1985

Paintings as Information: The Anthropology of Images: A Consideration of Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Painting in Relation to Foodways and Historical Archeology

Melissa Payne

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd

Part of the History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons, and the Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons

Recommended Citation


https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-5t4z-7d60

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.
PAINTINGS AS INFORMATION: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF IMAGES

A Consideration of Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Painting in Relation to Foodways and Historical Archeology

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

by
Melissa Payne
1985
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Author

Madeira Payne

Approved, December 1985

Norman Barka, Chairman

Rita Wright

Marley Brown

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I. ART AS ANTHROPOLOGY</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II. ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS DURING THE 1600's</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III. USING NETHERLANDISH ART AS DOCUMENTATION</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV. SOME DATA COLLECTION OPTIONS</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V. FOODWAYS: A FEW COMPARATIVE NOTES</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VI. RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND APPLICATIONS</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOTNOTES</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express her appreciation to Professors Rita Wright and Marley Brown for their swift reactions and insightful criticism. The author is especially indebted to Professor Norman Barka for his guidance and suggestions throughout. Patti Kandle, George Miller, Margaret Pritchard, and Ivor Noel Hume contributed their thoughts as well. Finally I would like to thank my husband David McCain for his consistent encouragement.
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Metal and Ware Type Totals (Food) for 1565-1657 (A1 and percentages)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Metal and Ware Type Totals (Food) for 1657-1700 (A2) and percentages</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Beverage Ware Categories and Totals for Peasant/Low Life Scenes (B2) and percentages</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Beverage Ware Categories and Totals for Bourgeois Scenes (B2) and percentages</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Metal and Ware Type Totals (Food) for Peasant/Low Life Scenes (B3) and percentages</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Metal and Ware Type Totals (Food) for Bourgeois Scenes (B4) and percentages</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Graphs comparing A1 and A2</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Graphs comparing B1 and B2</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Graphs comparing B3 and B4</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Silver beaker, Dutch, c. 1646</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seventeenth century glass drinking flutes</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;The Cripples&quot; by Peter Bruegel</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;Peasant Wedding&quot; by Peter Bruegel</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;Woman Peeling an Apple&quot; by G. Terborch</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. &quot;Still Life&quot; by J. Foppens Van Es</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. &quot;Fischverkaferin&quot; by G. Metsu</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. &quot;Young Pastry Cook&quot; by J. Wontersz</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. &quot;Young Woman Holding a Jug&quot; by Jan Mensz</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. &quot;Old Woman Saying Grace&quot; by N. Maes</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. &quot;Mal Babbe&quot; by Franz Hals</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. &quot;Summer&quot; by Peter Bruegel</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. &quot;Merry Company&quot; by Pieter Codde</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. &quot;The Meal of Oysters&quot; by P. de Hooch</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. &quot;Grace Before the Meal&quot; by A. van Dyck</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

This study of Netherlandish Paintings in relation to historical archealogy seeks to apply structured research methods to art in order to answer certain questions. Netherlandish painting is well known for its textural realism which makes researching vessel shapes, types of ware, and the behavioral contexts of objects technically possible.

Tables are generated using well defined sample groupings to exemplify the use of paintings as period documentation relative to controversies concerning seventeenth century foodways and consumption behaviors in Anglo-America. The relevance of Dutch material culture to English material culture is explored along with attendant economics and cultural issues.

Netherlandish art is placed within its appropriate art historical context. The utility of art as documentation is examined in terms of its advantages and disadvantages while the relationship of art to anthropology is considered.

Conclusions consider the results of the surveys as they support or contradict certain interpretations of assemblages current in archeological literature linking alimentation questions to broader statements about seventeenth century Anglo-American culture.
PAINTINGS AS INFORMATION: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF IMAGES

A Consideration of Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Painting in Relation to Foodways and Historical Archeology
INTRODUCTION

This discussion will focus on the utilization of graphic resources, particularly Netherlandish art, in the interpretation of assemblages current in archeological literature linking alimentation questions and foodways to broader statements about seventeenth century Anglo-American culture. Archeology in general has been allied with the arts since its beginnings as a formal discipline. Archeologists initially retrieved the art objects of ancient civilizations, and their expeditions were sponsored by museums expanding their collections. The objects ranged from utilitarian artifacts to aesthetic or sculptural pieces. While they provided a direct association to the cultural group being studied, graphic resources (paintings, frescoes, etc.) are also useful in that they depict both objects and people in specific cultural settings.

Graphic resources, therefore, can and do provide the essence of another important relationship between anthropological archeology and art. If paintings can be analyzed by art historians in terms of major stylistic trends and the development of individual creativity, anthropologists can analyze paintings in terms of their role within a specific culture. More importantly in
this thesis, perhaps, is the vast quantity of information they contain.

Paintings have long been understood as sources of data by Ivor Noel Hume, for example, although historical archeologists have not studied them systematically. The utility of paintings and all sorts of imagistic information has long been considered crucial at Colonial Williamsburg where, along with archeological data and primary resources material, total single period reconstruction and restoration has been attempted.

One could theoretically use a broad and sweeping philosophical approach to treat the subject of paintings and renderings as documentation just in restoration projects, for example. The utility of maps in the appropriate placement of buildings, drawings and paintings of facades and interiors, and period architectural sketches often play an absolutely vital if uncelebrated role.

On the other hand, it may also be possible to inventory paintings in a more telescoped, monographic fashion in the search for specific types of information. Therefore, this study will explore the advantages and disadvantages of relying upon paintings using a purposeful selection as a data base. The reasons behind the particular usefulness of Netherlandish art as opposed to other types of artistic production will be reviewed.
Attendant political and cultural issues will be pointed out, and the relevance of Dutch material culture to English material culture and Anglo-American sites will be considered in detail.

Discrete objects of everyday importance - such as the frequency of food vessel shapes in relation to their material of manufacture in several socio-economic and chronological settings - will be focused upon and related to certain conflicting arguments current in the literature of historical archeology. Interpretations of consumption behaviors as they relate to foodways by James Deetz and Chesapeake archeologists in particular will be compared insofar as the paintings support or contradict their respective positions. Historical archeologists also invest most quantities of time in building typologies of artifacts and then structuring layers of meaning surrounding these objects relating function to broader statements about human behavior. The relevance of paintings to Chesapeake vessel typologies of the 17th century will be discussed briefly.

Dutch genre paintings have been employed by Noel Hume among others to date and to identify artifacts as well as to provide clues vis a vis the context in which they were used and the status of the inhabitants of various sites. Other methods will be utilized here to
amplify the potential usefulness of the paintings in a somewhat more structured fashion closer to the methodologies of the social sciences. Six separate surveys of images will be conducted asking specific but related questions and evaluating the results in detail with accompanying tables. Also, the nuts and bolts aspects of researching images will be reviewed with the understanding that there seems to be no empirical model for creating a valid data base from this type of resource or for processing results.

Art is generally classified with the humanities, but as the product of specific cultures it is also an important avenue of research for anthropologically related inquiries. The conflicting approaches to art between the humanities and the social sciences will be alluded to only the extent that clarifying these perspectives is important to archeologically related problems. Historical archeologists in particular experience confusion over their role as historical archeology of necessity intersects the traditional definitions which separate the various disciplines.

The pitfalls and the stimulation of systematic research of potentially subjective data sources such as period art will be examined. It is hoped that in conducting such a project a stronger bond can be encouraged
between the traditional resources of art history and anthropological archeology which, frankly, have always been there although never celebrated or exploited fully. While this thesis may not accomplish that goal, it may facilitate a firmer bridge between two technically separate fields of study in ways that suggest new methods of posing old but unresolved questions and possibly some new questions as well.
CHAPTER I

ART AS ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology during its tenure as a formally recognized discipline, it would be argued, has always been allied with the arts in that art is the recognized by-product of what we commonly refer to as culture. As such, art functions in a variety of ways relative to anthropology, i.e., to introduce us to psychology of the individuals who produced it; as a means of becoming acquainted with the ethos and expressive modes of particular cultures; as a way of penetrating the socio-cultural or even political history of specific periods. The agenda of this study is to demonstrate something of the utility of art as documentation, a theme pursued more by desultory sociologists, historians, theatrical designers, and art historians than by anthropologists per se.

Historical archeologists have relied on paintings for pragmatic insights into such immediate problems as the proper dating of artifacts or contextualizing them within an appropriate social as well as chronological setting. It is not the goal of this discussion to define the nature of aesthetics nor to isolate in a general way the role of aesthetics within human societies or the individual psyche, although one cannot discount these
topics completely. They are these defensible subjects of anthropological consideration and have been written about in the past. Clifford Geertz has acknowledged the role of aesthetics within sacred religious symbolism, for example.¹ These issues will, therefore, be explored briefly insofar as they relate to a discussion which considers one specific period of artistic production—in this case seventeenth and late sixteenth century Netherlandish painting—and its role as a potential variable in the struggle of archeologists to give interpretive validity to their work.

Anthropologists have usually worked more closely with the art of third world cultures than with mainstream western art. As such, much of their analysis has had to do with the description and iconography of abstract motifs within ceremonial or group contexts. This has been useful to archeologists insofar as it has conditioned researchers to think associatively between the relative absence or presence of specific design elements in assemblages and what this has to say about changes in collective behavior patterns, James Deetz's Arikara study being a case in point.² In fact, the literature abounds in discussions related to typologies that have to do with the role which simple decorative variations have played indirectly (or directly) in establishing culture sequences, one of the nascent goals of American
archeology. It is not surprising that W. H. Holmes' work, for example, concerning aboriginal pottery typologies published early in this century *vis a vis* the southeastern United States still forms the nucleus of any consideration of this area. Holmes' success may have been due, in part, to his prior training as an artist which predisposed him to subtle visual discrimination problems, artists trained with a sensitivity to visual phenomena and with skills of observation vastly superior to the average. Most individuals in our culture do not learn how to maximize their perceptual skills in this way.

Franz Boas makes the distinction between non-representative and representative or mimetic art, though as an anti-evolutionist he rejected simplistic attempts to equate technical realism with cultural superiority. Yet the combination of form and content gives to representative art an emotional value apart from the purely formal aesthetic affect.\(^3\) In endeavoring to define a "work of art" apart from other types of activity, Boas invokes the concept of technical perfection.\(^4\) The standards of technical perfection, of course, depend on the culture, the finesse of the observer, and the goals of the artist, all of which are reasons why the critical evaluation of art has often been accused of inevitable subjectivity. Insofar as art can be representational, however, it also becomes documentation, not only of one
individual's self-expression or of a particular stylistic movement within a culture, but of the real world.

Towns, markets, streets, clothing, cooking utensils, architectural spaces, ship rigging, furniture, religious objects, animals, interpersonal relationships, technologies, weaponry, cuisine, status, topography, economic and subsistence activities, events, and people form but a few of the more obvious categories of information which images contain. In fact, it is rare to encounter a whole range of academic and popular prose that does not exploit some type of period illustrative material in the form of woodcuts, lithographs, pen and ink drawings, photographs, daguerreotypes, paintings, tiles, plaques, engravings, manuscript illumination, pencil sketches, linoleum cuts, tintypes, etc. It is a cliche to the art historian that Netherlandish painting represents a culmination, of sorts, of a passion for realistic textural detail particularly relative to the more prosaic nuances of day to day living.

Anthropologists have injected the caveat that to some extent the distinctions between naturalistic art and abstract art are misleading. All art is abstract in the sense that style implies the selection of elements from human experience and their reordering into new structures. This is true even of photography. Style may be defined in this sense as a recurrent way of structuring
and presenting. The number of works may range from those executed by a single artist during a period of his life to styles characteristic of whole nations or ages. Although styles differ markedly and defining the nature of these differences is not easy, one fact is common to all styles: They are not a reproduction or literal copy of nature. ⁵

Nevertheless, some styles precipitated a product of more transparent utility than others for the obvious purpose of documenting either discrete objects or individuals. One would not rely upon Vasily Kandinsky, Claude Monet, or Piet Mondrian for this type of endeavor. However, there are entire genres of paintings devoted to marine subjects, still lifes of flora and fauna, and even a sub-genre denoted to seventeenth century breakfasts, though one must constantly factor in the way that culturally biased symbolism or personal preferences in content and technique may impact on specific images, creating idiosyncratic filters for information that must be taken into account. The art of William Hogarth is the most easily seized upon example used by Colonial Williamsburg in restorative interior work, but the injection of period satire sometimes distorts the selection of objects within a room, and one must be willing to decode the humor. ⁶ Also, once having "learned" an object, such as a bottle shape, the artist tended to repeat it through time,
ignoring the stylistic evolution of that class of material culture. Noel Hume adds that Hogarth ignored brick bond configurations as well.⁷

If art historians concentrate on the individual work of art (or the oeuvre of a single artist), which in most situations inadvertently places the human emphasis on a selective group of creators and patrons, the sociologist or anthropologist concentrates rather on situating the work of art within a much wider framework of institutions (of which art itself is one). This includes their customs, mores, rules, communication processes, and so forth.⁸

Anthropology as the erstwhile conceptual progeny of sociology considers these direct issues while adding the dimensions of culture specific symbolism and intercultural symbolism with respect to the deeper processes of human thought and behavior on a worldwide basis. Putting it another way, the social sciences deal with man as a social animal and the ways in which he solves his social and biological problems in daily living, while the humanities take us aside of bio-social living or universal psychology into the thoughtful distillation of life experiences.⁹

These distinctions overlap, for while the stylistic analysis of the art historian may include decoding the allegorical vocabulary of a culture at a specific point
in time, the anthropologists agenda would graft this information onto one of many compartmentalizations of data molding the final abstractions or conclusions which describe the ethos of a particular group. The role of the archeologist in all of this has evolved, for as late as the 1930's, the American Institute of Archeology still published a Victorian flavored journal entitled Art and Archeology which showcased the discovery of art objects by archeologists. A century-long trend had turned European museums into repositories for excavated antiquities.

In addition, the art historian is often better equipped to determine which style at any given moment is innovative or traditional in terms of its formal and expressive characteristics, whereas it is the job of the sociologist or anthropologist to define and to identify the social group or groups corresponding to it in terms of larger acceptance, toleration, rejection, etc. The historical archeologist would perform this type of analysis upon groups of objects that intersect the decorative arts more than paintings per se, a goal which under certain circumstances invades the turf of the social historian. One sometimes wonders why historical archeologists do not work more closely with European museum catalogues, for several including the Rijksmuseum, The Louvre, The Germantee Museum at The Hague, The Musee
National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, etc., have recently nurtured extensive collections of the more pedestrian decorative objects for relevant periods. Furthermore, some have argued that the "zones of mutual contact" between the anthropological archeologist and the art historian inadvertently thrust the former into the role of philosopher and humanist anyway.\textsuperscript{11}

Perhaps the message here is that the boundaries between university and museum departments are necessary in that they make the myriad of questions about human experience based on the resources one is working with more intelligible. We have to have ways of organizing our information and our inquiries or else all research problems would become so unwielding and so overwhelming as to become impenetrable. Yet the artificiality of the labels we have created for the conceptual territories called disciplines sets limitations which have generated a virtual identity crisis in historical archeology with the various "camps" predictable insofar as they represent the way people have been trained. Perhaps it is unfair to expect anthropologically trained historical archeologists to absorb the methodologies of historiographers or to expect European trained archeologists to become sensitized to the goals of American academic anthropology. Yet the obvious advantages of working within a period for which there is germane graphic
and primary resource documentation - one assumes secondary and tertiary resources - is that one can integrate these divergent perspectives to create a more accurate, meaningful, and three dimensional interpretive vision of a period or an area than is otherwise possible. We can then begin to address the usually covert but inescapable issue of what all of this activity has to do with the human condition and with ourselves, here and now, in the first place.

