



# A Well-Governed Colony

## *Frans Post's Illustrations in Caspar Barlaeus's History of Dutch Brazil*

• ERNST VAN DEN BOOGAART •

### **T**he Illustrations to Barlaeus's Text

Caspar Barlaeus, professor of philosophy at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre since 1631, had made his name with Latin poems about contemporary historic events. In his verses he combined an account of the memorable incident with praise for generals, admirals and rulers, larded with appropriate words about the prosperity of the country, human fate and God's governance. In 1619, because of his links to the Remonstrants, he had been dismissed from his posts at the Collegium Theologicum and the University in Leiden. In the years that followed he frequently employed his Humanist skills to testify to his love of his country. As a true poet of the fatherland, for instance, he had hymned the recent landmarks in the wars against the Spanish-Portuguese monarchy and celebrated the Stadholders Maurice and Frederick Henry and their French ally Richelieu in verse. He had written a poetic welcome home to the governor of Dutch Brazil, Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, on his return to the Republic. He had praised him as the general who had dealt a severe blow to the Spanish-Portuguese Empire in the New World and the governor who had shown the American barbarians the path to civilization. Impressed by these

*Detail of fig. 15*

generally recognized rhetorical abilities, at the end of 1644 Johan Maurits asked him to write a history in Latin about his government of the South American colony of the Dutch West India Company (WIC).<sup>1</sup>

In the humanist view of the liberal arts, historiography and poetry were affiliated genres. However, a comprehensive prose work of history, in which many mundane issues had to be covered alongside lofty topics, was a completely new undertaking for Barlaeus. He tackled the task energetically. Johan Maurits sent him the documents he could use for the historical account in January 1645.<sup>2</sup> He began writing in June 1645, and in December he told the diplomat Joachim de Wicquefort that the Brazilian history was as good as finished. By the middle of 1646 the printing of the work was in full swing. In April 1647 Barlaeus wrote his dedication to Johan Maurits and Joan Blaeu was able to publish the *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum sub praefectura illustrissimi Comitis I. Mauriti Nassoviae etc. historia*.<sup>3</sup> The book ran to more than three hundred folio pages.

The Brazilian history was lavishly illustrated. The majority of the fifty-six plates were designed by Frans Post, one of the artists who had accompanied Johan Maurits to Brazil.<sup>4</sup> On his

return Post settled in Haarlem, the town where he was born, but he kept in touch with his old patron and continued to paint Brazilian subjects. He set about his work no less vigorously than Barlaeus. In June 1645, the scholar and artist Jan van Brosterhuyzen reported from Amersfoort to Constantijn Huygens, the stadholder's secretary and a close friend and neighbour of Johan Maurits, that he had begun etching Post's illustrations for the history of Dutch Brazil.<sup>5</sup> At this point Barlaeus had only just started to write. This piece of information and the dates on the prints mean it is likely that the designs for at least some of the plates were ready before the text was finished.

Post must have discussed the number, scope and content of the illustrations with Johan Maurits, who spent a good deal of the year in The Hague, and with Barlaeus and the publisher Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam. As the work progressed, the people involved appear to have made some changes to the selection of illustrations to be used. Shortly before publication, Johan Maurits and Barlaeus were corresponding on the question as to whether or not to include the picture of the fortress of Archijn in West Africa, a plate that was printed but in the end did not make it into the book.<sup>6</sup>

Barlaeus realized that in the historical narrative he had to give appropriate attention to the qualities of his patron, Johan Maurits. His account traces chronologically the progress of the war against the Spanish-Portuguese Empire in the South Atlantic region. This provided him with the opportunity to highlight Johan Maurits's attainments as commander in chief.

Fortunes in the war against the Iberian double monarchy in Brazil had ebbed and flowed, but by the time Johan Maurits returned to the Netherlands the situation seemed to be going the Republic's way. In the six years

before he was appointed governor of Dutch Brazil, the WIC's troops had captured the four northeastern sugar-growing areas – Pernambuco, Itamaraca, Paraíba and Rio Grande – from the Portuguese. At the Battle of Porto Calvo (1637) the count had secured the conquest of these plantation regions and even expanded it somewhat by adding the neighbouring Sergippe in the south and Ceara in the north. The taking of Elmina in West Africa meant that the WIC could resume the import of slaves to Recife. Admittedly the attempt to capture the Portuguese power base in Bahia failed, but the attack on the WIC's territory by the Count of Torre's fleet was repulsed. Johan Maurits had taken advantage of Portugal's secession from the Spanish Empire to capture São Paulo de Luanda and São Tomé, important bases for the slave trade, and to take Maranhão in northern Brazil, the stepping-stone to control over the mouth of the Amazon. When the truce between Portugal and the Dutch Republic was signed in 1641, northeastern Brazil appeared to be securely in the hands of the WIC. Without manifestly distorting perceived reality, Barlaeus was able to laud Johan Maurits as a skilled general and strategist. The portrait by Theodor Matham at the front of the book shows him in this capacity.

In the account of the war, Barlaeus interwove passages about Johan Maurits's actions as governor with descriptions of the geography, the flora and fauna, the population and the sugar plantations in the colony. His history painted a picture of a colonial administration that endeavoured to be fair to everyone. Johan Maurits and his fellow governors appeased the Portuguese and the other population groups by means of a carefully-weighted balance of military presence and measures aimed at promoting prosperity and cooperation. They maintained sufficient troops to suppress any rebellion

that might threaten. They punished troublemakers and deported disloyal regular clergy. At the same time they awarded the Portuguese notables who swore allegiance posts in the newly-established local administration and respected the Portuguese devotion to the Catholic religion. They protected the Indians in the colony from slavery in another guise, placed them under the authority of their own village elders and recruited them as auxiliary forces by rewarding them appropriately. They made allies of savage, cannibal Indians from the outlying areas and tried to civilize them.

By promoting economic recovery, Johan Maurits and his fellow administrators did the whole population, including the black slaves, a service. They stopped the extortion of plantation owners by local commanders and restored peace and order to rural areas. They protected the inhabitants against Portuguese incursions from Bahia and against raids by marauding Maroons in southern Pernambuco. By resuming the import of slaves and by selling on credit they ensured that the workforces on the plantations grew and sugar production increased. They promoted regulated free trade between the colony and the Netherlands to replace the WIC monopoly. This created the opportunity to establish fair prices for Brazilian exports and European imports and encouraged trade with the home country. Despite setbacks, among them a devastating outbreak of smallpox, prosperity grew. Barlaeus was consequently able to conclude his history with praise for the governor, Johan Maurits, who had served the general good.

The aim of the illustrations to Barlaeus's history was to help readers form a picture of the places where the events took place. They included topographical prints, plans, detailed maps, maps of larger areas of Dutch Brazil and a few maritime scenes.

The twenty-seven topographical views are of places in Brazil, West Africa and Dillenburg in Germany, the ancestral seat of the Orange branch of the House of Nassau. Captions gave the locations and salient features. The plans and detailed maps showed nineteen of these places in a different way. The six maritime scenes are set on the high seas, but the precise location is given on five of them.

The four maps of the area of Brazil captured by the Dutch are made up of a cartographic element and illustrative vignettes. The cartographic part was designed in Brazil by Georg Marcgraf, a German naturalist employed by Johan Maurits. It contains detailed information about settlements, sugar mills and other features of economic or military importance. It was brought back to the Netherlands as a manuscript map. The vignettes of scenes of life in the plantation colony were designed in the Netherlands by Frans Post for the printed version of the maps (figs. 21-23). Augmented with other sheets of vignettes by Post and excerpts from Barlaeus's history, these four printed maps could be mounted to form a large wall map.<sup>7</sup> A few figures and trees were added to some of the vignettes for this edition, making these sheets a second state. Buyers of Barlaeus's history could thus buy from Joan Blaeu not just an impressive book, but an instructive decoration for their reception rooms.

Around half of the prints illustrate texts on the fluctuating fortunes of the war. The rest refer to the task of governing the conquered region in the northeast of Brazil and making it profitable.<sup>8</sup> The prints of forts and fortified administrative centres point up the military and governmental power that underpinned Johan Maurits's regime. This ties in with Barlaeus's description of Johan Maurits's abilities as a soldier. Did Frans Post also bring out in the prints something of his qualities as an administrator, which

Barlaeus likewise praised? A comparison of Post's topographical and historical prints with the paintings from his Brazilian period provides the beginnings of an answer to the question.

### The Theme of the Prints of Dutch Brazil

Seven of the paintings Frans Post did in Brazil have survived. All signed and dated, they are Brazilian landscapes with views of forts and towns. They were originally part of a group of eighteen paintings, all roughly the same size (60 x 90 cm) and with an ebony frame, which Johan Maurits had kept together in his residence in The Hague. He may well have done this because they were the landscapes that Post had painted for him in Brazil. In 1679 he gave them, along with other paintings and curiosities, to Louis XIV.

