TWO

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Competing Communities in the "Great Bog of Europe"

Identity and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting

It is a commonplace of art history that the so-called naturalistic landscape first emerged in Holland in the seventeenth century.[1] Histories of western European landscape painting frequently illustrate this point by juxtaposing a Flemish sixteenth-century imaginary world landscape, such as Joachim Patinir's *St. Jerome in a Landscape* (1515–24; see fig. 2.1), with an early seventeenth-century Dutch naturalistic vision, such as Pieter Molijn's *Dunescape with Trees and Wagon* (1626; see fig. 2.2).[2] Something dramatic happened around 1620 in Haarlem, so the narrative goes, as if scales had suddenly and collectively fallen from seventeenth-century Dutch artists' eyes, and they could suddenly see, and faithfully transcribe, the land in which they found themselves. While students of Dutch landscape painting have repeatedly demonstrated that Dutch artists rarely created paintings that were uncritically and uninterpretively transcriptions of the land in which they lived, current studies are still struggling to construct a new perspective upon the subject.[3] A dramatic change has indeed taken place in the function of landscape imagery within western European culture.[4]

For some time students of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting have made two observations and an assumption about its representation. First, while Dutch artists portrayed recognizable architectural monuments, they freely moved them about their homeland and sometimes even transformed these monuments or combined several in one imaginary building. Salomon van Ruysdael, for example, startlingly juxtaposed the cathedral and Huis Groenewoude in Utrecht with the two-towered St. Walburgis in Arnheim, more than thirty miles away.[5] Jacob van Ruisdael located the Portuguese-Jewish Cemetery at Oudekerk before the ruins of

the castle of Egmond near Alkmaar in a painting now in Dresden (ca. 1660; see fig. 2.3), and in front of the Romanesque Abbey Church of Egmond combined with elements of the Gothic Buurkerk at Egmond-Binnen, about three kilometers west of Alkmaar, in a painting in Detroit.[6] Second, Dutch artists often dramatized the location of a monument, as for example Jacob van Ruisdael's *Bentheim Castle* of 1653 (see fig. 2.4), one of at least a dozen such views the artist made of the site.[7] Bentheim Castle was located in German Westphalia on the eastern border of the United Provinces; as indicated by a photograph, there is no height near Bentheim comparable to the one Jacob shows in the painting (see fig. 2.5).[8] Seymour Slive has colorfully pointed out that to the young Dutchman coming from a country in which the highest point was only 320 meters above sea level, a small hillock on the landscape must have

2.1 Joachim Patinir, *St. Jerome in a Landscape* (1515–24). Panel, 74 × 91 cm. © Prado Museum, Madrid.

2.2 Pieter Molijn, *Dunescape with Trees and Wagon* (1626). Panel, 26 × 36 cm. Courtesy the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums, Braunschweig. Photo: B. P. Keiser.

looked like an alp. Third, while it is recognized that landscape paintings are frequently not topographically accurate, nonetheless it is usually assumed that Dutch artists also represented recognizable land formations that can be identified with particular regions of the country. The latter assumption has remained unexplored in the literature.

Valuable studies of Dutch landscape painting have outlined stylistic characteristics, identified sites, and articulated the iconographic content of particular works or themes. Those landscapes that appear to represent Dutch landscape formations accurately and that have no apparent literary or textual referents, however, are frequently celebrated solely for the visual pleasure in the landscape that they demonstrate on the part of the painter and that they must have given to their viewers. There is no doubt that seventeenth-century viewers relished landscape paintings for, in the words of art theorist Gerard de Lairesse, "diverting and pleasing the eye."[9] There remains, however, a large gap in our understanding of these works between the recognition that Dutch landscape painters realistically portrayed

actual monuments and land formations while combining them in unrealistic ways, and the conclusion that many such paintings were created primarily for the pleasure of the viewer.

This essay is a contribution toward filling that gap. I argue here that the selection of identifiably Dutch land formations and sites, their dramatization and physical manipulation, and above all their "naturalization" appealed to the unique conjunction in seventeenth-century Holland of three historical elements. Specifically, the political, economic, and religious shifts that together convulsed seventeenth-century Holland gave new meaning to the local, the prosaic, and recognizable features of land,[10] for

2.3 Jacob van Ruisdael, *Jewish Cemetery* (ca. 1660). Canvas, 84 × 95 cm. Courtesy the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

2.4 Jacob van Ruisdael, *Bentheim Castle* (1653). Canvas, 110.5 × 144 cm. The Beit Collection, Blessington. Courtesy the National Museum of Ireland.

dramatic changes took place in these three spheres simultaneously. First, on a political level, the Seven United Provinces together declared their independence from Spain in 1579 and almost immediately were inundated by waves of immigrants; second, on the economic front, they exploited to an unprecedented degree many of the practices of the open market economy of today's world, including amassing the capital to undertake the largest land reclamation project in the world; and third, in the religious sphere, Protestantism replaced Catholicism as the professed religion of the land. Dutch landscape imagery responds to and "naturalizes" these three controversial subjects, three hot topics that still today can cause heated debate and personal discomfort in social situations—politics, money, and religion. The so-called naturalization of the land is also integral to the creation of new—and competing—communal identities within an evolving nation composed of a very high percentage of immigrants.

Landscapes were avidly collected by all classes of society in seventeenth-

2.5 Photograph of Bentheim Castle (ca. 1928). Photograph: Jakob Rosenberg, *Jacob van Ruisdael* (Berlin, 1928), fig. 46.

century Holland. Indeed, the Dutch seem to have collected landscapes in larger numbers than any other category of painting. Archival records confirm the impression conveyed by the frequency with which landscape paintings appear in the background of portraits and genre paintings, where they are pictured in interiors ranging from the modest tailor's home shop by Quiringh van Brekelankam (1661, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) to the elegantly appointed townhouse by Frans van Mieris (1658, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum).[11] In his systematic study of the subjects of paintings in Delft inventories drawn up between 1610 and 1679, the economist Michael Montias found that throughout the century, and by a wide margin, landscape was the most popular genre. It rose from 25.6 percent of all painting subjects in the period 1610–19 to nearly 41 percent by the decade 1670–79, ahead of the next most popular genres in these two decades by 9 and 23 percentage points respectively.[12] What in the world did the Dutch see in these pictures of their country?

Historically, the Dutch have maintained a unique and tangible relationship with their land. According to a popular Dutch saying, "God created the world, but the Dutch created Holland." From the late sixteenth century the United Provinces undertook the most extensive land reclamation project ever attempted in the history of the world. Between 1590 and 1664 more than 110,000 hectares, or 425 square miles, of land were reclaimed from the sea and inland lakes by means of a complex system of dikes and drainage.[13] The land area of the province of North Holland alone increased by 52.7 percent during this period.[14] These projects left

a large percentage of Holland's land mass below sea level, however, and vulnerable to massive flooding; indeed, today Schiphol Airport and much of Amsterdam lie below the level of the adjacent North Sea. Land was and remains a precious commodity that must be vigilantly protected against the threat of inundation, for dike breaks had created sensational disasters. The break of the dike at Broek during a storm on St. Elizabeth's Day in 1421 was celebrated for centuries in histories and paintings.[15] The chronicles no doubt exaggerated when they reported that the sea flooded 500 square kilometers, killed at least 100,000 inhabitants, and destroyed seventy-two villages, but modern estimates that put the figures at twenty villages destroyed and 10,000 dead remain staggering.[16] The seventeenth century witnessed its own disaster in the break in the St. Antonisdyk at Houtewael during a storm in 1651 pictured by artists including Willem Schellinks, Roelant Roghman, Pieter Nolpe, I. Colin, Jacob Esselens, and Jan van Goyen.[17]

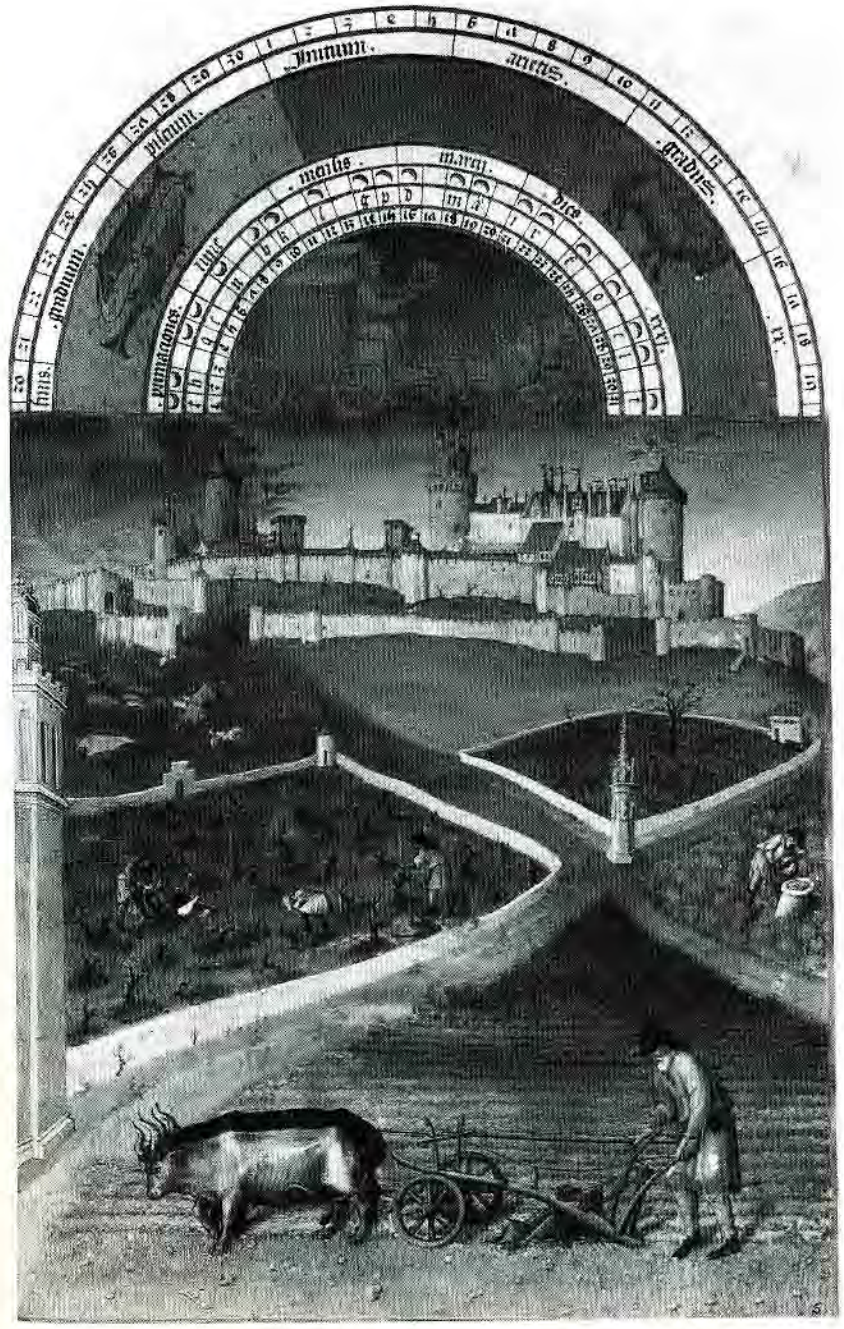
Physical land was not only a tool but also a weapon for Dutch self-defense and self-creation. In 1664 an anonymous pamphleteer sarcastically noted this important asset of defense:

