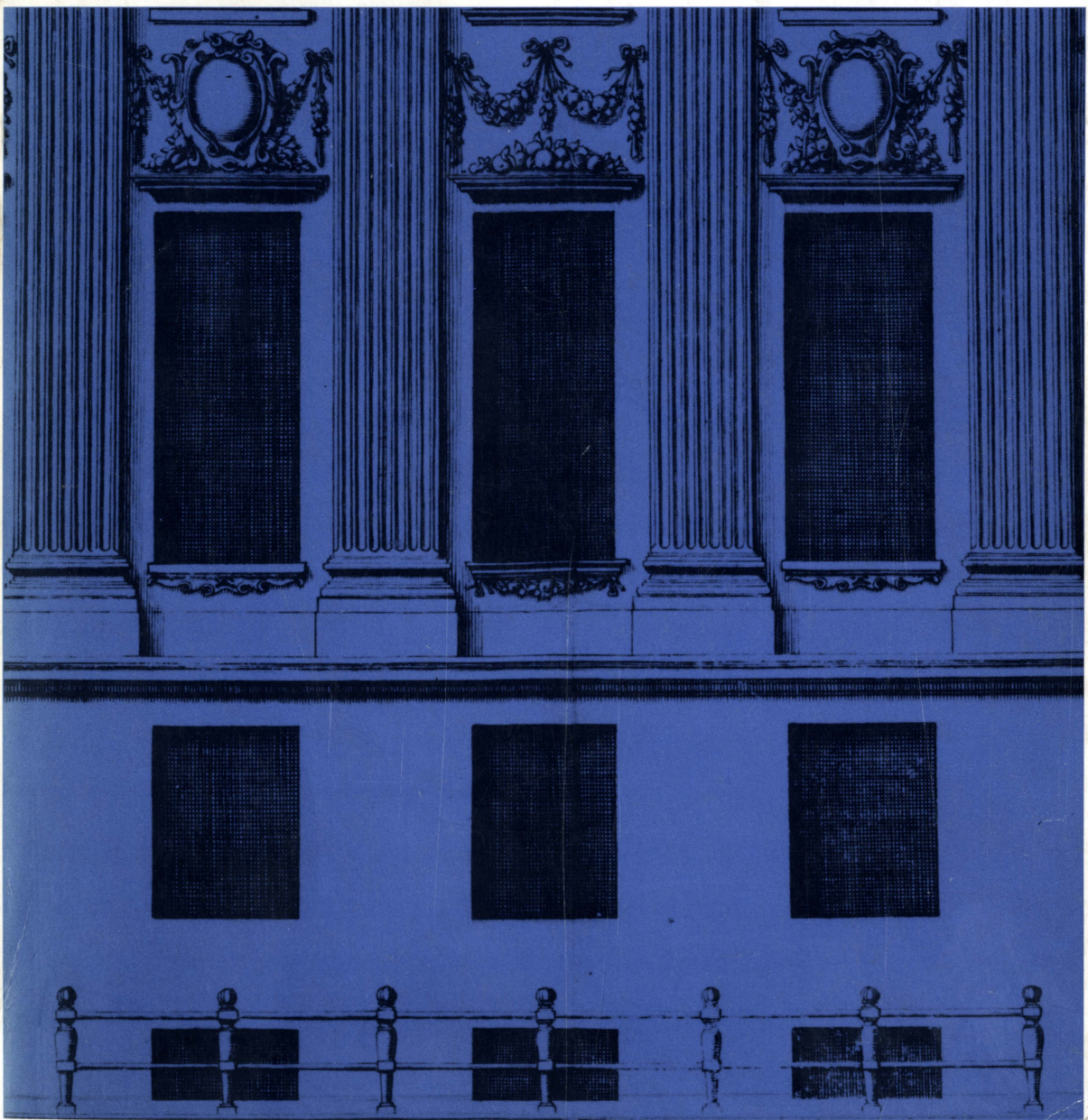
KUYPER

DUTCH CLASSICIST ARCHITECTURE

a Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Architectural Relations from 1625 to 1700



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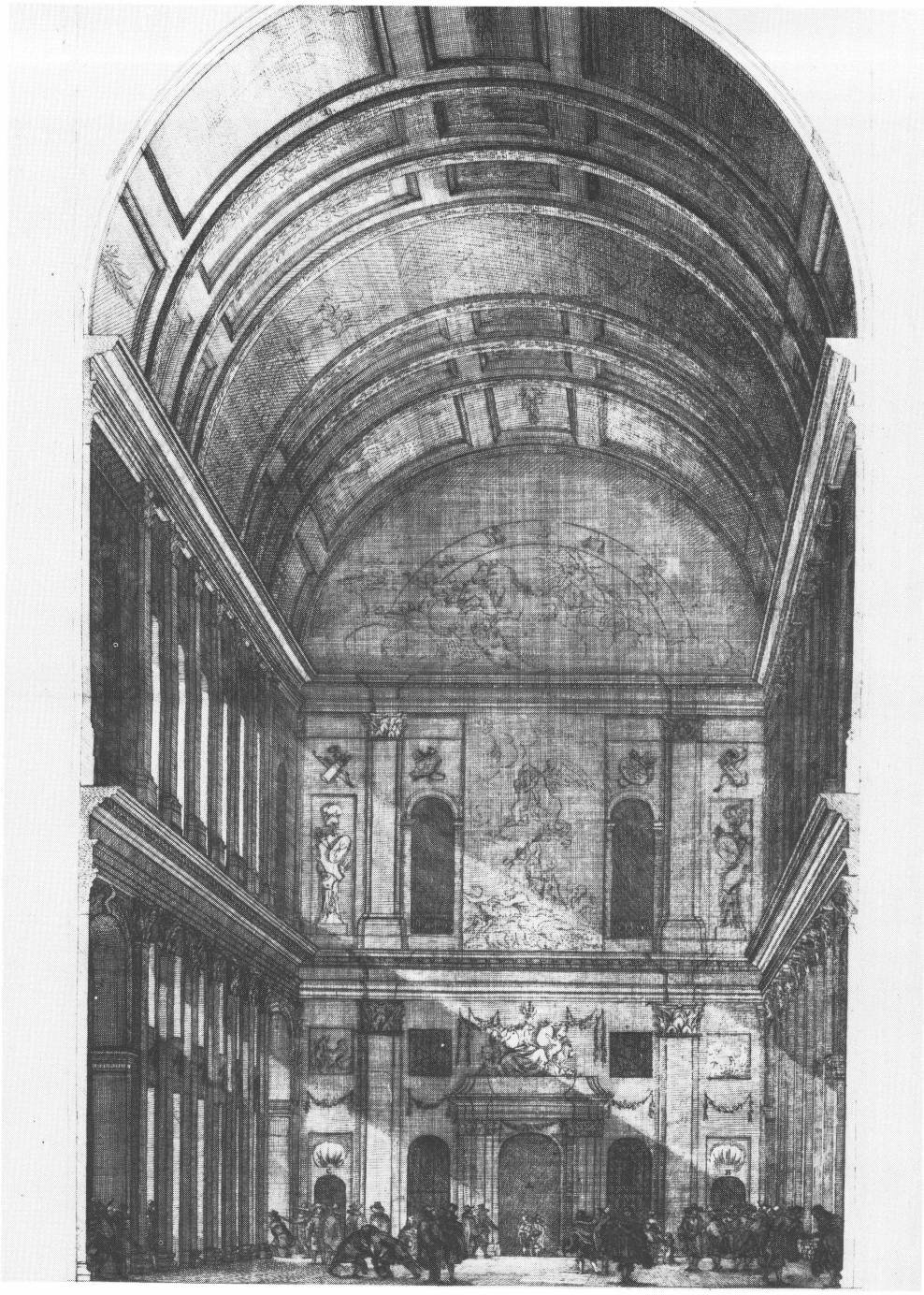
Dutch Classicist Architecture



Jacob van Campen: Town Hall, Amsterdam.
Burgerzaal (Hall of the Citizens).

W. Kuyper

Dutch Classicist Architecture

A Survey of
Dutch Architecture, Gardens
and
Anglo-Dutch
Architectural Relations
from 1625 to 1700

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In Memory of Professor Henri van de Waal's
Lectures at Leyden University
on Rembrandt and on Landscape Painting

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246. Winchester Palace. (Engraved reconstruction from J. Milner, *History of Winchester*; R.I.B.A.).
247. Stoke Bruerne Park, Northamptonshire (engraving by Henry Hulsbergh from *Vitruvius Britannicus*; R.I.B.A.).
248. Chelsea Hospital. The Portico (A.F. Kersting).
249. Admiralty Storehouse, Amsterdam. Ancillary Building (engraving; G.A.A.).
250. Hampton Court Palace. Fountain Court (National Monuments Record).
251. Breda Castle. Court Façade (after drawing from 1827; G.A.B.).
252. Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague (R.D.M.Z.).
253. Entrance to graveyard of Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam (*Architectura Moderna*, Plate VII).
254. St. Paul's. Dean's Door (National Monuments Record).
255. Drury Lane Theatre. Section (drawing; All Souls College, Oxford).
256. Kensington Palace, the King's Gallery (National Monuments Record).
257A. Zeist, Staircase (Antonietti, 1933; R.D.M.Z.).
257B. Hampton Court Palace. King's Staircase (Department of the Environment, Crown Copyright).
258. Groenhoven. Plan and Front (engraved by Jan Vingboons, from *Vingboons I*, Plates 42 & 43; K.H.I.U.).
259. Ter Spekken, Lisse. House, farm and part of fence (G.A.L.).
260. Meerzicht, Zoetermeer (R.D.M.Z.).
261. Goudestein. Painting by Jan van der Heyden (Wellington Museum).
262. Naiads of the Amstel (engraving and drypoint from *De Roemster van den Aemstel*, c. 1630. U.B.L.).
263. Prince Maurice's Garden beside the Binnenhof (Inner Court), the Hague (engraving by Henric Hondius(?) from Henric Hondius *Institutio Artis Perspectivae*, the Hague, 1622; U.B.L.).
264. Grotto Design (drawing by De Gheyn; Pierpont Morgan Library).
265. Berendrecht (engraving by F. Bleyswijck, 1728; G.A.L.).
266. Warmond Castle (drawing by Roeland Roghman, c. 1646; R.P.K.; photograph R.D.M.Z.).
267. Warmond Castle (print by J. Lamsvelt from Goris, *Les délices . . . de Leide*, 1712; G.A.L.).
268. Designs for the Gallery of Warmond Castle by Salomon de Bray. Sections and Plan. Copy by Pieter Saenredam (R.D.M.Z.).
269-72. Castle Clant, Groningen (engravings by B. Stopendaal from *Vingboons II*, Plates 56–9).
273. Klein Poelgeest, Koudekerk. State of c. 1640 in reconstruction by A. Rademaker, early 18th century (water colour; G.A.L.).
274. Klein Poelgeest, Koudekerk. State of c. 1730 (drawing by A. de Haen, c. 1730; G.A.L.).
274a. Klein Poelgeest. 18th century survey (G.A.L.).
275. De Kruidberg (etching by Coenraad Decker, 1684, from J. Westerhoven, *Den Schepper verheerlijkt*, etc.; U.B.A.).
276. De Kruidberg(?): *France Loofwerken in . . . Perspectijf* (engraving from J. van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtschen Hovenier*, 1670).

277. De Koningshof, Katwijk (etching by A. Rademaker from *Rhynlands fraaiste gezichten*, 1732; G.A.L.).
278. Groot Poelgeest, Koudekerk (drawing by Beerstraten(?); Antonietti, 1922, R.D.M.Z.).
279. The Burcht, Leyden (18th century print; K.H.I.U.).
280. Duyvenvoorde about 1680 (etching by C. Elandt; R.D.M.Z.).
281. Endegeest as rebuilt c. 1650 (drawing, late 17th century; G.A.L.).
282. Poelgeest (R.D.M.Z.).
283. Zuidwijk (print by J. Lamsvelt from Goris, *Les délices . . . de Leide*, 1712; R.K.D.).
284. Offem (print by J. Lamsvelt from Goris, *Les délices . . . de Leide*, 1712; G.A.L.).
285. Zwieten (print by J. Lamsvelt from Goris, *Les délices . . . de Leide*, 1712; G.A.L.).
286. Zwieten (water colour by A. de Haen; R.P.K.).
287. Honselaarsdijk. Etching by Balthazar Floriszoon van Berckenrode (published by C.J. Visscher; G.A.H.).
288. Honselaarsdijk (print, c. 1700, published by Carel Allard. The main difference from the 1684 print by A. Blotelingh after A. Bega's drawing (Bienfait, Plate 74) is that the parterres beside and behind the house have been changed again. K.B.).
288A. Honselaarsdijk, Pleasure-house (visible in Plate 288 in the middle distance on the right) (print, late 17th century).
289. Vianen. House and Garden (engraving after drawing by l'Echevin(?), published by Hugo Allaerdt, 1632; Coll. Hist. Ver. van Vianen, R.A.U.).
290. Ter Nieuwburgh (Rijswijk). Etching by J. Julius Milheusser, 1644 (the date changed into 1694; G.A.H.).
291. Blotinge (etching by C. Elandt; G.A.H.).
292. Huis ten Bosch. View from the South-east (engraving from H. van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtschen Hovenier*, 1670).
293. Huis ten Bosch. Green Pavilion (engraving from Post, *Ouvrages*).
294. Huis ten Bosch. View from the North-west (frontispiece to the Zaal van Oranje part of Post, *Ouvrages*).
295-8. Country House. Design by Vingboons (engravings by Jan Vingboons from *Vingboons I*, Plates 56-9).
299. Soestdijk. General view (etching by Bastiaan Stopendaal, c. 1700, after drawing by B. Stuyvenburgh; published by Hendrick de Leth).
300. Zeist. General view (drawn and engraved by Daniel Stopendaal, c. 1700, published by Nicolaas Visscher).
301. Het Loo. Entrance Gate (etched by Leonard Scherm, published by Carel Allard about 1695).
302. Het Loo and the Oude Loo. General View (etching based on data of about 1692, published by Frederick de Wit, c. 1695?; Royal Library, the Hague).
303. Het Loo. Fountain of the interwoven names (joint monogram of William & Mary – Rex, Regina). (Etching by Leonard Scherm, published by Carel Allard about 1695).
304. Het Loo. Fountain of the Child Hercules (etching by Leonard Scherm, published by Carel Allard about 1695).
305. De Voorst. General View (instead of Marot's print the practically identical print

by Leonard Scherm (c. 1700) is shown here; K.H.I.U.).
306. Middachten. The Staircase (18th century etching; K.H.I.U.).
307. Middachten. General View (drawing, and presumably etching, by A. van der Laan and H. de Leth, published by A. and H. de Leth, 18th century; K.H.I.U.).
308. Rosendael. The house from the North (etching from Johan d'Outrein, *Wegwyser*, 1702; ed. 1718, U.B.A.).
309. Rosendael. The house and the parterres (etching as nr. 308).
310. Rosendael. General view (etching by J. Smit after drawing by B. Elshof, published by Gerard van Keulen in d'Outrein, *Wegwyser*, 1702; ed. 1718, U.B.A.).
311. Sorghvliet. General view (etching by J. van den Aveele, published by Nic. Visscher, c. 1690; G.A.H.).
312. Sorghvliet. A Grotto (etching as nr. 311).
313. Sorghvliet. Portland's Orangery (etching as nr. 311).
313A. The Springenberg, Cleves. The Amphitheatre (drawing with gouache by Jan van Call the Elder, c. 1700; R.P.K.).
314. Hofwijck (print c. 1653, probably after drawings by Post, from Huygens, *Hofwyck*).
315. Huis ten Bosch, Maarssen (R.D.M.Z.).
316. Cornelis Holsteyn: *Reynier Pauw and his family in front of Westwijck*, c. 1650? (R.D.M.Z.).
317. Westwijck. Plan and Elevation (engravings by Jan Vingboons from *Vingboons I*, Plates 28 & 29; K.H.I.U.).
318. Driemond. Front (engraving by Jan Vingboons from *Vingboons I*, Plate 40; K.H.I.U.).
319. Driemond. Garden Façade (print by Daniel Stopendaal from Andries de Leth, *De Zegepralende Vecht*, 1719; G.A.A.).
320. Driemond. The forecourt in the 18th century (print as nr. 319).
321. Vredenburgh as executed. Front and rear façade (engraving from Post, *Ouvrages*).
322. Vredenburgh. Design by Post (drawing; R.D.M.Z.).
323-4. Vredenburgh. Design by Vingboons (engravings from *Vingboons I*, Plates 34 & 35).
325. Vredenburgh. General view (engraving from Post, *Ouvrages*).
325A. Vredenburgh. Plan (engraving from Post, *Ouvrages*).
326. Rijxdorp. Plan and Elevations of Front and Rear (engravings from Post, *Ouvrages*).
327. Rijxdorp. Section (engraving from Post, *Ouvrages*).
328. Rijxdorp. General Plan and Perspective (from Post, *Ouvrages*).
329. Jan van der Heyden: *Elswout* (detail of painting, c. 1670; R.D.M.Z.).
330. Gerrit Berckheyde: *Elswout* (painting, c. 1670; Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem).
331. Sorghvliet. The House (etching, c. 1700; G.A.H.).
332. Dool-om-Bergh and Dool-in-Bergh (print by Meyster(?) from Meyster, *Dool-om-Bergh*, 1669; K.H.I.U.).
333. Vanenburgh (engraving by Bastiaan Stopendaal from *Vingboons II*, Plate 26).
334. Elsenburgh. Plans (engraving by Jan Vingboons from *Vingboons I*, Plate 1).
335. Elsenburgh. The Façade (engraving as the foregoing, Plate 2).

336. Elsenburgh in the 18th century (print by Daniel Stopendaal from Andries de Leth, *De Zegepralende Vecht*, 1719, Plate 14; G.A.A.).
337. Clingendaal. General Plan (engraving by Daniel Stopendaal, published by Nicolaus Viss(ch)er, c. 1690; R.D.M.Z.).
338. Clingendaal. General View (engraving as the foregoing).
339. Clingendaal. Front (etching by Daniel Stopendaal, c. 1690, published by Nic. Visser; G.A.H.).
340. Clingendaal. Side Elevation (part of etching as nr. 339).
341. Clingendaal. The High Hedges (etching by Leon. Scherm, published by N. Visser, later by L. Schenk; G.A.H.).
342. Duinrel. General View (print by Pieter (Petrus) Schen(c)k, 1707; G.A.L.).
343. Duinrel. The Garden (print by Pieter Schenk, c. 1700; G.A.L.).
344. Duinrel. The Garden Front (print as nr. 343).
345. Sion. General View (print by Pieter van Cal; G.A.D.).
346-9. Sion. Details (prints by unknown engraver; G.A.H.).
350. Delfland. Parts with Honselaarsdijk, Huis ten Bosch and Clingendaal (map by Cruquius, 1712; A.R.A.R.).
351. De Pinto House, Amsterdam. Etching by Romeyn de Hooghe. On the extreme right De Keyser's (or Stone's) archway to the Zuiderkerk's graveyard is just visible (G.A.A.).
352. Amstel 226–4, Amsterdam. Altered (print by Cornelis II Danckerts from *Grachtenboekje*, Plate 23; G.A.A.).
353. Heerengracht 470–68, Amsterdam. Changed (print as nr. 352, Plate 22; G.A.A.).
354. Heerengracht 586(?), Amsterdam (etching by Romeyn de Hooghe; G.A.A.).
355. Town Hall, Enkhuizen (R.D.M.Z.).
356A-B Triumphal Arch for William III, the Hague, 1691. Front and Side (prints by Stopendaal; K.H.I.U.).
357. Fireworks for the Moscovite Entry at Amsterdam, 1697 (print by I. Moucheron; G.A.A.).
358. Keizersgracht 738–730, Amsterdam (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 11; G.A.A.).
359. Six House, Heerengracht 619, Amsterdam (G.A.A.).
360. Deutz House, Heerengracht 450, 1672 (left, by Vingboons, compare Plate 222), Heerengracht 452–4, 1680 (middle, unknown architect), Corver House, Heerengracht 456, 1671 (right, by Dortsman?) (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 21; G.A.A.).
361. Keizersgracht 674–2, Amsterdam (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 10; G.A.A.).
362. House Sweedenrijk, Heerengracht 462, 1665–71 (left, by Dortsman?), Heerengracht 460, 1682–5 (middle, by Roman?), Heerengracht 458, 1670 (right, unknown architect) (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 16; G.A.A.).
363. Six House, Heerengracht 619. Preliminary design, 1666 (drawing; P.K.L.).
364. Dommer House, Amstel 216 (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 24; G.A.A.).
365. Dortsman's houses on the Amstel and the Heerengracht. Visible are Dortsman's house Amstel 216 (Dommer House), the corner houses by another architect,

