

Money and the Regulation of Desire

The Prostitute and the Marketplace in
Seventeenth-Century Holland

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IN 1654 Gerard Terborch created an image of prostitution whose exquisite portrayal belies its subject (Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Dahlem, Figure 1).¹ Seated in a lavishly appointed interior, a soldier raises his hand—and may proffer a coin—to an expensively dressed young woman, whose profile is outlined by a bed richly draped in red.² A slightly older woman, a procuress seated between them, is preoccupied with the glass of wine she silently sips. The latter's presence and activity dispel any doubt about the nature of the encounter. Rather than responding to the gesture or accepting money—much less soliciting either—the object of the soldier's attention stands impassively, almost demurely, her face hidden from our view. The artist provides us with little indication of whether she will accept or reject the offer—although presumably if she and her partner have maneuvered the comely young soldier this far into their rooms they will not let him escape without turning a profit. The soldier communicates with the woman wordlessly, almost respectfully. His emotions, too, remain opaque. The lust apparently driving the exchange—desire for money by the women, and desire for sexual satisfaction by the man—can be inferred only from these few clues to its subject rather than from its representation.

Terborch's painting contrasts dramatically with both earlier and contemporaneous representations of sexual encounters, which customarily depict one or both parties with their passions out of control. Gerard van Honthorst, for example, shows a lusty soldier fondling the generous breasts of a young woman, whose fingers in turn grasp a symbolically enflamed candle (c. 1621, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Figure 2).³ In a painting by

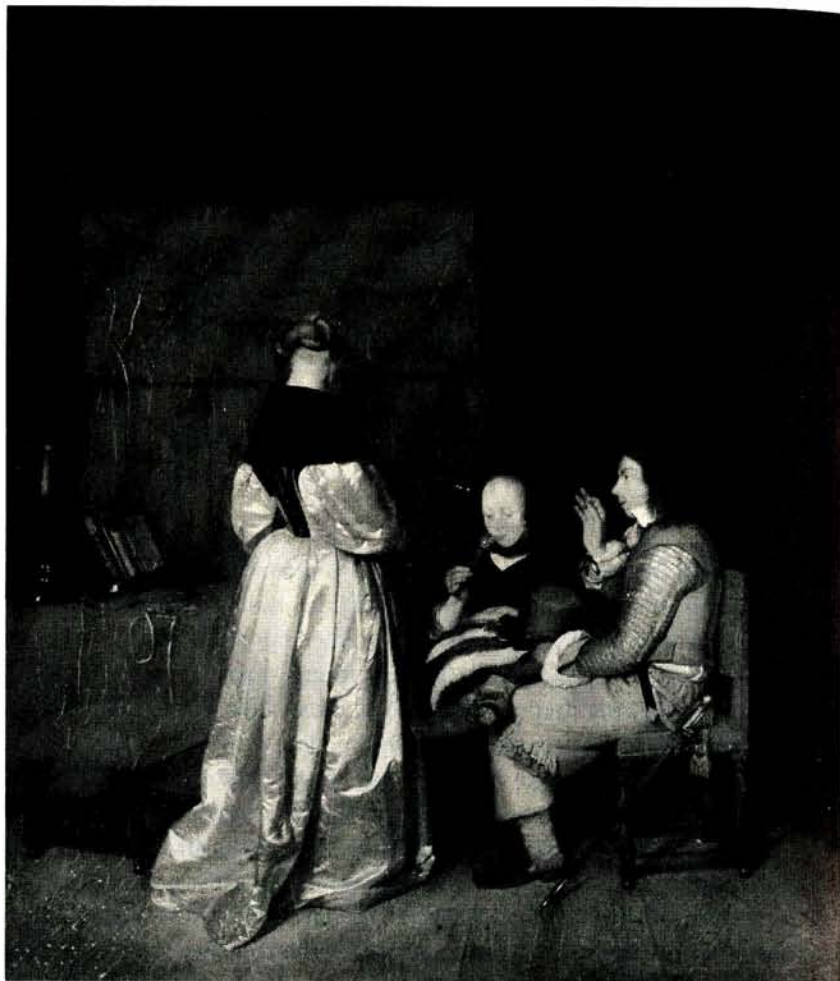


Figure 1. Gerard Terborch, *The Paternal Admonition*, c. 1654. Staatliche Museum, Dahlem, Berlin. Photo, S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerhard Ter Borch* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), p. 268.



Figure 2. Gerard van Honthorst, *The Soldier and the Maid*, c. 1621. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig. Photo, E. de Jongh et al., *Die Sprach der Bilder* (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1978), p. 90.

Jacob Duck dating from the 1650s, both a prostitute and her visitor sleep off their drink and sex, while an avaricious procuress picks the pocket of her hapless client.⁴ Were it not for the transaction implied by the gesture and the context of the glass of wine, and the stunningly sensual white satin dress and black stole of the young woman — a marked contrast to the sober black dresses and white collars worn by women in the artist's portraits — Terborch's image brings to mind nothing so much as a courtly exchange between a lady and her gallant.⁵

Indeed, Terborch portrayed this encounter with such subtlety that by the eighteenth century its subject had been forgotten. Believing that it depicted instead two loving parents instructing their devoted daughter to chastity, an eighteenth-century engraver inscribed his reproduction with the title the "Paternal Admonition," a misinterpretation repeated into our century.⁶ Even after its subject was recognized, Terborch's enigmatic treatment of his theme has been used to define the characteristics of late seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting. In his *Principles of Art History*, published in 1915, Heinrich Wöfflin wrote,

... the purpose of the baroque is not to be unclear, but to make clarity look like an accidental by-product. . . . Everyone knows Terborch's picture, the *Paternal Admonishment*. The title does not fit the picture, but in any case, the point of the representation lies in what the seated male figure is saying to the standing girl, or rather in how she takes the speech. But just here the artist leaves us in the lurch. The girl, who with her white satin dress already forms, as light tone, the chief center of attraction, remains with averted face. This is a representational possibility which only the baroque knows.⁷

In 1984 a major survey of Dutch painting still described Terborch's genre images of women in quiet interiors as "to be interpreted in any way the viewer likes."⁸

Twentieth-century art historians have traditionally based their explanations of the enigmatic quality of such exquisite yet elusive paintings upon one of two assumptions. Either they describe these works as created exclusively for visual delight,⁹ or they argue that such paintings hide their symbolic content, usually a moralizing message.¹⁰ Some scholars split the difference and celebrate these works for making instruction palatable through delight. But the precise outlines of that instruction remain unclear. A painting such as Terborch's does not appear to condemn the encounter between the two figures. No negative consequences for either party seem to be articulated. Indeed, it describes sin as positively inviting. But surely this and similar paintings do not publicly condone the practices they describe.

My purpose here is not to propose a new "interpretation" of the image.

