

# The Female Impact Symposium - Program

## June 30<sup>th</sup> and July 1<sup>st</sup> 2025, Trippenhuis Amsterdam

### Monday June 30

- 9:30-10:30            **Welcome and lecture, by Judith Noorman**
- 10:30-11:00           Coffee break
- 11:00-12:15           **Session 1: The Invisibility Myth of Women in the Archives** ([link to abstracts](#))
- *Bejaarde Dochters (Elderly Daughters) in Haarlem and Leiden and Their Interest in Painting; 1600-1699*  
Piet Bakker
  - *The Reluctant Patron: Adriana van Beveren and Aelbert Cuyp*  
John Loughman
  - *Navigating the Waters of Home and State: Wives, Widows and Art Collecting in the Seventeenth Century*  
Saskia Beranek
- 12:15-13:15           Lunch break
- 13:15-14:45           **Session 2: House(holds) as Space or Place** ([link to abstracts](#))
- *Elizabeth Murray, Peter Lely and Self-Fashioning at Ham House*  
Amy Orrock
  - *Antwerp, Alkmaar, Amersfoort and Amsterdam: The Domestic Realm of Alethea Talbot Howard, Countess of Arundel, as Exile in the Low Countries*  
Lucy Chiswell
  - *Family First. Preserving Family Heritage in the Late Seventeenth Century*  
Marianne Eekhout
  - *The Gendered Dimension of the Alcove Bedchamber: From European Aristocracy to the Dutch Elite*  
Miara Fraikin
- 14:45-15:15           Coffee break
- 15:15-15:45           **PechaKucha Presentations** ([link to abstracts](#))  
By Maaïke Abma, Romy Kerkhof, and Femke Valkhoff
- 15:45:16:45           **Guided Tours: Explore the Trippenhouse and Its Surroundings**
- 16:45-18:00           Reception

## Tuesday July 1

- 9:30-10:45**      **Session 3: Patron's Choices** ([link to abstracts](#))
- *Clean Sheets. A Fresh Perspective on Dutch Regentessenstukken*  
Joris Oddens & Anne-Linde Ruiter
  - *Ferdinand Bol's Painted Chamber for Jacoba Lampsins: New Evidence on Iconography, Date, and the Patron's Intentions*  
Margriet van Eikema Hommes
  - *Luxury, Gender, and Display: Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten's Still Lifes as Mirrors of Female Consumption in Late Seventeenth-Century London*  
Sander Karst
- 10:45-11:15      Coffee break
- 11:15-12:30**      **Session 4: Female Expertise** ([link to abstracts](#))
- *Power in Their Own Hands: Early Modern Women and the Art of Beauty*  
Erin Griffey
  - *Virtuous Time: Women and Their Sewing Boxes as Extensions of Legacy*  
Christine Quach
  - *Knowing Through Touch: Women and the Dutch Linen Trade in the Long Seventeenth Century*  
Hannah Prescott
- 12:30-13:30      Lunch break
- 13:30-14:45**      **Session 5: Work Dynamics** ([link to abstracts](#))
- *Women in the Art Trade: The Merchant's Journey of Catharina van den Dorpe*  
Marleen Puyenbroek
  - *Maritime Women and the Art Market*  
Irene Jacobs
  - *Geertruydt Roghman's Vrouwtjes: Art, Agency, and Domestic Economy in the Dutch Republic*  
Elizabeth Beattie
- 14:45-15:15      Coffee break
- 15:15-16:30**      **Session 6: Fame & Agency** ([link to abstracts](#))
- *A Case Study of the "Afterlife" of a Rediscovered Artist: Judith Leyster*  
Frima Fox Hofrichter
  - *Female Agency in the Art of Rembrandt and his Circle*  
Stephanie Dickey
  - *Befriending Fortuna, Fashioning Fame*  
Anna Lawrence
- 16:30-16:45**      **Closing Remarks, by Judith Noorman**
- 16:45-18:00      Reception

## Abstracts Session 1: The Invisibility Myth of Women in the Archives

**Bejaarde Dochters (*Elderly Daughters*) in Haarlem and Leiden and Their Interest in Painting; 1600-1699**  
Dr. Piet Bakker, Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Amsterdam

In the numerous studies conducted over the past decades on the seventeenth-century market for paintings, little to no attention has been given to the role of women as art buyers. This might be interpreted as neglect, were it not for the fact that the same applies to men; their role has likewise never been examined in detail. In the many studies of local art markets in cities such as Delft, Amsterdam, Leiden, Dordrecht, Haarlem, and Leeuwarden—usually based on estate inventories—the ownership of paintings mentioned in these sources has never been associated specifically with "men" or "women" but rather with "households."

This presentation does distinguish between both sexes and focuses exclusively on the role of women. Since household inventories of married couples represent joint ownership and it is therefore difficult to distinguish the contributions of each partner, the focus has been placed on the inventories of women who remained unmarried throughout their lives and were known in the seventeenth century as "bejaarde dochters" (elderly daughters). The more than one hundred inventories referenced in this presentation primarily concern unmarried women from Leiden and Haarlem. After discussing the art collections of this specific group of women, we will consider whether their behavior might be representative of women in general, including those who were or had been married.

***The Reluctant Patron: Adriana van Beveren and Aelbert Cuyp***  
Dr. John Loughman, Associate Professor, University College Dublin

This paper presents a case study of an overlooked female patron. A member of a prominent Dordrecht regent family, Adriana van Beveren (1618-78) was left widowed at the age of twenty-one. Her deceased husband, Michiel Pompe van Meerdervoort (1613-39), came from a once distinguished military family who had managed to revive its fortunes through business and political success in Dordrecht and through the purchase of nearby country estates and quasi-aristocratic titles. The family's seat, the Huis te Meerdervoort, was located on the north bank of the Maas, close to her father's castle of Develstein and the manor of Nederhoven, where her sister resided with the brother of Michiel Pompe. All these estates shared a similar country house culture, as well as an interest in a medieval, knightly past.