> *Questioner:* I pray, Sir, what is their strength by land?
> *Answer:* The sea, rivers, islands make it invincible . . . it is the great Bog of Europe, not such another Marsh in the World, a National Quagmire that they can overflow at pleasure.[18]

The Dutch turned back advancing Spanish troops at Alkmaar in 1573, for example, by defensively cutting through surrounding dikes. In 1574 they breached the main dikes of southern Holland in order to enable Dutch flat-bottom boats to sail to the rescue of Leiden.[19] Shortly before their declaration of independence from Spain, the Dutch filled in the entrance to the river Scheldt, isolating the Hapsburg capital of the Lowlands from the sea and the valuable trade it provided. This brought to an end Antwerp's economic supremacy and marked at the same time the beginning of Amsterdam's ascendancy as Europe's most prosperous city. The country as a whole followed suit. By 1688 English national income accountant Gregory King compared the per-capita incomes of the major northern European states; the Dutch Republic outranked them all.[20] The growing affluence attracted an unprecedented number of immigrants. In the twenty-two years between 1577 and 1589, the population of Antwerp was reduced by over half, from 100,000 to 49,000 inhabitants; many of these men and women fled to the northern Netherlands, a country that was more prosperous, more religiously tolerant, and less politically restrictive. Between 1500 and 1650, the population of Holland grew threefold; half of that increase occurred between 1580 and 1622.[21]

This physical creation of the country meant not only that land was a constant preoccupation but also that the political structure of the country was radically different from that of the rest of Europe. Because desolate dunes and marshy peat bogs constituted much of the land that composed Holland before the seventeenth century, the region had little appeal to prospective feudal lords who ruled elsewhere in Europe. While nominally under the rule of the dukes of Burgundy from 1428, and united with sixteen other provinces under Charles V, they were governed from a distance through appointed stadholders. A large percentage of the lands were actually owned by the inhabitants who lived on and worked them. Peasant landownership ranged up to 100 percent in some areas, with an average of 42 percent of the peasants in the province of Holland in 1514 possessing the land they worked. As a class, this was more than either the nobility, the church, or the urban bourgeoisie.[22] The elders of Nieuwveen noted that the inhabitants all owned their own land because, they explained, "no one from outside would want any."[23] The lack of appeal the region had for its overlord is suggested by the actual fear Charles V's ministers had for the emperor's health on a visit to Amsterdam in 1540, because of the city's infamously bad drinking water.[24] Holland thus did not have the kind of extensive feudal system of peasants attached to the land serving noble families experienced by the rest of Europe, a relationship vividly pictured in a page representing the month of March from the Book of Hours of the duke of Berry (1413–16; see fig. 2.6), in which the peasants who work the duke's lands are visually circumscribed by the boundaries of the fields to which they are attached.[25] Having never been subservient to a lord, the inhabitants had never been subservient to their land.[26] From the beginning they owned and worked the land as their own; land was a commodity to communally create and to personally own.

According to a long-standing tradition in western Europe, a land was identified with the person of its monarch or feudal lord. The association of the lord with his land and the rights he held from it and over it was an important part of both his and its identity. In the page representing August from the Book of Hours mentioned above, the duke of Berry, whose land is inscribed in his very name as his title, pictures himself in a hunting scene as the proud owner of his properties.[27] When monarchs such as Elizabeth I began to consolidate political power, their person was transformed into a symbol of national identity. Marcus Gheeraerts's portrait of Queen Elizabeth dating from about 1592 shows Elizabeth standing on a globe of the world, with her feet appropriately on Oxfordshire, the home of her adviser Sir Henry Lee, who commissioned the painting (see fig. 2.7). More literally, in 1537 Johannes Bucius created a remarkable map of the Holy Roman Empire that is physically made up of its monarch, with crown, orb, and scepter. Spain constitutes his head,



2.6 Limbourg Brothers, "March," from the *Hours of the Duke of Berry* (1413–16), Chantilly.

Italy his right arm, and northern Germany his left; a similar cartographic portrait of Queen Elizabeth dates from about 1600.[28] Similar investment was made by language. Henry the Fifth *is* England; Louis the Fourteenth, France.[29]

But what could be the relationship to provincial or state identity when there was no monarch or lord, and thus no ready body in which to invest the symbols of communal identity? While the northern Netherlands actually made successive overtures to Queen Elizabeth of England, the duke of Anjou (brother to King Henry III of France), and the earl of Leicester, the Dutch insisted upon maintaining a control over their leaders that ultimately brought dissatisfaction and rejections from all prospective princes and monarchs.[30] They thus had no individual in whom they could invest national power, symbolic or otherwise. This is not to say that the Dutch had no national heroes—the leader of the rebellion, Willem I of the House of Orange, could and did catalyze national sentiment. But he could hardly stand as a symbol for the state in all its economic, political, and religious decentralized and rivalrous complexity. With no individual in whom to invest the symbols of national identity and when faced with the problem of the creation of a communal identity, the Dutch turned to their land.

The Dutch identification of their political institutions with their land is inherent in their language itself. Given its physical origins, it is no accident that the country the Dutch inhabit is called Neder-lands, descriptive not of a people, a location, another region, or a political entity but of a physical quality of land, the Low-lands. Similarly, it is not surprising that the names of four of the seven provinces that originally made up the union also refer to land: Hol-land, Gelder-land, Zee-land, Fries-land.[31] Moreover, the word "Vaterland," or "Fatherland," was originally a Dutch word. As English observer William Temple observed in 1672, "The Dutch, by Expressions of Dearness, instead of our Country, say our Fatherland."[32] It initially designated heaven, the home of Our Father, and was first applied to the country of one's birth by the Dutch.[33]

Besides national place-names, historical events were also visually inscribed in landscape imagery. In contrast with representations of historical events elsewhere in Europe such as Rubens's *Peace and War* of 1629–30, Dutch painter Adriaen van de Venne locates his *Allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609*—a twelve-year cession of hostilities between the United Provinces and Spain—in a landscape site (1616; see fig. 2.8).[34] Rubens seems to have created his painting as a lavish complement to Charles I for making peace with Spain. The painting is, in the words of Charles's curator Abraham van der Doort, "an Emblim wherin the dif-

2.7 Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603)* (ca. 1592). Canvas, 241.3 × 152.4 cm. Courtesy the National Portrait Gallery, London.

2.8 Adriaen van de Venne, *Allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce* (1616). Panel, 62 × 112.5 cm. Courtesy the Louvre, Paris.

ferrencs and ensuencees betweene peace and warrs is Shewed."[35] Rubens's painting is overwhelmingly composed of allegorical and mythological figures both nude and clothed. Minerva, the helmeted goddess of wisdom in the center, drives off Mars, god of war. In doing so, the goddess protects a woman and child who have been identified as Pax about to suckle the infant Plutus, god of wealth. A young Huymen, god of marriage, crowns a girl who with two others are presented with fruits from a cornucopia, symbols of peace and plenty. Clouds and curtains swirl in the background, through which a landscape is only distantly visible at the right.

While likewise inhabited by allegorical figures, Van de Venne's painting, in contrast, consists primarily of portraits set in an expansive landscape that completely overwhelms them. He represents the Seven Provinces as a bride being led by a Spanish nobleman as bridegroom, proudly pointed out by an overgrown Cupid. In the left foreground a pile of the armor and war implements lay waiting to be removed by a wagon; Discord and Envy cowering between two tree trunks are likewise about to be carried off. On the right the benefits of peace are represented by Dutch bread and wine on Dutch ceramics and silver. Stadholder Maurits and his half-brother Frederik Hendrik of the Protestant northern Netherlands, and Archdukes Albert and Isabella, regents of the Roman Catholic southern Netherlands, witness the marriage along with rows of identifiable advisers and a self-portrait of the artist gesturing toward the viewer.

Keeping in mind this unusual and tangible relationship of the Dutch with their land, I turn now to an examination of how specific issues in the economic, political, and religious spheres may be inscribed in four

of the most familiar themes of Dutch landscape painting. These are the monochromatic dunescape that began to be produced in the vicinity of Haarlem in the mid-1620s, images of a ferryboat on a river popular from the mid-1630s, and later in the century two architectural monuments that are frequently relocated and often transformed, views of the Grote Kerk of Dordrecht and the Pellekussenpoort, Utrecht. I argue that the first two themes naturalize contemporary commercial developments, the latter controversial political and religious issues. I conclude with a few observations about how these paintings may participate in creating communal identities that cut across Dutch society in differing directions.