Five of the surviving landscapes from Post's Brazilian period (*Itamaraca*, *Fort Ceulen*, *Frederiksstad*, *Fort Maurits on the Rio Grande* and *Porto Calvo*) are very similar to the prints of these locations in Barlaeus's history (figs. 1-8). It has consequently always been assumed in the literature that the eighteen prints of places in Dutch Brazil provide a clue as to the subjects of Post's lost Brazilian paintings. However, not all of the paintings made in Brazil served as the model for a print. *The View of Fort Frederik Hendrik* (fig. 9) and *The Ox Cart* (fig. 10) only exist as paintings. It is also possible that some of the prints were not based on a version painted in Brazil.<sup>9</sup>

Comparison reveals that when he designed the prints, Post used parts of the composition of the paintings virtually unchanged. This is true of the large area reserved for the sky and of the horizon or skyline with the topographical representation of a location with buildings. The minor changes he made to these areas in the prints serve to clarify the topography. For instance,

he slightly enlarged the skyline to make the buildings more visible and added numbered legends to identify them. In the sky he fixed a winged shield or banderol with the name of the place and, where appropriate, the coat of arms. The titles of the prints and most of the paintings are simply the names of the places on the skyline, which are generally regarded as the main subject of the work. The people, animals and plants in the foreground are considered to be of minor importance. It was to these foreground scenes that Post made radical changes.

In the majority of the paintings, the forts and fortified administrative centres of the Dutch conquerors are depicted on the low horizon. They illustrate the theme of the Dutch domination of northeastern Brazil. The sugar plantation in *The Ox Cart* tells us that Post also tackled other subjects in his Brazilian paintings. In his later work, done in the Netherlands, we see not just sugar mills but manioc mills, villages in the plantation districts and the villages of colonized Indians. These were buildings and locations typical of a second theme: the plantation society that the Portuguese had created in the American tropics. The people, animals and plants in the foreground are not simply staffage; on closer examination they represent the various groups of inhabitants of the colony and typical elements of Brazilian wild life. The representatives of the groups and the plants and animals usually have something to do with the specific location in which they are depicted, but the human figures, in particular, also recur in varying combinations in other compositions. The foreground scenes act as a link between the topographical background scenes in the paintings and the prints and make the individual works into a series that portrays colonial society in its natural setting.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to what we see in his paintings, in the prints of Dutch Brazil Post depicted only forts and fortified

Fig. 1

FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*The Battle of  
Porto Calvo*, 1639.  
Oil on canvas,  
63 x 89 cm.  
Paris, Musée du  
Louvre. © RMN /  
René-Gabriel Ojéda.

Fig. 2

JAN VAN  
BROSTERHUYZEN  
AFTER  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*The Battle of Porto  
Calvo*, 1645-47.  
Etching and engraving,  
384 x 512 mm.  
Illustration in  
Caspar Barlaeus,  
*Rerum per octennium  
in Brasilia et alibi  
nuper gestarum  
sub praefectura  
J. Mauritii, Nassoviae,  
c. comitis... historia*,  
Joannes Blaeu,  
Amsterdam 1647,  
plate no. 8. Print  
is the impression in  
the Rijksmuseum  
Research Library  
collection,  
location 330 A 18,  
BI-1892-3415-10.





Fig. 3

FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Maurits on  
 Rio S. Francisco*, 1639.  
 Oil on canvas,  
 62 x 95 cm. Paris,  
 Musée du Louvre. ©  
 RMN / Franck Raux.

administrative centres on the horizon. He thus emphasized the theme of Dutch dominion. In one print he extended this theme into the foreground. There are no people in the painting of Fort Maurits on the Rio São Francisco (fig. 3). All there is in the foreground is a capybara, a few reeds and a cactus. The river flows tranquilly to the ocean. For the print, Post changed the topographical and natural history composition into a historical scene. Agitated Portuguese soldiers on flimsy rafts cross to the south bank of the river, fleeing from Dutch troops (fig. 4). The capybara has vanished. This is in keeping with the theme of Dutch rule illustrated in the background and ties in with the text alongside it.

In most of the prints, however, the foreground scenes treat the subject of plantation society. In the painting of Frederiksstad, for instance, there are no people at all. In the right foreground, colourful waterfowl paddle around among the mangroves and other trees. They have vanished from the print (fig. 11). On the previously deserted expanse of water there is now a boat carrying a black woman and a black man smoking a pipe. This couple does not appear in the text, but they represent the black population mentioned in the adjacent description of Paraiba.

Sometimes, when designing the prints, Post replaced the scenes of plantation life he had used in his paintings with different ones. In the print of Itamaraca (figs. 5 and 6) the Portuguese horsemen with negro slaves who were front and centre in the painting have made way for small groups of Indians on the right-hand side. Post may have done this to lead the viewer's eye towards the topographical background. In the print of Fort Ceulen (figs. 7 and 8) he showed the uncolonized Indians, who were depicted standing alone outside the fort in the painting, trading with soldiers. In the painting of Porto Calvo (fig. 1), two

exhausted soldiers rest under a huge tree. The print (fig. 2) presents a significantly more alert group. A closer analysis of Post's depiction of Brazilian plantation society sheds light on the way we should understand these changes.

### The Portrayal of Plantation Society in the Foreground Scenes

There are human figures in five of the paintings of the Brazilian period. They represent the different ethnic groups in the colony: white Portuguese, black slaves, Christianized Indians who lived in the colony, savage Tapuya Indians (known to the Dutch as Tapoeiers) from just over the border, and people of European-Indian or European-African origin, the mestizos and mulattos.<sup>11</sup> We find the same ethnic types, with the addition of representatives of the Dutch occupying forces, in the prints of the region that had been conquered. To get an insight into what Post wanted to show, we have to view the prints in relation to one another, as a series. Several other sources help in understanding what the prints depict. There are descriptions of the population groups in Barlaeus's text. The eight ethnic types in Brazil painted by Albert Eckhout provide additional visual information.<sup>12</sup> In his *Thierbuch*, Zacharias Wagner, a member of the governor's household in Recife, made copies of the designs for these paintings, adding extremely interesting descriptions to them.<sup>13</sup>

The different ethnic groups can sometimes be difficult to identify in the prints. The smaller size means that the distinctive shapes of faces, noses and lips are almost impossible to make out. Black skin is indicated with hatching, but the nuances in skin tone between Indians, mulattos and mestizos – clearly visible in the paintings – are largely lost in the black-and-white prints. This means that, apart from the distinction between white and coloured, the ethnic

Fig. 4

JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Maurits on  
 Rio S. Francisco*,  
 1645-47.  
 Etching and engraving,  
 395 x 508 mm.  
 Illustration in Caspar  
 Barlaeus, *Rerum  
 per octennium in  
 Brasilia...*, plate no. 17,  
 BI-1892-3415-19.





groups are chiefly identifiable by their clothes.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes the hairstyle helps; sometimes a figure has been given a behavioural attribute.

The people who went to Brazil from the Netherlands after the Dutch conquest were a relatively small and heterogeneous group. They were predominantly soldiers, sailors and administrators employed by the WIC, and what were known as free colonists: merchants, traders, artisans and men seeking their fortune in farming. There were very few women among them. The prints show only military men and government officials. In *Porto Calvo* and *Fort Ceulen* (figs. 2 and 8) the soldiers wear hats, sometimes with a plume, a short jacket, breeches reaching to below the knee and high boots. They are armed with swords and – in *Porto Calvo* – with muskets. The men in the sloops flying flags in the prints of *Vrijburg* (fig. 12) and *Boa*

*Vista* (fig. 13) are probably civilian personnel. Their clothes are difficult to distinguish, but bear a resemblance to those worn by the soldiers.

Distinguished Portuguese men, usually shown travelling on horseback and accompanied by negro slaves, are as elaborately dressed as the WIC officials, but there are differences. They wear broad-brimmed hats and long-sleeved shirts under doublets, sometimes slashed, with very full breeches reaching to below the knee and high boots. They often carry a sword in a belt over the right shoulder. There is a man thus attired in the prints of *Igarassu* (fig. 14) and *Fort Prins Willem* (fig. 15). Post also pictured common Portuguese men who worked with their hands. They likewise wear a broad-brimmed hat and a shirt with sleeves, but they do not have a doublet and the breeches end above the knee. The lower legs are uncovered and they

Fig. 5  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Schoppestad and  
Fort Orange on the  
Island of Itamaracá,*  
1637.  
Oil on canvas,  
63,5 x 88,5 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
SK-A-4271.



Fig. 6

JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Schoppestad and Fort  
 Orange on the Island  
 of Tamaracá, 1645-47.*  
 Etching and engraving,  
 385 x 495 mm.  
 Illustration in Caspar  
 Barlaeus, *Rerum  
 per octennium in  
 Brasilia...*, plate no. 18,  
 BI-1892-3415-20.

