

Geertruydt Roghman and the Female Perspective in 17th-Century Dutch Genre Imagery

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During the past few decades, there has been much discussion concerning interpretation and meaning in 17th-century Dutch genre imagery. Although various methodologies have been employed to search out the manner in which contemporary audiences viewed these images, only slight attention has been paid to how gender-related considerations might enlighten this discussion.¹ Although there are few extant written accounts on the viewing of Dutch genre imagery by men or women in the 17th century, there are visual accounts of how artists viewed and interpreted conventional subjects. Through an examination of viewership and artistic convention and invention in a unique series of five prints designed and engraved by Geertruydt Roghman, it becomes clear that gender played an extremely important role in both the interpretation and creation of genre images.

Although not much information is available regarding Geertruydt Roghman's life and work in particular, recently discovered documents provide information concerning her family.² Geertruydt (Giertje) Roghman was baptized in the Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk on October 19, 1625. Her father, Hendrik Lambertszn Roghman, an engraver, was an apprentice to artist Harmen Janszn Muller. Although Hendrik's father was not an artist, other members of his family are identified in archival records as engravers.

Furthermore, Geertruydt's mother, Maritje Saverij, was a member of the Saverij family of artists from Courtrai in the southern Netherlands. The Saverij family immigrated north at the end of the 16th century, and Jaques Saverij (Maritje's father) moved to Haarlem, where he was a practicing artist and guild member. Roelant Saverij, Jaques's brother and the most famous artist of the family, achieved an international reputation as painter to Emperor Rudolph II. Thus, Geertruydt must have been greatly influenced to become an artist by the strong artistic heritage on both sides of her family.

Geertruydt was the oldest of six children; her brother Roelant (1627-92) and her sister Magdalena (1637-after 1669) were also artists. The three children and their father

GEERTRUYDT ROGHMAN

and the Female Perspective in 17th-Century Dutch Genre Imagery

By Martha Moffitt Peacock

formed a family workshop in Amsterdam in which there was a certain amount of collaboration. Although only a few prints by Magdalena are extant, there are numerous paintings, prints, and drawings by Roelant. Like his great-uncle and namesake, Roelant was also quite famous. According to the 18th-century biographer Arnold Houbraken, Roelant was a good friend of Rembrandt.³ Geertruydt and Roelant seem to have had a close working relationship, as she made engravings after a number of his landscape drawings. The only dated work by Geertruydt is an engraving of her great-uncle Roelant Saverij, after a painting by Paulus Moreelse. Dated 1647, it is her earliest known work and is much like her father's engraved portraits.⁴ As in his works, a eulogy accompanies Geertruydt's portrait. The directing influence of her father is also evidenced by his signature after the verse praising their relative. In addition to these indicators of her early development, the work also displays some of the compositional awkwardness common to young artists, although the textures and details are handled quite well.

Another work that may date to Geertruydt's early years is an engraved copy in reverse of Aegidius Sadeler's print after Tintoretto's *Massacre of the Innocents*.⁵ At this point she is still copying the work of more famous artists, and, as in the previous print, she includes an inscription, which here repeats the relevant biblical verses.

Perhaps the next works of Geertruydt's short career are a series of 14 landscape prints done after drawings by her brother.⁶ Recent scholarship dates this series, *Plaisante lantschappen ofte vermakelijcke gesichten na t'leven*, to between 1645 and 1648, when both Geertruydt and Roelant were about 20 years old.⁷ The title plate, generally attributed to Claes Jansz. Visscher, informs us that the images were drawn by Roelant and printed by Visscher, but no etcher is indicated.⁸ Fortunately, the initials G. R. are inscribed on four of the prints, indicating Geertruydt's participation in the series. Attribution of the prints to Geertruydt is complicated, however, by the presence of the initials R. R. on five others.



Fig. 1. Geertruydt Roghman, *Two Women Sewing*, engraving, 21.3 cm. x 17.1 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.



