

The painted form in some ways reinforces a Petrarchan courtship, but complicates it in other ways. Though appearing to clasp her hands demurely before her, as shown in Gesina’s illustration of Elisabeth, the central woman actually makes the *ficus* gesture, placing her right thumb between the index and second finger of her left hand, an allusion to sexual intercourse.²³⁷ The suitor returns her gesture by creating a circle with his thumb and first finger, thus completing the silent conversation.²³⁸ In this, it is the maiden who initiates the exchange,²³⁹ suggesting that the resolution of this exchange will echo Krul’s scorned suitor, “If you never intend to have me, why so much courtship? It would honor you best to send me straight away.”²⁴⁰ The cruelty of literary characters, enticing and then rejecting their suitors, does find some resonance in the actuality of Dutch maidens’ courtship behavior. Though the characteristics were not recommended by Jacob Cats,

²³³ See appendix.

²³⁴ See appendix.

²³⁵ Wheelock 2005, 107.

²³⁶ Recall mourning as black (see appendix).

²³⁷ While there is certain possibility that Ter Borch’s central woman is simply holding her hands as a Dutch maiden would do, Kettering’s argument that the maiden is not making the gesture is not convincing (Kettering in Franits 1998, 226-227, note 66). Her argument is based on a contemporary print by Wenzel Hollar (Paris 1979, 1 15) of a woman holding her hands before her. However, the print shows a woman in a closed-fingered clasp, holding four fingers with her other hand. She does not extend her thumb through her first two fingers of the other hand, as Ter Borch’s woman does. Wheelock 1995, 27.

²³⁸ Wheelock 1995, 27.

²³⁹ Wheelock identifies the woman as the initiator of the interaction, based on the focus given to her by the dog’s attention.

²⁴⁰ Quoted in Wheelock 1995, 27.

who prescribed that women demonstrate restraint and passivity, foreigners often remarked upon the relative freedom and flirtatiousness of Dutch women.²⁴¹ In his youth, Constantijn Huygens recounts his courtship with Dorothea van Dorp, one in which all advancement of intimacies were initiated by the young woman.²⁴²

The extent to which the woman in *The Suitor's Visit* encourages her suitor is made unclear by the gaze exchanged between the two central figures. Clearly their eyes meet. Yet, her expression appears to display the reserve of a chaste maiden as advised by Cats. She does not seem welcoming or excited about his appearance. His pursed smile, too, suggests a slight hesitation, and he demonstrates a bow ever so minimal to merely evidence his supplication to her position;²⁴³ quite unlike the rushing proclamations of love standard to Petrarchan courtship scenes.

The ambiguity of the scene's narrative is quite characteristic of Ter Borch's paintings, and use of color symbolism as an interpretative tool helps unravel the vagueness. Yet the nature of color symbolism, being a symbolic reading of a concrete element, presents its own problems, particularly when discussing genre scenes, which are specifically designed as a possible representation of a certain reality. When one views such a scene, questions about the degree of reality come to mind.²⁴⁴ In *The Suitor's Visit*, elements from the seventeenth-century Dutch world enable a more life-like view into the painting's space, but may also hinder symbolical readings of the image, particularly when discussing garments, which can also be governed by the laws of contemporary fashion.

²⁴¹ As cited by Kettering in Franits1997, 107.

²⁴² as cited in Nevitt 2003, 86.

²⁴³ A more dramatic bow, deep enough to supplicate himself below his sitting beloved, is illustrated by Gesina. Kettering 1988, 418.

²⁴⁴ Alpers 1983, passim.

Among the merchants of fourteenth-century Venice and the court of Philip the Good of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, black garments became extremely fashionable. When prevented from wearing extravagant garments by the sumptuary laws in place, Venetian merchants turned to donning richly saturated black fabrics. These expensive black fabrics²⁴⁵ were easily differentiated from the faded black worn by monks and mourners, which was “sad, the colour of the earth and of melancholy, and the most humble colour there is.”²⁴⁶

The fashion for black has also been argued to originate in the display of grief by Philip the Good upon his father’s murder in 1419. Stemming from Christian traditions associating the color with humility, penitence, grief, and denial, black was chosen for the robes of many religious orders.²⁴⁷ In the fourteenth century, Geoffery Chaucher and other contemporary authors identified the melancholic, grieving lover in literature by dressing them in black, allowing the lover to literally wear his heart on his sleeve before his beloved, and demonstrating that the loss of his beloved amounted to the same grief associated with death.²⁴⁸

The two traditions of black garments, one followed by merchants prevented from wearing the extravagant fashions of the nobility, and the other by those who wished to demonstrate their grief and melancholia, converged in the fashion of Philip II of Spain. By wearing black, the king associated himself with his merchant citizens, for whom the

²⁴⁵ The elegant black cloth was only available to the extremely wealthy, as the process to create black fabric was costly and time consuming. Only in the sixteenth century, when Indian logwood was imported from Mexico, was black dye more readily accessible. However, this dye was still sensitive and fleeting. Harvey 1995, 56; Pastoureau 2001, 86; and Stone-Ferrier 1985, 226.

²⁴⁶ Jehan Courtois, *Le Blason des coulours* as quoted in Harvey 1995, 55.

²⁴⁷ Harvey details the rise of black in religious orders over white, detailing the reasons for this in a twelfth-century letter by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny; Through the Dominican Order’s adoption of black robes as a sign of its members’ self-denial through which they obtained holiness, the color became impressive and powerful. Harvey 1995, 44-46.