Fig. 7

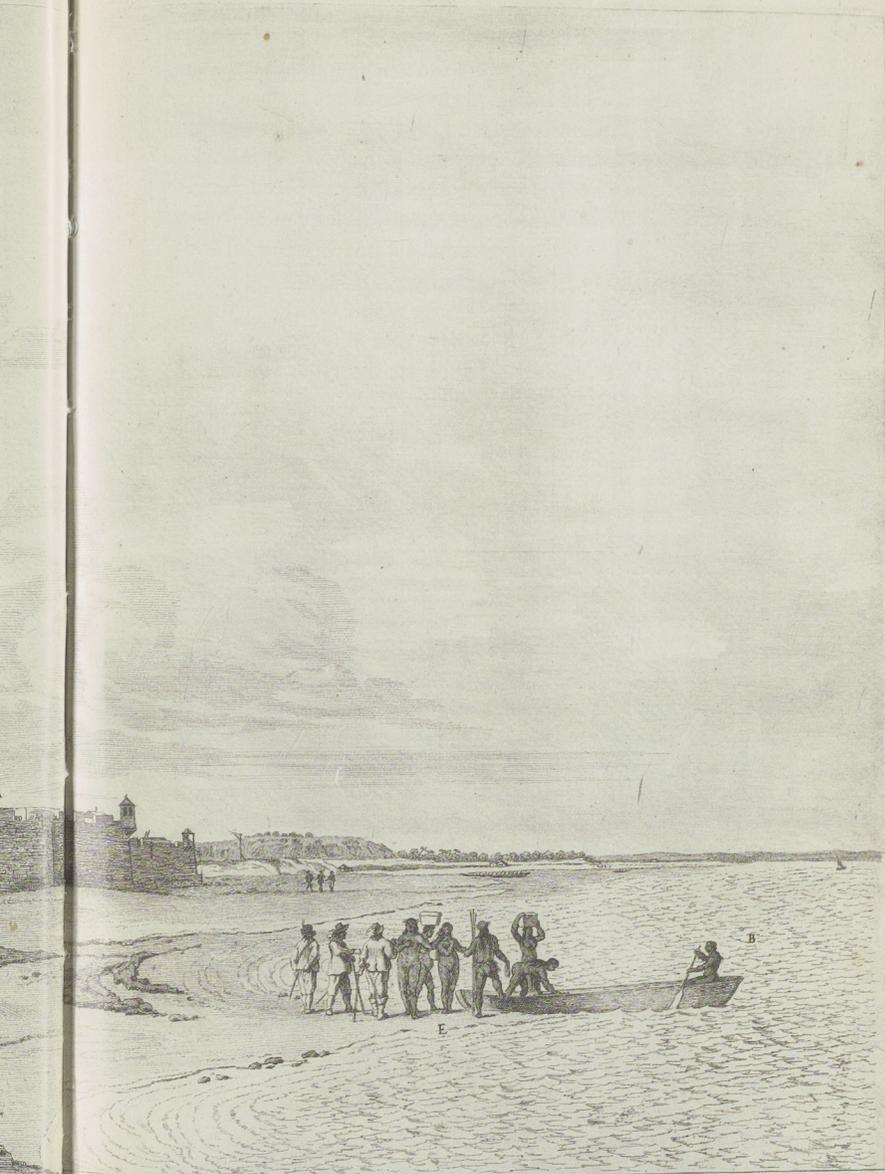
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Ceulen in Rio  
 Grande, 1637.*  
 1638. Oil on canvas,  
 62 x 95 cm. Paris,  
 Musée du Louvre. ©  
 RMN / Franck Raux.



Fig. 8  
 JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Ceulen in Rio  
 Grande, 1645-47.*  
 Etching and engraving,  
 382 x 500 mm.  
 Illustration in Caspar  
 Barlaeus, *Rerum  
 per octennium in  
 Brasilia...*, plate no. 30,  
 BI-1892-3415-32.



A. *Arx Ceulij.*  
 B. *Fluvius grandis*



C. Scopulus, cui arx mœdificata.

D. Mare.

E. Tapuic, trajicere volentes.



Fig. 9  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Frederik Hendrik  
on the Island of  
Antonio Vaz*, 1640.  
Oil on canvas,  
66 x 88 cm.  
Recife, Instituto  
Ricardo Brennand.

Fig. 10  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*The Ox Cart*, 1638.  
Oil on canvas,  
66 x 88 cm.  
Paris, Musée du  
Louvre. © RMN /  
René-Gabriel Ojéda.

are barefoot. A man like this, working with black men, hauls in a trawl near *Fort Margareta* at the mouth of River Paraiba (fig. 16). The wives of eminent Portuguese men (there are no pictures of common Portuguese women) are represented as deliberately invisible in public areas. Outdoors they usually travel in covered hammocks carried by negro slaves (see *Fort Prins Willem*). The only time they appear in public is when going to church. In the print of Igarassu (fig. 14), someone we may assume is a white woman is on her way to church. She is dressed in full-length black garments, her hair covered by a black headscarf, and she is accompanied by the male members of her family and

two servants—negresses or mulattas. She would have been wearing shoes.

In the prints and paintings the Indian men who lived in the colony usually wear a white loincloth, with nothing on their heads, legs and feet (figs. 2 and 17). Post sometimes depicted Indian women in the colony likewise in a white loincloth and nothing else, but he also showed them wearing a long full white shift with sleeves that covered the whole body. Both styles can be found in the prints of Itamaraca (fig. 6) and Porto Calvo (fig. 2). Their long hair is braided into plaits. Neither women nor men have footwear.

Black men are difficult to tell apart from Indians in the prints. They are dressed in the same way—just a white loincloth. (See for example the print of Olinda, fig. 18.) Occasionally they can be identified by their hair. Indian men wear their hair long, down to their shoulders, in the case of black men the prints suggest short, curly hair. (Compare the Indian men in *Porto Calvo*, fig. 2, with the black man in *Frederiksstad*, fig. 11.) In the prints Post showed black women wearing white blouses with long sleeves and scoop necks, sometimes with a bodice over the top. Long skirts fastened around the waist with a belt or sash cover the lower part of the body. Some women appear to be wearing a scarf pushed back on their heads, for instance the woman in *Frederiksstad*. (fig. 11) Black people—men and women—usually carry loads on their heads, Indian men do not.

Mulattos and mestizos—male and female—cannot really be identified in the prints as they can in the paintings. In the painting of Porto Calvo (fig. 1) the man stretched out on the ground in the shadow of a tree is dressed in a white shirt with sleeves and a white loincloth reaching to his knees and fastened at the waist. Over the shirt he has a grey doublet, cut like that of the eminent Portuguese man. He has no breeches or shoes. This style of dress is reminiscent of that of the *Mulatto* in

Albert Eckhout's painting.<sup>15</sup> Although the dress of the Portuguese men looks European, this could have been tropical colonial garb.<sup>16</sup> The reclining man may be a mulatto or mestizo. There is no man dressed in this way in any of the prints. The woman in the painting of Fort Frederik Hendrik (fig. 9), who wears a white blouse, a yellow bodice and a long yellow skirt, appears to be a mulatta.<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the dark women dressed like this in the prints may not always be negresses, they might also sometimes be mulattas.

The Tapoeiers, the savage Indians who lived on the border of the colonial area, are depicted as inveterate nudists in the print of Fort Ceulen (fig. 8).

They are trading with the Dutch, but evidently have no interest in textiles. The most they wear on their naked bodies is decoration. The man with the spears wears a feather headband and a feather rosette on his lower back. He is shown from behind, so it is not possible to see whether he has lip, ear or cheek ornaments or chains around his neck like one of the men in the painting of Fort Ceulen. In contrast to the painting (fig. 7), women are also shown. Their ornaments are confined to a headband. They show themselves to the group of decently dressed Dutch soldiers without covering their genitals, as Eckhout's *Tapoeier Woman* did.<sup>18</sup> It is not possible to make out

Fig. 11  
JAN VAN  
BROSTERHUYZEN  
AFTER  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Frederiksstad in  
Paraiba, 1645-47.*  
Etching and engraving,  
392 x 516 mm.  
Illustration in Caspar  
Barlaeus, *Rerum  
per octennium in  
Brasilia...*, plate no. 27,  
BI-1892-3415-29.





whether the Tapoeiers in the print have sandals on, as the men in Post's painting of Fort Ceulen and the man and woman in Eckhout's paintings do. There is absolutely no reference in the print to the cannibalism practised by the Tapoeiers, a subject that features prominently in Barlaeus's descriptions and Eckhout's paintings.

The rendition of the appearance of the ethnic types is highly standardized in Post's prints. In reality clothing must have been more varied. In *The Ox Cart* (fig. 10), the black man sitting in the cart and playing the flute is wearing white knee breeches, not a loincloth, the negro guiding the oxen with a stick is not bareheaded but has a round red head covering.<sup>19</sup> Pictures by Albert

Eckhout and Zacharias Wagner suggest that the loincloths worn by the black men were not always made of immaculate white fabric but could also be a blue checked material.

The costume scheme is used as a kind of shorthand to demonstrate the differences in possessions and status between the ethnic groups. A suit of clothes was for the wealthy and the notables, the common people made do with a simple shift or breeches, the very poorest tied a length of cloth around their loins. For a European audience, clothes also stood for differences in knowledge, skill and propriety. They were a criterion for the hierarchical classification according to one's level of civility, which was

Fig. 12  
 JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Vrijburg Palace on the  
 Island of Antonio Vaz,*  
 1645-47.  
 Etching and engraving,  
 395 x 512 mm.  
 Illustration in Caspar  
 Barlaeus, *Rerum  
 per octennium in  
 Brasilia...*, plate no. 38,  
 81-1892-3415-41.

used alongside the criteria of property, standing and skin colour to categorize the colonial population. Needless to say, the Dutch and the Portuguese, as the wearers of the most sophisticated, expensive and modest clothing, came at the top of the scale, the naked Tapoeiers at the bottom and the colonized Indians and the black population in the middle. Post must have pictured the Indian and black women in clothes that largely concealed their bodies to convey the idea that the colonial regime had a civilizing influence and created a degree of general prosperity.