Students of Dutch landscape painting usually begin their discussion of Dutch naturalism with Pieter van Santvoort's *Landscape with Farmhouse and Country Road* dated 1625 (see fig. 2.9).[36] (As an aside, it is notable that Santvoort has inscribed the landscape in his own name. Born with the surname Bontepaert, the artist seems to have adopted the name Santvoort, meaning "sand extending out," after a small fishing village near Haarlem.)[37] Followed shortly thereafter in works by Jan van Goyen, Pieter Molijn (fig. 2.2 above), and others, these paintings are characterized by an increase in atmospheric effects, a dramatic reduction in bright local color in favor of earthy yellow-browns with gray-green shadows, low viewpoints, and prosaic subjects that may include grasses, a few scrubby bushes and trees, aging farmhouses and barns, rutted sandy roads, and weather-worn hillocks.[38]

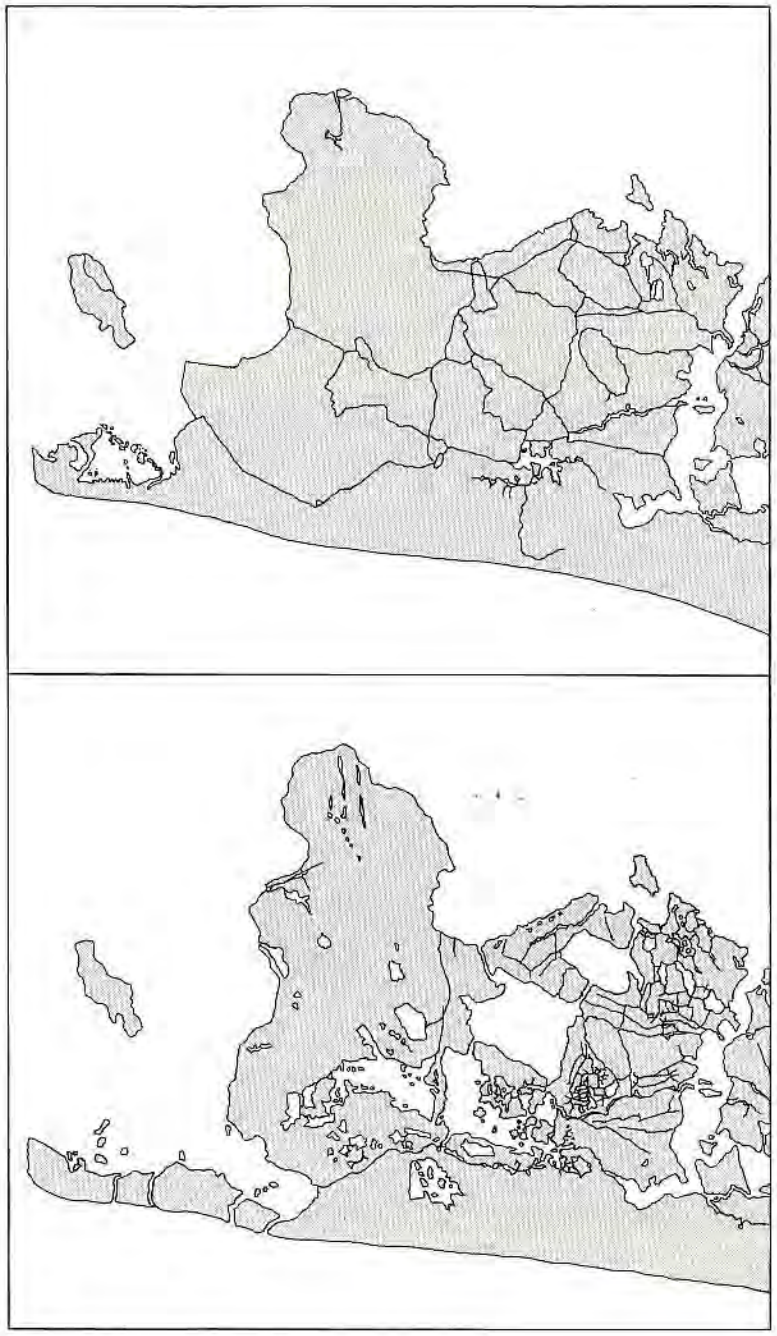
Such sandy dunescapes are typical of the land formation running south to north along the coastline to the west of Leiden, Haarlem, Santpoort, and Alkmaar. These dunes protected from the sea the marshes and bogs that were being drained in the regions surrounding Haarlem and Amsterdam, Santvoort's home.[39] Highest in the vicinity of Haarlem, rows of these dunes are pictured to the west of Haarlem in a map by Filips Galle of 1573.[40] Santvoort's dunescape contrasts dramatically with other familiar Dutch land formations, such as the forested areas of Holland's eastern border, as pictured for example by Jacob van Ruisdael in his *Grain Field at the Edge of a Forest* (Oxford, Worcester College).[41]

Santvoort's remarkable pictorial essay in a local and prosaic subject—the turn to a recognizably Dutch land formation—followed in landscapes by others in the same vein were painted at precisely the time that the merchants of Amsterdam and Haarlem undertook an intensive land reclamation project of the inland lakes and marshy bogs in their northern suburbs.[42] Between 1612 and 1635 these citizens gambled at least ten million guilders (more than they had invested in the founding of the Dutch East India Company) to drain 26,000 hectares (100 square miles) of land, increasing in just twenty-three years the size of the region by

one-third.[43] This dramatic accomplishment is illustrated in a diagram that compares the areas of water in 1560 with those in 1650 (see fig. 2.10). It demonstrates how in almost Genesis-like fashion, the Dutch had reclaimed their land almost entirely from the waters.

While authorization had to be obtained from the provincial government, this creation of land was a commercial investment made by private citizens. The draining of the 17,500 acres (7,100 hectares) of the inland lake of Beemster, for example, was undertaken in 1607 by five merchants led by Amsterdam's powerful administrator of the East India Company, Dirck van Oss, with one goldsmith, three burgomasters, and six government officials in The Hague, including grand pensionary of Holland Jo-

2.9 Pieter van Santvoort, *Landscape with Farmhouse and Country Road* (1625). Panel, 30 × 37 cm. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie.



2.10 Diagram of land reclamation in North Holland, ca. 1560 and 1650. Adapted from A. M. van der Woude, *Het Noorderkwartier*, 3 vols., *A. A. G. Bijdragen*, no. 16 (1972): 755, 756.

han van Oldenbarneveld. The project was large and highly visible. By 1612 over one hundred citizens had invested in the scheme; its completion in March of that year was celebrated with a banquet held under a tent erected in the mud.[44] Projects such as these dramatically altered the appearance of the region. These speculators constructed behind the older sea dunes a system of canals and forty-two windmill pumps across the land.[45] The resulting landscape was an extremely flat and highly regular polder, punctuated by a gridlike system of canals and waterways across the drained areas, as vividly pictured in another project by an anonymous artist around 1600 (see fig. 2.11).[46]

In light of the commercial enterprises surrounding Haarlem and Amsterdam taking place precisely at the time of the emergence of the monochromatic dunescape, two qualities of Santvoort's landscape are particularly notable. First, while it represents a site in a local region where real estate is being rapidly created, Santvoort makes no reference whatsoever in the form of a windmill, canal, or flat polder to that commercial enterprise.[47] On the contrary, the farmhouse nestled under the protecting trees appears to have been there for a very long time. Second, while depicting the sandy landscape formation typical of the dunes to the west of Haarlem and Amsterdam, the artist has dramatized his subject by the low viewpoint, a sweeping curve in the road, a rise in the hill, a knot of wind-swept trees, and a darkening sky. This dramatization is evident from a comparison with a drawing of a similar site by Claes Jansz. Visscher that is inscribed "The road to Leiden outside Haarlem/1607" (see fig. 2.12).[48] Santvoort ignores his contemporaries' investment in and creation of the surrounding land; rather, the region in which new land was being created on an unprecedented scale is invested with a history. Thus, while the visual preoccupation with local landscape formations coincides with the first large-scale creation of land in the same region, the "naturalistic" imagery at the same time ignores the commercial enterprise that seems to have catalyzed it. In the cradle of capitalistic creation of real estate, the subject is noncommercial and pseudohistorical.

A similar process of commercial disavowal is apparently operating in another landscape theme popularized from the 1630s by the Haarlem artists Salomon van Ruysdael and Jan van Goyen, the so-called ferryboat on a river.[49] Adapting a theme that had been represented earlier in the century in more imaginary renditions, such paintings as van Ruysdael's *River Landscape with Ferry,* dating from 1649, usually show a flat-bottomed ferryboat laden with passengers and sometimes livestock, being poled along a tranquil river overhung with a few large trees, and frequently showing a glimpse of a church tower or farm buildings in the background (see fig. 2.13).[50] Like the dunescapes of the 1620s that they

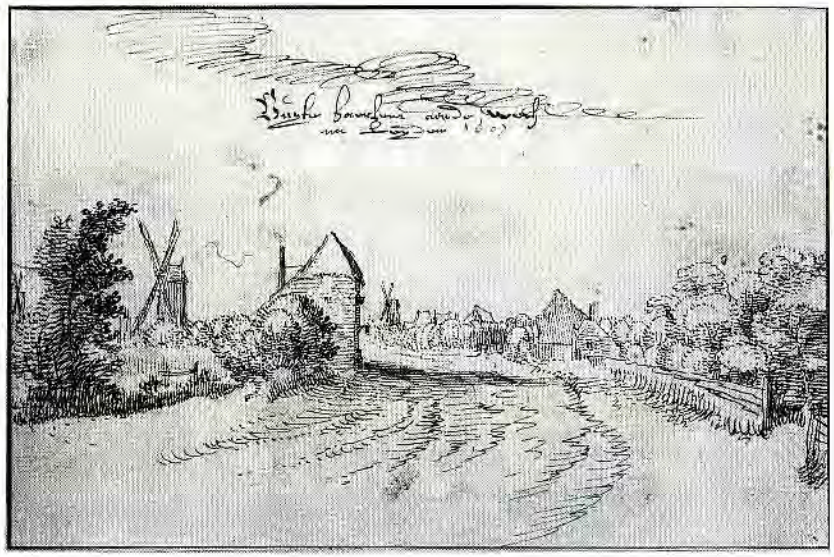
replace in popularity, these images of ferryboats on a river were also created in Haarlem in large numbers. Originally showing the subdued coloring and atmospheric effects of the monochromatic dunescapes, by mid-century these broadly worked paintings are rendered with brighter local color and greater atmospheric clarity.