²⁴⁸ Harvey 1995, 51.

color had come to express a dedication to the serious nature of their trade, while still projecting fashionable refinement and financial success.²⁴⁹ Castiglione, in *Il libro del cortegiano* (The Book of the Courtier, 1528), reflected upon the fashion for black, which he had seen in Spain, and associated it with “inner control.”²⁵⁰

These concepts appealed to both princes and merchants, and found resonance in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, however broad the appeal of black garments, in paintings it appears that colored clothing was fashionable throughout the century for men and women alike.²⁵²

By dressing the young man entering the room in *The Suitor's Visit* in black, Ter Borch may have been suggesting the lover's melancholic temperament. Playing through the rituals of Petrarchan courtship, he is unlikely to emerge with much more than a broken heart. The contrast between the jackets worn by the two men in the painting supports this theory, because the other man, viewing the couple from in front of the fireplace, wears a brown garment, revealing nothing about his character.²⁵³ Yet, in his pursuit of portraying a realistic depiction of life, Ter Borch may simply painted the young man in contemporary fashion, void of any further symbolism.

²⁴⁹ Harvey 1995, 63-68.

²⁵⁰ As cited in Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 209.

²⁵¹ The Dutch regency first adopted black garments, followed by the rest of the population. Stone-Ferrier 1985, 226, Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 210-217; Additionally, the morality heavily proscribed by the Calvinists as well as the unification of the Dutch people under one colored cloak appealed to the new Republic. Harvey 1995, 89-90.

²⁵² For suggested reasons for the lasting power of colored garments, see Stone-Ferrier, 219, 226-227; Harvey 1995, 116, 120; Pastoureau 2001, 110; Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 210-211.

²⁵³ The construction of the man's sleeve is similar to the scribe's in *Officer Dictates a Letter While a Trumpeter Waits* (c.1658-1659, The National Gallery, London); In 1657, about a year before *The Suitor's Visit* was painted, Constantijn Huygens disapproved of the increasing fashion among young men for grey and brown suits, “soldier-fashion in motley and grey,” which began to replace ones of black silk. Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 211. It is likely that this fashion, perhaps resonating with the fashion inspired by soldiers lingering in Overijssel after the long wars, is shown in *The Suitor's Visit*.

Black was certainly as fashionable for women as for men, though even in the 1620s, when the resurgence of black garments' popularity was inspired by French modes, ladies retained elements of the colorful garments popular during the brief period when black silk was out of favor.²⁵⁴ For most of the seventeenth century, women preferred to sit in black for their portraits, unless they wished to “convey such associations as chastity, Arcadian innocence, ephemerality, the newly wedded state, or aristocratic status,” in which case they wore light-colored satin.²⁵⁵ However, in reality, black was reserved as an over gown, worn for formal occasions; colorful garments were worn in daily life.²⁵⁶ It is the latter fashions that are the ones depicted in the work of Ter Borch and other Dutch genre painters.

Red bodices were certainly popular in the United Provinces in the seventeenth century, as seen in both contemporary genre paintings and inventories. Stays or corsets, the undergarment worn under a *jak*, were commonly red in color, and can be seen in Pieter de Hooch's *Mother with a Child*, (c.1662, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) and Gabriel Metsu's *Intruder*, c.1660 (National Gallery of Art, Washington) (fig. 28).²⁵⁷ Within Ter Borch's oeuvre, a similar red garment may be seen in *Curiosity*, (c.1660, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art), though this particular item has detachable sleeves and golden embroidery. Inventories of households evidence the popularity of red bodices, which may account for its common appearance in

²⁵⁴ See Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 210, for the period 1580-1625 during which black seemed not to be the highest fashion and its revival. For differences in etiquette of black fashion between the sexes, see Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 211.

²⁵⁵ Kettering in Franits 1997, 103-104

²⁵⁶ Groeneweg in Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997, 210-211.

²⁵⁷ De Winkel in Gaskell and Gonker 1998, 329.

In the *Intruder*, it can be seen that the woman emerging from her bed, will put on her slippers and her red *jak* to receive the gentleman caller. Wheelock 1995, 167.

genre imagery.²⁵⁸ It is highly possible that Gesina or one of her sisters may have owned such a garment, allowing Gerard ready access to it as a model for his paintings.

Even more likely to belong to the Ter Borch household, the white shimmering silk skirt appears regularly in Gerard's works.²⁵⁹ This particular skirt style, with golden embroidery down the front and at the hem, was popular in the Netherlands, appearing in Van Hoogstraten's *The Young Mother* (1670s, Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie) (fig. 9) and plain white skirts abound in artistic representation. White skirts also appear in inventories, personal letters and diary entries, suggesting that their inclusion in painting is a reflection of reality.²⁶⁰

Such questions related to contemporary fashion complicate readings of *The Suitor's Visit* through color symbolism, but ambiguity is characteristic of Ter Borch's genre scenes. The existence of Gesina's color chart and Petrarchan poem illustrations with similar compositions to *The Suitor's Visit* provides enough counterweight to lend significant possibility to the above narrative interpretation. Among genre paintings pertaining to love by other seventeenth-century Dutch artists, the abundance of red bodices or *jaks* paired with white, as in *The Suitor's Visit*, leads one to question if color symbolism, as applied above, can be used in interpreting the work of those artists as well.

Inspired by Ter Borch's *The Suitor's Visit*, Gabriel Metsu's *The Intruder* of c.1660 also includes a young woman in a red bodice over a white skirt. It is also clear that her overgarment, the *jak*, and skirt lying on the chair in the lower right of the painting, will be put on to cover her more informal dress. What is not clear, though, is whether the suitor attempting entry into the room is there to see her or the woman seated at the

²⁵⁸ De Winkel in Gaskell and Jonker 1998, 336.