Fig. 2. Geertruydt Roghman, *Woman with Vanitas Objects*, engraving, 21.3 cm. x 17.1 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

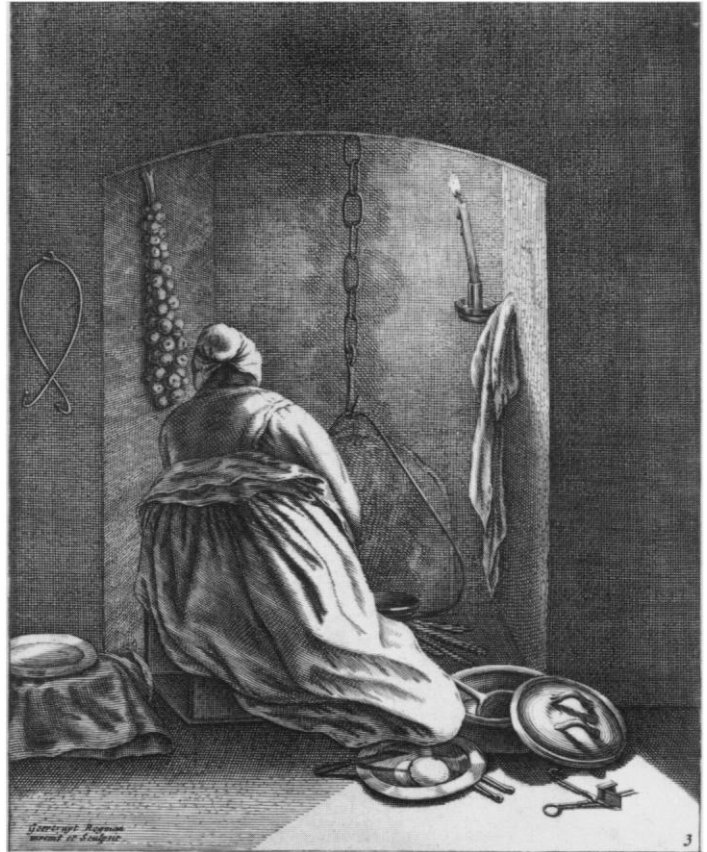


Fig. 3. Geertruydt Roghman, *Pancake Baker*, engraving, 21.3 cm. x 17.1 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Ordinarily, one would assume that the initials identify the etcher—either Geertruydt or Roelant—of these nine prints, but this assumption is probably incorrect. It has been pointed out that all the etchings display a similarly engravinglike effect that is quite different from the free, sketchy quality of Roelant's known prints.⁹ The careful technique and engraved quality of these prints are much closer to Geertruydt's style. Of further importance is the fact that one set of initials was changed from G. R. to R. R. in a later state, suggesting that perhaps all the initials were added afterward by someone trying to attribute the prints. In summation, most scholars seem comfortable attributing all the etchings but the title plate to Geertruydt Roghman.¹⁰

The previous conclusion is supported by the existence of another landscape etching, a castle view, *T Huys te Zuylen*, whose inscriptions inform us that Geertruydt etched the plate after Roelant's design.¹¹ It is likely that this is Geertruydt's final work, because it is her only print not published by Claes Jansz. Visscher, who died in 1652.¹² Instead, it is published by his son Nicolaus Visscher. The suggestion has been made that a series of castle views, similar to the above-mentioned landscape series, may have been planned.¹³ Certainly there are many castle drawings by Roelant that could have served as models for his sister to etch.

It is possible that such a series was never completed because of Geertruydt's death. She never married, and the last archival evidence of her dates from March 1651; it is certain that she was no longer living by December 1657.¹⁴ Of her extant prints, it appears that only one work can be assigned a date of 1652 or later. Thus, Geertruydt may have died as early as 1653, at the age of 27 or 28.

A series of five prints depicting female occupations, published by Claes Jansz. Visscher, probably postdates Geertruydt's earliest engravings because the prints are both designed and engraved by her. In creating this series, she was influenced by specific and well-known conventions in contemporary painting.¹⁵ *Two Women Sewing* (Fig. 1), *Woman with Vanitas Objects* (Fig. 2), *Pancake Baker* (Fig. 3), *Woman Spinning and a Child* (Fig. 4), and *Woman Scouring Metalware* (Fig. 5) depict some of the subjects that enjoyed the greatest popularity in 17th-century Dutch genre painting. Although she had obviously witnessed these conventions in numerous genre paintings sold at the open market, her interpretations are vastly different from those of her male contemporaries.

The first image in the series depicts two women sewing (Fig. 1). This task was commonly represented in genre paintings and genrelike portraiture of the period to designate the virtue of the women portrayed. An obvious reference to this virtuous female undertaking is found in a mid-17th-century image, *Mistress Supervising Her Household* (Fig. 6), attributed to Egbert van Heemskerck. The mother sits regally in the center of the composition. She has momentarily interrupted her commendable task of sewing to guide the viewer's attention to her four daughters at the left. The daughters all exhibit womanly virtues and the two eldest look to their mother as if for guidance and approval. To the mother's right is a maidservant, whose more rigorous chore of ironing indicates her lower status. This image of perfect order and harmony corresponds directly with illustrations for moralizing treatises instructing women on housewifely duties. It has many elements in common with the illustrations for chapters entitled "Vrouwe" (wife) and "Moeder" (mother) in Jacob Cats's popular 1632 house-



Fig. 4. Geertruydt Roghman, *Woman Spinning and a Child*, engraving, 21.3 cm. x 17.1 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.