Archeologists are clearly using art as documentation when Noel Hume, for example, identifies artifacts and decorative art objects from Roman Britain using Pompeii frescoes as a guide. Indeed, our knowledge of the past is clearly dependent upon paintings to a great extent. Especially in the period before the widespread art of photography as a means of recording the passing event, the artist had an important function as a portrayer of persons and places, of ceremonies, disasters, and celebrations in a way that is now satisfied by the press photographer, the television reporter, and the film documentary. Some artists recorded their world as part of a larger commitment to social protest. Arnold Bennett in his "Clayhanger" gives a far more vivid picture of what it really meant to be a child apprentice in the potteries than any statistical table can ever show.
submissive to the things being seen. "Society" artists of all periods are usually underrated, but their work is important in that it demonstrates not merely how these people appeared, but how they looked to themselves and each other. Also, the world of the rich is often better documented in art as they were one of the few groups who could, a priori, afford it, though obviously photography has changed this.

The tidiness and neat documentation of Dutch art, however, permitted both burgher and blacksmith to enjoy an evocation of homekeeping, industrious housewives, hard-won economic independence, trade, immaculate cottages devoted to material comfort, the triumph of worldly skill in science and industry over medieval mysticism. Furthermore, as the grid of the photographic perceptual field had already been perfected by Durer, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael in the early sixteenth century, the technique for achieving exact naturalistic modeling tonality, and luminosity was perfected by Vermeer in the mid-seventeenth century. The Renaissance system of perspective was itself preceded by the eleventh century Arab invention of the camera obscura which was revived by optical experts in the north. Some have argued that in a vital respect, the tradition of western painting after the Renaissance is the prehistory of photography, insofar as the word means literally "drawing with light" as a
mechanistic mode of visual perception. In other words, paintings can be interpreted stylistically, anthropologically as mirrors of culture in the broad sense, and as documentation on a variety of levels. Netherlandish art exploits the mentality of a more empirically minded world in conjunction with an obsession for access to art, as we shall see. Anthropology as the most holistic of the social sciences has an intrinsic relationship of to all art of all ages and cultures in that self expression is an unavoidable facet of human behavior. "Humanity," C. S. Lewis once wrote, "does not pass through phases as a train passes through stations...whatever we have been, we are, in some sort, still." A. L. Kroeber made similar observations relative to the accumulative totality of culture process. As such, the images that are generated by any period or group are constantly reintegrated into everyday experience by each generation through accident or education in an incalculable variety of ways. Contemporary writers have often asked the extent to which we shape the images of our own time versus the idea that selective images, in fact, program individuals and societies. This is a seductive line of inquiry very much in keeping with anthropology.

On a more pragmatic level, it should be possible to isolate certain types of images for application to specific issues in historical archeology. Disagreements over the
role of ceramics versus pewter, for example, have been expanded into more abstract polemics concerning the role of individualization in food consumption and lifestyle. The still essentially medieval world of the seventeenth century Anglo-American colonies as Jim Deetz puts it, was a more collectively oriented society. His interpretation is based on data which contrasts with the findings of Chesapeake archeologists that focuses not on the paucity of ceramic assemblages, but on period inventories listing pewter. Can paintings be used as a data base to support means-ends assumptions concerning a particular activity, such as foodways, and furthermore, can they be used to make more abstract interpretive statements about cultural metamorphoses that support or refute certain contentions?

It is not that paintings have never been applied to answer such questions - they almost always are. Yet how can we take into account the assumed subjectivity of images as applied to problems in the social sciences? These issues will be dealt with sequentially after a consideration of the relationship between Dutch and English material culture to the degree that they both intersect seventeenth century Anglo-American artifacts and attendant problems in interpretive research.
CHAPTER II
ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS DURING THE 1600'S

In the past, a few historical archeologists, conspicuously among them the Noel Humes, have used Netherlandish paintings in the dating and contextual reconstruction of artifacts and sites, and examples of this type of thinking will be explored in the next chapter. Yet to what extent is one safe in assuming that Dutch images are a valid source of information for seventeenth century Anglo-American typological research problems? This may not be obvious if one lacks experience with either seventeenth century artifact classifications or with Netherlandish art.

There are several ways of attacking this problem including a cursory review of the following: 1) The diplomatic and economic bonds between England and the Netherlands, 2) the relationship of Dutch material culture which includes pottery, glass, silver, pewter, and tiles, 3) the cultural, scientific, and even architectural flow of ideas between the two areas. While this strategy may not be unassailable, it does make the leap from one cultural milieu to the other a more defensible methodology. Each of these areas will be considered along with the placement of Netherlandish painting in its appropriate
political, art historical, as well as economic context in Chapter III. Admittedly, the treatment of these topics here can only serve as an introduction to the available literature; however, in acknowledging at least a few fundamental themes the utility of the paintings will be better appreciated.

Historical Background

Although England and, indeed, all of northern Europe were on the far fringes of the real medieval centers of culture in the Near East, a strong trade network was established early on which facilitated the movement of wares during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. It was actually in London that large scale economic organization, which turned the whole of northern Europe into a single trading area, was first given the name Hanse, meaning group, company. By the year 1000 A.D. German merchants from Cologne and Westphalia had already been accepted in London on the same legal footing as its indigenous citizens.20 From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the Hanseatic system linked England with Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia, and connected up in Bruges with the southeast axis of European trade which ran through France to Venice and thence into the Mediterranean.21 Henry VII underscored the commercial treaty with the Netherlands by granting mutual privileges and fixed duties to English
and Flemish merchants. Perhaps it would be useful to review pertinent political distinctions that may tend to confuse an understanding of the painting sample under consideration. The chain of events that put Flanders into the forefront of European culture and ended by making the whole Netherlands the bitterly contested property of a foreign King began in France during the Hundred Years War.

The French monarch John The Good, at one point (1356, after the Battle of Poitiers), rewarded his son Philip with land in the vicinity of Dijon which was then, as now, called Burgundy. In brief, Philip's offspring intermarried with everyone who had holdings in the Netherlands with the result that Burgundy eventually included all of what is now Holland, Belgium, bits and pieces of West Germany, and most of the land lying southward between modern Belgium and the city of Dijon. The ultimate impact of the lavish cultural and economic activity which followed - loosely referred to as the Northern Renaissance - was the political unification of the Netherlands. With the death in 1477 of the most ambitious duke, Charles the Bold, Burgundy was split in two. The French king engulfed the area around Dijon, but Charles had arranged the marriage of his only daughter to a Hapsburg. Thus, the northern territories, including Brussels, became part of the vast holdings of that tenacious and far-flung family who were
to hold a dominant position in Europe for several more centuries.  

The Hapsburg Charles V was, of course, the inheritor of Spain and Italy as well as the Netherlands and eventually became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. While it is not necessary to describe the political turmoil which ensued in detail, it is important to understand the religious and economic tensions that would inevitably shape the cultural environment of the period.

Though Charles - a Catholic - was Flemish born, he worked mercilessly from 1519 to 1551 to expunge all Protestantism from the Low Countries and stifle Martin Luther's activities; thus within a decade, he had driven into open rebellion thousands of Netherlandish leaders who had been loyal to his father. Fierce resistance to the point of revolt by religious reformers as well as by the nobility and burghers who felt that their traditional rights and privileges were threatened led to the confederation of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Friesland, and Groningen by 1579. Whole townships were butchered as the price extracted for independence by the infamous Duke of Alba, sent by Charles' successor Philip II. The name of the province of Holland as the most dynamic of the seven became equated with the entire Dutch Calvinist United Provinces, while Belgium evolved as a political entity from the more Catholic and more southerly districts,
conspicuous among them medieval Flanders. Hence, the confusion between Flemish versus Dutch artistic production, an important distinction in some ways though both shared a conspicuous cultural heritage; insofar as the artists in this study come from and worked in one or both areas they will be referred to collectively as Netherlandish artists.

This is not to say, however, that the Inquisition, tax issues, and the bloody suppression of religious rioting had no impact on the history of art. No longer would northern artists paint or carve holy images as they had during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance once they become rooted in the Protestant fear of idolatry.24 Toward this end, the production of religious images in Holland virtually ceased, adumbrating the fullest flowering of Dutch art that would eventually focus in the seventeenth century on the details of corporeal, day to day living.

Economic Background

As has been inferred, the Netherlands moved forward rapidly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, favored by an aggressive administrative policy under the Dukes of Burgundy and by a geographical position on the Atlantic seaboard. Antwerp became the banking and commercial capital of Europe with a population that swelled to the then enormous size of 100,000 people, occupying a position comparable to London in the nineteenth century or
New York in the twentieth. Here the English, who were also expanding rapidly, brought their cloth to be sold while the Portuguese exchanged Eastern spices for copper and silver from Germany. Guild regulations rarely interfered with industry, and businessmen were willing to risk enormous losses in the hope of making profits quickly as the fortunes of the more conservative Hanseatic League cities wavered.

By the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic had begun to develop a character of its own negotiating a truce with Spain by 1609 (the Treaty of Westphalia was finally signed in 1648 formally recognizing the United Provinces). The towns of Holland overflowed; Amsterdam grew and prospered as fast as Antwerp shrank. So began a fascinating period lasting approximately seventy-five years during which the Dutch Republic boasted the biggest Navy in Europe and the largest merchant fleet, trading with countries of the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Far East, as well as with the continents of Africa, South America, and North America. Dutch "flutes" were in every way superior to rival vessels, while ten percent of all Dutch males were seafarers and/or shipbuilders. Between low interest loan rates and vigorous trade, the mercantile class expanded with a comfortable, urbane affluence that stimulated religious tolerance as well as painters, philosophers, and scientists
ushering in what is referred to as the "Dutch Golden Age." Tycho Brahe, Descarte, Christian Huygens, Leeuwenhoek, etc., all lived and published in the north which became the center for studies in optics (Galileo's telescope had been invented by lens grinders in Holland). In other words, as famine, depression, and war wracked much of the rest of Europe, Holland developed a phenomenal influence vastly out of proportion to its small size.

The middle class merchants, the city gentry, and even the less affluent working class tradesmen and peasants became the patrons of art, not the great princes, and since Dutch houses were small, the paintings tended to be numerous. They would be double-hung or triple-hung on a wall, above a door, or in a dark corner, and this tended to create a market for a large number of artists, and still more, for artists with a specialty. If one wanted a painting of an asparagus, one went to Adrian Coorte, or a souvenir of the Delft powder explosion in 1654, to Egbert van der Pall.²⁸

This widespread interest in art created a demand so great that there were literally thousands of artists, and by the middle of the century in Amsterdam alone, there were 300 artists and only seventy butchers (imagine this situation if the case were New York today).²⁹ Even if the inflation of art eventually lowered its quality, a handful of artists from this period (including Ruisdael,
Franz Hals, Jan Steen, Vermeer, and Rembrandt) were destined to rank internationally among the finest of the European masters. Yet there were dozens of others, such as Van Goyen, Hubbema, De Hooch, Metsu, Kalf, Heda, Keyser, van Oostade, De Wette, etc., marketing quality work at home and abroad, who created specializations conspicuously among them the tavern and interior scenes usually grouped under the heading of "genre" paintings.

A town culture with easy communication between communities evolved as fisherman, peasant, sailor, and merchant galvanized industries, such as breweries, rope-making, and refineries for sugar and tobacco. The modern art trade also developed insofar as there was so much buying and selling that the dynamics changed from sole dependence on traditional patronage via made-to-order commissions (usually for church or royalty) to an open market subject to the sometimes fickle laws of supply and demand. This trend turned some artists into agents, entrepreneurs, and in the case of Jan Steen, into tavern keepers.

The Relationship of the Netherlands to England

The English scholar Charles Wilson has pointed out

"of all the foreign influences which have been on English life, few have been more powerful, more profound or more lasting than that of the Dutch, who...between 1600 and 1750 helped to shape not only our economic institutions, but our ideas or architecture,
art, science, agriculture, to say nothing of our conceptions of philosophy, theology, and law."

The political culmination of the uneven diplomatic relationship between the two areas was, of course, symbolized by the dynastic accession of William and Mary of Orange. All sorts of ideas, including infantry manuals, cutlery, medicine, navigation instruments, optics, bacteriology, protozoology, capitalism, Protestantism, decorative arts, etc., formed focii of varying importance within a post-Reformation material and ideological common ground. Conflict arose in that each wanted to do the same things in the same places at the same time. This was true, for example, of the herring fishery in the North Sea, trading enterprises in the East Indies and in the Atlantic, and the colonization of the Eastern seaboard of North America. Intermarriage between the English and the Dutch had long been a unifying factor, and large numbers of English soldiers, who had fought in the armies of the States General in the Netherlands often remained there. Thousands of Dutch and Flemish immigrants had settled in England as weavers in the Middle Ages, as refugees from religious persecution in the sixteenth century, and later on as merchants and craftsmen.

Dutch art and architecture influenced bourgeois Englishmen who either commonly traveled to Holland to have their portraits painted or commissioned Dutch
artists who moved to London. By the time the National Gallery was founded in 1824, Dutch pictures had long been prized by English connoisseurs, and in fact of all the schools of painting represented there, the seventeenth century Dutch school is the largest.  

Moreover, mastermasons, such as Lieven de Key (1560-1626), for example, fled to London on account of religion, and Hendrick de Keyser worked as a master architect in both countries. By the second half of the seventeenth century, curvilinear brick gables and scrolled gables became popular in England, although there is controversy over the extent to which this idea was originally Dutch, while Flemish stepped gables were known in English coastal areas. "Flemish bond" was known as such in the seventeenth century, and was an import. Dormered hipped roofs came from the low countries inspired by Italy precipitating the Anglo-Dutch double-pile plan of the late seventeenth century country house. The style of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg is anticipated in earlier Netherlands buildings.

English and Dutch Material Culture: Silver and Pewter

Silver and pewter form a conspicuous part of the tableware in Netherlandish paintings though the precise role of pewter in seventeenth century England and Anglo-American colonies is unresolved among historical
archeologists. Much of what has been written about the evolution of silver design has been from the standpoint of the decorative arts which does suggest a strong Dutch influence on everyday vessel shapes as well as on the more esoteric baroque museum pieces.

The Dutch, for example, presumably influenced the English in the use of the beaker, or straight-sided drinking vessel with no stem or handle used initially perhaps in Germany or Scandinavia and inspired by drinking horns. Beakers of a tapering cylindrical line inspired by Dutch Protestants seeking asylum in Norwich during the sixteenth century, called Norwich beakers, were also made for the early church in America. New England tankards with coins inserted in their lids are also supposedly the result of Dutch influences, while ceramic bottles, jugs and tankards with pewter lids show up in the paintings as do pewter ewers, etc. Many sources allude to "thin" silver made during shortages, matted backgrounds, baroque repousse, elaborate punched circlets, large flowers and leaves in relief, etc. as part of the Dutch influence on English silver, which, for bourgeois patrons, also come from Italianate, German, and French design books that contrasted with a more Puritan simplicity.

Whereas during the Middle Ages silver had been confirmed to the great salts and ceremonial pieces of
Dutch Silver Beaker c. 1646
noblemen and clergy, by the seventeenth century little fruit dishes and porringers were useful items more accessible to an exuberantly growing middle class. Vases and jars suitable for arranging along the mantelpiece, in the Dutch style, were for display and Dutch influence was also seen in furniture. Candlesticks and sconces of the restoration period had square or hexagonal bases, fluted or cluster stems, again due to Dutch influences. It should be mentioned that the quality of silver in Holland was so unreliable that one cannot axiomatically jump to conclusions about its precise socio-economic significance in art (a 1661 edict legislated the use of four identifying marks to insure quality standardization). Other sources claim that although English fashions on which Anglo-American silver was based combined German influence of the sixteenth century with elements from the seventeenth century Netherlands, there remained a restraint that is easily distinguishable from the early New York silversmiths that come directly from Holland. At any rate, some silversmiths also worked in silver-plate and pewter, the latter coming into use for household utensils by the Middle Ages.