Inland water transportation was another of seventeenth-century Holland's great achievements. The creation of land brought with it the creation of canals; between 1632 and 1665 the Dutch established a remarkable system of inland travel on these canals. In a system of thirty separate ventures, the Dutch invested nearly five million guilders to create 658 kilometers of *trekvaarten,* or "towing canals," an arrangement of exceedingly straight canals along which horse-drawn barges transported passen-

gers. Like the draining of the landscape, the creation of the *trekvaart* was a communal enterprise, although one more directly involving municipal governments. After gaining permission from the provincial governments, two cities had to reach an agreement to build a linking canal system, develop an administrative system, and finally sell shares in the venture to individual stockholders.[51]

The cover of a timetable for one of these routes illustrates the canal, barge, horse, and towing arrangement of the new system (see fig. 2.14).[52] Inland water carriage had long been an important means of transportation in the northern Netherlands. Until the creation of the *trekvaart,* however, only a few ferry routes provided regular service; many waited for a full load to depart. In 1632 the first *trekschuit* (towing barge), between Am-

2.11 Anonymous, *Polder "Het Grootslag" near Enkhuizen* (ca. 1600). Panel, 60 × 138 cm. Waagmuseum, Gemeente Enkhuizen.



2.12 Claes Jansz. Vissher, "The Road to Leiden outside Haarlem" (1607). Pen and brown ink, 125 × 189 mm. Courtesy the Rijksmuseum-Stichting, Amsterdam.

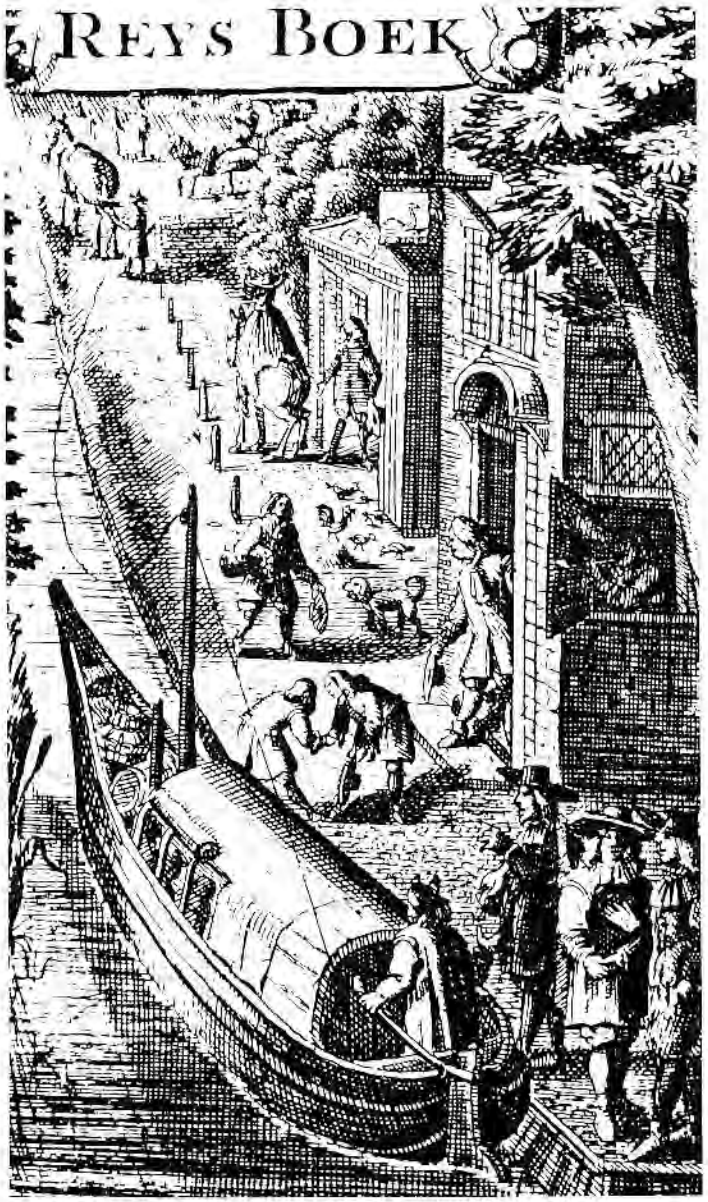
sterdam and Gouda, was opened.[53] By mid-century the system linked all of the major cities of the United Provinces, following schedules of remarkable regularity and dependability. From Amsterdam, for example, the traveler could depart for Haarlem every hour, south to Gouda twice and to Utrecht three times per day, north to Hoorn twelve times daily, and east to Naarden or Weesp six times each day.[54] Bells were rung to announce the departure time, and many barges were equipped with hourglasses. A skipper faced heavy fines for failure to keep to the schedule. In his detailed analysis of the system, de Vries observes that by the time they were fully operating, the *trekschuiten* provided 78 percent of public transportation in the Friesland and Groningen regions, and 81 percent in Holland and Utrecht, in contrast with coaches, which provided for only 6 percent of intercity travel. In the 1660s and 1670s the volume of paid passenger travel on *trekschuiten* was equivalent to every man, woman, and child in the four provinces served by the network spending some six hours on a barge per year.[55] Perhaps the most telling indication of their importance was the observation made in the eighteenth century by Benjamin Silliman that "on account of the equal motion of the Schuits, the Dutch reckon their distances by time."[56]

It is notable that the period of the greatest production of images of ferryboats on rivers closely coincided with the years 1632 to 1665, during

which time this system of barges on canals was under construction.[57] Equally remarkable, these paintings rarely if ever show the new mode of transportation. Like Ruysdael's painting, almost all depict ferryboats polled by a ferryman and along a river rather than a canal—the older sixteenth-century mode of water transportation. Thus, like the dunescape by Santvoort, Ruysdael's *River Landscape with Ferry* seems in its subject to be responding to the intense and remarkable economic achievement that was taking place at the time of its creation—here water transportation. But it too historicizes its subject and recollects an earlier era. Like the monochromatic dunescapes, it also pictures the landscape from a dramatic point of view, for the newer narrow and straight canals were much more prevalent in the Dutch countryside than the ancient broad and winding rivers.

Another level of commerce is embedded in these paintings, for many

2.13 Salomon van Ruysdael, *River Landscape with Ferry* (1649). Canvas, 99.5 × 133.5 cm. Courtesy the Rijksmuseum-Stichting, Amsterdam.



2.14 Cover of "Reys Boek" (eighteenth century).

if not most of these works were for the first time created not for individual patrons to well-defined specifications but for a commercial open market.[58] This raises the question, then, With what kind of viewer did these paintings resonate, and what imaginative function might they have served? The few surviving comments about landscape painting are not specific enough to help us here. We may draw a few conclusions, however, by addressing this question through the contemporary circumstances that I have just outlined. I suggest that this historicizing of the land and the diversion of attention from contemporary commercial enterprises to "natural" historical land formations and activities may be related to the complex contemporary issue of identity formation.

As discussed above, the draining of the land was an enterprise requiring the joint efforts of a group of citizens, and the creation of the *trekschuit* required the involvement of municipal governments. It is thus notable that the few existing paintings showing *trekschuiten* are panoramic city views that were apparently commissioned for or donated to the town halls of the cities they portray. Hendrik Cornelisz Vroom, for example, originally created his *View of the Haarlemmerpoort, Amsterdam* (Amsterdam Historical Museum) without a canal in 1615 before the *trekvaart* was even planned. Vroom apparently added the canal and four barges parked at a dock some seventeen years after he signed and dated the painting—after, that is, the *trekvaart* was completed in 1632.[59] While the seventeenth-century provenance of the painting is unknown, it certainly celebrates and associates the *trekschuit* with the city. Jan van Goyen's view of The Hague includes the *Delftse Vaart* (The Hague, Gemeentemuseum); this work was commissioned by the city magistrates for the considerable sum of 650 gulden in 1651.[60] This association of the *trekschuiten* with the cities that financially and administratively made them possible is consistent with the apparent motivation behind their construction. De Vries notes that *trekschuiten* were in themselves neither economically efficient nor even very profitable; they were, however, important to the larger stimulation of a city's commerce and above all a municipal status symbol as a model public utility.[61]

This lack of reference to commercial enterprise in the two landscape themes discussed above is not unique in Dutch culture. It has been frequently observed that farming, a common subject in fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts and in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Flemish painting, is rarely if at all depicted in Dutch landscape painting.[62] While whalers and individual commercial ships are occasionally represented in Dutch seascapes, there are apparently no depictions of the commercial ships of the East India Company.[63] In contrast to landscapes of the Dutch homeland, in the second half of the century industry is a preva-

lent theme of images of colonial communities abroad. Allart van Everdingen, for example, depicted Hendrick Trip's *Cannon Factory at Julitabroeck in Södermanland, Sweden*, and Hendrik van Schuylenburgh painted the *Factory of the East India Company in Hooghly, Benegal* in 1665 (both Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).[64] A rare exception to the general lack of images of commerce is Jacob van Ruisdael's paintings of the individually owned bleaching fields of Haarlem, of which he produced at least nine views.[65] These may have been available to Ruisdael and his public, however, because traditionally the subject of bleaching was readily invested with such traditional and noncommercial associations as moral purity.[66] We cannot conclude, then, that commerce was something the Dutch universally felt the need to hide. Most of the above-mentioned paintings may be said to represent individually owned property rather than labor.[67]

Early in the century commercial enterprises may not have yet had a place among the personal ideals deemed appropriate to express publicly. Although the amassing of property in this world was considered a sign of salvation in the next, at the same time the professed ideal was the favoring of spiritual matters over involvement in the material world. Other factors, however, may also have been at work here. On one level these images provide a visual escape to and appreciation of the countryside for the urban dweller. On another their nostalgic themes could serve to assuage guilt for a past landscape that was rapidly being changed if not destroyed by contemporary commercial enterprise. Finally, they are a visual appropriation and dominance of that countryside, a visual variation of an economic relation that by the seventeenth century was firmly established.[68] This is a dominance that conveniently overlooks the contemporary economic transformation being wrought on that land by groups of wealthy individuals, making it symbolically available to a much broader spectrum of the population. The few surviving documents indicate that dunescapes were plentiful and cheap, and thus also commercially available to a wide range of citizens.[69] At the level of local economic interest, Haarlem dunescapes could have helped to create for their viewers a shared sense of local regional history (this is not to say that the relation with the imagined community was the same for all viewers). Ferry scenes, representing transportation that both tied country to city and cities to each other, may well have imaginatively functioned for a provincial or even transprovincial public.

While this is a rich subject for further investigation, the distinguishing factor between those commercial enterprises that are represented and those that are not seems to be related to the organization of capital behind them, the relationship of individuals to each other and their investment. Commercial enterprise that was undertaken by a group of individuals at

home in the private marketplace, particularly early in the century, may perhaps have been viewed as potentially disruptive to the fabric of society—if citizens had even a concept for thinking about it.[70] In any event, most enterprises appear not yet to have been part of the public discourse of identity. Such an exception as the *trekvaarten*, owned by private investors for public service rather than private gain, may have provided subjects for communal satisfaction within the framework of new entrepreneurial processes.

