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CHAPTER 20

Creating the Visual Memory of Slavery in Dutch Brazil: Frans Post and Albert Eckhout Exhibited

Carolina Monteiro and Mariana Françozo

Of Frans Post's (1612–1680) 155 surviving oil paintings, more than 90 percent depict enslaved Africans and Afro-Brazilians in a traditional Brazilian landscape. His paintings can be found in museums and private collections worldwide, and their ubiquity and relative visibility have established their place as the most familiar visual records of Dutch slavery for audiences in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Nevertheless, none of the titles assigned to those artworks refer to the presence of enslaved individuals, and they are usually analyzed as depictions of the landscape of Dutch Brazil (1630–54).[1] Despite the insistence of scholars and experts in labeling Post's paintings as visual descriptions of geographic spaces (real or imagined), human figures are almost always present in his compositions. Likewise, notwithstanding the long list of botanical drawings and still lifes produced by Albert Eckhout (1610–1666), he also rendered a considerable number of portraits, studies, and drawings of Africans and Afro-Brazilians, yet they are usually examined from ethnographic and art-historical perspectives that disregard slavery as a complex system structuring Dutch Brazil's society. Both artists were in Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen's (1604–1679) scientific entourage during his governor-generalship of the Dutch colony in Brazil, a circle that also included notable names such as naturalist Georg Marcgraf (1610–1644) and physician Willem Piso (1611–1678). In the context of works produced by the extensive list of traveler-painters who "documented" colonial Brazil over the centuries, the oeuvres of Post and Eckhout symbolize some of the earliest and most emblematic representations of the territory, with Post's works fetching remarkable prices on the art market.[2]

1 Pedro Corrêa do Lago and Bia Corrêa do Lago, *Frans Post, 1612–1680: Catalogue Raisonné* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2007).

2 In a commercial context, colonial depictions by Post and Eckhout are in the same category as the works of Jean-Baptiste Debret (1768–1848) and Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858), among other traveler-artists who sojourned in Brazil. In 1997, Post's *View of Fredrikstad in Paraíba* (1638) was acquired by Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros from Sotheby's New York for US$4,512,500.

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As suggested by the iconography of the large body of works depicting Dutch Brazil—which also includes significant works that were not commissioned by Johan Maurits—slavery was an integral part of the colonial society, as it had been for almost a century before the arrival of the West India Company (WIC) in northeastern Brazil.[3] Every single person who lived in Dutch Brazil was faced with the emergence of a racialized society, built upon the labor and social use of enslaved Africans and their descendants. Black bodies were not exclusively laboring on isolated sugar plantations and mills in the hinterland. They were employed in all kinds of activities and played a fundamental role in systematizing the social hierarchy of Dutch Brazil. Moreover, the Dutch participation in the slave trade, initiated from Dutch Brazil, meant not only a constant supply of enslaved work for the Dutch Republic's colonial endeavors but marked the beginning of a business in and of itself for the Netherlands. Yet, this visual production, and especially the works of the two painters, has historically been defined by a European gaze and the expectations of their patron. These works, in turn, have functioned as both source and tool in the invention of Dutch Brazil as a progressive colonial endeavor, a practice sustained by academic and museological institutions.

In the past few decades, however, scholars like Rebecca Parker Brienen, Paulo Herkenhoff, and Pieter Mason have contributed immensely to discussions about enslaved subjects depicted by Post and Eckhout.[4] Nonetheless, the lack of a more substantial debate about Dutch Brazil as a slave society in historiographic terms has had a direct impact on the display of works and exhibitions set up throughout the twentieth century around the subject. Museologically, slavery in Dutch Brazil began to be critically acknowledged in the 2000s through the display of such works in broader thematic exhibitions, with a few questions raised in catalogues accompanying shows focusing on Frans Post and Johan Maurits. However, it was only in 2019 that a show

3 Other examples of the iconography of Dutch Brazil can be found in Zacharias Wagener, *O Thier Buch e a Autobiografia de Zacharias Wagener*, ed. Dante Martins Teixeira and Coleção Brasil Holandês (Rio de Janeiro: Index, 1997 [*c*.1640]); Caspar Schmalkalden, *Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien 1642–1652 …* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus Verlag, 1983); and Johan Nieuhof, *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense Zee* (Amsterdam: De Weduwe van Jacob van Meurs, 1682).

4 See Rebecca Parker Brienen, "Albert Eckhout's Paintings of the 'Wilde Natien' of Brazil and Africa," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 53, no. 1 (2002): 107–38; Rebecca Parker Brienen; *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Paulo Herkenhoff, "Portrait of the Black in the West Indies," in *Brazil and the Dutch 1630–1654*, ed. Paulo Herkenhoff (Rio de Janeiro: Sextante, 1999), 122–59.

dedicated to Johan Maurits at the Mauritshuis explicitly aimed to present a more comprehensive view of the German count, and therefore of Dutch Brazil.[5] This essay examines this trajectory of both neglect and awareness as it relates to the social assembly of a historical myth, in this case one encompassing the Dutch occupation in Brazil and the subject of slavery.

1 Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and the Mythification of Dutch Brazil

Perhaps the most successful case of self-promotion among all Brazilian colonial figures is that of Johan Maurits, who managed to create a positive image of himself as a ruler, humanist, patron of the arts, and "Brazilianist" that would linger in the social imaginary for centuries to come. His noble origins worked in his favor with members of Dutch Brazil's "sugarogracy,"[6] who were much more inclined to take orders from a nobleman to whom they referred as a "prince" than from "mere merchants."[7] However, much of Johan Maurits's self-branding success was due to eulogic publications about his government and the findings of his commissioned entourage in Brazil, as well as to the strategic diplomatic use of his *Brasiliana* collection, which included, among other items, works from Post and Eckhout.[8] The most influential work in shaping the image

5 The Mauritshuis was set up as a museum to host and display part of the royal collection of the Netherlands in 1822. Nonetheless, the colonial history of the building—erected by Johan Maurits during his stay in Brazil—permeates the institution's identity, attesting to the impossibility of dissociating the museum from its name giver.

6 Refers to a colonial aristocracy developed around the sugar system implemented mainly in the Americas with the use of enslaved labor.

