In the identification of portraits, often the wish is father to the thought. This is a tendency that is strikingly illustrated by the identification of a pair of Dirck Craey portraits from 1650, one of which was held until recently to be the official likeness of the founder of the Cape Colony, Jan van Riebeeck, and the other that of his first wife, Maria Quevellerius (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). The portrait expert Jonkheer F.G.L.O. van Kretschmar has denied the identity of the subjects on convincing grounds; indeed, he has demonstrated how this tendency played its part in the identification of these portraits in the past. In the first place, it played its part in the minds of the 18th century owners of the portrait collection that included the two paintings. The owners wished to feel that they had in their possession an unbroken sequence of ancestral portraits, and so they furnished these two paintings with labels and coats of arms accordingly. Subsequently, the same tendency was shown by certain South African historians. Against a background of growing nationalism in South Africa, especially following the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902 and the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, these historians began to take an interest in the long neglected founder of the South African nation. Gradually, their interest in Van Riebeeck turned into something very much like a cult, in which Maria Quevellerius was cast in the role of a mother of the fatherland, and along with which there went a deep-seated and justifiable wish for portraits of the founder and his wife. In such a euphoria of nationalist sentiment the identification of the Craey portraits was not conducted with too many scruples.
Of all Dutch East India Company (hereafter D.E.I.c.) commanders, governors and commissioners who administered the Cape from 1652 to 1795, doubtless it is Simon van der Stel who, after Jan van Riebeeck, exercises the greatest imaginative appeal. But, whereas the so-called Van Riebeeck portrait by Dirck Craey was a little premature in finding its way on to postage stamps and banknotes, precisely the reverse fate was reserved for the portrait of Simon van der Stel; for long, it was the target of a conspiracy of silence. Could in this case too the wish have been father to the thought?

In 1936, Simon van der Stel's portrait turned up at the London art shop of C. Marshall Spink (Fig. 3). On 26 October of that year the latter wrote to the Stichting Iconografisch Bureau in The Hague, inquiring whether the subject of the portrait could be identified as Wm. (Willem) van der Stel. On 19 January of the following year --- Spink in the interim had called for greater despatch in view of the impatience on the part of the portrait's owner --- the Stichting replied that there were no other portraits that could confirm the identification. The Stichting moreover reported that in its opinion the subject of the portrait was not Willem (Adriaan), but his father Simon van der Stel, and the youth on the horse, one of the latter's children. This hypothesis was based not exclusively on the date assigned to the painting, but also on the outward appearance of its subject. "His grandmother Lievens", said the reply, "had been a native woman of India, a particularity that can be traced in the face on the portrait". On Spink's letter of thanks of 2 February, in which he wrote that he was unable to give either the name of the owner of the painting or that of the painter, the following note was made at about this time, presumably by a staff member of the Stichting: "Ask Prof. [S.P.] Engelbrecht about the grounds of attribution and about a possible purchase-price. Keep the Prof. informed about this painting." So far, we are able to gather from this correspondence that there was a tradition which saw in the subject of the portrait Willem (Adriaan)
Dirck Craey, Portrait of Bartholomeus Vermuyden (formerly Jan van Riebeeck). Panel, 74 x 54 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
Dirck Craey, Portrait of Catharina Kettingh (formerly Maria Queveijerius), signed and dated 1650. Panel, 74 x 59 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
Figure 3
Jan Weenix (attributed), Portrait of Simon van der Stel and his son Willem Adriaan.
Canvas, 112 x 167 cm. Ireland, Napier Collection (destroyed in 1962).
van der Stel. This is an important fact; indeed, it is of
decisive significance in the identification of the principal
figure on our portrait as Simon van der Stel. Furthermore
it is clear from this correspondence that even before the
war certain people in South Africa must have been aware of
the existence of a portrait of this important governor of the
Cape Colony. But before going into further detail of the ex-
tensive correspondence that was conducted between the Stich-
ting Iconografisch Bureau and various South African scholars,
let us first pause to consider the portrait itself and see if
there are sufficient grounds to consider it an authentic por-
trait of Simon van der Stel.