Both its visual beauty and its association with prostitution seem to me clear. Nor do I discuss the image as a reflection of social conditions, for, in spite of its lovingly observed detail, the painting is far from illustrating the characteristic poverty of prostitutes working in seventeenth-century Holland. Rather, my interest here is in the cultural work of this image — the function in the cultural imagination of a painting of an elegantly dressed prostitute being propositioned by a well-mannered soldier — and in identifying the contemporary issues that may have lent themselves to this theme and its singular treatment.

This painting is only one of the more subtle of the literally hundreds of Dutch seventeenth-century images of men and women over-indulging in sensual experiences: drinking, making music, and exchanging money for sex. Jan Steen's many representations of dissolute households, which depict the chaos that can result from unbridled sensual dissipation, are more characteristic treatments of these themes (c. 1668, Wellington Museum, London, Figure 3).¹¹ Although unusual, Terborch's vision, once produced, seems to have captured the imagination of its audience, for it was reproduced in at least twenty-seven copies, partial copies, and imitations over the subsequent two centuries.¹²

In contrast to the near obsession of visual culture with sexuality and prostitution suggested by these and countless similar images, these seem not to have been such pressing social issues. Birth records indicate that there was no notable rise in illicit sex during the seventeenth century. On the contrary, while we have no reliable records for earlier periods, illegitimate births in the seventeenth century hovered around one percent, dramatically lower than in the eighteenth and subsequent centuries.¹³ While there was a shift in the moral and legal status of prostitution in some seventeenth-century Dutch cities, the traffic in extra-marital sexual encounters remained relatively unchanged. Following Aristotle, from the Middle Ages through the late sixteenth century prostitutes were considered a necessary evil, an outlet for male passions which, if not discharged in this directed manner, would otherwise disrupt the social order. This view continued to be voiced through the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries. In his *Modest Defense of Publick Stews*, published in 1724, Bernard de Mandeville wrote, "If courtesans and strumpets were to be prosecuted with as much rigor as some silly people would have it, . . . what locks and bars would be sufficient to preserve the honor of our wives and daughters? . . . Some men would grow outrageous, and ravishing would become a common crime."¹⁴ Many cities supported licensed brothels. Men were warned not so much to avoid prostitutes as to beware of their inherent propensity to thievery.

The Reformation brought about complex changes in attitudes toward sexual desire, and by extension toward prostitution. While older views of



Figure 3. Jan Steen, *The Dissolute Household*, c. 1668. Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, exhibited at the Wellington Museum, London. Photo, P. C. Sutton et al., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), Plate 85.

women continued to be circulated, the Reformation placed a new valuation on marriage and the pleasures of sex between a man and his wife, as pictured by Frans Hals in his affecting marriage portrait of Stephanus Geraerds and his bride Isabelle Coymans (c. 1650–52, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; Paris, Private Collection, Figure 4).¹⁵ This new attitude toward sexuality within marriage was accompanied by a corresponding intensification of moral and legal prohibitions against sexuality outside marriage, specifically, adultery and prostitution. These prohibitions were disseminated in texts ranging from sermons to popular literature, and apparently in some visual imagery as well.



Figure 4. Left: Frans Hals, *Stephanus Geraerds*, c. 1650–52. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. Right: Frans Hals, *Isabelle Coymans*, c. 1650–52. Private collection, Paris. Photos, S. Slive, *Frans Hals* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1989), pp. 324, 325.

After the Republic was established at the end of the sixteenth century, many Dutch cities passed ordinances prohibiting prostitution in an attempt to eliminate it completely. The Hague, for example, enacted an ordinance in 1595 specifying that anyone found keeping a brothel would be publicly flogged.¹⁶ The effect of these regulations on social practices, however, seems to have been minimal. It has been estimated that the number of prostitutes working in Amsterdam in 1680 hovered around 1000.¹⁷ Most cities turned a blind eye through lax enforcement of their laws. While prostitutes and those who housed them were sometimes fined, flogged, condemned to a stint in the public pillory, sent to the Spinhuis (woman's house of correction) for a year to two, or temporarily banished, the high number of repeat offenders indicates that these measures were completely ineffective in stopping the trade.¹⁸ Clients, too, faced fines, but frequently these went into the pockets of the sheriff who conveniently looked the other way.¹⁹ Published guides to well-known prostitutes and brothels even appeared, from the probably imaginative *Spiegel der Vermaarde Courtisanen* (*Mirror of the Most Celebrated Courtesans*) of 1630 to 't *Amsterdamsche Hoerdom*, published in 1681. Thinly veiled as a warning against Amsterdam's red-light district, the latter is a detailed and apparently reliable guide to the sexual practices of the city's underworld. While its legal status changed, then, prostitution as an activity was hardly disturbed.²⁰ The only apparent effect of these laws was to make prostitution less visible.²¹ Large male-owned brothels were for the most part broken up. Young prostitutes set up house on their own or with one or two other women. Frequently she sought the mentorship of an experienced older woman, who rented her a room for her encounters and might lend her money for the clothing which—like that worn in Terborch's painting—might be worth more than she could afford on her own. Women were forbidden to solicit on the streets or keep their doors open. They sought their clients instead in the many inns and music halls of cities both large and small, and returned with them to their rented rooms. An evening's entertainment consisted of drink, sometimes music, and the satisfaction of sexual desire. Indeed, the sexual service of the woman herself was usually the least expensive aspect of the evening. One seventeenth-century visitor to Amsterdam noted that while he spent only three gulden for the woman, the wine for the evening totaled twelve. (Rental of her bed was two gulden extra.)

Court documents indicate that cities were in fact less concerned about sex than about the disorder accompanying its practices, particularly drunken citizens disturbing the peace. Men were hauled before church councils with much more frequency for drink and the ensuing rowdiness than for visiting a prostitute.²² Complaints about prostitutes were voiced primarily when they

themselves disturbed city peace by accosting men in the street or by soliciting on church porches on Sunday.²³ Cities seem to have been more concerned by unruly passions in the public sphere than by sexual practices in the private.

Such observations suggest, then, that Terboch's painting may not, in essence, be about sexual morality at all, but that it and similar works may have served another cultural function. I would like to offer here that Terborch's painting is not about sex but about money; not so much about morality in the personal sphere as about economic practice in the public one. Specifically, I suggest that Terborch's image expresses confidence in the power of money to regulate even the most unregulatable of passions in the breasts of the most unruly classes of society: female prostitutes and male mercenary soldiers. My interest here, however, is not in its subject per se but in the potential cultural work of such a subject. I will argue that such an image could provide a site, at a safe psychic remove from the immediate life of its (male) viewers, for considering a pressing issue: the fear that money, circulating in the marketplace, would generate increasing lust for money, goods, and services; and that this might cause the economy to spin out of control, even to collapse, and bring to an end the dramatic prosperity that was enjoyed in the Republic. The quiet dignity of Terborch's figures, the lack of passion even in some of society's most potentially unruly classes and occupations, could reassure the viewer that the exchange of money itself had the potential to regulate the very passions that engendered its circulation.²⁴

The odds are high that the soldier is a foreign mercenary.²⁵ The Netherlands was the first country in Europe to raise and support a standing army. This had dramatically increased the number of soldiers garrisoned in the country over the course of the century. The Republic's army more than doubled from 50,000 men in the 1630s to around 110,000 by the 1670s.²⁶ Like prostitutes, then, mercenary soldiers were a familiar aspect of Dutch life.