²⁵⁹ See Kettering in Franits 1997 for more on the repetition and readings of this satin skirt

²⁶⁰ Kettering in Franits 1997, 102.

vanity.²⁶¹ While the seated woman in the green *jak* seems delighted to see the young man, the expression of the woman in red and white displays emotions more aligned to boredom or contempt upon his impromptu visit. Should she be the beloved who is being courted, the formal language of her body echoes the Petrarchan maiden, as can also be symbolized through the color of her garments. Sexual innuendos, such as the act of putting her foot in her slipper as she leaves her bed, and the pitcher and candle placed beside each other on the floor, provide similar signs as the hand gesture between the suitor and maiden in Ter Borch's work.²⁶² Furthermore, the candle, unlit, emphasizes the woman's virginity, as described by her white skirt.²⁶³

In Leiden, where the lyrics for many songbooks originated among the educated population²⁶⁴ and the *fijnschilder* manner of painting paralleled the style of Ter Borch, Frans van Mieris the Elder depicted many red *jaks* in his paintings. In *The Oyster Meal* (1660, The Hague, Mauritshuis) (fig. 29), a man and a woman, modeled on the artist and his wife, Cunera van der Cock, interact over a meal of oysters and white wine. The woman's vivid red *jak* is opened to reveal a low-cut bodice that barely restrains her bosom.²⁶⁵ Contrasting beautifully with the textures of velvet and fur in her jacket, as well as the intricate table carpet, a shimmering white satin skirt drapes over her knees and chair. Behind her, dressed in deep tones that evoke a rich black velvet, her suitor engages

²⁶¹ Following the visual language of Ter Borch, Metsu attempts to lend ambiguity to the narrative. However, Metsu's more complex compositions do not achieve the same level of uncertainty as found in Ter Borch's. Wheelock 1995, 168.

The woman at the vanity, who may share a gaze with the intruder, has been suggested to be the central woman's mother. <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=68+0+none>. Accessed 04/03/08. Additionally, this woman and the intruder both are framed by archways, furthering their connection. Wheelock 1995, 166.

²⁶² Wheelock 1995, 166.

²⁶³ <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=68+0+none>. Accessed 04/03/08.

²⁶⁴ Nevitt 2003, 52.

²⁶⁵ In a portrait of his wife, Van Mieris shows Cunera van der Cock in a red *jak* exactly like the one in this painting. *Cunera van der Cock, the Artist's Wife*, c.1657-1658. Oil on vellum (?) on panel. National Gallery, London.

her in conversation while offering her a plate of oysters. Framing the couple are a lute-shaped jug and a bed, looming in the background, enticing the couple towards erotic abandon. The objects alone suggest “amorous intrigue.”²⁶⁶ Oysters, a symbol of sensual desire, are paired with wine, together signifying sensual pleasure.²⁶⁷

Petrarchan readings of the colors black, red, and white account for a portion of the meaning in this particular scene. Dressed in black, the gentleman can be read as the Petrarchan suitor, devoted in all extents to his beloved, bowing towards her. However, the cheer expressed on his face indicates anything but despair. The beautiful woman to whom he caters is dressed in the red of passion, though her gesture implies acceptance rather than cruel rejection of his pursuit. It is clear that she is no longer in control of the seduction. The chaste ideal of a Dutch maiden, symbolized through a white skirt, contrasts with this woman’s body language, in no way evocative of silent reserve.²⁶⁸ Instead, the color, sheen, and depth of both the white satin and the oysters insinuate a connection, both encouraging erotic connotations.

Likely the pendant to *The Oyster Meal*,²⁶⁹ *Teasing the Pet* (1660, The Hague, Mauritshuis) (fig. 30) may be seen with more Petrarchan principles. Again, the artist’s wife sits in her red *jak*, though here her white skirt is replaced with one of blue. While not codified in any of the color symbolism literature, a close association between blue and white stems from the concurrence of both colors with the Virgin Mary.²⁷⁰ The woman in

²⁶⁶ Exhibition title: *Amorous Intrigues and Painterly Refinement: The Art of Frans van Mieris*, National Gallery of Art, February 26 – May 21, 2006.

²⁶⁷ Cheney 1987, 147, 154-155.

²⁶⁸ It should also be recalled that this painting incorporated the artist and his wife as models, and this would have been known to purchasers, so a married woman could not be described as an untouched maiden.

²⁶⁹ The Hague and Washington 2005, 146.

²⁷⁰ From the thirteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, the Virgin Mary was most often depicted wearing blue, though festivals surrounding the Virgin were associated with white. Pastoreau 2001, 54-55; see also page 36.

Teasing the Pet may be read in the colors of Petrarchan femininity: cruel and passionate in red, pure and ideal in blue.²⁷¹ Her actions further this narrative, for she scorns the contact attempted by her suitor, pushing him away and focusing her attention upon her dogs.²⁷²

While not all paintings about love containing a woman in red and white demonstrate color symbolism at play, the possibility of such a reading should be considered. Petrarchan literature and the corresponding illustrations were popular throughout the United Provinces in the seventeenth century, and would have provided a culture and visual language understood by most citizens. Though it is not as evident that color symbolism was as universal in general Dutch culture,²⁷³ Gesina's color chart and Harduijn's poem containing color symbols suggest that the iconology of color was a matter of some interest among the poets and writers of the day. Certainly, Ripa's allegories provided a firm basis for color associations, as evident in Hendrik Jordis's clear familiarity with the Italian author's work.²⁷⁴ The seventeenth century is framed by two seminal treatises, that of Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten, suggesting that the material retained its immediacy and relevance throughout the century.

²⁷¹ If blue is not read as associated with the Virgin Mary, representing purity, it may be read as jealousy according to Gesina's color chart. If interpreted as "light blue," it refers to constancy.