The painting, which measures 112 x 167 cm, depicts a hunting
scene set in a tropical landscape with an overly luxuriant
vegetation of palm-trees. Standing in the foreground to the
right there is a huntsman who has a hunting gun in his left
hand; in his right hand he is holding the reins of a horse
on which a youth is seated. An assistant is kneeling with
his right knee on the ground and is stroking one of the three
hunting-dogs that have been added to this little company. The
game that has been shot is lying in the foreground to the left.
In the distance we see five natives of a dark skin colour,
dressed in loin-cloths and using spears to hunt some uniden-
tifiable animal. The painting, destined by fate to be de-
stroyed in a fire in Dublin in 1962, where it formed part of
the Napier Collection, was undoubtedly Dutch in its workman-
ship and may have been the work of Jan T. Weenix (1640–1719),
to whom it was attributed at the time. On the grounds of cos-
tume, we may date it at shortly after 1665/66.

Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the first child from the mar-
riage of Simon van der Stel and Johanna Jacoba Six, an Amster-
dam burgomaster’s daughter, was born in Haarlem on 24 August
1664. At the time of the origin of the painting, therefore,
he was much too young for him to be taken as the adult figure
of the huntsman. In contrast, there is nothing to prevent us
from identifying the mounted youth as Willem Adriaan, even though at the time of being painted the child was perhaps only one year old. Spink's identification of the subject of the portrait as being Willem Adriaan is by no means incompatible with this finding, and has the attractive consequence that the tradition referred to above need not be discarded. This implies that the hunter must be Willem's father, Simon. Does this square, however, with the facts about the latter that are known to us?

Simon was the eldest son of Adriaan van der Stel of Dordrecht and Maria Lievens of Batavia. His father, Adriaan, was the son of Simon van der Stel, city father of Dordrecht, and his mother was the daughter of Heyndrick Lievensz. (de Bleecker), of Ambonia, Captain of the Citizenry at Batavia, and Monyca da Costa of the Coromandel Coast. This Monyca very probably was one of the slaves who by order of the D.E.I.C. were imported in large numbers, in order to enable the colony to expand despite the lack of Dutch girls. The desperate shortage of Dutchwomen was strikingly expressed by Jan Pietersz. Coen in a letter to the D.E.I.C. in the Netherlands: "Who is there but knows that the human race cannot subsist without womanfolk? Nevertheless it would seem that Your Honours intend this colony to flourish without any such. In order to remedy this lack, we have sought funds and have caused women to be bought at great expense. But just as the lords have sent us nothing but scum from the home country up to now, so it appears that no one is willing to sell us anything but scum locally either.... Ought we because of evil to be remiss in the pursuit of what is good, as it would seem that you do? Are we then to die out, not a single one of us leaving any offspring? Therefore, should it prove impossible to obtain for this purpose honest married folk, we would request Your Honours not to fail to send, or even sell, young girls who are not yet of age, so that the matter may prosper better with them than with the elderly orphans." The efforts to promote female emigration from the Netherlands and to establish in this way an Asian counterpart to the home
country were soon enough abandoned, for more than one reason, in favour of immigration of especially Portuguese-speaking slave women from the Coromandel Coast and the Malabar Coast of South India. This switch to the Portuguese model — after all, the Portuguese had been encouraging mixed marriages since the 16th century — was a dire necessity. Not only were the numbers of Dutch brides willing to go to the East too slight; those who did go, as may be gathered from evidence such as that in Coen’s letter, were often not women of irreproachable character. But there were also biological motives behind the change in policy. Marriages of Dutch couples frequently proved infertile. The number of abortions and stillbirths among women of Dutch descent was high; moreover, the chances of survival were much weaker for children from Dutch parents than for those born from marriages between Dutch males and Asian females. Then, too, the transportation to Batavia of marriageable girls was not a profitable undertaking for the D.E.I.C., and in any case the presence of the women would not have been good for discipline on board. Marriages with Asian girls, those from South India being particularly sought after, were therefore encouraged with a view to creating a loyal mestizo population in Batavia. It was these women or their daughters who developed themselves into the Indian ladies who established in Batavia the mestizo culture described by Jean Gelman Taylor in her book The social world of Batavia — the culture in which colonial society remained rooted down into the present century.10 In his study Strange Company. Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia, J.L. Blusse van Oud-Alblas characterizes the woman who belonged to this group as "the pillar, the caryatid, of Batavian society."11 Monyca da Costa was such a woman.