Dortsman's houses on the South side of the Heerengracht, and, in striking contrast to the old-fashioned houses on the extreme right, four houses by Dortsman on the Amstel again (print by Jan van Call, c. 1689; G.A.A.).
366. Heerengracht 623 (R.D.M.Z.).
367. Amsterdamse Poort, Naarden (R.D.M.Z.).
368. Gunterstein. General view (print by Willem Swidde, published by De Lespine, c. 1700; R.A.U.).
369A-F. Gunterstein. Details (prints by Joseph Mulder, published by De Lespine, c. 1700; R.A.U.).
370. Country House, Wimmenum. First design by Dortsman, 1681 (drawing, coll. Six; R.D.M.Z.).
371. Country House, Wimmenum. Design, 1681. Plan and Rear Elevation (drawings by Dortsman; P.K.L).
372. Honselaarsdijk. Gloriette (print published by Carel Allard, c. 1695).
373. Meermansburg, Leyden (R.D.M.Z.).
374. Butterhouse, the Hague. Extension (Dukker, R.D.M.Z.).
375. Duinrel (print by Pieter Schenk, 1701; G.A.L.).
376. Duinrel from the side (print by Pieter Schenk, c. 1700; G.A.L.).
377. Zeist (18th century print; R.D.M.Z.).
378. Soestdijk as remodelled by Maurits Post (in its turn incorporated in the Royal Palace Soestdijk from 1816 onwards). (Engraving by D.H. Cause from *De Koninglycke Hovenier*, published by Marcus Doornick, 1676(?); U.B.L.).
379. Het Loo. Garden Elevation and part of garden, c. 1695 (18th century print published by Ioannes van Keulen; K.H.I.U.).
380. Zeist, Garden Façade after recent restoration (Tangel, R.D.M.Z.).
381. De Voorst (print by Pieter Schenk c. 1700; R.D.M.Z.).
382. Town Hall, Deventer (Delemarre, R.D.M.Z.).
383. Palazzo Giovan Augustino Balbi, Genoa (from P.P. Rubens, Palazzi di Genova, 1622; K.B.).
384. Triumphal Entry of William III into the Hague. Print showing three triumphal arches in their right order but placing them all at the Buitenhof, where in fact only the last one, Vennecool's, was erected. The first arch may have been directed by Romeyn de Hooghe, the architectural features of the second one would have been Jacob Roman's (print by Jan Luiken; G.A.H.).
385-6. Diana's Temple and Triumphal Arch at Duinrel, c. 1681 (prints by Pieter Schenk, c. 1700; G.A.L.).
388. Church project by Listingh. Perspective of the church in its proposed site (print by D(?) Stopendaal; G.A.A.).
389. Listingh's Church. Section (G.A.A.).
390. Listingh's Church. The Galleries (G.A.A.).
391. Listingh's Church compared to St. Peter's, the Pantheon, Hagia Sophia and another mosque (G.A.A.).
392. Hagia Sophia as mosque. Cross Section (print from Listingh's series of c. 1700, as nrs. 389–91; G.A.A.).
393-4. Church Project by Dirk Truer. The longer side and the plan (prints; G.A.A.).
395. Design for a house by Vingboons (print by Bastiaan Stopendaal from *Ving-*

boons II, Plate 70).
396. Design for a house by Vingboons (print by Bastiaan Stopendaal from *Vingboons II*, Plate 74).
397. Marble Hill, Twickenham (A.F. Kersting).
398. Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire (from *Vitruvius Britannicus*; R.I.B.A.).
399. Ashdown, Berkshire (Country Life).
400. Milton Manor, Berkshire (Country Life).
401. Karel Gerards House, Heerengracht 386, Amsterdam (print by Jan Matthijs from *Vingboons II*, Plate 34).
402. Melton Constable, Norfolk (Country Life).
403. Custom House, King's Lynn, Norfolk (engraving by Henry Bell; British Library).
404. Petworth, Sussex. Central part of West front (Country Life).
405. Buckingham House, London, 1703–5, incorporated in Buckingham Palace 1825–7 (18th century print).
407. St. Mary Woolnoth, London (National Monuments Record).
408. Castle Howard, Yorkshire. South Front (from *Vitruvius Britannicus*; R.I.B.A.).
409. Kensington Palace. The Orangery (National Monuments Record).
410. Oost-Kapelle Manor, Zeeland (from Smallegange, *Nieuwe Cronyk van Zeeland*, 1696).
411. Roehampton House, London (from *Vitruvius Britannicus*; R.I.B.A.).
412. Nobelstraat 1, the Hague. Plaster Ceiling (R.D.M.Z.).
413. Rapenburg 65, Leyden. Plaster Ceiling (P.K.L.).
414. Schoenmakersstraat 16, Roermond. Plaster Ceiling (R.D.M.Z.).
415. Voorstraat 31, the Brill. Plaster Ceiling (R.D.M.Z.).
416. Castle Endegeest, Oegstgeest. Mock stucco ceiling (R.D.M.Z.).
417. Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam. Tower design (drawing, coll. Kok; G.A.A.).
418A. Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam. Tower design, first stages after Van Campen (wooden model, Amsterdam Museum of the History of the City; photograph R.D.M.Z.).
418B. Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam. Tower design by unknown artist (wooden model; Amsterdam Museum of the History of the City).
419. Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam. Van Campen's tower completed (published (and etched?) by Rombout van den Hoeije; G.A.A.).
420. The Dam Square, Amsterdam. Etching by Jacob van der Ulft (in the caption the Town Hall is called 'dazzling by its most elegant symmetry') (G.A.A.).
421. St. Bavo, Haarlem. Consistory (R.D.M.Z.).
422. Gravensteen, Leyden (R.D.M.Z.).
423A. The Exchange, Amsterdam, 1611 (print by P.H. Schut, c. 1650, published by Nic. Visscher; G.A.A.).
423B. The Exchange, Amsterdam, 1668 (print partially based on the foregoing and with old caption, published by Fred. de Wit, c. 1670).
424. Entrance to the Admiralty Office, Amsterdam (*Architectura Moderna*, Plate XXVIIII).
425. Admiralty Office, Amsterdam. The 1661 pediment (Publieke Werken, Amsterdam).
426. Buttermarket, Leyden. Vaulting (R.D.M.Z.).

427. Restoration proposal for Groene Kerk, Oegstgeest (drawing; G.A.L.).
428. St. Pancras, Leyden. West Portal (R.D.M.Z.).
429. Morschpoort, Leyden (drawing; P.K.L.).
430. Town Hall, Leyden. Façade before the 1929 fire (G.A.L.).
431. Clingendaal. Archway (etching by D. Stopendaal, published by Nic. Visser, later by Leon. Schenk; G.A.H.).
432. Oude Loo Castle. Etching by Romeyn de Hooghe, c. 1695 (Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam).
433. Zoeterwoude Church. Chancel (R.D.M.Z.).
434. Octagonal structure (a playhouse?) near Breda, built for Prince Maurice. (Etching by A. Santvoort, coll. Bodel Nijenhuis, U.B.L.).
435. Johan Vredeman de Vriese: *Corinthia* (engraving from Henric Hondius, *Les cinq rangs de l'architecture* . . . Amsterdam, 1620; U.B.L.).
436. 'The King of Poland', Heerengracht 192, Amsterdam, 1661, demolished 1896. The Orders are Corinthian over Roman (photograph c. 1888; G.A.A.).
437. Heerengracht 533–5, Amsterdam, 1666, demolished 1903–9 (on the right, unknown architect), unidentified house (centre), De Haase House, Heerengracht 466 (Vingboons; here ill-proportioned) (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 12; G.A.A.).
438. Heerengracht 488–2 (left), Heerengracht 480, 1670, changed (right) (from *Grachtenboekje* as nr. 352, Plate 19; G.A.A.).
439. Title-page of Hendrick de Keyser's *Architectura Moderna*, published (and engraved?) by Cornelis Danckerts, 1631 (U.B.L.).
440A. Oude Kerk, Amsterdam. Tower, 1566. The caption compares the height of the tower (240 feet) with that of Utrecht's (300 feet) and Antwerp's tower (500 feet) (Woodcut, 1613, reprinted 1646; G.A.A.).
440B. Oude Kerk, Amsterdam. Tower (R.D.M.Z.).
440C. Oude Kerk, Amsterdam (print by P.H. Schut, published by N. Visscher; G.A.A.).
441A. Exchange, Amsterdam. The Court. Print published by Michiel Colijn, c. 1611. (The turret is represented on the wrong side; G.A.A.).
441B. Extension of the Exchange. Painting by Job Berckheyde, c. 1670 (Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam).
442A. Entrance to Burcht, Leyden. Detail of print by Hagen, c. 1670.
442B. Fish-market with storks, Alkmaar. Drawing by J.A. Cressant, 1788 (G.A. Alkmaar).
442C. SS. Joannes et Ursula, Amsterdam, in its 17th century aspect (drawing c. 1793; G.A.A.).
442D. SS. Joannes et Ursula, Amsterdam, after alteration of its windows into Gothic forms, 1793 (drawing, c. 1793; G.A.A.).
443A. The Admiralty Office, Amsterdam. Print from T. Domselaer, *Beschryvinge*, etc., 1664 (G.A.A.).
443B. The East India Company Storehouse, Amsterdam. Print by Jan Veenhuysen from T. Domselaer, *Beschryvinge*, etc., 1664 (G.A.A.). (Cf. Plate 206).
444A. The Admiralty Storehouse, Amsterdam. Cruder print from one of the topographies (G.A.A.). (Cf. Plate 204).

444B. The East India Company Storehouse, Amsterdam. Coarse print with mistaken inscription (G.A.A.).

445A. The re-investiture of William III at Orange, 1665, enacted by Sir Constantine Huygens. Over the theatre a luminous crown appears in the air foretelling a good outcome of the action. Etching by J. de Visscher after drawing by Pieter Post, c. 1665 (Royal Library, the Hague).

445B. Title-page of Pieter Post's *Les Ouvrages d'Architecture*, published by Pieter van der Aa at Leyden, 1715 (etching. Pallas Leidensis points to the Temple of Honour and Virtue, at her feet the works of Scamozzi and Vingboons).

446. Chimney-piece in the Prince's Court at the Binnenhof, the Hague (demolished). Note the reminiscences of Van Campen's *Schouwburg* (Plates 99 and 146). Before 1650 (from Post, *Ouvrages*; G.A.H.).

447A. Marekerk, Leyden, 1639–49 (etching by Hagen, c. 1670).

447B. Round Lutheran Church, Amsterdam, 1671. Print published (and etched?) by Justus Danckerts, 1680. Cf. Plates 56–9. (G.A.A.).

447C. Westerkerk, Amsterdam, with tower as completed 1638. Etching (by P.H. Schut?) published by Fred. de Wit. Cf. Plates 24–7, 115 and 121.

448A. Haringpakkerstoren, Amsterdam, 1606 (demolished 1829). Painting attributed to J. de Beyer, 18th century. In the middle distance the Round Lutheran Church (Amsterdam Museum of the History of the City).

448B. Jan Rodenpoortstoren, Amsterdam, 1616 (demolished 1829). (*Architectura Moderna*, Plate XXVI–A; R.D.M.Z.).

448C. All Hallows, London, 1677–84, steeple completed 1697 (from Clayton).

449A. Solomon's Temple (from Montanus' Bible, Antwerp, 1572; U.B.A.).

449B. Solomon's Temple. Side Elevation (see Plate 238 for the Front. Print, perhaps by Philips Vingboons, after S.C. Kechel, from J. Coccejus, *Prophetia Ezechielis*, etc., 1669; R.D.M.Z.).

449C-D. Solomon's Temple. Front and Side Elevation (from Prado and Villalpando . . . *in Ezechielem Explanationes* . . . 1604; U.B.A.).

450. Title-page of Philips Vingboons' *Gronden en Afbeeldsels*, published by Clement de Jong(h)e at Amsterdam, 1665 (the vignette showing De Jonghe's shop; U.B.L.).

451A. Trippenhuis as represented in Cornelis Danckert's *Grachtenboekje*, Plate 9. Compare Plate 210 for Justus Vingboons' own representation. (G.A.A.).

451B-C. Small and inaccurate prints of the Trippenhuis.

452A. The Banqueting House, London. Coarse print as in James Beeverell, *Les Délices de la Grand' Bretagne et de l'Irlande* . . . published by Pieter van der Aa at Leyden, 1707. The print may give an impression, though, of the original type of window. (Photograph from the later publication by Pieter van der Aa in *La Galerie Agréable du Monde*, etc., c. 1730; K.B.).

452B. Anatomical Theatre for the Royal College of Physicians, 1672–8, demolished 1866. Print as the foregoing.

453A. Zeist, 1686. An early print by Hendrick (Henry) Hulsbergh, not yet to be compared with his prints for *Vitruvius Britannicus* (U.B.L.).

453B. Haarlemmerpoort, Amsterdam, begun 1615. Hendrick de Keyser's plates (Plate 66) do not yet show the turret which was added a few years later.

Drawing by H.G. ten Cate in 1838 just before demolition (G.A.A.).
454A. Mr. Tallard's Garden at Nottingham. A formal French garden, published by Pieter van der Aa in 1707 (as nr. 452A).
454B. A Fountain from *De Koninglycke Hovenier*, published by M. Doornick, 1676(?). In Cause's print of Soestdijk (Plate 378) two such fountains are shown in the garden.
455. Title-page of Scamozzi's *L'Idea della Architettura Universale*, adapted to the Dutch translation by Cornelis Danckerts, Amsterdam, 1640.
456. Title-page of Symon Bosboom's *Cort Onderwys vande Vyf Colommen*, etc., Amsterdam, 1657. The portrait of Bosboom, flanked by the genii of Architecture, is presumably by himself (C.B. Delft).
457A. Ionic Capital engraved by Jan Matthijs for Nic. Goldmann, *Tractatus de Stylometris*, etc., Leyden, 1661.
457B. Ionic Order. Plate 75 from Scamozzi published by Danckerts, 1640.
457C. Salomon de Bray: The Five Orders. Details with Italian-Dutch vocabulary. Added to Danckerts' edition of Scamozzi, 1657.
458A. Johan Vredeman de Vriese: *Cubiculum . . . modernum*: Gothic as modern. From Henric Hondius, *Les cinq rangs de l'architecture . . .* Amsterdam, 1620 (U.B.L.).
458B. Johan Vredeman de Vriese: Gothic as fashionable. From Henric Hondius as the foregoing (U.B.L.).

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The English version of the body of the text as well as most of the notes has been carefully screened by Giles Waterfield, for which I wish to express my sincere thanks; in later revisions I was assisted mainly by Ms. Pem Goldschmidt, while Jop Spiekerman of the English Department of Leyden University read through the chapters on gardens. Nettie Marcelis was of great help in typing the manuscript.

I am grateful to many persons and institutions for providing photographs and giving permission to reproduce them. The plate of the King's Staircase, Hampton Court (Plate 257B), is reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II. In the choice of illustrations for the Dutch subjects preference was given to either photographs or contemporary prints, but a few 18th-century etchings crept into the illustrative material, mainly that of the gardens. The Library of Leyden University made the photographs from the *Architectura Moderna* and the *Centrale Bibliotheek* at Delft those from Post's *Oeuvre* as well as from the other books not acknowledged in any other way in the List of Plates.

I thank Messrs. J.W. Kuipers, J.A. Riesener and E.H. Weber, all Amsterdam architects, and the widows of Mr. Baars and Mr. Royaards for their help in providing measured drawings on which I relied in preparing Figures 3, 8 and 10, and for their permission to use the drawings for Plates 74 and 78.

Special thanks are due to those institutions without whose financial aid the publication of this book would not have been possible. They are, in chronological order, *Stichting mr. dr. J.C. Overvoorde in het belang der Monumentenzorg, Stichting Dr Hendrik Muller's Vaderlandsch Fonds, Prins Bernhard Fonds, Gemeente Leiden* and *Dr. J.E. Baron de Vos van Steenwijkfonds*, administered by *Gedeputeerde Staten van Noord-Holland*.

All this would still not have resulted in the materialization of the book but for Paul Maas, the Director of Delft University Press, and his staff. I wish to thank him very much for his skill and patience in the preparation of a book that was all the time growing bigger than we thought.

Spellings of 17th-century Dutch names show an almost endless series of variants. I have made an attempt at uniformity without, I fear, complete success. Four or five Dutch words used in the text are explained in the index.

As to the genesis of the book: a grant of the British Council enabled me to spend six weeks in England in 1970 and to visit collections in London and Oxford. There, I started to compile the *catalogue raisonné* of prints. When it was decided that the study would not appear as a doctoral thesis, as had originally been intended, but as a book in its own right, the *catalogue raisonné* and the mass of notes, which make the book somewhat bulky, were nevertheless retained: the information they contain could otherwise only be found scattered over many archives, collections and articles.

Most thanks are due to my wife for her difficult task of coping with a lustrum of daily stress. I wish to thank her as well for assisting me on many points of language.

Leyden, September, 1980.

Abbreviations

Bienfait or Bienfait, *Tuinen*	Anna G. Bienfait, *Oud Hollandsche Tuinen*, the Hague, 1943.
Bulletin K.N.O.B.	*Bulletin van ae(n) Koninklijke(n) Nederlands(ch)e(n) Oudheidkundige(n) Bond* with *Nieuwsbulletin*; started in 1899 as *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*; called *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek* from 1921 to 1947.
Caroline	Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625–1685*, London, 1966.
(Cat. Bib.) R.P.K.	Catalogue of the Library of the State Print Room.
Cat. Saenredam	*Catalogue Raisonné van de werken van Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, etc., second edition, Utrecht, 1961.
Colvin	H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*, London, 1954.
Downes, *E.B.A.*	Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture*, London, 1966.
Elias, *Vroedschap*	J.E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, 1578–1795, Haarlem, 1903–05.
Fremantle or Fremantle, *Town Hall*	Katharine Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959.
Fremantle, *Thornhill*	full title: p. 304, note 63.
Fremantle, *Southwell*	full title: p. 286–7, note 29.
Grachtenboek	see p. 272, note 31.
Grachtenboekje	full title: p. 299, note 33.
Heerengrachtboek	*Vier Eeuwen Herengracht, Geveltekeningen van alle Huizen aan de Gracht, Twee Historische Overzichten en de Beschrijving van elk Pand met zijn Eigenaars en Bewoners*, Genootschap Amstelodamum (ed.), Amsterdam, (1977).
Kastelen (en Buitenplaatsen)	full title: p. 281, note 9.
Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*	J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600 to 1800*, Harmondsworth, 1966.
Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*	S.J. Fockema Andreae, E.H. ter Kuile and R.C. Hekker, *Duizend Jaar Bouwen in Nederland*, Vol. II, Amsterdam, 1957.
Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*	E.H. ter Kuile, "Leiden en Westelijk Rijnland", *De Nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, etc., the Hague, 1944.
Lees-Milne, *Baroque* or *Baroque*	James Lees-Milne, *English Country Houses: Baroque, 1685–1715*, London, 1970.
Luttervelt	R. van Luttervelt, *De Buitenplaatsen aan de Vecht*, Lochem, 1948.
Meischke, *Burgerweeshuis* or *Weeshuis*	R. Meischke, *Amsterdam, Burgerweeshuis, De Nederlandse Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, etc., the Hague, 1975.
Meischke, *Vroegste Werken*	R. Meischke, "De Vroegste Werken van Jacob van Campen", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* LXV (1966), pp. 131–45.
Meischke, *Kerken* or *Amsterdamse Kerken*	R. Meischke, "Amsterdamse Kerken van de Zeventiende Eeuw", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1959, cols. 85–130.
Meischke, *Zeist* or *Het Slot te Zeist*	R. Meischke, "Het Slot te Zeist", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1961, cols. 33–56.
Meischke, *Klassicisme*	R. Meischke, "Het klassicisme van 1620–1660", *delftse studiën*, Assen, 1967, pp. 171–86.
Morren	T. Morren, Het Huis Honselaarsdijk, Leyden, 1909.
Neurdenburg	Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *Hendrick de Keyser, Beeldhouwer en Bouwmeester van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1929.
Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*	Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *De Zeventiende Eeuwsche Beeldhouwkunst*

	in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, Amsterdam, 1948.
Ozinga or Ozinga, *Kerken*	M.D. Ozinga, *Protestantsche Kerken Hier te Lande Gesticht, 1596–1793*, etc., Amsterdam, 1929, or: *De Protestantsche Kerkenbouw in Nederland*, etc., Amsterdam, 1929.
Ozinga, *Marot*	M.D. Ozinga, *Daniel Marot, de Schepper van den Hollandschen Lodewijk XIV-stijl*, Amsterdam, 1938.
Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*	M.D. Ozinga, "De Nederlandse Bouwkunst van het ontstaan der Republiek tot de tijd van Prins Willem III", *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Zeist-Antwerp, 1964[4], pp. 810–79.
Peters, *Stedenbouw*	full title: p. 247, note 18.
Schless	full title: p. 262, note 18.
Sekler	E.F. Sekler, *Wren and his Place in European Architecture*, London, 1956.
Slothouwer (1928)	D.F. Slothouwer, *Amsterdamsche Huizen, 1600–1800*, Amsterdam, 1928.
Slothouwer or Slothouwer, *Paleizen*	D.F. Slothouwer, *De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, Leyden, 1945.
Summerson	Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, fifth edition, Harmondsworth, 1969.
Vermeulen, (I, II, III)	F.A.J. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst*, the Hague, 1928 (Vol. I), 1931 (Vol. II), 1941 (Vol. III).
Vermeulen (followed by no.)	Applies to the plates of the same work.
Voorloopige Lijst	*Voorloopige Lijst der Nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, Vol. 5, Part 2, *De Gemeente Amsterdam*, the Hague and Utrecht, 1928.
Wagner or Wagner, *Van der Heyden*	Helga Wagner, *Jan van der Heyden 1637–1712*, Amsterdam-Haarlem, 1971.
W. & W.	J.G. Wattjes and F.A. Warners, *Amsterdams Bouwkunst en Stadsschoon 1306–1942*, third revised edition, Amsterdam, 1948.
Van der Wijck, *Apollo*	H.W.M. van der Wijck, "Country Houses in the Northern Netherlands", *Apollo*, November 1972.
Van der Wijck, *diss.*	H.W.M. van der Wijck, *De Nederlandse Buitenplaats, Aspecten van Ontwikkeling, Bescherming en Herstel*, Delft, 1974.
Van der Wijck, *Het Loo*	H.W.M. van der Wijck, "Het Loo, de Geschiedenis van een Koninklijk Domein", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* LXXV (1976), pp. 183–248.
W.S.	*Wren Society*, 20 volumes, London, 1924–43.

(Reference to full titles of books and publications mentioned more than once in the notes can generally be found in the index)

Abbreviations in the List of Plates

G.A. –– Municipal Archives (so G.A.A. for Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Amsterdam; G.A.L. for Gemeentearchief, Leyden; G.A.H. for Gemeentearchief, the Hague, etc.); K.O.G. –– Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap (Royal Archaeological Society); A.R.A.R. –– Archives of the State (and R.A.U. for its department in the province of Utrecht); R.P.K. –– State Print Room; K.B. –– Royal Library; R.K.D. –– State Documentation Centre for the Arts; R.D.M.Z. –– Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg (State Department for Ancient Monuments); U.B.L. –– University Library, Leyden; P.K.L. –– University Print Room, Leyden; K.H.I.U. –– Art Institute of Utrecht University; U.B.A. –– University Library, Amsterdam.

Dutch Classicist Architecture

Chapter 1

Preface

"In the seventeenth century no other country was architecturally comparable to Holland. Dutch architects introduced the national style into England under William III. There it flourished in the eighteenth century, to return to Holland at the beginning of the nineteenth." (A.W. Weissman in De Opmerker, *1902, p.149, on Van Campen's "Palladian Style").*[1]

In my first outline, this work was confined to the works of the Classicists in Holland and their influence on English architecture, in other words to the period between 1625 and 1675. While writing it, however, I decided to extend the final limit to 1700, in order to include what has already, apparently very plausibly, been labelled the Flat Style.[2] This extension proved fortunate in several respects. The caesura in Dutch architecture in about 1675 is certainly pronounced, but it is still possible to see Dutch architecture from 1625 to 1700 as a coherent whole, which in the last decades of the century grew increasingly close to English architecture.[3] When in England the Palladians eventually gained an ascendancy and in Holland architectural decoration embarked upon the styles named after Louis XIV and his successors, the architecture of the two countries again drew apart.

On the other hand, to include in this study the period before 1625 would entangle us in the Anglo-Netherlandish (Flemish *and* Dutch) style, which in both character and extent lies outside our scope. The reader will therefore not find a discussion of the works of Nicholas Stone or Balthasar Gerbier, since they are representative principally of the style known as Artisan Mannerism, which was scarcely affected by Classicism, nor any reference to the early work of the Dutch painter-architect Bartholomeus van Bassen, exciting though it may be.[4] It did, however, prove necessary to include buildings by Hendrick de Keyser, especially his churches, as they influenced much later English architects through the engravings in the *Architectura Moderna*. When building activities were resumed in England after 1660, architects working from printed sources did not differentiate clearly between Dutch Classicist publications and the earlier work of Hendrick de Keyser. Moreover Dutch pattern books, of both the Mannerist and Classicist periods, were still being used long after Classicism had waned in Holland itself.

Another vigorous tradition which lasted until 1702 is discussed in the chapter on gardens. The Princes of Orange were strongly attracted by French garden layouts, and this taste was not noticeably affected by the several attempts of their architects, notably at Soestdijk and the first gardens of Het Loo, to persuade them to lay out gardens in the current Anglo-Dutch manner. Here too there is no stylistic break around 1675.[5]

In addition there was the practically unexplored field of William III's relations with his many architects. Research has not been the principal aim of this study, but the fascinating career of Jacob Roman, one of William's architects, has been explored in as much detail as possible. This yielded an unexpected insight into the unifying tendency of William's circle: it diffused an architectural fashion which in Holland was vaguely felt to be English, while in England his architecture was considered straightforward and Dutch.