I turn now to two paintings with subjects that are more openly economic and apparently political. The first is Albert Cuyp's *View of Dordrecht with Cattle*, popularly known as the *Large Dort*, and usually dated on the basis of style to the late 1640s (see fig. 2.15).[71] As with the two paintings just examined, Cuyp shows a monument that is readily identifiable as

2.15 Albert Cuyp, *View of Dordrecht with Cattle (The "Large Dort")* (late 1640s). Canvas, 157 × 197 cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London.

unmistakably Dutch. Rather than including a land formation or a Dutch barge and river, the artist depicts a view from the southeast of the Grote Kerk, or "Our Lady Church," in Dordrecht; to its left a city gate, the Vuilpoort, is visible. Like the subjects of the two previously discussed paintings, this one is redolent with history, both religious and commercial. Founded before 1200 on a tributary of the Rhine, Dordrecht was the oldest city in Holland and at one time its most important trading center, a role it relinquished in the seventeenth century to Amsterdam and Rotterdam.[72] Begun in 1339, the unfinished brick tower of the Grote Kerk made it among the most visually impressive churches in Holland. The church dominates the city even today.[73] The city had been the site of the first national Reformed synod in 1578 (after the organizational synod at Emden of 1571) and the critical Synod of Dort of 1618–19, held in the Kloveniersdoelen of the city, during which the Calvinist church in Holland consolidated itself and issued an important doctrinal statement, the "Articles of the Synod of Dort."[74] It was at this synod too that plans were made for the translation into Dutch and publication of the official States Bible which finally appeared in 1637.

The painting juxtaposes the prominent church with a small herd of dairy cows, shepherds, and a milkmaid in the foreground. More directly than the two paintings discussed above, these make reference to an important industry. Dutch cattle were renowned throughout Europe for their size, prodigious milk production, and the cheese made from their milk. Weighing an average of 1,600 pounds and producing as much as 1,300 liters of milk a year, Frisian cows were markedly superior to those of the rest of Europe, which weighed only 1,000 pounds on average and produced a mere 700 liters of milk annually.[75] Contemporary literature boasted of Dutch herds.[76] As a cornerstone of agricultural productivity and Dutch prosperity, the commercial cow had been, since the sixteenth century, associated with patriotic sentiment and a symbol of Holland itself. Allegories produced at the time of Holland's independence from Spain represent the northern Netherlands as a healthy cow or bull.[77] As has been frequently pointed out, the association reappears particularly during the 1640s during the time the Dutch were concluding negotiations with Spain that culminated in the Treaty of Munster and the legal recognition of the independence declared by the United Provinces in 1579.[78] A print by Hendrick Hondius II dating from 1644 is typical (see fig. 2.16). The caption on the print cautions the Dutch not to give too much away to Spain in order to conclude the truce: "Watchman, do your best to see that the Dutch cow is not stolen from us."[79]

Thus, the close visual juxtaposition of the historically important church with the economically important cows must have had strong resonances

2.16 Hendrick Hondius II, *Cows in a River* (1644). Etching.

with national patriotic fervor in the Dutch viewer.[80] Did the painting associate Dutch prosperity with the Dutch Reformed Church for some viewers? Or might it have associated prosperity for others with an earlier era when the church had been used by Catholics? Indeed, the associations no doubt depended upon the religious affiliation of the viewer. In either case, this painting, and others like it showing Dutch cows and the Grote Kerk at Dordrecht, presented a potential site for political thought and affiliation. They may well have appealed to a broader community than the two paintings previously discussed, one that was based not on narrow economic concerns but on nationwide economic and religious interests, interests that were intent on seeing that the treaty concluded with Spain was as favorable as possible for Dutch economic growth and prosperity and for toleration of the viewer's religious affiliation.[81]

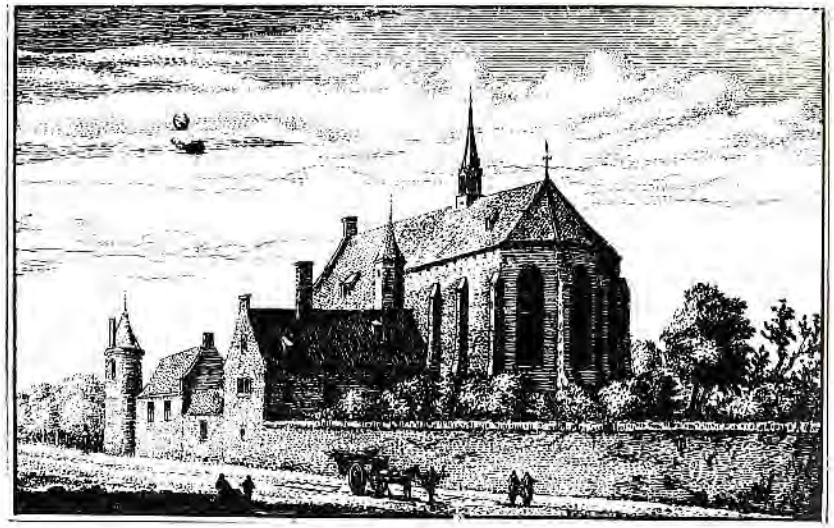
Like the two previously discussed paintings, the artist has taken liberties with his site. Dordrecht is actually situated at the junction of two major rivers, the Oude Maas and the Dordtse Kil. As is apparent, Cuyp—like Santvoort and Ruysdael, who also painted the site—has substituted a hilly landscape for the broad river that flows past the church as viewed more accurately in a painting by Jan van Goyen from exactly the same time (1645, Carter Collection, Los Angeles).[82]

My final example, Van Goyen's initially enigmatic painting *River Landscape with Pellekussenpoort, Utrecht, and Gothic Choir,* from the same decade, makes perhaps a more pointed religious and political statement (1643; see fig. 2.17).[83] In warm brown and yellow tones it represents a large structure surmounting city walls, a few sailboats, and a heavily laden ferry. The most readily identifiable structure in the painting is a Gothic choir surmounting the city wall at the right. While it is generalized enough to be unidentifiable as a specific church, it is of a type frequently found in paintings by the artist and prints by his contemporaries.[84] Such churches dotted the Dutch countryside and small towns, as for example "'t Klooster Aegten" of 1620, illustrated in an early eighteenth-century travel guide in three languages by Abraham Rademaker (see fig. 2.18).[85] The choir in Van Goyen's painting, however, stands without its transept and nave; it abuts, in fact, a civic tower. The prominent tower is an adaptation of an ancient city gate that stood in Utrecht during the seventeenth century, familiarly known as the Pellekussenpoort. Although demolished by the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was a favorite subject of seventeenth-century artists, who repeatedly rendered the gate in paintings, drawings, and prints.[86] It is recognizable by the roofline, where the turret joins the roof, as seen in another print by Rademaker from the opposite side (see fig. 2.19).[87]

Van Goyen, then, has juxtaposed a medieval, formerly Catholic church

2.17 Jan van Goyen, *River Landscape with Pellekussenpoort, Utrecht, and Gothic Choir* (1643). Panel, 76 × 107 cm. Private Collection.

with a historic civic gate. In his article on seventeenth-century images of the gate, Stechow concluded that it represented for the seventeenth-century viewer a pastoral ideal, a romantic celebration of the countryside onto which the ancient gate opened. It seems to me, however, that in this work Van Goyen may have rather been commenting upon the very controversial contemporary issues of the relationship of church and state, a theme that was particularly pressing in the tense 1640s.[88] The Pellekussenpoort was a gate to the city of Utrecht, the former seat of the Catholic bishop. Throughout the seventeenth century the city retained the highest proportion of Catholics in the entire country. Moreover, while sympathizers with the Reformed church politically dominated the country, it has been estimated that up to 40 percent of the nation remained Catholic or sympathetic with the Catholic cause.[89] Such a Gothic church had been built by Catholics long before Holland became a Protestant country. Painted by a Catholic artist (for Van Goyen was Catholic himself), this



2.18 *'t Klooster Aegten* (1620). Engraving from Abraham Rademaker, *Kabinet van Nederlandsche Outheden en Gezichten* (Amsterdam, 1725), vol. 2, pl. CCC. Photograph: reprint Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1966.

2.19 *Pellekussenpoort* (1620). Engraving from Abraham Rademaker, *Kabinet van Nederlandsche Outheden en Gezichten* (Amsterdam, 1725), vol. 2, pl. CCXXIII. Photograph: reprint Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1966.

painting appears to be a nostalgic reflection upon an earlier time, a time before the suppression of Catholics in Holland. Such an association would have resonated most strongly with a Catholic audience, particularly citizens of Utrecht. A time when the fledgling nation would obtain formal recognition of its independent status was also a time for reevaluation of the relationship of the various religious sects within the country to that state.

All four paintings exhibit several elements in common. First, each depicts landscape features that are recognizably Dutch (a landscape formation in the dunescape, a form of transportation in the river ferry) or architectural monuments (the Grote Kerk in Dordrecht or the Pellekussenpoort in Utrecht). Second, the artists of all four works dramatize the landscape sites they represent. In the first two, contemporary economic activity may be linked with their appearance; in the last, contemporary religious and political events. Finally, in all of these works the landscape is a site in which difficult urban preoccupations are naturalized particularly through the conceit of the recently created nation and land having a lengthy history.

The visual preoccupation with the landscape must have served an important function for a population constantly threatened with ruin by the sea, providing a form of imaginative control over nature that daily threatened destruction of all that the people had created. Indeed, Dutch artists imaginatively removed celebrated historic monuments to hillocks safely above the level of the menacing waters. Such control had to be exerted at the level of the community rather than the individual, for only through massive group effort could dikes and polders be maintained. Dutch landscape paintings thus could focus communal attention to the taming and control of a potentially threatening enemy. This visual dramatization of the landscape and its sense of history must also have been reassuring to a citizenry forging new political institutions and to a population constituted by a large number of immigrants. It visually gave this population a sense of stability through a fabricated communal history in the land. (It may also have made this exceedingly flat and, to many immigrants, foreign land more familiar, more like the lands from which they came.)