Simon himself was born on 14 October 1639 on board the Cappel, the ship that was taking the Van der Stel family to Mauritius, where Simon’s father was to succeed Simon de Goyer as chief. After a stay of almost six years on the island, young Simon
and his family on 19 May 1645 returned to Batavia, where Simon was baptized. In 1646 they left for Ceylon. There Adriaen van der Stel, who had since been appointed commander of the Ceylon-based troops, in that same year died a gruesome death at the hands of the Singhalese. According to the German writer Peter Kolbe, who had known Simon, Simon had been an eyewitness of how the garrison was shown his father's head mounted on a spear. The first mention that we find of Simon in the years following this tragedy dates from 1659; in its entry for 26 October, the log-book (Dagh-Register) of Batavia Castle informs us that Simon was granted permission by the Council of India to leave for the Netherlands with the first return fleet in order to further his studies, "provided that, whereas he is a mestizo [], his capital, being in the care of the local orphan chamber, shall remain in India".

On 18 December along with the two sons of Jan van Riebeeck he boarded the Parel, which, after a brief delay at the Cape from 2 to 20 March, docked in Vlie on 18 July 1660. When on 23 October 1663 Simon married Johanna Jacoba Six, he was described as "Simon van der Stel, of the island of Mauritius" and it was mentioned that he had been living in the "Fluwelburghwal" in Amsterdam.

If what the dating of the painting suggests is true and he did in fact have a portrait of himself and his young son painted shortly after 1665/66, then he must have been about 28 years old at the time. Such an age would be in keeping with that of the huntsman in the painting. The tropical setting with the hunting natives would have been chosen by him to keep alive the memory of his youth on Mauritius, Ceylon and Batavia. The fact that he had himself dressed up as a hunter was purely a matter of status. In the Dutch Republic at large, hunting had become a status symbol. The traces of this are to be found in the portrait iconography, where the latter half of the 17th century saw a growing interest in surrounding oneself with the accoutrements of hunting. Finally, there is Van der Stel's physiognomy, which shows clear Indian features. This is in line not only with what we know about his descent, but also with the comments of contemporaries. The conclusion, to me,
seems virtually inescapable: it was because of Simon van der Stel's physiognomy that not everyone was equally pleased with this portrait, which after all was hard to reconcile with the image of one of the founding fathers of white civilization at the Cape. This probably also explains why attention was not drawn to this portrait until 1972. When at long last it did happen, it was thanks to the historian Hymen W.J. Picard, who included the painting in his book *A Portrait Gallery of the Dutch Commanders and Governors of the Cape of Good Hope*; surprisingly enough, though, he did so without any comment.¹⁷ Even now, it would appear, the facts are little known in South Africa. The second impression of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordenboek*, dated 1976, at any rate still concludes Van der Stel's biography with the statement that so far as is known there are no portraits of him. Picard's own extreme delight at learning from the Stichting Iconografisch Bureau that a portrait was extant is quite clear from his correspondence with the Stichting, but the readers of his book were given no sign of this. "My heart-felt thanks for your news, which has been most welcome, not to say exciting", was how he started one of his letters. He continued: "If I tell you that not a soul in South Africa knows that there does exist a portrait of Simon van der Stel and that many historians have for many years been looking for a picture of this great Governor (even were it to be no more than 90% certain), you will immediately appreciate what this information means to me as a writer on south African history".¹⁸ Evidently the existence of the portrait had been a well-kept secret, for Picard had been preceded by a number of prominent South African historians in their contacts with the Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, which had informed them all at length about the portrait. Not only had there been correspondence about the portrait with Prof. Engelbrecht, historian, at a very early stage; there had been such correspondence with Dr. D. Bax, the well-known Jeroen Bosch scholar, who moreover made the comment that Simon's skin-colour in the portrait was on the dark side;¹⁹ and there had been such correspondence with Dr. W.H.J. Punt, historian and director of the Simon van der
Stel Foundation. Dr. Punt had even succeeded in tracing another portrait of Van der Stel, a matter about which I shall have more to say later on. It is typical of the whole situation that as recent a date as 18 December 1979 saw Dr. Deon Jooste, likewise historian and — be it noted — Punt's successor as director of the Simon van der Stel Stichting, formally writing to the Stichting Iconografisch Bureau in bona fide ignorance, indicating that a portrait of Simon van der Stel would mean a great deal to the Foundation and inquiring whether one was not perhaps extant.