7 Friar Manuel Calado, who lived in Brazil at the time, described the enthusiasm with which part of the Luso-Brazilian elite, inclined to nobiliarchic values, received the count of Nassau-Siegen. Frei Manuel Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno e Triunfo da Liberdade*, 4th ed., Coleção Pernambucana (Recife: Fundarpe, 1985 [1648]), 101. Interestingly, Johan Maurits was in fact made prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1652, eight years after having served in Brazil.

8 In 1647, Johan Maurits published a poetic account of his deeds written by his chaplain in Brazil, and one year later, he published the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, based on the Brazilian studies of Piso and Marcgraf. See Franciscus Plante, *Mauritiados libri XII hoc est …* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1647); Willem Piso and Georg Markgraf, *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae …* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1648). Upon his return to Europe, Johan Maurits gradually "gifted" his collection to prominent figures in exchange for money, titles, and prestige. See Mariana de Campos Françozo, *De Olinda a Holanda: O Gabinete de Curiosidades de Nassau* (Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2014), 202–27.

of Johan Maurits as an enlightened figure—and putting forward a fictionalized perception of Dutch Brazil—is undoubtedly Caspar Barlaeus's *Rerum per Octennium*. The volume became a fundamental tool in propagating the image of a "humanist prince in the tropics" who effectively governed the territory, notwithstanding the WIC's failure in securing Dutch Brazil, which was lost to Luso-Brazilian forces in 1654.[9] It introduced, still in the seventeenth century, the set of elements from which the image of the period would be fashioned, providing the foundation for the Dutch attitude towards slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. In the book, slavery is rarely concealed but often justified, mitigated, and naturalized as an unavoidable part of the civilizatory process, with adjustments being made along the way to fit the narrative of the ostensibly progressive ruler.[10]

The construction of what we call the myth of Dutch Brazil—mainly characterized by a systematic, biased interpretation of sources in an effort to reinforce this image of Johan Maurits as a "humanist prince"—has served multiple political stances, particularly in Brazil.[11] Indeed, the myth was created by and furthered a type of historiography interested in documenting the achievements of the count in Brazil, effectively working as a continuation of his self-marketing campaign. Likewise, it contributed to a positive interpretation of the Dutch colonial occupation in general. Slavery's formative role in Dutch Brazilian society is mostly suppressed in the academic debate, and when mentioned, it is often justified and naturalized to fit the fabricated narrative of the colony as a progressive territory. In his seminal work *Tempo dos Flamengos*, first published in 1947, José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello examined

9 Charles Boxer, whose narrative draws greatly from Barlaeus's work, coined the term "humanist prince" in reference to Johan Maurits. See Charles Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624–1654* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1973), 112–59, and Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia …* (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1647).

10 As an example, Barlaeus deliberately increased the number of enslaved Africans transported to Brazil during Johan Maurits's tenure to reduce the mortality rate in the Middle Passage. Instead of 1,500 casualties out of 6,468 people transported, the text reads 1,500 casualties out of 64,000 people transported. This additional zero reduced the astonishing death rate of 24 percent to 2.4 percent. See Benjamin Teensma, "Review: Caspar van Baerle, *The History of Brazil under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636–1644*," *Dutch Crossing* 41, no. 1 (2017): 94–97.

11 In *Rubro Veio*, Evaldo Cabral de Mello investigated how Dutch Brazil and its actors were defended, criticized, and exploited within Brazilian historiography until the beginning of the twentieth century, while in a recent essay, Joan-Pau Rubiés has explored the topic from a contemporary perspective. See Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Rubro Veio: O Imaginário da Restauração Pernambucana*, 3rd ed. (São Paulo: Alameda, 2008); Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Epilogue: Mythologies of Dutch Brazil," in *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil*, ed. Michiel van Groesen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 284–318.

the seventeenth-century Dutch attitude towards the enslaved in the occupied Brazilian territory, stating that the Dutch "showed interest in their fate" and evinced a "humane attitude towards their Black slaves."[12] This passage exemplifies the idealized discourse that propagated the myth of Dutch Brazil and its colonial system.

While various studies extolling the figure of Johan Maurits and his government emerged in different fields of knowledge throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the research on slavery in Dutch Brazil remained scant, consisting mainly of a handful of articles and a single volume published in 1999 by historian Pedro Puntoni that provided limited insight on the subject because it was entirely based on the analysis of well-known published sources.[13] This scarcity is remarkable, given that it was through its Brazilian administration that the United Provinces officially entered the transatlantic slave trade, and it was under Johan Maurits's orders that WIC officials seized significant locations in the African continent, such as Elmina in 1637 and São Tomé and Luanda in 1641. Moreover, Johan Maurits's involvement in the smuggling of enslaved Africans to Dutch Brazil raised concerns even among his own contemporaries, but it was only properly addressed by researchers a few years ago.[14] So far, despite the enormous quantity of surviving documentation from this period, scholars have only shown interest in the topic when it relates to broader research about the Dutch participation in the slave trade and the republic's early trade to Brazil.[15]

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12 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations, including this one, are our own. See José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos: Influência da Ocupação Holandesa na Vida e na Cultura do Norte do Brasil*, 5th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2007), 195, 197.

13 See Ernst van den Boogaart, "Morrer e Viver em Fernando de Noronha 1630–1654," in *Viver e Morrer no Brasil Holandês*, ed. Marcos Galindo (Recife: Massangana, 2005), 19–46; José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, "A Situação do Negro sob o Domínio Hollandez," in *Novos Estudos Afro-Brasileiros*, ed. Gilberto Freyre (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937), 201–21; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Johann Moritz und der Sklavenhandel," in *Sein Feld war die Welt, Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679): von Siegen über die Niederlanden und Brasilien nach Brandenburg*, ed. Gerhard Brunn and Cornelius Neutsch (Münster: Waxman, 2008), 123–44; Carolina Monteiro and Erik Odegard, "Slavery at the Court of the 'Humanist Prince': Reexamining Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and His Role in Slavery, Slave Trade and Slave-smuggling in Dutch Brazil," *Journal of Early American History* 10, no. 1 (2020): 3–32; Pedro Puntoni, *À Mísera Sorte, A Escravidão Africana no Brasil Holandês e as Guerras do Tráfico no Atlântico Sul, 1621–1648* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1999).

14 Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, 234–36; Monteiro and Odegard, "Slavery at the Court," passim.