Terborch depicts an encounter in one sense between social equals (Figure 1).²⁷ Whether a camp follower or an urban harlot, an impecunious foot soldier or a trained cavalryman, both the prostitute and the mercenary sold their bodies for very low pay.²⁸ Both were similarly marginal figures in society, yet they provided services that kept society in order. As I noted, prostitutes were traditionally viewed as a necessary outlet for men, keeping them from seducing virtuous women and disrupting society. The duty of the mercenary was to maintain the peace within the country and defend the nation from threats from without.

Although instruments of social control themselves, the prostitute and the mercenary were at the same time traditionally believed to be among the most unruly classes of society. They were considered men and women close to their

natural state; the passions of both threatened to break loose at any moment, subverting social stability. Traditional beliefs about the unruly nature of female sexuality run like a red thread through both Dutch texts and images. Similarly, the mercenary was potentially lawless as well. In the Middle Ages, soldiers had been drawn from the upper classes. They had fought out of a sense of loyalty to their prince, and in the hope of gaining honor through a noble title and economic profit through plunder. Mercenaries, on the other hand, worked not out of loyalty and for honor but simply for pay. Such men labored at the fringes of society outside the aristocratic ethos of war.²⁹ Moreover, mercenaries in a standing army were positively feared, because when unpaid or simply bored they could scourge the countryside even of the nation that had hired them.³⁰ According to a biographer writing in 1691, Descartes had joined the Dutch army "to study the various customs of man in their most natural state."³¹

Soldiers and prostitutes were linked not only conceptually but also in practice. Soldiers in a standing army spent a great deal of time doing almost nothing except drinking, gambling, . . . and passing the time with women. Every army had a "tail" of women who provided a variety of services from cooking and washing to sex. In 1629, for example, there were 289 women for 1043 soldiers in the Walloon *tercio* of Count Hennin.³² Men with wives and children were thought to be more expensive and more fearful in battle. Governments across Europe, therefore, attempted to limit the number of married men in service. It was thus thought necessary to provide sexual outlets for these single, idle, potentially dangerous men. Most commanders agreed that each company of 200 men required between four and eight prostitutes.³³ (The overworked women would have had to entertain multiple clients each night to provide soldiers with more than one visit per month.) In contrast to the strict moral codes operating elsewhere in the society, a military man could enjoy sex with a woman without marrying her. While encounters between mercenaries and prostitutes might be immoral, they were expected and frequently provided for.

The subject of Terborch's image, then, is particularly freighted—one where natural desire on both sides, in theory at least, might run wild. The image, however, could not picture a greater degree of control. Far from the bawdy encounter of a mercenary and a camp-follower or peasant girl in a country inn, Terborch's image appears almost respectable. We see a richly-dressed, demure and apparently urbane young woman—identifiable as suspiciously licentious only by her lavish dress and the female companion preoccupied with a drink—standing before an equally agreeable soldier offering her a coin. What, then, is the viewer supposed to think? Why this focus on sex and money? Why is such a potentially disordered subject so tranquil? If prostitu-

tion itself was not an important social issue, what contemporary cultural question made possible this theme and its treatment?

In formal terms, the soldier's raised hand, perhaps holding a coin, is a focal point for the beginning and end of an imaginary circle begun by the soldier's gesture and running through the woman's body to be completed by his own. Together, the poses of the soldier and the prostitute frame another alarming source of social disorder, drink, here engrossing the procuress. Situated at the center of the image, the soldier's gesture thereby defines and structures the relationship between the mercenary, the prostitute, and the procuress. I suggest that this and similar images provided an imaginative site for the consideration of an issue that was central to Dutch seventeenth-century society—not sex or even sensual dissipation, but desire. And desire of a particular sort: the desire for money, goods, and services that drove the emerging market and capital economies in the Northern Netherlands. In this image, however, far from generating unbridled passions, money appears to turn even a confrontation between a prostitute and a mercenary soldier into controlled and ordered chivalry. Coin exchanged in a social setting apparently regulates internal passions.

There was nothing new in imagining social relations through money and sex. A longstanding northern tradition of images equated sex for money with economic desire. Mercenary marriage had been a prominent theme of sixteenth-century prints and paintings that satirized avaricious young beauties who married wealthy, withered old men.³⁴ Quentin Massy's scheming young woman, for example, passes her victim's purse to a waiting fool (Figure 5). Avarice was itself traditionally represented as a woman, from, for example, a print by Pieter Breughel in the sixteenth century, where a blind woman jealously guards a hoard in her lap while reaching for more in the filling chest beside her (designed 1556), to a seventeenth-century painting by Gerard van Honthorst where a shriveled old hag greedily examines a coin.³⁵ La Belle Angloise in *Spiegel der Vermaarde Courtisanen* mentioned above suggestively invites, "Where gold begins, / Virtue is but air."

In the seventeenth century, negative associations of monetary greed with female sexuality were supplemented by positive images employing women in metaphors for economic prosperity. The leading Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel, for example, wrote a poem celebrating the glories of Holland's mercantile activities. In it he portrays the profits of shipping through the female gender of ships and their often female figureheads, and describes their lucratively loaded bellies through the metaphor of pregnancy:

Where she [shipping] comes into fashion, or sticks out her bosom,
Every village becomes a city, every shipowner a lord.³⁶



Figure 5. Quentin Massys, *Ill-Matched Lovers*, c. 1520–25. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Photo, J. O. Hand and M. Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 147.

The Dutch original for “comes into fashion,” “*in zwange raeckt*” is a pun on “to make pregnant”. (This in spite of Vondel’s having experienced at first hand the grief that speculation could bring; the poet had lost his shirt in ventures at the Amsterdam Stock Exchange.)

Texts not only describe the economy in female terms, they also describe prostitution in economic terms: *Het Leven en Bedryf van de Hedendaagse Haagsche en Amsterdamsche Zaletjuffers* (*The Life and Trade of Present-Day Hague and Amsterdam Salon Misses*) is an anthology of women whose behaviors run the gamut of illicit sex, from courtesans, common whores, and procurers to adulterous wives. Even more pointed was the *De Beurs der Vrouwen* (*Stock Exchange of Women*) in which each of the vices traditionally associated with women, including those who engaged in extramarital sex, each take a column in their “Bourse” as if her activity was a commodity for which she served as broker.