²⁷² The Hague and Washington 2005, 144.

²⁷³ Meaning, outside the artistic circles in which Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten would be known. Ripa, on the other hand, seems to have been more generally known.

²⁷⁴ See note 208.

Conclusion

Color symbolism as discussed by Karel van Mander, Samuel van Hoogstraten, and Gesina ter Borch was used in paintings associated with each of these authors. Interpretations of the symbolic meanings related to the use of color depend heavily upon the context in which the color is located, and must be cautiously applied. One must consider all meanings associated with the color in question and consider those meanings with other signs and symbols in the painting.²⁷⁵

When applied to artists not directly related to a literary discussion of color symbolism, one must be even more cautious in one's interpretation of meaning, as evident in the case of Frans van Mieris, where color symbolism can be applied to only one of a pair of pendants.²⁷⁶ On the other hand, Gabriel Metsu, a student of Ter Borch, seems to have been more consistent in his use of color symbolism.²⁷⁷

The recurrence of treatises containing color symbolism, as well as the greater integration of such ideas into contemporary literature throughout the seventeenth century suggests that meaning was consistently found in color. And with its limitations understood, color symbolism may be incorporated into the toolbox of the art historian. Alongside literature, emblems, prescribed morals, medical practices and other cultural sources, color symbolism helps elucidate the narrative of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. Much like these other sources, color symbolism cannot be read literally, and the multiplicity of possible meanings must be countered by the context presented in the

²⁷⁵ See page 7.

²⁷⁶ See page 57 - 59.

²⁷⁷ See page 56 - 57.

painting. But, a careful consideration of the meaning of color gives art historians one more means for interpreting the complexities of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings.

Illustrations

Appendix: Chart of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Color Symbolism

The following pages contain the chart comparing the color symbolism of Cesare Ripa, Karel van Mander, Justus de Harduijn, Gesina ter Borch, and Samuel van Hoogstraten.

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Reds					
Carnation				Revenge or cruelty	Pink or crimson (<i>l'incarnat</i>) – love (223)
Columbine (pink)				Love	
Flesh color (pink)	Magnificenza (Magnificence) R, A				
	Mesi: Ottobre (October) R, A				
	Pace (Peace) R, A				
			Haughtiness		
Red	Monarchia Mondana (Worldly monarch) A	Heraldry – “grandeur and courageous bravery” (80)			Majesty and intrepidity/ dauntlessness/ boldness (<i>l'intrépidité</i>) (220/354)
	Martirio (Martyrdom) R, A				
	Superbia (Pride) R, A				
	Contrasto (Conflict) R, A	Planets – Mars, Tuesday (80)			Mars (220/354)
	Guerra (War) R, A				
	Homicidio (Murder) R, A				
	Crudelta I (Cruelty) R, A				
	Inimicitia Mortale (Enmity) A				

²⁷⁸ Okayama 1992, passim.

²⁷⁹ Van Mander/Honig 1604/1618, 78-81.

²⁸⁰ Harduijn 1613, Sonnet 45.

²⁸¹ Kettering 1988, II:440, folio 39v., 111, 181.

²⁸² Van Hoogstraten 1678, 220-223, and Van Hoogstraten/Blanc 1678, 352-356. When page numbers are separated by a slash, the second number refers to Blanc's French translation, and often references a term not directly translatable into English.

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Red		Ages of Man – “red to the fiftieth year, when a man is strong of heart” (81)			Ages of man – to the fiftieth year (223)
	Ira 1 (Anger) R, A				
	Flagello di Dio (God’s wrath) R, A				
		Four Humors/ Temperaments – “the Sanguine, full of blood”(81)			Temperaments – Sanguine (223)
			Revengeful- ness		
		Virtues – “fiery Love” (80)			Love (red or <i>l’incarnat</i>) (223)
	Elementi: Fuoco (Fire) R, A	Elements – fire (81)			Elements – fire (223)
	Mesi: Agosto August R, A	Seasons – “the summer, because of the sunshine’s burning heat” (81)			Seasons – summer (can also be yellow); autumn (with blue) (223)
					Pink/crimson (<i>l’incarnat</i>) signifies moderate/ reasonable wealth/riches (<i>richesse raisonnable</i>) (222)
	Vergogna Honestà (Modest bashfulness) A				
	Temperanza 5 (Temperance) R, A				
	Carità 1 (Charity) R, A				
	Consiglio (Council) R, A				
	Tutela (Tuition) A				

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Red	Diligenza (Diligence/ carefulness)				
	Eloquenza 2 (Eloquence) A				
	Fede (Faith) A				
	Pieta (Piety) R, A				
	Ingiuria (Insult/ damage) R, A				
	Riprensione Giovevole (Admonition) A				
	Vendetta (Vindictivness) R, A				
	Inubidienza (Disobedience) R, A				
	Sdegno (Indignation/ resentment) R, A				
	Invocazione (Invocation) R, A				
Red and yellow	Volonta 1 (The will) R, A				
	Desiderio verso Iddio (Love or desire towards God) R, A				
Red and green	Audacia (Audacity) R, A				
	Sollecitudine (Care) R, A				
Red and blue	Curiosita (Curiosity) R, A				
	Stagioni: Autunno 3 (Autumn) R, A				

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Red and brown	Alterezza in Persona nata Povera Civile (False splendor/ loftiness/ pride) A				
Red and grey	Alterezza in Persona nata Povera Civile (False splendor/ loftiness/ pride) A				
Red and white	Confessione Sacramentale (Confession) A				
	Hospitalita (Hospitality) A				
	Intrepida e Costanza (Undauntedness and constancy) R, A				
Oranges					
Orange			Despair	Hopelessness	Orange mixed with green evokes hope and fear (222)
Yellows					
Yellow²⁸³	Vulgo overo Ignobilita (Ignobility) A	"noblest because it indicates the beautiful color of gold" (78)			
		"a lovely, glad color, light and pure of appearance when right next to white" (79)		Gladness or joy	
		"it should not seem to conflict with decorum to set gold at the forefront among the colors." (79)			

²⁸³ Cross-reference with Gold and Golden/Yellow for all entries.