In view of the abundant literature on the subject, need any stress be laid on the difference between the constitutions of the State and the Union? Only this: the prestige of an Inigo Jones in England was quite dissimilar from that of a Jacob van Campen in the Netherlands. Van Campen was not supported by any court or rich nobility during the most important years of his career. Frederick Henry's grand palaces were designed before Van Campen devoted himself to architecture, and on the death of William II, Frederick Henry's turbulent successor, in 1650, the Republic entered a "Stadholderless period". Even before 1650 and after 1672, when William III was reinstated, the position of the Court at the Hague was never as strong as that of other European Courts. Van Campen began his career in Amsterdam circles and was introduced to the Court by Huygens. But because of the constant political and cultural animosity between the City and the Stadholderate, which demanded careful manoeuvring, the exact nature of Huygens' stratagems in securing the commission for the Amsterdam Town Hall for Van Campen will remain forever obscure. It is even possible that Huygens himself submitted a design, which only Van Campen was able to excel.

The practicality of the Dutch may explain the scarcity of theoreticians of painting and architecture in Holland, and the Regent class's way of conducting their affairs behind closed doors was not conductive to the writing of (auto)biographies. Nor does a single diary belonging to an important architect survive.[6] In subjects especially on which very little modern research has been done, this lack of contemporary evidence is deplorable. Thus the greatest civil enterprise in Classicist architecture, Amsterdam's new Town Hall, was accompanied by a quasi-Gothic tower for the neighbouring church – but we have no idea of the theory behind this revolutionary vision at the height of Classicism. Such a strict formal division between civic and spiritual authorities, expressed in different styles, was a novel phenomenon in Northern Europe.

I originally intended to open with the chapter on the printed sources to show which buildings were available in engravings for those who could not rely on their own memory or sketches, or who, like the great majority of English architects, had never visited Holland. Much current literature is marred by inadequate knowledge of these prints. When collecting material for that chapter I found, however, that there was so much that it was better arranged at the end as a kind of catalogue raisonné.

My working method was the same throughout. Every building which could have excerted some influence was checked for any possible representation as a print. If no such illustrations existed, the dubious possibility that architectural forms had reached English architects through the paintings and sketches of intermediaries was ruled out, unless proof could be established, which never seems to be the case.[7] Only in the case of a documented stay in Holland is it taken for granted that an architect would have seen the important works in the big towns, as well as the Princely estates in the neighbourhood of the Hague.

For two reasons, the great Dutch architects are dealt with fairly extensively.[8] First, there is no recent survey of them in Dutch, and the existing ones by Vermeulen, Ter Kuile and Ozinga have been superseded by subsequent research – and of course the language they are written in makes them inaccessible to most English readers. The fairly recent (1966) chapters in English by Ter Kuile[9] are horrifyingly short. Second, it was necessary to survey the entire field where sources for English architects might possibly be found.

In view of the excellent English handbooks, especially Sir John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, it is assumed that the progress of English architectural history is well-known. Illustrations of English buildings are therefore less numerous[10], and works are only discussed when, apart from simultaneous Italian or French influence (extensively described in English criticism), Dutch architecture could be considered an important source for the work as a whole or in part, or when such an influence has been traditionally accepted. In some cases a few buildings have been added to set a particular subject in its proper context.[11]

As a point of special interest the chapters on Dutch gardens are added. There is no English literature which deals with them at length. I shall, however, disappoint any reader who is looking for a treatise on types of trees, plants, flowers, fruit, feats of topiary in box and yew, or even statuary, as my principal interest has been the relationship between country houses and their gardens. It is impossible to treat them apart, especially as in the seventeenth century, Nature, straitjacketed into its ideal form, was merely a part of the overall architectonic scheme.

English gardens lie outside the scope of this book. It does not appear, however, that seventeenth century England differed from Holland in its view of Nature's perfectibility through geometry.[12]

In writing this survey my aim has been to provide the interested reader with a general history of Dutch architecture and garden design of about 1625 to 1700, and to give the architectural historian a basis for further research into the influences that found their way across the North Sea.

Chapter 2

Before Classicism: an Abortive Attempt at the Baroque

The Origins of the Holborn Gable

"The popularity of the Dutch style in architecture, at any rate in its most obvious and characteristic form as at Kew Palace or Raynham, was shortlived. Other styles, chiefly Italian and French, soon toned down its native originality and we must look closely to discern its continuing influence in more subtle forms in the work of Christopher Wren and his followers". (C. Wilson, The Dutch Republic and the Civilisation of the Seventeenth Century, *London, 1968, p. 146).*[1]

To bring Classicism into relief I would like to begin with a feature which for convenience's sake is usually called the Dutch gable. The term betrays a long-standing prejudice as to the meaning of the word "Dutch" in architectural history. It would help to abandon the term altogether, and I would prefer to split the so-called "Dutch" buildings into several groups.

First there is the small category which may perhaps be labelled "proto-Baroque". It consists of houses like Broome Park, Kent (1635–8), Slyfield Manor, Surrey (c. 1625–40) and the Old Grammar School at Rye (1636). It is parallelled in the Northern Netherlands by some of the works of Hendrick de Keyser, notably the façades of the Westerkerk (1620–31) and several archways also shown in the *Architectura Moderna* (1631), especially numbers 4 and 31 (Plates 1–3). Also relevant are the St. Pieter warehouse at Amsterdam (1623), the Town Hall at Nieuwkoop (1628), the Waterstraat house at Zutphen (1625)[2], and the Meat Market at Utrecht (1637)[3] (Plates 4–5). The origin of this style is Italian Mannerism; the Dutch examples *without exception* have capitals, scrolls, keystones, etcetera in stone, whereas brick is the only material on the English elevations. Any potential development of this style was terminated by the sudden rise of Classicism in Holland, and its petering out in England about ten years later is quite likely due to its being considered Popish by the Puritans, whereas Artisan Mannerism was more congenial to them.

A second group consists of the gables of what may be called the International Flemish Style. Some of the promoters were nominally Dutch – Hans Vredeman de Vries, for instance – but their work was spread by the powerful examples of Antwerp building and the Antwerp printing offices.[4] As Summerson remarks, however, "cases of direct derivation from the plates (of De Vries' *Architectura*) are rare" (in England).[5] This is not the case in Holland where, especially on account of the work of a Flemish refugee, Lieven de Key, the style of Vredeman de Vries prospered around 1600, so vigor-

ously indeed that it subsequently radiated over Northern Europe, becoming ubiquitous along the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, from Antwerp to Copenhagen and from Haarlem to Danzig.[6] It was precisely this popularity which was one of the causes of the Classicist revolt in Holland, leading to a severe, individual and, in a sense, Protestant style. The Leyden Town Hall was adorned with such gables by Lieven de Key in 1597 (Plate 6), and a late, related example is the Orphanage at Gouda of 1642 (Plate 7).

A persistent Gothic influence is more clearly visible in the third group, the vernacular gables in Holland and Flanders which derive ultimately from the stepped and pinnacled gables traditional in Northern Europe. One of the earliest examples is the Old Registry at Bruges, of 1534[7]; here two sixteenth and several early seventeenth century Dutch ones are illustrated (Plates 8–15). They share the characteristic of more than one tier and scroll at each side. Similar gables occur in Flanders, Holland, the Rhineland and Great Britain. In Holland this style was practically extinct in the cities by about 1640, and in the countryside and the other provinces of the Union some years later. In the Duchy of Limburg, however, which was in close contact with the Southern Netherlands, it flourished as late as the eighteenth century, in the rural areas even up to the French Revolution.[8]

It is notable that the English variants tend to reduce the number of tiers and curves. In the first decades of the seventeenth century the number of curves almost seems a touchstone of the architect's quality: the greater the architect, the fewer curves. This desire to avoid a Flemish smallness of scale is already visible in a drawing probably by Robert Smythson and related to Longleat.[9] The effect is spoilt only by the added pinnacles, but there is already a pediment. The next step is the gable with one curve at either side, topped by a pediment, ignoring any Gothic inheritance of pinnacles, finials and the like. The famous example is Lady Cooke's house at Holborn, drawn by John Smythson in 1619. The date is important – at that moment there were no such gables to be found in Holland (Plates 16–17).

The curvilinear gable, as well as the crowstepped and Vredeman de Vriesian one were abandoned as "curly foolery" by men like Jacob van Campen and Arent van 's-Gravensande. The only disguise left for the Gothic gable tradition was the summit employed by Philips Vingboons, which in fact had one enormous step, on the whole structurally conceived, topped with a pediment, and with great scrolls added at the sides as a transitional element. Only when Classicism began to dwindle in Amsterdam in the 1660s did gables with large concave sides appear, on whose ridges garlands of fruit were hung.[10]

So there is every indication that the "Holborn Gable" – as depicted in 1619 – is an independent English contribution to the development of the old gable. The facility with which these gables have been called "Dutch" ignores their thorough Englishness. "Dutch" seems to have been used to describe a phenomenon which can only with difficulty be placed in the main stream of English architecture[11], or which was rejected by changing fashion and therefore labelled Dutch.[12]

To return to Mannerist gables in Holland: any attempt at a break-through to the Baroque was swept away in the tide of Classicism.[13]

Chapter 3

Church Building in the Seventeenth Century

Dutch Churches

Introduction

Up to the present any detailed study of the Dutch Protestant churches must rely on Ozinga's doctoral thesis, published in 1929, as its primary source of reference.[1] This distinguished work covers the period "from the Reformation to the French era", which for the churches means the entire period of the Republic: from 1581 to 1795. Concerning the transition from Mannerism to Classicism, Ozinga observes[2] that Classicism, although more foreign and Italian in its architectural apparatus, had an essentially more national character than the earlier work of De Keyser, which owed more to Flanders and France.

Ozinga notes but does not dwell upon the remarkable preference for pure, geometrical forms in the overall design of the first Protestant churches built in the Netherlands. It was a preference which declined during the course of the seventeenth century. However much I would like to confine myself to the Classicist period, I had to include several early seventeenth century churches in order to show a continuous development. In contrast to Ozinga's work the Roman Catholic *schuilkerken* and the synagogues of the Spanish and German Jews have been included to give a complete picture. On the other hand, like Ozinga, I will not discuss the origins of the geometrical forms. Preoccupation with them formed a constant feature of Renaissance architecture, often most adequately expressed in churches. Examining the patronage of the early Protestant churches we notice some interest of Prince Maurice, which may account for their geometrical form. But I should add that he showed a similar preoccupation in laying out his gardens: octagonal or dodecagonal pavilions in the middle of radiating or encircling arbours may easily be interpreted as reflections of global or heavenly constellations. But princely intervention at Willemstad and IJzendijke, cities fortified by Maurice himself, presently gave way to the influence of the Regent class. Churches were financed by the city governments and in all matters of religion which could cause social disturbances or even friction the ministers had eventually to comply with the Regents. Thus, for example, by 1670 the opinions of a Count Johan Maurits about the Round Lutheran church[3] could scarcely influence the course of events. In any case the Count departed for Cleves before he had expressed his ideas on the building in question more fully.

The first illustration for this chapter (Plate 18) exemplifies the highest aim in church building: the combination of round and rectangular forms. It occurs here as the publisher's vignette on the title page of a country house poem published at Leyden in 1621. The examples were S.M. Rotunda (now better known under its pagan name of

the Pantheon) and St. Peter's at Rome.[4] It is significant for church building in the Northern Netherlands that this theme was introduces twice in a big church (at Leyden and at Middelburg), and that on both occasions – for reasons of expedience – the attempt was abandoned.

So we are left with Ozinga's definition of the requirements for a Protestant church: a room of solemn character with pulpit visible from every seat and the word spoken from this pulpit audible to the whole community.[5]

In the Dutch churches of the seventeenth century we find patterns recalling both old and new religious and architectural ideas. In architectural terms the churches can reasonably be divided into six groups. Two of these, the "Rural Gothic" and the narrow galleried churches of the Noncalvinists will be dealt with later.

The four principal groups in the first half of the century are:

1. Early centralised plans;
2. Basilical or axial plans;
3. Centralised Classicist plans: octagonal, round or Greek Cross;
4. Later, Baroque forms, often consisting of the contraction of two centralised parts.

To some extent this division corresponds to religious affiliations.

The First Calvinist Churches

The first unconcealed Calvinist churches were simple round buildings of one room. The earliest illustrations of these, two drawings attributed to Jean Perrissin, depicting the Temple "Le Paradis" at Lyons, France, (Plate 19) date from about 1566.[6] They show a round house with the roof supported on four posts, a free-standing, raised pulpit somewhat outside the centre and, as in a theatre, curving tiers of benches, with a gallery reached by external stairs. One is involuntary reminded of Elizabethan playhouses and, indeed, anatomical theatres may descend directly from such arrangements.

The first centralised Calvinist church in the Low Countries is reputed to have been built at Antwerp in 1566.[7] The first simple centralised churches to be built in the Republic were the octagonal ones in Willemstad and IJzendijke, both without gallery. These towns are in the vicinity of Flanders, where, at the beginning of the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648), Calvinism found its most vehement expression. The dates of construction are 1596–1607 for Willemstad and about 1612 for IJzendijke. The IJzendijke church had already been extended around 1658 and no earlier representations of it exist, so that the originally pure octagonal plan is only a very probable conjecture. The octagon of Willemstad however, is flanked by a heavy square construction, forming the first storey of a tower, nearly as high as the octagon itself.[8] The rib vaulting of the church is in timber but it was intended to be vaulted in brick.

The idea of round liturgical buildings was never completely lost in the countries north of the Alps from Carolingian times onwards. A circular form was suited to baptismal chapels and of course recalled the Holy Sepulchre. The Mosque of Omar (held to be Solomon's Temple) was also known in the West through a woodcut of 1550 by Sebastian Muenster. It can, however, only have been the strongly orthodox antipapal feelings of the fiery Flemish Calvinists that brought the centralised church to the Low Countries during a period in which Mannerist architects would by and large have

been uninterested in centralised buildings. In this context it is hard to judge whether at Willemstad Prince Maurice's preference for this form[9] was due to an interest in architectual theory or to Calvinist inclination.

Further to the North, in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland no centralised churches were built, despite the fact that they too harboured an ardent Calvinist element. In fact practically no churches were built there between 1560 and 1620, since the sequestrated Roman Catholic churches amply served the needs of the local communities.

Presently, less austere religious attitudes, in addition to the need for big churches in the rapidly growing city of Amsterdam, led to yet another pattern: the axial church.

The Axial Churches of Hendrick de Keyser

Hendrick de Keyser's large axial churches, the *Zuiderkerk* (1603–11) and the *Westerkerk* (1621–31) evince a heroic struggle between Gothic and Renaissance forms. The result was a moving and highly picturesque unity which could not fail to affect later English architects. Both were documented from De Keyser's own designs in the *Architectura Moderna.*

Undeniably, the first, the *Zuiderkerk* (Figure 1; Plates 20–22) has a plan reminiscent of the Gothic hall churches. Its section is pseudo-basilical: the nave, fairly large with six bays and a wooden barrel vault, is flanked by two narrower and lower aisles. The ratio of the aisles to the nave is 5:8; the nave has no windows in its sides and is open to the aisles through arches with coffered soffits. Similar applied arches replace the mediaeval ribs; they divide the large vault of the nave into bays and articulate the aisles. The arches along the nave form a colonnade with Tuscan columns. On top of these columns there is an additional impost, on which is carved a corbel to support the visible timber tying construction of wall-posts, braces and tie-beams.

This visible construction, as well as the disturbing corbels, are retained in De Keyser's Noorderkerk, but they are avoided in his Westerkerk which was begun in about the same year as the Noorderkerk. So there was no structural necessity for this traditional manner of articulating the wall surface. It was rather the clash between Mannerist and classical ideas in the work of an architect living in a time of transition.

Vermeulen (II, p. 371) devotes much energy to proving that the Zuiderkerk's principal direction was transversal and not longitudinal. He argues firstly from the building's function: the pulpit was placed in front of the middle column of the western arcade and "the space around this pulpit was created according to the logical disposition of the pews". In fact the congregation's attention to the minister does not affect the meeting-house's architectural direction, and one may also doubt whether in its early history there were any pews in the nave. He argues secondly that the choir was suppressed and that the second and fifth bays (that is, the bays equidistant from the middle and the ends) of the aisles were given higher windows. But this arrangement has most effect from the outside, where gables, suggesting transepts of a kind, could be constructed. However, in the interior the arcades separating nave and aisles run all along the bays.

The timber vaulting of the aisles is curious: in principal they have barrel vaults, but

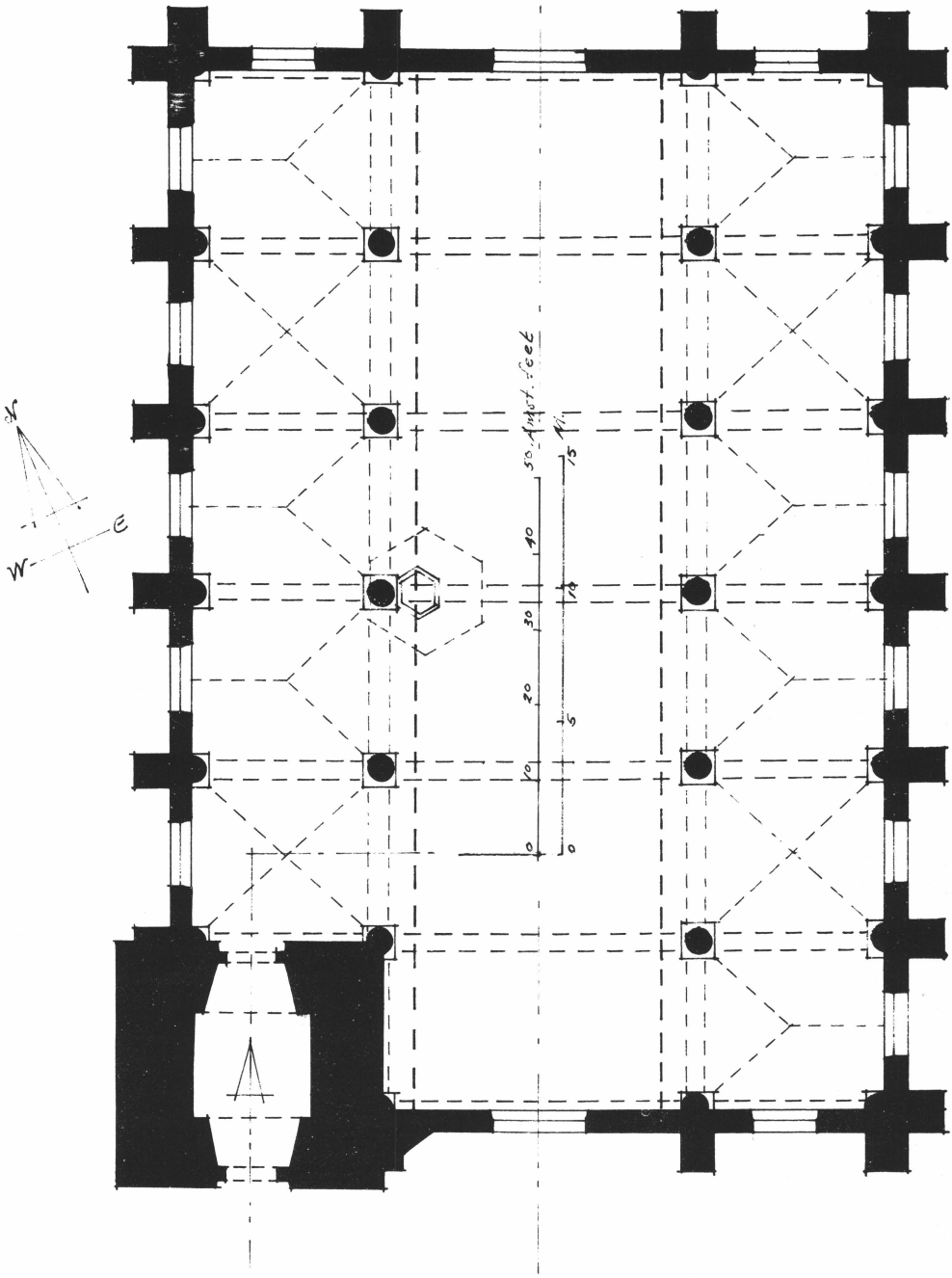


Figure 1. Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam

they are cut into by transverse vaults from the arcades, and in the bays with the higher windows these transverse vaults are complete, making a cross vault. In the nave a heavy entablature runs above the arcade, interrupted by the end gables. On its frieze we meet again the volute-like corbels, adorned with triglyphs, we met before on the imposts over the columns.

Such Mannerist detailing is less prominent in the Noorderkerk, and in the Westerkerk it has disappeared almost completely. In the Zuiderkerk the lighting of the nave is symmetrical: both the end walls have a round-headed window surmounted by a rose-window. (The light from these high windows creates a slight transverse emphasis towards the pulpit indeed). The positioning of the tower at the end of an aisle was prompted above all not by a desire for asymmetricality or better lighting of the nave, but by urbanistic considerations, to obtain a view over the streets and the canal of the Groenburgwal.

On the exterior both ends of the nave and aisles, as well as the abortive transepts, are marked by gables, in the Mannerist fashion; the lower gables have short balustrades on top. Immediately below the balustrades there is an isolated pediment over the big round-headed window. This motif, a classical pediment over a round opening, is again found in the entrance to St. Mary's, Aldermanbury (W.S.. vol.IX, S.48), and in a study for St. Martin's, Ludgate (W.S. vol.IX, plate 18), but there are presumably Venetian and French examples for this feature in Wren's churches as well. The Zuiderkerk's Gothic buttresses are surmounted by alternately triangular and segmental pediments.

Something should be said about the church's Renaissance characteristics in the interior. The Tuscan columns and the coffered arcades and applied arches in the vaults, in themselves a new feature, contrast in colour with the white-washed walls, to create a clear linear division of architectural parts, comparable to that in the churches of Michelozzo in Pistoia (S. Maria delle Grazie), or, more easily apparent on account of their basilical plan, Brunelleschi's San Lorenzo and Santo Spirito.

If we exclude the old-fashioned construction, the nave of the Zuiderkerk with its barrel vault, spacious but not rising to Gothic height, and its architecturally conceived arcades, is a major achievement: the first Renaissance church-room in Amsterdam. It contains, moreover, in embryonic form, the double transepts which were to be fully developed in the Westerkerk and which, with their two transverse axes, are found again in many Dutch Baroque church plans. In the Zuiderkerk the shorter windows of the aisles are almost Perpendicular in form – straight-headed four-lights, as are to be found in the London church of St. Katharine Cree (1628–31) where we may observe the same careful division into architectural parts as well as certain Gothic details[10] (Plate 23).

The *Westerkerk,* (Figure 2; Plates 24–27) begun in 1620 and finished in 1631, ten years after De Keyser's death, represents surprisingly the culmination and conclusion of mediaeval church building. Every seventeenth century architect would have recognized the soaring mass of nave, transepts and frontal tower as Gothic. But in all its tendencies – Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque – the building is far more accomplished than any of its contemporary rivals. It is the largest Protestant church built in Europe before Wren's St. Paul's.