Unlike other South African historians, Picard in his book devotes a remarkable amount of attention to the seemingly rather uncertain subject of Van der Stel's mixed blood, about which, he remarks, there "has been written and spoken a great deal of nonsense. Inspired by that learned liar, German naturalist-author Peter Kolbe, who hated the Van der Stels, historians of later centuries took over the story that Simon's mother was a black slave girl. It was once more Dr. A. Boësken who put a stop to that legend. Her research brought to light that Monica Dacosta, a woman born on the coast of Coromandel, was Simon's grandmother. This would classify him as a 'one-quarter-blood' instead of a 'half-blood'. But even this 'lighter' version of the man's blood does not entirely satisfy us. Dacosta is a familiar Portuguese name, and it is a well-known fact that many Portuguese explorers of India took high-born local girls for brides. This could hint at the possibility that Monica herself was Eurasian and not a 'black slave girl', which would make Simon a 'one-eighth-blood'." The argument which here by implication imputes an aristocratic descent to Monyca shows a suspiciously strong resemblance to the argument, still today occasionally to be heard in the Netherlands, by which a marriage between a Dutchman and an Indonesian girl is excused on the ground that she is after all from the "kraton" (the princely citadel). More dubious, however, is the consideration by means of which Picard seeks to convince the reader that Monyca da Costa may have been a Eurasian and Simon in consequence a
"one-eighth-blood". This is "that haughty Catharina Six-Hinlopen did not raise objections against her daughter Johanna marrying Simon van der Stel. Although it might be true that in the Indies mixed marriages were tolerated by the Almighty Company ..., in Amsterdam different standards prevailed. In particular in the upper strata of the community where the Sixes and Hinlopens were moving, the idea of a daughter mothering the children of a halfblood was almost preposterous."^^ It may well be, then, that Picard in making this digression about the Van der Stels did not intend to "whitewash" his hero, as he himself puts it; nevertheless his reasoning, it seems to me, does proceed from a racial prejudice and is certainly not in conformity with the historical facts. Mixed marriages as we have seen were not only tolerated, but even encouraged, by the D.E.I.C. Furthermore we have but to adduce the case of Cornelia van Nijenrode and François Caron (jr.) to demonstrate that half-blooded children were wholly accepted in Dutch society, both in the home country and in India.24 Cornelia was the natural daughter of senior merchant Cornelis van Nijenrode and his Japanese concubine Surisha. Cornelia in 1653 married one of the wealthiest inhabitants of Batavia, Pieter Cnoll, who himself hailed from Delft and who was the first senior merchant at the castle of Batavia. This was an important position within the D.E.I.C. hierarchy, and one that gave rise to fierce rivalry. In 1665 —— Cnoll by now had reached the pinnacle of his career —— the couple commissioned a portrait of themselves and their two daughters from Jacob Jansz. Coeman, a painter temporarily working in Batavia (Fig. 4). Then there is François Caron (1634-1706), one of the five natural mestizo children whom the chief of Hirado, François Caron (ca 1600-1673), had by a native Japanese woman. In 1643 Caron left for the home country so that his children, now legitimized, could receive their school and university education there. His son François, who married a Dutch girl, became a minister of religion, first at Ambonia and later in 1697 in Dutch Lexmond, where he spent the rest of his life.
I, for my part, certainly feel no need to make Simon more Asian than he was, and even though we cannot rule out the possibility of his grandmother's having been a Eurasian, the most plausible assumption is that Monyca da Costa belonged to the large group of slave women acquired by the D.E.I.C. in South India as future brides for its staff.