Attitudes toward money and the marketplace changed dramatically in seventeenth-century Holland, and it is this change that made possible—even necessary—a redefinition of prostitution, if only in the imaginative sphere. Formerly associated with peasants and farmers of the countryside, or disreputable moneylenders, a flourishing marketplace had become an essential metaphor for the international trade and capital speculation in Amsterdam, Holland’s major urban center. Caspar Barlaeus opened his inaugural address for the new Amsterdam Atheneum not by speaking of the secluded world of intellectual pursuits, but by praising Amsterdam as “the most flourishing trade center of all Europe . . . to which the desire to buy and sell drives here from all corners of the world. The immense amount of merchandise [here] strikes the spectator dumb.” In his description of the visit to the city in 1638 of Marie de Médici, Barlaeus equated “the quality of her blood and that of her ancestors” with “the greatness of this city in trade.”³⁷

The monetary exchange and credit that made possible this thriving market moved in the seventeenth century from the remote domain of usurers—social outcasts—to a central position in Dutch society. No longer marginal activities, exchange and credit structured fundamental social relationships over a broad spectrum of society.³⁸ Seventeenth-century Holland had become the economic capital of Europe not through the production of raw materials but through the circulation of capital and goods through buying and selling. English merchants, for example, complained that it was cheaper to export raw materials to Holland, and to import finished goods, than to produce them at home.

This shift from a subsistence economy to a capital economy of surplus necessitated a radical reshifting of values, for, in order for such an economy to flourish, money had to circulate. Specifically, goods and services had to be bought and sold. In the sixteenth century, John Calvin had vehemently condemned the purchase of luxuries: “Those who sail to distant places are no longer content with home comforts but bring back with them unknown luxuries. . . . It too often happens that riches bring self-indulgence, and superfluity of pleasures produces flabbiness as we can see in wealthy regions and cities (where there are merchants).”³⁹ Seventeenth-century Holland viewed consumption differently. In his plan for the city of Utrecht in 1664, burgomaster Henrick Moreelse wrote: “We must attract more customers through increased consumption; we can best do this by establishing well-run, attractive and choice economic opportunities for powerful and wealthy individuals; this will renew and comfort our increasingly exhausted trades- and craftsmen; from this originates the improvement of all public and private income.”⁴⁰

This economic machine, the circulation of goods and capital, was made

possible by the troublesome passion of desire. While avarice, the hoarding of goods or capital which took them out of circulation, continued to be condemned, the desire that fueled its circulation was now an essential component of the new economic and social order. And, to make matters worse, this took place in a marketplace not controlled by reason but governed by Fortuna (or predestination—depending on one's religious persuasion). The Dutch were acutely aware that unregulated desire of men who gave themselves over to Dame Fortune could produce economic disaster. By the mid-1630s, for example, speculation in tulip futures had gotten completely out of hand. It was satirized in such images as Roemer Visscher's emblem of a pair of tulips entitled "A fool and his money are soon parted" in his *Sinne-poppen* first published in Amsterdam in 1614, and an engraving entitled *Flora's Geks-kap* (*Flora's fool's cap*) of 1637 by Pieter Nolpe. The future on one Semper Augustus tulip bulb, for example, was sold for 4,600 gulden, a coach, and a dapple-gray pair of horses worth 2,000 gulden more—over four times the cost of Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*, or more than eight times the annual income for the manager of a prosperous delftware workshop.⁴¹ Scores were ruined when the value of contracts plummeted, and the States of Holland decreed that all agreements contracted after the planting of 1636 would be paid at 3 1/2 percent of their face value.⁴²

Sixteenth-century men like Pieter Brueghel viewed economic exchange as all-out warfare, a literal battle between the mercenary troops of monetary exchange, as pictured in his engraving of the *Battle of the Piggy-Banks and Strong-Boxes* (c. 1558–67, Figure 6). Seventeenth-century textual descriptions of the Amsterdam Bourse, established in 1611, picture a place that was equally frightening. One foreign observer noted how men offered their hands to confirm a price with such speed that the proceedings degenerated into frenetic hand slapping. "Hands reddened from the blows," he wrote, "handshakes are followed by shouting, insults, impudence, pushing and shoving." The typical speculator "chews his nails, pulls his fingers, closes his eyes, takes four paces, and four times talks to himself, raises his hand to his cheek as if he has a toothache and all this accomplished by a mysterious coughing."⁴³ This could not be farther, however, from the painted depictions of the institution by Dutchmen, such as those by Job Berckheyde and by Emanuel de Witte (Figure 7). Similarly, in his University address praising Amsterdam's markets mentioned above, Caspar Barlaeus praised merchants' "respect for the laws, the obedience of the residents, their composure, and first and foremost, their desire for order." It is as if the Dutch needed to picture their economic relations reassuringly as ordered and controlled, even as they were fueled by desire at the mercy of fortune.



Figure 6. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Brueghel the elder, *Battle of the Piggy-Banks and Strong-Boxes*, c. 1558–67, engraving. Photo, A. Klein, *Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel the Elder* (New York: Dover, 1963), p. 147.

There was no end to moralizing proverbs about money. And there was an unending stream of texts promoting temperance, the production of restraint by sheer will. At the same time, the Dutch began to be dimly aware that money and economic exchange itself might be self-regulating. In the Netherlands, desire for money properly administered had been used to discipline no less than the unruly mercenary. Among the important organizational innovations of the army made by Prince Maurits of Orange was the regular—and for a soldier high—pay received by the troops in his employ.⁴⁴ The result was that mercenaries working for the Republic were dramatically better behaved than their counterparts elsewhere. Their passions now were kept in line not by intangible honor, loyalty, and occasional sex, but by contracts guaranteeing tangible and regular coin.

The uncertainties of the marketplace of course, were another matter. By the eighteenth century in England, thinkers like Adam Smith would produce a systematic economic theory where individual passions, redefined as interests,