15 On the Dutch participation in the transatlantic slave trade, see, among others, Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Klaas Ratelband, *Nederlanders in West-Afrika, 1600–1650: Angola,*

When considered in the field of art history, slavery in Dutch Brazil is acknowledged as a common if tacit trait of artworks, with most studies focusing on the one hand, on the landscapes, natural history, and documentary aspect of artworks, and on the other, the exaggerated exoticism and the otherness of its figures, or the materiality of pigments and supports that were obtained through maritime trade.

2 Nationalist Critique and the Enlightened "Brazilian" Prince

The first institutional exhibition focusing on Dutch Brazil was a bibliographic one. In 1938, the National Library in Rio de Janeiro set up a show entitled *Exposição Nassoviana* displaying hundreds of documents, prints, maps, and volumes from their own collection, including seventeenth-century publications and letters exchanged by Johan Maurits and Portuguese officials.[16] The show was one of the few projects to be realized from a series of envisioned celebratory activities in honor of the third centenary of Johan Maurits's arrival in Brazil. The announcement of the planned commemorations provoked strong criticism and debate from a group of Brazilian intellectuals and members of the elite, inciting a backlash against Dutch Brazil—and the figure of Johan Maurits—that received extensive coverage from local and national newspapers.

First proposed by Carlos de Lima Cavalcanti, governor of Pernambuco in 1936, the celebrations were promoted during a troubled political period in Brazil that saw the emergence of the totalitarian regime of Getúlio Vargas in 1930 and the installation of a de facto dictatorship, the "Estado Novo" regime, in 1937. With the support of influential thinkers such as Pedro Calmon, Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, and Gilberto Freyre, the preliminary program of the festivities

Kongo, São Tomé (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000); Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and the Portuguese in West Africa: Empires, Merchants and the Atlantic System, 1580–1674* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Ernst van den Boogaart and Pieter C. Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 33–64. On the early trade to Brazil, including Dutch Brazil, see Hermann Wätjen, "Der Negerhandel in West-Indien und Süd-Amerika bis zur Sklavenemanzipitation," *Hänsische Geschichtsblätter* 19 (1913): 417–43; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, Séculos XVI e XVII*, 9th ed. (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz, 2016).

16 Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, "Catálogo da Exposição Nassoviana," in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 51 (Rio de Janeiro: M. E. S. Serviço Gráfico, 1938), 9–134.

included, besides the National Library's bibliographic exhibition, translations of primary and secondary sources, new publications, the printing of commemorative stamps, a writing contest, academic conferences, and the reproduction of artworks housed in European institutions.[17] Far from being unanimously accepted, the initiative was heavily criticized by the ultra-conservative newspapers *Fronteiras*, led by Manoel Lubambo, and *A Cidade*, directed by Andrade Lima Filho in Recife. The latter was nothing other than a publication by the proto-fascist Brazilian movement known as Ação Integralista, which received substantive social support throughout the decades of the 1930s and 1940s. The shared nationalistic tenor of the publications set the tone for a campaign contesting the "legitimacy in celebrating the arrival of an invader,"[18] labeling the festivities a "glorification of the bagman prince," one "who worked for a company of pirates,"[19] and culminated in Lubambo's essay *Contra Nassau* (1936).[20]

In 1937, Vargas deposed Cavalcanti as governor of Pernambuco. The end of Cavalcanti's tenure, together with the heavy criticism published by Lubambo in his *integralist* paper, might have compromised the great celebration dedicated to Johan Maurits's arrival, but the supporters of the *Nassovian* cause nonetheless put in motion some of the individual projects initially envisioned. Still in 1937, Ambassador Joaquim de Sousa-Leão published a biography of Frans Post in Rio de Janeiro. The "*Nassovian* Exhibition" was realized one year later, in 1938, in conjunction with the translation and publication in São Paulo of Hermann Wätjen's *Das höllandische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*. The Portuguese version of Pieter Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil* appeared in 1942. The first Brazilian editions of Barlaeus's *Rerum per Octennium* and Marcgraf's chapters of the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* were published in 1940 and 1942, respectively. Also, in 1942, after the Fine Arts Museum in Rio de Janeiro (MNBA) acquired six works by Post, the museum set up the first exhibition on Brazilian soil exclusively dedicated to the painter.[21]

Justifications for celebrating an exogenous governor after such heavy criticism came at the cost of a conveniently biased interpretation of the past. For

17 Gilberto Osório de Andrade, "Nassau, Quarenta Anos Depois," *Ciência & Trópico* 8, no. 2 (1980): 163–65.

18 Osório de Andrade, "Nassau, Quarenta Anos Depois," 171.

19 Osório de Andrade, "Nassau, Quarenta Anos Depois," 176.

20 Literally "Against Nassau." Manoel Lubambo, *Contra Nassau* (Recife: Tradição Editou, 1936).

21 In addition, a volume on Albert Eckhout was published in Copenhagen around the same time: Thomas Thomsen, *Albert Eckhout. Ein niederländischer Maler und sein Gönner Moritz der Brasilianer: Ein Kulturbild aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Copenhagen: Levin og Munksgaard, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1938).

example, as historian Daniel Vieira observed in Post's biography, Sousa-Leão deemphasized the relationship between the artworks and the figure of Johan Maurits and aimed to detach the count's actions from those of the WIC. In divorcing Post's oeuvre from its historical context, Sousa-Leão shaped his own work to appease the most nationalistic of readers. While shifting the focus of Post's production from Dutch Brazil and his patron to the pictorial elements of his compositions, the author interpreted the paintings as realistic landscapes, positioning the period's iconography outside the realm of colonial art.[22]

Cabral de Mello has noted that, despite Lubambo's sectarianism, he was one of the first "to point out some of the fictitious ideas behind the constructed *Nassovian* eulogy."[23] A thorough analysis of Johan Maurits's established "virtues" would only be published by Mario Neme in 1971 and subsequently in new studies on the topic after the 2000s.[24] Thus, it is noteworthy that Lubambo, in his 1936 essay, challenges the idea within Brazilian historiography that Johan Maurits embodied some sort of anti-slavery sentiment. Arguing against this trend, Lubambo recalls the count's conquests in Africa and his efforts to formally include the Dutch Republic in the transatlantic slave trade, as well as his efforts to facilitate the purchase and the re-enslavement of hundreds of people who fled during the Dutch wars of occupation.[25] Unintentionally, Lubambo

22 This realistic interpretation was first suggested by Alexander von Humboldt in the second volume of his *Cosmos*: Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E. C. Otte (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), 2: 449–55. Daniel de Souza Leão Vieira, "'Imagens Fiéis da Terra': Paisagem e Regionalismo na Recepção às Obras de Frans Post pela Cultura Visual de Pernambuco, 1925–1937," *Domínios da Imagem* 2, no. 4 (2009): 24.