In Germany, for example, briefly in Nuremberg and Augsberg, the letter of enactment shows that workers were inspected by masters of the craft as early as 1351. The English Worshipful Company of Pewterers harkens back
to 1348. The different kinds of ware were made by different kind of workmen - plates and chargers by one set, called "Sad-ware men;" pots and vessels for liquids by another class known as "Hollow-ware men;" spoons, little salts and other small wares by the poorer members of the trade, who were designated "trifiers." One source claimed that by the late sixteenth century pewter was distributed throughout the middle class in England quoting several period wills where pewter formed a conspicuous part of the inventory.

Archeologists do not always agree on the role pewter played in the material culture of seventeenth century Anglo-America nor to what extent its presence/absence reflected either status, world view, or a psychological and economic bond to the parent culture. Pewter has been uncovered in Williamsburg and elsewhere, one of the more spectacular finds in recent years being the underwater explorations at Port Royal, Jamaica, that have revealed seventeenth century caudle cups, Dutch and Flemish measures, etc., in a remarkable state of preservation. Noel Hume, among others, has researched maker's marks of individual pieces from this cache that tend to document a point of origination in London, although there were often local craftsmen early on in new world settings.
So much has been written about this subject that it seems presumptuous to try to sum up in a few paragraphs the salient points. Nevertheless, an evaluation of the appropriate role of the paintings is enhanced if one understands a few specifics relative to this aspect of their content.

As early as the tenth through fourteenth centuries, three centres in the Netherlands developed the art of pottery. The products of southern Limburg were distributed, by way of England, to all of Northwestern Europe, and there were also potteries in northern Flanders near Aardenburg and in the Maes Valley. Flanders imported majolica (tin-glazed earthenware, the name derived from the port of Majorca) from Spain, Portugal, and Italy before 1400, and though there is disagreement as to the extent to which Spain and Italy influenced one another in the popularization of this ceramic, the technology spread with momentum. The tin-glazed earthenware industry in Spain is more clearly linked with Islamic and Persian traditions. Flanders developed its own 'Valensch werch' tin-glazed ware, whereas Dutch majolica of the period derives mainly from Friesland. It could be added that collectors' pieces of the early sixteenth century in Italy were chiefly shallow platters and dishes with plenty of scope for painted decoration at least some of
which, like tiles, were meant for hanging on walls and never intended for use. This may have precipitated the popularity of the display shelves seen later in Dutch paintings.

One of the better known and frequently mentioned pioneer craftsmen was Guido Andries, known also as Guido da Savino, who, trained at Casteldurante, established his own manufactory in Antwerp by 1512. Later other potters, such as the famous Jasper Andries, would leave the Guild of Antwerp in 1552 for religious reasons to settle ultimately in Zeeland by 1564; likewise, Jan von Bojaert migrated from Antwerp to Amsterdam. Other craftsmen moved to Germany, Switzerland, Portugal, and England. In Britain, these emigrants dominated tin-glazed production for the next several generations. Some would move to the section of the Thames in what was then called the borough of Southwark where they began making tiles as others moved to East Anglia, Kent, and Aldgate. Christian Wilhelm, for example, established a business on the south bank of the Thames while Jacob Jansen of Antwerp settled in Norwich about 1567. There is evidence that slipware also was introduced by continental workmen who established themselves in Kent.

By 1671, a Dutchman took out a patent to make delftware tiles at Lambeth, while the first known record of an Englishman making Holland-china in that location
occurred two years later ("delftware" had become synonymous with tin-glazed wares by this time due to the volume produced in Delft). The Dutch Eler brothers were sued in London for stealing the secrets behind the manufacture of dry-bodied redware in England, although the technology was originally developed in the Netherlands to imitate Yi-hsing red stoneware. Delft craftsmen were competing specifically with imported red stoneware teapots from the Far East as the beverage began to find slow acceptance in Europe.

Large scale migrations to Harleem, Amsterdam, Ganda, Rotterdam, and Delft from the Spanish Netherlands had continued to reinforce the refinement of Dutch majolica or delft since the Dutch East India Co. began marketing Chinese and then Japanese porcelains from the year 1602. The delft pottery and cloth industries thrived after the fall of the Ming dynasty and a partial decline in the fortunes of the local brewery. Presumably finer control of the kiln, of clays, of a second firing, and of decoration made the improved strain of Dutch majolica possible as firing technologies also became more sophisticated. Italian madonnas, or at least figurative designs, still adorned the centers of plates or porringer engaged by highly stylized abstract motifs clearly derived from the Orient.

Multi-colored "Mediterranean grotesque" (meaning
excessively busy) florals consisting of pomegranates, grape leaves, etc., on a white background from this period contrast with more restrained blue and white scenes adopted from Wan-Li porcelain, particularly after the perfection of a transparent lead Kwaort glaze. There was also a strain of whiteware delft made in Flanders and subsequently England at this time, all of these wares depicted in the paintings with a high standard of fidelity.

Noel Hume discusses the problems occasionally incurred in bifurcating early London products from not so early Netherlandish wares, dismissing erstwhile "reliable" criteria, such as body hardness (Dutch pastes were supposedly more friable). English ceramics also presumably were lead-glazed on one side only and Dutch wares on both, though many fragments found on German and Dutch sites are not identically glazed on both sides. Distinguishing between English and Dutch tiles is also difficult, although certain decorative devices, such as the "clown's face" are considered by Noel Hume to be more English, yet distinctions are blurred by immigrants, such as John Ariens van Hamme who, in 1676, obtained a patent to make Dutch tiles in London. By this time, Dutch and Flemish craftsmen had been coming to England for over a century.

Artists in the Netherlands had long been moving from
one factory to the next, absorbing techniques and decorative themes from one another. By the 1640's, a full range of London delftware was reaching households in the colony, probably from Southwark. Though English designs are paralleled by examples in Belgium and Holland, Noel Hume claims that diagnostic Anglicizations help distinguish areas of manufacture based on his work with the Burnett collection. Dutch carnations were replaced by Tudor roses, though other motifs are less easily analyzed.

Earthenwares other than tin-glazed productions were usually locally made, although England and the Netherlands shared the Wanifred ceramics from the Eastern Hesse, for example, which at the end of the sixteenth century were exported to the Netherlands, England, and Denmark. German stonewares, the finest of the everyday hard paste ceramics popular throughout northern Europe from the late Middle Ages (the Germans also invented the salt-glazed process during the fourteenth century), are important insofar as their popularity is visible in the paintings. Some stonewares were even made in Flanders and the process was emulated in London by the late seventeenth century. New drinking habits gradually were introduced at about this time, first with tea and then with coffee and chocolate which encouraged the production of cups that were made to hold the non-
alcoholic fluids. Eventually, bulbous bodied German stoneware bottles, which had once facilitated the consumption of coarse malt liquors made with hops around 1500 and distributed to taverns, would be phased out.

England and the Netherlands, in brief, shared a great many expanding industries conspicuously among them the manufacture of tiles and pottery, while craftsmen readily moved from one area to the other bringing with them decorative and technological mental templates. Archeologists have played a special role in researching the cross cultural influences defining this aspect of material culture.

English and Netherlandish Material Culture: Glass

Even in glass production and design, the Antwerp-London connection is significant once again. Jean Carre, a glass maker from Antwerp, arrived in London in 1565 with the intention of setting up round furnaces for the manufacture of window glass and vessels of clear glass. After 1570, Carre - having apparently been granted a license - was operating a glass house in Crutched F'ars, London, making glass vessels in the Venetian style. Likewise, Jacob Verzelini, a Venetian who had migrated to England by way of Antwerp, began manufacturing glass in England.

Simple beakers, cups, and bottles were made for the
less bourgeois rural market by woodland glass houses. Yet by 1575, there were fifty households in London which apparently imported Venetian glass to such an extent that they were, in limited quantities, within the financial reach of simple yeomen. While great merchants and nobles could still buy fine glass directly from Antwerp or Murano, less exotic wares were being sold in sets by the reign of Charles I. Glass making in London expanded further as the flint-glass process became popular after 1680, the English industry having been nurtured during the sixteenth century by infusions of new blood from Lorraine and Flemish glasshouses. Although Britain became a leading manufacturer, every country in Europe was making more glass: glasses even passed between countries before completion, such as those goblets sent from England to Holland for engraving prior to reimportation and sale.

Despite the monopolistic activities of the Mansell glass houses in England of which there were at least twenty during the years 1623-1649, Netherlandish and Venetian examples including exaggerated bootshapes, dragonesque and butterfly stems using entwined clear glass rods and applied wings, etc., show up on a few early Anglo-American sites. Confusion also exists in relation to bottles, although Dutch bottles are not conspicuous on early sites in the United States. Prior to the
appearance of the globular bodied dark green glass bottle of the seventeenth century, the common large bottle was blown into a square-sided mold with a flat base. These case bottles (housed in cases due to their vulnerable bottoms) have been called Dutch gin bottles though they are English and may have contained a variety of liquors. However, Dutch bottles did imitate English shapes with the long necked types of 1660 still being produced in the Netherlands at the turn of the eighteenth century (though Dutch bottles are thinner, a darker olive green, and possess more conical kicks).

The paintings feature individuals consuming wines which sparkle from carefully depicted wine glasses and tazzas, and a good seriation study might attempt to parallel images of vessel silhouettes with the evaluation of known English types. The issue is complicated, unfortunately, by the fact that often only the stems survive archeologically. However, extant Anglo-Venetian glass samples from the close of the sixteenth century and opening decades of the seventeenth, even in the tall, attenuated "V" shaped goblets and cylindrical cider "flutes", echo vessels in Dutch paintings almost exactly. Glass imports from Holland probably exacerbated economic relations which were already strained from the importation of delftware affecting the same English guild, the glass sellers, who also made ceramics.
17th century Anglo-Venetian drinking flutes and wineglass
How pervasive was glassware in everyday situations, and to what extent did it influence even the lower class or simple subsistence laborers as consumers? The painting surveys may help to elucidate this point.

In summary, then, the material culture of the Low Countries paralleled English material culture to a great extent in the conspicuous categories of glass, silver, pewter and ceramics, underscored by the architectural and artistic flow between the two areas.
CHAPTER III

USING NETHERLANDISH ART AS DOCUMENTATION

To outline this subject fully would require an understanding of the main trends in Western art over the past two thousand years, though such lofty ruminations are too prolix for this study. It should be useful, however, to comment that the technical realism of Netherlandish art was in its day a special accomplishment that grew out of manuscript illumination in the Middle Ages. Manuscripts, of course, were dedicated more to the devotional texts of copyists than to specific images, but during the fourteenth century these tiny images grew in scope to full fledged illustrations that would evolve into the art industry of the Northern Renaissance.

One would have to comprehend to role of other worldly, highly stylized Byzantine art as it dominated the Christian world for a millenia to view this divergence in full perspective perhaps. A similar return to the naturalism of the Greeks propelled Italian art toward figurative painting and the rediscovery of perspective as well, but the emphasis in Italy was always more spiritual than material, more oriented toward the ideal than the real.

The economic dynamics of the Low Countries have
been alluded to already, and it is within this context that a more secular view of the world produced early masters of corporeal, textural realism such as Jan Van Eyck. One prophetic anecdote concerning Peter Bruegel, whose mark during the second half of the sixteenth century is the first to be directly germane here, concerns a young twentieth century French physician.

In 1958, Anthony Torri Ihon submitted the various illnesses depicted in Bruegel's paintings to modern methods of diagnosis, publishing a doctoral thesis that concludes flatly that to portray so many human ills with such accuracy Peter Bruegel must have been trained as a physician. In one painting, "The Cripples," he notes conditions ranging from spasmodic paraplegia to advanced locomotor atoxia, while the orthopedic aids ("t" shaped crutches, miniature wooden sawhorses used by men with strong torsos but wasted legs to pull themselves along, etc.) parallel modern museum examples exactly. In another work "The Blind Leading the Blind", Torri Ihon was able to distinguish glaucoma from leucoma as well as three other eye related maladies about which very little was known at the time. Bruegel was a brilliant Flemish artist who probably produced about fifty paintings and numerous engravings and is best known for his depiction of peasants and their seasonally oriented world. His treatment of "low life"
in art bridges the chronological span between the end of the Northern Renaissance cultural florescence and later genre paintings of the seventeenth century. The genre painters did not necessarily dwell on quasi medical scenes (though a few Dutch artists, among them Rembrandt, did precisely that), but they did excel in recording the feel and full character of their everyday subject matter as well as a vast inventory of cultural and material details. Jan Steen surpassed most in capturing the soft gleam of satin. Gerard Dou is reported to have spent three days on so ordinary a thing as a broomstick.  

Vermeer, of course, probably the best known of this group today despite uneven promotion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, blended his prosaic interiors with a compulsion to portray light and to study its pervasive role in shaping fundamental perceptions of reality. Baroque pearls and reflective surfaces take on a luminescent quality. The work of De Hooch, Metsu, Terborch, Carel Fabritus, Franz Hals, Dirck Hals, Van Mieris the Elder, Nicholaes Maes, etc. are but a few of the more obvious names on a list with hundreds of entries, particularly in one includes the category of still life and portraiture that often cut across the genre output of any one artist. Gerard Dou alone supposedly produced over 800 paintings, a phenomenal volum for any one individual.
Adrien Brouwer's work underscores the difficulty of separating Flemish from Dutch artists. He lived in both areas, and certainly these are Flemish qualities in his style, but he shows the warmth, intimacy, and subtlety of tonal treatment characteristic of the Dutch. Brouwer's paintings, along with Adrien von Ostade's, are reminiscent of Bruegel's emphasis on peasant rather than bourgeois scenes and are derived ultimately from this source.

The multiplicity of choices, in other words, makes it impossible to catalogue absolutely every artist along with a descriptive distillation of their work. To make full use of paintings as documentation, however, one should become acquainted with the artists one is using in terms of the specific geographic areas and schools they represent as well as tell tale stylistic traits. Vermeer only produced about forty paintings, but an amazing number of them seem to take place in the same room by the same window using the same props.

If the chronological span parenthetically enclosed by an artist's work is brief, then the objects depicted within each scene may well represent material culture contemporaneous with the date of the painting. Most dates are firm, but a few are not. In fact, some cannot be dated any more precisely than to the first or second half of the century for lesser known artists, while at
other times even well known works are given conflicting
dates by different art historians. Furthermore, most
attributions of work to a particular artist are secure,
but it is always advisable to remember that a few paintings
may be attributed incorrectly (most sources will indicate
if an attribution is questionable).

One could perhaps "cross-reference" paintings of
different artists within particular decades to see the
extent to which specific classes of objects show up or
are phased out, insofar as a few objects may be used
repeatedly by an individual as props over time. Situations
of this type may tend to undermine documentary reliability
in that such items are sometimes used compositionally
for many years. In more bourgeois paintings, it is also
possible that a few costly objects have been more
carefully curated and are thus not necessarily valid
indices of contemporary market availability or typical
stylistic preference. On the other hand, it is also true
that in many scenes the observer has been allowed into
"backstage" areas, such as bedrooms and kitchens where
more utilitarian crockery, etc. would have been expected.
There is little reason to believe that such objects
necessarily lasted any longer than they do now.