If the architect had to struggle to balance the various styles, no struggle is apparent in the result. The interior is serene with distinctly Renaissance forms articulating a room

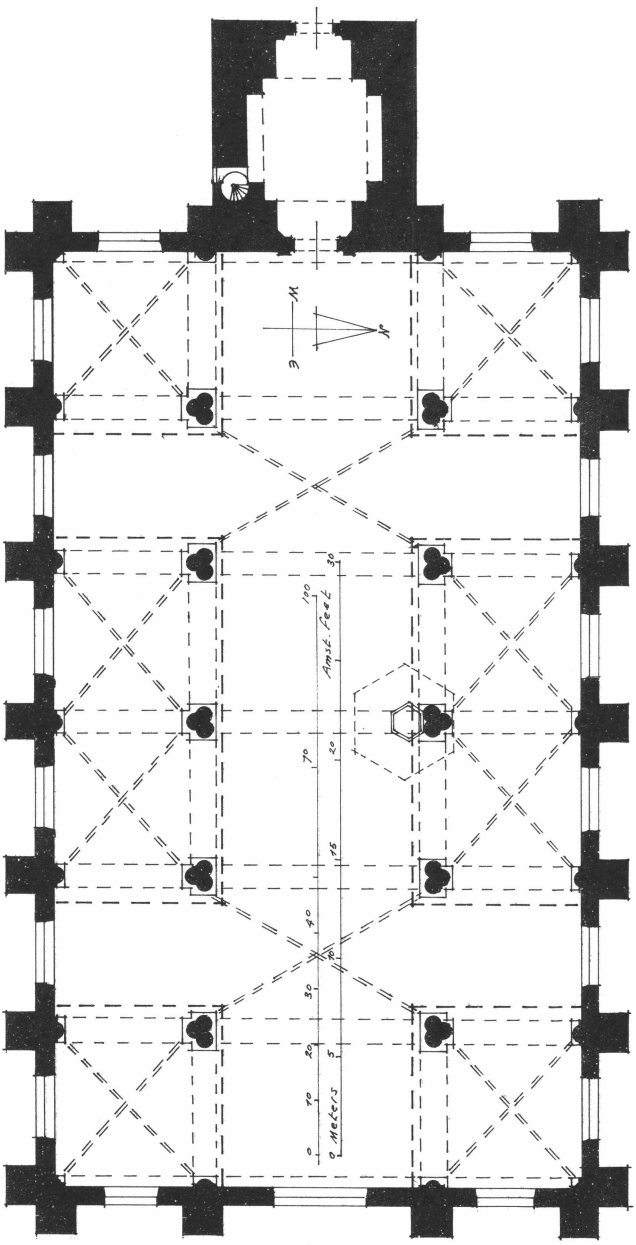


Figure 2. Westerkerk, Amsterdam

whose height, two transepts as high as the long nave and tall clerestorey are as Gothic as the detailing is non-Gothic.

The ground plan, including the position of the pulpit, recalls the Zuiderkerk, but the vaulting is already different: the aisles have brick cross vaults, while nave and transepts are vaulted in planks above the second cornice. Cross vaults are formed at the intersections of the transepts and the nave. The spatial sensation is powerful and clear: the main axis is strongly emphasized, particularly by the large east windows opposite the closed west wall of the nave, and yet the space is made extremely intriguing by the two transverse axes of the narrow transepts.[11] The rectangular form of the whole plan is immediately apparent, with the effect that the aisles are no longer sensed as separate spaces, and the clerestorey walls seem to invade a vast unbroken cubic space.

An important step towards centralisation is the continuation of the lower entablature round all the walls, but this does not weaken the fascination of the transepts, which break the longitudinal without creating a compensatory sense of centralisation.

De Keyser, however, did all that an architect in the Mannerist age could do. In the interior the grey stone structural members against the white walls have a Florentine quality, while the exterior shows a sturdy Northern Mannerism. The buttresses are disguised as heavy Ionic columns carrying an entablature, on top of which is placed a second entablature consisting of a giant triglyph surmounded by a cornice on which stands a vase. These ensembles on top of the columns are block-like, in a mannerist way they appaer only from time to time. In their powerful plasticity and silhouette the vases are closer to Roman Baroque than to the quivering Flemish Mannerism. The vases reappaer in the roofline of Baroque churches, and, incidentally, in the tower of the Westerkerk.

The Greek Cross

In the *Noorderkerk* (Figure 3; Plates 28–30) it is Hendrick de Keyser who seems also to have introduced the Greek Cross plan for the Dutch Protestant church – at least if, like me, one does not dispute the assertion by Salomon de Bray in the *Architectura Moderna* that De Keyser was its architect.

In this third group the Protestant idea of a church where the visibility and audibility of the minister in the pulpit is the main consideration, is forcefully supported by classical architectural ideas. Most of the large churches erected for the official Protestant creed in the classical period of Dutch architecture (c.1625–1670) are of the centralised type.[12] It is difficult to assess how much De Keyser's Noorderkerk influenced the Classicist churches.[13]

Apart from its effect on two rather old-fashioned churches, Maassluis and Groningen, I would like to mention the New Church at Emden (1643–8), also a copy but one in which one of the cross arms was suppressed.

The plan of the Noorderkerk is a Greek Cross, barrel vaulted over the arms and cross vaulted in the inner square; the vaulting is all timber. The arms are as deep as the crossing so that the composition can be considered an arrangement of five squares. The interior detailing, with tie-beams, wall-posts and so on is very close to the Zuiderkerk's. There is one very important spatial departure from the pure Greek Cross: the arms are

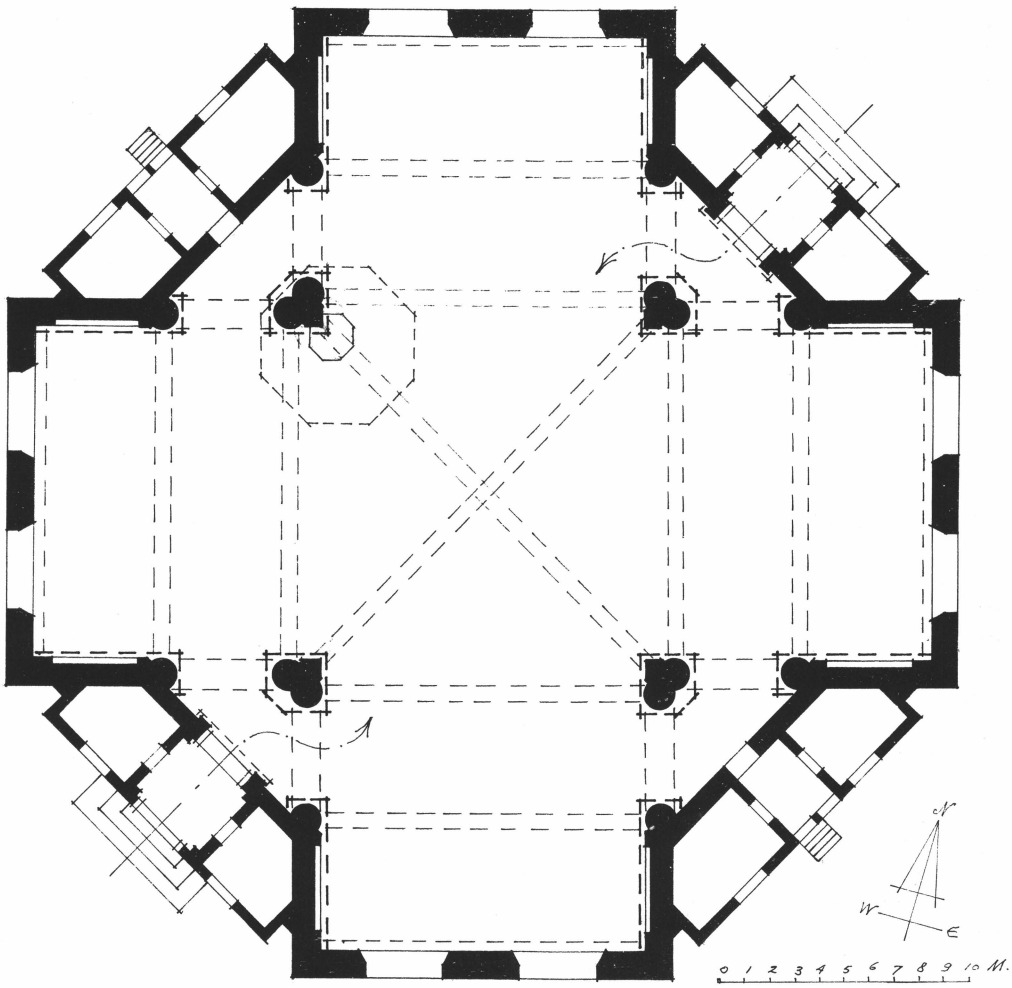


Figure 3. Noorderkerk, Amsterdam

opened by an arch breaking through the entablature but under the second cornice, and connected diagonally with the other arms by brick vaulted triangular spaces. These rather high spaces in the corners of the cross give the interior an effective fluidity without weakening the independence of the arms.

A sense of spatial fluidity is more or less forced on the spectator as the entrances are placed in the triangles directly opposite the piers of the inner square, so that one has to embark on a circular movement to see the interior at all.

This placing of the entrance doors was carefully followed in the imitations that have been mentioned. It is also retained in the idealised church design by Symon Bosboom in his *Cort Onderwys van de Vyf Colommen*, as late as 1657[14] (Plates 31–33). Bosboom of course came from Emden and was therefore influenced by its church, but he succeeded in giving his design a certain Baroque feeling by contracting the interior space. He reduced the depth of the arms and opened them almost entirely by means of quadrant areas between them. The arches of these areas however, are kept entirely under the entablature, and the second stage is the cross vaulting itself, so that his interior has even more Renaissance clarity than De Keyser's Noorderkerk. It is a very clear interior indeed, without the elegant ingenuity of De Keyser – Bosboom's corner piers for instance appear ungainly, whereas De Keyser's are softened by attached columns. Nevertheless Bosboom's interior must have had a much wider impact: his book went through many more impressions, and his neat drawing is legible whereas the interior of the Noorderkerk was too complicated for the early seventeenth century draughtsman – the drawing in the *Architectura Moderna* is incorrect and clumsy.[15]

Bosboom's exterior is fully Baroque: it has a large cupola curving towards a full-sized lantern, all of which is completely unrelated to the closed interior vaulting.[16] But the engraving of the *plan* and *façades* of the Noorderkerk is clear and exact, and it will be necessary to return to it later.

A variant of the Greek Cross in an octagon or with quadrants is the type which has no connecting members between the arms of the cross. There are only three churches of this type, all with shallow arms, the ratio of the crossing to the arms being about 3 to 1. Two of them, the churches of *Renswoude* and *Hooge Zwaluwe* (Plates 34–35), both built from 1639 to 1641, have crossings which rise high above the arms; the third, later, one at 's-Gravenland simply has intersecting barrel vaults.

The first two are small, rather remote villages, the churches were not reproduced in print and it is unlikely that any English architect would have known them except from hearsay. *Renswoude*, however, is important in the development towards Classicist church architecture, and there are indications that Jacob van Campen may have been its architect. The surmise is partly negative, for who else could have designed it? Renswoude is situated in the province of Utrecht, not far from Amersfoort where Van Campen had his country house. The patron was Johan van Riede, Heer[17] van Renswoude, who was connected with the government (he was for instance an envoy to England in 1647), and who corresponded on art and aesthetics with Huygens, who by 1639 was already closely connected with Van Campen in building matters.

The Renswoude church is rather an able building. The arms are separated from the crossing by two Ionic columns placed between Ionic pilasters, applied to the inner corners. The intercolumniation is a little wider in the middle to create a close spatial contact between the arms and the crossing. The arms have flat ceilings whose exposed

beams rest on the entablature which runs round the square area. "Entablature" is hardly the right word: there is only an architrave. This conspicuous departure from the rules was only parallelled in the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem (by Jacob van Campen), and the 's-Gravenland church (by Daniel Stalpaert, 1657–8). The Renswoude church receives a beautiful subdued light from small round-headed windows – remarkable, as Dutch churches tend to have large windows.[18] A flaw in the serene and enchanting interior is the uneasy transition from the square to the octagonal drum by means of pendentives. The white-washed walls of the drum are crowned by a shallow timber vault painted with the seigneurial coats of arms.

On the exterior the turrets for the staircase are expressed as slender extended prisms with tent roofs; they are stepped upwards to the cupola and are thereby integrated into the design, to reach a climax in the lantern on top of the cupola. This consistency in roofing of all the parts produces some peculiar intersections. The outward form is further complicated by the buttresses on every inner and outer corner of the two lower stages. These buttresses have a novel and remarkable outline: they project strongly at their bases to disappear completely in the brickwork of the upper part of the storey. Their curve is most pronounced at their springing, like a parabola nearing an asymptote at the top of the buttress.

These curves are only found in the churches of the Classicist architects of Holland: Jacob van Campen, Arent van 's-Gravensande, Pieter Post and the somewhat younger Daniel Stalpaert, Elias Bouman and Adriaan Dortsman. They occur in Villalpando's reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon and it is not unlikely that Van Campen took them from that source.[19]

The already complex exterior of the Renswoude church needed no decorative additions. The cornices are very simple; the only embellishment of the brick structure lies in the small sandstone crosses around the holes for the scaffolding under the third cornice.[20]

It is common to discuss *Hooge Zwaluwe* after Renswoude and to ascribe it equally to Van Campen[21], for obvious reasons of physical similarity and princely patronage. The Hooge Zwaluwe church moves towards the later Baroque churches. If one enjoys unified spaces it shows a definite improvement over Renswoude – but those who appreciate a lucid Renaissance building up of spaces are less likely to be pleased by the interior. The arms are separated from the crossing by broad transverse arches, whose vaulting, a kind of half-tunnel towards these arches, helps to unify the space. The architect, or the local craftsmen who executed the building, abandoned the idea of a cupola or drum: above each transverse arch rise two pairs of wall-posts and the braces of a cross-framed roof. Thus the upward movement of the central space, found at Renswoude, is here suppressed, although the interior is still quite spacious. As there is only one range of windows these are higher, and they have pointed windows, which certainly cannot have been Van Campen's intention. In other respects, however, the elevations are an improvement on the Renswoude ones: the staircase has only one stage and the roofs are more clearly handled.[22] The Temple buttresses (to give them a name) are better handled as well. Those in the crossing at Renswoude have perhaps the ideal curve, but as a result they disappear in the roofs of the arms. At Hooge Zwaluwe the buttresses approach the form of a triangle with the hypotenuse bent inwards, a form that was taken up by Arent van 's-Gravensande in his Leyden Marekerk (1639–49).

The Cross-in-Square Church

Unified space at the expense of architectural orders – it was a path no architect of later centralised churches wished to follow. If Jacob van Campen was the architect of Renswoude and Hooge Zwaluwe, he decided in his next church, the *Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem* (1645–9) to pursue Renaissance rather than Baroque qualities. The Nieuwe Kerk represents the final accomplishment in Holland of the ideals of lucid proportional relations. Dutch architecture, wich had passed directly from Gothic to Mannerism, still had to pay its dues to the Renaissance (Figures 4–5; Plates 36–40).

The plan of the Nieuwe Kerk is simple: a square in which is inscribed a (timber vaulted) Greek Cross. The barrel vaults form a cross vault in the centre bay, and the remaining four squares are roofed with flat cross-beamed ceilings. All the structural weight is focused on these outer squares: their architraves are supported on the corners of the crossing by Ionic piers, along the arms of the cross by Ionic columns[23], and along the outer walls by pilasters of the same order.[24] These architraves, which are *not* accompanied by friezes and cornices, also run across the end walls of the north and south cross arms. As opposed to the other axis where the vaulting runs straight to the walls, the vault over the north-south axis disappears into coves of the same height. The difficulty whether the architraves should stop at or run across the east and west walls is very cleverly overcome: the architraves bend away from the main room and simply continue along the outer walls of the outer squares. The vaulting has to be interpreted as the frieze. Thus, an awkward separation between the vertical and horizontal architectural members and the continuous, flowing, curved surface of the vault was avoided by various means: first giving the curves their full semi-circular forms, secondly a careful relation of their proportions to those of the whole church, and, thirdly, by the ingenious formal device, the vaulting-in-the-frieze which unites the four structural squares – which otherwise would have looked like independent *tempietti.*

If the ground plan of the church can be understood from a rough sketch, its harmonious spatial sensation cannot be rendered by drawings. The arrangement of the interior is given clearly in Saenredam's drawings and the pious atmosphere of his paintings is very sympathetic to the Haarlem church. It is doubtful, however, whether any of the drawings and paintings which Pieter Saenredam made of Van Campen's church reached England in the seventeenth century, and no engravings were made of the interior.[25] When we look closely at such churches as St. Anne and St. Agnes or St. Martin, Ludgate, we find quite other proportions: the similarity lies in the conception of the plan (Figures 11–12).

The quincunx is of ancient derivation and had lately been revived in Tuscan[26] and Venetian[27] churches, but the solution with crossing vaults and Classicist outer squares was entirely Van Campen's.[28]

Van Campen presumably tried to emphasize as far as possible the difference between the gay, careless inventiveness of Lieven de Key's earlier tower (1613) and his own elevations which are simple, not to say plain. Only his entrance façade shows an unparallelled grandeur. It has a Doric porch over which rises a large round-headed window. There is some decoration – the year in large numerals, a swag, two coats of arms, and an entablature – but it is overwhelmed by the mass of brickwork.[29]

Jacob van Campen's conception remains unique in many respects: in later Dutch

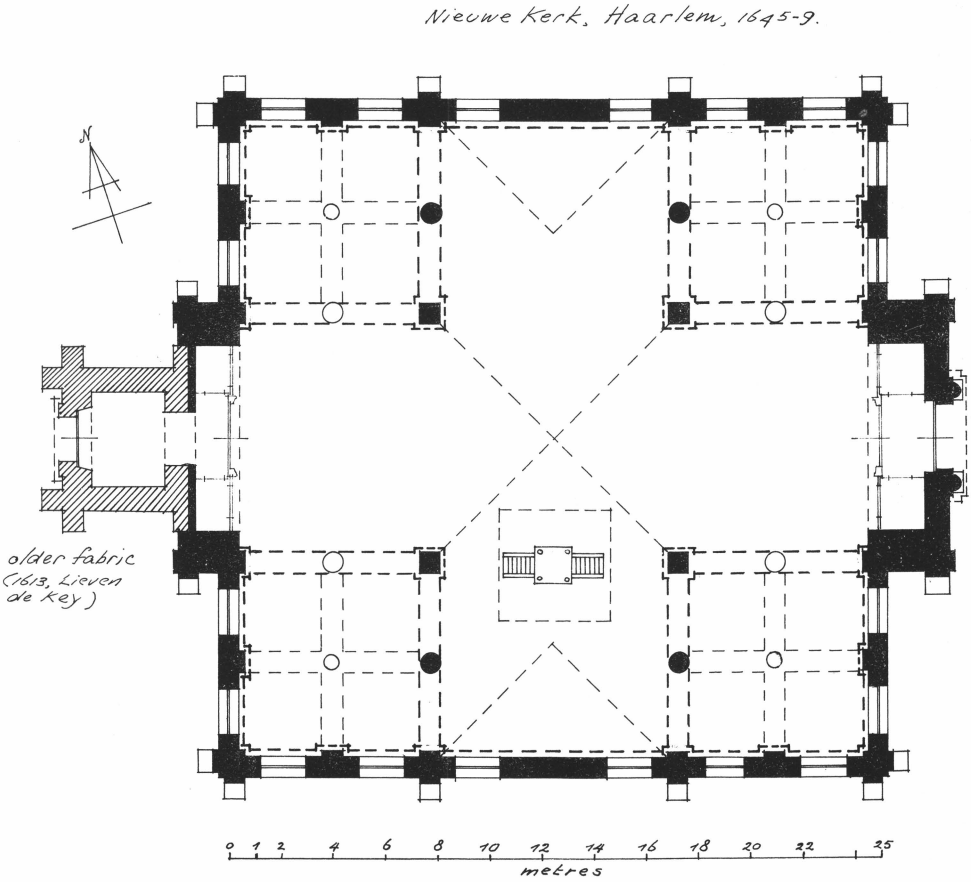


Figure 4. Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem. Plan

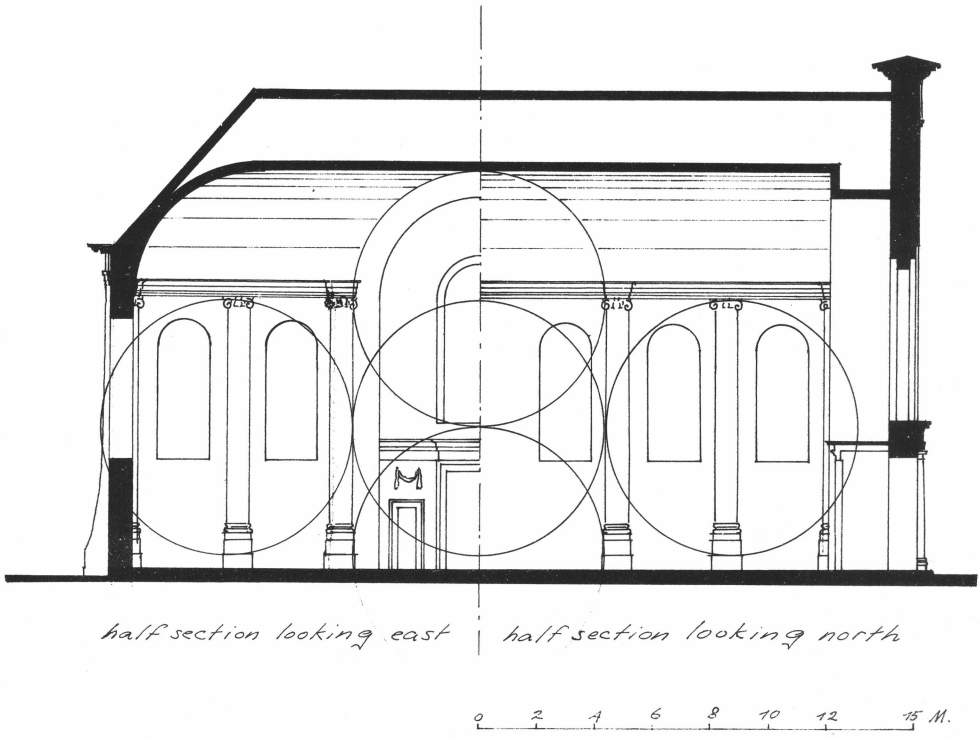


Figure 5. Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem. Sections

churches on the same plan the sides of the outer squares are not treated, for example, as structural members from which the entire movement originates. On the contrary: the cross is there emphasized, and its elevations along the outer squares, pierced only by round-headed openings, almost seem outer walls.[30] The Haarlem church has façades of equal height, but in the later churches the outer squares are expressed as, more or less successful, accumulations of cubes and hipped roofs. At *'s-Gravenland* and *Oudshoorn* (Plates 41–42) there is a quite happy addition of a projecting pedimented entrance façade[31], but in the *Oosterkerk* (1669–71) the pediment is replaced by a balustrade (so as not to block the light of the upper windows) and the masses are extremely clear-cut (the springing of the roofs, for example, is straight and not concave) and very tall, so that the general appearance of the building has a peculiarly utilitarian air, like an enormous granary or store-house. The central area of the Oosterkerk is again cross-vaulted but the barrel vaults of the arms run straight into the end elevations (Plates 43–44).