23 Lubambo poses four fundamental questions to criticize the commemorations, one of them concerning "the virtues of Nassau." Lubambo, *Contra Nassau*, 1; Cabral de Mello, *Rubro Veio*, 347.

24 Mário Neme, *Fórmulas Políticas no Brasil Holandês* (São Paulo: Difusão Europeia do Livro, EDUSP, 1971). Other examples of critical studies on the figure of Johan Maurits include: Rômulo Luiz Xavier do Nascimento, "O Desconforto da Governabilidade: Aspectos da Administração no Brasil Holandês (1630–1644)" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2008); Françozo, *De Olinda a Holanda*; Erik Odegard, "Colonial Careers: Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, Rijckloff Volckertsz. van Goens and Career-Making in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Empire" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2018); Susie Protschky, "Between Corporate and Familial Responsibility: Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and Masculine Governance in Europe and the Dutch Colonial World," in *Governing Masculinities: Regulating Selves and Others in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 108–20; Arthur Weststeijn, "Machiavelli in Dutch Colonial Ideology: Caspar Barlaeus, Johan Maurits of Nassau and the Imperial Prince," *Storia del Pensiero Politico* 2 (2017): 1–20.

25 Lubambo, *Contra Nassau*, 14–16.

ends up presenting a broader social critique in his analysis of the idealized figure of Johan Maurits.

However, it was precisely because of the sectarian views of Lubambo and the other critics that the positive image of Johan Maurits was rapidly rehabilitated after the imbroglio surrounding the commemorations of the 1930s. With Vargas's suicide in 1945 and the fall of the fascist regimes, criticism towards Dutch Brazil stemming from ultra-conservative viewpoints soon fell into oblivion. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, in addition to a stronger and renewed version of Johan Maurits as a "humanist prince," the construction of the myth of Dutch Brazil gained another idyllic feature, now sustained by its "realistic" iconographic legacy. The history of slavery was consciously suppressed to fit the discourse of Johan Maurits as an enlightened ruler.

This constructed allegory of the period inevitably extended to the museological field as those researching Dutch Brazil were also involved in setting up exhibitions, like Sousa-Leão, Gilberto Freyre, and Frans Post's latest biographers, Bia and Pedro Corrêa do Lago. Their intellectual production provided the theoretical basis for constructing these shows' narratives. In general, both the museo*graphy* and the curatorial narrative around the display of works related to Dutch Brazil have walked alongside its socially and politically located academic production over the years. Thus, it is not accidental that new museological approaches came to light after the emergence of new research, especially after the 2000s, amid postcolonial debates and minority activism.

Since that first 1937 exhibition, at least twenty-nine exhibitions in seven different countries have been set up that focused on Dutch Brazil and its figures.[26] Johan Maurits appears as the main topic in seven of these shows, followed by the figures of Frans Post, Albert Eckhout, Georg Marcgraf, and Christoffel Arciszewski. Besides these personalities, themes covered vary between different aspects of natural history and the historical context of the period, from colonial Brazil to European expansion, including features of the Dutch administration, warfare, and politics (see Table 20.1 below).

Despite this multiplicity of topics, two conceptual frameworks run through most of the exhibitions as common elements of discourse: Johan Maurits's enlightened governor-generalship and Dutch Brazil's exoticism. The count's ubiquity in different museological projects can be perceived as a positivist determinant dictating the tone of the exhibitions. In shows dedicated to other figures, such as Eckhout and Post, Johan Maurits is presented as the benevolent

26 This number does not include several shows that displayed works about Dutch Brazil as part of broader exhibition themes.

patron who stimulated the arts and sciences in the "New World." In exhibitions with a generalized approach to Dutch history, he takes the central role, not only as the benefactor of the arts but also as a man understood to be ahead of his time. Another common aspect of Dutch Brazil's museological narratives, particularly those focusing on natural history, is the appeal to the exotic—that is, the botanical and zoological elements in Post's and Eckhout's compositions that are understood as wondrous and exogenous to Eurocentric perspectives.

Despite the interest expressed by the Germans and Dutch in displaying artworks from the period, most temporary exhibitions on the subject took place, unsurprisingly, in Brazil. And a great number of these shows, as with the exhibitions of 1938 and 1942, were commemorative. The anniversaries of Johan Maurits's arrival in Recife, as well as his birth and death, have served as commemorative dates for museological productions. On the occasion of the third centenary of his death, in 1979, dedicated exhibitions were set up in The Hague and Kleve. The special volume *A Humanist Prince in Brazil*, edited on the occasion of the 1979 exhibition at the Mauritshuis, illustrates how, by that date, questioning Johan Maurits's "achievements" was yet uncommon. Exhibitions celebrating the fourth centenary of his birth in 2004 also took place in São Paulo, The Hague, and Siegen. Even though research in fields such as natural history, architecture, and Indigenous history refutes this notion, the viewpoint of the Dutch occupation as a great moment in Brazilian history—led by the tolerant and enlightened Johan Maurits—seems to steer the pen of many authors. In an essay in the special work published in 1979, Gilberto Freyre declares that Johan Maurits disagreed "with both economic exploitation and Calvinist intolerance" and that "his position was so singular that he came to favor the oppressed against the oppressor."[27] In the foreword of the same volume, the Mauritshuis's director, Hans Hoetink, and historian Ernst van den Boogaart claim Johan Maurits's "role as a patron and his policy of toleration made him one of the architects of Brazilian culture."[28]

27 Gilberto Freyre, "Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen from a Brazilian Viewpoint," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil: Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of His Death*, ed. E. van den Boogaart, Hans Hoetink, and Peter James Palmer Whitehead (Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting: Mauritshuis, 1979), 237, 244.

28 Hans Hoetink and Ernst van den Boogaart, "Foreword," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil: Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of His Death*, ed. E. van den Boogaart, Hans Hoetink, and Peter James Palmer Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 5.