When establishing his costume scheme, Post probably worked with what he had observed, but he was highly selective when it came to picking which of these observations to use in his pictures. Many black slaves, and

Indians too, would have gone around in rags, in the same way as the clothes of the common Portuguese, the WIC soldiers and the mestizos and mulattos would also have been shabby and worn. The prolonged war of conquest meant that the colony was severely impoverished and Johan Maurits's rule can have brought about no more than a modest change in the situation. In the prints – as in the paintings from the Brazilian period, and certainly later, too – Post presented a simplified and flattering view of the social realities in the plantation colony.

The activities of the people in the prints reveal more about the position of the various ethnic groups in colonial society. On a number of occasions the legends explain the actions as habits and customs that were typical of a par-

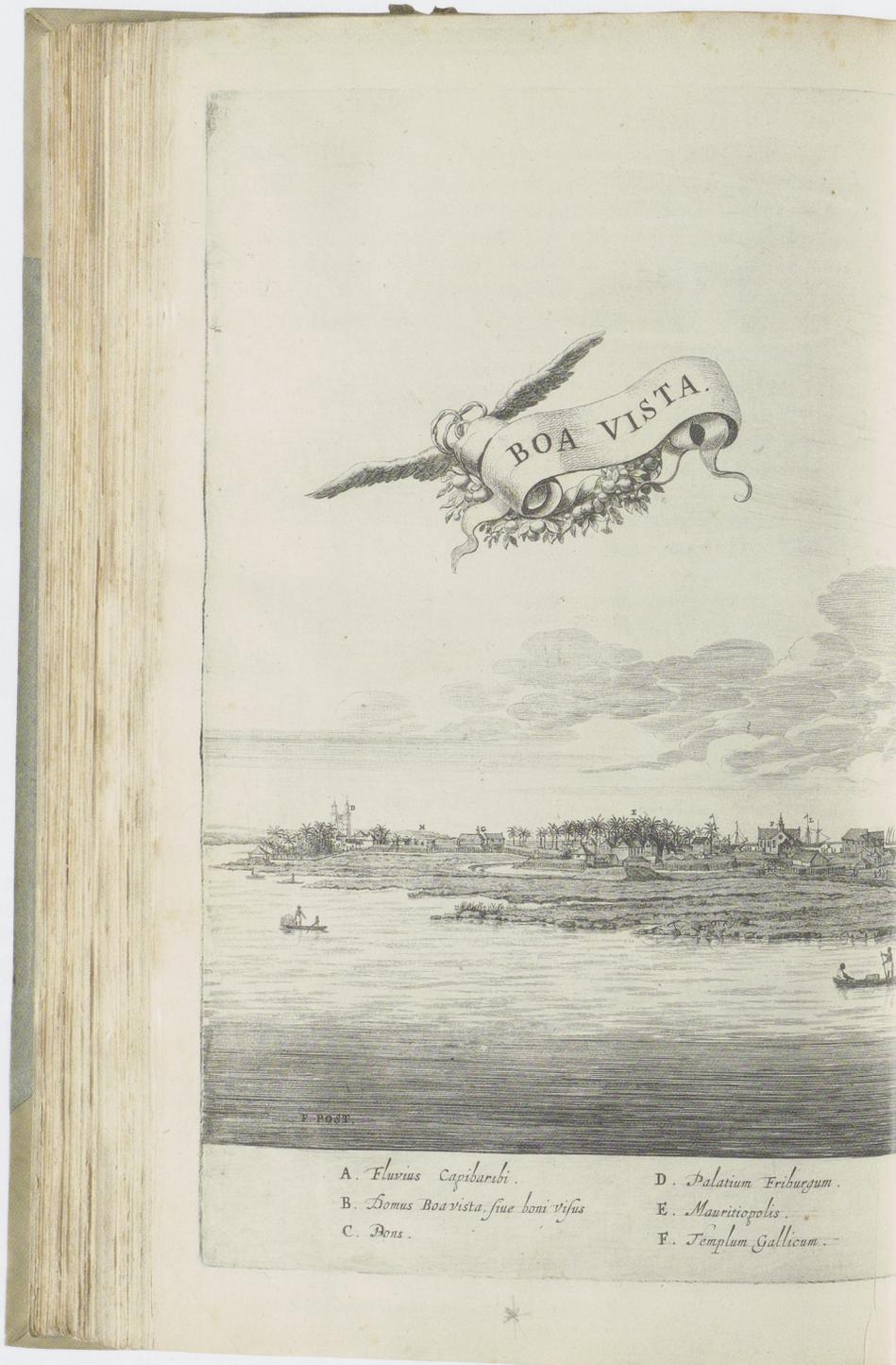
Fig. 14

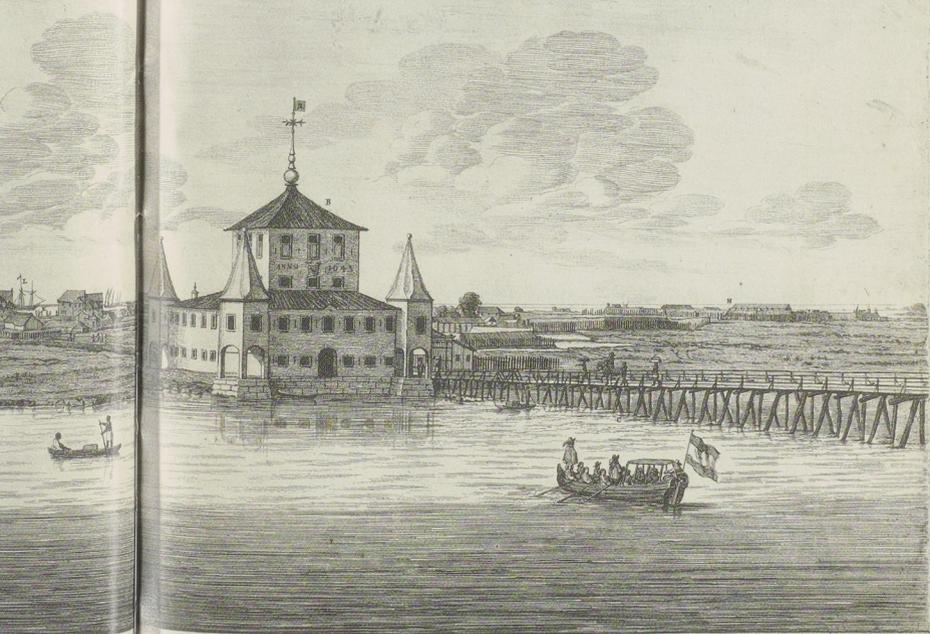
JAN VAN BROSTERHUYZEN  
AFTER  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Igaracu*, 1645-47.  
Etching and engraving,  
393 x 511 mm.  
Illustration in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia...*, plate no. 11.  
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1951-63.





Fig. 13  
 JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Boa Vista Palace on  
 the Island of Antonio  
 Vaz, 1645-47.*  
 Etching and engraving,  
 395 x 500 mm.  
 Illustration in Caspar  
 Barlaeus, *Rerum  
 per octennium in  
 Brasilia...*, plate no. 41,  
 BI-1892-3415-44.





Castrum Ernesti.

Castrum Fred. Henrici.

Reciffa.

K. Reciffa lapidea.

L. Naves portu contente.

M. Olinda eminus visa.



ticular group or remarkable for some other reason. Even when the activities are not explained in a caption, we can assume that these are socially relevant actions. The foreground scenes can seldom be linked to specific passages in the text. They do, however, combine to build an image of the plantation colony that is akin to Barlaeus's.

The *Siege of Porto Calvo* (fig. 2) is one of the prints dealing with the conduct of the war, but it also illustrates the relationship between colonized Indians and the Dutch. Accompanied by their wives and children, the Indian auxiliary troops descend to the plain where the battle will be fought. They had gone over to the Dutch side because they believed that they could expect greater autonomy and protection against

exploitation by Portuguese plantation owners. The four white men in the shade of the large tree are soldiers. They are with the Indian auxiliaries and would have been WIC employees. The four men in the print are considerably more alert than the two exhausted figures in the painting (fig. 1), but the seated figures who have removed their hats appear to be in need of a rest. Like the scene in the painting, the one in the print seems to be a subtle reference to the tropical heat, which whites found hard to endure, but the Indian auxiliaries coped with very well.<sup>20</sup>

The scenes in the other prints are set in the pacified area under Dutch rule. The Dutchmen in the sloop in the prints of *Vrijburg* and *Boa Vista* (figs. 12 and 13) would have been on their way to see the governor on business.

Fig. 15  
JAN VAN  
BROSTERHUYZEN  
AFTER  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Prins Willem at  
Affogados, 1645-47.*  
Etching and engraving,  
396 x 512 mm.  
Illustration in  
Caspar Barlaeus,  
*Rerum per octennium  
in Brasilia...*,  
plate no. 34.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
RP-P-OB-26.925.



In the print of Fort Ceulen (fig. 8), soldiers from the fort are trading with the neighbouring Tapoeiers. There is no sign of a Dutchman on the painting that preceded it (fig. 7). They are safe and sound – and invisible – inside the big fort. On the spit of land in front of it there are three primitively-clad Tapoeier men who are perhaps being picked up by the man in the canoe. The painting depicts the military presence on the frontier; the print demonstrates that the military threat in the background can be accompanied by friendly relations with the natives.