A second storey of three round-headed windows is placed above the continuous heavy Ionic entablature – three windows appear at least on the exterior, though in the interior the corners of the outer windows are cut off by the barrel vaulting. I do not think, how-

ever, that these upper windows would have disturbed an architect like Wren if he had visited the church. Rather he would have found the building repellent in its assertive Calvinistic atmosphere, its almost aggressive coldness. In fact neither Wren nor Hooke is likely to have visited the Oosterkerk: it was inaugurated only on October 4th, 1671[32], and in 1672 broke out the Third Anglo-Dutch War[33]; later they certainly did not visit the Republic.

The Round or Octagonal Churches

The round or octagonal building is the other type of centralised classical plan which appears around 1640. The inclusion in Danckerts' Scamozzi edition (1640) and in the second edition of his *Architectura Moderna* (1641) of Hendrick Danckerts' octagonal design with a cupola may have been prompted by the similar plan of Longhena's *Salute*, which had been under construction since 1631. The project (Plates 45–46) is signed "Hendrick Dankertz inventor 1628", but the date seems dubious. Hendrick de Keyser had been dead for ten years when the *Architectura* first appeared in 1631, so what could have prevented the inclusion of Danckerts' church then, if 1628 was indeed its date? – De Bray added anyhow work by others than De Keyser to the *Architectura Moderna*.

Vermeulen (III, p. 352) takes the year for granted and evidently thinks that the two prints were already circulating as single sheets, and influenced the Renswoude church, especially its cupola. Hendrick Danckerts' artistic circles were not, however, those of Jacob van Campen, and it should be recalled that Hooge Zwaluwe and the Marekerk, also begun in 1639, do not seem to owe anything to Danckerts' design. This design has for instance central piers, each accompanied by two pilasters on the wall of the ambulatory, without any suggestion that the relation between piers and pilasters was worked out at all. (Though in the *Salute* they are worked out, and with masterly skill). Nor are the connections between the inner and the outer octagon in any way clear.[34]

In the *Marekerk* at Leyden (1639–49) by the town architect Arent van 's-Gravesande[35], both problems are solved very satisfactorily (Figure 6; Plates 47–48). The inner octagon has Ionic columns which are joined in a natural way to the pilasters of the outer walls by straight architraves; the columns themselves support a full entablature on which rest, elevated on a pedestal, the Corinthian pilasters of the drum. Above the drum there is a depressed domical ceiling.[36] On the exterior Van 's-Gravesande used giant temple buttresses, creating a harmonious transition from ambulatory to drum and upward along the drum to the attic. The elegant silhouette was enhanced by large vases placed on the tops of the buttresses.[37] The buttresses appear as projections in the two cornices and in the small attic, a Baroque feature. The attic is enlivened by large letters: W, NW, etc. for the points of the compass.

The dome starts with a few steps and has flat ribs on the corners. It is hemispherical, as all Dutch domes were to be, and is surmounted by an open bell-tower with Ionic three quarter columns, on top of which stands a gilt pineapple bearing St. Peter's keys – the coat of arms of Leyden – over which flies an angel (Fame) blowing a trumpet.

The church is well and centrally lit by the high windows of the drum. (The planned windows of the ambulatory were omitted on Van Campen's advice).

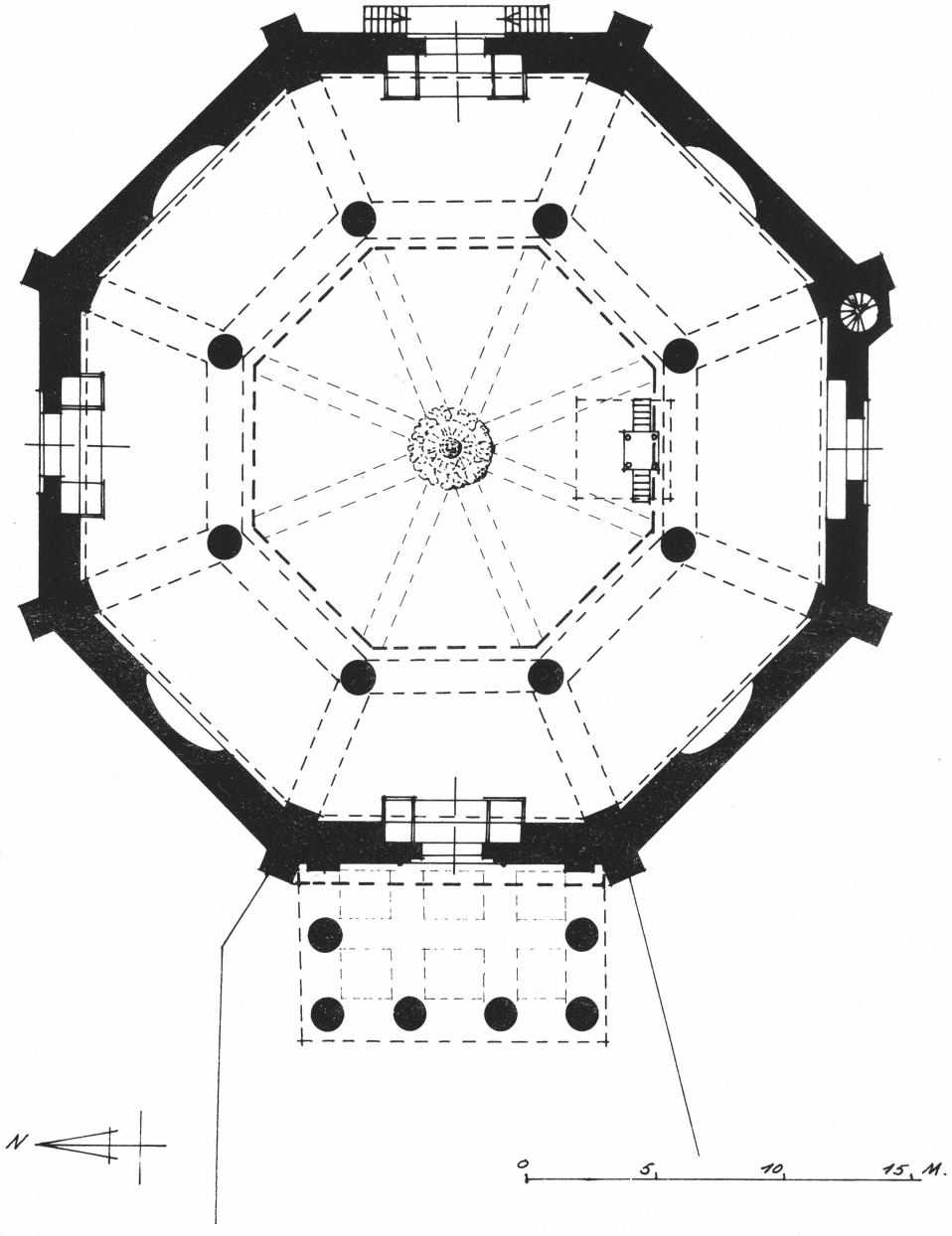


Figure 6. Marekerk, Leyden. Portico not executed

The space is serene, and is still very much in the quattrocento Florentine manner, based on the strictly structural use of orders, which was followed in all centrally planned seventeenth century Dutch churches. The orders are in grey stone against white-washed walls, and on account of this and the ground plan, some authors detect here the influence of the Salute[38]; but apart from essential differences – such as the near triangles formed by the piers and outer wall colonettes of the Salute, and its sudden widening of the lower stage, it is doubtful whether the construction of the Salute was sufficiently advanced to exert more than a vague influence. I think that the coloristic treatment derives rather from Brunelleschi; it had found its way gradually into the Northern Netherlands, fusing with native late Gothic elements.

The Palladian influence exerted on the Marekerk seems Roman rather than Venetian; it was not introduced by the architect, Van 's-Gravesande, himself. The Burgomasters asked the advice of Jacob van Campen[39], which he gave in four points:

(I) The whole building should be raised on steps, on a sort of podium,
(II) These should be a great temple-like portico, like that of the Pantheon[40],
(III) There should be no windows in the lower storey, and
(IV) The drum should have not an entablature but only a cornice.

This last recommendation was evidently made with the intention of securing a fluent transition to the cupola. The steps of the cupola, incidentally, are found at the Pantheon and in Bramante's dome for St. Peter's (in the woodcut from Serlio), and it would be very interesting to know whether this motif was Van 's-Gravesande's idea or Van Campen's.[41]

It could be said that all these alterations, as well as the portico, (or the small, similarly stepped dome of the staircase turret) originate in Palladio's church at Maser.[42] On the other hand Maser was remote and inaccessible; it still had to be engraved (by Bertotti Scamozzi); and one is probably justified in thinking that no Dutch architect had ever seen it – even if Van Campen's unaccounted for years are held to include a stay not only in the Papal States but also in the Veneto.

The church was raised somewhat; in general the advice on windows was followed; and the architrave and frieze of the drum were replaced by swags. The temple front, chiefly it seems from lack of resources, was begun but never completed. What remained of it was a splendid classical entrance after Scamozzi, perhaps designed by 's-Gravesande on the instigation of Van Campen. The front was left unfinished and only completed in 1660 with a pediment designed by a local carpenter.

The Marekerk is one of the most important churches in the Republic; and a church with which two famous architects were connected.

As for its possible influence abroad, it should be remembered that neither plan nor interior was engraved, and the exterior, with any accuracy, only much later.[43]

More Baroque Forms

Immediate influence was exercised on the *Oostkerk* at Middelburg (1647–67) (Plates 49–53), although this church also achieved a great advance towards Baroque space. In the Marekerk the ratio of the ambulatory to the octagon had been 1:3, while here it became 1:12 – in other words there is no ambulatory, and the Ionic columns only just stand proud of the angles of the wall.

The Oostkerk has a magnificently united interior, beautifully lit by the round-headed windows and the large lantern. While the contour and elevations of the church are grand and fully Baroque, the entrance façade is disturbingly out of proportion and anachronistic. It has small Mannerist windows and porches surrounding the large entrance and even squeezing its pediment into too small an area. The same applies to the inner entrance façade.[44]

The difficulty was that the Oostkerk, an imposing achievement for the capital of Zeeland, suffered from the relative smallness of Middelburg[45] and its remoteness from Holland. Thus these windows were a later addition, to create space for stained glass with the coats of arms of members of the municipal government[46], and the architects were constantly changing, or even non-existent. It seems that Bartholomeus Fransz. Drijfhout[47] assisted by or in collaboration with Pieter Post made the first design, whose exterior (of which an illustration was recently found)[48] followed closely the tetrastyle portico-design of the Marekerk.[49] Drijfhout was a sculptor and stone-supplier, so that the idea of the crowded detailing in the main front may be his, but soon after, in 1649, he died, and the building was executed seven to fifteen years later.[50]

If Post was the author of the cupola and the lantern, he surpassed, in this lofty fluent interior, his previously known capacities as a designer. In any case, as early as 1651 Van 's-Gravesande established the design for the lantern and presumably the cupola, and after his dismissal as Town "Fabrique" of Leyden he continued the Middelburg work, from 1657[51] until his death in 1662, when the main fabric was completed.

In contrast to the elliptical ceiling of Leyden, which receives no light from above, this dome is spaciously lit by the wide lantern, and is concentric with the outer dome.

The stone structural elements of the interior were to be painted "like alabaster", so that the contrast with the white-washed walls may not have been as strong here as in the other churches. The building has a complete entablature on Ionic pilasters[52], large vases on the attic and more on the balustrade surrounding the lantern. This lantern could not be open, but a suggestion that it is open is given by making the windows flush with the thin wall, which leaves the Corinthian columns almost free.[53] The lantern is finished with the customary *epitheta ornantia*, comparable to those mentioned at Leyden.[54] Since, however, the dome rises immediately from the attic of the lower storey both exterior and interior give a fully Baroque impression, whereas Leyden, for all its loftiness, preserves the fragile freshness of the Early Renaissance.

There is one small octagonal church which should be mentioned, that of *Leidschendam* (Plates 54–55). First its exterior inspired some artists to make reasonably evocative prints of it[55]; secondly, travellers by *trekschuit* could not fail to notice it, and thirdly it was erected by Arent van 's-Gravesande, from 1647 to 1653, and rebuilt after a fire by Jacob Roman, from 1693 to 1696.[56] The interior weds the earliest round churches and the later octagonal ones by consisting of one room but having applied pilasters in the angles; the first exterior had a simple ribbed hemispherical dome with a little bell-tower, which was related to the dome by small concave buttresses or consoles. The second exterior is the only known cupola by Jacob Roman. It had ribs very characteristic of his work, with alternating smaller and larger faces like quoins.

The last centralised church to be discussed is a rather important one. Its plan, section and elevation, as well as the details of its construction, have been accurately engraved on folio size (Plates 56–59). These views will have circulated as single sheets, but their

date is uncertain and they appeared in book-form only about 1700, or still later, when they were bound with Listingh's and Truer's church projects.[57] This church is the New or – appropriately – the *Round Lutheran Church* at Amsterdam (1668–71).[58] As a Noncalvinists' church it does not really belong in this chapter: it differs importantly from the churches of the Reformed (State) creed, which were without galleries, by having two semicircular galleries, one above the other. But on account of its enormous scale (it had to accommodate about 5450 people), its display of its façades (most Noncalvinist churches were concealed) and its circular form, it can logically be included here. The architect was Adriaan Dortsman, who was born in Flushing near Middelburg, and in his youth would have seen the Oostkerk slowly rising.[59] The round building has ten bays. Five bays are opened for a semicircular extension containing two tiers of galleries under the grand cornice over which the drum rises. The galleries, which held about half the congregation, give a view only of the raised pulpit, not of the floor of the building (meaning, incidentally, that it would never be possible to turn it into a Roman Catholic church).

The interior is static[60], self-contained, unified. There are no hesitations in the transitions. Most of the differences from the Middelburg prototype seem to be improvements. Severe, manly Doric columns articulate the main body of the church. In front of the galleries they are fully exposed and paired with a second, broader column behind them. By this arrangement the second gallery could be supported in an architectonically acceptable way. The high pedestal on which the pairs of columns are placed carries the first gallery, whereas the second tier is supported by the rear columns half-way up their height. For a church built between 1668 and 1671, it was a very able way of supporting the galleries; a problem for which a wholly satisfactory solution is very difficult to find.

The frieze of the entablature was decorated with a meander, an unusual motif at this time. By way of a drum the church had a high attic with rectangular windows; as built the dome had ten flat ribs. After the gutting of the building by fire in 1822 it was rebuilt, or rather restored, with only a few alterations.[61] The columns became Ionic and the dome was given a coffered ceiling. These changes (and presumably some adjustments, to the colouring) perhaps made the interior more austere and Neoclassical, and less Baroque.[62]

One criticism of the interior has always been the arrangement, in one bay, of the organ over the pulpit, and – worse still – of the pulpit in its turn over the principal entrance! This was not, it appears, the architect's intention. On the ground plan of the engravings the pulpit is placed in front of the entrance.

The exterior is of a severe but harmonious Classicism, in which only the occasional detail, such as the clustering of the pilasters, can be considered Baroque. The first storey, in which the rectangular entrances are set, is conceived as a basement, and has strong horizontal chanelling in the brickwork. The second storey creates a contrast of the order and the window architraves in sandstone with the brick background. Apart from the ambulatory windows all the openings are rectangular, which is unique in Dutch church architecture and enhances the handsome appearance.

The attic has the same panel-like pilasters as the interior so that in the orders and domes there was a perfect congruity between outward and inward appearance. The lantern had ten Corinthian columns applied to an arched screen; in the restoration the

openings became straight and the lantern roof, concave under a helmet, was changed into a small dome.

The accomplishment with which this Lutheran temple expresses its function by apparently simple means, and the perfect accord between interior space and external appearance (a wonderful quality, which at that time also represented a technical achievement), make the Round Lutheran Church one of the most beautiful churches of Holland, and the climax of the round church.[63]

An Axial Baroque Church

In the fourth category, the Baroque churches whose plan consists of the union of two centralised spaces resulting in one main axis and two strong transverse axes, there is one powerful example. It is the *Nieuwe Kerk* (New Church) at the Hague, built from 1649 to 1656 (Figure 7). This was built as a joint enterprise of the two secular councils which governed the Hague: the Court of Holland for the administrative centre of the Republic and the usual town council – Burgomasters, Magistrate and Councillors – for the rest of the place.[63a] The Town appointed Bartholomeus van Bassen, and the Court of Holland, Pieter Noorwits, a brother of Arent van 's-Gravesande; but in my view it is not only the difference in character between the two – Van Bassen, the painter famous for his real and imaginary church interiors, and Noorwits, the architect – that produces the marked difference in mood and style between the interior and exterior of the church. The ground plan, in which we may assume that Noorwits' ideas were strongest, can be interpreted as a play of geometric shapes. Two squares, each with four semi-octagonal absidioles, are juxtaposed. The connecting straight walls are fully twice as long as the straight walls of the ends. The inevitable solution, it seems. But is shows immediately the impossibility of linking the chosen forms in a satisfying way. The conflict of directions was revealed by the fact that part of the public faced away from the minister. Perhaps the intrusion of the connecting walls in the centre could have been softened, but at least one device, such as articulation by columns, was impossible because of the old-fashioned form of the roof, for which Van Bassen may be credited.

This vaulting is extremely picturesque, if not completely Gothic (Plate 60). Immediately above the windows there is a row of corbels, interconnected with arches in a kind of dwarf arcade, and supporting the wall posts of a timber vault with a fine elaborate pattern. The ribs which follow the main line of the roof, have a Gothic outline, and bosses at their intersections. Between them, exposed after the latest restoration as was perhaps the original intention, there are decorative liernes or rafters. It makes a delightful effect with the beautiful slow transition from the inner to the outer space. The whole forms a kind of web and reminds one of the roofing of a Gothic church like that of Brouwershaven in Zeeland.

It is a pity that we have no account of the impression made by this vaulting on Robert Hooke. There were no adequate engravings of the church and Hooke had to content himself with copying the designs for the exterior. The British Museum still has the "singularly insensitive" result.[64] If Hooke drew the plan and section as well these drawings do not survive: he must have realised that it was impossible for him to make a

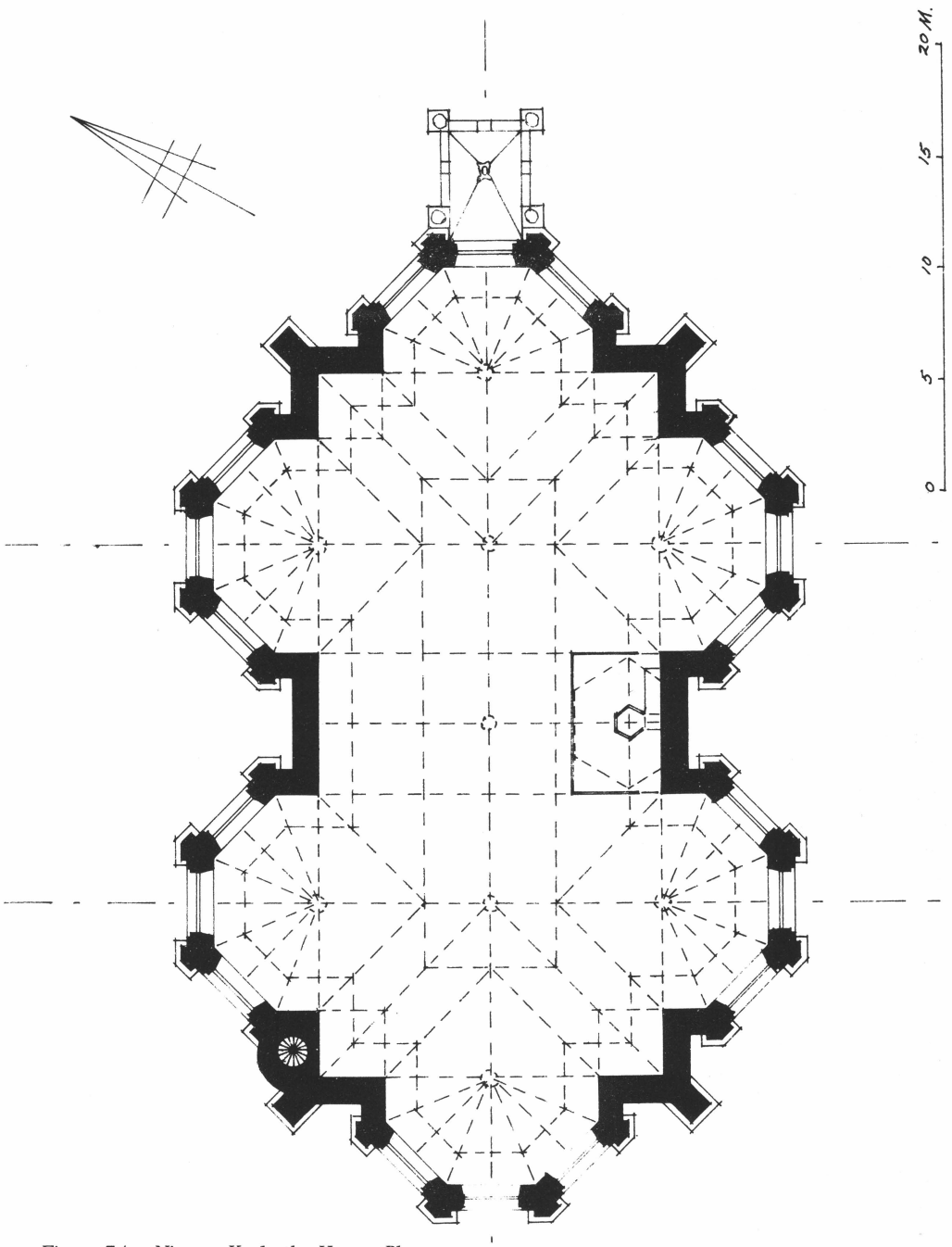


Figure 7A. Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague. Plan

tolerable sketch of the interior. Perhaps the roofing did have planks between the ribs – which he could compare with the timber vaulting in the Hague's Groote Kerk. The town was evidently very proud of the large Gothic church, which was restored in 1540 after a fire. There, all the details of the Nieuwe Kerk are already visible, including the dwarf arcade and the wall posts, only more logically applied (Plate 61). As a comparison, the Groote Kerk has three transverse axes in the form of three successive transepts connected by arches and vaulted as high as the nave, to make three cross vaults – in this case a successful spatial relationship. We may suppose that the conservatism of the town government and not Van Bassen's fancy was responsible for the Nieuwe Kerk's vaulting as well as for the transverse axes.