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Yellow	Stagioni: Estate (Summer) R, A				
	Agricoltura 3 (Agriculture) R, A				
	Aurora (Dawn) R, A				
	Speranza (Hope) R, A				
	Timidita o Timore (Dread or fear) R, A				
	Ispirazione (Inspiration) A				
	Previdenza (Forethought) R, A				
	Fraude (Fraud) R, A				
	Inganno (Deceit) R, A				
	Imperfettione (Imperfection) R				
	Malvagita (Malevolence) A				
Gold²⁸⁴		"no color can surpass in beauty the beautiful color of gold" (78)			
	Magnificenza (Magnificence) R, A	costly, "cheerful and exceedingly beautiful, yes, wonderfully noble" (78)			
	Ricchezza (Wealth) R, A				
	Abondanza 2 (Abundance) R, A				
	Opulenza 2 (Opulence) A				

²⁸⁴ Cross-reference with Yellow and Golden/Yellow for all entries.

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Gold	Giustitia Divina (Divine justice) R, A	“according to the indications in the scripture, the trusted, active belief’s power; with it the bride of Christ is everywhere suffused, as the arm-bands of Rebecca also universally mean” (79)			
	Gloria (Glory) R, A				
	Immortalita 2 (Immortality) R, A				
	Religione Finta (False religion) R, A				
	Attione Virtuosa (a virtuous action) A	“the highest metal indicated [its wearer] to be rich, wise, noble, magnanimous, and of high rank.” (79)			Wisdom, nobility, generosity (220/353)
	Intelletto (Intellect) R, A				
	Intelligenza (Intelligence) R, A				
	Magnanimita (Magnanimity) R, A				
	Generosita (Generosity) A				
	Dottrina (Doctrine) R, A				
	Educatione (Education) A				

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Gold	Bonta (Good nature) R, A	“sometimes standing alone, it means a reasonable man, of good estate, even-tempered, and wise in behaviour, also very good in discernment, and at home everywhere” (79)			
	Giustitia (Justice) R, A				
	Conservazione (Conservation) R, A				
	Esperienza (Experience) A				
	Sincerita (Sincerity) R, A				
	Valore I (Valour) R, A				
	Virilita (Manhood/ adulthood) R, A				
	Virtu (Virtue) R, A				
	Inganno (deceit) R, A				
	Morte (Death) R, A				
	Perfettione (Perfection) R, A				
	Salubrita o Purita dell’Aria (pure air) A				
	Sostanza (Sustenance) R, A				
	Utilita (Utility) R, A				
	Vittoria (Victory) R, A				

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Golden/ Yellow²⁸⁵		Heraldry – “beautiful and glowing gold can give indication of nobility and high estate” (80)			
		Planets – “gold corresponds with the sun,” Sunday (80)			Sun; Neptune (god) (220/353)
		Virtues – Faith (80)			Gold and topaz for faith (223) ²⁸⁶
		Ages of Man – “golden, the youth up to his twentieth year” (81)			“yellow gilt/gilded (<i>doré</i>) to the twentieth year” (223)
	Orange-yellow Mesi: Luglio July R, A				Seasons – summer (223)
Topaz (stone)	Pudicitia (Bashfulness/ chastity) R, A	“among all pure noble gems, the topaz (to speak justly) is to be compared to this noblest gold color.” (79)			
Yellow and red	Desiderio verso Iddio (Love or desire towards god) R, A				
	Volonta 1 (The will) R, A				
Gold and flesh-color (pink)		moderate riches (79)			
Gold and green		the hope of enjoyment with good pleasures (79)			

²⁸⁵ Cross-reference with Yellow and Gold for all entries.

²⁸⁶ Mistranslated as red in Van Hoogstraten/Blanc 1678, 356.

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Gold and blue		“which they would by preference join to it, was meant for those who bore multicolors the enjoyment of the world’s delights and pleasures” (79)			“signifies the custom of pleasure of the world” (222)
	Yellow and blue - Otio (Idleness) A				
	Yellow and blue - Sospitione (Distrust) R, A				
Gold and violet		the satisfying joy of love (79)			
Gold and purple	Benignita 2 (Bounty) A				
	Discretione (Discretion) A				
	Splendore del Nome (Renown) A				
Gold and black		patience and constancy in love (79)			
Gold and grey		“was meant nothing other than a precariousness of those who torment themselves in order not to enjoy” (79)			Gold and grey – carefulness (<i>le soin</i>) (222)
					grey with yellow makes known the poverty/ destitution to keeping the welcomed (222).