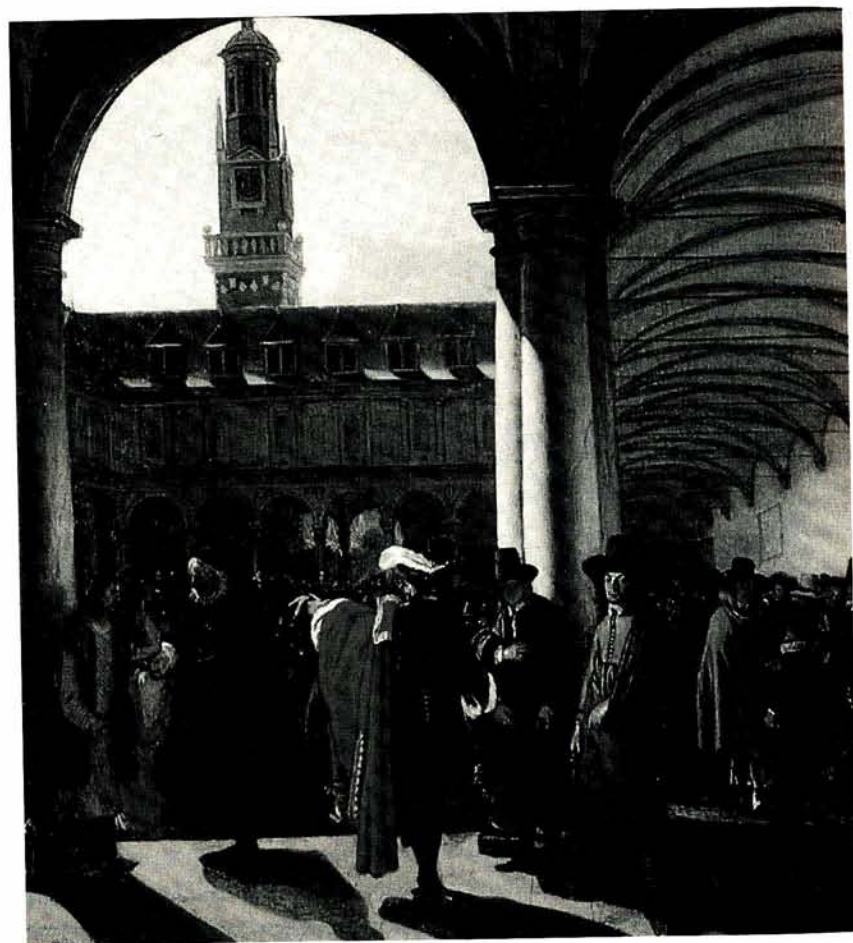


Figure 7. Emanuel de Witte, *The Courtyard of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange*, 1653. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Photo, M. Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585–1718* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1996), p. 24.

were regulated by the marketplace itself.⁴⁵ Most contemporary analyses of the conceptual relation of sexual desire and the economy begin with the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ But the first large-scale and broadly accessible capital market had been established in seventeenth-century Holland. Dutch beliefs about and attitudes toward this market have been frustratingly elusive, however, because the Dutch remained silent on the subject. With the exception of one unsystematic plea for a free-market economy by Pieter and Johan de la Court, seventeenth-century Dutchmen produced no economic texts of note.⁴⁷ In

deed, economic theory abroad was stimulated precisely by Dutch success at home—produced by thinkers in rival countries trying to understand exactly how the Dutch had accomplished their economic miracle. The Dutch themselves were too busy making money to theorize about it. Moreover, theirs was an intuitive enterprise, one functioning on only dimly articulated concepts and justifications for its activities.

While texts are lacking, images such as Terborch's, I suggest, address some of the issues that concerned Dutch men and women about their new economic enterprise. The potential function of the image as opposed to the text for the culture is implied, moreover, by the painting itself. Not only is the painting an object to be desired and consumed through vision, but its subject is not touch, as might be expected, but sight. Specifically, the mercenary is propositioning the woman and looking. Moreover, for the viewer, the image draws attention to itself in the beauty of its painted surface. Vision was considered a more potent sense than touch in seventeenth-century Holland. In religious practice, for example, the worshipper obtained the Eucharist not through the mouth, but through the eyes.⁴⁸ Vision was also the most dangerous sense. In an emblem book of 1644 Johan de Brune defined "the eyes as the cause of love," while in his description and guide to Amsterdam of 1663 Philip von Zesen claimed that certain taverns and playhouses of Amsterdam (the kinds of places in which prostitutes found their clients) were called "Dool-hof" (The Maze) "because there the senses go astray and the eyes do dote."⁴⁹

I suggest, then, that these images provided the site lacking in texts for the exploration of ideas about the marketplace at home. Terborch's image does not suggest why economic exchange regulates desire but seems to propose that the activities of the market itself could be self-regulating. The image itself seems intended to inspire reflection on its subject by its viewer as he or she empathizes with the meditative state of the three figures portrayed.

Outside social boundaries, the prostitute and the mercenary help to reconfigure them, for the image would have been understood by its seventeenth-century viewer in tension with developing boundaries between the domestic and the economic spheres. While many businesses and trades remained tied to the physical space of the house, the boundary between living and working spaces was increasingly delineated and jealously guarded. Gerrit Ludens locates a silk-manufacturer in his study, while his wife is holding the emblems of her domesticity; his pose is open to the world, hers self-enclosed (1656, Boreel Family Foundation, Figure 8). Contemporary authors, too, insisted upon a clear distinction between the locations and activities appropriate to a wife and to her husband. Popular moralist Jacob Cats admonished that



Figure 8. Gerrit Ludens, *Portrait of a Man*, 1656. Boreel Family Foundation/Stichting Familie fonds Boreel. Photo, E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw* (Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders, 1986), p. 177.

The husband must be on the street to practice his trade
 The wife must stay at home to be in the kitchen
 The diligent practice of street wisdom may in the man be praised
 But with the delicate wife, there should be quiet and steady ways.
 So you, industrious husband, go to earn your living
 While you, O young wife, attend to your household.⁵⁰

Like her raucous sisters, Terborch's prostitute transgresses those boundaries, transforming the domestic interior into a public place of business. By crossing these boundaries she helps to reinforce them. The mercenary, on the other hand, turns the desire that circulates money to non-productive ends. Rather than investing it in a public arena of commodities, he invests in the private arena of sensual satisfaction. He too defines the boundaries between public and private gendered spaces by crossing them — in the opposite direction.

In closing, we might ask why Terborch may have selected money and mercenaries as his theme in the first place. Mercenaries, their female companions, and money would have had particular and personal associations for Gerard Terborch, associations that may have lent themselves to his imaging of this theme through both. On the eastern border of the Northern Netherlands, Terborch's native Zwolle had housed soldiers at the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce in 1621. Indeed, soldiers were the subject of his first childhood sketches as well as of his earliest surviving painting, haunting images of a cavalry man viewed from the rear.⁵¹ His adopted city of Deventer had been the staging ground for German mercenaries in the winter of 1629 when they were discharged after the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch.⁵² Mercenaries returned to peacetime duty and idleness in 1654, the year to which the painting is dated, with the conclusion of the Treaty of Westminster that ended the first Anglo-Dutch war. In the mid-1650s when Terborch was creating the image, Deventer was in fact agitating for provincial control of the mercenary army stationed within its borders, a protest that led in 1657 to near civil war. Terborch would have been particularly aware of economic issues as well, for he was related by marriage to the *muntmeester* of Deventer. Shortly after 1650, the mints underwent increased and controversial regulation.

Terborch's painting, still called the "*Paternal Admonition*" but now in quotes, is situated at the shift in social attitudes toward both money and desire. Unlike the activities of the prostitute and mercenary soldier who provided regulation for society through their actions from without, money ordered social relations psychologically, from within. The imaginative theme of prostitution is thus here used as a site for the formulation of new attitudes toward economic exchange — exchange which in real life of course took place primarily between men. Terborch's painting, then, served as a safely removed site

for the exploration of men's attitudes toward their own behaviors in entirely different and evolving economic spheres.