Fig. 5. Geertruydt Roghman, *Woman Scouring Metalware*, engraving, 21.3 cm. x 17.1 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

hold text *Houwelijk* (Marriage). These illustrations also depict women in the midst of their households, governing all that transpires. As in Heemskerck's painting, many genre images include sewing implements to demonstrate the virtue of their female subjects and differentiate them from their servants, who do more physical menial work.¹⁶

Unlike many portrayals of this subject, Roghman's scene shows women actually sewing. The left figure intently bends over her task while resting her feet on a warming stove. The right figure looks up, yet still pulls the thread through the material with her thimbled finger and thumb. These women are dressed plainly and are placed in simple surroundings; no class designation is indicated. Furthermore, the setting has been left bare to emphasize the women and their labor. Only the relevant still-life elements of a basket of cloth, spool, scissors, and a poker to stir the coals under the warming stove are included in the foreground. There are no anecdotal or moralizing gestures. Thus, while Roghman is certainly aware of the traditional theme, she alters it to emphasize the figures of the women themselves, caught unawares by the viewer.

The second image of the series continues the *vanitas* tradition of depicting the worldly behavior of women (Fig. 2). Jan Miense Molenaer's *Lady World* (1633; Fig. 7) is perhaps the best known of these images, but it closely resembles a number of works that portray women vainly admiring themselves in mirrors. In Molenaer's painting the woman is surrounded by objects variously symbolizing worldliness (the map, jewels, and musical instruments), foolishness (the ape), and the brevity of life (the child blowing bubbles, flowers, and skull).¹⁷

Roghman's image differs radically from this type of *vanitas* image; in fact, it is difficult to ascertain precisely the activity of

the figure. Most authors simply identify the task as sewing; others as ruffling, pleating, or making a fabric book cover. De Jongh pairs it with Roghman's spinning woman and views them both as exemplars of virtue, even though he does not specifically identify the task. Dutuit, more accurately, claims the young woman is examining a piece of cloth.¹⁸ A sight still familiar in any fabric store, the woman closely eyes the piece of cloth as she runs it through her hands.

How, then, was such an activity to be viewed in a contemporary context? In treatises on virtuous behavior, women were warned against wasting money on fancy and costly apparel.¹⁹ Roghman's image, therefore, is an exemplum of vice, not virtue, as are most *vanitas* images. It includes the same *vanitas* warnings as in Molenaer's painting, but from a different perspective. Roghman still includes the skull and clock as symbols of the brevity of life, and books represent worldly knowledge, but she has replaced many of the other obvious symbols with more naturalistic objects. Molenaer's use of elaborate costume and jewelry is here greatly simplified; the figure's frilled cap and absorption with the cloth are the only indications of a worldliness greater than that found in Roghman's other figures. Certainly the comparison with Molenaer indicates the difference between a woman's opinion of sinful behavior and the more prevalent male view. For ages men had considered women's enticing beauty to be their most dangerous and evil aspect, thus a sure representation of vice was a pretty woman gazing at herself in a mirror. Another female represented as a vain mirror-gazer, for example, is used as a moralizing emblem in Roemer Visscher's emblem book, *Sinnepoppen* (1614).²⁰ More consonant with the female experience, however, is Roghman's depiction of a woman involved in an activity famil-



Fig. 6. Egbert van Heemskerck (attributed to), *Mistress Supervising Her Household*, oil on canvas, 150 cm. x 141 cm. Location Unknown. Photo: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisches Documentatie, The Hague.



Fig. 7. Jan Miense Molenaer, *Lady World* (1633), oil on canvas, 102 cm. x 127 cm. Toledo Museum of Art.

iar to women and a vice to which women often fall prey.

The third image in Geertruydt Roghman's series is perhaps the most surprising (Fig. 3). In a full back view a woman is pictured among a variety of utensils, presumably cooking before a fire. The large figure obscures the actual task, and it is only by carefully examining the surrounding still-life elements that one can identify her activity as pancake baking. Situated to her right are a large dish and scoop used for the batter; beyond them one catches a partial view of the frying pan for cooking the pancakes. To her left lies a convex-bottom pancake dish with one round pancake in it.