The Portuguese appear in the prints of the pacified colony in various capacities. A distinguished Portuguese man in the print of Serinhaem (fig. 19) is depicted as the master of negro slaves and possibly the owner of a sugar

plantation. According to the caption he transports heavy loads in the ox cart. We cannot see what they are, but they must be plantation products that he is taking elsewhere, probably for export overseas. The Portuguese and his ox cart show that after the devastation of the war, the plantations, the principal source of prosperity, are productive again. At the mouth of the River Paraiba (fig. 16), a lower-class Portuguese man is working with negro slaves to haul in a fishing net. The poorer Portuguese helped maintain the food supply – a recurring problem in Dutch Brazil – their contribution to the common good. *Fort Prins Willem* (fig. 15) records the custom of carrying upper-class Portuguese women in a screened portable hammock to shield them from the gaze of strange men. The

Fig. 16  
 JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Fort Margareta at  
 the Mouth of River  
 Paraiba 1645-47.*  
 Etching and engraving,  
 394 x 513 mm.  
 Illustration in  
 Caspar Barlaeus,  
*Rerum per octennium  
 in Brasilia...*,  
 plate no. 28.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 RP-P-OB-1951-64.



Fig. 17  
 JAN VAN  
 BROSTERHUYZEN  
 AFTER  
 FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*View of Cape  
 St Augustin, 1645-47.*  
 Etching and engraving,  
 394 x 508 mm.  
 Illustration in  
 Caspar Barlaeus,  
*Rerum per octennium  
 in Brasilia...*,  
 plate no. 37,  
 BL-1892-3415-40.

Portuguese demonstrate a concern for propriety, at least as far as their women-folk are concerned. The procession to church in *Igarassu* (fig. 14) presents the eminent Portuguese family as the hub of the community and as faithful Catholics. They take advantage of the religious freedom granted to them by the Dutch regime. The scenes in the foreground depict white Portuguese and their black slaves, who make the colony profitable and reconcile themselves to the Dutch administration, which respects their customs.

The social role of the Indians on the bank opposite the island of Itamaraca (fig. 6) is not clear. There is no caption telling us what they are doing. Some of them are carrying a load on their

heads. Post may have wanted to show that they traded on a small scale, just as the savage Tapoeiers at Fort Ceulen revealed the drive to truck and barter, inherent in human nature. The men are accompanied – as they always are in Post's work – by their wives and children. He evidently regarded their strong sense of family as a distinguishing feature. In the print of the reinforcements at Cape Augustin (fig. 17) the Indians are portrayed as fishermen. They, too, contribute to the colony's food supply. The print shows them fishing from a *jangada*, a light raft made from logs fastened together. This simple craft was ideal for the shallow waters between the reef and the shore. It was a native invention and testifies

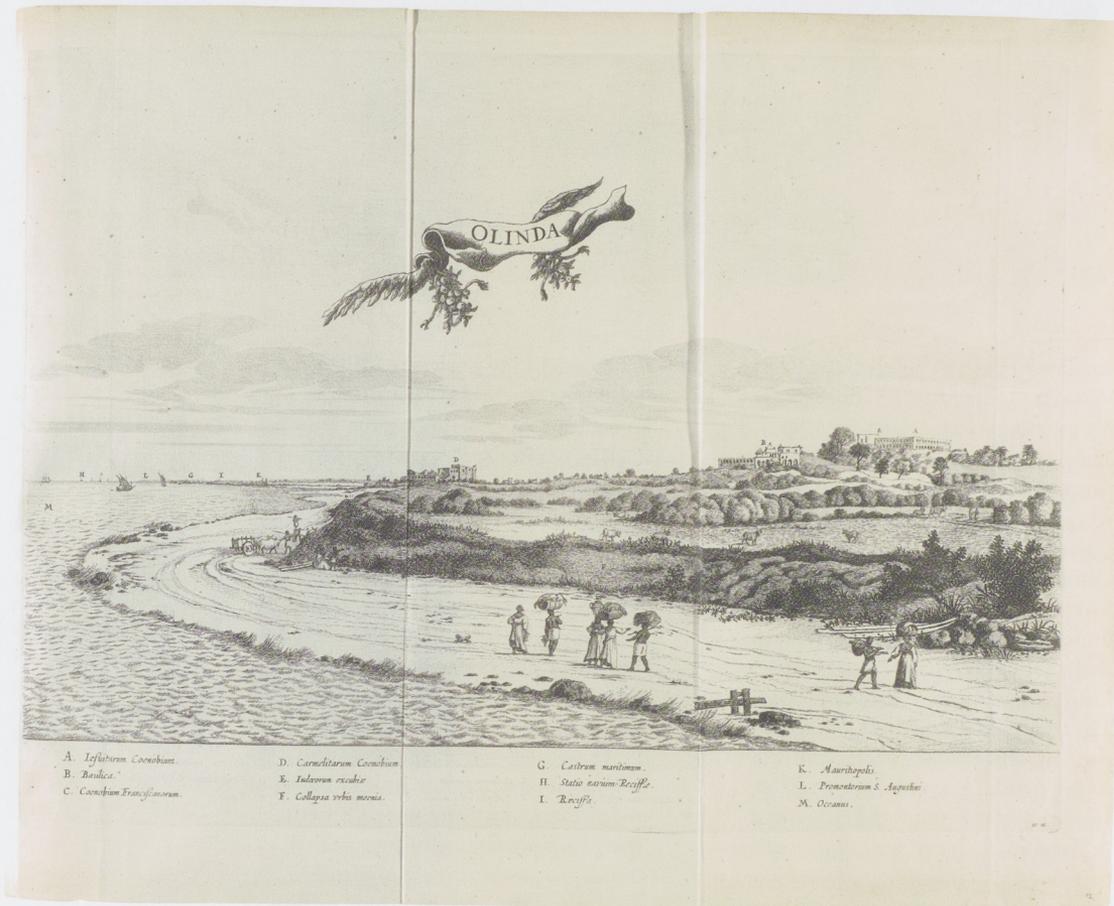
to a degree of ingenuity on the part of the Indians. In the *Siege of Porto Calvo* (fig. 1) they appear as auxiliary troops assisting the Dutch. Here they appear to be armed solely with spears. In a vignette on the Marcgraf map they also carry muskets, so it would seem that they have adapted to the modern age. The colonized Indians displayed an awareness of elementary social ties, technical ingenuity, commercial instincts and cultural adaptability. They cooperated in the creation of prosperity and supported the Dutch regime, which protected them from exploitation by the Portuguese.

Post often depicted blacks with well-to-do Portuguese. What they do has an economic purpose, but what is paramount is their servitude to their

masters and their varied positions as slaves. In *Serinhaem* (fig. 19), for instance, they appear as the carriers of loads and the drivers of ox carts. They are part of the general workforce on the plantations. They are unmistakably the subordinates of the Portuguese on horseback, an owner of many slaves. There is a similar scene on the road to Alagoa do Sul (fig. 20). The blacks who carry their white mistress in *Fort Prins Willem* (fig. 15) and those who follow a distinguished white couple on their way to church in Igarassu (fig. 14) are house slaves. The black men hauling in a net at the mouth of the River Paraiba worked as fishermen on the coast (fig. 16). The white man they are working with may be a small-scale slave owner. The blacks in canoes and

Fig. 18

JAN VAN BROSTERHUYZEN AFTER FRANS JANSZ POST, *Olinda*, 1645-47. Etching and engraving, 388 x 515 mm. Illustration in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia...*, plate no. 10. BL-1892-3415-12.





small boats near Vrijburg and Boa Vista (figs. 12 and 13) are doing jobs for masters in Mauritsstad or Recife. They are town slaves, possibly the property of the WIC or Johan Maurits, who go about their business under the eyes of nearby whites. In the print of Olinda (fig. 18) the only people on the foreshore are negro men and women undertaking individual tasks. Most of them are carrying loads on their heads; one transports something in an ox cart. These could be *negros de ganha*, sent to the town by masters in the hinterland to sell produce or fish. The couple smoking in the boat off Frederiksstad in Paraiba (fig. 11) reveal that the life of a slave also had its quiet moments, when they were among themselves.

What is striking here is that Post did not depict the brutal exploitation and relentless cruelty that the Dutch back home in the Republic generally associated with the slavery in Brazil. He wanted to show another reality: slavery as endurable servitude.

Taken together, the prints project an image of the pacified colony as a hierarchically structured and, despite the ethnic diversity, well-functioning society. Well-dressed, well-to-do whites, officers of the WIC and Portuguese, supervised black slaves and Indians. Together they brought about order, prosperity and development. The principal source of prosperity and the most important institution that bound the various ethnic groups

Fig. 19

JAN VAN  
BROSTERHUYZEN  
AFTER  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Serinhaem*, 1645-47.  
Etching and engraving,  
394 x 511 mm.  
Illustration in  
Caspar Barlaeus,  
*Rerum per octennium  
in Brasilia...*,  
plate no. 12.  
BL-1892-3415-14.