In each case, however, the images I discussed above would have resonated most strongly with specific urban groups, and in some cases over a very specific communal issue—the picturing of which potentially contributed to the creation of communal identities in a variety of spheres. Newly created and under constant transformation, landscape provided a ready unclaimed site for the negotiation of the potentially fragmenting issues of capital investment, political rivalries, and religious dispute.

The assumption of this chapter has been that viewing an image (here

a landscape) can, through the associations it engenders, create in the viewer a sense of affiliation with or difference from others, an individual identity in relation to a variety of communally held identities. Like social relations that are themselves dynamic and evolve simultaneously on many levels, these paintings of the Dutch landscape simultaneously address multiple values and themes. Barring a lucky find in diaries or letters, we may never know what these themes meant for any individual viewer. More to the point here, however, is that these Dutch landscape paintings reveal some of the social sites and some of the issues around which identities were being constructed.

Dutch society was extraordinarily fragmented.[90] Individuals belonged simultaneously to a variety of communities in the economic, political, and religious spheres, many of which were in potential conflict with each other. These cut across the culture in a variety of ways. Affiliations in one area could be disrupted and shifted in another by friendships and family ties. These paintings offered a communal identity on several levels, legitimizing their themes through naturalizing and historizing them, offering security where none in fact was to be had. At a time when political theory was highly preoccupied with social cohesion, images such as the Haarlem dunescapes or rivers with ferryboats must have broadly appealed to regional audiences, overlooking the potential social disruption caused by private joint economic speculation and land development, a new form of economic activity that certainly had no social location. Images such as Cuyp's *Large Dort* offered the possibility of economic and political warning for citizens on a national scale; that of Van Goyen's *Pellekussenpoort*, a form of nostalgia if not political protest by Catholics. Each of these presented to viewers a different community with which they might imaginatively affiliate or distance themselves.

Dutch landscape painting thus provided a site for the working out, not of rural issues, but of urban ones.[91] As Cosgrove has argued, "Landscape is a subjective formation." It is "an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature."[92] Ironically, however, even for Cosgrove, Dutch landscape painting remains "an unadorned, realistic and familiar word . . . recognisable and valuable to the historian or geographer," against which he plays the "subjective" landscapes of other places and other times.[93] Dutch "naturalism" of powerful economic, religious, and political themes has tenaciously resisted further inquiry and remained convincing indeed. In these remarkable transformations of their homeland, Dutch artists visually turned their own country back into God's

country; Nederland becomes Vaderland once again, not only linguistically but also pictorially.

Notes

1. I am indebted to W. J. T. Mitchell for our many productive conversations while team-teaching a graduate seminar, during which the ideas for this paper took shape, and to Becky Chandler for the opportunity to present a preliminary version of this paper at a Midwest Faculty Seminar in the spring of 1990. I am also grateful to Charles Harrison for a thoughtful reading of this text and a discussion about some of its assumptions and implications.

2. As for example Bob Haak, *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1984), 134–43. Patinir: inv. no. 1614, Robert Koch, *Joachim Patinir,* Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, no. 38 (Princeton, N.J., 1968), cat. no. 11, figs. 28, 29. See also Walter S. Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth": The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 11, with additional citations. Molijn: inv. no. 338. Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1966), 23–26, discusses Molijn's work as "one of the corner-stones of Dutch landscape painting." See also Peter Sutton, ed., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting,* exh. cat. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), no. 56.

3. In his monumental study of Dutch landscape painting, Stechow pointed out that "while there exist some topographically correct city views (mostly views within a city), the majority of these subjects were used with freedom and even caprice" (*Dutch Landscape Painting,* 8). The point was made earlier by H. van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderlandse geschieduitbeelding, 1500–1800. Een iconologische studie,* 2 vols. (The Hague, 1952), 1:51, and elaborated upon by Wolfgang Stechow, "Landscape Paintings in Dutch Seventeenth Century Interiors," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1960): 165–84, esp. 165.

4. Dutch landscape imagery has come under extensive consideration in a number of important essays in recent exhibition catalogs. These include essays in Christopher Brown et al., *Dutch Landscape, the Early Years: Haarlem and Amsterdam, 1590–1650* (London, National Gallery, 1986); Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting;* Marijn Schapelhouman and Peter Schatborn, *Land and Water: Dutch Drawings from the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Print Room* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987); Frederik J. Duparc, *Landscape in Perspective: Drawings by Rembrandt and His Contemporaries* (Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1988); Cynthia P. Schneider et al., *Rembrandt's Landscapes: Drawings and Prints* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1990); David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London, British Museum, 1980).

5. Salomon van Ruysdael, *Winter near Utrecht,* panel, 75.5 × 107 cm., Enschede, Coll. Mrs. van Keek-van Hoorn in 1966, illus. in Wolfgang Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael, eine Einführung in seine Kunst* (Berlin, 1938), no. 13; and

Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* fig. 6, pp. 8, 190 n. 29, with other examples including (p. 162) Albert Cuyp's location of Utrecht's Mariakerk in an Italian landscape (Toledo Museum of Art). On the latter, see W. Hutton in *Toledo Museum News,* Autumn 1981, 79ff. with color illus.

6. Canvas, 141 × 182.9 cm., Detroit Institute of Arts; Seymour Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael,* exh. cat. (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, 1981), nos. 20, 21, with extensive discussion.

7. Van Ruisdael: Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael,* no. 14; for two other paintings of the site, see nos. 12, 13.

8. The photograph is reproduced in Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael,* 54.

9. Gerard de Lairesse praised landscape because it "is the most delightful subject in the art, and has very powerful qualities, with respect to sight, . . . it diverts and pleases the eye" (*Het Groot Schilderboek* [Amsterdam, 1707], translated as *Art of Painting in All Its Branches* [London, 1778], 203). Stechow asserts that for those Dutch landscape paintings without an obvious "subject," this was the only motivation behind their creation (*Dutch Landscape Painting,* 11).

10. Associations have been suggested between a growing national pride and the rise of the "realistic" style in landscape; see J. G. van Gelder, *Jan van de Velde* (The Hague, 1933), 15. Christopher Brown, "Introduction," in *Dutch Landscape, the Early Years,* 11–34, esp. 24–30; and Simon Schama, "Dutch Landscapes: Culture as Foreground," in Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 64–83, are two excellent discussions of the broader cultural context within which Dutch landscapes were created. These two authors raise some of the general political, economic, and religious issues that this chapter examines in greater depth. Schama (ibid., 70–71) discusses some of the problems with the term "realism." See also W. J. T. Mitchell, "Nature for Sale: Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," in *The Consumption of Culture in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London, forthcoming).

11. Brekelankam: canvas, 66 × 53 cm., Peter C. Sutton et al., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting,* exh. cat. (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), no. 18, with color illus. Van Mieris: panel, 31.5 × 24.6 cm., Otto Naumann, *Frans van Mieris (1635–1681) the Elder,* 2 vols. (Doornspijk, 1981), vol. 2, pl. 22; known in at least seven versions. Landscapes also appear in the background of portraits of figures in interiors, probably more of which represent actual paintings, including the *Portrait of a Couple* by Eglon Hendrick van der Neer, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, illus. Stechow, "Landscape Paintings," fig. 11, which is signed with the appropriate form of J. Ruisdael's signature. In this article, Stechow points out that while a few of the landscapes pictured in these paintings seem to have been based on actual works, it is likely that many of them never actually existed. The point remains that their prevalence in such interiors, imaginary or not, seems to parallel their numbers in surviving inventories. See John Michael Montias, *Art and Artisans in Delft* (New Haven, 1982), 269–70.

12. Montias, *Art and Artisans,* 242. See also J. M. Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture,* ed. D. Freedberg and J. de Vries (Santa Monica, Calif.: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 331–72, esp. 334–37, where the numbers are 20 percent in the 1620s, 25 to 28 percent from 1630 to 1659, and about 35 percent from 1660 to 1689; and Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 104–20.

13. H. Blink, *Geschiedenis van den boerenstand en den landbouw in Nederland,* 2 vols. (Groningen, 1902), 2:112–13, cited by Jan de Vries, "The Dutch Rural Economy and the Landscape," in *Dutch Landscape, the Early Years,* ed. Brown, 79–86, esp. 82. See also Jan de Vries, "Landbouw in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1490–1650," in *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1980): 7:12–43, esp. 36–37.

14. Renee Kistemaker and Roelof van Gelder, *Amsterdam: The Golden Age, 1275–1795* (New York, 1982), 16. See also A. M. van der Woude, *Het Noorderkwartier,* 3 vols. (*A. A. G. Bijdragen,* no. 16; Wageningen, 1972).

15. For the legends that grew up around the flood, see van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen* 1:255–57. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), figs. 14, 16, illustrates a contemporary painting of 1421 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and a late seventeenth-century engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe after Arnoud van Houbraken for his *Schouburgh der Nederlandse Veranderingen* (Amsterdam, 1684). Chrysostom of Naples, *De situ et de moribus Hollandiae* (1514), was apparently the earliest written account, repeated in such later accounts as Petrus Scriverius's *Batavia Illustrata* (Leiden, 1614), cited by Schama, "Dutch Landscapes," 625, nos. 47, 48.

16. Audrey M. Lambert, *The Making of the Dutch Landscape* (London, 1971), 123. See also Gerhard Werkman, *Kent gij het land der zee ontrukt* (Bussem, 1948), 70–74, cited by Jan de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500–1700* (New Haven, 1974), 31; and M. K. E. Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden en rivierstromingen,* 3 vols. (Assen, 1974–77).

17. Clara Bille, "Een dijkdoorbraak te Amsterdam ruim 300 jaar geleden," *Amstelodamum, Maandblad* 47 (1960): 204–11; paintings include that by Willem Schellinks, *Collapse of the St. Antonisdyk at Houtewael,* canvas, 47 × 68 cm., Amsterdam Historical Museum, cat. 1975/79, no. 401; illus. Schama, "Dutch Landscapes," fig. 17. Jan Asselijn, panel, 46.5 × 63 cm., Amsterdam Historical Museum, cat. 1975/79, no. 13 (with a list of other paintings of the subject), and C. Steland-Stief, *Jan Asselijn* (Amsterdam, 1971), 81–82, illus. Jan van Goyen made a series of sketches from life of the scene, in H. U. Beck, "Jan van Goyen am Diechbruch von Houtewael (1651)," *Oud Holland* 81 (1966): 20–33.

18. Anonymous pamphlet, *The Dutch Drawn to Life* (London, 1664), 42.

19. Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, 1958; 1st ed., 1932, 134–35, 136–38; S. J. Fockema Andreae, "De militaire inundatie van het vaste land van Holland in het jaar 1574," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 70 (1953): 307–15.

20. Gregory King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England* (London, 1696), cited by de Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 242–43.

21. De Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 89–90, 107; for a detailed analysis of the population growth in the northern Netherlands and its sources, see Chap. 3. See also J. A. Faber et al, "Population Changes and Economic Developments in the Netherlands: A Historical Survey," *A. A. G. Bijdragen* 12 (1965): 47–113; A. M. van der Woude, "Demografische ontwikkeling van de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1500–1800," *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 5:102–68, esp. 123–39.

22. J. C. Naber, "Een terugblik," *Bijdrage van het Statistisch Instituut* 4 (1885): 1–48, cited by de Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 50, who also gives (49–67) a detailed analysis from available evidence of peasant ownership of land in the United Provinces in the sixteenth century.

23. *Informacie up den staet Faculteyt ende Gelegentheyt van de Steden ende Dorpen van Hollant ende Vrieslant . . . gedaen in den jaere 1514,* comp. R. J. Fruin (Leiden, 1866), 293–94, 297, cited by de Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 30. In fact the land quality varied enormously, even over short distances; thus the Italian chronicler Ludovico Guicciardini could also praise the fertility of Dutch land in his *Beschrijvinghe van alle de Nederlanden,* trans. Cornelis Kiliaan (Amsterdam, 1613), 9.

24. Kistemaker and Gelder, *Amsterdam,* 38.

25. Paul Limbourg and Jean Limbourg, "March": Jean Longnon, *The Très riches heures of Jean, Duke of Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly,* trans. Victoria Benedict (New York, 1969), color illus. 4.

26. For an overview of the relationship of peasants to their land and to the nobility in the sixteenth century by region and village, see H. A. Enno van Gelder, "De Hollandse adel in de tijd van de opstand," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 45 (1930): 113–50, esp. 130–31; see also his *Nederlandse dorpen in de 16e eeuw. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde,* n.s. 59 (1953), both cited by De Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 25. Enno van Gelder describes seigneurial organization as being increasingly weak as one moved north in the Lowlands.

27. Longnon, *Très riches heures,* color illus. 9.

28. Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (New York, 1987), 134–41; idem, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963), no. P72, who illus. the cartographic portrait of Queen Elizabeth no. E32. Bucius's map was reproduced more than ten times in the editions of S. Münster's *Cosmography* published between 1544 and 1600, in the *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* by Heinrich Bünting, ca. 1580.

29. See discussion in Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King,* trans. M. Houle (Minneapolis, 1988), 169–79.

30. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, 1977), 146, 191, 197–98, 201, 205–7, 220–21, 225, 241–42.

31. This usage contrasts, for example, with "England," a term originally attached to a people, the Angles, describing the territory that the Angles inhabited. For a discussion of other Dutch place-names derived from land formations, see Lambert, *Making of the Dutch Landscape,* 51–52.

32. Sir William Temple, "An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government, written in the year 1672," in *Works,* 2 vols. (London, 1740), 1:100. This idiom contrasts with the English word "country," which originates in the concept "contra," with overtones of noncity, and "view"; see *Oxford English Dictionary* 2, "country."

33. J. W. Muller, "Vaderland en Moedertaal," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 47 (1928): 43–62, esp. 45.

34. Rubens: canvas, 198 × 297 cm., Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens, Man and Artist* (New Haven, 1987), color fig. 252; Van de Venne: Laurens J. Bol, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne, Painter and Draughtsman* (Doornspijk, 1989), 41–42, color illus. fig. 27.

35. "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collection of Charles I," ed. Oliver Millar, *Walpole Society* 37 (1960): 4.

36. Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 24–25; Haak, *Golden Age,* 240; Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* no. 98, and p. 35, where he writes, "It is difficult to say what seventeenth-century viewers made of these dun-colored images of sandy tracks in the dune with peasants or goatherds lounging at the side of the road or before crudely thatched cottages."

37. Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* no. 98.

38. For a selection of paintings by these artists, see entries in Brown, *Dutch Landscape, the Early Years;* and Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting.*

39. For diagrams of these land formations and their locations, see Lambert, *Making of the Dutch Landscape,* figs. 33, 34, 36.

40. Published in Antwerp; illus. Günter Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica,* 3 vols. (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1987), 2:113. On their size, see Kornelis ter Laan, *Van Goor's Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek van Nederland,* ed. A. G. C. Baert, 3d ed. (The Hague, 1968), 98.

41. Canvas, 103.8 × 146.2 cm., illus. Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael,* no. 18.

42. While some attempts have been made to connect the rise of the "naturalistic" dune landscape with the national pride generated by the Twelve Year's Truce, I believe the connection with economic preoccupation with the land is of greater importance.

43. De Vries, "Dutch Rural Economy," 81; van der Woude, *Noorderkwartier.*

44. Kistemaker, and Gelder, *Amsterdam,* 17; see also J. Bouman, *Bedijking, opkomst, en bloei van de Beemster* (Amsterdam, 1857).

45. For a summary history of the draining throughout the region, see Lambert, *Making of the Dutch Landscape,* 212–20; and the excellent essays in *Het land van Holland. Ontwikkelingen in het Noord- en Zuidhollandse landschap,* exh. cat., special issue of *Holland* 10, no. 3 (June 1978).

46. The flatness of the resulting land is particularly evident in an aerial view of Waterland, a region just to the north of Haarlem and Amsterdam, and in the heart of this reclaimed area; see *Aerophoto Holland: Air-Views of Towns, Villages, and the Countryside* (1982), no. 10.

47. Noted by Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London, 1984), 152, who adds, "a fact for which we have no convincing explanation." Dutch landscape painting remains for him one of the few "naturalistic" renditions of the world (see below).

48. "Buyte Haerlem aen de wech naer Leyden. 1607": inv. no. 1902 A 4701-e; Schapelhouman and Schatborn, *Land and Water,* no. 5. Drawings were more frequently made out-of-doors and on the spot than paintings that were created in the studio; while not always the case, the former thus have a greater possibility of being closer to the artist's subject; see Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 8; and Schapelhouman and Schatborn, *Land and Water,* viii–xi.

49. Salomon van Ruysdael's first dated painting of the theme was created in 1631; see Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 34–35; and Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael,* 19. For van Goyen, see Hans-Ulrich Beck, *Jan van Goyen* (Amsterdam, 1972–73), 2 vols.

50. Esaias van de Velde's more fanciful *Ferry Boat* of 1622 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) is frequently cited, among others, as an important precedent; see Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 50–63. Van Ruysdael: inv. no. A 3983; compare Sutton, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* nos. 93, 94.

51. Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632–1839* (Utrecht, 1981), 97–120.

52. De Vries, "Dutch Rural Economy," 82; idem, *Barges and Capitalism.*

53. Lambert, *Making of the Dutch Landscape,* 191–92. The most extensive study of the *trekschuit* is de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism*; see also the excellent summary in Kistemaker and Gelder, *Amsterdam,* 146–47.

54. De Vries, "Dutch Rural Economy," 82; examples of published schedules include Jan ten Hoorn, *Reisboek door Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1679); or idem, *Reisboek door de Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provinciën* (Amsterdam, eds. 1679, 1689, 1700).

55. De Vries, *Barges and Capitalism,* 24 n. 24, 233, 84–85.

56. Benjamin Silliman, *Journal of Travels in England, Holland, and Scotland,* 3 vols. (New Haven, 1820), 2:293, who continues, "For example Rotterdam to the Hague is four hours or twelve miles; from Amsterdam to Rotterdam is thirteen hours or thirty-nine miles, and this is the universal language of Holland."

57. De Vries, *Barges and Capitalism,* 26–34. Certainly horse-drawn barges were previously known, as shown in a drawing by Jacob de Gheyn II, *View of a Canal,* signed and dated 1598, Coll. Amsterdam, I. Q. van Regteren Altena, illus. in I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations* (The Hague, 1983), no. 941, pl. 62; see also A. T. van Deursen et al., *Jacques de Gheyn II drawings, 1565–1629,* exh. cat. (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1986), no. 90, illus.

58. See particularly Chong, "Market for Landscape Painting." In "The Influence of Economic Factors on Style," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6 (1990): 49–57, economist Michael Montias argues that the style of these paintings—monochrome in color and rapidly executed in broad brushstrokes—and their production in large numbers may have been driven by market forces; they are cost-efficient to produce and create readily recognizable products. Such pressure for speed is evident, for example, in the contract between Adriaen Delen and the artist Jan Porcellis that stipulated that the artist would produce forty seascapes in twenty weeks. See John Walsh, Jr., "The Dutch Marine Painters Jan and Julius Porcellis," *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974): 653–62, 734–35, esp. 657. Speed is evident too in the size of Jan van Goyen's oeuvre, whose total output in the most recent catalogue raisonné numbers more than 1,200 paintings and 800 drawings; see Beck, *Jan van Goyen.*

59. Canvas, 71.5 × 109.5 cm., signed and dated "VROOM 1615," Amsterdam Historical Museum cat. 1975/1979, no. 496. De Vries, "Dutch Rural Economy," 82, notes that the canal is a later addition to the painting. In an undated painting, Vroom also depicted a river barge pulled by two men, illus. Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting,* fig. 109.

60. Canvas, 170 × 438 cm., Beck, *Jan van Goyen,* vol. 2, no. 332, illus.

61. De Vries, *Barges and Capitalism,* 185, 192.

62. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann and Alan Chong, "Dutch Landscape and Its Associations," in *The Royal Picture Gallery, Mauritshuis,* ed. H. R. Hoetink (Amsterdam, 1985), 57, assert without citation that contemporary Dutch texts viewed agriculture as tied to a feudal system that had been cast off. As I noted above, however, the Dutch never experienced the type of feudal system experienced by the rest of Europe. Brown "Introduction," 29–30, citing De Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* notes that at the same time a revolution in agrarian techniques enabled Dutch farmers to be more efficient and productive than many of their European contemporaries. For the revolution in agricultural techniques, see B. H. Slicher van Bath, "The Rise of Intensive Husbandry in the Low Countries," in *Britain and the Netherlands,* ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman (London, 1960); in any event, de Vries, "Dutch Rural Economy," 80, notes that agriculture did not provide an important source of the nation's income.

63. I am indebted to Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij for this observation. Examples of the former include Lieve Pietersz. Verschuier, *The Whaler, "Prince William," on the River Maas, near Rotterdam,* canvas, 95 × 140 cm., private collection; Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom, *Return of the Second Dutch Expedition to the East Indies,* canvas, 110 × 220 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. A2858; both illus. in George Keyes et al., *Mirror of Empire: Dutch Marine Art of the Seventeenth Century,* exh. cat. (Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1990), nos. 44, 50.

64. Everdingen: canvas, 192 × 254.5 cm., inv. no. A1510, Alice I. Davies, *Allart van Everdingen* (New York, 1978), 19–24, 191–200, no. 98, illus., who notes that the location of the buildings is correctly represented but that the artist has taken liberties with the landscape site; she adds (195) that Everdingen painted at least four other pictures of the Swedish cannon industry. Schuylenburgh: canvas 203 × 316 cm., inv. no. A4282; both illus. Kistemaker and Gelder, *Amsterdam,* 118, 77.

65. Rosenberg, *Jacob van Ruisdael,* identified at least eighteen: nos. 38–40, 44, 47–50, 56, 58, 60, 62–63, 63a, 64–67. Of these, James D. Burke, "Ruisdael and His Haarlempjes," *M. Quarterly Review of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts,* Summer 1974, 2–11, identified at least nine with certainty. Linda Stone-Ferrier, "Views of Haarlem: A Reconsideration of Ruisdael and Rembrandt," *Art Bulletin* 67 (1985): 422, 429, suggests that these were painted in great numbers in Haarlem and not elsewhere. Linen was also bleached in Haarlem because the bleaching industries in that city were unmatched either in quality or in production.

66. I am grateful to Charles Harrison for this suggestion.

67. Notably, images of individuals engaged in actual labor seem to have been reserved during the first half of the century for depictions in prints of the various urban "workhouses," or houses of correction; later in the century, "craft" in the domestic sphere was represented.

68. The cities' progressive economic subjection of the countryside culminated in 1531 when they persuaded Charles V to issue the *Order op de buitennering,* which forbade the new establishment of most industries in the countryside and forbade new bakeries and taverns within 2.26 kilometers of all city walls. See E. C. G. Brünner, *De order op de Buitennering van 1531* (Amsterdam, 1921); and de Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 49.

69. The 1657 inventory of Amsterdam dealer Johannes de Renialme, which included paintings valued up to 500 guilders, listed paintings by Pieter Molijn and Jan van Goyen ranging in value from 12 to 40 gulden; see Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVI., XVII., und XVIII. Jahrhunderts,* 8 vols. (1915–22), 1:228–38.

70. By the later half of the century such concepts were more fully articulated; see the political and economic tract by Leiden cloth manufacturer and tradesman Pieter de la Court, *Het interest van Holland ofte Gronden van Hollands Welvaren aangewezen door V.D.H.* (Amsterdam, 1662).

71. Cuyp: Stephen Reiss, *Albert Cuyp* (Boston, 1975), no. 83; Neil Maclaren, *The Dutch School, 1600–1900* (London, National Gallery, 1960), no. 961, pp. 86–88. The subject was enormously popular. For Cuyp's many views of the church, see Reiss, *Albert Cuyp.* Van Goyen painted it at least twenty-five times between 1633 and 1655, more than any other artist; see Beck, *Jan van Goyen.* Other artists who represented the site include A. Willaerts, G. Neyts, J. Peeters, and J. de Grave.

72. See Johan van Beverwijk, *'t Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht* (Dordrecht, 1640); Lambert, *Making of the Dutch Landscape,* 189; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Jan van Goyen in the Corcoran: Exemplars of Dutch Naturalism," in *The William A. Clark Collection,* exh. cat. (Washington D.C., Corcoran Museum, 1978), 51–59, esp. 55.

73. As can be seen from an aerial photograph in *Aerophoto Holland,* no. 90.

74. Peter Y. De Jong, ed., *Crisis in the Reformed Churches: Essays in Commemoration of the Great Synod of Dort, 1618–1619* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1968); Thomas Scott, *The Articles of the Synod of Dort and Its Rejection of Errors* (London, 1818), esp. 1–100. Geeraert Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie,* 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1677–1704), gives an extensive account of the synod.

75. De Vries, *Dutch Rural Economy,* 127–44, 166–68.

76. See Kaerle Stevens and Jan Libaut, *De veltbouw* (Amsterdam, 1622); and Wouter van Gouthoeven, *D'oude chronijcke end historien van Holland* (The Hague, 1636). Further examples appear in G. J. Hengeveld, *Het rundvee,* 2 vols. (Haarlem, 1865–70), cited by Chong, "Market for Landscape Painting," no. 21.

77. Such paintings include an English satire ca. 1585, *The milch cow: Satire on the exploitation of the Netherlands by the prince of Orange* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. A2684), and the contemporary *Queen Elizabeth Feeding the Cow of the Netherlands,* illus. Roy C. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963), no. addenda 9, illus. See van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen,* 1:21–22; Haverkamp-Begemann and Chong, "Dutch Landscape," 63–64, 67; Chong "Market for Landscape Painting," no. 21; Amy Walsh, "Imagery and Style in the Paintings of Paulus Potter (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985), esp. Chap. 8.

78. See Pieter Quast's allegory of Holland as a bull kicking off Spanish rule, dated 16[41?], black chalk and gray wash on vellum, Sacramento, Crocker Art Gallery, inv. no. 578, cited in Haverkamp-Begemann and Chong, "Dutch Landscape," 67 n. 32. Van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen* 1:22, also cites a play by Samuel Coster on the treaty, "Verklaringh van de ses eerste vertoningen, gedaen binnen Amsterdam . . . 5 Junij 1648," in which he makes the association, "Ruling States of Holland, like the hundred eyed Argus," must not sleep but watchfully guard "the cow (that is her own agreeable Fatherland)." For an extensive discussion of the cow and steer in Dutch painting, see essays by Sjraar van Heugten and Alan Chong in *Meesterlijk Vee. Nederlandse veeschilders, 1600–1900,* exh. cat. (Zwolle, 1988).

79. "Ghy Heeren wachters wel neerstelyck toesiet, Dat Ons gerooft werd' de Hollandse koe neit," Hendrick Hondius II, "*Holland's Prosperity,*" 1644, engraving, one of a series of six landscape subjects, F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1949–78), 9:92, no. 12; van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen,* 1:21–22, illus. vol 2, pl. 4-1.

80. Associations of civic pride with the portrayal of historically important cities, particularly during politically crucial times, have been recognized for some time; see Haverkamp-Begemann and Chong, "Dutch Landscape," 57; Brown, "Introduction," 28; Sutton, "Introduction," in his *Dutch Landscape Painting,* 2, 38. To my knowledge, the association of the church at Dordrecht with the negotiations with the treaty with Spain have not been made in the literature.

81. Cuyp's painting also resonates with a long-standing tradition of georgic imagery that includes Titian's well-known woodcut *Landscape with Milkmaid,* ca. 1520–25, which provided motifs for the work of numerous northern artists, including Rubens and Van Dyck. Its golden light, a characteristic of a generation of Dutch artists known as the Italianates influenced by the work of Claude Lorrain, provide an additional note of prestige and historical importance to the scene. Chong, "Market for Landscape Painting," no. 21, discusses other possible associations with the cow that the viewer may have made; none of these are to my mind as pressing as the political message of the work.

82. John Walsh, Jr., and Cynthia P. Schneider, *A Mirror of Nature: Dutch Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter,* exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1982), no. 11. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Jan van Goyen," 55, discusses how van Goyen's views of Rhenen and of Dordrecht represent some monuments accurately but in particular depict the surrounding countryside as wilder and rougher than it is in actuality.

83. Beck, *Jan van Goyen,* vol. 2, no. 693. The subject of this painting was first identified in Ann Jensen Adams, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings from New York Private Collections,* exh. cat. (New York, National Academy of Design, 1988), no. 21.

84. Including a painting now in Prague, dating from two years later (photo

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie). A similar choir appears in a Gothic church in reverse in a painting in a private collection in Cologne (Beck, *Jan van Goyen,* vol. 2, no. 190). Van Goyen sketched a number of Gothic churches from this angle, including ibid., vol. 1, nos. 247, 550, 576, 819, and 847–48; the last cited shows a similar city wall.

85. In his *Kabinet van Nederlansche Outheden en Gezichten,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1725), Abraham Rademaker illustrates many other such churches.

86. Wolfgang Stechow, "Die Pellekussenpoort bei Utrecht auf Bildern von J. van Goyen und S. van Ruysdael," *Oud Holland* 55 (1938): 202–8, with numerous examples. Salomon van Ruysdael's paintings of the tower include that in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, cat. 1962, no. 1761, cat. 1972, illus. p. 55; Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael,* no. 489. With various modifications Van Goyen placed the city gate in a number of paintings, including one now in Minneapolis dated 1648, Beck, vol. 2, no. 693; others include nos. 74, 639, 640, 760, 762, 765, and 788. The tower appeared in a ruined state in a painting of 1644, no. 659.

87. See also Rademaker, *Kabinet,* vol. 2, pl. CXXIV.

88. H. A. van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid. Een verhandeling over der verhouding van kerk en staat in de Republiek der Vereigde Nederlanden en de vrijheid van meinsuiting in zake godsdienst, drukpers en onderwijs gedurende de 17de eeuw* (Groningen, 1972). This is not to say that nostalgic and pastoral associations were not made with some landscapes; see the extensive discussion by Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints,* 1–20.

89. Ivo Schöffer, "Geloof en kerken," in *De Lage Landen van 1500 tot 1780,* ed. Ivo Schöffer, H. van der Wee, and J. A. Bornewasser (Amsterdam, 1978), 212; see also the discussion of the history and situation of the various Catholic communities in the state by Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden, en regeeringe,* 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1760–88), 3:207–18.

90. For a good analysis of the fragmented nature of Dutch society at the time of the revolution against Spain, see James D. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506–1566: The Formation of a Body Politic* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990).

91. For a similar process in the English eighteenth-century, see Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986).

92. Cosgrove, *Social Formation,* 15, and chap. 2.

93. Ibid., 153.

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