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
Gold and grey	Yellow and grey - Otio (Idleness) R				
Gold and silver	Temperanza 4 (Temperance) R, A				
Gold and white	Modestia (Modesty) A				
	Premio (Reward) R, A				
	Felicita Breve (Short felicity) R, A				
	Yellow, yellowish-brown and white - Pecunia (Wealth) R, A				
Greens					
Green	Diletto (Delight) A	Heraldry – “beauty, goodness and joy” (80)			Youth, beauty, elation and incorruption (<i>incorruption</i>) (221/354)
	Piacere (Pleasure) R, A				
	Riso (Laughter) R, A				
		Planets – Venus, Friday (80)			Venus (221)
	Pudicitia (Bashfulness/ chastity) R, A				
		Virtues – “Strength, for steady persistence” (80)			Strength (223)
	Fatica (Fatigue) R, A				
	Ambitione (Ambition) R, A	Ages of Man – “green, the young man to his thirtieth year” (81)			To the thirtieth year (223)
	Stagioni: Primavera 3 (Spring) R, A	Seasons – “green indicates spring in the year’s four seasons” (81)			

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Green	Mesi: Aprile April R, A				
	Mesi: Maggio May R, A				
	Speranza (Hope) R, A		Hope full of consolation	Hope	Orange mixed with green evokes hope and fear (222)
	Speranza delle Fatiche (Fatigued hope) R, A				
	Speranza Divina e Certa (Certain hope) R, A				
	Agricoltura 1 (Agriculture) R, A				
	Abondanza 1 (Abundance) R, A				
	Allegrezza (Mirth) R, A				
	Arte 1 (Art) R, A				
	Augurio Buono (A good augury) A				
	Benevolenza o Affetione (Affection or Benevolence) A				
	Confermatione dell' Amicitia (Confirmation of friendship) A				
	Conversazione (Conversation) A				
	Conversione (Conversion) A				
	Corruttela ne' Giudici (A bad or corrupt judge) R, A				
	Corte 2 (Court) R, A				
	Crapula 2 (Orgy) R, A				
	Debito (Debt) A				

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Green	Emulazione 1 (Emulation) R, A				
	Eternita 6 (Eternity) R, A				
	Historia (History) R, A				
	Tempo 2 (Time) R, A				
	Oratione 2 (Prayer) R, A				
Light green	Inconsideratione (Inconsideration) A				
	Mesi: Giugno June R, A				
Verdigris	Arroganza (Arrogance) R, A				
	Dispregio della Virtu (Derision) R, A				
	Impieta 1 (Impiety) R, A				
	Maledicenza (Calumny) R, A				
	Perfidia (Infidelity/ Perfidy) R, A				
	Sacrilegio (Sacrilege) R, A				
Verdigris and rust- colored brown	Persecutione (Persecution) R, A				
Seagreen				Instability or unsteadfast- ness	
			Ingenuity and sensibility		
	Vita e l'Animo (Life and spirit) A				

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Green and red	Audacia (audacity) R, A				
	Sollecitudine (Care) R, A				
Green and orange					Orange mixed with green evokes hope and fear (222)
Green and brown	Elementi: Terra (Earth)				
Green and white	Digiuno (Fasting) A				
Green shot-colored	Wissel (Draft/ Exchange) A				
Blues					
Light blue				Constancy	
Blue	Dapocaggine (Inertia) A				Constancy (<i>constance</i>)
	Incostanza (Inconstancy) R, A				
	Ragione di Stato (Reason of State) R, A	Virtues – “Justice with the exquisite blue of Heaven” (80)			Justice (223)
	Ragione (Reason) R, A				
	Fermezza (Firmness) R, A				
	Imperial Blue - Cielo (Heaven) A				
	Sapienza (Wisdom) R, A				Knowledge (221/354)
		Planets – Jupiter, Thursday (80)			Jupiter (221)
		Ages of Man – “blue up to fifteen years the inexperienced boy” (81)			To the fifteenth year (223)

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Blue		Four Humors/ Temperaments – “the short- tempered Choleric” (81)			Temperaments – Choleric (223)
	Elementa:Aria (Air) R, A	Elements – air (81)			Elements – air (223)
	Carro del Fuoco (Fire) R, A				
	Carro dell’Acqui (Water) R, A				
	Elementi: Acqua (Water) R, A				
	Cosmografia (Cosmography) A				
		Seasons – “the autumn, with its vines besides” (81)			Seasons – autumn – blue or blue with red (223)
					Fidelity (221/354)
	Gelosia (Jealousy) R, A		Vicious envy	Jealousy	
	Benignita 1 (Gentleness) R, A				
	Eternita 1 (Eternity) R, A				
	Fede (Faith) A				
	Pregchiere (Prayer) A				
	Hippocresia (Hypocrisy) A				
	Magnanimita (Magnanimity) R, A				
	Penitenza 1 (Penitence) A				
	Perseveranza 2 (Determination) R, A				
	poesia (Poetry)				
	Simmetria (Symmetry) A				
	Tardita (Tardiness) A				
	Theoria (Theory) A				

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Blue	Beneficio (Beneficence) A				
Blue and red	Curiosita (Curiosity) R, A				Autumn (223)
	Stagioni: Autunno 3 (Autumn) R, A				
Blue and yellow	Otio (Idleness) A				
	Sospitione (Distrust) R, A				
		“which they would by preference join to it, was meant for those who bore multicolors the enjoyment of the world’s delights and pleasures” (79)			“signifies the custom of pleasure of the world” (222)
Blue and black	Buio (Darkness) R				
Sapphire (stone)	Riconciliazione d’Amore (Reconciled love) A				
Purples					
Purple		Heraldry – “abundance and the benevolence of God and men” (80)			
		Planets – “Mercury, the messenger of the gods,” Wednesday (80)			Mercury (222)
	Temperanza (Temperance) R, A	Virtues – “two colors which have lost their names and been mixed into one – rose-violet – correspond to a temperament of			“the reflection/ highlight/ glint (<i>reflet</i>) of violet/ purple (<i>violet</i>) for temperance (<i>tempérance</i>) (223)