Fig. 20

JAN VAN  
BROSTERHUYZEN  
AFTER  
FRANS JANSZ POST,  
*Alagoa do Sul*,  
1645-47.  
Etching and engraving,  
395 x 510 mm.  
Illustration in  
Caspar Barlaeus,  
*Rerum per octennium  
in Brasilia...*,  
plate no. 15.  
BL-1892-3415-17.

together, the sugar plantation, did not appear in the prints. Post had, however, already tackled this subject in his vignettes for the Marcgraf map, some of which appear in the first four plates in Barlaeus's history (fig. 21). In these vignettes he had summed up his view of the plantation colony in a pictorial idiom different from that of the paintings and prints. As the bookseller would certainly not fail to tell his clients, the pages at the front of Barlaeus's work were only a part of that view. If one really wanted to understand how the Brazilian colony worked, one could do no better than to buy the other sheets, assemble the wall map and explore what it had to offer.

### Marcgraf's Map: the Plantation Colony as a Civilizing Project

Post encapsulated the Brazilian plantation society in ten scenes on the Marcgraf map (fig. 21). The vignettes at the top showed the savage lives of the indigenous population outside the colony. In a hilly, barren landscape, such as in Rio Grande and Ceara, naked men using bows and arrows hunt rheas, the native ostriches, and kill two steers with spears. However what the naked women are cooking is not beef – they are roasting a human leg (fig. 22). Meanwhile they chat and drink out of a calabash. Their children crawl around, evidently regarding the cooking of human flesh as entirely normal. On the extreme left, men





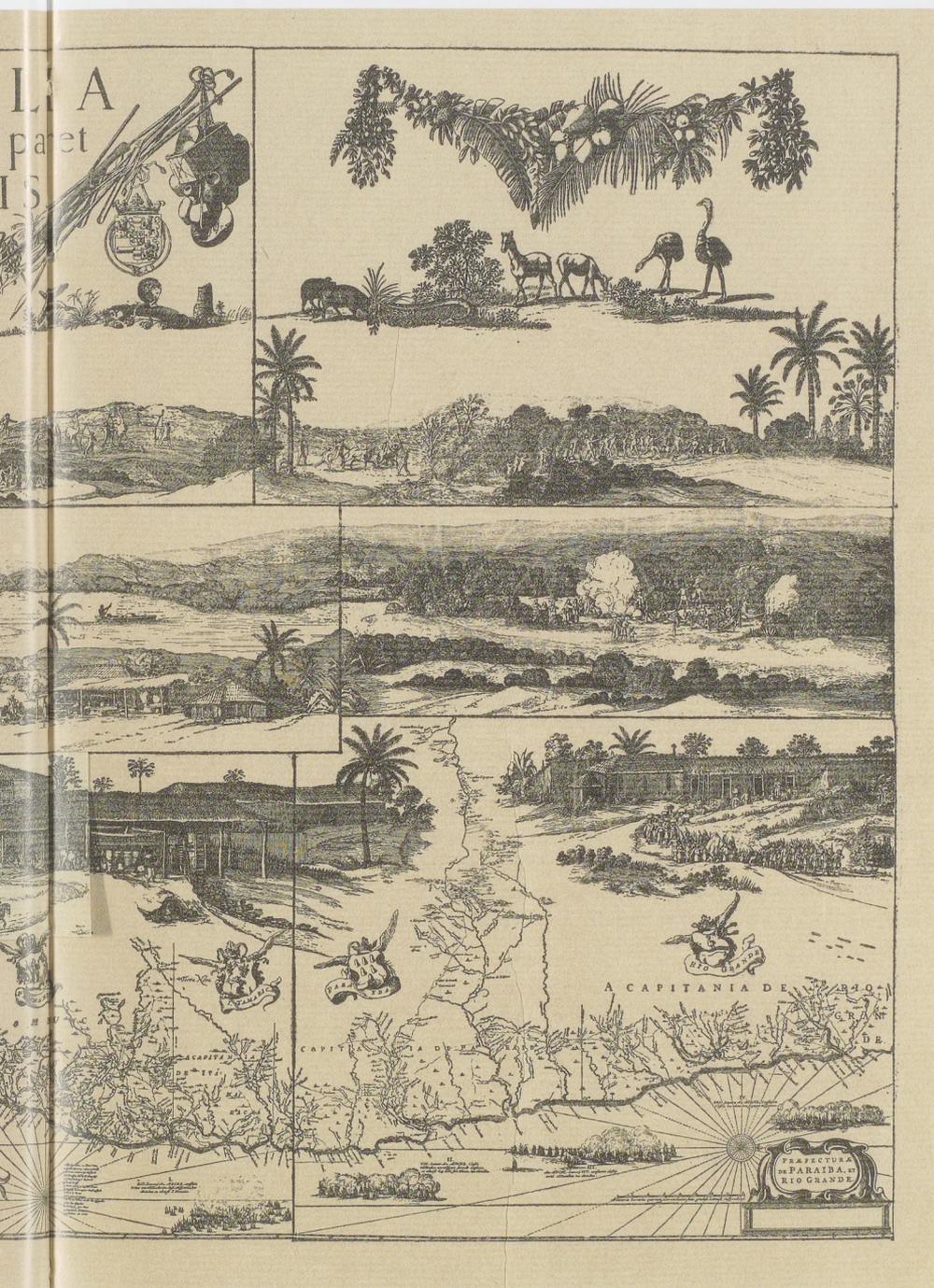


Fig. 21

FRANS POST AND  
GEORG MARCGRAF,  
*Brasilia qua parte  
paret Belgis.*

From the copy  
published in 1923  
by Nijhoff. The lines  
indicate the plates  
of various sizes that  
make up the 1647 map.  
The original map itself  
measures 101 x 160 cm  
or, including the  
texts that could be  
added on the sides,  
123 x 214 cm.

The following details,  
unless otherwise  
stated, are from the  
edition of the wall  
map by Huych Allard,  
1659. Leiden,  
University Library,  
Special Collections.



drawn up in two rows facing one another are performing a dance, wildly swinging sticks. Children and women with baskets on their heads stand watching or walk to the cooking fire. On the far right Indian men fight to the death with clubs, axes, and bows and arrows (fig. 23).

The members of this society evidently make a distinction between men's and women's work. They may also have a regular family life. However, the scenes contain no indication of houses or farming and hence of a fixed place of abode, nor of any distinction in property or authority. Their technical skills are confined to making fire, weapons, pots and baskets. The native existence outside the colony is portrayed as a nomadic life with the

minimum of tools and possessions, filled with hunting, feasting, cannibalism, war and dancing. This was the life that the Indians who now lived in the colony had led before the arrival of the Portuguese, and that the Tapoieers still led.

The scenes in the centre and lowest bands depict life in the colony. People live in a wooded landscape bisected by a river. The inhabitants farm, hunt and fish. They live in houses and work in specialized production areas with machines, which they use to process sugar cane and manioc. They wear clothes, some more than others – a sign of differences in respectability, wealth and power. The colonial society has countless machines and tools, produces more goods than it needs for

Fig. 22  
Dance and meal  
of uncolonized,  
cannibalistic Indians.  
Detail of fig. 21.

Fig. 23  
Fight between  
uncolonized Indians.  
Detail of fig. 21.  
From the 1923 copy.





its immediate survival, has permanent settlements and maintains the discipline of regular work. Power relationships and social ranks strengthen social cohesion and govern cooperation. The population is only partly indigenous. As well as the Indians, we see black Africans and white Europeans. It is a complex civil order, deliberately created from native and foreign elements by the Portuguese, in contrast to the rudimentary native order in the tropical American wilderness.

In the central strip on the left, a group of ten negroes is fishing in a river with a long dragnet. A black man on a lookout tower is helping them.<sup>21</sup> The centre of the band shows stages in the production of manioc, the staple food of the common people. On the left we see the fenced field of manioc plants (fig. 24). In front of the fence, two black men clean the roots that are brought to them by women carrying flat baskets on their heads. One of the women is smoking a pipe.<sup>22</sup> A standing white man wearing a hat is chatting or giving instructions. In the building with the tiled roof and thatched annex, a negro operates the manioc

mill. Another slave crushes the pulp; a third boils the manioc to remove the last harmful substances.<sup>23</sup> To the right of this band we see colonized Indians after the hunt (fig. 25). Men, women and children have all been out hunting together. Two of them bring in the catch, others laze in hammocks, while a group of women around a campfire cook the meal. All three scenes in the centre strip show forms of local food supply.

The bottom strip deals with the activities of whites, blacks and Indians aimed at the world beyond the colony: production for export and the military action against the external enemy. On the left of the River Paraiba we see an *engenho*, a sugar mill (fig. 26). Four buildings stand amidst palm trees and sugar cane. The most prominent is the sugar mill, which is shown here under the same roof as the oven and the boiler.<sup>24</sup> It is a unit of the most advanced and expensive kind, powered by water. From two sides negro slaves feed the mill with cane brought in on ox carts. A figure with a large tray on his head carries the milled cane away. We can only see the two ovens in the

Fig. 24  
Manioc mill.  
Detail of fig. 21.



boiler unit, which negro slaves are stoking with fuel. In this illustration, the white overseer who usually features in the many other versions Post made of this scene is not in evidence. The long building on the right behind the mill is probably the *casa de purgar*, where hundreds of moulds filled with *melado*, the boiled sugar syrup, were stored. Part of the dark mass was whitened by running water through the crystallizing sugar.<sup>25</sup> To the left of the mill is a wooden platform with a dark figure on either

side. This is the *balcão de secar*, where four to six weeks after boiling, slaves took the crystallized sugar out of the moulds, cut it into pieces and left it out on cloths to dry in the sun, before packing it for transport.

On the left behind the mill is the square *casa grande* of the *senhor do engenho*. The living area was on the first floor; the ground floor was used for storage. There is a large veranda centre front. An opulently-dressed white man on the veranda speaks to another white man on a horse.

Fig. 25  
Colonized Indians  
after the hunt.  
Detail of fig. 21.

Fig. 26  
Sugar mill.  
Detail of fig. 21.



Beside the master's house are the slave quarters, a long, low building with various entrances. In front of it, ten black, wildly gesticulating figures are having a party. One man appears to be drinking out of a half coconut or calabash, another plays a wind instrument and holds a rattle in his right hand. On the wall map, the second state of this sheet, a gentleman on horseback rides up to the *casa grande*, followed by a servant with a heavy load on her head, and two slaves carrying the man's wife in a covered hammock. This is most likely a visit from a neighbouring mill-owner.

To the right of the River Paraiba on the bottom band we can see an *aldeia*, an Indian mission village (fig. 27). The chapel with a stand with a bell and crucifix in front of it is very much in evidence. The long building in the background houses the Indians' living quarters. To their left we see banana and maize plants. In the foreground a column of Indians leaves the village. They are headed by a white officer, followed by a group of Indian men with muskets. An Indian standard-bearer leads the second group of men.

They are armed with spears or long arrows. They are followed at some distance by a group of women with baskets on their heads. One of the women is carrying a baby in a sling across her chest. A small group of men, women and children appears to have remained in the village. This could be a drill or these could be auxiliary troops turning out to assist the Dutch units who will have to go into action should the Count of Torre's troops land.

The differences in the way of life depicted in the topmost strip and on the strips below present European colonialism in Brazil as a civilizing project, a break with the pre-colonial past. The make-up of the population, the economic activities and the organization of power had been radically changed by colonization. Private white entrepreneurs and their black slaves exploited the country's natural resources in manioc growing and fishing, but in a more intensive way and on a larger scale to sell to the market. The whites introduced horses, oxen, sugar cane and the *engenho* and created the export product that paid for the imports of iron, textiles

Fig. 27  
Indian village.  
Detail of fig. 21.



and other goods for a civilized life. The prosperity of the Brazilian colony came about as a result of the work of the black slaves and the management of their white masters. Colonization is portrayed here as a superior economic order, the development of a country which before then appeared to be condemned by the absence of the will to work, technical ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit to lead a wretched existence. The plantation colony showed that white people with their knowledge and skills brought from Europe and African slaves with their capacity for hard labour in the tropics could transform the wilderness of tropical America into a prosperous landscape. The *engenho* was the icon of Brazil's advanced economic development.

However, the use of negro slaves in the colonies, particularly those on the sugar plantations, had a very dubious reputation in the Netherlands. Barlaeus produced a justification of this extreme form of servitude in his text.<sup>26</sup> Post did the same in the way he portrayed slavery in the vignettes and prints. The slaves do their work without visible coercion. The women, in particular, are decently clad in long-sleeved garments that cover their bodies. Their clothes testify to the good care provided by their masters and to the fact that colonial Brazil had goods standards of morality and respectability. The dancing and music making in front of the slave quarters show that the negroes did more than toil. They were granted some scope for a life of their own.<sup>27</sup>

The civilizing of Brazil was originally a Portuguese project, but it remained, with modifications, the underlying justification of Johan Maurits's regime. To the Portuguese the spread of the Catholic religion was an essential element of the undertaking. Johan Maurits replaced this with freedom of religion, albeit combined with government support for the Dutch

Reformed church and the combating of heathenism by peaceful means. The Portuguese had begun pulling back from Indian slavery.<sup>28</sup> The Dutch authorities continued the policy by granting the Indian villages more autonomy.<sup>29</sup> Improving prosperity was part of the Portuguese civilization project. Johan Maurits sought the same goal to win the Portuguese over to the new administration and to give the WIC its due, but also to allow the masters to treat their slaves better. According to Zacharias Wagner, he even considered giving slaves with a European father their freedom, but dropped the idea under pressure from his advisors.<sup>30</sup> By building Mauritsstad, the botanical garden, the zoo and the Vrijburg observatory, he wanted to show that Dutch rule meant freedom, prosperity and flourishing arts and sciences. Barlaeus described this regime in the service of the public good from a domestic perspective and with the aid of written sources, Post illustrated it on the basis of his own observation, continuing an approach he had developed in Brazil. In line with what they saw as their duty and with the expectations of their patron, they both designed an image of the Brazilian colony in which good governance had brought the actual and the desired society close together.

While Barlaeus wrote, Post designed his illustrations and Blaeu got his presses printing, news reached the Netherlands that the Portuguese plantation owners in Brazil had revolted against Johan Maurits's successors and rapidly seized virtually the whole of the conquered territory. The real and the desired society were evidently further apart than Barlaeus and Post had realized. These events made the history that had been designed as a paean of praise for Johan Maurits's administration read more like a veiled apology.

## NOTES

- 1 J.A. Worp, Caspar van Baerle, in *Oud Holland* 7 (1889), pp. 91-92. Thanks to Worp and F.F. Blok (*Caspar Barlaeus. From the Correspondence of a Melancholic*, Assen 1976), we know a good deal about Barlaeus's career and his depressive nature. His intellectual profile, however, is still vague. We find a certain amount about his theological, philosophical and political ideas in Catherine Secretan, *Le 'Marchand Philosophe' de Caspar Barlaeus. Un éloge du commerce dans la Hollande du Siècle d'Or. Etude, texte et traduction du Mercator Sapiens*, Paris 2002; Paul van Heck, *Cymbalum politicorum, consultor dolosus*. Two Dutch Academics on Niccolò Machiavelli, in Ton van Houdt et al., *On the Edge of Truth and Honesty. Principles and Strategies of Fraud and Deceit in the Early Modern Period*, Leiden 2002, pp. 47-63; Dirk van Miert, *Humanism in the Age of Science. The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632-1704*, Leiden 2009. This last study also provides a good idea of his work for the Athenaeum Illustre. His views on history and historiography are still virtually terra incognita. A.J.E. Harmsen, 'Barlaeus' Description of the Dutch Colony in Brazil', in Zweder von Martels ed., *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction. Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, Leiden 1994, pp. 158-69.
- 2 Barlaeus had access to the reports that the governors had written to the Lords XIX (the governors) of the WIC and to the States General, some letters from Johan Maurits to Frederick Henry, the count's address upon his departure from Brazil and his report to the Dutch authorities immediately after his return, possibly also the daily minutes of the meetings of the High and Secret Council, the highest governing body in the colony, and the general missives in which they periodically kept their superiors informed about affairs. Caspar van Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië onder het bewind van Johan Maurits van Nassau, 1637-1644: historisch, geografisch, ethnografisch*, translated by S.P. l'Honoré Naber, The Hague 1923. This edition gives an impression of the sources Barlaeus used. There is an older German version (Cleves 1659) and one in Portuguese (São Paulo 1974 (1940)). An English translation and critical edition has been announced for September 2011 by the University Press of Florida, trans. Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning.
- 3 Worp, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 95, 97.
- 4 Most of the topographical historical prints are signed F. Post and dated 1645. The British Museum has an album of pen and ink drawings of these prints, probably the models for the etchings. This album, very much reduced in size, was published in the series *Dutch Brazil* by Editoria Index under the title *Frans Post: The British Museum Drawings*, Petropolis 2000. There is no mention of a maker's name for the plans and detailed maps. See also Pedro and Bia Corrêa do Lago, *Frans Post (1612-1680). Catalogue Raisonné*, Milan 2007, pp. 184-85. P.J.P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil. Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits*, Amsterdam 1989, pp. 184-85.
- 5 Whitehead and Boeseman, op. cit. (note 4), p. 154 and p. 185 for the discussion as to whether or not Post did some of his own etching as well.
- 6 James van der Veldt, 'An Autograph Letter of John Maurice of Nassau, Governor of the Dutch Colony in Brazil (1636-1644)', in *The Americas* 3 (1947), no. 3, pp. 311-18. This letter was not included in K. van der Horst, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Caspar Barlaeus (1602-1648)*, Assen 1978.
- 7 Whitehead and Boeseman, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 151-61 and pl. 79. Martijn Storms, 'De kaart van Nederlands Brazilië door Georg Marcgraf', in *Caert Thresoor* 30 (2011), no. 2, pp. 37-46.
- 8 A numbered list of the plates at the front of Barlaeus's history shows their place in the text. Marcgraf's maps (1-4) accompany the introductory description of the geography and ethnology of Brazil. The fleet for the outward voyage lying off Den Helder (5) comes at the beginning of the actual history. The Siege and the Battle of Porto Calvo (6-8) record Johan Maurits's first major victory over the Portuguese. The views and plans of Olinda, Igarassu, Serinhaem and South Alagoa (9-15) illustrate the description of the Province of Pernambuco. The views of Fort Maurits on the Rio São Francisco (16-17) show the defeated Portuguese troops fleeing across the southern border of Pernambuco and abandoning the province to the WIC. The view of Fort Orange on the island of Itamaracá (18-19) goes with a passage about the search for a suitable location for the capital of Dutch Brazil; it was decided that it should be Recife in



- Pernambuco. The expansion of Dutch power in West Africa is recorded in the prints of the forts of Elmina and Nassau (20-23) and those on the West-East coast of Brazil as a result of the capture of the small fort in Ceara (24-25). The illustrations of the fortified town of Frederiksstad in Paraíba, the forts at the mouth of the River Paraíba and Fort Ceulen in Rio Grande (26-30) accompany the account of Johan Maurits's visit to the provinces to the north of Pernambuco. The view of Bahia (31-32), the capital of the part of Brazil still in Portuguese hands, clarifies the account of the failed attack in 1638. The views and plans of Recife and Mauritsstad, Johan Maurits's palaces of Vrijburg and Boa Vista and the fortification on nearby Cabo São Agostinho (33-41) accompany the description of the administrative and military organization, the economic situation in the conquered area in 1639, and the digression about the construction of the new Dutch port that took the place of the Portuguese Olinda. Four prints illustrate the Dutch defeat of the Count of Torre's fleet (42-45). The expansion of Dutch power shortly before the truce with the new King of Portugal took effect is illustrated by the prints picturing the destruction of the sugar mills around Bahia and the capture of São Paulo de Luanda, São Tomé and Maranhão (46-52). The plan of Fort Calvario in Chile and the map of the Chilean coast, unnumbered but marked in the list of plates with an asterisk, illustrate the story of Hendrik Brouwer's failed expedition (53 and \*). The print of the homeward bound fleet (54) marks the end of the history. The view of Dillenburg (55) accompanies the summing-up of Johan Maurits's achievements, which were a match for the illustrious deeds of his noble ancestors.
- 9 Corrêa do Lago, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 51-63, 92. Although they, too, are of the opinion that a sugar plantation is depicted in the background to *The Ox Cart*, they persist in their view that the same location appears in the print of Serinhaem.
  - 10 Ernst van den Boogaart, 'Realismo pictórico e Nação: as pinturas brasileiras de Frans Post', in Vera Luçia Bottrel Tostes and Sarah Fassa Benchtritt (eds.), *A Presença Holandesa no Brasil; Memória e Imaginário*, Rio de Janeiro 2004; *ibid.*, 'Brasilien hofieren. Johann Moritz' politische projekt sichtbar gemacht', in G. Brunn and Cornelius Neutsch (eds.), *Sein Feld war die Welt. Johann Moritz von Nassau Siegen (1604-1679)*, Münster 2008, pp. 73-92, esp. pp. 83-92. In these contributions to conferences in 2004 I suggested that the landscapes made in Brazil should be seen as a series whose elements were linked by the foreground scenes. Taken together, the paintings represented the 'commonwealth' in Dutch Brazil. I conceived the vignettes on the Marcgraf map as the best access to the official view of the colony, as it had developed in Brazil, and pictured by Post. This approach was pursued in an independent manner in Daniel de Souza Leão Vieira, *Topografias imaginárias: a paisagem política do Brasil Holandês em Frans Post, 1637-1669*, dissertation University of Leiden 2010, esp. pp. 106-232. On pp. 19-36 he provides a good summary of the interpretation history of Post's work, on pp. 36-41 he identifies the points on which the approach (which I also follow in this article) can be improved. He also uses the approach in discussing the paintings Post made in the Netherlands.
  - 11 In the painting of Fort Frederik Hendrik, the white man I previously identified as a poor Portuguese may be a *wic* soldier, possibly a member of Johan Maurits's bodyguard. Souza Leão Vieira, op. cit. (note 10), pp. 152-53.
  - 12 Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise. Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil*, Amsterdam 2006. Eadem, *Albert Eckhout. Visões do Praiso Selvagem. Obra Completa*, Rio de Janeiro 2010, a reworking of her dissertation as an oeuvre catalogue. Denise Daum, *Albert Eckhouts 'gemalte Kolonie.' Bild- und Wissensproduktion über Niederländisch-Brasilien um 1640*, Marburg 2009.
  - 13 Zacharias Wagner, *Zoobiblion. Livro de animais do Brasil*, edited by Enrico Schaeffer, São Paulo 1964. This edition should be consulted for Wagner's German texts. There are better illustrations in colour in Dante Martins Teixeira (ed.), *The Thierbuch and Autobiography of Zacharias Wagner*, Rio de Janeiro 1997, published in the series *Dutch Brazil* by Editora Index (Rio de Janeiro 1997). See also Wagner's biography: Sybille Pfaff, *Zacharias Wagner (1614-1668)*, Hassfurt 2001 (1997).
  - 14 There have been few studies of costume in colonial Brazil. Laura de Mello e Souza (ed.), *História da Vida Privada no Brasil. Cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa*, vol. 1, p. 148. For the late eighteenth century see Tina Hammer-Stroeve, *De Braziliaanse tekeningen van Carlos Julião. Het civiele costuum van koloniaal Brazilië in het laatste kwart van de XVIIIe eeuw*, unpublished thesis University of Amsterdam 1987. My thanks to

- Mrs Hammer-Stroeve for allowing me to read her thesis and for her comments on the costumes by Post and Eckhout. Silvia Hunold Lara, 'Customs and Costumes: Carlos Julião and the Image of Black Slaves in Late Eighteenth-Century Brazil', in *Slavery and Abolition*, 23 (2002), pp. 125-46.
- 15 Parker, op. cit. (note 12), p. 165.
- 16 Willem Piso had already pointed out the need to adapt European clothes to tropical conditions. Francisco Guerra, 'Medicine in Dutch Brazil, 1624-1654', in Ernst van den Boogaart (ed.), *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679. A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, The Hague 1979, p. 476. For background see Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History or the Imperialists' New Clothes*, Cambridge 2008.
- 17 I suspect that she is a mulatta because of her position between the white man and the black slave and because of her clothes, which link her to Post's representations of black women. This view is also found in Souza Leão Vieira, op. cit. (note 10), p. 152. The Corrêas do Lago, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 11-12, suggest that she could be a mestiza or an Indian woman. The latter suggestion seems to me to be unlikely. Her clothes are clearly different from the long white shift worn by Eckhout's mestiza, similar to the shift in which Post depicts Indian women. I know of no indisputable representation of a mestiza by Post. The reclining man in the painting of Porto Calvo is placed between a European and the Indians. One might think for this reason that he is a mestizo, whereas his white clothes are reminiscent of those worn by Eckhout's mulatto. The question as to whether mestizos and mulattos distinguished themselves from one another in their dress in this period remains unanswered.
- 18 Parker, op. cit. (note 12), p. 151.
- 19 The variety of clothing worn by slaves is particularly evident in Wagner's picture of a negro slaves' dance. Parker, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 159, 161. Martins Teixeira, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 173, 177, 191, 193.
- 20 The grey, cloudy skies in the paintings from the Brazilian period, in contrast to the usually blue skies of later periods, can be seen as the pictorial pendants of Marcgraf's records of the days of rain in the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*. Post and Marcgraf wanted to make it clear that the traditional idea of the tropics as a torrid region should not be taken too literally. George Gordon, 'Frans Post: style and technique', in Corrêa do Lago, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 71-72. There are also cloudy skies in the prints.
- 21 The caption to the version of the map published by Huych Allart (1659) reads 'Schilt Wacht omt' Waerschouwen wanner d'Visschers met de Vis aen coomen'. (Whitehead and Boeseman, op. cit. (note 4), p. 158). This could mean that the sentry alerts the fishermen when he sees shoals of fish swimming up the river. Kent was convinced that this scene depicted the maroon community of Palmares in southern Pernambuco. (R.K. Kent, 'Palmares: an African State in Brazil', *Journal of African History* 6 (1965), p. 169.) This seems to me to be unlikely. No such custom is mentioned in Dutch texts about Palmares.
- 22 Eckhout and Wagner also associated smoking with negro slaves. Other ethnic groups in Brazil must certainly have smoked too, but they are not depicted as smokers. Smoking was a controversial question in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, New York 1987, pp. 196-214. It is not clear whether the Dutch artists in Brazil were alluding to this debate and whether they regarded smoking as a bad habit. It may be that they simply wanted to show that slaves had access to tobacco and were not as badly off as was thought.
- 23 Guilherme Piso, *Historia Natural e Medica da India Occidental*, ed. Rio de Janeiro 1957, pp. 265-66, where the three activities are also pictured.
- 24 Esterzilda Berenstein de Azevedo, *Arquitectura do Açúcar*, São Paulo 1990, pp. 103-32.
- 25 Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society. Bahia, 1550-1835*, Cambridge 1985, p. 120.
- 26 Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 57, 244-45. In 1665 Thomas Bolwerck debated the legitimacy of slavery in the Athenaeum Illustre. Van Miert, op. cit. (note 2), p. 281. We do not know whether it was also a subject of debate in Barlaeus's time.
- 27 A lengthier treatment of this in Ernst van den Boogaart, *Black Slavery and the Mulatto Escape Hatch in the Brazilian Ensembles of Frans Post and Albert Eckhout*, to be published in the Warburg Institute's colloquia series.
- 28 Georg Thomas, *Die portugiesische Indianerpolitik in Brasilien 1500-1640*, Berlin 1968.
- 29 José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, Recife 1978, pp. 199, 205-8.
- 30 Wagner, op. cit. (note 13), p. 220.

Pages 270-71,  
detail of fig. 5