On the exterior, however, for which the Court of Holland may be considered responsible, we find no hint at all of mediaeval vaulting. On the contrary: it is the most Baroque church elevation in Holland and must have exerted considerable influence on passing architects.[65]

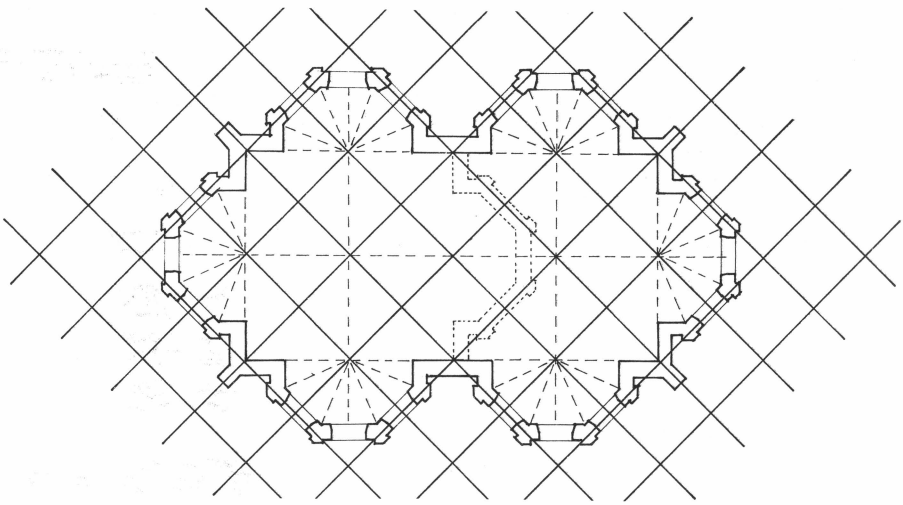


Figure 7B. Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague. Plan with possible designing grid

The rigid geometrical layout did not allow for a proper entrance. The east porch can hardly be considered one – it is, rather, an accidentally adjacent garden-pavilion. On its corners it bears giant vases in the form of banded eggs as symbols of the breaking of the bonds of death at the Last Judgement. By the relative insignificance of the porch the main body of the church loses none of its overpowering effect (Plate 62). It has the plainest Tuscan pilasters over every angle and round the four corner buttresses, and the bold entablature follows this receding and projecting contour. On the buttresses gigantic vases reappear, but they are now in a complex form which already adumbrates the eighteenth century.

The hipped roofs have a slight concave springing, and the part over the long axis is much higher. The contraction of the middle of the building adds considerably to the mobility of its shape; the design as a whole has a strongly centralising feature in the tall turret on the middle of the roof. Like most churches in the closely built up towns the Nieuwe Kerk was hemmed in on three sides by houses, but the entrance front was well calculated to be seen over the water of a canal immediately in front.

There is no doubt that the church aroused much admiration, but because of the obvious disadvantages of the ground plan the composition failed to set an example in Holland[66] – the fine small church of Woubrugge, which will be dealt with in the chapter on Arent van 's-Gravesande, not only followed the Nieuwe Kerk, but carried its example even further.

Before discussing the Noncalvinist churches, something should be said about Hendrick de Keyser, architect of Amsterdam's first great Protestant churches, and the propagation of his ideas through the publishing activities of Salomon de Bray.

Chapter 4

The Architectura Moderna: the Architect and the Propagator

Hendrick de Keyser

"Hier leeft die leven gaf aen marmer, aen metael,
Yvoor, albast en klay, dies laet sich Uytrecht hooren:
'Is Roome op Kaysers prat en Keyserlycke prael,
De Kayser van de Kunst is uyt myn schoot ghebooren'."
(Vondel, about 1621, on the Keyser's portrait)[1]

Hendrick de Keyser was considered only a sculptor by most of his contemporaries. Born in 1565, during the heyday of Mannerism, this highly talented man did succeed in becoming a great sculptor, but his fate as an architect was essentially tragic: he was unable to develop a harmonious style in a climate characterized by the controversy between traditional influences and dawning Classicism.

Some of his designs, such as the Lebuinustoren at Deventer, suggest a sudden breakthrough to the new style that was to develop fully in the work of Jacob van Campen after De Keyser's death. However, the greater part of the Keyser's work is a very personal mixture of different motifs. Presumably he relished this style which he could call his own and in which he would have no followers, but in my view the juxtaposition of different modes in his work should not be regarded as intrinsically mannerist, but as the outcome of a continuous search for better solutions. Of his three Amsterdam churches the Noorderkerk, chronologically central to his series of churches, is decidedly the most advanced in plan and detail (e.g. the almost classical cupola-like turret). The Westerkerk, built later, is the more modern in elevation but the more Gothic in plan. The churches are discussed in the relevant chapter; this section is confined to his other works, mainly as they are published in the *Architectura Moderna.*

Hendrick de Keyser was born at Utrecht and trained as a sculptor at Cornelis Bloemaert's; in 1591, when he was twenty-six, he was inscribed as a citizen of Amsterdam.[2] He married in the same year. His daughter, Maria, who was born in 1592, married Nicholas Stone in 1613. De Keyser twice took out a patent as an engineer. The first invention (1596) was an opening in a bridge to allow ships to pass through without lowering their masts. The second invention (1612) was artificial marble, "not to be distinguished from the natural stone". This use of imitation marble was widespread, and it has survived tenaciously.

In 1595 Hendrick de Keyser was appointed Town Sculptor and Stone Mason. He kept his private workshop where he made statues[3], statuettes, plaquettes and so on, in marble, bronze, and other materials, and designed buildings for patrons other than the City Government. Cornelis Danckerts, the uncle of the editor of the same name, was appointed Town Mason in the same year. They evidently got on well together. With

Hendrick Staets, the Town Carpenter, relations were less easy. For one thing the States General had granted a patent for artificial marble to Staets also, later in 1596, adding that it was a new invention *but* in no way infringed on De Keyser's rights. This incident would not be mentioned here if it were not for the appearance in 1628 of a pamphlet ascribing in rhyme practically everything built in the town between 1594 and 1627 to Hendrick Staets. Certainly Staets played a managing role and executed technical details, but I do not think that he designed any of the buildings shown in the *Architectura Moderna*, nor the Amsterdam Exchange for that matter.[4]

Thus the *Architectura Moderna* of 1631, published to give Hendrick de Keyser his due, was in part a reaction to this "Rijmkroniek" and partly also the realisation of an idea born in De Keyser's mind much earlier, presumably about 1615. The *Architectura Moderna* only contains works from 1614 onwards, the year of the completion of the Zuiderkerk, and the prints obviously come from De Keyser's workshop.[5] From this we may conclude that from that year on he kept his designs with the intention of publishing them, and was only prevented from doing so himself by his death in 1621.[6]

A peculiar case is the Amsterdam Exchange, built from 1608 to 1611, apparantly in close collaboration with Cornelis Danckerts[7], with whom he was sent to London in 1607 to study Hendrik van Passe's 1571 Exchange.[8] The result, often engraved, cannot be called original in spite of its fine execution: it was a copy of the London Royal Exchange, which was itself a copy of Dominicus de Waghemakere's 1515 Antwerp Exchange.[9] An exception should be made for the tower which De Keyser added to the structure, and I will return to it to consider its relation to other seventeenth century turrets.

In London De Keyser met Nicholas Stone who accompanied him back to Amsterdam and became an apprentice until his return to England in 1613. It is recorded that Nicholas Stone executed "an entrance gate" while working with Hendrick de Keyser, but his manner is stylistically so close to his master's that it seems impossible to attribute to him one particular gate.[10] Elisabeth Neurdenburg suggests as the most likely the entrance to the graveyard of the Zuiderkerk, shown on plate IIII of the *Architectura Moderna*, an archway surmounted by a bier, skulls and bones, between broken pediments[11] (Plate 2). When back in England Stone was appointed by Inigo Jones as his master mason for the Banqueting House and he may have worked for Jones on Lindsay House as well.[12] He certainly executed the York Water Gate for the exuberant Late Mannerist Sir Balthazar Gerbier, who was, as well as "courtier and diplomat, miniaturist and architect, pamphleteer and promotor"[13], a Dutch poet, and was acquainted with Hendrick de Keyser, on whom he composed a few lines.[14]

Stone is also mentioned in connection with the porch of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford, as is John Jackson, who seems to have been associated with Stone.[15] If Jackson executed the beautiful centrepiece in the Canterbury Quadrangle at St. John's College, Oxford, we find in Stone's circle a third, and definitely very French, idiom.[16]

A certain lack of personal inventiveness and a great malleability can account for the fact that Stone worked well both for people like Gerbier and for Inigo Jones.

In general, however, he would have hindered rather than promoted the spread of Classicist ideas in England; he and Hendrick de Keyser's sons, who at times worked in England[17], were representatives of Artisan Mannerism.

Hendrick de Keyser was himself a famous sculptor; I will only mention the tomb of

William the Silent at Delft and the statue of Erasmus at Rotterdam. The composition of the monument[18] for the Prince of Orange is always considered to derive from the monument to Henry II at St. Denis, and certainly the iconography and the main idea of the plan do derive from this source. But in comparison to Primaticcio's tomb the plan shows little stability and the elevations (Architectura Moderna XXXIX and XXXX, Plate 63) have a rather tortured uncertainty, as the curved corners are continued into the heavy broken pediments, to give the monument a sense of uneasy spatial relationships. The whole conception is closer in spirit to earlier Italian Mannerists than to Primaticcio.[19]

Even if the corner statues had been marble, as De Keyser had intended, they should have strengthened the diagonal emphasis in the way that the obelisks on the corners do. In addition, the latter tend, because of their tallness, to dwarf the monument. The recumbent marble figure of the Prince is marvellous, but the integration of the numerous parts was beyond De Keyser's powers.[20]

As there was some criticism of the statues' draperies the Delft painter Michiel van Miereveld was called in to assist on the folds of the statue of Erasmus. The statue was intended to have a striking bronze colour, not the oxidised green one to which we are happily accustomed.

When a few years ago the façade of the Delft Town Hall was restored (Plate 64), gold foil was applied to a number of ornaments, partly where traces of paint were found, and partly on corresponding places in the reconstructed central bay. The addition of the gilt details to an already strongly Mannerist elevation exacerbates the shattering effect. The *piano nobile* was arranged round a medieval tower but achieves a symmetrical and rather satisfying spatial conception. But even when he composed both plan and façade on a regular grid Hendrick de Keyser could not avoid, in the final execution by local craftsmen, or even in his own, less sixteenth century detailing, an extreme "National Mannerist" solution.[21] (Plate 65). As for influences – in his double frontispiece Hendrick de Keyser may have recalled Du Cerceau's print of Ecouen (LIV in *Le deuxième Volume des Plus Beaux Bastiments de France)* rather than the Château de Coulommiers,[22]

A great part of the *Architectura Moderna* (in fact 26 of the 44 plates) is devoted to archways of various kinds, free-standing, applied, or as galleries. They found their way, with many variations, into Artisan Mannerism, and have gradually, with the London examples of that mode, disappeared.

In Holland De Keyer's influence was ended by the acceptance of Classicism about 1635; in the other provinces of the Union he was still imitated – the Noorderkerk at Groningen was built on the pattern of the Noorderkerk at Amsterdam. Symon Bosboom when working at Nimeguen copied a gateway of the Westerkerk as late as 1640.[23]

Among the most important of Hendrick de Keyser's gates are the Haarlemmerpoort at Amsterdam shown in two plates, XXVII and XXVIII, of which the latter is illustrated here (Plate 66) and an unexecuted archway.

The Haarlemmerpoort shows its derivation more clearly than the Delft tomb. It may have been derived from the engraving by Faleti of the Porta Pia (1568) and from the entrance gate to the villa of the Cardinal of Sermoneta as it is given in the appendix to Vignola's work and attributed to Michelangelo. The second gateway seems to be Vignola's own work; but De Keyser probably thought that both designs were the work

of Michelangelo. Both the inner and the outer face of the gate (1615–18, demolished in 1838 to construct a Neoclassical object whose opening is so wide that it is more a passage than a building) bear witness to De Keyser's Roman studies. The position of the lions halfway down the broken segmental pediments is queer and precarious, but even that is a faint echo of Michelangelo's Giuliano de' Medici tomb.

The gate is a characteristically capricious Mannerist work. Balthasar Gerbier's York Water Gate (1626–7) comes close to it in several features, such as the use of rusticated bands over the columns; but in Wren's England it would have been considered old-fashioned. As a town gate, its combination of rustication with the Tuscan order expresses the union of the labours of Nature and of Man.

For this study, however, the unexecuted design for a gateway (*Arch. Mod.* XXXI, Plate 1) is far more interesting. Firstly, it is a closer paraphrase of Michelangelo's Porta Pia, from which not only parts of the centre are taken but also, on broken pediments, the characteristic symbolic crenellation derived from the Ionic capital. In defiance of the Porta Pia the segmental pediments are broken outwards. This motif, already used by De Keyser at the tomb of William the Silent, is not often found in Mannerist architecture. There are two instances in Wendel Dietterlin's *Architectura* (1598): no. 19, in the "Tuscan Order", and no. 55 (though with triangular pediments) in the "Doric Order".

There is also, of course, Buontalenti's famous Porta delle Suppliche at the Old Mint, now the Uffizi, at Florence, of which De Keyser may have heard.[24] The design is a charming *capriccio* in the Italian manner, a fine fantasy using established motifs. With its broad planes (broad, at least, for the early seventeenth century) and parts of pediments in strong contour, it foreshadows much later baroque work by architects like Archer and Vanbrugh.

It seems best to isolate in Hendrick de Keyser's *oeuvre* this particular archway and his ecclesiastical work for their influence on Wren and his associates, especially in the London City churches.[25] Thus an architect who stood "on the brink of the old craft of the stonemason and Palladianism", to quote Forssman[26], still had a share in the development of later seventeenth century architecture. We should turn next to the theoretical support for this "architectura moderna".

Salomon de Bray; his Introduction to the Architectura Moderna

Salomon de Bray, writing his introduction to De Keyser's work in 1630, made a Classicist of his hero. Through Forssman in his *Säule und Ornament* (1956) and Taverne in the recent reprint (1971) of the *Architectura Moderna*[27] De Bray's vision of the genesis of architecture has gained international attention. This point, therefore, needs no further elaboration.

Salomon de Bray (1597–1664) was trained as a painter but also worked as an architect and on town development[28], and he wrote poems. Coming from a Roman Catholic family but a convert to Protestantism, apart from acquainting "the civic government of Holland with a new way of building – oriented to Vitruvius and the Italian theoreticians" which was only natural for a Republican, he was also, one might say, *plus royaliste que le roy* with respect to the purist Reformed ministers. In his introduction

he adorns the Temple of Solomon, built by Hiram of Tyros, with the Corinthian order, and continues: "which way of building if you observe well, was not new then or first invented, because when we compare the Scriptual passages about the building of the Temple with those about the Tabernacle in the time of Moses, we find that the greater part of Solomon's work was only a continuation of what Moses has earlier done (after the example shown by God) with the help of the illuminated Bezaleel".[29] He goes on to say that not only Josephus but Holy Scripture itself state that Bezaleel and Aholiab were already building in the Corinthian manner in the time of Moses, and therefore "more than two hundred years before the Town of Corinth gained the name Corinth".[30] Thus Salomon de Bray's classicist treatise was made acceptable to the prevailing religious mood. These Biblical reflections come on the second page of the preface. Then, as early as page five De Bray, in the transition from antiquity to the modern, slips in the art-loving Popes who restored the old way of building.[31] We will discover later. when dealing with the prefaces to Vingboons' works, that there was some opposition to such views on the Renaissance.

As a painter De Bray is far closer, in style and quality, to Lastman and Rembrandt than is his contemporary Thomas de Keyser, a son of Hendrick, who still worked in the Mannerist tradition. One rather stern and classical temple-interior by De Bray is known[32]; much the same setting recurs in one of his drawings.[33] A cartoon for the sculptural adornment of the pediment of the Admiralty Office (Prinsenhof), Amsterdam, dating from about 1661 and executed by Jan Gijselingh the Elder[34], shows a rather cramped composition. In itself that is not remarkable – Quellien's Town Hall pediments after designs by Van Campen are equally crowded. What is striking is its faithfulness to the iconography of the archway erected by Hendrick de Keyser for the same building more than forty years earlier (*Architectura Moderna*, XXVIIII) (Plates 424–5).

Almost nothing is left of De Bray's own architectural work. His gate at Haarlem of 1627 seems to have been a rather Classicist structure with coupled rusticated pilasters and a pediment. De Bray did, however, execute a small extension of the medieval St. Bavo's, Haarlem, in the Gothic manner. Another work – two slightly varied designs for a façade, with three sections – has been preserved, as De Bray asked Saenredam to make copies of them (a request to which Saenredam responded reluctantly and complainingly[35]; Plate 67). For a long time they have been considered designs for the Haarlem Town Hall[36], but Ter Kuile has convincingly shown that they were meant for the *Huis te Warmond*[37] and that the executed façade had some unprecedented novelties. The work involved the addition to an old castle of a shallow two-stories front containing on each floor a suite of three state rooms, each suite with a long, gallery-like central room. In its detail the façade still showed some minor Mannerist features, but the outspoken classicizing tendency of the whole design owed more to Palladio than to Serlio. It had superimposed pilasters and a frontispiece with the unusual addition of a balcony on free-standing columns. Ter Kuile even thinks that its date of 1629 makes it the first house to carry a large pediment over the frontispiece instead of a gable, but Meischke has demonstrated that the even more Palladian front of the *Huis ten Bosch*, Maarssen, of 1628 was an earlier example.[38] The unexecuted variant of the pediment seems in any case to have been the earliest in Holland to support the statues of three pagan deities. Other novelties were the big (wooden) cove on the first floor and fine glazing

bars which give the effect of a continuous surface: for the first time in Holland the heavy transoms and mullions have disappeared.

Whatever the weakness of the Warmond gallery, its design reveals Salomon de Bray as an inventive architect and one who approached a pure Classicist mode at a very early stage. It is a pity that no other Classicist designs of his survive. It would be very interesting, for example, to see his solution for the Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, drawn up in competition with Jacob van Campen and others. The only other "architectural" work we possess of his are the plates added to Dancker Danckerts' 1658 Scamozzi edition, for which he made fine engravings, giving the Orders' details with their Italian and Dutch nomenclature.

The extensions and alterations to the Haarlem Town Hall from about 1629 to 1633 are not stylistically united. Ter Kuile[39] does not distinguish between the *vierschaar* proper, the Late Mannerist gable surmounting it and the rather Classicist *schavot* on Tuscan columns in front of it. Each of these could have been designed by a different architect. Apart from this – were the beautiful windows and the proclamation balcony in the mediaeval front added by De Bray?[40]

As a Haarlem painter De Bray was well acquainted with Jacob van Campen. He included Van Campen's Coymans House (1625) in the *Architectura Moderna* and praised it more strongly than any of De Keyser's buildings, even writing: "One may fairly say that whoever examines our Town without consciously noticing the beauty of this Building: he has not seen all the splendour of our Town, he has not understood Architecture".[41] Even making allowances for flattery of an acquaintance of rank, we see that De Bray had recognised Van Campen's genius.

The role of De Bray's own architectural work in the development of Holland's Classicisme is not as yet clear, but by publishing the *Architectura Moderna* De Bray propagated Hendrick de Keyser's Late Mannerist work. The *Architectura Moderna* was to be used as a pattern book for at least fifty years after De Keyser's death – not any longer in Holland but gradually at distances further afield, in Groningen, Nimeguen, Emden and as far as London.

The prints of the *Architectura Moderna* epitomize De Keyser's Late Mannerist work with its tendencies towards the Baroque and its flashes of Classicism. One of the aspects of Dutch Classicism is the revolt against Mannerism, which was thought of as unruly, gothic, barbarian. It finds its parallel in the Roman reaction against Mannerism, leading to the early Baroque of about 1580. The sterner aspect of this Roman Baroque certainly appealed to the Dutch architects. They fused it with Palladio's classical example and Vignola's and Scamozzi's Orders to attain their own classical style. This style harks back to the freshness of the early Renaissance; only after a few decades it slowly incorporates some Baroque elements in the seventeenth century sense. Dutch Classicism is non-Baroque in its rejection of the centralizing authoritarian feeling, in its acceptance of the role of the onlooker as a participant in the process of interpretation.

In the present study the term Classicist is used for the distinctive style of the classical Dutch architecture of about 1625–75.

Chapter 5

Church Building in the Seventeenth Century

The Churches of the Noncalvinists

For several reasons the break with tradition is more pronounced in Noncalvinist than in State religion churches.[1]

An important factor is simply size: experiment is easier in small churches. Thus Hendrick de Keyser's Zuiderkerk and Westerkerk are less novel in plan than his smaller Noorderkerk. Earlier, when church building had almost come to a standstill during the upheavals of the second half of the sixteenth century, the offical church had had the time to adapt to sequestrated old buildings, mostly large buildings without galleries.

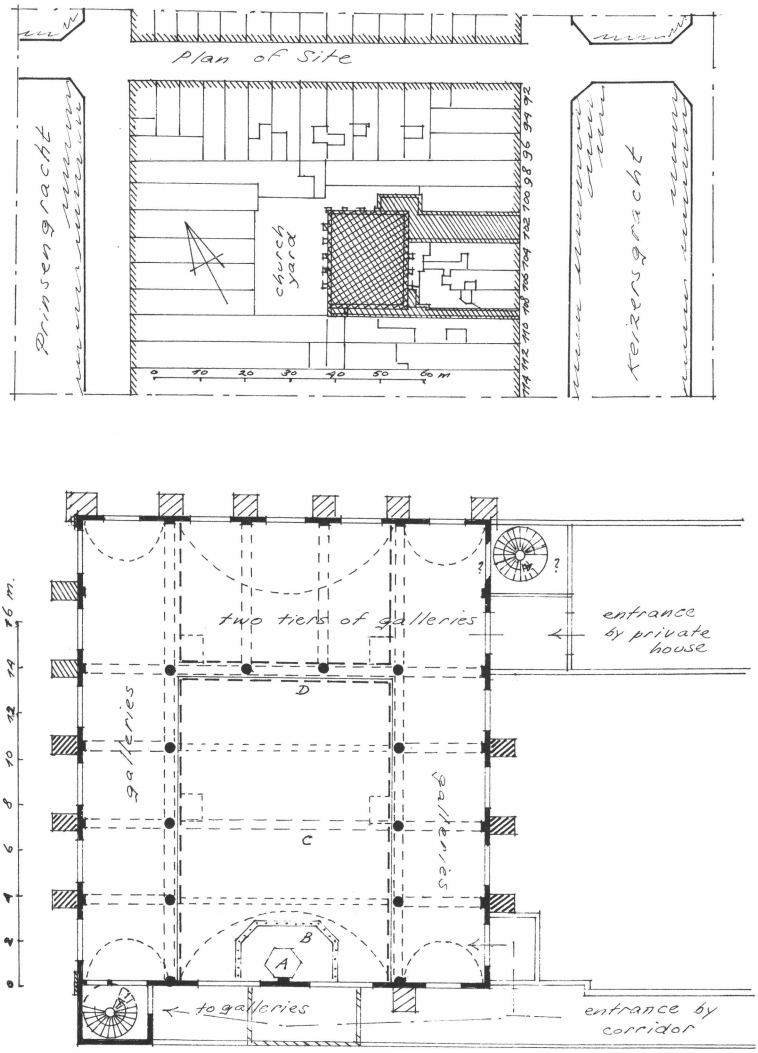
The Noncalvinists favoured high galleried rooms because they were obliged to build on narrow, more or less concealed sites. In architecture, however, shape is never dictated by practical needs alone.