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		moderate ways.” (80)			
Purple		Ages of Man – “purple is for age until the seventieth year” (81)			Purple/ crimson (<i>pourpre</i>) to the seventieth year (223)
			Youth and joy, and appearing sweet to one another		
	Stagioni: Inverno (Winter) R, A				Seasons – purplish-brown (<i>pourpre brun</i>) - winter (223)
	Mesi: Settembre (September) R, A				
					Comfort/solace from love (<i>troost van liefde</i>) or amorous deception (<i>violet</i>) (222) ²⁸⁷
	Concordia Maritale (Conjugal love) R, A				
	Elettione (Election) A				
	Eloquenza 1 (Eloquence) R, A				
	Honore 1 (Honor) R, A				
	Tirannide (Dictatorial government) R, A				
	Giurisdittione (Authority) R, A				
	Dottrina (Doctrine) R, A				
	Gravita (Gravity) R, A				

²⁸⁷ The term *troost van liefde* has been translated into “*la deception amoureuse*” by Blanc, translated by this author as “amorous deception. Van Hoogstraten/Blanc 1678, 356.

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Purple	Ratiocinatione o Discorso (Rationality) A				
Purple and gold	Discretione (Discretion) A				
	Splendore del Nome (Renown) A				
	Benignita 2 (Bounty) A				
Purple and white	Aiuto (Assistance) A				
Browns					
Brown				Dead leaf brown - Discretion, prudence and truth	
	Acquisto Cattavo (Fraudulence) R, A				
	Stagioni: Inverno 5 (Winter) R, A				Winter (purple- brown) (223)
	Mesi: Novembre (November) R, A				
	Augurio Cattivo (A bad augury) R, A				
	Cosmografia (Cosmography) A				
	Tormento d'Amore (Torment of love) R, A				
	Lion-colored brown - Fortezza (Strength) R, A				
Yellowish- brown	Mesi: Marzo (March) R, A				
	Prattica (Practice) A				
	Querela (Complaint) R, A				

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Yellowish- brown	Patienza (Patience) R, A				
	Peste overo Pestilentia 1 (Pestilence) R, A				
Rust- colored brown	Crudelta 2 (Cruelty) R, A				
	Danno (Damage) A				
	Malignita (Malevolence) R, A				
	Detrattione 1 (Detraction) R, A				
	Offesa (Offence) A				
	Rebellione (Rebellion) A				
	Gola (Gluttony) R, A				
	Ingordigia (Gluttony) R, A				
	Voracita (Gluttony) R, A				
	Ingratitudine (Ingratitude) R, A				
	Invidia (Envy) R, A				
Rust- colored brown and verdigris	Persecutione (Persecution) R, A				
Brown and red	Altezza in Persona nata Povera Civile (False splendor/ loftiness/ pride) A				
Brown and green	Elemente: Terra (Earth) R, A				

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Blacks					
Black	Tragedia (Tragedy) R, A	Heraldry – “humility and sadness that live in the heart” (80)			
		Virtues – “Wisdom with black, discrete in its practice” (80)			Wisdom (223)
	Morte (Death) R, A	Ages of Man – “black is considered correct for mourning before death”(81)			From the seventieth year to death (223)
		Planets – “corresponds to the melancholy Saturn” Saturday (80)			Saturn (354/221)
		Four Humors/ Temperaments – “Melancholy, sad in appearance” (81)			Melancholic (223)
	Complessioni: Flemmatico per l’Acqui (Phlegmatic temperament) R, A				
		Elements – earth (81)			Earth (223)
	Mesi: Dicembre (December) R, A	Seasons – “winter, sorry and without joy” (81)			Winter (also can be purple- brown) (223)
	Dolore di Zeusi Grief or pain) R, A				Mourning/grief (<i>la deuil</i>) (221/354)
	Stabilita (Firmness) A		Steadiness	Steadfastness	
	Accidia I (Idleness) R, A				
	Amaritudine (Bitterness) R, A				
	Anima Dannata (A damned soul) R, A				
	Calamita (Calamity) R, A				

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Black	Furie (Furies) R, A				
	Indocilita (Indocility) A				
	Inimicitia (Enmity) R, A				
	Interesse Proprio (Selfishness) R, A				
	Irresolutione (Irresolution) R, A				
	Memoria (Memory) R, A				
	Nobilta (Nobility) R, A				
	Notte (Night) R, A				
	Ostinatione (Obstinacy) R, A				
	Pazzia I (Folly) R, A				
	Pensiero (Thought) R, A				
	Pertinacia (Stubbornness) R, A				
	Piacere Honesto (Enjoyment) R, A				
	Pianto (Complaint) R, A				
	Poverta (Poverty) R, A				
	Prima Impressione (Fallacy) R, A				
	Quiete (Rest) R, A				
	Secretezza (Secrecy) R, A				
	Secretezza overo Taciturnita (Secrecy) A				
	Simonia (Simony) A				
	Tribulatione (Torment) R, A				
	Detrattione I (Detraction) R,A				

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Black and blue	Buio (Darkness) R				
	Hippocresia (Hypocrisy) A				
Black and white	Bugia 1 (Cozening) R, A				
	Contrarieta (Contrariety) A				
	Inclinazione (Inclination) A				
	Perseveranza (Determination) R, A				
	Sonno (Dream) R, A				
Black and grey	Hippocresia (Hypocrisy) R				
Grey				Spitefulness or dissimulation	
	Hippocresia (Hypocrisy) R				
	Disperatione (Despair) R, A		Ash grey – labor and sweat, sadness, fear, and pain	Ash grey – sorrow or suffering	
	Penitenza 1 (Penitence) R				
	Contritione 2 (Repentance) R, A				
	Affanno 1 (Affliction) R, A				
	Cordoglio (Affliction) R, A				
	Dapocaggine (Inertia) R				
	Mesi: Febraro (February) R, A				
	Minaccie (Menace, Intimidation) R, A				
	Tardita (Tardiness) R				