The theme of pancake baking has a long history and, due to the Lenten prohibition against eating pancakes, it was associated with evil.²¹ Depictions of evil old pancake bakers first appeared in the 16th century, where the task was sometimes performed by witches.²² This tradition continued into the 17th century, as can be seen in a *Pancake Baker* (Fig. 8) by Pieter de Bloot (1601-58). The children greedily devour their pancakes while laughing at the grimacing old pancake vendor. The woman's evil nature is emphasized by her caricature and by the painting's pendant of a quack doctor—the epitomizing image of evil and deceit during the 17th century.

In contrast, Roghman's scene contains none of these moralizing indications. We cannot even discern the woman's age. Again, anecdote and metaphor have been eliminated to concentrate on the woman at her task. Since this obscured view does not demonstrate how to make pancakes, the print would not have been designed to illustrate a household man-

ual. Furthermore, considering the painting convention from which it stemmed, it would not have been viewed as an image of virtue. Roghman seems to have intended that it represent neither virtue nor vice but that it indicate more closely a woman's actual experience.

Roghman's image of a woman spinning has been the most frequently discussed scene of the series (Fig. 4). Most scholars regard it as a moralizing lesson on virtue, and it has been suggested that the series in its entirety may have illustrated one of Jacob Cats's instructive texts.²³ It is comfortable to discuss this image as an exemplar of the virtuous female, because spinning women, from Lucretia to the Virgin Mary, had long had that connotation. Moreover, many 17th-century Dutch treatises list spinning as one of the virtuous duties of women.²⁴

Indeed, the spinner was among the most popular images illustrating virtue in 17th-century Dutch genre painting.²⁵ Many of these images merely depict a woman seated near a spinning wheel rather than actually spinning. The virtuous nature of the wheel, however, still reflects on the woman herself. Particularly overt are images like Quiringh van Brekelenkam's *Old Woman with Reading Boy* (1665; Fig. 9), a depiction of an old spinner who virtuously directs the Bible-reading lessons of a young boy. The scene evokes the hushed reverence usually reserved for religious works.

In contrast, Roghman's spinner does not evoke these obviously moralizing intentions. Again, the back view of this woman actually engaged in spinning almost obscures her task. We glimpse only a portion of the wheel and staff with its wool. The skeins, winder, pick,

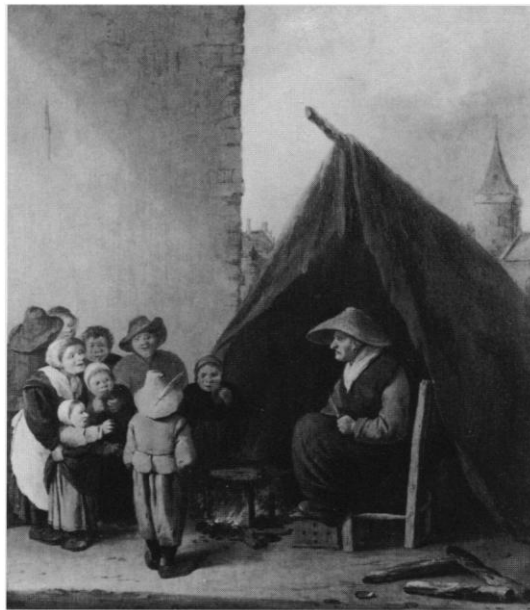


Fig. 8. Pieter de Bloot, *Pancake Baker*, oil on panel, 35.5 cm. x 31 cm. Location unknown. Photo: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisches Documentatie, The Hague.



Fig. 9. Quiringh van Brekelenkam, *Old Woman with Reading Boy* (1665), oil on panel, 52.1 cm. x 72.5 cm. Location Unknown. Photo: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisch Documentatie, The Hague.



Fig. 10. Jan van Hoeven, *The Kitchenmaid* (1655), oil on canvas, 51.4 cm. x 71.7 cm. Location Unknown. Photo: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisch Documentatie, The Hague.

and spools rest on the floor to her left. It has been suggested that the scene emphasizes the communication and relationship between the mother and child, but the two do not really interact.²⁶ The mother is absorbed in her work and the very serious, almost adult-looking child stares intently at the viewer. Neither impishly mischievous nor sweetly dutiful, like the children in most genre scenes, this is one of the least stereotypical depictions of a child in 17th-century Dutch art. Roghman's spinner and child avoid the sentimentality found in the work of many of her male contemporaries. She neither poses them in a contrived manner nor includes details to emphasize moralizing characteristics.