Returning now to the portrait, we have to conclude that neither any single one of the elements of the portrayal in the painting, nor the date which it has been possible to assign to it, is at variance with the established facts regarding Simon van der Stel and his eldest son Willem Adriaan. If we take into account furthermore the tradition that linked the latter's name to one of the subjects in this portrait, and also the circumstance that Simon did not go to the Cape as commander until 1679, then all in all we have nothing if not a confirmation of the hypothesis that the subjects depicted in this portrait, made by a Dutch painter, include Simon van der Stel and his son.

This still leaves the other portrait traced by Dr. Punt and held by him to be a portrait of Simon in his youth (Fig. 5). All that he and others after him have been able to discover about this painting is that it was withdrawn as Lot 116 from a sale at Christie's in London on 7 December 1934. The sale catalogue states that the painting was signed J. Weenix and dated 1669, and describes the representation as 'A sportsman with Negro page, dogs and dead game in a landscape'. My investigation has shown that this painting did indeed go back to the owner, namely G. Paget Walford in London. Then in 1941 it turned up in The Hague in the art shop of K.W. Bachstitz, a Jewish dealer who had fled before the Nazis, and so next it fell into German hands. After the war the portrait, along with other objects of art, was returned to the Netherlands, where it has since formed part of the collection of the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst.
Figure 4
Jacob Jansz. Coeman, Portrait of Pieter Cooll and his wife Cornelia van Nijenrode and their daughters Catharina and Hester, signed and dated Ráta 1685. Canvas, 130 x 190.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
Figure 5
Cornelis Eversdijck, Portrait of a man, possibly Simon van der Stel, signed and dated 1660. Canvas, 160 x 139 cm. The Hague, Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst.
The painting measures 160 x 139 cm, and represents a huntsman dressed in black, grey and white who is sitting on a rock and who has on brown pointed boots, lined in faded pink. His left hand is resting on a greyhound, behind which we see lying another dog of the same breed. To the left, at the hunter's feet, lies his pointer. On the rock, next to some shot birds to which the huntsman points with his right forefinger, lies a red game-bag. Against a background of trees in the left-hand corner a Negro boy thrust into an ochre-coloured doublet is holding up a hare by its hind feet in his right hand. On the right, the picture offers a vista on to a valley.

Cleaning of this portrait had shown that the signature and date were false and that underneath these there were the original signature of Willem Eversdijck and the original date of 1660. Eversdijck was a portrait painter who, having first been a pupil of his father's, apprenticed himself to Cornelis de Vos in Antwerp. From 1652/1653 he worked at Goes, where he died in 1671.

The only ground, then, on which the identification of this huntsman as Simon van der Stel has been based is the resemblance he shows to the principal figure in the other painting. The lessons of the past make it clear, however, that resemblance unaccompanied by further information is too shaky to serve as a basis for identification and that we therefore cannot in this case speak of an authentic portrait of Simon van der Stel. Nor is there any further link to be found in the figure of the black page which made its appearance in Dutch paintings around 1650. The obliging 'little Moors', often dressed up in some exotic costume, served mainly as accessories in achieving the requisite variety within the portrait; at the same time, like the attributes of the huntsman, they served as status symbols.

Let us hope that some more incontrovertible proof may yet be forthcoming for the authenticity of the Simon van der Stel
Portrait, now regrettably lost. But whatever may be added to or detracted from this portrait by future researches, what is ultimately of greater importance is the person with whom we are here all concerned: Governor Simon van der Stel, who to some in South Africa not only represents the essence of South Africa's past, but also stands as a symbol of what the future of that country will one day be.

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List of illustrations


NOTES

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1. F.G.L.O. van Kretschmar, To be or not to be. De Van Riebeeck portretten in het Rijksmuseum, Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconografisch Bureau 38 (1984), pp. 97-139.