Finally, one must be aware of the fact that symbolism
does play a role in Netherlandish art if not a prominent
one. Such vestigial symbolism is often an inheritance
from the more religious works of the Northern Renaissance before the Reformation. Such implicit messages may or may not impact on more immediate issues, such as the documentation of material culture, but they should be kept in mind.

Flemish paintings endeavored to convey piety or preaching. A cavorting scene of Bruegel's may also contain a tiny Christ figure, obviously overwhelmed and ignored in a world where human foibles and amusements are given priority over spiritual growth. Some paintings may contain allusions to now obscure Flemish proverbs. Even merry scenes in Dutch paintings with lavish foods and table settings may imply that material pleasure is fleeting. The picturesque bounty supplied even by the most successful burgher will eventually spoil, i.e. all earthly pleasures are deceptive and transitory (skulls as motifs imply this explicitly).

Dutch Catholic Jan Steen's "Marriage in Cana" reintroduced symbolic elements in the medieval tradition, such as the Fountain of Life and a statue of Moses with the Rod, both references to Eucharist. Franz Hals was not the first to use the subject of a child blowing bubbles to convey the idea that the life of man resembles things of small account. In addition, Hals' brilliant group portraits, specific enough to capture realistically and without flattery each individual, also indicate
something of the relationship of the men to one another, their collective mood, comparative status, and character. The importance given to drinkers and drinking in such groups is not accidental - a 1621 ordinance forbid banquets of guardsmen to last more than three or four days in that they were subsidized by the municipality, and town officials objected when some lasted over a week. Political messages might be included as well. The coins and maps featured in Terbruggins's "Sleeping Mars" may be emblems of Dutch independence.

In the final analysis, however, it is still easy to see why historical archeologists might be drawn to Netherlandish painting for the overall remarkable fidelity of shoes, pots, room treatments, furniture embellishments, contextural situations, etc. A few examples of how they have employed this resource should be examined.

Netherlandish Paintings in Site Interpretation

Genre paintings have been especially useful to historical archeologists. It is curious, perhaps, that most European languages use the French word genre, which means kind or variety, to categorize the type of paintings that depict scenes of everyday life. Apparently Dutchmen of the period had no generic name for the branch of painting their countrymen developed into a specialty
which the English sometimes refer to as 'drolleries.'

In excavating the early seventeenth century Martin's Hundred Site in Virginia, Noel Hume recovered a few silver and gold threads in conjunction with a substantial semi-subterranean post supported dwelling. He used records from the secretary in New Amsterdam in his interpretation of the structure as well as a painting of Dutch diplomat Constantijn Huygens executed by Thomas de Keyser to build a case for associating the area with governor William Harwood. Harwood would theoretically have been the only inhabitant to wear ostentatious clothing in view of sumptuary laws in Virginia which prohibited such display to all but a select few. In England, however, metallic threads might have been woven into the clothing of country squires and wealthy merchants, and even princes, indicating a certain range of socio-economic possibilities not always suggested by the literal reliance upon only one painting (researching a multiplicity of images would reveal this kind of information).

Likewise, Site A at Martin's Hundred yielded an unusual green and yellow glazed kitchen pot with a distinctive pinched handle which Noel Hume associated with Jan Steen's "Poultry Yard" (c. 1660). An elbow section of armor was paralleled to Van Dyck's 1641 portrait of Charles II. In another example, fragments
of a drinking glass are compared to one in a tavern painting by David Teniers the Younger, though Noel Hume warns that Teniers is not always reliable in that he produced so many similar pictures over his career.\textsuperscript{64}

In using an Adrien Van Oostade painting, the socio-economic implications of brown stoneware Bellarmine bottles was assessed. In fact, Bellarmines today, of course, would be valuable items to the collector, but in viewing them as part of Van Oostade's low life scenes portraying drunken tavern brawls, one is reminded that in their own time these bottles were valued solely for their contents. Even garden decorative objects have been identified via paintings. An earthenware urn excavated at Green Spring, a seventeenth century Virginia plantation site, was tentatively "found" in Jan Steen's "Village Wedding." Also, excavated Dutch tiles were identified by comparison with fireplace tiles in a Pieter De Hooch interior scene.

Under ideal circumstances, the paintings demonstrate not only when, where, and how an object was used, but how long it remained in service, though again one must remember that paintings are not always to be taken at face value. William Knight's "Early Attempts," for example, is an English genre scene (c. 1861) containing eighteenth century wine bottles and seventeenth century stoneware jugs.\textsuperscript{65} In other words, an effort must be
made to penetrate the scope of an artist's work fusing this insight with as much general knowledge relative to the material culture of a particular period as possible.
CHAPTER IV
SOME DATA COLLECTION OPTIONS

There are a variety of ways in which one can inevitably manipulate data of almost any kind. One of these ways concerns the fundamental decisions one must make in determining what an individual datum consists of in the first place in a given situational context. The ultimate methodological decisions here, mentioned in Chapter I and developed fully in Chapter VI, concern breaking the paintings down (after having isolated a total sample grouping) into two sets of two categories. Six tables in all are applied to fairly specific issues current in historical archeology concerning foodways versus artifacts in New World settings about which there are conflicting views.

In this chapter, several ways of looking at the paintings in order to collect various types of data will be explored. Examples from Chesapeake vessel shape typologies will be compared with vessel shapes not yet examined in a variety of scenes which apparently illustrate the former quite effectively. Before developing this further, there are some incidental ideas that deserve mention.

First, in analyzing Netherlandish paintings relative
to discrete objects, one winds up employing several perspectives simultaneously if implicitly. In the discussion of material culture so far, desultory emphasis has been placed alternately on vessel shape versus vessel texture or type of ware. While these are intimately intertwined, they represent in reality two different operational categories of information. If one had an ideal sample to work with, which in itself would be tough to define in that one cannot include absolutely each and every Netherlandish painting of which there are literally thousands, one might be able to perform some interesting statistical exercises between shape and ceramic type. Such correlations could be compared cross culturally.

In other words, Bellarmine shaped bottles are often, predictably, stoneware, but this is not always so. Some virtually identical shapes look more like lead-glazed earthenware in the paintings. One might generate predictability patterns for such disparities that could be compared to analogous disparities in relevant assemblages in statistically meaningful ways. Comparisons might even be made to period Spanish and French paintings. There are fewer English images to work with in the seventeenth century unfortunately, one important reason why Dutch paintings have been relied upon in the first place.
In order to make such a project possible, one would have to access an enormous amount of images. A projector should be used to enlarge details that do not yield information as to subtle distinctions in texture easily. Even so, in some cases, ceramic ware type identification would be difficult. In hundreds of other cases, however, one can readily distinguish Wan-Li porcelain from stone-ware from earthenware and even from tin-glazed wares using high quality color reproductions available in the most recent generation of publications that function as texts, museum catalogues, etc. Sometimes even the title of the painting specifies the type of ceramic shown so that refined delftware and Chinese porcelains can be deftly identified without confusion.

There are other ways of looking at this situation, however. Even in black and white reproductions of color paintings (found especially in older books that emphasize, fortunately, more obscure works), one can compare the silhouette or outline of an illustrated object with an appropriate side view in a published typology. A suggested functional division of vessel forms from seventeenth century sites has been created for the Chesapeake area. Using these simple drawings for a moment, of which there are roughly a hundred shown for the Potomic Typological System, hereafter referred to as POTS, one can turn to the paintings in an investigative
way to search for some analogous shapes. Though by no means a comprehensive treatment of the potential for comparative analysis (possibly itself an independent thesis), a few examples should suggest some additional lines of inquiry.

Flat Vessels for Food

For example, the POTS system specifies three types of flat vessels based on, among other things, Randle Holmes' seventeenth century armorial classifications which in turn evolved from various medieval devices. Dishes, with or without footings, are arbitrarily described as serving vessels larger than ten inches in diameter or length. Plates, by contrast, are smaller (seven to ten inches) and may be shallow or deep (i.e., soup) forms. A final grouping consists of saucers.

Peter Bruegel's "Peasant Wedding" (1568) features soup plates identical to plate shape #2 being served on what looks like an old door converted to use as a huge serving tray. Another item, dish #3, appears in Peter Elinga's "Woman Reading" (c. 1650-1690). Dish type #1 is exquisitely portrayed in Gerard Terborch's "Woman Peeling an Apple" (c. 1651-1661). Larger pieces of holloware often are displayed holding fruit, or are wrapped in drapery at such an angle that the footing is obscured (although what is visible does seem to echo
"Still Life"
"Fischverkaufsein"
the idealized shapes of the typology). A still life by Antwerp artist Jacob Foppens Van Es (dated second quarter of seventeenth century) reveals a ceramic plate containing olives identical to plate type #1. Serving dish type #2 shows up in many paintings including the "Wrath of Ahasuerus" by Jan Steen (c. 1660). Plate type #3 appears in Gabriel Metsu's "Fischverkauferein" (c. 1650). Finally, plate type #4, somewhat compromised here by the vessel stacked within it, is manifested in "Garden of the Inn" by Jan Steen (c. 1657).

A few observations should be made at this point. First, one does not have to be an art historian to make these types of comparisons. If one shape resembles another closely, the work involves collecting enough reproductions in books, slides, and catalogues so that the two images can be put side by side and evaluated. This is a relatively simple and enjoyable visual process not without a certain seductive immediacy. On the other hand, it cannot be employed without some reservations. In distinguishing between dishes and plates, size was agreed upon as an important criteria. Now if a plate by definition cannot be over ten inches in length or diameter, it may be virtually impossible to prove objectively that a given vessel is either 9.5 versus 10.5 inches across in a given picture.

In other words, a certain amount of subjectivity is
inevitable in making arbitrary decisions to place certain images in certain categories, as one cannot measure them in the same way three dimensional objects can be measured in a laboratory. One can tell, however, relative sizes if there are other indicators, such as people, other objects, etc., which begin to communicate something of a rough dimensional scale. If an object looks large, it should probably be called a dish, and centerpiece placements holding many pieces of fruit can be inserted in this category safely. Likewise, when an object appears dangling from a woman's hand and is small in relation to that hand, it can probably be called a plate with assurance. Unfortunately, there are some marginal cases not readily assigned to either classification.

Also, it should be added that there are instances of pewter and silver plates being shown, many even flatter than the POTS typology and similar in shape to what one might find in a Williamsburg gift shop, though a few are clearly much more baroque. These are combined with ceramic shapes. There are fewer archeological classification systems that work with metal because, obviously, metal compounds do not last as long underground or in exposed conditions. Researchers working up whole typologies based on a thorough and sedulous examination of graphic resources should then consider each aspect as it presents itself with appropriate
systemization which should include live drawn silhouettes, etc. Since typologies are usually worked up for rather broad spans of time archeologically - whole centuries in fact - the precise dating of paintings would be less of a problem.

Hollow vessels for liquids: Cooking Vessels

There is an enormous temptation to find corresponding images for all hundred or so POTS designations. Perhaps all this would prove is that vessel shapes in the seventeenth century Anglo-America also show up in seventeenth century Holland, something which has already been tentatively established.

It is the comprehensiveness of such an exercise, however, that would be unusual and useful. If all of the shapes correspond, does this imply that, for example, other cultural dimensions are similar, such as foodways? To what extent do parallels in material culture suggest overall cultural parallels? The Anglo-Dutch connection has been described to some extent, but this problem is sufficiently broad enough in scope to defy simple explanations; furthermore, it invades other anthropological territories, such as acculturation. For the moment a comparison shall be attempted of cooking vessel shapes.

Type #1, the wide flesh pot, appears in the corner of a painting by David Teniers the Younger, "Boor's
Carouse" (c. 1644) and in many other works. The vessel is characterized by two "ears" and three legs. On the other hand, vessels in the paintings which apparently function as pipkins do not conform exactly to the typology. The ones with handles do not always have three legs, and the ones with three legs have finger grips vis a vis the cup category of POTS (not to be confused with three legged coal warming trays often shown on the floor or next to smoking pipes). The handled, three legged variety is visible, however, in an engraving from 1614 by Roemer Visscher, in Tenier's "Peasants Smoking and Drinking in an Inn," and in "The Young Pastry Cook" by Jan Woutersz. A taller three legged cooking vessel, not as broad as the flesh pot but conforming in shape to another sample, is depicted in Steen's "Theatre of the World" (1665-1667). Like the smaller Dutch looped versions, "cup" handles appear in lieu of a straight handle.

There are so many metal pots, pans, skillets, and cooking vessels in these paintings in so many fascinating shapes a thorough catalogue should be created. Some appear to be brass, others copper, pewter, and even cast iron. They are so ubiquitous (at least in lesser known works) that alimentary studies currently being carried out in historical archeology cannot be said to be complete until an account of this significant category is fully integrated. Both James Deetz and folklorist Jay Anderson
"Young Pastry Cook"
have alluded to its importance in Seuart England and Early Anglo-America.

Other Categories: Some Thoughts on Context

Rather than analyzing all eight or so of the general POTS categories per se, a few words will be devoted to context. Jugs, bottles, ewers, and pitchers are generally for holding fluid. Mugs, drinking pots, and cups are usually for personal beverage consumption.

The amusing behavior of a myriad of tavern and family get together scenes implies that huge pitchers, jugs, and bottles did not simply store fluids but were consumed from directly. In "Domestic Scene" by Pieter de Hooch, a solitary drinker imbibes directly from what is probably a bulbous bodied stoneware jug (or bottle in the POTS system) topped with a pewter lid. Jan Mensy's "Young Woman Holding a Jug" (1668) depicts an even more enormous vessel - in such scenes one can only assume that beverages were inexpensive enough to be consumed in such challenging quantities. A frequent vessel to be seen in Netherlandish painting consists of a small, refined deftware bottle; these observations will be expanded upon in Chapter VI.

There are also scenes in which people are eating or are about to eat, some akin to formal group portraits and others easily characterized as gregarious tavern
"Young Woman Holding a Jug"
bacchanals. Some are allegorical paintings that display individuals in Eastern costumes intended to invoke Christian epics, although the material culture, room settings, mullioned casement windows, etc., are anything but biblical. In a few cases peasants are portrayed sympathetically and with dignity (as opposed to Van Oostade's oafish and sinister subjects) in situations where grace is being said, or perhaps where soup is being served in an atmosphere of quiet humility.

Frankly, there are many paintings evocative in one way or another of the joys of domesticity (and food). Rollicking family groupings bent on intoxication contrast with solitary portraits of working class subjects about the consume the simple, sturdy fare produced by their own labor.

The content of these scenes will be examined more carefully in Chapter VI. Specific examples will be given of paintings which typify apparent food consuming behavior, and information abstracted along these lines will be applied to issues in historical archeology.
Insofar as food consumption has been pointed out as an important theme in the paintings, one might wonder if vessel shapes and textures have anything to do with cuisine and/or foodways. The term is defined by Jay Anderson as the whole interrelated system of food conceptualization, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation, and consumption that plays a central role in the cultural infrastructuring that binds groups together. Archeologists influenced by Julian Steward have been comfortable with this idea and motivated by it for years even if they have never used the expression, and the related topic of adaptive efficiency is perhaps the single most pervasive agenda lurking beneath the surface of most archeological literature of the twentieth century. Commenting on foodways will thus serve to outline several issues which dovetail with the other concepts being worked through here.