The last image of the series is perhaps the most telling in regard to the artist's intent (Fig. 5). Images of women scouring kitchen equipment generally contained sexual anecdote and erotic metaphor. The most blatant of these types of images were those that acted out the sexual innuendo in a playlike fashion, as in *The Kitchenmaid* (1655; Fig. 10) by Jan van Hoeven. The young woman scrubs a metal plate and is surrounded by vessels with rounded openings that face the viewer. Open-mouthed vessels were commonly used as metaphors for the female sexual organs.²⁷ The young girl, apparently a maid, looks up at her lecherous old master who embraces her and directs her face toward his. An older woman, probably his wife, angrily observes them through the doorway. Even without such dramatics, images depicting this theme usually are filled with sexual symbols, for example, Jan Steen's *Woman Scouring Metalware* (c. 1654-58; Fig. 11), where a voluptuous young maid laughingly greets the viewer's gaze. Behind her is the frequently included and sexually symbolic spout that is directed toward the open-mouthed pot below—obviously indicating the type of bawdy

joke that Steen so enjoyed.²⁵

In contrast to this tradition, Roghman's kitchenmaid is decidedly nonsexual. Again, the woman is shown from the back: she does not invite the viewer with her gaze, smile, or décolletage. Completely unaware of the viewer, she vigorously scrubs a metal plate. Judging from the objects that surround her, her work has indeed been burdensome. In this case, however, the objects seem to suggest only that, nothing more. One could read sexual innuendo into the rounded openings of vessels if there were other traditional sexual metaphors such as the phallic spout, or if there were something in the woman's demeanor to suggest licentiousness. Nothing of that tone is evident in the scene. Roghman's modification of this convention is less anecdotal and less contrived than other representations of the theme.

Unlike many of her male contemporaries, Roghman did not intend her images to be either moralizing or erotic. Important to this conclusion is the fact that the prints were meant to be viewed as a series. They were numbered consecutively and published twice (the second publication was completed by I. Covens and C. Mortier). Moreover, they are related to one another in composition, setting, and detail. The only moralizing image of the series is the *vanitas* scene. It is, however, neither the first nor the last in the series, and thus does not dictate the meaning of the other images. Like the other scenes, it belongs to its own painting convention, which is separate and distinct from the other conventions. Furthermore, it is not an image of virtue and certainly does not determine that the other scenes should be read as such. This suggestion becomes untenable when the other scenes are placed in their conventional contexts. Could the scouring maid suddenly be seen as virtuous to an



Fig. 11. Jan Steen, *Woman Scouring Metalware* (1654-58), oil on panel, 24.5 cm. x 20 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

audience who had traditionally associated the subject with lust? Most likely not.

Instead of a moral or a titillating glance, Geertruydt Roghman provides us with a unique glimpse into a 17th-century woman's world. Nothing extraneous is included in these scenes; the artist concentrates exclusively on the monumental women, their work, and the tools specific to it. Furthermore, the positions in which she chose to portray the women—close up and often from the back—are highly unusual and create an unposed slice-of-life effect in which the figures are completely unaware of their observers. They seem to more closely approximate real life than those of many of her contemporaries, and as such have been appropriated by 20th-century scholars as illustrations of women's roles in 17th-century Holland.²⁹ In addition, the naturalness of the poses has led some to suggest that the images may be portraits of particular women or that they portray tasks performed by the artist herself.³⁰ There is, however, nothing portraitlike about the figures and, although they may have been familiar tasks to Roghman, they were influenced first by contemporary painting conventions.

Such an altering of popular artistic themes also sheds light on the viewing of Dutch genre images generally. As art historians discuss the viewing and interpretation of these images, they rarely discriminate between male and female viewers. It is obvious, however, that Roghman did not see these conventions in the same way as her male contemporaries, and it is likely that this was also the case with other females. After examining the manner in which Roghman changed these conventions, it appears that she saw such images as depictions of a female domain where women and their work were important. Some scholars discuss these genre images only as lessons in virtue and see them as parallel to the moralizing literature of the day.³¹ The scenes are obviously much more complex: Although some men might have seen these images as ways to instruct women in their duties or to view women erotically, women perhaps saw them as reflecting a new interest in themselves. Surely in the history of art there had never been such an outpouring of images dealing with contemporary women in everyday settings. Although today we may view this Dutch emphasis on housewives as traditional, for 17th-century women it was an affirmation of their importance in the society at large. Indeed, some moralists, in discussing the household, describe the *heerschappij* or dominion of women, which, although hardly equal to that of men, was certainly powerful.³²

Ironically, the enhanced power of women in 17th-century Dutch society was due in large part to the emphasis placed on the home and on the mother as caretaker of this realm. Contemporary moralists encouraged women to carefully watch over the household, children, and servants, as well as to oversee the domestic expenses. Indeed, husbands were instructed not to exclude their wives from the ruling of the household, and wastefulness on the part of the husband was to be avoided by entrusting the wife with managing incoming and outgoing money.³³ The governance of the home, where virtues such as obedience and industry were taught, was seen as parallel to that of society at large.³⁴ Therefore, the authority delegated to mothers was great and the image of the woman in the home carried with it connotations of power.