3 Post and Eckhout: Otherness of the Exotic

Besides the one-sided view on Johan Maurits, other singularities can be perceived among the exhibitions on Dutch Brazil, especially touring shows and exhibitions featuring new research. Several of them were touring exhibitions, or *reassemblages*,[29] as was the case with *Maurits de Brasiliaan* and *Os Pintores de Maurício de Nassau*. The catalogue for the latter indicates that this show was based on a project assembled fifteen years earlier, at the Mauritshuis in 1953. The set-up in Brazil, delayed due to diplomatic disagreements regarding loans, materialized in 1968 through the efforts of Sousa-Leão.[30] Other traveling shows include 1979 presentations in Germany and the Netherlands, the 1990 exhibitions dedicated to Frans Post in Switzerland and Germany, "Albert Eckhout's tour" in Brazil between 2002 and 2003, and the latest shows, based on Post's recently discovered drawings, in the Netherlands and Ireland, in 2016 and 2018, respectively.

Exhibitions were also formulated to showcase new research and acquisitions, especially regarding the oeuvre of Frans Post. Following the MNBA show of 1942, the exhibition set up by the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP) in 1973 displayed Post's works from the museum's collection alongside external loans. Likewise, Ricardo Brennand's 2003 exhibition showcased the institution's recently acquired collection of (at the time) fifteen pieces by the artist, while the exhibitions at the Louvre in 2005 and Haus der Kunst in 2006 preceded the publication of the artist's first catalogue raisonné.[31] In 2015, historian Alexander de Bruin located thirty-four animal drawings by Frans Post in the Noord-Hollands Archief, leading to the exhibitions *Frans Post: Animals in Brazil*, at the Rijksmuseum, and *Curious Creatures*, at the National Gallery of Ireland. In order to explore the "exotic nature" of the animals depicted by Post, both exhibitions recounted, with paintings displayed alongside taxidermized animals, the period's shifting of gaze from the landscape to the fauna of Dutch Brazil. Human figures were once again suppressed from the narrative.

Most exhibitions focusing on Frans Post share a general narrative of silence regarding slavery. Just like it was inconceivable to dwell on the topic when

29 This term refers to exhibitions developed from past shows in which the museological content is revised, yet not necessarily reinterpreted. It derives from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of assemblage.

30 Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro, *Os Pintores de Maurício de Nassau*, exh. cat. (Rio de Janeiro: Museu de Arte Moderna, 1968), 10.

31 The Ricardo Brennand Institute houses today the largest collection of Post's paintings in the world, with a total of twenty-two artworks. Corrêa do Lago and Corrêa do Lago, *Frans Post*.

describing the golden years of an enlightened prince like Johan Maurits, it made no sense to highlight the romanticization of a practice naturalized by Post himself. Moreover, if slavery is perceived at all, the subject is seemingly made familiar, justifiable even, as part of Maurits's supposedly magnanimous legacy. Time and again, the painter's society escapes critique, unscathed by its dependence on slavery. Post's Black figures are consciously stripped of the violence intrinsic to Dutch Brazil that was perpetrated against them to frame slavery as a necessary and ultimately humane act. The work at a sugar cane boiling house was so exhausting that many perished so that it could function. Nourishment was always scarce. Persons were forced to work for extremely long hours and were still loaned to other enslavers. Physical and psychological abuse was normalized, yet it is seldom present in Post's canvases, which normally present energetic, healthy bodies at work or play. And just as Post's canvases disguise or omit the violence of slavery, exhibitions of his work tend to avoid the topic. Thus, "convenient slavery," as we define it in regard to Post's depictions, becomes a museological and academic phenomenon in which slavery can be either acknowledged and normalized or completely disregarded, depending on institutional aims.

Nonetheless, straightforward criticism does surface in museum-published sources in the early 2000s. In an article published on the occasion of the 2004 exhibition *Aufbruch in Neuen Welten* (Departure into New Worlds), Tanja Michalsky examined Post's sanitized image of the daily work in a sugar mill, which he depicted as functional and orderly, and therefore distorted from reality.[32] Some years earlier, in a general exhibition about Brazil, Brienen noticed that "Post's works are often celebrated for their documentary value, and yet even those made in Brazil are highly selective in what they offer the viewer. The sugar mills are productive, and the life of the slaves is presented as carefree and untroubled."[33] In Munich in 2006, León Krempel curated one of the first exhibitions centered on the figure of Frans Post that questioned the perceived ambivalence of his artworks. The show examined Post's constructed realism, whereby he interpreted the landscapes as "lost paradises," invented and longed for by the painter himself. In describing the painting *View of Mauritsstad and Recife* (1653), the curator affirms that:

32 Tanja Michalsky, "Die kulturelle Eroberung der Fremde. Frans Posts Bilder der niederländischen Kolonie in Brasilien," in *Aufbruch in Neuen Welten*, exh. cat. (Siegen: Der Johann Moritz Gesellschaft, 2004), 106.

33 Rebecca Parker Brienen, "Albert Eckhout and Frans Post: Two Dutch Artists in Colonial Brazil," in *Brazil, Body and Soul*, exh. cat. (New York: Guggenheim, 2001), 68.

> Post is, of course, idealizing the circumstances. Living conditions were hardly pleasant. Disease, hunger, and raids were part of everyday life. Furthermore, under the governorship of Johan Maurits too, an entire group of the population enjoyed no rights whatsoever. This was the workforce of black slaves on which plantation economy was dependent.[34]

Krempel's critical analysis raises another question regarding the artist's idealized compositions, namely what Post decides to omit and how that impacts one's understanding of slavery in the period.

In the case of exhibitions centered on Albert Eckhout and his oeuvre, scholars have long been debating the ethnographic nature of his emblematic series of eight figures, and by extension, the condition of the enslaved.[35] Nonetheless, these debates are almost always centered on the figures, their origins, and elements in the composition underlying the ethnographic nature of his depictions. From the prevailing view that the series is composed of four male-female pairs, to Ernst van den Boogaart's suggestion of a hierarchy among the various human subjects depicted, these characters are rarely inserted in the society they were actually part of.[36] This interpretative framework, for example, can be perceived in Peter Mason's analysis of the mixed race "pair" in the catalogue accompanying the 2002 Eckhout exhibition (Figs. 20.1 and 20.2). Mason questions the ethnographic nature of the portraits based on the various accoutrements depicted alongside the human figures. He believes it would not be possible for a *mestiço* to carry a rifle in Dutch Brazil, and it was unlikely for a *mameluca* to be wearing such refined jewels.[37] However, as attested by Eckhout's contemporary, Zacharias Wagener and the archival documentation of the period, there are scenarios in which a *mestiço*, or man of mixed race, indeed owned such a weapon. Enslaved persons of mixed descent in Dutch Brazil were automatically subjected to slavery unless their freedom was

34 León Krempel, "View of Mauritsstad and Recife (1653)," in *Frans Post: Painter of Paradise Lost*, exh. cat. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2006), 134.