The most vehement and dogmatical Calvinists were found – before expulsion or execution – in France and the Southern Netherlands, and they, as we have seen, had a predilection for geometrical forms in their church building. Doctrinal or sectarian considerations (e.g. the desire to be more "pure" than the offical church) often were an incentive to imitate their way of building. The drawings of the Protestant church at Lyons have already been mentioned, but here again a print proved most influential: Paul Vredeman de Vriese's print of a Protestant House of Worship (inscribed after the orders "Ionica super Dorica"), first printed in 1606 in the *Architectura* of Paul's father, Johan Vredeman de Vriese, and frequently reprinted[2] (Plate 69).

This beautiful invention consists of a longitudinal galleried hall under three barrel vaults (the nave vault has *oeils-de-boeuf* or lunettes) with the addition of a transept and a circular domed sanctuary. In the sanctuary stands a tent (for the Ark?) or oratorium, and it is screened off by a colonnade on which, conspicuously between obelisks, the Tables of the Law are placed. Reduced to a simple galleried room this type was used for the main Protestant Temples. As the first of these was Salomon de Brosse's *Temple* at Charenton of 1623, it remains a moot point whether the Huguenot Temples influenced the Noncalvinists or, whether on the evidence of the print, the influence can be called Dutch[3] (Plate 70).

The Remonstrant Church

In 1629 the Remonstrant Church was built and as early as 1630 was represented in a large clear print[4] (Figure 8; Plate 71). Two tiers of galleries run along two long and one short sides: these are supported by Tuscan and Doric columns, whereas the highest order, the Ionic, supports the architrave of the large depressed barrel vault. A certain tendency towards centralisation is created by the short galleries that face the pulpit



Remonstrant Church, 1629. Plan, partly reconstructed.
A - Pulpit, B - Enclosure for Baptism (Doopturn),
C - simple Tie Beam, D - Double Entablature - shaped Tie Beam.

Figure 8. Remonstrant Church, Amsterdam

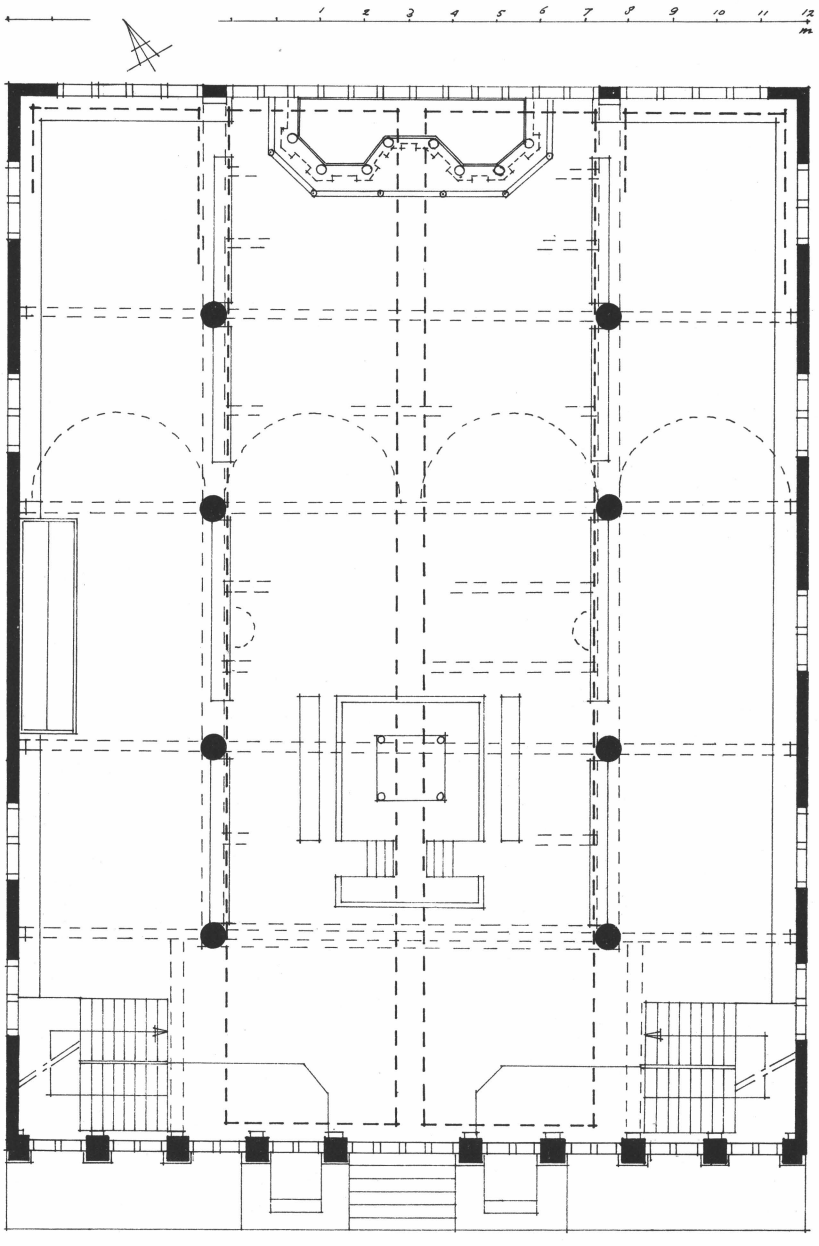


Figure 9. Portuguese Synagogue of 1639, Amsterdam

and the *dooptuin*[5], later also by an organ. The Temple at Charenton had galleries on four sides; in some later Noncalvinist churches, notably the Baptists', the pulpit is placed opposite the longer gallery to achieve a strong centralized effect. The Temple did not have three barrel vaults like those in the Remonstrant church, no lunettes in the large vault, and it seems to have had a not wholly satisfactory superposition of short piers over giant columns. In all these respects – the three barrel vaults, the lunettes[6] and the equal height of its columns – the Remonstrant church is closer to Vredeman de Vriese's print than to the Huguenot church.

The Old Lutheran Church

The Old Lutheran Church (1632–3) was fairly conservative in both interior and exterior, and by a superficial observer might be mistaken for a Gothic *hallekerk* (hall church), with some Renaissance sculptural finishing. The interior, however, is better than the fragmented façade on the corner of the Spui and the Singel would lead one to expect. It is represented in several seventeenth and eighteenth century prints, the oldest being by Jan and Coert Goss, of 1657. The main features resemble those of the Remonstrant church. There are the same galleries, though running round four sides; the same orders, but here with alternating single columns (raised on the galleries in the form of giant balusters) and clustered ones; the clustered ones on the tiers boast gigantic corbels.[7]

The United Portuguese Synagogue

In 1639 the three Spanish-Portuguese Jewish congregations merged and built the United Portuguese[8] Synagogue on the Houtgracht. The room was fairly large, measuring about 16.70 by 22.10 metres (59 x 78 Amsterdam feet), compared to about 18 x 20 metres in the Remonstrant and 25 x 35 metres in the Old Lutheran. The façade was disguised as a wide house with two entrances, high, typically Amsterdam stoops and a basement entrance in the centre. The symmetrical entrances presumably led to the galleries on the sides, whereas the basement entrance will have been linked by two staircases to the main floor. Neither the known plan (drawing attributed to Romeyn de Hooghe) nor the interior view (engraved in variants with minimal differences after a drawing by I. Veenhuysen about 1664)[9] make this point clear (Plate 72; Figure 9). (Presumably Veenhuysen omitted the stairs, which were placed immediately behind the façade, so as not to block the view). The façade was etched by Romeyn de Hooge about 1675 after its remodelling (Plate 73). The balcony, balcony-doors and fanlight with typical Louis XIV key-stone were among the additions[10], as, probably, was the attic; but a façade with swags and giant Corinthian pilasters would still have been something of a novelty in the Amsterdam of 1639. The interior shows the *Hechal*, the Ark, at the back and the *Bimah*, the lectern, further to the front; the benches were placed on either side in longitudinal rows. The women's places were in the galleries which were also against the long walls. This arrangement was maintained in the later synagogues, with the exception of the positioning of the Bimah which in the German synagogues is centrally placed. For obvious reasons, decoration was principally applied to moveable objects: the splendidly carved Ark and the beautiful chandeliers. The construction of the existing house, with heavy *zwanehalskorbelen* (swan neck corbels), was

maintained, and the roof, to avoid too high and conspicuous a roofline, was also of a regular module. As a result the main room is divided by two parallel barrel vaults as wide as the vaults over the galleries, which accidentally, means that the tie-beams are more easily integrated into the room than in the churches that have been discussed. The structure of the lower part of the traditional house was replaced by eight Tuscan columns. This synagogue was in use until the new Portuguese synagogue was completed in 1675. Eventually the building was pulled down, and it will remain an interesting riddle whether the indistinguishable shapes in the vaults of the main room that can be seen in the engraving were perhaps lunettes or *oeils-de-boeuf.*

The Great Synagogue

The Great Synagogue of the German Jews, built 1670–1, presumably with Elias Bouman as mason designer and Gillis van der Veen as carpenter is a large and simple building (Plate 74; Figure 10). Daniel Stalpaert, the City Architect had some supervision (evidently because of his experience in building churches). The Great Synagogue has three barrel vaults (wooden as in all the Noncalvinists' churches), a wide central vault and narrower ones over the side galleries. One novelty was the greater tendency towards centralisation; the galleries run along three sides and are supported between four giant Tuscan columns.[11] The interior was not engraved before 1737: the print, which only shows two columns, is of little architectural significance; the exterior appears in many topographies. Another novelty – due to official toleration of Judaism – was its siting in an open space, in an urbanistically important position on the corner of a canal and a busy road.

The main building was a cube under a hipped roof, all the elevations having three tiers of windows in five bays, always arranged as three central bays with one at each side. The long axis was slightly accentuated by pediments whose round windows lit the middle vault, and the upper side windows were walled up because they were placed in front of the gallery vaults. The lower and upper windows are square, the tall middle ones round-headed. Lesenes on the corners and along the three middle bays provided the only rhythmic and plastic articulation of the rather austere elevations. They were executed as Temple-buttresses, but only at their foot and almost unnoticeably.

The external view was, exactly on the corner, interrupted by the ritual bath with its high chimney. This addition was later removed and a new entrance made (1777), which was in its turn replaced by the existing Neo-classical entrance of 1823. In 1752 an even bigger German Synagogue of the same three-aisled type but with a large lantern on the central vault was added to the existing one.

The whole complex (to which smaller synagogues were added in 1686 and 1778) was badly damaged during the war and is now being restored.

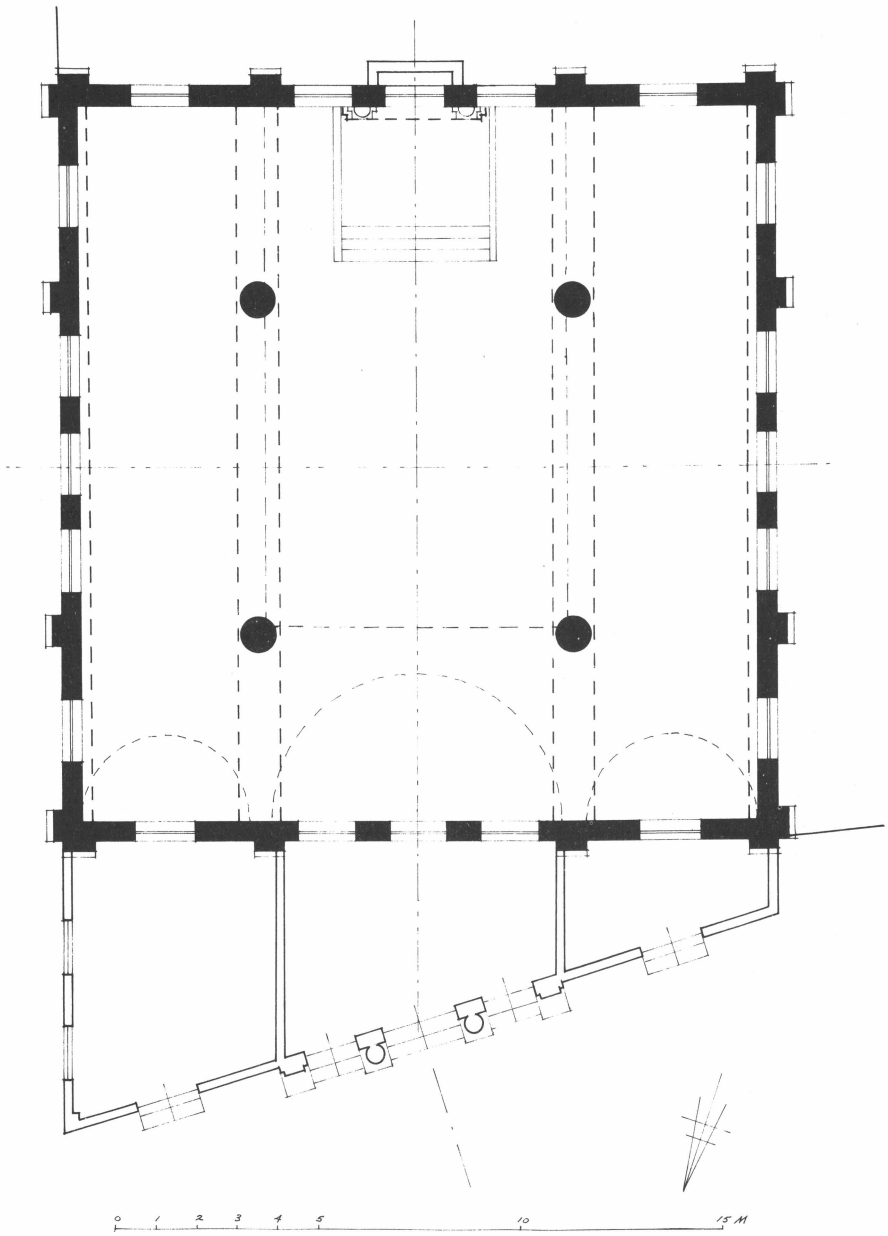


Figure 10. Great or German Synagogue, Amsterdam, 1671. Entrance-portals 1823

The Portuguese Synagogue

The new Portuguese Synagogue was opened in 1675. Begun in 1671 the construction was interrupted by the 1672–4 war. The site was directly opposite the German Synagogue across the canal, the *Houtgracht*, but in a far more commanding position in relation to the town, occupying almost an entire block, three of its sides visible (Plate 75). Furthermore it was much larger and higher than the German *Schule*. The main building of the 1671 Ashkenazic synagogue measured about 17 by 18½ metres (and even the 1752 German synagogue only 20 square metres), but the wealthy Sephardim built themselves a synagogue of no less than 28 by 36 metres. The whole complex with the surrounding courtyard and ring of low ancillary buildings even measures 38 metres in breadth and between 54 and 72 metres in length. The architect was Elias Bouman, assisted by the carpenter Gillis van der Veen. To commemorate the opening Romeyn de Hooghe made a very fine print of the interior (Plate 76). Previously this artist had already produced several etchings and engravings of the exterior, the plan and a bird's eye view showing an interesting variant, evidently following the intentions of the builders and architect which were not carried out, partly for economic reasons, after the war.[12] The Temple-buttresses should have carried capitals in some variety of Corinthian like Villalpando's (Plate 77). These were eventually executed as lesenes and drastically reduced in number from one per bay to only one at the corners of the unemphatic salients and the building's corners, (as the Great Synagogue had already shown). In this way the classical manner suddenly declines into a weakly syncopated articulation – an exact reflection of the change effected by leading Dutch architects (including Bouman) in houses built contemporaneously for the Amsterdam patriciate (Plate 78).

The building's shorter sides are of five bays, the longer of seven. The succession of square, round-headed, and square windows follows the pattern of the Great Synagogue; but as pediments were no longer fashionable, *oeils-de-boeuf* pierce the low parapet. Within the interior the four giant stone Ionic columns are splendidly free-standing, since the women's galleries are to the sides, supported on smaller columns. This creates a very well lit, spacious interior. Its great height, massive columns and dark barrel vaults contrasting with the white-washed walls and the splendid hechal conjoin in creating an atmosphere of great spirituality.

The building provoked a great deal of curiosity, both ecclesiastical and architectural, reflected in several series of etchings and engravings, drawings, paintings, and eventually lithographs, including a beautiful view of the interior by the painter Emanuel de Witte (Rijksmuseum).[13] Architecturally, however, it had little or no impact.[14] In Holland all the important churches had already been built, and the other Protestant nations were to be attracted by more Baroque forms.

The position of the Tablets of the Law may have stirred the imagination of British church-builders, but here too the common source can be Vredeman de Vriese. The very splendid and imposing Ark of the Synagogue, executed in exquisite jacaranda wood from Brazil, showed, perhaps for the first time in a synagogue[15], the Tablets of the Law above the Ark, analogous to those above the altar in many of Wren's churches. In Romeyn de Hooghe's etching commemorating the dedication[16] the Ark is shown, but, again, not yet as finally executed – in the actual executed version the orders are Ionic

and Corinthian; the Corinthian order frames the Commandments and surmounts them with a segmental pediment (Plate 80). The whole design is very classical. It does not seem unlikely that the Protestant joiner (on whom the Jews were dependent) would have very clearly recalled Jacob van Campen's *throne and mansiones* in the Schouwburg (Plate 98) when he worked out this scheme of a high central part and flanking pavilions. De Hooghe's Ark is also lower and the crowning obelisks are conspicuously absent. In later prints Romeyn de Hooghe added lofty ornaments which resemble twisted snakes[17], but in the execution Vredeman's obelisks were adopted.[18]

The interruption in building permitted the carrying out of an afterthought (not yet shown on De Hooghe's engraving)[19], namely to create the "purest" possible interior shape, almost a square, by removing the stairs of the women's galleries from the main cube and attaching them to the rear façade.

In the whole history of Dutch church-building no other single instance can be found of a building that reflects so clearly the shift from Classicism to the later Flat Style.

Roman Catholic Churches

For a variety of reasons the Roman Catholics were the last to follow the current fashions. The discussion of their churches must be short.[20] Most of these *schuilkerken* (concealed churches) during the earlier period (about 1600 to 1640) were very simple, with no architectural expression of their function. A complaint in 1656 by the Reformed Church to the City Government mentioned sixty-two places of worship. Most of these would have been unadorned rooms in private houses. One of them was in Vingboons' Oetgens van Waveren House, whose plan, significantly, is not shown in his work although the text states that the middle of the three dwellings extended at the back along the other two. A second example was the great parlour in Ioan Poppen's House; a third may have been one of the large rooms at the rear of the Kromhout Houses (Heerengracht 364–370), on which Vingboons started work in 1660. To the Reformed Church's protest the Magistrates replied after several weeks that at an inspection no evidence had been found. However, already in about 1640, when Catholic worship became more accepted, the custom of more permanent places of worship grew. The central parts of a house's upper floors were knocked through, to create a very tall galleried hall, generally rather tiny in area. One of these survives as the "Onze Lieve Heer op Zolder" (Our Lord in the Attic) (Plate 81). In 1672 the Jesuits built a church of this type behind two houses on the Raamgracht. The surviving details show the hand of an architect, so Meischke's supposition that Philips Vingboons, who lived at the same *gracht*, was the designer, is very probable.[21]

The next phase, which lasted from about 1670 until the French Revolution, produced buildings of the same shape, but including the ground floor of the house. The house-churches gradually grew bigger. Fine engravings of such church-rooms appear only after about 1730.

The only survivor in this class is the SS. Joannes and Ursula[22], which may have been known to English visitors as it is located at the Begijnhof, just opposite the English Presbyterian Church (Plates 84–85). The church was built in 1671 by Philips Vingboons and later extended at ground floor level, but his original hall is preserved in the

middle. Lighting comes mainly from above; there are two tiers of galleries on Doric columns, the upper one partly used as choir gallery, partly as lantern.[23]

Thus, owing to cramped sites the old-fashioned superposition of the orders was retained in Roman Catholic churches until well into the eighteenth century. In 1681 twenty-six Catholic churches were mentioned at Amsterdam: some were still "attic-churches", many of them already of the later type in which confined but beautiful spatial effects were obtained. It is a pity that the mid-nineteenth century revival of Dutch Roman Catholicism stimulated a Gothic Revival which raged over the Netherlands sweeping away nearly all the seventeenth and eighteenth century Catholic churches.[24]

The principal contribution of the Dutch Noncalvinist churches to the mainstream of Protestant church-building appears to have been the positioning of the galleries. There were no altars in Reformed churches; the only approximation to an altar to be engraved and published was the Portuguese hechal.

We observed the delayed shift from superimposed to giant columns in the Roman Catholic churches; in contract we have seen the ultimate development of galleried churches in the unified space of the Portuguese synagogue where the galleries were held back on independent supports.

Pulpits and Organ Cases

The extremely classical square *pulpit* which Jacob van Campen had designed for his Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem (a high oak box, decorated with festoons, flanked by two staircases to the platform and surmounted by a large square coffered sounding-board supported by four copper Corinthian columns placed on the corners of the pulpit – it is represented on many drawings and paintings by Saenredam) (Plate 40)[25] provided an example for Arent van 's-Gravensande.[26] When in 1649 the Marekerk was completed two positions for the pulpit were tried, with the help of two pulpits. The position between the southern columns was found most suitable for the square pulpit made after the Haarlem model.[27] The second pulpit, presumably identical, was presented by Burgomasters in 1653 to the new Leidschendam church.[28]

The design of *organ cases* lies outside the scope of this study. It is enough to mention that Jacob van Campen designed the two most important cases to be built between 1635 and 1655, one at Alkmaar between 1638 and 1646, the other in the Nieuwe Kerk at Amsterdam between 1650 and 1655. They are, surprisingly, rather classical than baroque (in the mid seventeenth century Italian sense). Both have three stages and a pediment, and lavish painted and sculpted decoration, but the Classicist style here achieves a perfect integration of architectural design and decorative features. In Alkmaar the painter was Caesar van Everdingen, in Amsterdam Jan van Bronkhorst; the Amsterdam sculpture was executed by Artus Quellien.[29]

Rural Gothic and the Model of Religion

In contrast to the deliberately planned Gothic of restoration work and some extravagancies in the big cities, Gothic forms were never discontinued in many country

districts throughout the seventeenth century, sometimes even late into the eighteenth century – here out of sheer conservatism.

The addiction to old forms also played a part when churches were built in the new *polders* in the north of Holland. The Amsterdam building triumvirate Danckerts – Staets – De Keyser submitted in 1615 several models for the Middenbeemster church, including round and octagonal ones, but the rectangular plan was chosen for execution (1618–1623).[30] The round-headed windows and the room's dimensions (it was a barrel-vaulted double cube) show Classicist tendencies, but the overall appearance, especially the tower, is very Gothic.

About five years later Hendrick de Keyser had a small bronze model cast of such a church for William the Silent's tomb in the Nieuwe Kerk at Delft. To symbolise the Church it is placed in the hand of Religion, one of the four corner statues of the monument. The model resembles a Gothic chapel without a tower; it is more advanced than Middenbeemster in having Tuscan pilasters but less so in its three-eighths closed end. One would think that De Keyser could easily have made an octagonal or round model which would have had an equal symbolic value. Conservatism on the part of his patrons (the States General) may have dictated the shape of this model as well as the rather old-fashioned Mannerist design of the monument as a whole.