Several historians point to the important role played by Dutch women in trade and business as another indication of their power.³⁵ While many husbands were at sea, their wives often assisted and even took over businesses. Women's legal right to make commercial contracts enabled them to transact

business. Furthermore, when a husband's bad judgment in business matters threatened to bring the family to ruin, his wife could appeal to the law.³⁶

Research also indicates that women in the 17th-century Dutch Republic enjoyed a certain amount of independence. Compared with England, for example, there were many more households headed by single females.³⁷ In addition, unlike in England, Dutch women could inherit property and even own property while their husbands were alive.³⁸ Contemporary letters and journals of travelers to the Netherlands support this research.³⁹ Such documents frequently commented on the power of Dutch housewives and expressed shock and dismay at the freedoms enjoyed by Dutch women.

With this historical insight, one can more readily understand the appearance of a large number of misogynist images and treatises ridiculing powerful and overbearing women in the Netherlands. In their censuring of female power, they suggest that many Dutch men were threatened by the women and their usurpation of traditional male roles.⁴⁰ Although many less overtly misogynist images of women in the home obviously had the same intent—to instruct women and keep them in their place—their effect may have been the opposite. Such images greatly increased women's visibility and importance and underscored the necessity for capable, independent, and well-educated women in this Protestant, middle-class society. As is evidenced by a careful examination of Geertruydt Roghman's print series, a woman's perspective of these genre conventions certainly emphasized the value of these female roles. The series, therefore, is significant for its unique artistic contribution, but it is also indispensable for achieving a more complete understanding of viewership and gender in the 17th century. ●

NOTES

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1. For the historiography of and further debate on this subject, see Linda Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints of Daily Life: Mirrors of Life or Masks of Morals* (Lawrence, Kans.: Spencer Museum of Art, 1983); Peter C. Sutton, ed., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984); and David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, eds., *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica, Cal.: Getty Center, 1991). One of the few articles to deal with the relationship between genre imagery and gender is Frima Fox Hofrichter, "Judith Leyster's *Proposition*—Between Virtue and Vice," in Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds., *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 173-81.

2. The various documents on the Roghman and Saverij families were located in the archives of Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Haarlem by Sebastien A. C. Dudok van Heel and Marten Jan Bok. See W. Th. Kloek, *De kasteeltekeningen van Roelant Roghman*, II (Canaletto: Alphen aan den Rijn, 1990).

3. Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte schouburg der nederlantsche Konst-schilders en schilderessen...*, III (Amsterdam, 1721), 358.

4. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts*, XX (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949), 61-64.

5. *Ibid.*, no. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, nos. 9-22.

7. Kloek, *Roelant Roghman*, 24.

8. Kloek, *Roelant Roghman*, 25; Maria Simon, "Claes Jansz. Visscher" (dissertation, Albert-Ludwig-Universität, Freiburg, 1958), 113.

9. Kloek, *Roelant Roghman*, 25.

10. Kloek, *Roelant Roghman*, 24-25; Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, 57-59.

11. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, no. 8.

12. Kloek, *Roelant Roghman*, 17.

13. *Ibid.*, 17, 130.

14. *Ibid.*, 8.

15. Clifford S. Ackley first noted the rarity of domestic subjects in the print medium in *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), 166.

16. These elements can be found in several genre scenes. In *A Mother Sewing, with a Child* (c. 1668) by Pieter de Hooch in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano-Castagnola, for example, a woman has momentarily laid aside her sewing to gaze maternally at her young daughter. Mother and child are finely dressed in satins and fur. Another very sentimental sewer is placed amidst her two children in the genre-like portrait *Woman Sewing and Two Children* by Wallerant Vaillant (1623-77) in the Amalienstift, Dessau. Again, mother and children wear costly clothing and are placed in a grand setting. The postures and composition of the three figures emphasize the virtue of this mother in fulfilling her domestic responsibilities. Another type of sewer is frequently depicted in Dutch art as an excuse to introduce erotic innuendo and sexual humor. For example, a licentious old man fondles a sleeping young sewer in *Nocturnal Scene with Sleeping Woman* by Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722) in the Historisch Museum, Rotterdam.

17. Molenaer was married to painter Judith Leyster. The symbolism of this painting is discussed in Eddy de Jongh, et al., *Tot Lering en Vermaak* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976), 176-79; and Sutton, *Masters*, 262-63.

18. The task is identified as sewing or mending in Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, XV (Leipzig: Schwarzenburg and Schumann, 1835-52), 75; Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, II (Amsterdam: B. M. Israel, 1963), 463; Jan Frederik van Someren, *Beschrijvende Catalogus van Gegraveerde Portretten van Nederlanders*, III (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1891), 529; and Abraham van Stolk, *Atlas van Stolk: Katalogus der Historie-, Spot- en Zinneprenten Betrekkelijk de Geschiedenis van Nederland*, I (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1895), 348. It is designated as pleating or ruffling in Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, 55; Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints*, 59, and Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 115. The girl is identified as making a fabric book cover in "Dames gaan voor": *De Vrouw in de prentkunst 1500-1800* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1975), 29. According to Ackley, *Printmaking*, 166, the woman is reading a letter. She is considered an exemplar of virtue in Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1986), 29, and as a girl examining a piece of cloth in Eugene Dutuit, *Manuel de L'Amateur D'Estampes*, IV (Amsterdam: G.W. Hissink, 1970-72), 20. The image was reproduced on the cover of *WAJ* (S/S 81), to illustrate Margarita Russell, "The Women Painters in Houbraken's Groote Schouburgh."

19. Advice against the vain wasting of money on costly apparel is found in Jan Hendrik Glazemaker, *De Deugdelijke Vrouw* (Amsterdam: Gijsbrecht Jansz. van Veen, 1643), 146-47; Petrus Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia Christiana*, II (Amsterdam, 1661), 723-28; *Houwlijx-Spiegel, aen de Nieuwe Getroude* (Haarlem: Jan Gerritsz. Geldorp, 1686), A4; *De Verstandige Huys-Houder...* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Jansz., 1661), 6; and Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), 145.

20. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 145. There are many Netherlandish images of females admiring themselves, for example, *Young Woman with a Mirror* (1627) by Paulus Moreelse in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in which a voluptuous woman sits before a table with mirror and jewels. There are no images that duplicate Roghman's print, but a similar type of moral can be found in *The Cloth Shop* (1709)

by Matthys Naiveu in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden. Here a woman in a cloth shop carefully examines and fingers a costly looking piece of material. In all her finery, she is placed in direct contrast to her more virtuous husband at the left, who is giving money to a beggar boy. The symbols, gestures, and moral are all more overt and male-oriented than in Roghman's image. The meaning of the Naiveu painting is discussed in Sutton, *Masters*, 268; and Eric J. Sluiter, Marlies Enklaar, Paul Nieuwenhuizen, eds., *Leidse Fijnschilders* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1988), 191-92.

21. The evil connotations of pancake baking are discussed by Jonathan Markell in Franklin W. Robinson, ed., *Dutch Life in the Golden Century* (St. Petersburg, Fla.: Museum of Fine Arts, 1975), 41.

22. An example of these evil associations can be seen in the pancake-making hag in *Saul and the Witch of Endor* by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen (1470-1533) in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. For several Netherlandish images of old pancake bakers and a discussion of the tradition, see Eduard Trautscholdt, "De Oude Koekebakster" Nachtrag zu Adriaen Brouwer," *Pantheon* (July-August 1961), 187-95.

23. See Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints*, 59-61. De Jongh states that figures 2 and 4 represent the virtuous fulfillment of female duties; see *Portretten*, 29. Problems in interpreting the meaning of these prints have arisen because the series has never been discussed in its entirety.

24. See, for example, Jacob Cats, *Dichterlijke Werken van Jacob Cats*, Pieter Gerardus Witsen Geysbeek, ed., I (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Diederichs, 1828), 342-43; Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia*, II, 723; and *Versameling van uytgeleesene Sinne-Beelden* (Leiden, 1696), 4.

25. Eddy de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Nederlandse Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit en Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen, 1967), 65.

26. Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints*, 60; Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, 115.

27. This association was first discussed in connection with Dutch genre painting in Eddy de Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspectief: De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen," *Simiolus*, 3:1, (1968-69), 45.

28. Many of the elements present in Van Hoeven's painting can be seen in other works, such as *The Kitchenmaid* by Herman Saftleven (1609-85) in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, in which another old man flirts with the maid while being spied upon by a woman. Other paintings that incorporate elements similar to those found in Steen's work include *The Kitchenmaid* (1664; Uffizi, Florence) by Caspar Netscher, in which a young maid standing at a window scrubs a pot. The erotic innuendo is underscored by the pot, spout, candle, and holder that surround her. A similar image, *Farm Kitchen* (1659; Musee d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva) by Quiringh van Brekelenkam has been compared to an emblem of Jacob Cats in Petra ten-doesschate Chu, et al., *Im Lichte Hollands: Hollandische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Fursten von Liechtenstein und aus Schweizer Besitz* (Zurich: VerlagsHaus, 1987), 106-07. Although the connection between Cats's emblem and Brekelenkam's painting is made, the warning against the loss of chastity found in both is not mentioned in the catalogue entry. The discussion focuses on the need to keep a clean household.

29. Figure 5 (misdated 18th century) was used to illustrate the historical Dutch kitchen in Hermine Christine Hel'ene Moquette, *De Vrouw* (Amsterdam: H. Meulenhoff, 1915), 114. Figures 1 and 4 document "Women's Work" in Helga Mobius, Barbara Chruscick Beedham, trans., *Woman of the Baroque Age* (Montclair, N.J.: Abner Schram, 1982), 68-69. Figure 3 illustrates 17th-century household implements in a permanent furnishings exhibition at the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, in "Pre-industriële Gebruiksvoorwerpen, 1150-1800," 294. Figures 3 and 5 document 17th-century cooking equipment in Van Stolk, *Atlas*, I, 349.

30. In Van Someren, *Gegraveerde Portretten*, 529, it is suggested that

figures 1 and 2 contain portraits of the same woman, while in "Dames gaan voor," 29, they were assumed to be self-portraits. Stone-Ferrier, in *Dutch Prints*, 60, suggests that the details in the spinner indicate that the artist was familiar with the craft.

31. Such interpretations are found throughout De Jongh, *Tot Lering*; and Wayne E. Franits, "The Vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1987).

32. See Jacob Cats, *Dichterlijke Werken*, 280, and *Verstandige Huys-Houder*, 6.

33. Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en Gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Assen: Van Gorcum's Historische Bibliotheek, 1982), 151-52; Haks draws upon several 17th-century sources, including Cats, *Alle de Wercken*; Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia*; and Godefridus Udemans, *Practycke, dat is hooftdeughtden*,... (Dordrecht, 1640).

34. Simon Schama, "Wives and Wantons: Versions of Womanhood in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *The Oxford Art Journal* (April 1980), 5-13; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 375-480; in his discussion Schama cites Johan van Beverwijk, *Van de Wtneementheydt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts* (Dordrecht: Hendrick van Esch voor Jasper Gorissz., 1643).

35. Herman Pleij, "Wie wordt er bang voor het boze wijf," *De Revisor*, 4:6 (1977), 41-42; Haks, *Huwelijk*, 156-57; Schama, "Wives," 6, and *Embarrassment*, 407.

36. Schama, *Embarrassment*, 404-07. The rights of Dutch women in comparison with English women are discussed in Alice Clare Carter, "Marriage Counseling in the Early Seventeenth Century: England and the Netherlands Compared," in Jan van Dorsten, ed., *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations* (Leiden: University Press, 1974), 94-127.

37. A. M. van der Woude, "Variations in the Size and Structure of the Household in the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, Peter Laslett, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1972), 311-12.

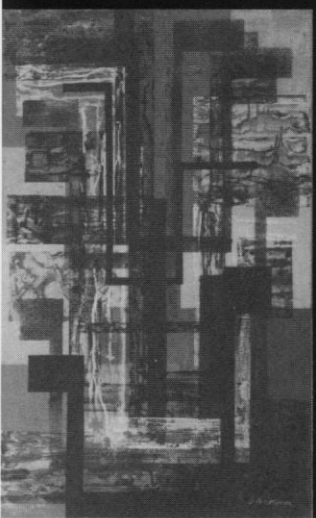
38. Carter, "Marriage counseling," 123-26; Schama, *Embarrassment*, 404-06.

39. These documents are discussed and translated in Schama, *Embarrassment*, 402-04; Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Harpies and Henpecked Husbands: Images of the Powerful Housewife in Netherlandish Art 1550-1700" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1989).

40. Schama, "Wives," 5-13 and *Embarrassment*, 375-480; Peacock, "Harpies."

Martha Moffitt Peacock, Assistant Professor of Art History at Brigham Young University, is finishing a book on Netherlandish images of powerful wives and henpecked husbands.

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