Notes

This essay was first presented at a session of the 1993 *Berkshire Conference on the History of Women*, Vassar College. I am grateful to the participants of that seminar, to Paddy Fumerton and Simon Hunt, and to anonymous reviewers of this volume, for their helpful comments and questions. Finally, thanks must go to Steve Brown of the University of California at Santa Barbara's Artworks office, who produced the photographic material for this essay with his characteristic care, speed, and skill.

1. The painting survives in two autograph versions, in Amsterdam and in Berlin: canvas, 71 x 73 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A404; canvas, 70 x 60 cm.; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. 791. C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Erlingen and Paris, 1908–27) 5 (1912): nos. 186, 187; S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Mouton, 1959–60) 1: 97–98, pls. 110-I, 110-II; 2: 116–117, nos. 110-I, 110-II. *Gerard Ter Borch. Zwolle 1617–Deventer 1681*, exh. cat. (The Hague, Mauritshuis, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, and Landesmuseum, Münster, 1974), 31 and no. 32; Jan Kelch in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Peter C. Sutton et al., exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), no. 9 with additional bibliography. Following Hofstede de Groot, Gudlaugsson and Kelch argue that the Amsterdam work is the earlier of the two.

2. Alison McNeil Kettering, "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin," *Art History* 16 (1993): 95–124, esp. p. 116 n. 5, observes that there is no trace of a coin in the Amsterdam version, that the Berlin painting is apparently rubbed in that area, and that the copy by Caspar Netscher made of the Berlin painting shortly after it was created shows no coin.

3. R. Klessman et al., *Die Sprache der Bilder*, exh. cat. (Braunschweig, Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1978), no. 15; E. de Jongh, *tot Lering en Vermaak*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976), no. 28; H. Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Hontborst*, Ph.D. dissertation (Göttingen, 1966), 81–83, 150–52; E. de Jongh, *Rembrandt en zijn tijd*, exh. cat. (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1971), 175–76.

4. Sutton et al., *Masters*, no. 30. To draw examples almost at random, others range from the woodcut by Lucas van Leyden, *A Tavern Scene*, 1518–1520, with the banderolle, "Pay attention to which way the wind blows," Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stepanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden & His Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 1983), no. 72; to Adriaen van Ostade, *Tavern Interior*, 1674, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister, illus. Christopher Brown, *Images of a Golden Past: Dutch Genre Painting of the 17th Century* (New York: Abbeville, 1984), p. 185.

5. Terborch's sister Gesina had been fond of such courtly themes, reproducing them in great numbers in her drawing album. See *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate*, ed. Alison M. Kettering (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1988). It was also the theme of such romantic pastoral narratives as Granida and Dalfino, popular in painting,

poetry, and the theater. See *Het Gedroomde Land. Pastorale schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Peter van den Brink et al., exh. cat. (Central Museum Utrecht, 1993). See also Kettering, *Drawing*.

6. Johan-Gerog Wille engraved the painting in 1765 under the title "L'instruction Paternelle"; see Vivian Lee Atwater, *A Catalogue and Analysis of Eighteenth-Century French Prints After Netherlandish Baroque Paintings*, 3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation (University of Washington, 1988), 2: 179. W. Drost, *Barockmalerei in den germanischen Ländern* [Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft] (Potsdam: Wildpark-Potsdam, 1926), p. 187, was apparently the first scholar to identify the setting as a bordello.

7. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, trans. M. D. Hottinger of *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* [1915] (New York: Dover, 1950), p. 206.

8. Bob Haak, *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, H. N. Abrams, 1984), p. 399, apparently following the arguments of Eddy de Jongh on the poly-interpretability of Dutch painting. See the latter's comments in De Jongh, *Rembrandt*, p. 145.

9. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). On the basis of a reading of Philips Angel, Eric Jan Sluiter has argued that artists sought to delight viewers in order to sell paintings. See his "Didactic and Disguised Meanings? Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Northern Dutch Paintings of this Period," *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), pp. 175–207.

10. De Jongh, *Rembrandt*, or idem, De Jongh, *tot Lering*, and the author's subsequent publications; see now his cautionary remarks in "Some Notes on Interpretation," in *Art in History*, pp. 118–36. In an unpublished lecture, "The Sexual Economy of Genre Painting," delivered at the symposium held in London in 1984 in conjunction with the exhibition *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Simon Schama noted that many Dutch genre paintings obviously link sex and money, and argued that they express concern about female sexuality upsetting the economic sphere. I am grateful to Allison Kettering for the reference.

11. Nanette Salomon, "Jan Steen's Formulation of the Dissolute Household, Sources and Meanings," *Holländische Genremalerei im 17. Jahrhundert: Symposium Berlin 1984*, ed. Henning Bock and Thomas W. Gaehtgens (Berlin: Mann, 1987), pp. 315–344.

12. In addition to the autograph canvases in Amsterdam and Berlin, the Berlin canvas was reproduced by Terborch's pupil Caspar Netscher in 1655 (Gotha Museum, cat. 1890, no. 298; Gudlaugsson, *Gerard Ter Borch*, 1: no. 110-IIa), illus. pl. XII, fig. 1). Netscher studied with Terborch from about 1654 in Deventer. The date inscribed on Netscher's copy provides the basis for the date of Terborch's two canvases. Gudlaugsson lists additional copies, including a mezzotint by Wallerant Vaillant (1623–1677; mezzotint not in Hollstein, vol. 31), engravings by J. C. Bendorp (1767–1849) and W. Unger (1775–1855), and a lithograph by C. Wildt. The Berlin version was engraved by J. G. Wille, see note 6 above.

13. The data for the seventeenth century are sparse, and are based upon the records of baptized children. Nonetheless, the differences between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is striking. Around 1700 in both Rotterdam and Maassluis fewer than 1 percent of baptized children were illegitimate, according to Donald Haks,

Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw (Assen: HES, 1982), p. 102. D. J. Noordam found similar statistics for Barendrecht and Huizen. See his "Lust, last en plezier; Vier eeuwen seksualiteit in Nederland," in *Een kind onder het hart; Verloskunde, volksgeloof, gezin, seksualiteit en moraal vroeger en nu*, ed. R. E. Kistemaker (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum/Meulenhoff Informatief 1987), pp. 127–70, esp. p. 137. For comparison of these statistics with later periods, see Jan Kok, "The Moral Nation: Illegitimacy and Bridal Pregnancy in the Netherlands from 1600 to the Present," *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands* 2 (1990): 7–35, esp. 9–10 and graph fig. 1, who notes that in Rotterdam the percentages doubled in the 1730s, an increase that accelerated after 1780.

14. Bernard de Mandeville, *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (London, 1724), cited by Richard I. Cook, "The Great Leviathan of Lechery: Mandeville's *Modest Defence of Publick Stews*" in *Mandeville Studies*, ed. Irwin Primer (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 95–96.

15. Eric Fuchs, *Sexual Desire and Love: Origins and History of the Christian Ethic of Sexuality and Marriage*, trans. Marsha Daigle (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1983), pp. 157–63. Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, 3 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1970/1974), 3: nos. 188, 189; Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, exh. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts and Brussels: Ludion, 1989), nos. 68, 69.

16. N. Wiltens and P. Scheltus, *Kerkelyk Plakaatboek*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1722–35) 1: 720; for ordinances against brothel-keepers in other places, see A. Hallema, "Rechterlijke maatstaven ten aanzien van de morele integriteit in het verleden," *Verslagen en mededeelingen van de vereeniging tot uitgaaf der bronnen van het Oud-Vaderlandsche recht* 12 (1962): 410. Both cited by A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 345 ns. 4, 5; J. G. W. F. Bik, *Vijf eeuwen medisch leven in een Hollandse stad* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955), p. 436. The artist Pieter Codde and a maid with whom he had a sexual encounter did spend a night in shackles, see Slive, *Frans Hals* (1989), p. 257.

17. Sjoerd Faber, *Strafrechtspleging en Criminaliteit te Amsterdam 1680–1811. De nieuwe menslievendheid* (Arnhem: Gouda Quint, 1983), p. 78. In the same year, 1680, thirty-one pimps and procuresses were also arrested.

18. For a colorful account of a particularly hardened woman, Jannetje Hendrickx, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), pp. 477–78.

19. Until 1593 in Gouda, the wages of the servants of the bailiff were based on this extra income. See Van Deursen, *Plain Lives*, p. 345, n. 9.

20. Particularly with increased wealth and mobility—and increased poverty on the part of single women—the profession flourished, as is clear from documents from Enkhuizen, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Overveen, Voorburg just outside of The Hague, and of course Amsterdam. See Van Deursen, *Plain Lives*, p. 345, ns. 10–16. Lotte van der Pol has comprehensively delineated the life of Amsterdam prostitutes and brothels from a vast array of documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See her *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom: Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, Wereldbibliotheek, 1996).

21. On prostitution see Lotte C. van der Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*. Idem, "Van Speelhuys naar Bordeel? Veranderingen in de organisatie van de prostitute in Amsterdam in de tweede helft van de 18de eeuw," *Documentatie-Blad Werkgroep Achttiende*

Eeuw (1985): 65–66, 157–71; idem, "Voor- en buitenechtelijke seksualiteit in de vroegmoderne tijd," *Het Westers gezin in historisch en vergelijkend perspectief* [Heerlen: Open Universiteit] 4 (1986): 261–89; idem, "Vrouwencriminaliteit in Amsterdam in de tweede helft van de 17e eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie* 29 (1987): 148–55.

22. For a long list of men who were charged for drunkenness see Van Deursen, *Plain Lives*, p. 345, n. 33.

23. Sir William Brereton reported of his visit to Amsterdam in June 1634 that "About nine hour we passed Harlemmer Port and came into a fair street, wherein of late swarmed the most impudent whores I have heard of who would if they saw a stranger come into the middle of the street unto him, pull him by the coat and invite him into their house," *Travels in Holland . . .* [1634–35] (London: Printed for the Chetham Society, 1844), p. 55.

24. For an excellent discussion of possible political contexts of this work see Richard Helgerson, "Soldiers and Enigmatic Girls: The Politics of Dutch Domestic Realism, 1650–1672," in *Representations* 58 (Spring 1997): 49–87. On p. 83, n. 4, he kindly cites this unpublished essay, which was brought to his attention after writing his own. There was an apparent miscommunication concerning my argument, however: he writes that I assert Terborch's image is "about" "the submission of unruly women and potentially threatening men to the mercantile regime controlled by the governing burghers." My argument is, however, almost the reverse. I here suggest that the image is actually not "about" its currently understood subject, prostitution, but serves instead as a psychic site for a resolution of anxieties about the potential dangers of the circulation of money in general, and specifically for the kinds of activities in which the viewer himself might be engaged.

25. It is highly unlikely that a member of the militia of one of the Netherlands' cites, a *schutter*, would be depicted propositioning a prostitute. While no doubt they numbered among these women's visitors, the shooting companies were comprised of some of the cities' leading citizens and served almost as emblems of city identity and pride. Mercenary forces, on the other hand, were made up to a large extent of peasants and foreigners, Scots, English, French, and especially German. Identifying either the company or nationality of a soldier is at this point not possible, because soldiers did not wear regular uniforms until the end of the century. They identified each other with a feather, scarf, or sash of the same color, causing no small amount of confusion in the heat of battle. See Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 164–65, and idem, "The Military Revolution, 1560–1600—a Myth?" *Journal of Modern History*, 48 (1976): 195–214, esp. p. 196.

26. F. J. G. Ten Raa and F. de Bas, *Het Staatsche leger, 1568–1795*, 6 vols. (Breda: Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 1911–18), vol. 1, cited by Parker, "Military Revolution," p. 206.

27. The angry soldier and the seductive prostitute were sometimes paired by artists in representations of the emotions. See for example Willem van Mieris's pair in the Gemäldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and discussion in Peter Hecht, *De Hollandse fijn schilders: Van Gerard Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (1989), nos. 19–20, illus.

28. A prostitute made about 2 gulden per encounter; a soldier in 1623 from eleven to fifteen gulden (pikemen made more than musketeers).

29. Repeating Machiavelli's remarks, Pieter de la Court contemptuously de-

scribed mercenaries as battling for hours without killing anyone ("die uren naecen sloegen, zonder iemand te dooden"); *Politike Discoursen handelende in ses onderscheide boeken van steeden, landen, oorlogen, kerken, regeeringen en zeeden* (Leiden, 1662), 3: ch. 17, p. 236. He observed that mercenaries fought only for pay, while citizens who took up arms were defending their fatherland.

30. For the representation in art of mercenary violence see Jane Susannah Fishman, *Boerenverdriet: Violence Between Peasants and Soldiers in Early Modern Netherlands Art*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1979 (Ann Arbor, Mich., UMI Research Press, 1982), and Keith P. F. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives. Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 67–100.

31. Adrien Baillet, *Vie de Monsieur Descartes (1691)* (Paris: Table Ronde, 1946), pp. 23 ff.

32. Parker, *Army of Flanders*, p. 289, Appendix I.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 175, with references.

34. Larry Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys, with Catalogue Raisonné* (Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram, 1984), no. 35, pl. 129; *idem*, "The Ill-Matched Pair of Quinten Massys," *Studies in the History of Art* 4 (1972): 104–23; John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 145–50, color illus. See also Alison Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979).