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Grey and red	Alterezza in Persona nata Povera Civile (False splendor/ loftiness/ pride) A				
Grey and yellow	Otio (Idleness) R				
Grey and yellowish- brown	Patienza (Patience) R				
	Peste overo Pestilentia 2 (Pestilence) R				
Whites					
Silver	Predestinatione (Predestination) A				
	Santita (Health) A				
Silver/ white²⁸⁸	Innocenza (Innocence) R, A	“After gold, silver among all metals rightly holds the highest place in value and beauty, shining with vivid rays.... Look at what is signified by it – because it is perceived as white, it means innocence and freedom from sin.” (80)			Innocence (220/353) ²⁸⁹
	Purita (Purity) R, A	“Thus was the pure Lamb, of highest honor, white, among thousands held to be beautiful. White as snow	Immaculate virginity	White = pureness	

²⁸⁸ In this section, all Ripa entries reference white, as opposed to silver.

²⁸⁹ Van Hoogstraten’s term *onnozelheit* has been translated by Blanc as *idiotie*, which obscures its original meaning of “innocence.”

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		shone His robes upon Tabor; in white appeared the Angels of the Lord: the pure truth, of sincere nature, was clothed all in white – and besides these, to see the innocent youth, women or maidens clothed in white always pleases our eyes.” (80)			
Silver/ white	Purita e Sincerita d’Anmimo (Purity) R, A				
	Verginita (Virginity) R, A				
	Castita 2 (Chastity) R, A				
	Pudicitia (Bashfulness/ chastity) R, A				
	Giustitia (Justice) R, A	Heraldry – “silver, purity and good justice.” (80)			Purity, truth (220/353)
	Giustitia Rigorosa (Justice) R, A				
	Ragione (Reason) R, A				
	Logica 1 (Logic) R, A				
	Verita (Truth) R, A				
	Ingiustitia (Injustice) R, A				
		Planets – “by silver we may comprehend the moon” Monday (80)			White – moon (220)
		Virtues – “mild Hope” (80)			
		Ages of Man – “A child, up to seven years old			White – Ages of Man – to the seventh year

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		after birth, is of silver or white, innocent and comely” (81)			(223)
Silver/ white		Four Humors/ Temperaments – “white, the Phlegmatic, always slimey and snotty” (81)			White Temperament – phlegmatic (223)
		Elements – water (81)			White – Element - water (223)
	Carro dell’Air (Air) R, A				
	Elementi: Aria (Air) R, A				
	Affabilita, Piacevolezza, Amabilita (Affability) R, A				
	Amicitia (Amity) R, A				
	Fede nell’ Amicitia (Loyalty of Friendship) R, A				
	Lealta (Loyalty) R, A				
	Fedelta (Fidelity) R, A				
	Castita Matrimoniale (Matrimony) R, A				
	Coscienza 2 (Conscience) R, A				
	Equita 1 (Equality) R, A				
	Historia (History) R, A				
	Humilta (Humility) R, A				
	Idea (Idea) A				
	Inventione (Invention) A				

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Silver/ white	Industria (Assiduity/ diligence) A				
	Liberalita (Liberality) R, A				
	Liberta 1 (Freedom) R, A				
	Lode (Approbation and approval)				
	Mesi: Gennaro (January) R, A				
	Allegrezza 1 (Mirth) R, A				
	Apprensiva (Apprehension) A				
	Contritione 2 (Repentance) R, A				
	Penitenza 3 (Penitence) R, A				
	Punitione (Punishment) R, A				
	Religione (Religion) R, A				
	Conversione (Conversion) A				
	Divinita (Divinity) R, A				
	Oratione 1 (Prayer) R, A				
	Sapienza Divina (Divine wisdom) A				
	Fede Cattolica (Catholic or universal faith) R, A				
	Fede Christiana (Christian faith) R, A				
	Fede Maritale (Marital faith) R, A				
	Querela a Dio (Complaint to God) R, A				
	Obedienza (Obedience) R,A				

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Silver/ white	Servitu (Servitude) R, A				
	Docilita (Docility) A				
	Patienza (Patience) A				
	Scropolo (Scrupulousness) A				
	Sensi (Senses) R, A				
	Simplicita (Simplicity) R, A				
	Solitudine (Solitude) R, A				
	Sincerita 2 (Sincerity) R, A				
	Vigilanza (Vigilance) R, A				
Pearl (gem)	Castita 2 (Chastity) R, A				
	Conversione (Conversion) A				
	Gratia (Grace) R, A				
	Piacere (Pleasure) R, A				
White and red	Confessione sacramentale (Confession) A				
	Hospitalita (Hospitality) A				
White and yellow	Contento (Contentment) R, A				
	Felicita Breve (Short felicity) R, A				
White and gold	Modestia (Modesty) A				
	premio (Reward) R, A				
Silver and gold	Temperanza 4 (Temperance) R, A				

	Cesare Ripa (R= 1603, Rome A= 1644, Amsterdam)²⁷⁸	Karel van Mander (1604, Haarlem/ 1618, Amsterdam)²⁷⁹	Justus de Hardwijn (1613, Zwolle)²⁸⁰	Gesina ter Borch (c.1659, Zwolle)²⁸¹	Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678, Rotterdam)²⁸²
White and green	Digiuno (Fasting) A				
White and purple	Aiuto (Assistance) A				
White, yellowish- brown and yellow	Pecunia (Wealth) R, A				
White and black	Contrarieta (Contrariety) A				
	Perseveranza (Determination) R, A				
	Sonno (Dream) R, A				

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