In a study by J. Blanchette concerning the role of artifacts relative to the foodways of New France, the author begins by reviewing seventeenth century cookbooks and cooking techniques. French seventeenth century
alimentation consisted mostly of liquid potages and stews made with roasted meats, viands, and vegetables to which lard and bread was added. New methodologies evolved in which meats were cooked individually, spices selected and vegetables prepared separately, to say nothing of the diversity offered in pastries and desserts. Blanchette notes the rise in the importance of sauces thickened with flour rather than bread, the greater exploitation of sugar in cooking (rather than honey, available from the Caribbean), and a growing appreciation for slower cooking methods made possible by new options in cooking technology, namely the rise in faience. Although the role of cookbooks, such as La Varenne's, is not clear (publications cannot easily influence people who cannot read), the implication is that the medieval alimentation system was evolving at this point toward the distinct pattern of foodways we now think of commonly and familiarly as being French.

Anderson argues that the food habits of a pre-industrial folk group are interwoven into its entire way of life. Only the largest cities, such as London (roughly 200,000 at the mid-1600's), were removed from a sort of isolated perpetual frontier condition, the highlands stressing pastoralism and field crops (cereals and legumes) and the lowlands dependent on heavy plow agriculture and cereals. A good synthesis of documentary material, such
as this which focuses in particular on the array of eatable resources from herbs to wild animals and typical methods of preparation and presentation should be compared to the analogous array of subject matter in Dutch paintings. Still lifes in particular contain a remarkable and almost photographic inventory of foodstuffs including geese, hens, stags, hairs, herring, oysters, lobsters, fruits, fowl, and pastries (Abraham Mignon's "Interior with a Still Life" contains grapes, peaches, plums, cherries, gooseberries, nectarines, oranges, guineas, maize, gourds, acorns, and figs. If maize did not displace European cereal grains, it was experimented with in France). Anderson characterizes the independent lowland Stuart yeoman who had a certain subsistence tradition as the backbone of the immigrant population in New England.

If vessel shapes correspond from Holland to the Chesapeake by way of England, to what extent do foodways and cuisine parallel one another in various contexts? What might have precipitated some differences? To what extent do foodways generalize across early Anglo-America?

Settlers in seventeenth century New England arrived within a narrower time span than in Virginia where immigrants came in large numbers throughout the century to support, among other things, the tobacco industry. Also, Chesapeake settlers came from a greater cross-section of English geographic areas, though the
southeastern section, particularly London and the low countries, provided the bulk. 69 Most were young and without property, though there is evidence to suggest that indentured servants (a significant category) were drawn in some cases from the middle class. A variety of occupations are represented, and while independent yeomen are included, on the whole Chesapeake immigrants seem to have been a less homogeneous group.

Settlers in the Chesapeake exploited predictable domesticated resources (sheep, cattle), a diversity of wild species (especially deer), and seafoods, particularly in less saline areas. 70 In fact, meat was something more a luxury in England where white meat or cheese was a significant source of protein. Porridges, broths of beans and salted meats, dairy products, baked fruit tarts, and meat pies, vegetable stews, etc., remain significant factors, but for obvious reasons corn in the form of hominy became the crucial staple replacing gruels made of barley, wheat or rye. Corn did not require broadcast seeding or plowed fields, but could simply be stuffed into the soil, Indian style. 71

Farmers were scattered in isolation among marshy tidal rivers, and each settler was allotted by law fifty acres of land for each member of the family. The selling of headrights facilitated the slow growth of plantations that become important only during the eighteenth century.
and beyond.

Land tenure in New England was somewhat more democratic than in the Chesapeake, and the majority of disposable lots do not exceed 250 acres. New England did not parallel the quasi-medieval small and largely self-sufficient country craft and village pattern of the parent culture for very long. Too many settlers found all too soon how much easier it was to take to sea and become a merchant than to till the stony hills of the promised land, and villages near the coast quickly grew into port towns. Before the nascent townculture and systemitized animal domestication of New England developed, however, yeomen learned to take advantage of local cold water species of fish, fruit, fowl, cod, and lobster, though to replace the enormous bulk of calories formerly derived from grain porridges and cheeses, their survival hinged initially once again upon Indian corn. This is not to say, however, that variations in regional resources did not create idiosyncratic permutations of foodways initially transplanted from England. A general comparative synthesis done anthropologically, factoring areal ecologies, soci-economic and geographic contrasts in the composition of settlement groups, the dynamics of local economic conditions, and even relevant typologies, would be instructive to both archeologists and historians focusing on all of early Anglo-America as a single unit of study.
Types of foods, preparation of foods, heating technologies, and consumption behaviors, all represent different data categories, and graphic resources obviously could be applied to them all. The Netherlandish paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, use subsistence activity as subject matter. In Bruegel's "Hay Harvest" (1565) short-skirted women rake the mown hay while men stack it in a wagon, baskets of late spring cherries and other vegetables waiting for market in the foreground. "The Harvester" (1565) demonstrates vast wheat fields, huge earthenware jugs, and a late summer noonday meal of bread, milk, and fruit, not unlike England. Both primary and secondary cereals were crucial to particularly the lower classes, though meats may have comprised a slightly larger percentage of overall calorie consumption in the North than in Southern Europe. In the Netherlands, seafood had long been exploited commercially and was an important component for town dwellers in particular. De Witte's "The Fishmarket" takes place in Amsterdam.

Are there changes in consumption patterns from the sixteenth as compared to the late seventeenth century? This question is pertinent to archeology insofar as changes in foodways, especially relative to eating paraphernalia (dishes, mugs, etc.), are presumably reflected in the varied assemblages which constitute the
depositional record. A brief introduction to some of the interrelated aspects of alimentation studies has been attempted. Hopefully an illustrative inventory will eventually be applied to current interpretations of these various areas in a more systematic way. The potential relationship of Netherlandish paintings to specific controversies in historical archeology will now be explored, in addition to a more focused discussion of consumption behaviors as they did or did not change.
Archeologists working in New England and the Chesapeake have given provocative interpretations to their work in relation to foodways. Deetz's work around Plymouth divides assemblages and sites into three categories, the first of which is characterized mostly by plain utility wares. The forms of the ceramics (pans, colanders, etc.) suggest use in dairying rather than food consumption. From this he concludes the first few generations of settlers ate from perishable wooden trenchers that in yeomen contexts in England were often shared. Leather and pewter shared containers for beverages also predominated. During the second half of the century, ceramic drinking vessels (cups, etc.) become more prominent while trenchers are still in use.

Deetz then compares the assumed collective food consumption behavior of the seventeenth century with a new accommodation between people and material culture in the eighteenth which emphasized a conspicuous increase in individualization after about 1750. This is underscored by a vast increase in ceramic plates, chamber pots, etc., found in the assemblages of that period.
This metamorphosis is suggestive of an overall shift from a latent medieval mind set toward the compulsive orderliness, functional segregation, and symmetry of the Georgian world.

Though Deetz certainly cannot be accused of discounting pewter, a study by Chesapeake archeologists including Garry Stone, Mary Beaudry, Janet Long, Henry Miller and Fraser Neiman, suggests he misinterpreted its role. Based on country estate probate inventories from roughly 1630-1680, it seems that shared wooden trenchers were not the norm. Pewter eating vessels were common if pewter drinking vessels were not, certainly supplemented by wooden plates and trenchers. Furthermore, many wealthy individuals apparently owned few ceramics, which tends to undermine the axiomatic equation of a high sherd and exotic ware count with high status typical in site interpretation. The authors suggest that wooden trenchers predominated only in newly established households.

A purposeful study sample based on Netherlandish paintings may shed some additional light on this issue insofar as Dutch and English material culture has been shown to parallel in many instances. The study design will thus be organized along the following lines. First, two broad groupings of paintings (Group A1 and A2) would be divided up chronologically between the first and second halves of the seventeenth century. It has already
been pointed out that many scenes contain individuals consuming food or dishes displaying food. Thus, the main criteria would segregate and enumerate silver versus wooden versus pewter versus ceramic eating dishes and plates including shallow soup bowls (as opposed to vessels which are taller than they are wide for drinking fluids as beverages rather than using a spoon) from the years 1565-1657. The same categories would then be generated for the years 1657-1700. Date ranges were chosen because the ninety part sample could be divided evenly in this way, forty five images in each section. A classification for baskets will also be included to the extent that they appear in alimentary contexts in the paintings.

Secondly, four small groupings of pictures (Groups B1, B2 followed by B3, B4) would be divided up in terms of status. These would include some late sixteenth and seventeenth century paintings (or two groups of sixty and sixty-two paintings) and would be segregated according to several variables. Now it is occasionally difficult to separate middle from upper class scenes in the affluent, urbane world of the seventeenth century Low Countries. Distinctions can usually be made, however, between low life or peasant subjects and more bourgeois scenes using clothing, lavishness of interior design and behavioral propriety as indicators. Pewter, glass, wooden, silver, and ceramic drinking vessels will be enumerated on tables
representing peasant and low life versus non-peasant or bourgeois groupings; eating vessel categories (sans glass) will duplicate these. The two samples will be referred to as Groups B1 (peasant, drinking), B2 (bourgeois, drinking) versus Groups B3 (peasant, eating) and B4 (bourgeois, eating), respectively.

A discussion will ensue with illustrations focusing on collective versus non-collective consumption behaviors in various contexts. Problems with structured sampling relative to this issue will be pointed out. Comparisons of individualized eating sequences versus those where food is being consumed communally will be made in relation to the type of food being eaten. Observations will also be presented which discuss the relationship of status to consumption behaviors.

Study Samples

The following sections will be organized along these lines. Two tables, A1 and A2 (representing the years 1565-1657 and 1657-1700, respectively) will demonstrate vessel count totals and relative percentages in various categories. Tables for groups B1 and B2 will compare wood, gold, ceramic, pewter, silver and glass drinking vessel totals and percentages for two status categories. Tables for groups B3 and B4 compare peasant versus non-peasant food vessel materials represented by totals and
percentages thereof.

These tables will be followed by three graphs demonstrating the relationship between the samples A1 and A2; B1 and B2; B3 and B4.

Three detailed discussions will follow evaluating the data generated from the various painting samples, listed in Appendix A, in detail. These observations will be organized sequentially in the same order as the tables and graphs. Other observations invoking related issues mentioned previously will conclude Chapter VI.
### TABLES 1-6

1. **WARE TYPES FOR FOOD**  
   **SAMPLE GROUPING A1**

   1565-1657.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Pewter</th>
<th>Ceramics</th>
<th>Baskets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Total  
   Percentage  
   = 110 |

2. **WARE TYPES FOR FOOD**  
   **SAMPLE GROUPING A2**

   1658-1700.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Pewter</th>
<th>Ceramics</th>
<th>Baskets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Total  
   Percentage  
   = 81 |

3. **WARE TYPES FOR BEVERAGES**  
   **SAMPLE GROUPING B1**

   Peasant.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Ceramic</th>
<th>Pewter</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Glass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Total  
   Percentage  
   = 53 |

4. **WARE TYPES FOR BEVERAGES**  
   **SAMPLE GROUPING B2**

   Bourgeois.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Ceramic</th>
<th>Pewter</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Glass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Total  
   Percentage  
   = 58 |

5. **WARE TYPES FOR FOOD**  
   **SAMPLE GROUPING B3**

   Peasant.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Ceramic</th>
<th>Pewter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Total  
   Percentage  
   = 75 |

6. **WARE TYPES FOR FOOD**  
   **SAMPLE GROUPING B4**

   Bourgeois.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Ceramic</th>
<th>Pewter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Total  
   Percentage  
   = 59 |
GRAPH A1/A2

- = 1565-1657
- - - - = 1658-1700
n = 90

Wood | Pewter | Ceramic | Basket
--- | --- | --- | ---
50 | 45 | 40 | 35
30 | 25 | 20 | 15
10 | 5 | 0
GRAPH B1/B2

- Peasant/Low life
- Bourgeois

n = 60
GRAPH B3/B4

- = Peasant/Low life
- - = Bourgeois
n = 62

Legend:
- = Peasant/Low life
- - = Bourgeois
n = 62
Discussion - Groups A1 and A2

The sample was drawn from the full range of Netherlandish painting from the late sixteenth through the end of the seventeenth century. This cuts across several categories of art, namely, low life or peasant scenes, genre scenes of bourgeois interiors, and outdoor genre scenes, still lifes, organizational portraits, and religious or allegorical paintings which reflect European baroque material culture. An effort was made to include a fair representation of each type; several observations emerge.

First, in virtually none of the paintings exhibiting food or direct consumption did wooden plates, trenchers, bowls, or otherwise emerge as a significant variable. In a few cases where an item did resemble wood, the object in question was virtually identical in each case. An enormous circular vessel with a flat base apparently was used in food processing, such as in Gerard Dou's "Girl Cutting Onions" (c. 1646). In another instance, the same object appears in Gabriel Metsu's "Vegetable Market" holding a virtual cornucopia of fresh products. Perhaps such semi tray-like utensils were used as the kitchen table equivalents of the deep, decorated ceramic centerpieces ubiquitous in many non-kitchen interiors. On the other hand, their utilitarian function in food preparation rather than consumption makes their inclusion
here questionable. A valid defense might be that they
were such anomalous elements the temptation to point
them out was irresistible.

Secondly, pewter is to be observed from the earliest
Bruegel paintings, such as "The Land of Cockayne" (1565)
right up toward the closing decades of the seventeenth
century. The interesting thing about the pewter in both
chronological groupings is that it is almost unilaterally
associated with flat dishes, and in a few instances,
with slightly deeper soup plates, usually quite visibly
rimmed. The flat dishes are often very small, easily
the equivalent of bread and butter plates, but made to
hold fruit, tarts and pastry slices, meat slices, cheese
slices, or a few shrimp. That such dishes were growing
in popularity has already been mentioned in the
discussion on silver; they are not to be confused with
saucers. Often a huge pewter platter, identical in
shape to the smaller versions (circular and visibly
rimmed) contains an entire ham, lobster, or an enormous
fruit stuffed pastry. There are also medium sized
pewter plates in evidence, although the first two types
are more common. Pewter is almost never seen expressed
as deeper dishes or bowls.

An exception occurs in two instances that were not
included in the sample but noted incidentally. Both
involved medical motifs, i.e., Gerard Dou's "The Doctor"
and Franz van Mieri's "The Doctor's Visit," dating from
the 1650's. Since the former was not in color, it is
also possible that the vessel may have been made in brass
or copper. At any rate, a definite correlation exists
between pewter as a material used in table settings and
the design in which it is most likely to appear (given a
large enough sample this could be expressed statistically).

By contrast, ceramics are almost always expressed
as deeper and somewhat curved dishes, large and small,
as opposed to really flat plates. One exception is
Gerard Dou's "Carpenter's Family" which shows a delft (?)
flat plate. Their popularity is visible from Bruegel
throughout, and they include the crudest of glazed
earthenwares to the most exquisite of porcelains, each
type of ware well distributed in both groupings with the
exception of stoneware. Ceramic soup bowls appear to be
either indistinguishable or look like earthenware or are
white (whiteware delft was popularized by the tin-glazing
industry of the seventeenth century). Again, there are
some problems. A couple of the ceramics listed are
expressed as large tureens or even basins as defined by
the POTS typology, yet they were included insofar as these
samples were in the minority and were contained within
scenes depicting plates which conformed to generalized
shapes. Also, their association with food was clear. In
addition, a vast quantity of dishes contain fruit in
"Old Woman Saying Grace"
contexts that are clearly as decorative as they are utilitarian. A small percentage are used to hold apple peelings in informal scenes where food is being produced rather than eaten as well.