Based on new archival findings, the paper will focus on two paintings by Aelbert Cuyp — an equestrian portrait of Van Beveren's two young sons (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and a "country house portrait" of the Huis te Meerdervoort (Wallace Collection, London) — that were likely commissioned by her. Despite her control of the family's finances and land holdings, there has been an unwillingness among scholars to accept her critical part in their creation. In fact, each painting is part of a strategy to impress upon her sons their seigneurial rights (fishing, ferry transportation, hunting, etc) and duties, their custodianship of the agrarian landscape and their future roles in the city government of Dordrecht. They also suggest the qualities of discipline and authority required of budding lords of the manor, as well as reminding them of their illustrious genealogy. Since these representations were more about her sons' heritage and aspirations, and intended largely for their edification, Adriana van Beveren was reluctant to signal her role, her own portrait barely visible, pushed to the background of the Wallace painting, her features indistinct.

***Navigating the Waters of Home and State: Wives, Widows and Art Collecting in the Seventeenth Century***

**Dr. Saskia Beranek, Associate Professor, Illinois State University**

This study takes as its focus inventories associated with the wives and widows of seventeenth-century members of the Dutch navy and VOC. In the absence of surviving collections, I approach the inventory itself as a portrait of social relationships. These records of objects outfitting the home function as tangible maps of interests and relationships not of the deceased, but of the women left behind. Focusing on multiple case studies of individual women, I suggest that the artworks and luxury objects within their residences reflect individual and collective values. This approach foregrounds the nebulous and hard-to-document role of women in the process of equipping the domestic interior. Since naval and VOC widows would have spent a substantial amount of time with an absent male counterpart – whether due to death or extended absence – their relationship with the art and decorative objects would be particularly rich. Women’s agency in the purchasing, display, and care of luxury goods becomes evident via their inventories, particularly those taken after the death of their husbands. Whether as buyers or as primary viewers, women’s roles must be taken seriously within these contexts.

What more could be said about the otherwise unremarked-upon lives of women by taking seriously, as a multimedia, coherent ‘artwork’ of which an individual woman is both primary maker and primary audience, the spaces we can reconstitute by thinking across media? How do rituals of domesticity and sociability, which were expounded upon in Dutch conduct literature at great length? How did the women in the lives of naval and VOC figures interact with fine and decorative arts during their husbands’ absences? If a painting can be read as a system of deliberately selected signs and symbols that add up to a particular message, so too can the experience of the domestic interior. Reading inventories as records not just of assets but as snapshots of a sort of total artwork reveals the cultural impact and experience of Dutch women.

## Abstracts Session 2: House(holds) as Space or Place

### ***Elizabeth Murray, Peter Lely and Self-Fashioning at Ham House*** **Dr. Amy Orrock, National Curator, The National Trust**

Upon her father's death in 1655 Elizabeth Murray, Lady Tollemache, became chatelaine of Ham House, a lavish villa on the banks of the river Thames near Richmond. Elizabeth inherited both the house and her passion for collecting from her parents, William Murray and Catherine Bruce. She continued to extend, modernise and furnish Ham throughout her life, creating one of the grandest houses in Stuart England, and died at Ham in 1698, aged 71.

Today, Ham House contains four portraits of Elizabeth by the Dutch émigré artist Peter Lely (1618-80), the most prominent painter of Restoration Britain. These portraits visualise the narrative arc of Elizabeth's life, from her emergence as a 'pretty witty Lass' standing in a pastoral landscape, to her role as the young wife of Sir Lionel Tollemache, her union with her second husband, John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, and finally as an older woman, seated alone with her head resting on one hand. Ham House's collection of 'painted ladies' is further amplified by diverse likenesses of Elizabeth's mother, Catherine Bruce, and portraits by Lely of Elizabeth's sister, Lady Margaret Murray, and daughter, Lady Elizabeth Tollemache.

This paper will revisit this body of portraiture and consider what it might reveal about Elizabeth Murray's changing role as a portrait patron and subject in England's turbulent seventeenth century. Maintaining control of Ham House during the interregnum, Elizabeth was actively engaged in remodelling the house in the 1670s, furnishing its interiors with imported lacquer cabinets, china and silk, silver fireplace furniture and richly embroidered hangings. How might her lifetime patronage of Peter Lely, a painter keenly associated with courtly ideals of beauty, have contributed to her powerful and sophisticated presentation of self within this fashionable setting? Within Ham's rich interiors, where did Elizabeth Murray begin and end?

### ***Antwerp, Alkmaar, Amersfoort and Amsterdam: The Domestic Realm of Alethea Talbot Howard, Countess of Arundel, as Exile in the Low Countries*** **Lucy Chiswell, PhD Candidate, The University of Auckland, The Sylvan C. Coleman and Pam Coleman Memorial Fund Fellow, The Metropolitan Museum of Art**

On 24 May 1654, Alethea Talbot Howard, Countess of Arundel (c. 1585-1654), died in her home on the Singel Canal. Alethea had lived in Amsterdam for at least six years (also keeping a house in Amersfoort) but had moved to the Low Countries in 1641, on the eve of the English Civil War. She first lived in Antwerp with her husband, Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, but after he moved to Padua in 1644 (dying there two years later) she independently relocated to Alkmaar before finally settling in Amsterdam by April of 1648.

Alethea's dowry enabled the Arundels to build one of the greatest collections of paintings, drawings, engravings, sculpture, furniture, porcelain, textiles and books in England, a large part of which travelled with them to the Continent. When he died, Arundel left the entire family estate in her name, a fact acrimoniously disputed by their eldest son. Horrified by this experience, Alethea chose to die intestate, resulting in further court proceedings between her children and grandchildren regarding the division of the family assets. The testimonies given by those close to her – compiled in a large volume in the National Archives in London – provide us with a rare glimpse into the domestic life of an English Roman Catholic noblewoman living as an exile in Amsterdam in the middle of the seventeenth century.

This paper offers a new perspective on the celebrated Arundel collection, examining it in its Dutch context for the first time and framing it as the product of conjugal authority and female agency.

Personal accounts from important figures such as Sir Edward Walker, Franciscus Junius and Hendrick van der Borcht the Younger paint Alethea as a strong-spirited, independent woman who had complete autonomy over the collection and her household in the final years of her life. Inventories of her dwellings in Amsterdam and Amersfoort, together with valuable information about the people and objects she chose to surround herself with, remind us that in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Northern Netherlands was home to one of England's greatest collectors, whose personal relationships, religion, intellectual curiosity and transnational taste all contributed to her unique domestic environment.

### ***Family First. Preserving Family Heritage in the Late Seventeenth Century***

**Dr. Marianne Eekhout, Curator of History, Dordrechts Museum**

The early modern art market in Dordrecht has traditionally been dominated by male artists, collectors and researchers. Only few studies have recognised the role of women within art production and consumption. Scholars such as John Loughman have signalled their presence but have not yet studied their influence or meaning within Dordrecht's seventeenth and eighteenth century society. Yet, with a new perspective on archival sources – such as testaments, inventories and genealogies – it is now possible to look at women agency and their involvement in the creation and preservation of family heritage, especially when the concept of art is broadened to luxury household goods.

This paper will contribute to the upcoming field of the female impact by focusing on two women in Dordrecht who had the status, funds and drive to keep and preserve their family heritage: Christina de Bevere and Anna Elisabeth de Witt. Both women were born into wealthy and influential families but were faced with a loss of political status (De Witt) or the lack of heirs (De Bevere). As a result, both women were forced to think about the preservation of a carefully built family collection that reflected the family's identity. The artworks themselves were therefore not only objects to cherish, but also a call to action. They were supposed to take care of their family heirlooms and ensure the next generation was informed and ready to start caring for them. After all, without male heirs or the appropriate status the family itself was under threat.

Christina de Beveren and Anna Elisabeth de Witt took their task very seriously. They lived in a world surrounded by luxury goods that also served as family memories. This paper follows both women in their struggle to preserve their family history and collections against the backdrop of a changing political climate and the fear of family extinction. How did they cope with these challenges, did it matter that they were women, and did they succeed in preserving their family heritage?

### ***The Gendered Dimension of the Alcove Bedchamber: From European Aristocracy to the Dutch Elite***

**Dr. Miara Fraikin, Guest Lecturer, KU Leuven**

This paper focuses on the alcove bedchamber in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. Often associated with Louis XIV's bedchambers at the French court, this paper argues that this architectural element should be explored from a gendered perspective to address significant gaps in our understanding of its history, function, and meaning in early modern interior design. Rather than merely symbolizing Louis XIV's monarchical power, the bed alcove (and balustrade) evolved into a distinctive female architectural expression, enabling noble women to transform their bedchambers into loci of authority. By analyzing in-situ bed alcoves at Kasteel Cannenburch (Vaassen), Kasteel Slangenburg (Doetinchem), and Huis Hodhson (Haarlem), alongside visual representations such as Sara Rothé's 1743 doll's house (Kunstmuseum, Den Haag) and Cornelis Troost's *De ochtend na het Sint Nikolaasfeest* (ca. 1720-1730, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, inv. No. KK5447), this paper illustrates how the bed alcove served as a feminine architectural expression in the homes of the eighteenth-century Dutch elite.

## Abstracts PechaKucha Presentations

### ***Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend: Sumptuary Laws on Adornment and The Self-Fashioning of Venetian Women in The Sixteenth-Century***

**Maaïke Abma, Research Intern, Gallerie degli Uffizi, MA student, University of Amsterdam**

'Ad honor dei parenti e per propria bellezza', a Venetian lady wrote in a letter to the pope at the end of the fifteenth century, expressing her frustration regarding the new sumptuary laws on jewellery and garments issued by the government of the city. The laws, intended to manage extravagant displays of wealth, restricted women from freely adorning themselves with sumptuous materials. More letters followed and the action proved successful; the pope's decision to grant a temporary suspension marked a significant moment in the history of women's adornment, illustrating that the women of Venice regarded luxurious dress and jewellery as a right they were willing to fight for.

The letter and argumentation of the women give a unique insight into Venice's complex relationship with sumptuary laws. Public displays of luxury were encouraged when serving the collective image of Venice, honouring the reputation and history of the city as one of luxury and splendour. Adornment also played a crucial role in the shaping of women's identity and social status, as the work of Stanley Chojnacki, Patricia Labalme, Catherine Kovesi Killerby, Luca Mola, Giorgio Riello and others has argued, thereby enhancing our understanding of women's roles in Renaissance and Early Modern society.

This research aims to build on studies of gender and material culture and explore the relationship between sixteenth-century Venetian sumptuary laws and women's consumption of jewellery and accessories, shedding light on the ways women navigated the restrictions. By examining case studies drawn from arrest records, personal inventories, and the *Censori sopra le Pompe* archives, the research will analyse how the acquiring and wearing of jewellery was affected during the second half of the sixteenth-century, when the rapid succession of new laws reached an all-time high and became particularly focussed on the monetary value of objects. The analysis of the records reflects an evolving consumer culture, as well as a persistent willingness to violate the laws despite penalties.

Furthermore, this study will consider the spaces in which Venetian women could display their wealth. For example the case of Giulia de Conti, charged with breaking the law when seen wearing a heavily bejeweled dress during a private party in 1561, raises questions on how the laws formed the self-fashioning and expressive possibilities of women both within and outside the private realm of the house. By focusing on women's agency in personal expression within the restrictive legal frameworks of the time, this research will offer a fresh perspective on the interaction between gender, consumption, and law in Early Modern Venice.

This study contributes to the scholarship on women's roles in material culture, challenging the notion of passive compliance with legal restrictions. By examining the dynamic process of self-fashioning through adornment, it will highlight how women in Venice used luxury objects and dress as a form of socio-political agency, enriching our understanding of gender as well as consumption during the Early Modern period.

### ***Houbraken's Schilderessen: Reassessing Critical Remarks on Women Artists in the Seventeenth Century*** **Romy Kerkhof, Research Intern, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, MA student, University of Amsterdam**

Arnold Houbraken's inclusion of female artists in *De Grootte Schouwburg* (1750-51) has sparked two main scholarly perspectives. The first perspective, advanced by early feminist scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, celebrates Houbraken's efforts as a pioneering step in art historiography, while subsequent critiques dismiss any proto-feminist intent, attributing his inclusion of female artists to a methodological approach rather than a genuine appreciation of their artistry. The second perspective,

rooted in more recent feminist literature, emphasizes Houbraken's use of gendered language and recurring motifs that tied artistry to feminine virtues, situating his work within the broader context of early modern artist biographies. Despite these discussions, scholars have not sufficiently examined the specific terminology and contextualized anecdotes used by Houbraken. This study challenges the presumed link between artistry and feminine virtues, arguing that Houbraken's language aligns with the broader traditions of artist life-writing that transcend gendered interpretations.

Modern feminist scholars have often critiqued terms like *zagt*, *geestig*, *teder*, and *deugd* for their associations with stereotypical feminine qualities. However, a closer reading of Houbraken's biographies reveals that he employs these terms in a context-specific and nuanced manner, using them to describe artistic skill and craftsmanship rather than to reinforce socially constructed feminine ideals. For instance, *zagt* in Houbraken's writings refers to techniques such as the precise and delicate application of soft, light-toned colors, reflecting technical mastery rather than socially desirable feminine traits.

By continuing the classical tradition of linking mythical figures to contemporary artists to underscore their historical importance and drawing extensively on literary sources that celebrate female artists, Houbraken emphasized their artistic and intellectual achievements. In doing so, he not only affirmed the status of these women but also engaged, to some extent, with broader cultural debates on gender.

***Beyond the Exceptional: Women's Artistic and Intellectual Self-Development in Early Modern Utrecht***  
Femke Valkhoff, PhD Candidate, Utrecht University

While Anna Maria van Schurman was the first woman to gain access to university lectures in the Netherlands, most formal educational institutions in the early modern period remained inaccessible to women. To develop themselves intellectually, whether through practical or scholarly studies, women were often confined to the domestic sphere. Here, they were able to acquire a wide range of skills, from writing poetry to bookkeeping, and from painting and drawing to household crafts. Situated at the intersection of public and private life, the household functioned as a workshop, academy, or salon for women's intellectual engagement and identity formation.

As an important intellectual and religious center, Utrecht produced households that facilitated self-development for women from a wide range of social classes. Within the religious sphere, both Catholic and Protestant women played vital roles within their local, urban religious communities by organizing sermons and educating children. Descendants of Utrecht's governmental elite excelled in activities often described as elite household pastime, such as calligraphy, writing occasional poems, and engaging in musical activities. Additionally, female artisans and artists, such as engravers and publishers, were able to secure apprenticeship, master their crafts, and run successful workshops.

In short, Utrecht did not only produce Anna Maria van Schurman as a learned woman. By going beyond the 'exceptional', it becomes evident that Utrecht fostered a community of talented, educated, and knowledgeable women who significantly contributed to early modern literary, artistic, and intellectual culture. In my presentation, I will highlight this broader methodological framework through a case study.



### Abstracts Session 3: Patron's Choices

#### ***Clean Sheets. A Fresh Perspective on Dutch Regentessenstukken***

Anne-Linde Ruiter, MA student, University of Amsterdam

Dr. Joris Oddens, Head Research Group Political Culture and History, Huygens Institute

In 1683, the four regentesses of the Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis commissioned Adriaen Backer to paint their group portrait. The sitter at the far left of the painting, her richly bejeweled hand resting on a piece of white linen cloth, is Debora Blaeuw (1629-1702). As her position in the painting suggests, she was the most senior and prominent of the four regentesses: the supremely wealthy, twice-widowed Blaeuw was lady of Waveren and the wife of the burgomaster Johannes Hudde (1628-1704). During her life, Blaeuw took concrete steps to establish her legacy as a regentess. She was not the only one to do so.

*Regentessenstukken*, or group portraits of female boards of governors of early modern Dutch caritative institutions, belong to the genre of institutional group portraits that flourished in the Dutch Republic. They are the only portraits of this kind that can exclusively feature women. Some of these paintings have pendant pieces depicting the male governing board of the same institution, often painted around the same time and/or by the same artist. Others appear to have been independent commissions. There are also examples of group portraits including both male and female governors. Most *regentessenstukken* were produced in the leading artistic centres of Amsterdam and Haarlem, but scattered examples of extant paintings from other towns suggest a more widespread practice.

Few attempts have been made to assess both the specificity of this subgenre and its place in the wider practice of institutional group portraits. In our paper, we aim to do both. Interpretative claims about the *regentessenstukken* typically pertain to specific paintings, especially those by famed artists such as Frans Hals. However, a more systematic analysis of iconological patterns and the life trajectories of the sitters provides a deeper insight into the tasks and responsibilities the female regents wished to bring to the fore, their internal hierarchies, and how their roles contrasted with those of their male counterparts. Beyond highlighting elements specific to *regentessenstukken*, we also use this subgenre as a case study to offer a fresh perspective on the genre of institutional group painting as a whole, drawing attention not so much to the corporate nature of these paintings, but to how sitters used these paintings as a vehicle for individual self-representation.

#### ***Ferdinand Bol's Painted Chamber for Jacoba Lampsins: New Evidence on Iconography, Date, and the Patron's Intentions***

Dr. Margriet van Eikema Hommes, Senior Researcher, Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, Guest Scientist, TU Delft

In 2012, I published an extensive study about the largest painting commission Ferdinand Bol ever received: five canvases, each four metres high and with a total surface of almost 75 square metres. His 'painted chamber' is an example of a branch of the art of painting which became very popular in the end of the seventeenth century, although hardly any of it now remains. Through a combination of material-technical research and archival, stylistic, iconographic and cultural historical investigation I demonstrated that the commission for this series was given in the early 1660's by the orthodox Calvinist Utrecht widow Jacoba Lampsins. The canvasses adorned the reception room in her stately canal house.

A recent article, however, has argued that Bol's commission was not given by Lampsins but by her son, Carel Martens who inherited her house after her death. This article prompted me to re-examine Bol's series. Much new information had become available since the publication of my book. During the recent renovation of the house, seventeenth-century decorations were found that

provided more clarity about the dating and original setting of Bol's series than could be determined during my previous research. I also found new information in publications, archival documents and images that have been made digitally available since the publication of my book. Since 2012, various studies have also been published in research areas that are relevant to Bol's series: Utrecht's political and religious history, the culture of commemoration of refugees from the Southern Netherlands and the role of women as commissioners of paintings.

The new data confirm my conclusions from 2012: it was certainly Lampsins who gave Bol his commission in the early 1660's. However, the new information also supplements my earlier findings. In my book I pointed out that Lampsins' choice of subject of three canvases (with Aeneas, Abraham and Moses) was related to the commemoration of the exile past by descendants of Flemish Calvinist migrants, to which Lampsins and her deceased husband belonged. But it now appears that this narrative of exile is also relevant for the other two canvases with Joshua and King Cyrus. This means that, contrary to what I thought in my book, there is a theme that connects all the five subjects. In addition, with the last two paintings, Lampsins supported the orthodox Calvinist faction in the city council in a conflict about the former church property. Lampsins chose her subjects strategically and this choice related to her ambition that her sons would gain access to the Utrecht governing elite. The series shows how women manifested themselves as patrons of art. Lampsins used Bol's decorations to express her social ambition and her religious and political views. The fact that interior decorations could concretely express the resident's vision, shows the pivotal role they could play in the social life of the time.

***Luxury, Gender, and Display: Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten's Still Lifes as Mirrors of Female Consumption in Late Seventeenth-Century London***  
**Dr. Sander Karst, Lecturer, University of Amsterdam**

The decades following the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660 were marked by major social and economic changes in England. After the Puritan regime of Cromwell, a more libertine wind now blew through the country. In combination with a general increase in prosperity and an increased social mobility, this led to women being able to enjoy more autonomy and occupy a more prominent place in society. In my paper, I will show how women's changing social position reshaped the English art world and, specifically, how this is registered in the oeuvre of London-based Dutch still life painter Pieter Gerritsz. Van Roestraeten (1630-1700).

During these years people from almost all walks of life started buying paintings to decorate their homes. The growing demand resulted in several Dutch artists emigrating to England in order to tap into this new market. The new market that now emerged was segmented with auctions being organized that were aimed at the English elite and auctions aimed at a more mixed audience, offering more affordable work, including work by Dutch migrant artists. In the paper, I will show that the market was not only segmented based on value and social position, but also based on the gender of potential buyers. As a result of their increased autonomy, women from well-to-do households now often had their own apartment or "closet" in the house that was used and decorated according to their own preferences. As a result, women increasingly entered the market for luxury goods. I will show that dealers and auctioneers responded to this by explicitly addressing women as well and by adapting their supply. Around 1690, there were auctioneers, for example, who advertised that the auctions they organised were suitable for "Persons of Quality, and Gentry of either Sex" or that the paintings they offered were suitable for decorating "ladies closets". One auctioneer reserved a separate domain for women at his auction house: "for the Ladies (when drawn) there will be a separate Apartment". In addition to paintings, auctioneers started to offer exotics at their auction, such as "Indian Screens stained on Sattin (...), very pleasant for Ladies Closets", "Rich Tea-Tables", and "Japan work and other curiosities". Novel products from Asia, such as Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquerwork, were especially popular among women.

One painter whose work was regularly offered at auctions explicitly aimed at women was Van Roestraeten. He introduced a new sub-genre around that time: still lifes with cups of China porcelain and Yixing teapots often displayed on tables made of Japanese lacquerwork, precisely the kind of exotic objects that were popular among women. In my paper, I will argue that he thereby responded to the growing and idiosyncratic demand for luxury products among women, just like the auctioneers with whom he did business. His paintings thus document how—at a time that women gained more autonomy—a female-oriented space arose in which both paintings and exotics gained popularity.

## Abstracts Session 4: Female Expertise

### ***Power in Their Own Hands: Early Modern Women and the Art of Beauty***

**Erin Griffey, Associate Professor, University of Auckland**

Early modern women faced significant social and cultural pressures about their physical appearance. They were expected to have smooth, clear, white skin with rosy cheeks; and this should appear natural, a glowing manifestation of 'honest' beauty and holistic bodily health rather than a superficial painted mask. Their hair, teeth and body shape were also carefully surveyed. Artists visualised standards of beauty, with historical goddesses and real-life women shown to embody these ideals. Learned doctors, empirics and popular writers prescribed remedies to 'make' beauty, 'restore' a youthful complexion and 'remove' wrinkles and other signs of aged decay. Within this context, women took power in their own hands, embracing the art of beauty on the canvases of their own bodies.

Drawing on primary sources and artworks, this paper discusses the ways that early modern women engaged with beauty culture as makers, authors, experts, teachers, consumers and sellers. The paper focuses on three aspects of this female impact: the textual tradition that locates beauty as a female concern and arena of female expertise; the artistic portrayals by and of women that present paradigms of beauty and thematise creativity; the domestic sites, practical tools and medical materials for practising beauty. Analysis includes artworks by Louise Hollandine, Louise Moillon and Michaelina Wautier and texts by Louise Bourgeois, Marie Meurdrac, Caterina Sforza, Hannah Woolley and Eleonora of Württemberg. The paper also draws attention to the wider landscape of female beauty exchange, experience and display in the oral tradition.

### ***Virtuous Time: Women and Their Sewing Boxes as Extensions of Legacy***

**Christine Quach, PhD Candidate, University of Maryland**

Early modern Dutch women spent most of their time within the confines of the domestic space. Whether they were the mistresses of the household managing the daily activities or the servant girls aiding with the home's upkeep, women had specific tasks and roles to fulfill that fit within societal expectations. One of the most virtuous pastimes for women was sewing. Domestic genre paintings often depict women diligently working with textiles, and an object that often accompanies them is the sewing cushion box. These unassuming boxes take the form of a demure velvet cushion in images but when opened, they reveal a bright interior with compartments of gilded leather and a small mirror. The luxurious inside of the box belies its inconspicuous presence within paintings of women toiling at needlework where the case is rarely shown open. In the instances when the box is opened, the interiors do not reveal mending tools but rather precious jewels. Is this box meant to hold sewing instruments that expressed a woman's virtuous use of time or jewels that signaled her vanity and ensuing waste of time as she attempts to maintain her beauty? My paper explores the implications of these two opposing views on Dutch women's use of the sewing cushion boxes depicted in genre paintings. By considering their status as a luxury item made by Antwerp collector's cabinetmakers in conjunction with their practical function for sewing, I propose that the boxes embody a duality of women's role in the domestic space where the way they spend their time fluctuates between the virtuous and frivolous. Expanding beyond pictorial representations, I examine how the functional properties of the box that facilitated sewing tasks encouraged a level of agency for women by containing implements that allowed them to preserve and create temporal connections through needlework. By using their sewing cushions, women are at once partaking in a virtuous daily activity and extending their domestic legacy as they create and mend household textiles.

***Knowing Through Touch: Women and the Dutch Linen Trade in the Long Seventeenth Century***  
Hannah Prescott, PhD Candidate, University of Maryland

At the center of Pieter de Hooch's *Interior with Women beside a Linen Cupboard* (1663), female hands delicately finger the surface of freshly pressed linen. Two women, perhaps a mother and her daughter, pack the white cloth into a large wooden cabinet (*kast*) decorated with inlaid ebony and topped by two porcelain bowls. Behind them, a piece of linen hangs from the rim of a basket, its cascading drapery standing in stark contrast to the crisp folds of the cloth about to be locked away.

Art historians have typically viewed linen—also known as “Holland Cloth”—as a type of local commodity in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, exploring how this particular textile was integrated into depictions of civic pride and female virtue. For instance, de Hooch's image is often interpreted as representing an orderly household, the neatly folded linen reflecting the affluent status and upstanding morals of its users. However, this reading overlooks how and why the painting foregrounds linen in a dialogue with both the Dutch body, and juxtaposes the cloth against materials imported from West Africa and East Asia.

My paper examines the ways in which linen served as a material framework for the female expression of Dutch identity in a global age. While linen weaving was a profession largely reserved for men, women constituted the primary users of this cloth in the Dutch home. Looking to genre scenes (like de Hooch's image) and household manuals that underline linen's tactile qualities, I explore the importance of female hands to the daily maintenance of linen, and consider how the physical act of making objects such as linen samplers and pouches enabled female users to haptically distinguish between the material qualities of familiar (flax) and foreign (silk, cotton) fibers. With an eye to the ways in which textiles can serve as repositories of multi-sensory epistemologies, my paper aims to shed light on the female histories and non-visual, tactile modes of knowledge acquisition that do not survive in the written records that so often define our understanding of how the “local” intersected with the “global” in seventeenth-century daily life.

## Abstracts Session 5: Work Dynamics

### ***Women in the Art Trade: The Merchant's Journey of Catharina van den Dorpe*** **Marleen Puyenbroek, PhD Candidate, University of Amsterdam**

In the Amsterdam Koestraat, directly across the canal from the Trippenhuys, Catharina van den Dorpe (1604/1605-1674) ran an art dealership, initially with her husband, the painter Elias Hoomis (1599/1600-1636), and later with her second husband, the artist Anthony Waterloo (1609-1690). While this enterprise is generally described as a joint effort of the spouses, Van den Dorpe's own role remains underexplored. Drawing on newly discovered archival sources and a reinterpretation of existing ones, this paper demonstrates that Van den Dorpe was, in fact, an independent saleswoman: she traded in a wide range of (luxury) household goods, from textiles to paintings, pursued lawsuits to reclaim confiscated merchandise, authorized agents to collect outstanding profits, and traveled independently between Amsterdam, Friesland, and Flanders to conduct business.

By examining this case study alongside a corpus of 30 additional women, this paper sheds light on the understudied role of women in the seventeenth-century Dutch art trade. Like Van den Dorpe, many women who sold paintings were (or had been) married to artists, highlighting the importance of family ties. However, beyond the existing notion of artists' wives assisting their husbands in sales and bookkeeping, a more diverse and dynamic picture emerges. Van den Dorpe's case illustrates that there was room for female independent entrepreneurship—not only as a widow but also during marriage. Moreover, she was not solely engaged in painting sales but also traded in lacquered boxes, beds, and linens. Many other women similarly combined different types of goods, adjusting their inventory strategically to market fluctuations, demonstrating how closely intertwined the art trade was with other commercial activities. As such, this paper not only provides insight into the role of women in the art market but also challenges traditional notions of 'art' and 'the art dealer', leading to a more comprehensive and dynamic understanding of the seventeenth-century Dutch art trade.

### ***Maritime Women and the Art Market***

**Irene B. Jacobs, Senior Curator, Maritime Museum Rotterdam**

Women during the Early Modern period in the Northern Netherlands were active in the maritime world just as they were in the art world. Maritime women worked as sailors (on war ships and merchant vessels alike, disguised as men), in shipbuilding (owning and leading shipyards), in harbours (for instance in running boarding houses for sailors) and as maritime suppliers, to name just a few.

Amongst the women working as maritime suppliers, there were printers of charts and atlases as well as suppliers of helmsman's tools (stuurmansgereedschap), like compasses and other navigational instruments and flags for the ships of the Dutch East-India Company (VOC). Research done into maritime women present in the collection of the Maritime Museum Rotterdam has shown, that there were also women who took over the maritime business of their husbands after their death, and successfully continued it for decades. It is likely, that they run these businesses together first.

Looking into the products they sold, the question rose whether there could have been an 'overlap' with the art market, on two accounts. On the one hand, printers of maritime charts and atlases also (or sometimes mainly) printed and sold books as well as prints and paintings. On the other hand the businesses making and selling navigational instruments and flags, also sold items like 'paint mills' (verfmolens). I will look into these four female maritime suppliers:

- Elisabeth Versijl (1653-1726), who run the Amsterdam based company of her late husband Nicolaus Visscher (1649-1702), publishing atlases, charts and (art) prints as well as selling (and possibly collecting) paintings.

- Apolonia van Hoeck (circa 1660-after 1704), who run the Leiden based 'Konst en Kaartwinkel' of her late husband Johannes Tangena (circa 1660-1692), selling books, prints, charts and art.
- Celia Bidloo (1674-1750), who sold compasses, deep leads, night glasses, grinding stones, flags etc. between 1710 and 1750 to the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC, thus succeeding the company of her husband Cornelis de Bree jr. (1672/73-1710) and his father.
- Catharina Buijs (1714-1781), widow of Johannes van Keulen jr. (1704-1755), who run the Van Keulen business for charts and helmsman's tools, as well as officially being map maker of the VOC between 1755 and 1779.

When doing so, questions will be addressed what kind of paintings and prints, and made by whom, were sold by Versijl and Van Hoeck, and to see if anything is known about their clientele. This way I hope to be able to see if their clients were all maritime – both for their art products as well as their maritime ones – or if this was a diverse group. Looking at the production of the companies by Bidloo and Buijs, it will be interesting to see if products like the 'paint mills' were also used by painters and if so if artist could have been part of the clientele, or if they were exclusively used on board (or at shipyards).

***Geertruydt Roghman's Vrouwtjes: Art, Agency, and Domestic Economy in the Dutch Republic***  
**Elizabeth Beattie, University of St Andrews**

It is well-established that women in the Dutch Republic were active participants in income-generating work. Recently, however, scholars have come to better understand 'work' in its early modern context as all activities that contributed towards the maintenance and survival of the family, whether paid or unpaid. This development necessitates a shift in interpretations of women's work and labour force participation, as much of their work occurred in the home and was unpaid and unrecorded. This includes the work of female artists in family workshops, whose labour and production have yet to be fully understood in this context. Using seventeenth-century Dutch artist and engraver Geertruydt Roghman and her five-image *Vrouwtjes* series – which depicts women engaged in domestic tasks such as sewing and cleaning – as a case study of commercial art produced by a woman, this paper aims to understand contemporary perceptions of women's domestic economic participation.

To this end, this paper re-assesses women's domestic labour from a contemporary perspective, examining first how contemporary audiences understood the relationship between women's domestic labour and their economic contributions and how this understanding would have impacted contemporary viewing of the *Vrouwtjes* series. It will then look at women's production-oriented work in family workshops, with particular attention paid to the training and technical skills exhibited by Roghman in her prints. Women's work in family workshops remains difficult to uncover, but Roghman demonstrated both technical skill and business expertise in her production of her *Vrouwtjes* series. Finally, this paper considers how Roghman exhibited economic and artistic agency in creation of her *Vrouwtjes* series. Images depicting women at work in the unremarkable, 'ordinary' way that Roghman portrayed them were unusual, and are unique both among prints produced by the Roghman family workshop and in the seventeenth-century print production. Whether and to what extent Roghman actively sought to establish her own artistic or economic niche will be explored.

This paper will therefore show that women's domestic labour in the home and the family workshop was highly valued and considered a crucial part of the Dutch economy. Women in family workshops did not merely offer 'assisting labour' to skilled craftsmen fathers, brothers, or husbands; rather, the case of Geertruydt Roghman and *Vrouwtjes* demonstrates that women were trained with the same intention of contributing to the family economy as their male relatives and that they could exhibit economic and artistic agency in their art production.

## Abstracts Session 6: Fame & Agency

### ***A Case Study of the "Afterlife" of a Rediscovered Artist: Judith Leyster***

**Dr. Frima Fox Hofrichter, Professor Emerita, Pratt Institute**

Today the name Judith Leyster (1609-1660) is well-known: her paintings now appear in introductory art textbooks, aspects of her life and work are discussed in scholarly journals, and her paintings have reached extraordinary prices on the art market. Her "stardom," however, has been recent, following years of sporadic and inconsistent notes.

In 2022, the Currier Museum of Art, in New Hampshire, bought a small, monogrammed painting by Leyster for nearly two million dollars. Yet in 1977, the same painting, their collection's only Leyster, was de-accessioned from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. And this was *after* the groundbreaking *Women Artists, 1550-1950* exhibition of 1976 at the same museum. What happened during these 45 years?

In recent years, Judith Leyster's paintings have been included in major exhibitions, and she was the sole subject of others. Streets and tulips have been named for her. Contemporary artists have been inspired by her. She was even a "Google Doodle." Yet it was not a smooth or clear upward trajectory. This talk will examine the repeated fluctuations of her reputation, even after her re-discovery in 1892. Leyster benefitted from each of the two Women's Movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where she was "discovered" again and again. I was involved in the Second Women's Movement and will relate this circuitous journey. This may also inform us about the fate of other recently discovered or recently appreciated Early Modern Women artists.

### ***Female Agency in the Art of Rembrandt and his Circle***

**Stephanie S. Dickey, Professor Emerita, Queen's University**

Women feature prominently in Rembrandt's expansive oeuvre of paintings, prints, and drawings, from portraits and historical scenes to informal sketches. The extensive scholarship on these works has focused primarily on the artist's methods and motivations. For instance, Rembrandt's images of Saskia van Uylenburgh are viewed as testaments to his love for his wife (and the long tradition whereby love inspires art), while his etchings of models in downcast poses are said to record his skill in depicting human emotion. Seldom do interpreters ask how the women represented may have felt about these images, or how they might have participated in crafting them.

This paper makes a case for the agency of "Rembrandt's women" by contemplating the practice of posing as a creative act, akin to theatrical performance. While it is well known that portraiture can be construed as a negotiation between artist and paying customer, I argue here that female agency operates even in images where the artist holds more authority, such as figure studies or narrative scenes. This is because the female object of the artist's gaze possesses an innate knowledge of *what it means to inhabit a female body* that is functionally unavailable to the male observer. Her physical response to the task of posing is thus inherently distinct from whatever the artist might propose.

Many artists, including Rembrandt, turned to family members as models. Apart from their availability, their personal experience of female embodiment, behaviour, and dress would have been useful in devising elements such as costume, pose, and expression. The clearest evidence for this is the extraordinary cooperation between Gerard TerBorch and his sister Gesina. However, while Gesina was an artist in her own right, my thesis is grounded in essential somatic experience, and thus extends to models who were not artistically talented. For instance, if an artist engaged a prostitute to pose in



the nude (as Rembrandt's associates are known to have done), it was precisely because she was already skilled at deploying her nude body.

Why choose Rembrandt as a test case? As observers have noted, the relatively unfiltered naturalism he practiced and promoted seems to offer a glimpse of the reality behind the pictorial fiction. This paper proposes that we look and think differently about familiar images, resituating the female model as active agent in her own (self)representation.

### ***Befriending Fortuna, Fashioning Fame***

**Anna Lawrence, Lecturer and PhD Candidate, University of Amsterdam**

In the 1603 print *Virtuous young people use the qualities the opportunities time gives them* by Theodoor Galle, Time and Opportunity are two separate figures, accompanied by Faith. However, in the legend printed below, taking action is referred to as a substitute for opportunity. Therefore, a person might be able to make their own luck if they work hard enough. In this print, five virtuous youths use the attributes of the personification of Chance (*Occasio*) to come closer to God. Among them, a young man intently reading asks to what extent opportunity leads to honours. Is success determined by chance, or by favourable circumstances? Although no women are included in this print, seventeenth century female artists were also concerned with improving their artistic prospects. They often took action to leverage their circumstances, including those influenced by gender, in order to pursue their artistic practice. Using the case study of Maria van Oosterwijck (1630-1693), this paper investigates how a seventeenth century artist's gender influenced the choices she made when deploying action as a substitute, or supplement, for opportunity.

Fame was widely recognised and discussed as essential for any artist hoping to sell their work well. As Eric Jan Sluiter summarised, painters were famous and expensive because they were admired by art lovers, and art lovers admired them because they were famous and expensive. When it comes fame and fortune, Oosterwijck was an international name in her day. Sovereigns across Europe were keen to collect her work and paid considerable sums for her still lives. Throughout her life, Oosterwijck made numerous choices that contributed to her cultivating a reputation that favourably impacted how contemporaries viewed her and valued her work. While some of her strategies align with advice directed towards ambitious male artists, other choices made by Oosterwijck are gendered. This paper examines three elements critical to Oosterwijck's fame: skill, reputation, and her strategic use of time. After outlining the opportunities she inherited by virtue of her class, gender, networks and circumstances, this paper will analyse the extent to which Oosterwijck's actions minimised the role of Chance, shaped her reputation, and created opportunities for herself by increasing her fame.

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