35 This series of paintings is composed of eight canvases of impressive dimensions attributed to Albert Eckhout and today housed in the Nationalmuseet, in Copenhagen. They allegedly depict two Indigenous women and two Indigenous men, a mixed race man and a mixed race woman, and a Black man and a Black woman.

36 Ernst van den Boogaart, "Infernal Allies: The Dutch West India Company and the Tarairiu, 1631–1654," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil: Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of His Death*, ed. E. van den Boogaart, Hans Hoetink, and Peter James Palmer Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979), 534.

37 Peter Mason, "Eight Great Pictures with East and West Indian Persons: Albert Eckhout's Marvelous Montage," in *Albert Eckhout Returns to Brazil, 1644–2002*, exh. cat. (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2002), 150.

FIGURE 20.1 Albert Eckhout, *"Mulatto" Man*, *c.*1643. Oil on canvas, 108 × 67 in. (274 × 170 cm). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (N.38.a5)

FIGURE 20.2 Albert Eckhout, *Mameluca*, 1641. Oil on canvas, 106 × 67 in. (271 × 170 cm). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (N.38.a6)

FIGURE 20.3 Zacharias Wagener, *Molher Negra*, *c.*1641. Watercolor on paper, 8.3 × 13 in. (21.2 × 33.5 cm). Thierbuch, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Dresden (Ca 226a M. (a) 7a, fol. 98)

purchased (usually by their European fathers). Most of those freed were boys, who would find service in the military, in the mills as factors, and as *capitães do mato* hunting runaway slaves.[38] Rifles were the most common weapons used in all these positions.[39]

Likewise, the use of jewelry by women of mixed descent and domestic slaves was equally reported by seventeenth-century chroniclers.[40] Mason states all elements introduced by Eckhout were mise-en-scène artifacts that the painter "combined with people to whom they did not belong to produce compositions that would look convincing."[41] Yet, primary sources not only indicate how common it was for enslaved women working in Brazilian households and forced to sell goods in open markets to wear adornments, but also how weapons were granted to *mestiços* for various reasons. Albert Eckhout undeniably used foreign elements to enhance the exoticism of his compositions, but these were not necessarily objects unfamiliar to his figures. This assumption stems from a unilateral assessment that disregards the society Eckhout and his subjects were inserted in.

38 Wagener, *O Thier Buch*, 180–81.

39 National Archives of The Netherlands, The Hague (hereafter NL-HaNA), 1.05.01.01, inventory 68, Dagelijkse Notulen, April 20, 1639.

40 Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, 112.

41 Mason, "Eight Great Pictures," 150.

4 Slavery and the Curatorial Turn

An exhibition focusing exclusively on slavery in Dutch Brazil is yet to be assembled, and it was only in 2018 that a museum exhibition for the first time took artworks produced in and about Dutch Brazil to compose a show focused on Afro-Brazilian narratives. The African figures of Eckhout, together with a portrait of Dom Miguel de Castro,[42] a tapestry, and a work by Post from the permanent collection of the MASP, were exhibited as part of the four hundred works of the exhibition *Histórias Afro-Atlânticas*, in order to "create parallels, frictions and dialogues around the visual cultures of Afro-Atlantic territories."[43]

In the labels, Castro's portrait is examined in relation to the subject's occupation as a free African whose Dutch clothing denotes his Europeanized representation and social position. The labels for Eckhout's *African Man* and *African Woman* (see figures 23.1 and 23.2) share a brief description of the artist and his romanticized view of slavery. The man's portrait is understood as referring to his virility, working in concert with the African elements adorning the composition; the woman's accessories hail from Brazil, Europe, and Africa. Her enslaved condition is questioned, yet her portrait is compared with Wagener's depiction of an enslaved woman whose chest is branded with the monogram of Johan Maurits (figs. 20.3 and 23.1).[44]

A more critical perspective of the works is proposed by curator Hélio Menezes and artist Jaime Lauriano in a related podcast released by the museum. In the podcast's episodes, Menezes studies three of the five paintings by Post in the museum's collection, while Lauriano discusses the representations of Dutch Brazil in two tapestries. Both authors emphasize the systemic naturalization of slavery in the works of the period, highlighting how the oppressive nature of slave society is consciously concealed to serve European tastes.[45] The exhibition confronted the works of Eckhout and Post with the reality in which the artists were inserted. However, the label for the painting, affixed next to it upon its return to permanent display, recovers the idyllic narrative of the exotic, the enslaved subjects being mentioned as common

42 Dom Miguel de Castro's portrait was probably painted in the United Provinces, where he was sent as an envoy by the Count of Sonho in 1643, after visiting Dutch Brazil. The painting's current attribution to Jaspar Becx is disputed.

43 "Afro-Atlantic Histories," MASP, https://masp.org.br/en/exhibitions/afro-atlantic-histories.

44 Adriano Pedrosa and Tomás Toledo, eds., *Histórias Afro-Atlânticas*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: MASP, Instituto Tomie Ohtake, 2018), 1: 244–45.

45 "MASP Áudios: Histórias Afro-Atlânticas," Soundcloud, April 4, 2018, https://soundcloud.com/maspmuseu/sets/historias-afro-atlanticas.

FIGURE 20.4 Label for Frans Post's *Landscape with Anteater* (*c.*1660), on permanent display at the Museu de Arte de São Paulo, 2021
PHOTO: LIVIA JULIÃO

compositional elements (Fig. 20.4). Frans Post's critical interpretation is therefore restricted to those who were able to experience the temporary show in loco and access the audio files.