35. Gerard van Honthorst, *Old Woman Examining Coins by Lantern Light (Avarice)*, ? 1653; Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1959), cat. 157, illus. as "Allegory of Sight."

36. Joost van den Vondel, "Hymnus, ofte Lof-Gesangh, over de Wijd-Beroemde Scheeps-Vaert der Vereenighde Nederlanden: Aenden Goet-Jonstigen Aens-chouwer," in *Werken*, Lennep/Unger, II: 287–300, esp. 289, lines 63–64, "Waer sy in zwange raect, oft uyt-steect hare borst, / Werd yder Drop een Stadt, elck Reeder een Vorst."

37. Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes, sive Descriptio Publicae Gratulationis, qua Serenissimam Augustissimamque Reginam, Mariam de Medicis, excepit Senatus Populusque Amstelodamensis; Marie de Medicis entrant dan Amsterdam: Blyde Inkomst der aldoorluchtighste Konininne, Marie de Medicis* (tAmsterdam, 1638), preface.

38. Investment was open to a broad spectrum of society. Government bonds at mid-century for example were sold in amounts ranging from a mere 50 florins to 39,750.

39. John Calvin, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 2: 12, 16.

40. Literally, "In order to attract more customers, principally through the opening of well-run, attractive and choice occasions for powerful and wealthy people, for the renewal and comfort of our increasingly exhausted trades- and craftsmen, (through) an increase of consumption; from this originates the improvement of all public and private income." "Om aen te locken een meerder toevloet van Menschen, voornamentlyck door 't openen van bequame, vermaeckelycke ende heerlycke gelegentheden voor machtige ende rycke luyden, tot verquickinge ende soulagement van onse meer ende meer vervallende Neerings- ende Ambacktsluyden, vermeerderinghe van Consumptie, ende daer uyt spruytende verbeteringe van alle publycke ende privé incomsten." Henrick Moreelse, *Copie van de deductie geëxhibeert by de Heere Borgermeester Moreelse, in*

het collegie van de Vroedtschap der Stadt Utrecht: den xxiiij Januarij 1664, raeckende de verbeteringe ende het nodigh uytleggen der selver stadt (Utrecht, 1664), p. 64, cited by E. Taverne, *In 't land van belofte: in de nieuwe stadt. Ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de Republiek (1580–1680)* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1978), p. 252. I am indebted to Harrie Vanderstapen for help with this translation.

41. John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 112.

42. Charles MacKay, *The Tulipomania, Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds*, (London: National Illustrated Library, 1852) 1: 89–97; N. W. Posthumus, "The Tulip Mania in Holland in the Years 1636 and 1637," *Journal of Economic and Business History* 1, 4 (1929): 434–66; E. H. Krelage, *Bloemenspeculatie in Nederland* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen Zoon, 1942).

43. Joseph de la Vega, *Confusion de Confusiones*, 1688, in *Portions Descriptive of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange*, ed. H. Kellenbenz (Boston, 1957), cited by Schama, *Embarrassment*, p. 349.

44. "In the wars of Europe these last four score years and upwards . . . we find that the Estates of the United Provinces have paid their armies better than any other prince or state; this makes the mercenary soldier run to their service and capacities them to make great levies in a very short time," wrote the admiring Sir James Turner in 1687, *Pallas Armata* (London, 1687), 198, cited by Parker, "Military Revolution," p. 213; see also Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire: 1600–1800* (New York: Knopf, 1965), p. 4.

45. Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before its Triumph* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977).

46. Thomas W. Laqueur, "Sexual Desire and the Market Economy During the Industrial Revolution," in *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS*, ed. Domna C. Stanton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 185–215.

47. Pieter de la Court and Johan de la Court, *Consideratien en Exempelen van Staat; omtrent de Fundamenten van allerley Regeringe* [Considerations and Examples of State Concerning the Foundations of all Kinds of Government] (Amsterdam, 1660); for a discussion of the economic thought of Pieter and Johan de la Court see Th. van Tijn, "Pieter de la Court, zijn leven en zijn economische denkbeelden," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 69 (1956): 304–70, and E. H. Kossmann, *Politieke theorie in het zeventiende-eeuwse Nederland*, in series *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Letterkunde* n s 67, 2 (Amsterdam, 1969): 30, 37.

48. Calvin argued that the spirit of Christ was actually present in the Eucharist, which was to be apprehended visually, Letter Calvin 25 Feb. 1547, in *Johannis Calvini Opera . . .*, (Brunsvigae: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863–1900 [New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1964]), 12, col. 482. I am deeply grateful to Brian Gerrish for this citation.

49. Philipp von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1664), p. 190.

50. Jacob Cats, *Houwelijk, dat is de gantsche gelegentheit des echten-staets, Vrouwe* (Middleburg, 1625), p. 317.

51. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard Ter Borch*, drawing illus. 175, painting in two versions cat. nos. 1, 2; Kettering, *Drawings*, pt. 1, 92, no. GJr1.

52. Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Staten van Holland, Res. Holland, 1629, 221, cited by Van Deursen, *Plain Lives*, p. 30.

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I

Introduction: A New New Historicism

Patricia Fumerton

WHEN PREPARING A PIG FOR CONSUMPTION in the Renaissance, it was common practice to stick a knife in its side and watch it hurl itself around in agony until it finally collapsed through sheer exhaustion and loss of blood. Alternatively, an Elizabethan manual suggests, with almost tender consideration, you could "gently bait him with muzzled dogs." Or yet again—and decidedly less tenderly—if you were feeling especially energetic, you could beat the animal to death with a whip made from knotted ropes. Fish followed suit, as Philipa Pullar notes in her litany of culinary torments: "salmon and carp were hacked into collops while living," she observes, and "eels were skinned alive, coiled round skewers and fixed through the eye."¹ The common idea behind these diverse preparatory torments, as with the baiting of bulls and boars before eating them, was to render the flesh more tender and tempting. Whereas moderns whack their meat when it is dead and anonymous (cut into steaks and laid out on a kitchen cutting board), the Renaissance pounded its meat when it was alive and identifiable as a feeling creature.²

The torture of animals in the service of gustatory gratification was so much a part of everyday life in the early modern period that it found its way into household cookbooks, which proliferated in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Consider, for instance, the popular recipe on how to make a "restorative" broth: "Take a great fatt Capon that is well fleshed," Phioravante instructs, in John Hester's 1582 rendering of the recipe, "and pull it while it is aliue, and take forthe onely the guttes and the belly, and when he is dead, stamp it in a Morter grossly. . . ."³ Or try Henry Buttes's pain-inducing recipe for eel, which begins thus: "Choake it with white Wine, stop the mouth with a Nut-meg, and the other holes with Cloues. . . ."⁴ Pig was similarly dressed, or more accurately "dressed up" (pig was considered lower-class meat) as in its forced translation into higher fare in Vincent La Chapelle's