In other words, it is tough to segregate shape and utility as independent classifications, though the emphasis here is on table setting ceramics rather than cooking and preparation paraphernalia. In Nicholaes Maes' "Old Woman Saying Grace" (1655) a smallish, three legged, gently lipped pot with a looped handle, very similar to the three legged pipkins with straight handles in POTS, apparently contains soup. At least there seems to be a spoon handle sticking out of it which suggests soup or porridge rather than sauce to be poured over the contents of other dishes. Typologies that equate shape with absolute function for the understandable purpose of organizational clarity may obscure the fact that some vessels apparently transcend distinctive functional classifications once actually linked with behavior. In most instance, however, ceramic shapes sampled here match POTS classifications, and "flat" food vessels with a big emphasis on deep dishes predominate. A few are small enough to be classified as saucers, although they are not mated with corresponding cups (coffee and tea drinking were being phased in only very gradually).

Truly flat silver dishes and plates, either circular
and clearly rimmed or with expansive baroque repoussé
borders, are observed in both chronological groupings. A few silver porringers are in evidence. Silver is occasionally difficult to distinguish from pewter, although it is usually lighter, shinier, and more reflective even in canvases reproduced in black and white. Nevertheless, there is no claim that the vessel count is foolproof, and when there was doubt, a vessel was classified as pewter. Even if marginal cases had been counted the other way, however, overall inventories of silver plates, dishes, and platters would still have been less conspicuous than pewter.

Silver was perhaps most easily identified in still lifes. Descriptions of still life do not have to grapple with complex iconographic and/or speculative subjects, so one is more likely to have metal textures sedulously pointed out. In general, designs for pewter and silver plates intersect frequently. More pretentious designs do occasionally appear in silver; elaborate relief borders are virtually never represented in pewter.

Finally, baskets are used in alimentary contexts. They show up in both chronological groupings in functionally analogous situations. Baskets typically contain bread, fruit, or vegetables. There was an attempt to count them more in sedentary domestic contexts than when used as conveyances, though one or two appear in rustic
tete a tete scenes containing picnic foods.

Other problems included the enumerating of vessels within paintings when the context was not clear. If pewter plates were displayed above a mantelpiece - a socio-technic function - they were not counted. Yet if they happened to be on the table (even if empty) where food was being distributed, displayed, and/or eaten from other dishes, they were counted. It is also possible that in some of the poor reproductions employed, obscure details might have been missed.

Even so, however, there is a certain consistency between the two groups. If paintings are not dated precisely, and a few authors indicated only a tentative chronological range, by using broad categories rather than ten precise ones, slight discrepancies should cancel out. Also if titles coincide, it is because some artists would return to favorite subjects over and over, though each title listed does represent an entirely different work. In brief, pewter and ceramic food consumption vessels are more significant numerically and are fairly consistent in their importance. Furthermore, pewter can usually be correlated with specific shapes as can ceramic forms to a lesser extent, and these associations are consistent. Pewter shapes and silver forms parallel, but silver is by far the less prominent metal and in a consistent way. Finally, wooden vessels do not seem to form a significant variable in either chronological grouping.
Discussion - Groups B1 and B2

The first part of the Group B sampling concerns beverage consumption and drinking paraphernalia, peasant and low life vessels divided up into the same material categories as bourgeois holloware.

The peasant and low life category deserves some explanation. Soldiers, for example, figure in both sample groupings, but when they appear in settings that are obviously rustic (barns, taverns, etc.) rather than well appointed rooms featuring fine furniture and table coverings, they are lumped in with the simple country folk of the peasant category. The term "low life" was chosen because it is used in many of the descriptions of the paintings in a variety of texts. A few of Jan Steen's paintings were placed in either category, though his scenes are in general extremely rowdy and have been described as low life often. However, when lavishness in dress and comfortably decorated interiors were featured, even a couple of Steen's paintings were classified as bourgeois.

It may also be true that some of the more ostentatiously dressed women in furs and satins may, in fact, be prostitutes in view of some of the suggestive motifs contained. Steen's "Girl Eating Oysters" is a good example - there is a bed behind her while the subject peers at the viewer with a coquettish expression; also
oysters were thought of as aphrodisiacs. By not classifying this canvas as "low life" a decision was made to use this term in a material and economic rather than a didactic or moral way. Furthermore, the woman's robe is velvet and trimmed with fur, obviously not a peasant garment.

In this admittedly small sample of sixty images, thirty painting used for each category, a few patterns nevertheless emerge. First, the use of glass transcends boundaries of status. Many paintings depicting even the rowdiest of tavern scenes feature poorly clad rustics imbibing fluids from tall glass drinking flutes and glass beakers. Silver holloware by contrast is not associated with this group. Pewter beakers, however, appear at least twice (in Bruewer's "Interior with Four Peasants," for example), while pewter shows up consistently as ewers, straight-sided tankards, and bulbous tankards or flagons. Franz Hals' maniacal looking "Mal Babbe" is an excellent case in print, the subject carrying an enormous pewter flagon. (Flagon is being used here to mean beverage containers that are bulbous toward the bottom and straight-sided only toward the top, whereas tankards refer to straight-sided cylindrical drinking vessels. This terminology is derived from decorative arts resources rather than the POTS typology which does not cover this type of vessel. Such containers almost
"Mai Babbe"
always have a hinged top.)

Ceramics are also an important category, though small ceramic cups simply are not in evidence. There is one in the foreground of Steen's "Moses Striking the Rock for Water," not included in the sample, but it represents an anomaly. Ceramics show up significantly as serving vessels, such as bulbous stoneware jugs (classified as bottles by POTS), both large and small and typically with pewter lids. Conspicuous, too, are jugs, pitchers, and bottles that apparently are being consumed from directly, something that has been mentioned briefly already, an example being Bruegel's "Peasant Dance." A peasant drinking from a huge bulbous shaped jug is featured in Bruegel's engraving "Summer," not included in the sample as the type of ware is unclear. Such pitchers, bottles, and jugs, however, usually seem to be earthenware, and small earthenware bottles are also in evidence, typically sans lids. Only one smallish bottle in the peasant grouping appeared to be whiteware delft, namely in Steen's "Skittle Players Outside an Inn."

In the bourgeois grouping, only one serving ewer appeared to be gold (in Terborch's "The Letter"), though it is possible that the repoussé piece is really highly polished brass. There was some evidence of silver in usage by this group in the form of a straight-sided silver beaker and a silver chalice. Still lifes would typically reflect a variety of
"Summer"
silver shapes, but still life was eliminated here as a category in that distinctions via active association would have been impossible to determine.

Bulbous stoneware and earthenware vessels are still in evidence, but small delftware and porcelain bottles topped by pewter lids are much more conspicuous and appear over and over again, apparently used in a serving capacity rather than for direct consumption. This is an important distinction from the above (B1) category and demonstrates something of class oriented behavior as well as ware preference.

Many of the glass shapes, however, are virtually identical, and tall flutes and beakers are again in evidence. In this instance, however, there are far more dainty wine glasses, many characterized by a "U" or "V" shape set in a stem with circular footing (an example being Vermeer's "Gentleman and Woman Drinking"). If we assume the porcelain and delftware bottles contain the wine which we see being enjoyed within these same canvases, wine drinking begins to take on some class-related behavioral characteristics.

Pewter is once again a significant category. Pewter ewers, flagons, and beakers are apparent which are identical to the first grouping.

In summary, pewter and glass usage dramatically cuts across wide class barriers, though one can begin to
see some fairly distinct shapes that are somewhat more readily linked with one group over the other. Also, not as surprisingly perhaps, earthenwares are more obviously associated with peasants than the delftwares, though there is some cross over. Porcelains and silver do not appear in peasant scenes, while stonewares are to be found in both groups. One or two ewers even appear to be stoneware. The more impressive fact here is that peasant consumption directly from very large ceramic containers is just not paralleled in more refined settings. Again, relative to the former, real behavior and neat functional classifications sometimes conflict. It should also be added that of the cumulative glass totals, only two are in the form of bottles. One consists of a tiny clear glass bottle holding golden fluid in Steen's "Lovesick Woman," here considered a bourgeois scene, the other of the commonplace larger four-sided variety in Steen's "Merry Family," this canvas having been placed marginally in the low life category. The rest are all tableware drinking vessels including one tazza, a sort of wide mouthed wine glass.

As a final note, in Adrien Oostade's rustic etching "Family Scene," a ewer shaped vessel looks vertically sectioned as if it might be wood. It is not included in the sample insofar as no etchings have been used, but it represents proof that there are exceptions to the
generalizations being made here. There are no other wooden drinking or pouring vessels in the sample or noticed incidentally in other paintings.
Discussion - Groups B3 and B4

At first glimpse, much of the information derived from this sample seems to reiterate trends that have already been alluded to. Peasant scenes will be discussed first.

First, wooden dishes and/or trenchers do not seem to be a significant factor in this half of the sixty-two part sample. Even in the most archtypical of peasant social events, i.e., "Peasant Wedding" by Bruegel, dishes upon careful examination seem to reveal extremely subtle horizontal ridging characteristics of potted wares. A few scattered spoons and utilitarian kitchen equipment look as if they might be wood.

Eating utensils, such as spoons, even in low life scenes are usually pewter as are a multiplicity of plates, shallow soup plates, and serving dishes. There are instances where pewter and ceramic wares are mixed in one table setting. Maes' "Old Woman Saying Grace" is an excellent case in point, another example being "Satyr and Peasants" by Barent Fabritius. In the latter a vast earthenware(?) serving dish of steaming soup dominated a table also set with three smaller shallow pewter dishes. Adrien Van Oostade's "Men and Women in a Tavern" appears to have a pewter porringer with characteristic handles on the table (it was not included in the sample as the metal type was indistinguishable). Pewter vessel
shapes in general have already been described in Group A. Ceramics often have the look of earthenware and three-legged pipkins or cooking vessels are also used as eating vessels. Jacob Spreeuman's "Old Woman with Spinning Wheel" demonstrates what looks like a fairly large cooking pot being used in direct consumption, something we have seen before. Whitewares also occasionally appear as in Van Dyck's "Grace Before the Meal." Truly flat ceramic dishes are uncommon, but one on the floor of Gerard Dou's "The Carpenter's Family" seems to exhibit patterned decoration on a white background and is, therefore, probably delft. In other words, white earthenwares predominate, there is definitely some crossover into other types of ceramics available at the time.

Bourgeois scenes are segregated based on previously mentioned criteria, such as clothing and relative lavishness of setting. Bourgeois and especially upper class interiors are distinguishable insofar as elaborate flooring, wall hangings, and table coverings in the form of carpets typically are depicted in addition to elaborate light fixtures. As before, scenes containing soldiers were placed in this category if other indicators, such as quality of dress, couture, and fairly subdued behavior were obvious characteristics of the subjects portrayed. There are, of course, one or two marginal paintings where situational evaluations were made based on the
overall feel of the painting, emphasizing material comforts rather than possible moral commentary.

Silver dishes are to be found in this grouping consistent with descriptions from Group A. It should probably be added that brass serving vessels appear in both groupings, but a separate category was not created for them as they do not seem to form as conspicuous a component as pewter. Furthermore, the use of brass seems to be incidental to food consumption and is either decorative or clearly utilitarian (that is, related to cooking). Silver dishes intersect such distinctions when used to contain oysters, fruit, or pastries in contexts where clearly the highly polished metal is also meant to invoke the refinement of lavish textures and socio-technically related messages concerning standards of living.

Ceramics emphasized are whitewares, delftware, and porcelain, and are usually expressed as deep decorative dishes containing fruit. Smaller vessels are also observed but are rarely flat, likewise noted in Group A.

Perhaps more interesting is that pewter shows up as flat dishes and plates, the same way apparently as in the peasant grouping. It has already been suggested that the use of pewter is fairly consistent in different chronological settings. It is also apparent that pewter eating vessels are of crucial importance in setting the tables of the affluent and appear in scenes frequently mixed
with silver. The shapes which appear parallel descriptions in Group A, and one is impressed here perhaps with the overall ubiquitous nature of pewter utilization.

In brief, it would seem that pewter transcends class distinctions and may be linked with impoverished settings as easily as it can be with interiors that are virtually palatial, an example of the latter in De Hooch's "Party of Five Figures with Man Entering." At least in the Netherlands, pewter cannot be attached to unilateral statements involving status. Ceramics demonstrate slightly more clear cut variational patterns, but with the exception of porcelain, they are not absolute. Delft-ware seems to move around from one context to another, though earthenwares are much more of a peasant related material. Stoneware eating vessels are not conspicuous, but it is possible that the blander ceramics in Bruegel's paintings could be stonewares. Such distinctions, however, may be too subtle for even many color reproductions. Stonewares in drinking scenes can be identified with some assurance via characteristic decoration and shape as well as color and surface texture.

Thus, even in this small sample divided into two equal sections, certain generalizations can be generated as to socio-economic associations between metal, ware type, and preferential class utilization. It should probably be added that still life and allegorical paintings
were not used as status associations with living subjects in these paintings are non-existent or confusing. Two exceptions that could be classified as allegorical were included insofar as one was clearly a peasant scene (in fact based on a Greek myth about peasant life) and another clearly a seventeenth century bourgeois interior despite the biblical title.
Some Related Observations

Can the paintings be used to resolve issues, such as collective versus individualized food consumption patterns? Did people in the seventeenth century Netherlands share eating vessels, or was there a one to one accommodation between individuals and this aspect of material culture?

Ironically, in some ways, this is an even thornier issue than determining vessel texture and shape from mediocre reproductions in books that may be many times smaller than the original mark of art. There are several reasons for this. First there are many scenes where we are allowed to see the subject posed in the same frame as glossy delftware deep dishes containing colorful mounds of succulent peaches or apples. The fruit bowls are there in a semi-decorative context. Their function is also alimentary, to be sure, and people may be in the act of consuming fruit, but the scene is not really a depiction of mealtime *per se*.

Another version of this situation occurs in canvases where drinking seems to be the main focus of activity. Plates are often depicted containing fruit, bread, or whatever, but perhaps there is a ratio of only one dish for each set of two to three figures. An example of this occurs in Vermeer's "Couple with a Wine Glass" also called "The Coquette." An orange and peeled lemon capture
"Merry Company"
the light pouring in from an adjoining window that is skillfully reflected from a heavily bordered silver dish. Obviously, the dish is an intrinsic part of the scene compositionally and also functions in an alimentary context, but unfortunately a large number of such paintings tell us more about entertaining than actual dining.

There are paintings of people consuming what appears to be real meals. What can be deduced from them? In Gillis Van Tilorgh's "Family Dinner," an upperclass scene now in the collection of the Hague, we see twelve people and a dog standing around a not so large table on which there are only five or six dishes, at best equal to half the number of participants. Moreover, each dish appears to contain a different food. Perhaps the stiff formality of the painting suggests display rather than real behavior. Peter Codde's elegant figures in "A Merry Company" have apparently already eaten; besides the pewter serving dish there are three decidedly small pewter plates. Furthermore, a glass flute, silver beaker, and small glass beaker also add up to three drinking vessels. Individualization here can be argued neatly if we match the number of objects to the number of people, although plate sizes are smaller than what contemporary standards would lead us to expect.

In a painting attributed to Franz Hals "Banquet of the Officers of the Harleem Militia Company of St. George"
(1616), placements of plates, napkins, and knives apparently in front of each subject argue for individualization, although part of the table is obscured. Serving vessels containing meats are placed near the center and smaller dishes of olives(?) are located strategically. With part of the company standing in front and blocking our view, one cannot be sure if there are enough dishes to accommodate everyone. This does not necessarily mean that they are not there, simply that we do not have enough data to make this evaluation. For this reason, structured samples simply enumerating dishes versus people may not be adequate or reliable because accurate ratios depend on comprehensive sources of information not always available to the viewer. What we have not been allowed to see, we cannot report. In generalizing about shapes, a few missed details may not change one's overall interpretation, but in searching for ratios, a few missed details can profoundly affect one's ultimate perception of what is actually going on.