In the same year, Dutch Brazil was in the spotlight in the Netherlands, after the Mauritshuis had a replica of Johan Maurits's bust removed from its foyer. The removal led to public discussion that soon progressed into a polarized debate. On the one hand, the institution was accused of whitewashing history, and on the other, of trying to rewrite it. The episode motivated the museum to reflect on its colonial legacy by developing an exhibition in 2019 that included different voices on the subject and presented a more comprehensive

FIGURE 20.5 Frans Post, *Sugar Mill Driven by Oxen*, 1640. Pen and brush on paper, 9 × 12 in. (22.5 × 31 cm). Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam (46440)

perspective about the figure of Johan Maurits and his role in the transatlantic slave trade. Entitled *Shifting Image: In Search of Johan Maurits*, the exhibition became symbolic of a broader effort to rethink the myth of Dutch Brazil and present the subject of slavery within the context of the period's historiography and museology.

For the first time, the subject of slavery was presented in the context of the construction of the Mauritshuis itself, with an art installation representing the museum as a "sugar palace."[46] Works from the museum's collection were displayed alongside Frans Post's *View of Itamaracá Island in Brazil* (1637) and his *Brazilian Landscape with a House under Construction* (*c*.1655–60). Post's figures are finally seen as an integral part of the visual and historiographic composition in a show exclusively focusing on Dutch Brazil and the complex manner in which slavery permeated the whole societal structure of the colony. The exhibition explored not only new perspectives on such artworks but also how

46 During its construction, the Mauritshuis was nicknamed "the sugar palace" by the population, an allusion to Johan Maurits's proceeds from the sugar produced in Brazil through slave labor. See the letter from Johan Maurits to Constantijn Huygens, 1641, on long-term loan from the Friends of the Mauritshuis Foundation (inv. 1130).

the historiography of the period reinforced Dutch exceptionalism regarding the republic's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. Rembrandt's iconic Black figures from *Two African Men* (1661) (see fig. 25.6) served to illustrate recent research that located in the heart of seventeenth-century Amsterdam a "community" of African immigrants, many possibly coming from Dutch Brazil, in the same area Rembrandt's atelier was situated.[47]

As part of the renewed Dutch interest in its colonial past and the public debates surrounding it, the exhibition *Black in Rembrandt's Time*, set up by the Rembrandthuis in 2020, explored further the painter's connections with the Black community established in the area of his atelier in the mid-1600s. For the show, artworks and objects illustrated the political relevance of Dutch Brazil to the topic by telling the stories of some people living in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Among the works displayed was the aforementioned portrait of Dom Miguel de Castro, this time accompanied by the portraits of his attendants, Pedro Sunda and Diego Bemba. Also included were maps and documents about Dutch Brazil. Post's and Eckhout's works were not on display but were present in the exhibition's catalogue, where the painters' romanticized view of slavery and taste for the exotic is acknowledged.[48] The show focused on the representation of Black people, but it also raised new questions regarding the presence of Africans and Afro-descendants in the Netherlands since the seventeenth century. The context of Dutch Brazil is therefore geopolitically situated, as the main focus of the exhibition is, in fact, the Black subjects depicted in artworks and their life trajectories.

Slavery, the long-awaited Rijksmuseum show, opened to the public in 2021 after a considerable delay due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In attempting to display a comprehensive narrative of the Dutch involvement in the trade in humans in the early modern era, the museum focused on the stories of ten people whose lives intersected with slavery in the Atlantic, the Netherlands,

47 Historians Dienke Hondius and Mark Ponte have been exploring seventeenth-century documentation from the Amsterdam City Archives and were able to locate a small community living around Jodebreestraat in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of these immigrants arrived from Dutch Brazil during or after the wars. Dienke Hondius, "Black Africans in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 85–103; Mark Ponte, "'Al de Swarten die Hier ter Stede Comen.' Een Afro-Atlantische Gemeenschap in Zeventiende-Eeuws Amsterdam," *TSEG/The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15, no. 4 (2018): 33–62.

48 Elmer Kolfin, "Black in the Art of Rembrandt's Time," in *Black in Rembrandt's Time*, ed. Elmer Kolfin and Epco Runia, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rembranthuis, 2020), 19; Stephanie Archangel, "As If They Were Mere Beasts," in *Black in Rembrandt's Time*, ed. Elmer Kolfin and Epco Runia, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rembrandthuis, 2020), 75.

and Asia. Dutch Brazil invariably figures as an important section of the exhibition, with both João Mina, an enslaved man, and Oopjen Coppit, wife to the heir of a sugar refinery fortune, reflecting the Dutch occupation of Brazil. João is introduced to the public through the manuscript of an interrogation he was subjected to in Recife, amid the wars of liberation.[49] This marked the first time that documentary accounts of the life of an enslaved African in Dutch Brazil were exhibited in a museum. Besides his interrogation paper, the room exhibited, among other items, an impressive *tronco*,[50] a painting of Johan Maurits, a large map of Dutch Brazil, and a small drawing of an ox-driven sugar mill by Frans Post.

The Rijksmuseum currently houses seven paintings by Post, but none of them was part of the *Slavery* exhibition. Interestingly, the institution chose to display the Atlas van Stolk's small drawing by Post depicting a sugar mill with enslaved laborers (Fig. 20.5). Perhaps the subject depicted might have been the deciding factor in this case, as none of the paintings in the museum show such scenes. However, since ox-driven sugar mills were not so common in Dutch Brazil, this drawing is an exception among Frans Post's oeuvre. Whatever the reason for the museum's decision to exclude Post's paintings from the exhibition, it exposes the elasticity through which the decades of research positioning Post's works as landscapes of the exotic continue to allow such artworks and its Black characters to be overlooked when deemed necessary.

Conversely, the Scheepvaartmuseum, also located in Amsterdam, decided to use the Frans Post works in its collection specifically to disclose the museum's view on colonialism and slavery. As a maritime museum, the institution has been discussing the transatlantic trade in humans for at least twenty years, having organized one of the first exhibitions on the topic in the country, *Slaven en Schepen* (2001). In this case, slavery and the enslaved in Post's *Brazilian Landscape* (*c*.1650) are not only acknowledged, but the work is positioned to represent the subject within the institution itself.[51] The difference between the two exhibitions relates to our concept of "convenient slavery": the enslavement of human beings underlying Post's paintings can be addressed or ignored, depending on institutional aims.