2. This letter, as well as the further correspondence mentioned in this article, is in the care of the Stichting Iconografisch Bureau (hereafter referred to as S.I.B.). The other letters from and to Spink date from 16 November, 18 November and 2 December 1937 and from 8 and 19 January and 2 February 1938, respectively.

3. The measurements were specified by Spink in his letter of 2 February 1938 to the S.I.B.

4. As may be gathered from a letter by W.H.J. Punt to the S.I.B. dated 3 May 1977, the painting was offered for sale by Spink in 1937. From the same letter it emerges that the painting was marked on the back "Commander Symon van der Stel". The date of this marking is unknown, but presumably it was done after the identification by the S.I.B. in 1938.

5. This dating, with which I concur, was proposed by Jonkheer F.G.L.O. van Kretschmar in a letter dated 21 July 1980 to the director of the Simon van der Stel Foundation (Pretoria), Dr. Deon Jooste.

7. In the Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek (s.v. Van der Stel), F.W. Stapel refers to this woman as a "native".


17. Cf. Picard (note 6).

18. The letter is dated 8 July 1972. It had been preceded by one of 27 June.

19. The letters from and to Bax are dated 21 October 1964 and 25 January and 2 February 1965, respectively.

20. The letters from and to Punt (dating from before the publication of Picard’s book) are dated 22 April, 29 April and 28 May 1968, respectively.

21. The other letters from and to Jooste are dated 3 January, 9 January, 21 July and 5 August 1980, respectively.


23. Cf. Picard (note 6), p. 82. Picard’s rhetoric is lacking
in logic. He is convinced that Simon was in any case a "one-quarter-blood". Then, to convince the reader that Simon probably was a "one-eighth-blood", he puts forward the argument that Dutch society at the level of the Six family would not have tolerated a marriage between a half-blood and a "European". Apart from the fact that this was not so, a fact which I shall demonstrate at a later point in the text, Simon was no half-blood.

24. On François Caron and Cornelia van Nijenrode cf. Blussé van Oud-Alblas (note 8), pp. 172-259, and the Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, s.v. Caron, François. That Caron married a Dutch woman was stated to me personally by J.L. Blussé van Oud-Alblas.

25. He mentioned this in his letter of 3 May 1977 to the S.I.B. The S.I.B. replied on 13 June of the same year.

26. In an advertisement in Country Life (1972) Sir Alfred Beit, acting on behalf of the Simon van der Stel Foundation, appealed for this portrait to be traced, a portrait which he was virtually certain represented Simon van der Stel; but the advertisement produced no results.

27. It may have been sold to a buyer in Germany direct by the Bachstitz art shop (when Bachstitz in 1942 was obliged to flee for a second time, his wife had taken over the shop in an attempt to avoid liquidation), or it may have been sold via one or more middlemen; unfortunately, this is not clear. Excepting the sale in June 1941 of three paintings destined for Goering, no sales by this art shop to Germany are known. On this art shop, cf. Adriaan Vanema, Kunsthandel in Nederland 1940-1945, Amsterdam, 1986, pp. 73, 283, 576.

28. The painting that bears the catalogue number NK. 1940 has been relined and has a modern stretcher to which
two labels have been affixed. One of these has the wording 'Direktion der Gemäldegalerie Wien 1 Burgring nr. 6, Inv. Nr. 9042' (evidently the painting formed part of this collection during the war). The other label has the wording 'B.U./611  Z III', with a barely legible stamp 'Ministeri ...'. The measurements, as specified in Christie's sale catalogue of 7 December 1934, do not agree, neither do those given by Sir Alfred Beit in Country Life (note 26).

Translator's Note

I am much obliged to Prof. L. Dekker and Mr. F.J. Lombard (both of the Kantoor van die Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal) for their invaluable assistance with the interpretation of seventeenth-century Dutch and with the search for portrait terminology, respectively. To Mrs. Cecile le Roux I owe a debt of gratitude for her scrutiny of my English, which saved me from a variety of blunders. Last, but not least, my thanks to the author for so promptly and efficiently spotting some remaining errors and infelicities —— W.K.W.