Nevertheless, in this instance, the overall impression is of individualization. By contrast, in "The Meal of Oysters" usually attributed to Pieter De Hooch, the three subjects are partaking of oysters from the same large serving dish. In this instance, there is only one large pewter flagon. Shared serving dishes have been noted before, as with Vermeer, but shared drinking
"The Meal of Oysters"
containers were probably rare. In too many instances does one see each subject wielding a tankard or a glass. Insofar as it is possible to tell, drinking vessels were never leather, but were often glass or pewter even in less affluent situations. Where pitchers or jugs or bottles are being consumed from directly, there are often extras scattered about suggesting a one to one ratio. Even if these are just empties and drinking bottles are occasionally shared, this pattern does not outweigh the number of instances in which a visible connection exists between hand and flagon. Such ratios might be more easily subject to structured sampling in that hands and their contents are recorded with greater priority than the entire contents of table tops.

Peasant and low life scenes also reveal mixed impressions vis a vis the individualization issue. In Van Dyck's "Grace Before the Meal," two spoons and two peasants are visible as is one whiteware bowl containing soup. The impression of sharing here contrasts with "Satyr and Peasants" by Barent Fabritius. The satyr and male figure to the left hold vessels which are partially obscured to us while other dishes scattered about a huge soup platter are probably intended for adjacent children. The baby holding a spoon looks as if he is about to eat right from the main dish. There is some, if not compete, individualization in this instance.
"Grace Before the Meal"
In Jacob Spreeuwen's "Old Woman with a Spinning Wheel" the one to one ration is evident as it is in Bruegel's "Peasant Wedding." In Steen's "Peasant Family at Mealtime: Grace Before Meat" one ceramic pipkin and two pewter dishes accommodate four people. Likewise, in Egbert Van Huniskerck's "Peasant Dinner" one huge dish serves four people.

In other words, unilateral, clear cut patterns are not in evidence. There are arguments for and against individualized consumption in both bourgeois and peasant contexts, and it is perfectly possible that both behaviors were acceptable and even unavoidable. This is not an attempt to make evasive conclusion, only to avoid needlessly oversimplified and monolithic ones. Peasants may have shared soups and gruels if a large inventory of ceramics or pewter dishes was not a household priority in situations where there were several people to consider. This does not mean individual consumption behaviors did not occur; they obviously did.

Consumption from large serving dishes also seems to have occurred in bourgeois settings, though the option of individualized plates was probably more accessible and commonplace. Soups are less evident in these situations than pastries and meats, although even in Steen's low life festivals a huge ham or fish is often visible. The poorer classes probably had access to as great a quantity
of calories in good times if not the same quality or variety. Thus, both shared consumption as well as individualized consumption of foods are strongly supported interpretations for each group, while drinking vessels tend to emphasize one to one ratios more consistently.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study there has been a certain operative assumption that the reader has a more comfortable familiarity with the resources of anthropology and archeology than with art history. As such, an effort has been made to introduce some fundamental concepts in the history of art so as to make the utility of Netherlandish painting more easily understood. It was pointed out briefly that there is no comparable school of English painting for the seventeenth century, therefore, the motivation to look elsewhere for illustrative data in historical archeology has been strong.

It has been shown that there were some important cultural, economic, and political links between the Netherlands and England at this time underscored by shared craftsmen and aesthetic sensibilities evident in virtually all phases of the decorative arts. By the eighteenth century the flow of commercial influence and design ideas begins to move in the opposite direction with England assuming a more dominant role as the sea-faring hegemony of the Low Countries is eclipsed.

Can it be safely assumed that the tentative conclusions reached here really have a bearing on
seventeenth century Anglo-America? There is no substitute for locating archeological remains in a specific location in that a careful resurrection and reconstruction of such debris are directly and unequivocally associated with that one site. Suppositions about what people might have used in a given chronological context are not as satisfying as that kind of direct contact with the past.

On the other hand, archeology has some *a priori* limitations in that only certain kinds of things have a tendency to last underground. Archeology can tell us a lot about what was there, but only up to a point. We can never know to what precise extent the total picture of the material culture of a given society has been retrieved, and interpretations based on archeology alone are, therefore, subject to some perceptual distortions. The conflicts examined in this discussion comparing interpretations or data in New England versus the Chesapeake have arisen in part because of this problem.

Art as documentation also has advantages and disadvantages. A researcher who siezes upon one relevant image and bases his or her conclusions on that image may be forgetting that artists represent subjective lenses of reality. An artist did not necessarily have as a goal creating a generalized portrait of a particular
culture for the benefit of struggling historians and archeologists several centuries into the future. If one endeavors to use this resource accurately, one must be willing to access a certain quantity of images which can then be compared critically to each other in the careful evaluation of information which may or may not emerge as a pattern. The more specific the question, the greater the number of images one should attempt to analyze.

This study has had some uneven results. The enumeration of more types in particular settings has revealed some important trends. Pewter transcends class boundaries, for example, and is important in food consumption behavior throughout the seventeenth century. Likewise, drinking glasses were available to all classes, while wood and leather do not emerge as significant variables. Furthermore, if earthenwares are more easily linked with but not limited to peasant situations, stonewares, whitewares, and delft, and other tin-glazed wares were not limited to bourgeois contexts. On the contrary, there is more of an intersection of a variety of materials in an array of settings than anticipated. Only porcelain and silver are limited to affluent scenes and present fairly clear cut status associations. If one were to enumerate pewter and/or ceramics in more socio-technic contexts (on mantels or shelves, for example), these patterns probably would be supported further.
It has also been suggested that vessel typologies work well with image inventories. Paintings can be used to generate catalogues of generalized shapes that should be evaluated against comparable data for specific geographic areas. If the entire Chesapeake typology is echoed in Dutch paintings, an assertion here not carried out comprehensively, the relevance of Netherlandish art is greatly enhanced. It has also been pointed out that functional classifications are sometimes occluded when associated with real behavior. One is confronted over and over again with cooking vessel shapes which double as eating vessels in direct table consumption situations. As such observations could impact on assemblage interpretations, they are worth knowing about.

Paintings are extremely seductive in that they provide an immediate leap into another time frame which can be experienced in a single visual moment. It has been the contention here that they are also valuable documentary resources with different limitations and insights than prose documents. Observing people actually interacting with objects in subdued or boisterous settings is a boon to researchers destined to glue pots together in laboratories. The static reproductions contained here cannot begin to take the place of working with really good color reproductions in books or slides, admittedly already second and third generation materials,
but at least somewhat more sensitive to the original schematic palattes used by the artist.

In attempting to resolve issues, such as the individualization of food consumption in the seventeenth century, our conclusions are more tentative. It would seem that food consumption behaviors were situational rather than subject to this specific type of strong cultural sanctioning as they are now. Deetz could be right to the extent that these particular sanctions became a more conspicuous part of the socialization process by the late eighteenth century. Some canvases portray collective vessel use (particularly large serving dishes) while others indicate a more singularized ratio of one dish to one person, especially in more affluent settings. Drinking vessel usage tends to support individualization, however.

Again, problems can emerge if one tries to assume and report more information than is really there. In building ratios, for example, visual access to details is required in a way that is not always possible other potential problems have been alluded to throughout the discussion. Such problems do not discount the usefulness of graphic documents, but a realistic grasp of their possible subjectivity has to be taken into account. Yet this is always going to be true - there are caveats associated with any one perspective on the past; the
attraction of historical archeology is that it presents a unique opportunity to synthesize different perspectives in such a way as to offset the disadvantages of total dependence on any one of them.

Colonial Williamsburg has been in the process of building an image "bank" for the eighteenth century over the past several decades. The Collections department is currently in the process of considering the creation of a general cross index. In essence, this index would be organized in terms of discrete objects featured in paintings and prints, with alphabetical headings for everything from alembics to tea sets. Noel Hume has worked with a computerized analysis of Hogarth in this way. For archeologists working parenthetically within seventeenth century contexts, and index of inventoried Dutch paintings might prove extremely useful. At Colonial Williamsburg, when graphic resources are unsatisfactory, museum collections are then checked to see to what extent extant objects apparently define a certain classification of material culture. In other words, different sources of information are constantly used in concert to build answers to certain curatorial problems. Archeologists are not often in the business of period room restoration per se, but the goals of site interpretation are not too dissimilar strategically and a variety of resources are brought to bear (or should be).
A more systematic utilization of paintings, engravings, etc. can dovetail with other types of documentary evidence.

A couple of interesting incidental observations should be made before concluding this chapter. First, some of the literature current in historical archeology links pipe stem lengths with bore widths that are used as chronological indices. Short stems are usually associated with earlier sites, longer stems with later sites. There have been a lot of publications devoted to pipes, and there will be no attempt to review them all here. Yet the paintings do reveal longer stems in many instances toward the beginning of the seventeenth century, and shorter ones toward the end. A systematic study should substantiate the tentative assertion that stem length and time index are not necessarily related in a predictable way. Objectively "measuring" stem lengths would, of course, be a problem in the same way that measuring plates and dishes has proved to be in this study.

Also, there are other schools of painting that should eventually be factored into the arsenal of the historical archeologist. An entire nineteenth century American school devoted itself to still life, inspired by the seventeenth century Dutch, for example. In other words, historical archeologists should be creative in their search for graphic sources of input. A few have begun to exploit the potential relationship of photography to
late nineteenth and early twentieth century sites.

Finally, there is no pretention that a study such as this can unilaterally displace the archeological or documentary resources of a given region. However, the study does have a tendency to support in a general way the contentions of the Chesapeake archeologists using areal estate inventories. The exact degree of relevance of Dutch paintings to Anglo-American yeomen cannot be easily pinpointed. Certainly we have shown a high potential for relevance, but one cannot prove absolutely that Englishmen once transplanted to different ecological situations in the New World did not respond in idiosyncratic ways to those settings.

Comparisons with assemblages in New Amsterdam might be useful in assessing the degree to which people held onto established patterns of material utilization apart from the parent culture. Assemblages from upstate New York have supposedly been characterized by relatively high percentages of glass, implying a virtual transplant in tact of Dutch material culture from one continent to the next. The degree of variation of seventeenth century Dutch sites from Anglo sites should be looked into.

Graphic resources, then, have a potentially significant place in the systematic analysis of certain issues related to historical archeology. It has been demonstrated that within certain limits, they can be subjected to
structured research problems. Methods of enhancing their utility have been suggested throughout. If we assume that archeology seeks to create a more multi-dimensional understanding of the past both in terms of people and cultures, bypassing the conflicting agendas of the humanities versus the social sciences for a moment, then paintings obviously have an important story to tell.

The necessity of accessing the more obscure images has been emphasized in that many general texts published for popular audiences have a tendency to reproduce the same well known Vermeers, Jan Steens, and Bruegels over and over. More specific questions may require a vastly more sophisticated search of these documents if they are to be used wisely. Moreover, there were whole categories of information relative to discrete objects that were not developed here - from chamber pots to smoking paraphernalia - and further research might disclose useful conclusions as applied to specific suppositions current in archeological literature.

While it is perhaps unfair to expect anthropologically trained archeologists to obtain quality exposure to art history, the pertinence of these resources needs to be continuously emphasized. Teasing out the data in a painting can be rewarding, and the contextual actualizations of objects as they were once enjoyed by real people - lovers, children, soldiers, cooks, prostitutes,
servants, parents, the wealthy, the desperately poor, and the masses inbetween - can perhaps only be fully realized in art. One can hope that in generating discussions of this kind historical archeologists will be encouraged to exploit this added insight into recorded experience in ways that bring greater vitality and depth to the complex job of exploring the human past and the nuances of cultural change.
APPENDIX A

Painting Sample - Groups A1, A2, B1, B2, B3, B4

1) "Still Like" c. 1650 (A1)  
    Abraham Van Beiyeren

2) "Frost of St. Nicholas" c. 1650 (A1)  
    Jan Steen

3) "Adoration of the Shepherds" c. 1651 (A1)  
    Jan Steen

4) "Merry Family" c. 1668 (A2)(B1)(B3)  
    Jan Steen

5) "Der Satyr beim Bauren" c. 1638 (A1)(B3)  
    Jacob Jordaens

6) "Der Konig Trinket" c. 1635 (A1)(B3)  
    Jacob Jordaens

7) "Self Portrait with Saskia" c. 1635 (A1)  
    Rembrandt

8) "Poultry Yard" c. 1660 (A2)  
    Jan Steen

9) "Tavern Garden" c. 1657 (A1)(B1)(B3)  
    Jan Steen

10) "Family Life in Holland" c. 1650 (A1)  
    Jan Steen

11) "Fischverkaufferin" c. 1640 (A1)  
    Gabriel Metsu

12) "Vegetable Market" c. 1660 (A2)  
    Gabriel Metsu

13) "Still Life" c. 1648 (A1)  
    Willem Heda

14) "Still Life" c. 1655 (A1)  
    Abraham van Beiyeren
15) "Still Life with Nautilus Cup" c. 1660 (A2)
   Willem Kalf
16) "Peasant Wedding" c. 1568 (A1)(B1)(B3)
   Peter Bruegel
17) "The Harvester" c. 1565 (A1)(B3)
   Peter Bruegel
18) "Still Life" c. 1625 (A1)
   Osias Beert
19) "Still Life" c. 1654 (A1)
   Abraham van Beiyeren
20) "Banquet of the Officers of the Civil Guard of St. George" c. 1627 (A1)(B2)(B4)
    Franz Hals
21) "Dessert" c. 1637 (A1)
    Willem Heda
22) "Adoration of the Shepherds" c. 1650 (A1)
    Jan Steen (different from #3)
23) "Twelth Night Feast" c. 1662 (A2)
    Jan Steen
24) "Christ in the House of Mary and Martha" c. 1662
    Jan Steen (A2)
25) "Christ at Emmaeus" c. 1659 (A1)
    Jan Steen
26) "Erysichthon Selling his Daughter" ca. 1650 (A1)
    Jan Steen
27) "Theseus and Achelors" c. 1654 (A1)
    Jan Steen
28) "Birth Feast" c. 1664 (A2)
    Jan Steen
29) "Music Group" c. 1666 (A2)(B4)
    Jan Steen
30) "Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra" c. 1667 (A2)
    Jan Steen
31) "Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus" c. 1667
Jan Steen (A2)

32) "Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra" c. 1669
Jan Steen (Different from #30) (A2)

33) "Girl Reading a Letter" c. 1657 (A1)
J. Vermeer

34) "Still Life" c. 1631 (A1)
Willem Heda

35) "Christ in the House of Mary and Martha" c. 1664
J. Vermeer (A2)

36) "Reading a Letter by a Window" c. 1657 (A1)
J. Vermeer

37) "Girl Asleep" c. 1655 (A1)(B4)
J. Vermeer

38) "The Coquette" c. 1660 (A2)(B2)(B4)
J. Vermeer

39) "Satyr and Peasants" c. 1656 (A1)(B3)
Barent Fabritus

40) "Girl Cutting Onions" c. 1646 (A1)
Gerard Dou

41) "Carpenter's Family" c. 1647 (A1)(B3)
Gerard Dou

42) "Woman Saying Grace" c. 1659 (A2)(B3)
Gerard Dou

43) "Grocer's Shop" c. 1672 (A2)
Gerard Dou

44) "Land of Cockayne" c. 1568 (A1)(B1)(B3)
Peter Bruegel

45) "Satyr at the Peasant's House" c. 1620 (A1)(B3)
Jacob Jordaens

46) "Interior with Four Peasants" c. 1638 (A1)(B1)(B3)
Adrien Brouwer
47) "Lovesick Woman" c. 1659 (A2)(B2)(B4)
Jan Steen

48) "Bean Feast" c. 1660 (A2)(B1)(B3)
Gabriel Metsu

49) "Bean Feast" c. 1636 (A1)(B3)
Jacob Jordaens

50) "Woman Peeling an Apple" c. 1651 (A1)
Gerard Terborch

51) "Interior with Conaliers and Ladies" c. 1623
Dirck Hals (A1)(B2)(B4)

52) "Merry Company" c. 1635 (A1)(B4)
Pieter Codde

53) "Rustic Feast in a Large Tavern" c. 1665 (A2)
Jan Steen

54) "Grace Before the Meal" c. 1645 (A1)(B3)
A. Van Dyck

Pieter de Hooch

56) "Woman Peeling Vegetables" c. 1657 (A1)
Pieter de Hooch

57) "Merry Company" c. 1657 (A1)
Pieter de Hooch

58) "A Family in a Courtyard" c. 1658 (A2)(B4)
Pieter de Hooch

59) "Two Women Teaching a Child to Read" c. 1668 (A2)
Pieter de Hooch

60) "Woman with Child and Serving Woman" c. 1668 (A2)
Pieter de Hooch

61) "Woman with a Child Feeding a Parrot" c. 1668 (A2)
Pieter de Hooch

62) "Woman and Child with Serving Woman Holding Asparagus" c. 1670 (A2)
Pieter de Hooch
63) "Two Women and Child by Fireplace" c. 1670 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

64) "Woman and Serving Girl with Fish" c. 1670 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

65) "Woman Knitting with Serving Woman and Child" c. 1673
    Pieter de Hooch (A2)

66) "Three Figures at a Table with a Harpsichord" c. 1675
    Pieter de Hooch (A2)

67) "Woman Seated by Fire" c. 1675 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

68) "Doctor and Sick Woman" c. 1675 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

69) "Figures with a Parrot at a Table" c. 1680 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

70) "Girl with Two Cavaliers at Their Wine" c. 1655
    Pieter de Hooch (Al)

71) "Boy Bringing Pomegranates" c. 1662 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

72) "Music Party" c. 1666 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

73) "Woman Peeling Pears" c. 1668 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

74) "Teaching the Child to Walk" c. 1668 (A2)
    Pieter de Hooch

75) "The Favorite Parrot" c. 1673 (A2)(B4)
    Pieter de Hooch

76) "Still Life with Fruit" c. 1655 (Al)
    Johannes Borman

77) "Breakfast Piece with a Ham" c. 1644 (Al)
    Willem Heda

78) "Still Life with Fruit" c. 1660 (A2)
    Pieter Elinga

79) "Still Life with Earthenware Jug" c. 1658 (A2)
    Pieter Van Aarandt
80) "The Way you Hear it is the Way you Sing it" c. 1663 (A2)
Jan Steen

81) "The Gallant Officer" c. 1662 (A2)(B4)
Gerard Terborch

82) "Grace Before the Meal" c. 1660 (A2)
Jan Steen

83) "Self-Portrait Playing the Lute" c. 1661 (A2)
Jan Steen

84) "Men and Women in a Tavern" c. 1660 (A2)
Adrien Van Oostade

85) "The Pancake Man" c. 1625 (A1)(B3)
Adrien Brouwer

86) "Banquet in a Park" c. 1610 (A1)(B4)
Franz Hals

87) "Old Woman Saying Grace" c. 1655 (A1)(B3)
Nicolaes Maes

88) "Women Making Music on a Terrace" c. 1670 (A2)
Jan Steen

89) "Bean King" c. 1638 (A1)(B3)
Jacob Jordaens

90) "A Glass of Lemonade" c. 1663 (A2)
Gerard Terborch

91) "Die Rauchter Gesellschaft" (B1)
Adrien Brouwer

92) "Karlenspielende" (B1)
Adrien Brouwer

93) "Mal Babbe" (B1)
Franz Hals

94) "Der Spielman" (B1)
Adrien Van Oostade

95) "Lustige Gesellschoot in einer Lauke" (B1)
Jan Steen
96) "Die Hochzeit Zu Cana" (B2)
    Jan Steen

97) "Interior with Woman Drinking with Two Men and a Maidservant" (B2)(B4)
    Pieter de Hooch

98) "A Man and a Woman Seated by a Virginal" (B2)
    Gabriel Metsu

99) "Skittle Players Outside an Inn" (B1)
    Jan Steen

100) "Peasant Family at Mealtime: Grace Before Meat"
    Jan Steen (B1)

101) "The Letter" (B2)
    Gerard Terborch

102) "Inn Scene" (B1)
    Franz van Mieris the Elder

103) "Peasants in an Inn" (B1)
    Adrien van Oostade

104) "The Doctor's Visit" (B2)
    Jan Steen

105) "Girl Eating Oysters" (B2)(B4)
    Jan Steen

106) "The Messenger" (B2)(B4)
    Jan ver Kolje

107) "Merry Company" (B2)
    Pieter Codde

108) "Young Woman Holding a Jug"(B1)
    Jan Mienz

109) "The Village Lawyer" (B1)
    Adrien van Oostade

110) "Portrait of a Boy with a Silver Chalice" (B2)
    Bartolomeus van der Helst

111) "The Terrace" (B2)
    Hendrick van der Burch
112) "Peasants Dancing" (Bl)  
Johannes Lingelback

113) "Man Lighting a Pipe" (Bl)  
Godfried Schalcken

114) "Merry Drinker" (Bl)  
Pieter de Hooch

115) "Figures in a Courtyard with an Arbor" (B2)  
Pieter de Hooch

116) "Soldier with an Empty Glass and a Serving Woman" (B1)  
Pieter de Hooch

117) "Soldier Offering a Glass of Wine to a Seated Woman" (B1)(B3)  
Pieter de Hooch

118) "Two Soldiers and a Serving Woman with a Trumpeter" (B1)  
Pieter de Hooch

119) "Two Soldiers with a Serving Woman and a Boy in a Tavern" (B1)  
Pieter de Hooch

120) "Soldier and Serving Girl with Card Players"  
Pieter de Hooch (B1)

121) "Soldier Playing Cards with a Woman and Two Children" (B1)  
Pieter de Hooch

122) "Soldiers Drinking with a Serving Woman" (B1)  
Pieter de Hooch

123) "Seated Soldier with a Standing Serving Woman"  
Pieter de Hooch (B1)

124) "Merry Company with Two Men and Two Women" (B2)  
Pieter de Hooch

125) "A Woman and Two Men in an Arbor" (B2)  
Pieter de Hooch

126) "Girl Drinking with Two Soldiers" (B2)(B4)  
Pieter de Hooch
127) "Woman Drinking with Two Men and a Serving Woman" (B2)(B4) Pieter de Hooch

128) "Party of Four Figures at a Table" (B2)(B4) Pieter de Hooch

129) "Party of Five Figures with Man Entering a Doorway" (B2)(B4) Pieter de Hooch

130) "Country Cottage" (B2) Pieter de Hooch

131) "Fatherly Advice" (B2) Gerard Terborch

132) "Gentleman and a Girl with Music" (B2) J. Vermeer

133) "Gentleman and Woman Drinking" (B2) J. Vermeer

134) "Peasant Dance" (B1) Peter Bruegel

135) "The Temptation" (B2) Jan ver Kolje

136) "Interior of a Peasant Cottage" (B1) Pieter Verelst

137) "The Lute Player" (B2)(B4) Hendrick Mortensz Sorgh

138) "Peasants Smoking and Drinking at an Inn" David Teniers (B1)

139) "Family Group around a Dining Table" (B2) G. van Tilborgh

140) "Lustige Gesellschoft" (B3) Dirck Hals

141) "Peasant Family at Mealtime" (B3) Jan Steen

142) "Satyr at the Peasant's House" (B3) Jacob Jordaens
143) "Woman Reading" (B4)  
Pieter Elinga

144) "Woman Peeling an Apple" (B4)  
Gerard Terborch

145) "Two Lovers at a Table" (B3)  
Hendrick Mortensz Sorgh

146) "Old Woman with Spinning Wheel" (B3)  
Jacob Spreeuwen

147) "Jacob, Lebon, and Leah" (B4)  
Hendrick Terbruggen

148) "Musical Party" (B4)  
Jacob van Velsen

149) "Jupiter and Mercury" (B3)  
Emanuel de Witte

150) "Rustic Feast in a Large Tavern" (B3)  
Jan Steen

151) "Couple Behind the Screen" (B4)  
Pieter de Hooch

152) "The Trumpter" (B4)  
Pieter de Hooch

153) "The Parrot" (B4)  
Pieter de Hooch

154) "Shaking Hands" (B4)  
Pieter de Hooch

155) "The Concert" (B4)  
Pieter de Hooch

156) "Officer and Peasant Woman" (B3)  
Gabriel Metsu

157) "Portrait Group" (B4)  
Emmanuel De Witte

158) "Gentlemen Smoking by the Fireside" (B4)  
Hendrick van der Burch

159) "Interior with Old Woman Peeling Apples" (B3)  
David Teniers the Younger
160) "Boors Carouse" (B3)
    David Terniers the Younger

161) "Peasant Household and Cavalier" (B3)
    M. van Cleve

162) "Peasant Meal" (B3)
    Egbert van Heesberk

163) "Rustic Interior" (B3)
    Adrien van Oostade
NOTES


4. Ibid., p. 64.


12. Noel Hume interview.


17. Ibid., p. 116.


21. Ibid., p. 90.


23. Ibid., p. 24


27. Ibid., p. 9.


29. Rose, p. 13


32. Ibid., p. 19.

33. Ibid., p. 20.


40. Ibid., p. 48.


48. Ibid., p. 48.

49. Ibid., p. 21.


54. Foote, p. 119.

55. Ibid., p. 120.


57. Rosenberg, et. al., p. 179.


60. Ibid., p. 51.

61. "Reality and Symbol in Dutch Art...", p. 316.


64. Noel Hume interview.


77. Beaudry, et al., p. 23.

78. Ibid., p. 24.
Bibliography


Banister, Judith  1965  *An Introduction to Old English Silver*. London: Evans Brothers

Beaudry, Mary; Stone, Garry; Miller, Henry; Neiman, Fraser; and Long, Janet  1983  *A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomic Typological System*. *Historical Archeology*, 17, 18-39.

Bidwell, Percey

Blaauwen, A. (Ed.)
1979 Nederlands Zilver. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.

Blanchette, J.
1981 The Role of Artifacts in the Study of Foodways in New France.

Bloch, Vitale

Baas, Franz
1951 Primitive Art. New York: Capitol Publishing

Braudel, Fernand

Brown, Christopher

Buhler, K.

Burchs, Hendrick
1929 Pieter de Hooch. Berlin: Deutsche Verlag.

Burgess, Fred
1957 Silver, Pewter, and Sheffield Plate. New York: Tudor Publishing

Bye, Arthur
1921 Pots and Pans. London: Oxford University

Caiger-Smith, Alan
1973 Tin-Glaze Pottery. London: Faber and Faber

Charleston, R. J.

Clay, Jean and Contreras, J.
Complete Paintings of Vermeer

Cooper, Emmanuel
1972 A History of World Pottery. New York: Larousse & Company

Cuttler, Charles

Davis, Spencer
1975 Seventeenth Century Pewter from Port Royal, Connoisseur 188, 136-141.

Deetz, James
1967 Invitation to Archeology. New York: Natural History Press

1977 In Small Things Forgotten. New York: Anchor


Deinhard, Hanna

Denis, Valentin
1961 All the Paintings of Peter Bruegel. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc.

Dutch and Flemish Still Life Pictures

Fales, Martha C.

Foote, Timothy

Faurest, H.
1980 Delftware. New York: Rizzoli Publications

Frank, Susan
Friedlander, Max
1923 Die Niederlandischen Maler Des If Jahrhunderts
Berlin: Propylaen - Verlag

Fromentin, Eugene

Geertz, Clifford
1957 Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred

Goldscheider, Ludwig

Gawans, Alan

Haer, Friedrica

Held, Julius and Posner, Donald

Holland, Margaret

Hollstein, F.
1954 Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts. Amsterdam: Meno Hertzberger

Hughes, Bernard
1956 English, Scottish, and Irish Table Glass
New York: Bramhall House

Huyghe, Rene (Ed.)

Jonge, Caroline

Kandle, Patti

Kaufman, Gerhard
1979 North German Folk Pottery. Richmond: International Exhibitions Foundation
Kirschennbaum, Baruch
   New York: Abner Schram

Klein, H.
1968 Peter Bruegel the Elder: Artist of Abundance
   New York: McMillan Company

König, Hans

Kovel, Ralph M.
1961 American Silver, Pewter, and Silver Plate
   New York: Crown Publishers

Kroeber, A. L.
1948 Anthropology: Culture Patterns and Process
   New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc.

Lewis, C. S.

Loan Exhibition of Dutch Masters of the 17th Century
1925 New York: M. Knoedler and Company

Louw, H.
   Architectural History, 24, 1-23.

Major, Russell
1966 Civilization in the Western World. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott

Martin, Gregory
   Munich: Knorr and Hirth Verlagg GMBH.

Martin, W.
1902 Gerard Dou. London: George Bell and Sons

Mauritshuis Gallery: Dutch Paintings of the Golden Age
1983 The Hague: John Maurits van Nassau Foundation

Meijer, Emil
1962 Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century.
   New York: McGraw-Hill Company
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Henry</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Meats, Bones, and Colonists: An Archeological Perspective on Diet in the 17th Century Chesapeake. Given in A Conference Maryland, A Product of Two Worlds.</td>
<td>St. Mary's City, Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore, N.</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Old Pewter. Garden City</td>
<td>Garden City Publishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noel Hume, Audrey</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Archaeology and the Colonial Gardener.</td>
<td>Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Glass in Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeological Collections.</td>
<td>Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Martin's Hundred.</td>
<td>New York: Alfred Knopf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Early English Delftware from London and Virginia</td>
<td>Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>All the Best Rubbish.</td>
<td>New York: Harper and Row</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orange and the Rose
1964 London: Victoria and Albert Museum

Paintings Gallery, Dresden
1979 New York: Newsweek, Inc.

Paintings from the Berlin Museums
1948 New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Pinakotheck, Munich
1969 New York: Newsweek, Inc.

Potiers de Saintonge
1975 Paris: Musee National des Arts et Traditions Populaires

Rackam, B. and Read, H.
1972 English Pottery. Totowa: Rowman and Lottlef ield

Ramsey, L.

Reality and Symbol in Dutch and Flemish Art of the 17th Century
1972 Art Journal, 31, 315-316

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
1969 New York: Newsweek, Inc.

Robinson, F.

Rose, Barbara

Rosenberg, J.; Slive, Seymour; and ter Kuile, E.

Seventeenth Century Cut in Flanders and Holland

Slatkes, Leonard
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Publisher Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tate, Thad (Ed.)</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century New York: W. W. Norton Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webster, D.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North America Rutland: Charles Tuttle Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

Melissa Payne

Born in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 14, 1952.
Graduated from St. Martin's Episcopal School in that city June, 1970; B.A., Art History, Newcomb College of Tulane University, 1973; M.A. candidate, Tulane University, 1975-76, with a concentration in American History. The course requirements for this degree have been completed, but not the thesis: Early Urban Planning in New Orleans. The author worked in area museums while directing grants for the Louisiana Committee for the Humanities, also serving as areal advisor to the National Endowment for the Arts and member of the Board, Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans. The author contributed regularly to Louisiana publications on preservation related issues.

In September, 1984, the author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate assistant in the Department of Anthropology, working for the Historic Annapolis Lab and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.