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49 NL-HaNA, 1.05.01.01, inventory 62, document 61. Cited in Eveline Sint Nicolaas et al., eds., *Slavery: The Story of João, Wally, Oopjen, Paulus, van Bengalen, Surapati, Sapali, Tula, Dirk, Lohkay*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2021), 68.

50 A *tronco* is an object used to restrain the mobility of the enslaved. Also known as foot stocks.

51 "History of Slavery and the National Maritime Museum: Frequently Asked Questions," Het Scheepvaart National Maritime Museum, https:/www.hetscheepvaartmuseum.com/about-us/history-of-slavery-and-the-national-maritime-museum.

5 Conclusion

Slavery was pervasive in the early modern Atlantic. It was the basis of the sugar industry in Brazil—in motion for at least a century before the arrival of the Dutch—and was also the foundation of Dutch colonialism in the Caribbean after the loss of Dutch Brazil. Therefore, it needs to be acknowledged as an integral part of the society established in Pernambuco under the Dutch occupation. Whether or not Eckhout's African figures were enslaved, the enslaved Black population was a massive part of Brazilian society during the painter's stay in the colony, and his patron, Johan Maurits, himself purchased, smuggled, and owned enslaved Africans.[52] Likewise, Frans Post's miniaturized and generic Black figures might not have been based upon real figures, but they attest to the presence of the enslaved in the territory, as well as to the different activities they performed. The painter's conscious choice to exalt happy and festive scenes cannot be ignored, for it clearly romanticizes hierarchies and points out the painter's political choices.

Museums need to contextualize their colonial works within the pervasive social system formulated around slavery. In regard to Dutch Brazil, more interdisciplinary research is needed based on archival sources, comparative studies, legislation, and the private lives of the enslaved. The iconography of the period needs to be assessed more critically, not only in temporary shows, but also in relation to institutions' permanent collection and display. What Frans Post and Albert Eckhout experienced in Brazil, a hierarchical societal structure constructed upon a Eurocentric perspective of the world, should be the starting point of discussion and not simply the "exotic" animals and scenery they encountered under the patronage of an "enlightened prince."

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52 Monteiro and Odegard, "Slavery at the Court," passim.

TABLE 20.1 Dutch Brazil-themed temporary exhibitions

Year	Exhibition	Institution / Location	City	Country	Curatorial subject
1938	*Exposição Nassoviana*	Biblioteca Nacional	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
1942	*Frans Post*	Museu Nacional de Belas Artes	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Frans Post—Retrospective
1953	*Maurits de Braziliaan*	Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis	The Hague	Netherlands	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
1968	*Os Pintores de Maurício de Nassau*	Museu de Arte Moderna	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Frans Post and Albert Eckhout
1973	*Frans Post, 1612–1680: Obras de Coleções Paulistas*	Museu de Arte de São Paulo	São Paulo	Brazil	Frans Post
1979	*Soweit der Erdkreis Reicht*	Stadtiches Museum Haus Koekoek	Kleve	Germany	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
1979–80	*Zo Wijd de Wereld Strekt*	Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis	The Hague	Netherlands	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
1987	*Imagens do Brasil Holandês*	Paço Imperial	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Dutch Brazil—Iconography
1987	*Imagens do Brasil Holandês*	Fundação Maria Luisa e Oscar Americano	São Paulo	Brazil	Dutch Brazil—Iconography
1990	*Frans Post, 1612–1680*	Kunsthalle Basel	Basel	Switzerland	Frans Post
1990	*Frans Post, 1612–1680*	Kunsthalle Tubingen	Tübingen	Germany	Frans Post
2002	*Christopher Arciszewski*	National Museum	Krakow	Poland	Christoffel Arciszewski

TABLE 20.1 Dutch Brazil-themed temporary exhibitions (*cont.*)

Year	Exhibition	Institution / Location	City	Country	Curatorial subject
2002	*Albert Eckhout Volta ao Brasil: 1644–2002*	Instituto Ricardo Brennand	Recife	Brazil	Albert Eckhout
2002–3	*Albert Eckhout Volta ao Brasil: 1644–2002*	Conjunto Cultural da Caixa	Brasília	Brazil	Albert Eckhout
2003	*Albert Eckhout Volta ao Brasil: 1644–2002*	Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo	São Paulo	Brazil	Albert Eckhout
2003	*Frans Post e o Brasil Holandês*	Instituto Ricardo Brennand	Recife	Brazil	Frans Post and Dutch Brazil
2003	*A Presença Holandesa no Brasil*	Museu Nacional de Belas Artes	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Dutch Brazil
2004	*Eu, Maurício: Os Espelhos de Nassau*	Praça do Banco Real	São Paulo	Brazil	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
2004	*Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Artist in Brazil*	Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis	The Hague	Netherlands	Albert Eckhout
2004	*Aufbruch in Neue Welten: Johan Moritz van Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679) Der Brasilianer*	Museum für Gegenwartskunst	Siegen	Germany	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
2005	*Frans Post, Le Brésil a la Cour de Louis XIV*	Musée du Louvre	Paris	France	Frans Post
2006	*Frans Post. Painter of Paradise Lost*	Haus der Kunst	Munich	Germany	Frans Post

TABLE 20.1 Dutch Brazil-themed temporary exhibitions (*cont.*)

Year	Exhibition	Institution / Location	City	Country	Curatorial subject
2011	*Johan Maurits and Franz Post: Twee Nederlanders in Brazilië*	Rijksmuseum	Amsterdam	Netherlands	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and Frans Post
2012	*Georg Marcgraf: O Cientista Natural da Comitiva de Nassau*	Museu Louis Jacques Brunet	Recife	Brazil	George Marcgraf—Natural History
2014	*Observações do Brasil Holandês*	Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Dutch Brazil—Natural History
2016	*Naturalia: Flora e Ciências nas Artes do Brasil Holandês*	Espaço Cultural do Claretiano	Batatais	Brazil	Dutch Brazil—Natural History
2016	*Frans Post: Dieren in Brazilië*	Rijksmuseum	Amsterdam	Netherlands	Dutch Brazil—Natural History
2018	*Curious Creatures: Frans Post and Brazil*	National Gallery of Ireland	Dublin	Ireland	Dutch Brazil—Natural History
2019	*Shifting Image: In Search of Johan Maurits*	Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis	The Hague	Netherlands	Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen