

Fig. 1. Design for a stomacher from the embroidery pattern-book. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955. Inv. no. 55.583.1. Page 75 recto. (All illustrations from the Metropolitan pattern-book are shown in the vertical-horizontal position in which they appear in the book.)

“Embroidery Most Sumptuously Wrought”: Dutch Embroidery Designs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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In the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York there is a rare book of designs for embroidery.¹ It comprises some 110 drawings in pen and brush and yellow or brown wash over black chalk, on 88 leaves of 18 7/8" x 11 3/8" in size which, although still sewn together, have come loose from a vellum binding once tied with two pairs of green silk ribbons. *No. 371* in a probably eighteenth-century hand is written in ink in the upper right hand corner of the front cover. Some of the pages are blank and some of the designs, these mostly unfinished and rougher in execution, are on separate pieces of paper pasted on the pages. The paper bears an unidentified watermark of a type found on Dutch and German papers. The designs cover the range of embroidered objects current in the first half the seventeenth century: stomachers, sleeves, caps, gloves, purses, knifecases, pincushions, borders for skirts or table-covers and sword belts and hangers. It has been dated about 1615-35, and Mr. K. G. Boon, who saw the book in 1959, before he had retired as Director of the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, was of the opinion that it is Dutch.

A Dutch origin for the book would seem to be amply confirmed by a comparison with embroideries shown in Dutch seventeenth-century portraits and also with surviving embroideries of that period. Moreover, that comparison may also help to narrow down the date of the book a little. Among the most significant designs in this respect are those for stomachers. There are nine of these in the book and all but one of them are bold patterns of coiling stems and/or strapwork with fruit, flowers, cornucopias, birds and insects. Several of them also feature animals, both real and mythical, e.g. one with a prancing horse and two well-known emblems of the day, the phoenix rising from the flames and the pelican in her piety (Fig. 1)² and another with a spectacular design with a large dragon (Fig. 2). Only half of the stomacher is drawn in each case, so they must be imagined as doubled, with the design repeated in reverse on the other side.

The fashion for embroidered stomachers appears to have begun in Holland among the aristocrats, witness the example of Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth, about whose wardrobe we know a great deal, thanks to a surviving portrait of 1608 (Fig. 3) and an inventory made after her early death in 1610.³ This lady, who belonged in the highest circles in Holland, owning a large house on the princely Lange Voorhout in The Hague, appears in her portrait dressed in the height of fashion with a remarkable number of rich jewels. She is wearing the stomacher which is the first of the six listed in her inventory: “A purple satin

stomacher embroidered with gold" (*Een purper satijne borst geborduyrt met gout*), and which belonged with a gown of purple satin edged with three bands of gold *passementerie*. This was in fact her only embroidered stomacher, the others being decorated with gold braid or made of patterned silks. The embroidery here is very restrained by comparison with the later stomachers, but the sleeves of her black velvet overgown, *vlieger* or *samaer*, are richly embroidered with gold in a manner that foreshadows later developments. This too is listed in the inventory. It may be noted in this connection that the Metropolitan's pattern-book also includes at least three designs for embroidered sleeves (Fig. 4).

It did not take long for the fashion for embroidered stomachers and sleeves, as striking adjuncts to the normally sober black attire, to spread to the merchant and regent classes of Holland, whose wealth and prosperity was growing by leaps and bounds at this period, when the Dutch Republic had thrown off the Spanish yoke and embarked upon its "golden age." By 1614, at any rate, voices began to be raised in protest at this unsuitably frivolous and luxurious fashion. Dominie Jacobus Trigland devoted an entire sermon to the subject in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam on 23 February of that year, berating the women in his congregation who were so brazen as to come to the Lord's Table "bedecked and bedizened with your embroidery most sumptuously wrought." To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding, he proceeded to go into details about "all manner of strange and costly fashions," including embroidered stomachers on which "the gold and the pearls must lie thick." The cause of all this, he thundered, was that "Amsterdam takes its example from Antwerp, that fine city where all kinds of luxury were to be found and all manner of strange fashions in dress were worn." It is, he concluded, those who have fled here from Brabant and Flanders who have introduced these new modes.⁴

As is usually the case, these fulminations had little or no effect and the fashion for costly stomachers and sleeves proceeded apace. In the early days they were often decorated with gold studs rather than embroidery. Good examples are to be seen in a portrait of 1618 of Brechtje van Schoterbosch by Cornelis van der Voort⁵ and one of c.1618-20 of an unknown woman by Frans Hals in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Cassel,⁶ while Gerbrand Adriaansz. Bredero mentions stomachers of gold and silk decorated with gold studs in his play *De Spaansche Brabander*, first published in 1618. None survive now, but J. Le Francq van Berkhey saw a stomacher in the eighteenth century "on which there were a hundred and thirty-six uncommonly small pure gold studs, quite apart from the gold cords and other gold embroidery."⁷ He has much to say about the costliness of the embroidered stomachers too: "They were sometimes made exceptionally splendid by being set with gold, precious stones and pearls and embroidered as sumptuously as possible. Consequently such a stomacher might

often be worth two thousand guilders; and I have seen one the value of the precious stones on which was estimated at ten thousand guilders, from which it can readily be judged what uncommon luxury and splendour prevailed at that time and long afterwards.”⁸

One may suspect a certain amount of exaggeration here, but there is even a reference to sleeves embroidered with pearls and stones in a source of 1626,⁹ and it is certainly clear from portraits that embroidered stomachers and sleeves could be splendid indeed. The pride of the wearers in such finery is often detectable too, understandably enough. At first the designs were rather formal and controlled. A signed portrait of 1620 by Michiel van Mierevelt of Maria IJsbrandsdr . de Bye shows a stomacher with a lozenge diaper pattern composed of leaves with formal flower sprigs within the lozenges (Fig. 5), while a stomacher with an all-over pattern of tight, symmetrical coiling flower stems and lozenges is to be seen in a portrait of an unknown woman by Cornelis van der Voort, who died in 1624.¹⁰ Similarly the embroidered sleeves worn by Corvina van Hesenbroeck van Hofdijck in her portrait of 1618 by Mierevelt show a formal scrolling pattern,¹¹ while the spectacular sleeves, worn by a man this time, in the portrait of 1622 by Frans Hals, in the Duke of Devonshire’s collection, have an all-over design of a repeating motif of a formal flower sprig within two feathery scrolls.¹²

Around 1625, however, the designs begin to open up and become bolder. Frans Hals’ portrait of that year of Aletta Hanemans shows a stomacher with a broader pattern of this kind with symmetrical coiling stems,¹³ while the two portraits Joachim Wittewael of Utrecht painted of his daughters illustrate the transitional nature of this period as regards embroidery design. His younger daughter Eva wears sleeves with a design of sprigs that have separated out, but are still rather formal, in her portrait of 1628 (Fig. 6), while her sister Antoinetta, whose portrait is dated 1626, is clad in a splendid stomacher with bold scrolling floral stems with large, still rather formal flowers and two pairs of birds (Fig. 7). Here we can begin to recognize the style of the Metropolitan Museum’s embroidery designs and it comes out even more clearly in a portrait of 1628 by another Utrecht painter, Paulus Moreelse, of Catherina van Vorst (Fig. 8), where the superbly embroidered stomacher and sleeves have slender strapwork of a type very close to that seen in the design in Fig. 1, with birds and coiling stems with tulips and other flowers. This developed style is again seen at its most sumptuous in a portrait of 1632 of an unknown woman by the Amsterdam artist Nicolaes Elias called Pickenoy (Fig. 9), while although the unknown Haarlem woman in an undated portrait by Frans Hals (Fig. 10) has her hand over her stomacher, we can still see that it is embroidered with dragons and strapwork very close to those on the design in Fig. 2.

Around 1633-4 there was another change in fashion. Stomachers now became somewhat smaller and instead of the embroidery being in gold, it was in black on a gold ground or on a black ground. A stomacher of black embroidery on a gold ground appears in Frans Hals' portrait of 1634 of Catherina Brugman (Fig. 11), while her gown has facings to match. The design of the embroidery is still close to that of our pattern-book and the same is true of another example of a black-embroidered stomacher on a portrait of an unknown woman by Frans Hals of the same date in Baltimore.¹⁴ That this type of stomacher continued to be worn until almost the end of the decade is clear from the appearance of black-embroidered stomachers in the portrait of Willemina van Braeckel dated 1637 by Johannes Verspronck, another Haarlem artist,¹⁵ and that of an unknown woman dated 1638 by Frans Hals in the Cleveland Museum of Art.¹⁶

From all this it seems clear enough that the Museum's pattern-book must be Dutch and that it must belong to the period between c. 1626 and c. 1638. The fashion for embroidered stomachers may have come north from Antwerp originally, but from the evidence of portraits by such artists as Van Dyck and Cornelis de Vos it appears that this flamboyant style was not in favour there. Many of these portraits show stomachers of rich silks or trimmed with lines of gold lace or braid and the embroidered examples mostly exhibit formal all-over patterns. A style that was favoured in the south and that does appear in our pattern-book features delicate floral scrolls arranged in diagonal stripes, but there is only one design of this kind in the book (Fig. 12).¹⁷ The showy designs outnumber this type by far, and it was the regent class of the newly wealthy towns in the west of the Dutch Republic to whom they appealed.¹⁸

Many of the portraits mentioned here are marriage portraits and a splendidly embroidered stomacher did, indeed, form part of a bride's trousseau, being displayed in advance of the wedding and worn on the day itself.¹⁹ Another item with a direct link with marriage was the embroidered glove, for which there are seven designs in our pattern-book and of which the iconography and meaning have been set out in detail in a recent article.²⁰ Embroidered gloves were another item that the regent classes of the Dutch Republic took over from the royalty and nobility of Europe. Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth's inventory of 1610 includes two pairs, one embroidered with gold, pearls and silk, the other with gold only,²¹ while the gift the States-General sent to the Sultan of Turkey in 1613 as a mark of gratitude for the treaty signed with him the previous year included "six pairs of gloves embroidered with birds and fruitages in gold thread and seed pearls."²² It may be noted that the items in this gift were chosen by a former Burgomaster of Amsterdam, Reinier Pauw, in consultation with a fellow-countryman in Constantinople, and that they were intended to give the Sultan

a good idea of the Republic's best products. The gloves were embroidered by Jacob L'Febure, an Amsterdam embroiderer of Flemish extraction.

Embroidered gloves start to appear in portraits of women of the regent class in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Happily too some actual examples of gloves have survived, including a pair in the Amsterdam Historical Museum with an accompanying note to the effect that these are "the wedding gloves of Grandmother Ten Hoove."²³ The glove as such symbolized the sealing of the marriage contract and although in the seventeenth century gloves appear not to have played a definite role any longer in the wedding ceremony, they were one of the obligatory gifts from the bridegroom to the bride, which were handed over at the betrothal and put on display before the wedding took place. It was this, perhaps, and the relatively small amount of gold in them that ensured their survival on occasion, whereas the stomachers shared the fate of most rich embroidery of their kind, from which the pearls and stones were removed and the gold thread melted down. A pair of embroidered gloves in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam was preserved until a few years ago with the portrait of their owner, Johanna Le Maire, a wealthy merchant's daughter, who was married in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam on 14 June 1622 (Fig. 13).²⁴ They are decorated with a bowl of fruit and birds, symbols of fertility and eroticism, on either side of one of the most popular emblems of marriage, a heart pierced by arrows above clasped hands (only partly visible in the photograph, see also the design in Fig. 21), amid coiling stems with violas, symbols of virginity, roses, symbols of love, and two peacocks, symbols of the married state. Motifs of this kind appear to have been more or less traditional for wedding gloves. The dish of fruit flanked by birds also appears on one of the designs in the Metropolitan Museum's pattern-book (Fig. 14). This design is, however, more boldly and naturalistically drawn than that on the Rijksmuseum gloves, which suggests a later date. It may be noted that the young lady in Fig. 9 is holding a superb pair of embroidered gloves with large flowers and leaves. These were in all probability her wedding gloves and they may have had a heart or similar motif in the central medallion.

Of course not all embroidered gloves that have survived are necessarily wedding gloves. Another pair in the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 15) has a design with a cornucopia, fruit and birds, which might not convey any specific marriage symbolism. Its main elements appear in another of the designs in the pattern-book (Fig. 16), though this has large flower sprigs instead of coiling stems as adjuncts to the main motifs. The outstandingly fine pair of gloves which formerly belonged to Elizabeth of Bohemia has comparable large naturalistic tulips, pansies and violas in its design, along with a flaming heart (probably an allusion to her

nickname “Queen of Hearts”) with the initial E.²⁵ These must date from around 1630, as they are accompanied by an embroidered pincushion and a prayer-book of 1629 with an embroidered binding. These last two items probably belonged to a chatelaine (see below). Not all gloves were of this grand nature. The pattern-book also includes designs of a more modest variety (Fig. 17) for gloves like the one held by Trijntje Tijdsdr. van Nooy, wife of the Hoorn merchant Reinier Ottsz. Hinloopen, in her portrait of 1637 (Fig. 18).

Another item with a strong connection with matrimony was the silver chatelaine, which is said to have been presented to the bride by her prospective father-in-law.²⁶ This had all manner of items hanging from it, including a small knife in a case, scissors, needlecase, pincushion, pomander and, later, the house-keeping keys.²⁷ Thus it is not surprising that the pattern-book includes at least one design for a knife-case and pincushion side by side (Fig. 19), while there are other designs for knife-cases and pincushions scattered through it. The knife-case design illustrated here is of a rather more formal type than many of the other patterns, probably owing to the restrictions imposed by the size and shape of the object. A similar, possibly slightly earlier, design appears on a surviving knife-case in the Rijksmuseum’s collection (Fig. 20). This one has a velvet cover, but other rich materials were evidently used as well: in an Amsterdam document of 1620, for example, there is a reference to a “satin knife-case embroidered with gold and pearls.”²⁸ Small embroidered purses might also be worn on chatelaines and they, too, often bear the emblems of marriage. A design in the pattern-book for a purse of this kind (Fig. 21), with a flaming heart above two clasped hands, is echoed by that on a surviving purse in the Rijksmuseum, which also bears the initials of the bride and groom (Fig. 22).²⁹

To conclude this discussion of items associated with marriage we may note the following objects listed in the inventory of the goods to be found in the house of Dirck Alewijn, a wealthy Amsterdam cloth merchant, on his death in 1637:

Two gloves embroidered with gold and pearls.
A grey velvet heart purse and long case embroidered
with gold and pearls, with a silver chain in the case.³⁰

The initials beside them in the inventory make it clear that these things belonged to Dirck Alewijn’s son Frederick, who was still living in his father’s house at that time, but who married Agatha Geelvinck almost immediately after his father’s death. We may guess, therefore, that they formed part of his gift to his bride on their marriage.³¹

It is obviously impossible to go into all the different items for which there are designs in the pattern-book. Indeed, in some instances, it is not yet entirely

clear what they were intended for. We will content ourselves here with brief references to two more types of design. The book includes several patterns for women's caps, usually with back and headpiece in two parts (Fig. 23). These caps are not easy to discern in portraits, as they were worn as undercaps beneath caps of fine linen. Unlike the rich items already discussed, they were worked in black only. An early example of a black-embroidered cap is to be seen in a portrait of a woman of 1587 by Herman van der Mast (Fig. 24), while the woman in the portrait by Frans Hals in Fig. 10 is wearing an embroidered undercap with a large flower dimly discernible at the side not unlike that in the design in the pattern-book.³² Only one such black-embroidered cap is known to have survived³³ and it is of a later type. The design is a somewhat impoverished and stereotyped version of the kind of coiling stem pattern in the pattern-book, comparable to that of the cap worn by a girl of peasant origin in Caspar Netscher's painting *The Lacemaker* of 1664.³⁴ Black-embroidered caps long remained a traditional part of peasant costume in parts of North Holland and Friesland, usually with closely packed designs, often of flowers and birds, a mode which seems to be foreshadowed by a design for a cap-back in the pattern-book.³⁵ The book also includes designs for children's caps, in three pieces in the case of girls and round caps in six pieces in that of boys,³⁶ as well as for children's bodices.³⁷

Finally, the pattern-book also includes a number of designs for sword belts and hangers, of which those used on ceremonial occasions were finely embroidered. On the narrow belts the designs are again somewhat restricted in character. The sword belt shown in a portrait of Prince Maurice (1567-1625) by Mierevelt (Fig. 25) displays an earlier version of the kind of pattern featured in one of the designs (Fig. 26).

The designs in the pattern-book are very homogeneous in character and clearly by a professional hand. Moreover, they are done in the way prescribed for embroidery designs by Cennino Cennini in his *Il Libro dell'Arte* of about 1400: "Take your regular charcoals and draw whatever you please. Then take your pen and pure ink, and reinforce it . . . then take a small, rather blunt minever brush; dip it in the ink; and after squeezing it out well you begin to shade with it in the darkest places, coming back and softening gradually."³⁸ That this was for centuries the standard method for silk embroidery designs is clear from a passage in G. Smith's *The Laboratory or School of Arts*, published in London in 1756: "The designs for this work are commonly drawn only with an out-line, shadowed with *Indian* ink." Admittedly, our designs are drawn in chalk first, rather than charcoal, and shaded with coloured washes, but the principle is exactly the same. Comparison with the patterns in Thomas Trevelyon's commonplace book of 1608 in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington,

D.C.,³⁹ makes the professionalism of our designer abundantly apparent. Trevelyon's patterns are drawn in thick outlines in ink, with sparing use of colour washes and much heavy hatching. Mr. Nevinson justly remarks that "the draughtsman seems to have had no sense of the scale of the patterns" and concludes that it "may be deduced that he was a copyist, who chose to trace various patterns of different sizes, rather than a designer."

Mr. Nevinson suggests that Thomas Trevelyon was a writing-master, but who was the creator of the designs in our book? There are no clues in the book itself, so we have to look for them elsewhere. One is provided by a passage in P.C. Hooft's play *Warenar*, an adaptation of Plautus' *Aulularia*, which was first published and performed in Amsterdam in 1617.⁴⁰ Rijckert, enlarging on his wife's extravagance, lists all the tradespeople who constantly find their way to his house: "Then there is the Embroiderer with all his patterns: This is a new work, I've just made a sketch of it in charcoal, Grietje Goossens has that other one, it's her bridal stomacher, the flower will be gold inside with green all around it; that pattern your cousin Trijntje has on a pair of gloves." This sounds almost like a description of our pattern-book, but we should perhaps be a little careful before jumping to the conclusion that it must have been compiled by an embroiderer.

G. Smith remarked in 1756 that "every embroiderer ought to be very well qualified in either drawing himself or at least to form a good judgement in the choice of a pattern, that being the chief thing to strike the eye either with admiration or contempt," but then he goes on, "and, on that account, he is to spare no cost in the purchasing of good designs, as they may be the means whereby to establish his credit and reputation."⁴¹ Clearly the professional embroiderer did not, as a rule, make his (or her) own designs at that period, even though Smith stresses that there must be close collaboration between the embroiderer and the designer or pattern-drawer. These sentiments are echoed by Charles Germain de St. Aubin, himself *Dessinateur du Roi*, in his *L'Art du Brodeur* published in Paris in 1770. After pointing out that design is the basis and foundation of embroidery, he is at pains to emphasize that the designer must have a good knowledge of the details, difficulties and possibilities of embroidery.⁴² At this time, designing or pattern-drawing and embroidery were two distinct trades, each with its own skills and techniques.

Nor does this just apply to the eighteenth century. Cennino Cennini's remarks on the drawing of patterns for embroiderers are addressed to painters, not embroiderers. The two types of craftsmen were obviously on close terms in the Middle Ages, certainly in the Northern Netherlands, where in most towns they belonged to the same guild.⁴³ An interesting set of records survives relating to

the commissioning of an orphrey for a chasuble for St. Walburg's Church at Zutphen from Master Peter Joosten, an embroiderer of Amsterdam in 1544.⁴⁴ The design for the embroidery was worked out by the two churchwardens and the pattern was prepared by Johann Yseren, a stained-glass maker. This seems quite logical, as the small stained-glass panels of that period often had designs of scenes of saints under canopies very similar to those on orphreys. Joosten was instructed to make the orphrey in accordance with the pattern given him and it was particularly stressed that all the figures were to be done just as they were given. We do not know whether this relates to a separate pattern on paper.⁴⁵ If it does, this would have been an unusual case, for the designs were usually drawn directly on to the cloth to be embroidered. Cennino Cennini advises the painter who has been asked to supply embroiderers with designs "to get these masters to put cloth or fine silk on stretchers for you, good and taut."⁴⁶

All this relates, of course, to a period when the work done by embroiderers was largely of a pictorial (or armorial) nature and very close to that done by painters, when embroiderers were, indeed, known as *acupictores*, painters with the needle. This situation changed quite considerably with the growth of more purely decorative embroidery and the great rise in domestic embroidery brought about by the Renaissance, while in the North at least the Reformation spelt the end of the pictorial church embroidery of the Middle Ages. It is probably no coincidence that the printed pattern-books begin around this time, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and that recourse began to be had on a wide scale to other printed sources, such as book illustrations and engravings. Evidence makes it clear that embroiderers of this period often draw their own designs or at least drew them out from printed sources. It is well known that Mary, Queen of Scots, petitioned for "an imbroiderer to draw forthe such work as she would be occupied about," when she was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle in 1568, and she is known to have had a French embroiderer on her staff from 1560 to 1567. He was Pierre Oudry, whose signature appears on the portrait of her painted at Sheffield in 1578.⁴⁷ A further notable example of a French embroiderer who was also a designer was Pierre Vallet, *brodeur ordinaire* to Henri IV, who in 1608 published a book of flower engravings primarily meant as embroidery patterns under the title *Le Jardin du très Chrestien Henry IV* (Vallet was also responsible for the creation of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris),* while Guillaume Toulouze, *Maître-Brodeur de Montpellier*, also published a book of naturalistic drawings of flowers and birds, *Livre de Fleurs*, in 1656.

*See Margaret Harrington Daniels, "Embroidery and Botany," *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 19 No. 2 (1935), pp. 2-13.

Recent research in England too has revealed a little about the relationship between embroiderers and pattern-drawers, who are now very slowly beginning to emerge from obscurity. Two studies recently published in this *Bulletin*⁴⁸ relate to two London embroiderers, Roger Nelham, who was active from 1625 to 1653, and his son John, active from at least 1653 to 1684, to whom he bequeathed “the halfe of my books and prints and patterns which I do use for the drawing of workes and all my beames and lathes and working instruments.” Both these men were both embroiderers and pattern-drawers and Roger Nelham was active at precisely the period of our pattern-book. The other man referred to in one of these studies, John Stillwell, who was active in London at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, was, on the other hand, only a pattern-drawer by trade.⁴⁹

Our knowledge of the situation in the Dutch Republic is very limited at present, but there certainly is evidence of a situation comparable to those outlined above. An interesting contract of 16 October 1608 relating to the apprenticing of Maerten Fouquier, the fourteen-year-old son of the Amsterdam merchant Andries Fouquier, to the Delft embroiderer Pieter van der Heyden for a period of three years, stipulates that Van der Heyden is to teach him all aspects of the trade and that he is also to learn “counterfeiting” or drawing.⁵⁰ Another Delft embroiderer is known from his inventory of 1620 to have owned prints and patterns which he used for his embroideries.⁵¹ An embroiderer who clearly was able to draw was Wynant Haelwech, by whom there is an embroidered picture in the Rijksmuseum showing a vase of flowers in a niche, signed and dated 1650.⁵² Haelwech is recorded in 1639 as working in Amsterdam. He declared in a statement made on 6 October of that year that he had started out as an embroiderer, but had later been given a grant by a patron to enable him to train as a painter. A similar combination of skills seems to be suggested by the 1649 inventory of the painter Jacob Marrett, which includes four embroidered pictures, as well as several “patterns.”⁵³

There is also a certain amount of evidence to suggest that the trade of designer or pattern-drawer only emerged as such towards the end of the seventeenth century. In the records of the Guild of St. Luke (the guild to which embroiderers, painters and other artists belonged, along with tapestry and damask weavers, etc.) at Haarlem, for example, there are some interesting references in 1688 to the setting up of a drawing school by Romeyn de Hooghe, who was primarily a graphic artist and book illustrator.⁵⁴ One of his specific aims in so doing was to supply the necessary training to those concerned with “patterns, laces, parterres, figures, damask, silks or other ornamental drawing.” He was granted leave to establish the school and appears to have had a considerable success with it. The first record of a pattern-drawer in the Haarlem guild dates,

in fact, from 3 December 1687.⁵⁵ This contrasts markedly with the eighteenth century, when pattern-drawers assumed a considerable importance in the guild, one of them in particular, Pieter Langedijk, regularly holding high office in it from 1727 to 1755. It is perhaps also worth mentioning that a letter of 24 March 1684 addressed to the Amsterdam town council, in which rights and privileges were requested for the Huguenot refugees from France, who had been coming to the Republic since 1681, lists among the new callings introduced by them "embroiderers in silk and in thread; designers of laces and flowered stuffs."⁵⁶ This is obviously an exaggeration, but it does perhaps lend support to what has been said above about the emergence of pattern-drawers.

Such small evidence as there is at present, therefore, seems to support the idea that the period of our pattern-book was an intermediate one between the end of the Middle Ages, with its clear relationship between painter and embroiderer, and the emergence of the pattern-drawer as such towards the end of the seventeenth century. It also lends credence to P.C. Hooft's graphic picture of the embroiderer bustling in with his own patterns and persuasive manner.

One of the principal methods of transferring a design to the fabric to be embroidered was pricking and pouncing but there is no trace of this in our pattern-book. Thus it can only be assumed that the designs were either traced and then pricked and pounced, or else drawn directly on to the fabric from these designs.

The style of the designs is a development of the kind of Renaissance ornament found in embroidery pattern-books printed in Southern Germany in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Pattern-books like those of Hans Friderich Raidel of Ulm, printed in Augsburg in 1613,⁵⁷ and in particular Bretschneider's *Neu Modelbuch*, first published in Leipzig in 1615, of which there is a rare early edition in the Metropolitan Museum,⁵⁸ show delicate coiling stem designs with naturalistic or formal flowers, elegant strapwork, swags, fruit, drapery, birds and dragons or griffins. Bretschneider's book includes many of the same items as the Metropolitan's pattern-book: stomachers, caps, gloves and sword hangers. This kind of delicate ornament is also found engraved on Dutch silver of the first quarter of the century.⁵⁹

Our designs are in the main bolder and freer versions of this style, with a greater naturalism in the flowers and fruit in particular. Again there are echoes to be found in the other decorative arts of the day. The silk tablecover in the portrait of Eva Wittewael (Fig. 6) shows large flowers of a not dissimilar type to those in our book, while comparable floral scroll ornament with birds is engraved in the central field of a silver dish made by Willem Tobias of Amsterdam in 1629 (Fig. 27). These examples also suggest, however, that a greater boldness and freedom was both permissible and possible in the rich and flexible medium of embroidery.

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 55.583.1, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955. I am very grateful to Santina Levey, Keeper of Textiles and Dress at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, who looked through the Metropolitan's embroidery book and made detailed notes on it for me, to Jean Mailey, Curator of the Textile Study Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, C.A. Burgers, Keeper of Textiles at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and L. J. van der Klooster of the Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, who helped me obtain photographs.
2. This design and that for the purse in Fig. 21 were published in the Netherlands in M.G.A. Schipper-van Lottum, *Over merklappen gesproken . . .*, Amsterdam, 1980, Figs. 36a and b. Mrs. Schipper was kind enough to discuss the Metropolitan pattern-book with me, when I first embarked on this project.
3. L. J. van der Klooster, "De juwelen en kleding van Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1980), pp. 50-64 (hereafter cited as *L. J. van der Klooster*).
4. Cited from J.G.C.A. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse Immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem omstreeks 1572-1630*, Doctoral thesis, Utrecht University, 1976, pp. 51-2 (hereafter cited as *J.G.C.A. Briels*).
5. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. A 1243.
6. Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, London, 1970, Vol. II, Pl. 28.
7. J. Le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlyke Historie van Holland*, 1772, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 542.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 589.
9. J. van Heemskerck, *Minnekunst, Minnebaet . . .*, Amsterdam, 1626, p. 103. I am indebted to Bianca M. du Mortier, Curator of Costume at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, for this reference.
10. *Antiek* 14 (1980), p. 587. The portrait was in the collection of J. D. Kruseman, The Hague, up to 1919.
11. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. A 1450, a copy after the original.
12. Slive, *Hals*, Pl. 39.
13. Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. no. 460; Slive, *Hals*, Pl. 59.
14. Slive, *Hals*, Pl. 157.
15. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, No. 287 in the 1929 catalogue.
16. Slive, *Hals*, Pl. 191.
17. For an example of a stomacher of this type see Edith Greindl, *Corneille de Vos: Portraitiste Flamand (1584-1651)*, Brussels, 1944, Pl. 39.
18. For rare examples of stomachers with heavy gold embroidery of a type comparable to those discussed here in Frisian portraits see A. Wassenbergh,

- De Portretkunst in Friesland in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, Lochem, 1967, Pl. III: a stomacher of fairly formal design in a painting of 1621, and Fig. 103: a stomacher with scrolls and dragons in a portrait of Geertke van Scheltinga of 1635.
19. G.D.J. Schotel, *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin in der Zeventiende Eeuw*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1904, pp. 239-40; N. de Roever, *Van vrijen en trouwen. Bijdrage tot de geshiedenis van oud vaderlandsche zeden*, Haarlem, 1891, pp. 160-163.
 20. Bianca M. du Mortier, "De Handschoen in de huwelijksymboliek van de zeventiende eeuw," *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum* 32 (1984), pp. 189-210, English summary on pp. 231-2 (hereafter cited as *B. M. du Mortier*).
 21. L. J. van der Klooster, pp. 50-64.
 22. N. de Roever, "Een Vorstelijk Geschenk," *Oud Holland* I (1883), p. 186.
 23. B. M. du Mortier, p. 189 and Fig. 11.
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-95 and Figs. 1, 2. Another pair of gloves and a related portrait are preserved in the Six Collection in Amsterdam (see the article by M. Braun-Rönsdorp cited in note 25, pp. 6-7). This portrait, by M. J. Mierevelt, is of Elisabeth van der Wolff, wife of Dr. Robbert Aspersen van der Houve, and is dated 1612. The cuffs of the gloves already show cornucopiae with fruit and flowers (see note 25), along with violas, roses and carnations, in a symbolic design which is the same on both sides. Elisabeth van der Wolff is also wearing a stomacher decorated with gold braid and studs.
 25. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Inv. no. 62/21), illustrated in M. Braun-Rönsdorp, "Die Handschuhe der Elisabeth Stuart," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* V (1963), p. 1, and M. Schuette and S. Müller-Christensen, *The Art of Embroidery*, London, 1964, Plate XXIII. A pair of embroidered gloves in the Netherlands Kostuummuseum in The Hague (see B. M. du Mortier, Fig. 12) has cuffs of exactly the same shape and size as these, bearing a simplified version of the design. The initial is missing from the emblem and the tulips flanking it have been replaced by carnations (of a type very close indeed to those in Fig. 16), but otherwise the designs are strikingly similar. M. Braun-Rönsdorp rather suggests an English origin for Elizabeth of Bohemia's gloves, but their closeness to the pattern-book and the existence of another pair of the same design in The Netherlands seem to prove beyond doubt that they are Dutch.
 26. G.D.J. Schotel, *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin . . .*, pp. 234-5.
 27. M.G.A. Schipper-van Lottum, "Sieraden," *Antiek* 18 (1984), pp. 437-61.
 28. Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam, Notary J. Jacobs, Vol. 3839, fol. 13 recto, 16 January 1620. Cited in J.G.C.A. Briels, p. 292.
 29. There is another purse, this time of green velvet, in the same collection with an almost identical design, except that the heart there is pierced by arrows and the initials are, of course, different (Inv. no. N.M. 8327).

30. E. W. Moes, "De inventaris van den inboedel nagelaten door Dirck Alewijn in 1637," *Jaarboek Amstelodanum* 9 (1911), p. 41.
31. Portraits of Frederick Alewijn and Agatha Geelvinck by Dirck Dircksz. Santvoort are to be seen in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The portrait of Frederick is, however, dated 1640, so that of Agatha may be a posthumous one, as she died in 1638, the year after the marriage. The gloves and chate-laine items are not featured in her portrait.
32. In this and other portraits there is a glimmer of gold underneath the embroidery, which suggests the gold casques that later became such a feature of Dutch regional costumes. These casques originated as devices for holding caps in place, but it is not yet known whether they had assumed large proportions in the seventeenth century. An example of a cap of the type in the portrait in Fig. 10 worn as the sole cap over what certainly does appear to be a gold headband or casque is to be seen in Gerard Dou's painting of 1646 of *A Girl Chopping Onions* in the English royal collection (*Masters of Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984, Cat. no. 33).
33. Netherlands Costume Museum, The Hague, Inv. no. K.A. 662-1971. Illustrated in M.G.A. Schipper-van Lottum, *Over merklappen gesproken . . .*, Fig. 126.
34. Wallace Collection, London. Illustrated in P. Wardle, "The Netherlands," in Harriet Bridgman and Elizabeth Drury, eds., *Needlework, An Illustrated History*, New York and London, 1978, Pl. 70.
35. Page 34 recto.
36. For example, pp. 39 and 40 recto and 49 recto respectively.
37. Examples on pp. 37 recto and 57 recto.
38. Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, Daniel V. Thompson, ed., New Haven, 1933, p. 105.
39. J. L. Nevinson, "The Embroidery Patterns of Thomas Trevelyon," *Walpole Society* XLI (1968), pp. 1-38.
40. Saskia de Bodt, "Dan isser de Borduurwerker . . .," *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek* 31 (1981), pp. 65-71.
41. *The Laboratory or School of Arts*, p. 5.
42. *L'Art du Brodeur*, Paris, 1770, p. 4.
43. An exception to this is Utrecht, where the embroiderers belonged to the Tailors' Guild before breaking away to form a guild of their own in 1610. See Saskia de Bodt, "Nederlandse borduurwerkersgilden in de 17de eeuw," *Spiegel Historiae* 14 (1979), pp. 419-24.
44. K. O. Meinsma, "Geschiedenis van een Kazuifel vervaardigd door Mr. Peter Joosten, borduurwerker te Amsterdam, voor de St. Walburgskerk te Zutphen," *Oud Holland* XIX (1901), pp. 77-85.

45. There is an early sixteenth-century drawing in the Rijksmuseum in the shape of the central panel of a chasuble orphrey. It is, however, a copy of a painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Joost van Cleve and it is not clear whether it was actually meant as an embroidery design or not. K. G. Boon, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in the Rijksmuseum*, The Hague, 1978, No. 143, attributed it there to Jacob Cornelisz . van Oostzanen. I am indebted to Wouter Kloek of the Department of Paintings in the Rijksmuseum for the reference and revised opinion on the drawing given above.
46. Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, p. 105.
47. G. F. Wingfield Digby, *Elizabethan Embroidery*, London, 1963, p. 55.
48. Margaret Swain, "John Nelham's Needlework Panel" and John L. Nevinson, "John Nelham, Embroiderer," *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 65 (1982), pp. 3-19.
49. Unfortunately the jacket published in Fig. 8 of Margaret Swain's study quoted in note 48 is not the one on which the signature actually appears. The correct jacket is of linen with a border of delicate coiling stems and with flower sprigs on the ground, both with a faintly Oriental flavour. It will be published in P. Wardle, *Embroidery in Eighteenth Century Britain*, which is due to appear in the spring of 1986.

The following item appeared in the Phillips London sale of embroidered pictures, etc., Thursday 3 October, 1985 at 11 a.m.:

- 276 An important late 17th Century linen cover embroidered with coloured silks in satin, chain and french knot stitches designed with figures, birds, houses, trees and flowers, having knotted fringe border, 1.20m. x 1.36m., lined.
£7000-10000

Bearing the inscription "John Stilwell Draw-ear at ye Flaming Soord Rusill Street Couint Garden Remoove at Quartear Day 2 ye Pid(g)gings in Halfe Moone Street"

According to the Poor Rate Ledger for the Parish of St. Martin's Halj Moon Street is not mentioned after 1705.

In the survey of London Vol. XVIII Halj Moon Street appears to be between Strand and Chandos Street. In the late 18th Century the street disappeared to form a continuation of Bedford Street.

50. Municipal Archives, Delft, N.A. 1760, dated 18-10.-1608. Referred to in J. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, Princeton, 1982, pp. 66 and 117. Montias notes that the training of an embroiderer was approximately as

expensive as that of a painter. I am grateful to A.J.H. Rozemond, City Archivist of Delft, for supplying me with a photocopy of this document and the one referred to in Note 51.

51. Municipal Archives, Delft, N.A. 1635, dated 12-9-1620. Referred to in Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 229.
52. Inv. no. R.B.K. 1957-70. Illustrated in P. Wardle, "The Netherlands," *Needlework, An Illustrated History*, Pl. 74.
53. A. C. de Kruyff, "Iets over den schilder Jacob Marrett," *Oud Holland X* (1892), pp. 57-60.
54. Hessel Miedema, *De archiefsbescheiden van het St. Lucasgilde te Haarlem, 1497-1798*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1980, Vol. I, p. 311.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 725.
56. H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis van de vestiging en den invloed der Fransche vluchtelingen in Nederland*, Leiden, 1846, p. 353.
57. A. Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, Leipzig, 1933, No. 50.
58. *Ibid.*, No. 55 (1619 edition); Margaret Abegg, *À propos of Patterns of Embroidery, Lace and Woven Textiles*, Bern, 1978, Fig. 162.
59. Good examples are a spice box made in The Hague in 1616 and a wager cup of c. 1625 from Deventer: exhibition catalogue, *Dutch Silver 1580-1830*, The Hague, 1979, Nos. 21 and 28.

* * * * *

The Editors would like to extend their thanks to Miss Janet Byrne, Associate Curator, Department of Prints and Photographs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for her careful reading of the article and her illuminating critique.



Fig. 2. Design for a stomacher from the embroidery pattern-book, page 41 recto.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 3. Evert Cryn timer van der Maes, *Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth*, 1608. Kasteel Duivenvoorde. Photo: Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.



Fig. 4. Design for a sleeve from the embroidery pattern-book, page 10 verso. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 5. Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt, *Maria IJsbrandsdr. de Bye*, 1620. Deutzenhofje, Amsterdam. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 6. Joachim Wittewael, *Eva Wittewael*, 1628. Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Inv. no. 18022.



Fig. 7. Joachim Wtewael, *Antoinetta Pater, née Wtewael*, 1626. Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Inv. no. 18024.



Fig. 8. Paulus Moreelse, *Catherina van Vorst*, 1628. J. P. van Voorst van Beest, Maarsse. Photo: Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.



Fig. 9. Nicolaes Eliasz called Pickenoy, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1632. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.



Fig. 10. Frans Hals, *Portrait of an Unknown Woman*, undated. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery, London, Inv. no. 6413.



Fig. 11. Frans Hals, *Catherina Brugman*, 1634. Formerly K. W. Bachstitz, The Hague.
Photo: Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.

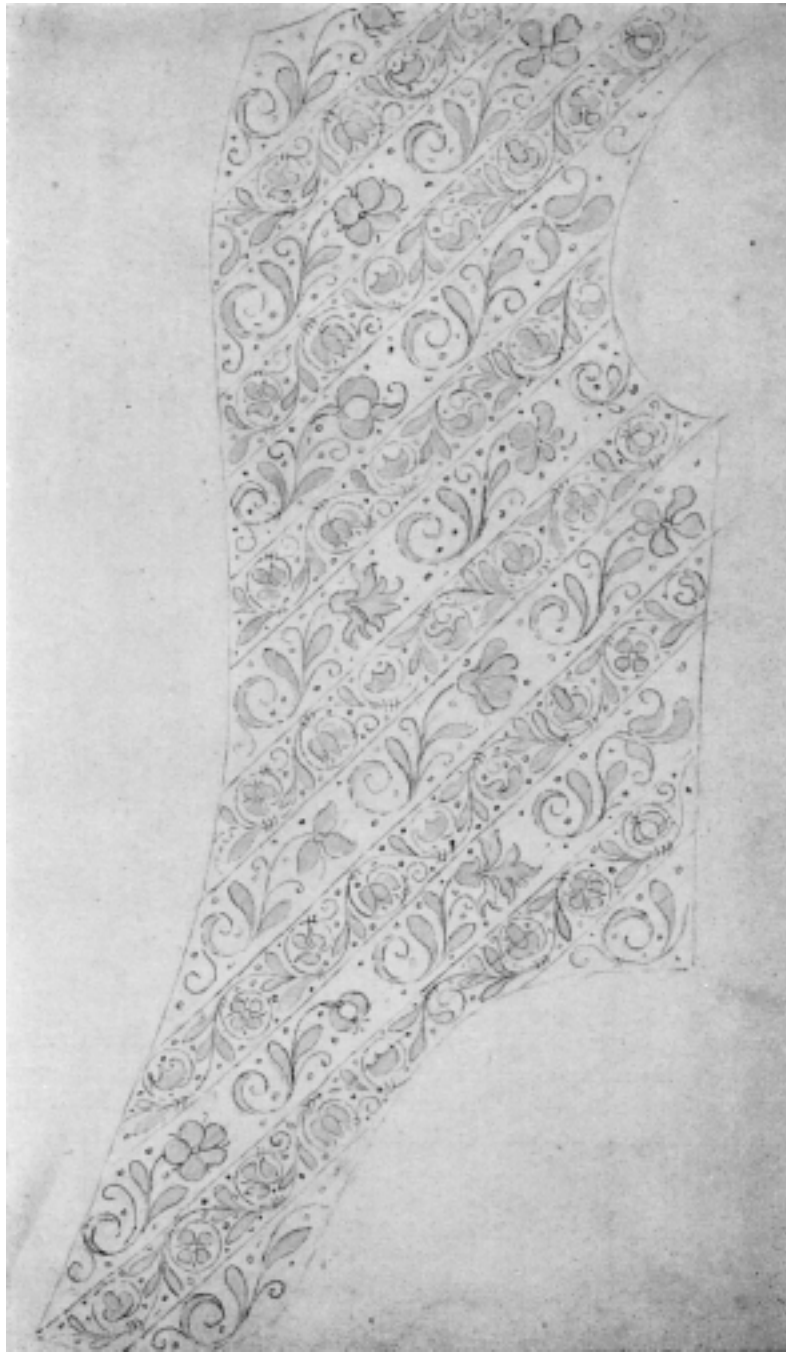


Fig. 12. Design for a stomacher from the embroidery pattern-book, page 35 recto.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 13. Pair of gloves, white washleather with cuffs of white satin embroidered with couched gold thread, seed pearls and spangles and coloured silk in long and short stitch, lined with pink silk, tied with pink laces, Dutch, c. 1622. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. R.B.K. 1978-48.

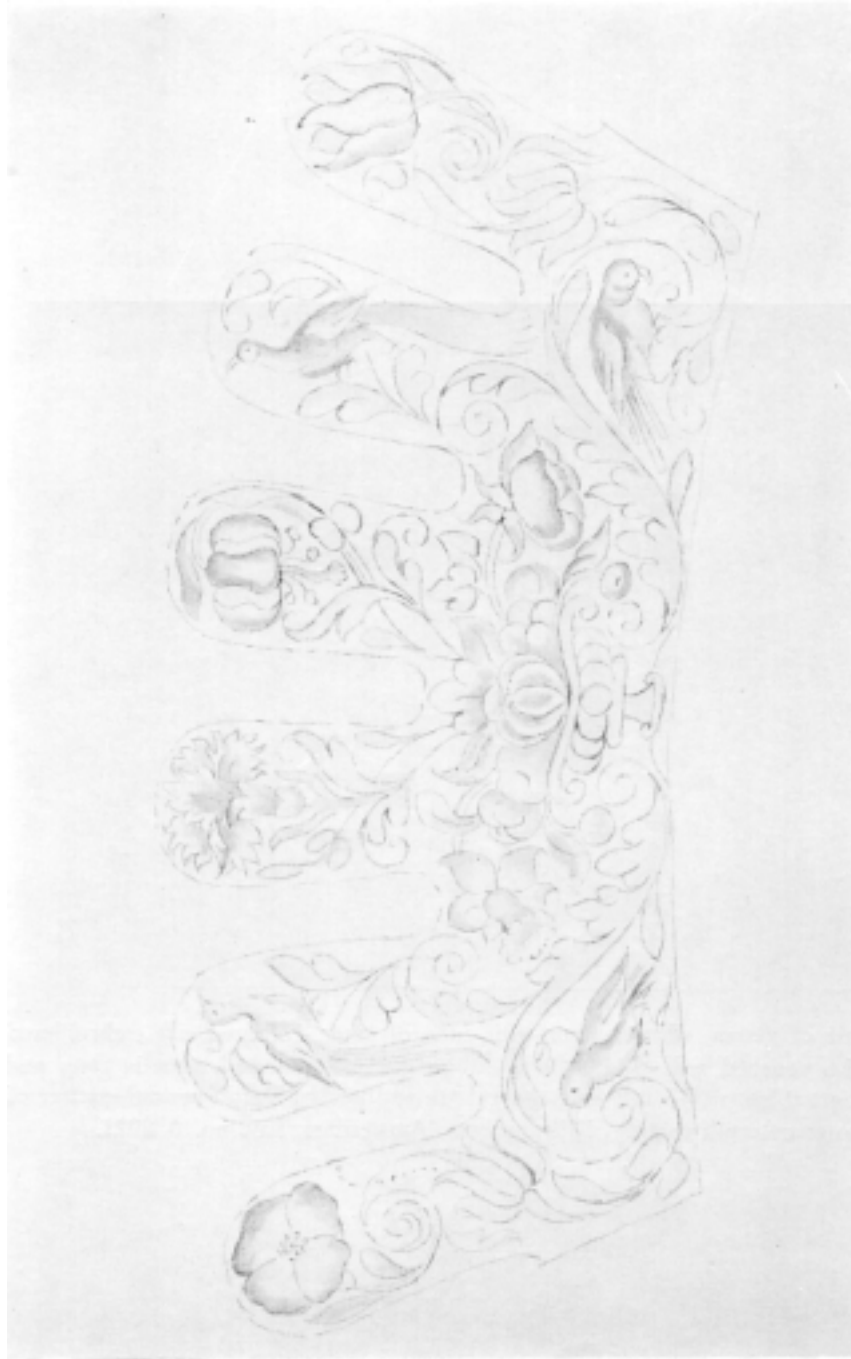


Fig. 14. Design for a glove from the embroidery pattern-book, page 15 recto. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.

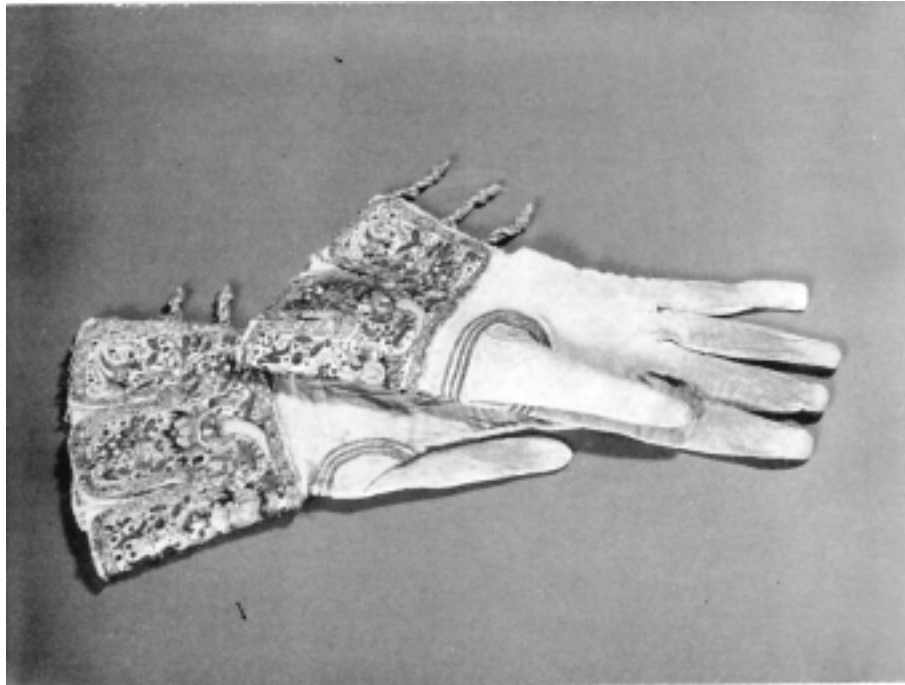


Fig. 15. Pair of gloves, white leather with cuffs of cream-coloured silk embroidered with couched gold thread and seed pearls and coloured silks in long and short stitch, with silk bands and gold thread tassels, Dutch, second quarter of the seventeenth century. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. A 2921.

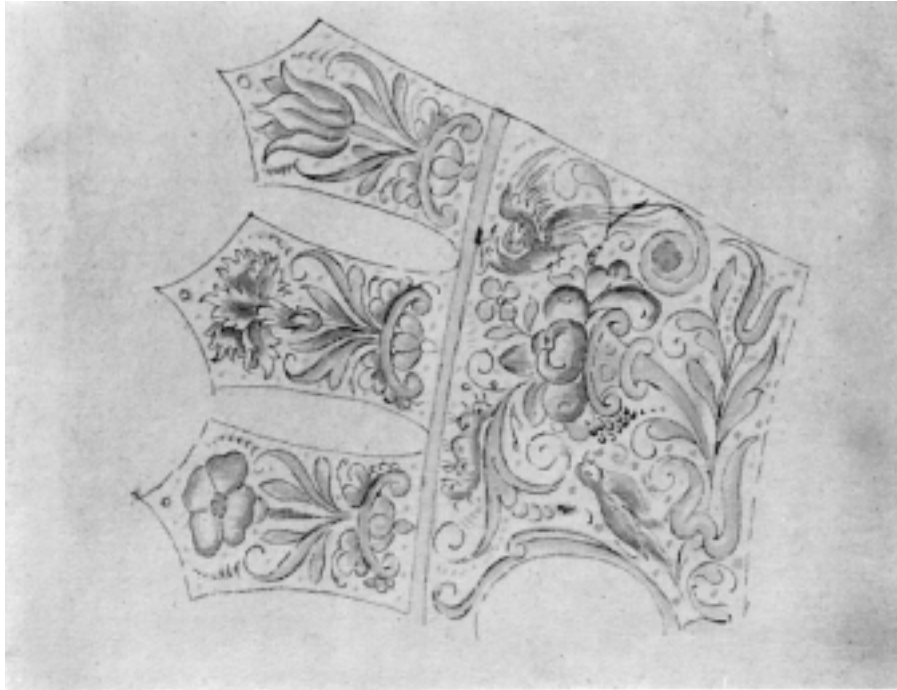


Fig. 16. Design for a glove from the embroidery pattern-book, page 20 recto. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.

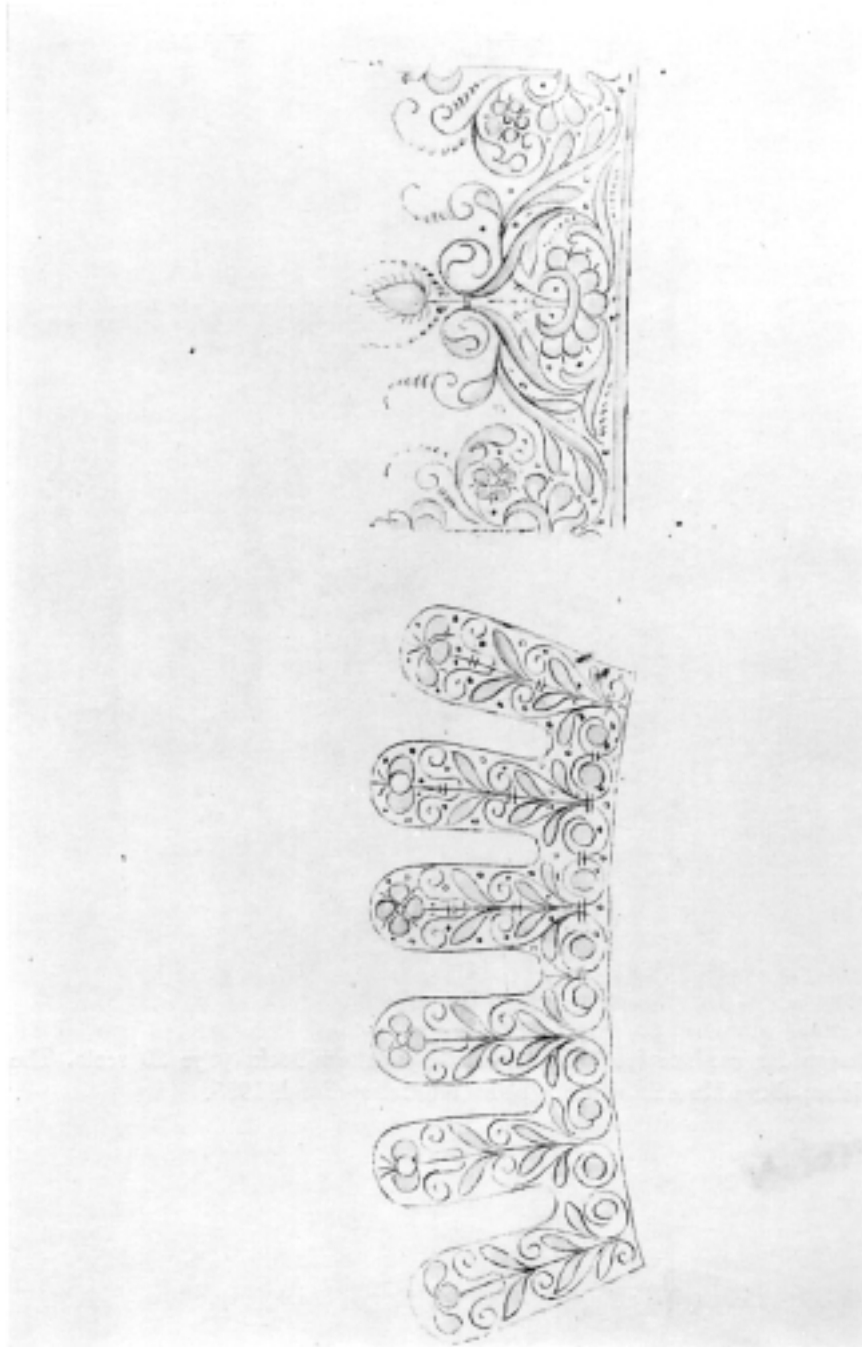


Fig. 17. Design for the tabbed cuff of a glove from the embroidery pattern-book, p. 63 recto (left). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 18. Attributed to Nicolaes Eliasz called Pickenoy, *Trijntje Tijdsdr. van Nooy*, 1637. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. A 1313.

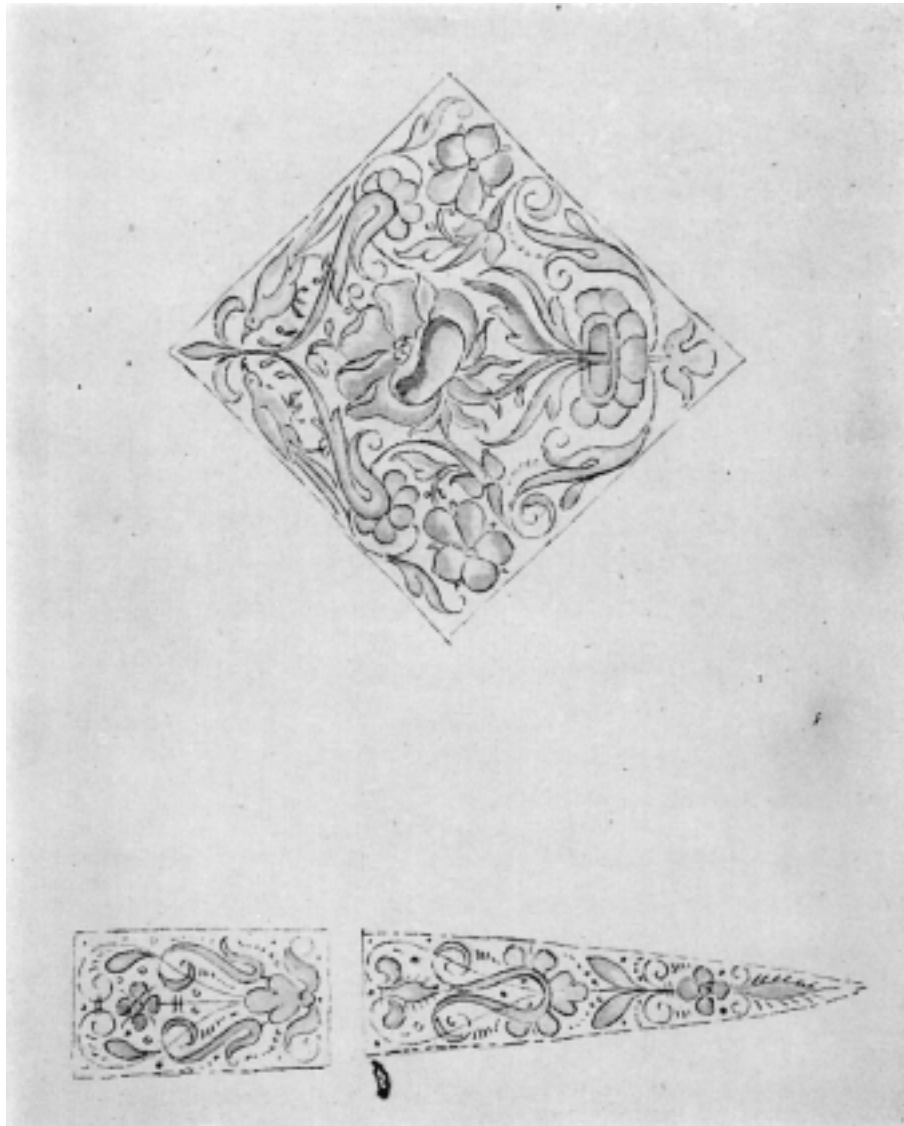


Fig. 19. Designs for a knife-case and pincushion from the embroidery pattern-book, page 33 recto. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 20. Knife-case, purple velvet, embroidered with couched gold cord and seed pearls and coloured silks in long and short stitch, Dutch, c. 1625. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 21. Design for a purse from the embroidery pattern-book, page 30 recto (top).
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 22. Drawstring purse, purple velvet embroidered with couched gold thread, seed pearls and coloured silks in long and short stitch, Dutch, c. 1625. Rijks-bears the initials D. G. and M. L. and has two sets of cords with gold knobs in the form of acorns, Dutch, second quarter of the seventeenth century, 13 x 18 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. N.M. 11110.

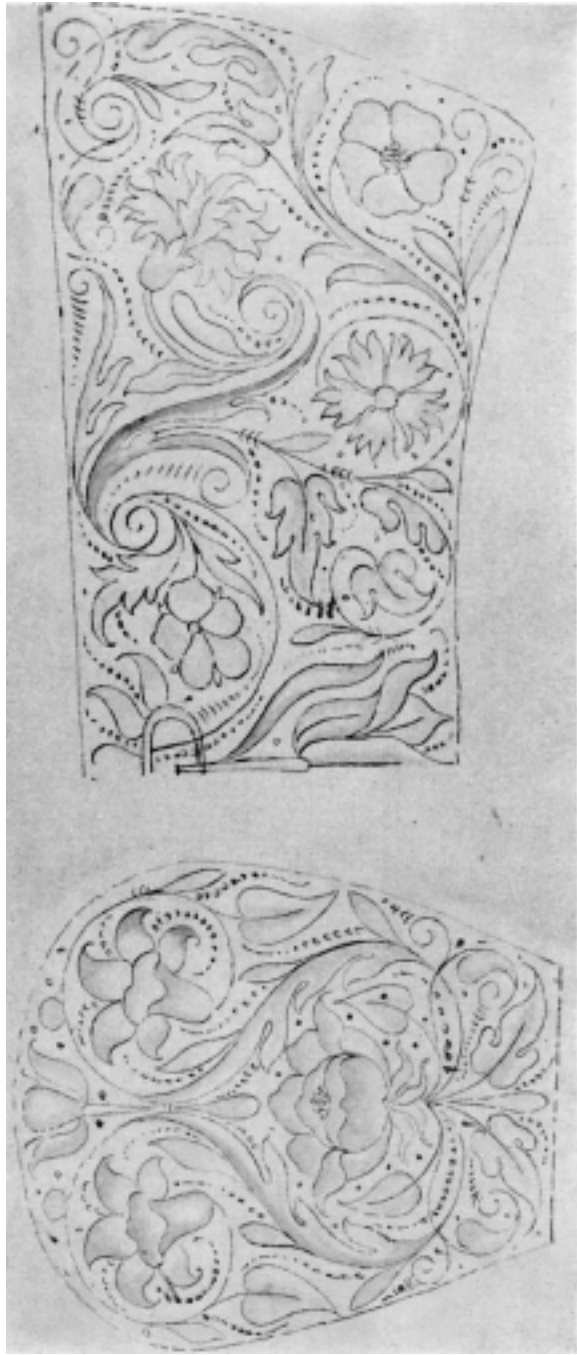


Fig. 23. Design for a woman's cap from the embroidery pattern-book, page 7 recto.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 24. Herman van der Mast, *Portrait of an Unknown Woman*, 1587. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. C 617.



Fig. 25. Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt, *Maurice, Prince of Orange, 1567-1625*, detail, sword belt. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. no. A 255.

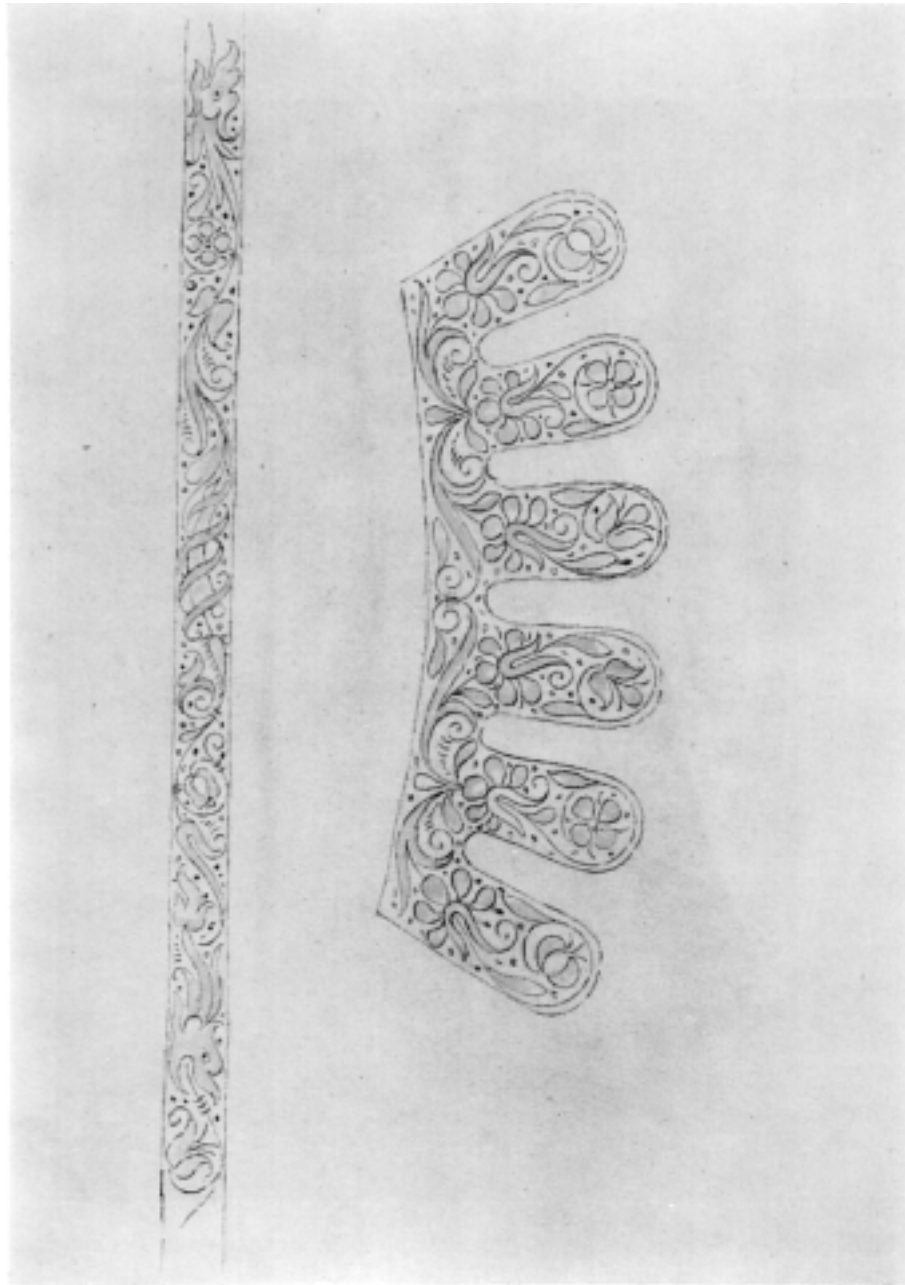


Fig. 26. Designs for a glove and sword belt from the embroidery pattern-book, page 61 recto. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.



Fig. 27. Silver dish by Willem Tobias of Amsterdam, 1629. Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, Inv. no. MBZ 197.