Gothic Parish Churches

The parish church at De Rijp can be considered as an extension (1635–8) and partial rebuilding (the tower, in 1661) of a Gothic church, but at Schermerhorn a new and wholly Gothic parish church was erected from 1634 to 1636 (Plates 86–87). It has ogival windows, a nave separated from the aisles by Gothic arcades and a five-tenths closed "choir" ("choir" because the Reformed churches did not have liturgical choirs). A slender square tower with an octagonal needle spire rises from the first bay of the nave. No "typically" seventeenth century treatment of the tower elevations could disturb the peacefully rural and old-fashioned effect of the whole.

The Stompetoren church in the form of a Latin cross, with a three-eighths closed end, buttresses and ogival windows, seems to date from around 1663. The Schermer, in which the church is situated was the last of the big seventeenth century polders (reclaimed 1631), and the settlers on the new land evidently hankered after traditional forms.

The parish church at St. Annaparochie (Friesland), built in 1682, is, apart from old-fashioned details, rather modern with its octagonal wall around four heavy columns. The real Gothic feature is the addition to the south side of an octagonal burial chapel for the church patron, Willem van Haren who built the chapel, with a brick rib vault.

The Harkstede church (Groningen), built 1692 to 1700, has a Gothic feeling in both interior and exterior, and displays traditional buttresses and pointed windows, a three-eights closed end and the last brick vaulting found in the Republic with quadripartite rib vaults, closed by carved keystones.

The last church that should be mentioned is the parish church of Volendam, a timber structure, dated 1658, on a brick base.[31] Ozinga (*Kerken*, p. 112) suggests that it resembles the Amstelkerk at Amsterdam, differing only in having the "high pyramidal

roof as usual in North Holland". It is included here not as a Gothic building, but because of its extremely rural character: it has the form of a typical Noord-Holland farm (*stelp*), i.e. a low square with high pyramidal roof. The interior is distinguished from the hay-loft it resembles in construction, by the addition of an elliptical dome, painted cerulean blue and decorated with escutcheons and the sun, moon and stars in gold.

Chapter 6

Dutch Influence on Wren's Churches

Prints or Verbal Accounts

"The amount and character of the material he derived from these sources (i.e. the printed sources) and wove with a masterly hand into the fabric of his design can only be estimated by reference to his works."
(W.H. Ward in Sir Christopher Wren A.D. 1632–1723, *London, 1923, p. 195)*
", . . . and, again, every influence on Wren's mind is so fused in his work with other elements . . ." (Ibid, p. 207)

In building the City churches Christopher Wren seems to have been inspired by French and Italian – some authors would add Belgian – as well as Dutch sources. Viktor Fuerst distinguishes himself by completely ignoring the Dutch influence[1], although he lists Van Campen, Post and Vingboons in his Select Bibliography. An older architectural historian like Stratton weakens his case by inadequate documentation.[2]

The most usual classification of the churches is based on ground plans, although since all distinct ones appear in Wren's early churches this method allows no study of chronological development. To illustrate my remarks I will depart from the classification of ground plans of Dutch churches and consider to which group of Wren churches these may have contributed. It is easy, using this method, to over-emphasize Dutch influence, but the other approach (starting from Wren plans) has been made many times, and I hope to strike a fair balance in the summing-up.

There are some liturgical differences. An altar or reredos is not found in Dutch Reformed churches, nor were the naves obstructed by benches or pews until the end of the century. Even the pulpits tend to be extremenly simple in form: Jacob van Campen's pulpit for the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem, it may be recalled, is square, with a square sounding-board.

Furnishings for special ceremonies – including not only baptism, confirmation, weddings and funerals, but communion, by preference celebrated at Easter – were extremely simple. Sermons, prayers and singing were essential to the services – there were even vehement controversies over whether organs should be admitted into the church.[3] As a result the existing taste of architectural theoreticians for centralized plans was encouraged by Calvinist practice, in which the pulpit acted as a focus.[4] Presumably the strongly Calvinist Presbyterian tendency in the state religion was averse to galleries which so easily lead to unjust distinctions – whether of class or sex.

Even in the heyday of Dutch classicism (for churches about 1639 to 1672) the longi-

tudinal shape with transverse axes was maintained in a few big churches (The Hague and the Waardkerk project, Leyden).

Prints and Other Information

Wren gained his knowledge of Dutch Protestant churches in two ways. The first was through prints; as we have seen above, the only churches built and adequately engraved by about 1670 were Hendrick de Keyser's: the Noorderkerk (Greek Cross), the Zuiderkerk (pseudo-basilical with two embryonic transverse axes) and the Westerkerk (basilical with two transverse axes), all at Amsterdam, and, in elevation only, the Middelburg Oostkerk. Many other buildings, in everything from Gothic to Classicist appeared, in more or less reliable engravings, in the topographical works of the sixties. These included the mediaeval Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, with its very interesting tower of 1565 in a transitional style – the first to have its clocks set in classical aediculae.[5]

Wren's other source of information was verbal or sketched accounts by travelling architects, the most important of whom seems to have been Robert Hooke, who worked for years in close collaboration with Wren. Hooke may have been in Holland shortly before 1672, and would have taken an interest in both the Classicist and the more Baroque buildings. Of these the centralized buildings would be his first concern.

The Centralized Buildings

Of these buildings Oudshoorn and 's-Graveland were rather remote, as were the other churches on a Greek Cross plan, whereas the Oosterkerk at Amsterdam (if he did see it – it was begun in 1669 and finished late in 1671) would have had little appeal to Hooke on account of its extreme austerity.

There remained the *Nieuwe Kerk* at Haarlem by Jacob van Campen (1645–9) to stimulate his keenest interest. We have seen that the church consisted of four square classical structures – to be called *tempietti* because of their resemblance to small temples –, each united by architraves and connected to one another by barrel vaults, semi-circular in section, and by a central crossing. The façades and plan of such a building can be rendered in drawings, but not the spatial feeling. The Nieuwe Kerk was held together by a careful balance of the different elements and by a confident handling of the light. Even the beautiful drawings and paintings by Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) succeed in conveying the atmosphere rather than giving a complete geometrical account of the building. It is significant that a fine interior view by Saenredam, which only reappeared in England in 1970, shows no more – and apparently never did – than a *detail*: the "tempietto" in the north-west corner![6]

When Sir Christopher Wren heard Hooke's account it seems that he was struck by the idea of creating a central Greek Cross within the square area of the whole church by means of square temple-constructions in each corner.

So while the inner elevations of some of the City churches resemble the Haarlem church, it must be emphasized that in vaulting Wren almost never followed Dutch examples; he used the full geometrical shape of a barrel vault in only a small number of his basilical churches. Whatever his reasons for using partial forms – lack of money, a desire to create broad rooms (which to the continental eye seem so English) and to

differentiate stucco from brick vaults – the results are wonderful roofs which often recall Gothic spaces and vaulting, and in that respect anticipate Rococo vaulting with its strong inclination towards Gothic traditions.[7]

To return to the ground plans: usually only a few churches are included in the Greek Cross group. Stratton for example[8] lists *St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Anne and St. Agnes*, and *St. Martin, Ludgate Hill.* I would like to add to this number *St. James, Garlickhythe, St. Stephen, Walbrook* and *St. Benet Fink*, but to exclude St. Mary Aldermanbury, where the entablature is not affected by the central windows in the vault, and St. Magnus the Martyr, because it seems impossible to ascertain its original appearance.[9]

The inclusion of *St. James, Garlickhythe* (Plates 88–89) in this category has already been insisted upon by Sekler.[10] It should be emphasized because, apart from the plan, the interior up to the cornice is the closest in any City church to Dutch Classicist prototypes – having the Ionic order maintained even in the corners of the chancel[11] while the simplicity of the entablature and the round-headed windows also show reminiscences of the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem. The second storey departs completely from Dutch influence, except in the semicircular vaulting of chancel and transept. The big cove pierced by clerestory windows had its ancestry in the Southern Netherlands or rather in France. On the other hand the Greek Cross is expressed on the exterior by the higher roofs of the chancel and transepts.

At *St. Mary-at-Hill* – more centralized and dominated spatially by its low saucer dome, which determines the spatial impression and is far from any Dutch influence – the principal element is very much Wren's own invention (Plates 90–91). Moreover, while the mullions of the large windows at St. James, Garlickhythe can still be interpreted as merely a strengthened version of the iron ones at the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem, at St. Mary-At-Hill the east elevation is decidedly in the spirit of the Veneto.

It is in fact the spatial compositions of St. Anne and St. Agnes and of St. Martin which recall Haarlem most strongly.

The exterior of *St. Anne and St. Agnes* (Plates 92–93) is also reminiscent of the Dutch church, in such details as the round-headed window over the Doric entrance. On the other hand, as the ratio of outer squares to the arms is 1:2, there is much more emphasis on the vaulting than at Haarlem where the ratio is about 3:4; and the low vaults also tend to stress the room's breadth (Cf. figures 11 and 4–5). In addition there are clear departures from Classicist taste in the supporting of the entablature by loose and rather provincial corbels, which are not to be found in the Holland of Jacob van Campen and his colleagues. Such details must derive from a much earlier Holland: the work of Hendrick de Keyser whose *oeuvre* was widely diffused by the *Architectura Moderna.*

Some of De Keyser's detailing was derived from Vredeman de Vriese, and must therefore be considered Netherlandish rather than Flemish or Dutch. The same is true of the engravings of Henric Hondius, who himself states that the "ordonnances" he gives are Vredeman's invention.[12] Vredeman de Vriese's work may well of course have influenced Wren. In the Hondius edition of 1651 we noted the temple labelled "Ionica super Dorica", signed P. Vriese inv. 1606.[12] The temple is longitudinal with a transverse axis followed by both entablatures; the ceiling is pierced by circular windows; the columns of the first storey are raised on high pedestals and the room is screened off by columns from a centralized sanctuary (compare for instance the eastern elevations of

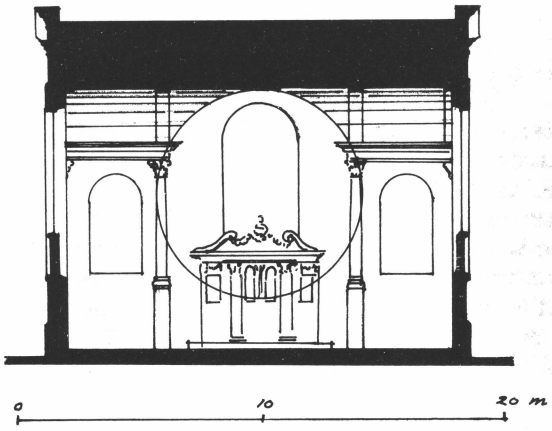


Figure 11. St. Anne and St. Agnes, London

such churches as St. James, Piccadilly and St. Andrew, Holborn.) All these features may have interested Wren but they are decidedly pre-Classicist inventions, and the development of the transverse axis in the work of Hendrick de Keyser may equally have been inspired by Late Gothic plan shapes.

The church nearest in plan to the Haarlem building is *St. Martin, Ludgate Hill* (Plates 94–95), but even here, while the dissimilarity in plan is small, the dimensions in height are quite different: the heavy full entablature has a height of 3'10", while the segmental vault is only 5' high. Thus the relation of floor to architrave:entablature:vaulting is about 30'9": 3'10":5', i.e. approximately 24: 3: 4, or, if a division is made at the soffit of the architrave, of 3½: 1 (30'9" : 8'10"). At Haarlem the relations are as follows: from floor to architrave:architrave:vaulting is circa 9.20:0.575:3.32 (in metres), yielding a ratio of about 16 : 1 : 6.65, or if a division at the soffit of the architrave is again made, of about 2:1 (Cf. figures 12 and 4–5).

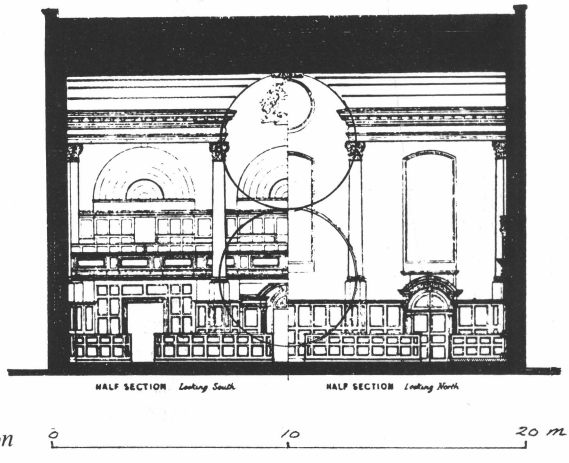


Figure 12. St. Martin, Ludgate Hill, London

The forms of the windows and the high pedestals are also different. The use of the Corinthian rather than the Ionic order has already been mentioned. It may be observed though that the order is applied fairly consistently, so that the tempietto reminiscence in the outer squares is stronger here than at St. Anne and St. Agnes.

At *St. Stephen, Walbrook* (Plates 96–97), the tempietti are pronounced, and at once recall the most Baroque period of Roman architecture and the *scenae frontes* of Antiquity. Initially the plan may have been suggested by Haarlem, but in view of the allusion to theatre fronts the building may have been influenced more strongly by the *Schouwburg*, built by Jacob van Campen at Amsterdam in 1637. This was represented in imposing accurate prints (Plates 98–99) – prints in which the stage was given a fairly ceremonial, not to say liturgical aspect. This stage boasted a sort of two-storeyed altar, the so-called *throne*, which was surrounded by the effigies of theatrical deities, and to whose left and right were projecting and receding entablatures, similar to tempietti, supported by Corinthian columns.[13]

A man of enquiring mind like Christopher Wren would have been delighted by this unorthodox design with its classical detailing.

At St. Stephen the arches supporting the less than hemispherical dome are all open, to form in front of the windows a second space enveloping the centre – an effect already achieved on the first storey by the columns, which are relatively close to the walls, This, remarkably, is a spatial characteristic of Rococo churches.[14]

Whatever the sources of inspiration – Belgian Mannerism has been proposed (a project for St. Charles Borromeo which consisted of a circle with eight piers described withing a quincunx)[15] – or Italian Cinquecento (the fluted cupola and lantern are reminiscent of Venetian churches and of Bramante's Tempietto, as illustrated by Palladio) – or if one seeks Classicist influence, the Marekerk through the experiments at St. Benet Fink –, whatever its sources[16], the great success of St. Stephen is its happy fusion of a wide low dome[17] with a plan completely different in spirit.

The exterior shows the Greek Cross and the four half-cross-vaults in the angles of the arms, and Clayton's illustration of it does give it a certain Byzantine flavour (Plate 100).

Most of St. Stephen's characteristics are already found in the earlier St. Benet Fink – but as that church appears to epitomize all Wren's later development by amalgamating every kind of Continental influence, it would be better to deal with it after two other types.

Longitudinal Plans

The first longitudinal churches in Holland that may have had some influence in England, (being the first large Protestant churches) are the pre-Classicist buildings of Hendrick de Keyser.

The singular plan with two transverse axes is only to be found in England after Wren. It appears that only de Keyser's details made some impression on Wren: for instance the block-like entablatures as they are found at St. Bride, Fleet Street, and in the same church the coupled columns, the vaulting of the aisles, the coffering of the archivolts or the Mannerist supporting of the transverse arches by corbels – all aspects that can be found in the *Zuiderkerk* and the *Westerkerk*.

As for the plan of the latter church, it is only when cut in half that it forms the familiar Greek Cross plan with crossing barrel vaults and lower corners. Some elements of de Keyser's style, and notably the impost-like entablatures over free-standing columns in the *Zuiderkerkstoren* (Plate 101), reappear in Wren's spires. This solution may even have led to the handling of imposts or transverse entablatures at St. James, Piccadilly – but it must be pointed out at once that this element has a very old and venerable pedigree in the Roman countries.[18]

Parts of exterior design influenced by Hendrick de Keyser will be discussed in the section on towers.

Of the Noncalvinist churches two were depicted in large prints: the *Remonstrant Church* of 1629 (Plate 71) and the *Old Lutheran Church* of 1633. To an observer like Wren they would have recalled the *Temple* at Charenton (1623), though far more nervous in their repeated orders supporting two tiers of galleries. In the vault of the Remonstrant Church he would have noticed the (square) window openings which were extremely rare in Dutch architecture.

The *Nieuwe Kerk* at the Hague, built much later, which is the Baroque example of a longitudinal church with transverse axes in Holland, does not seem to have exerted any greater influence on Wren than De Keyser's churches.

Octagonal Plans

A church that must have exerted some influence was the octagonal Marekerk at Leyden. According to Kerry Downes, *St. Antholin* (Plates 102–3) is "somewhat like a reduced version of the Marekerk". He goes on: "Hooke's authorship is suggested by the oval windows of St. Antholin and its polygonal plan, which he used at about the same time in the theatre of the College of Physicians. This had similarities in elevation with a third destroyed building, the decagonal church of St. Benet Fink, which may also have owed more to Hooke than to Wren".[19] The interior drawing of St. Antholin by H. and J.D. Mathews seems to have been made after the destruction of the church – in Clayton's drawings there is still a small gallery in one bay which would have disturbed the octagonal impression, and the windows in the dome are round rather than oval. But whether they are oval or round, both forms occur in Wren's work, in for example the cupola of the Greek Cross design for St. Paul's.

However, another reason to attribute St. Antholin to Hooke is that the design has some clumsy features such as the miniature pendentives under the roof, which is an oval cove rather than a cupola. Both Wren and Hooke could have found oval windows in a Dutch source: they occur in the design for the fifth stage of Hendrick de Keyser's Zuiderkerkstoren; and a cupola with round openings is engraved in Post's Maastricht Town Hall[20] (Plate 104). Although the Leyden church may have been the source of St. Antholin's plan, the spatial result is very different. *St. Benet Fink* (Plates 105–6) I would rather ascribe to Wren than to Hooke as it unites features that are found later in many of Wren's churches, in a rather sophisticated manner. The plan of St. Benet Fink has, if one ignores the pulpit, one symmetrical axis. Spatially it is a most interesting conception, formed of so many elements that a description of it adumbrates all the idiosyncracies of Wren's later churches.

The plan can be described as a Greek Cross which by a typically geometrical device

has been lengthened by widening one bay and placing columns in its centre. The cramped site presumably allowed this possibility when the solution was found of a passage to the churchyard through the tower.

A regular Greek Cross plan with triangular extensions between the arms, as at the Noorderkerk at Amsterdam, was then elongated, so that the original plan looked no longer like a cross but like a hexagon. In consequence the dome became elliptical and two extra angles were added at the sides, forming a decagon, a shape which would be difficult to account for otherwise.

The cupola was lit by a lantern "glaz'd round" and itself surmounted by another cupola, on which were placed a little ball and vane. This Classicist turret may have been intended as the only spire to the church; in any case when Wren added a tower – very much in the French manner[21] – at a distance of only one bay from the cupola, he realized that this and the cupola competed too much with one another, and did not repeat the arrangement in other churches.

In the interior, the architraves meeting at right angles on columns in the four corners foreshadow the Greek Cross plans; the motif of imposts running from walls to columns which are interconnected by arches, St. James, Piccadilly; the cupola on pendentives with a similar lantern, the vaulting of St. Stephen, Walbrook. The tower of St. Stephen, which was completed in about 1676[22], is kept at a safe distance of three bays from the cupola.[23]

Altogether St. Benet Fink was a most interesting church. As far as can be judged from Clayton's drawings it achieved a complex and satisfying fusion of all the elements that Wren was to use in later churches.

The small octagonal Leidschendam church may have had some slight influence on the plan of St. Swithin, but otherwise St. Swithin is one of the most French of the City churches.

Church Exteriors

The similarity between Hooke's design for the façade of St. Edmund the King and Martyr and Philips Vingboons' House Nuerenburg on the Singel, Amsterdam, is remarked on by several authors.[24] It again suggests a visit to Holland, as the house (completed in 1662)[25] was only published in the second volume of Philips' works (1674)[26] and work on the church was begun in 1670.[27]

Symon Bosboom's design for a church of 1657 (Plates 31–33) may have influenced an early design for the exterior of St. Swithin, but in the church's execution the idea of an architrave under the segmental pediment was completely abandoned and the swags above the outer windows were not plastically modelled, but more like draperies than the fuller Dutch ones. In execution the French element is strongly prevalent; the "Dutch" tracery in the big windows was, as we have seen[28], a nineteenth century insertion (Plates 107–8).

As for the rather old-fashioned Greek Cross plan that lies behind the Baroque exterior of Bosboom's church, it may have been studied by Wren when he was designing one of his early churches.

The exterior design of *St. Benet, Paul's Wharf* (Plate 109), brick and with no mouldings around the round-headed windows surmounted by festoons, can be clearly

related to Dutch sources.[29] The motif is found, for instance, in the Marekerk at Leyden and in Van Campen's entrance front of the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem.

In conclusion, beside the strong traditional ideas, and Roman and Parisian motifs, we may concede some Dutch influence on plans and details. Hendrick de Keyser's Noorderkerk was one source for the development of the Greek Cross plan – especially in its development at St. Benet Fink. De Keyser's Westerkerk was an example of transverse emphasis in a longitudinal plan.

The main other example for the Greek Cross plan was Jacob van Campen's Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem. For the interior handling in the "tempietto style" it may have been an essential influence on Wren.

Vingboons and Bosboom are recalled dimly in church fronts, especially when Hooke had a share in designing them. Hooke was certainly also the main source of information about the Haarlem church.[30]

Thus it appears that although spatially Wren's churches developed in quite a different way, their plans were much affected by Dutch churches of the early and mid seventeenth century. It may be assumed that the first formative period in Wren's church-construction was between 1666 and 1671 – i.e. between his visit to Paris and his actual designing of a series of very different buildings. So the Middelburg Oostkerk, engraved in 1657 and completed in 1667, was the last great structure of Dutch Classicism about which he would have received information. But a series of important churches at Amsterdam (the Oosterkerk, completed in 1671; the Round Lutheran Church (1671); the Great Synagogue (1671); and the Portuguese Synagogue, finished in 1676 were completed just before, or even after, the Third Anglo-Dutch War, so that they cannot possibly have been known to him in this formative period.

We have seen that the synagogues also tend towards austerity, supreme in the years around 1670, when Dutch architecture was at a turning-point. The Round Lutheran Church as well as the Jewish temples boasted galleries and gigantic columns, but only the Round Church's handsome handling of them is echoed by Wren, notably at St. Bride, Fleet Street (Plate 110), and in related designs from Wren's second period of City churches.

Dutch Influence on Wren's Towers

Dutch influence is frequently apparent in Wren's towers, but here it is more fragmentary than in the planning of the churches.

Holland abounded in towers. Every tower and village possessed at least one steeple, generally on the church and town hall, but later on town gates, weigh-houses and other public and private buildings as well. Often they were ancient Gothic towers, massive and imposing, but many were late Gothic or sixteenth and seventeenth century, the latter being always very playful. Amsterdam retained from its mediaeval fortifications four brick stumps which were adorned by Hendrick de Keyser with beautiful airy steeples (Plate 111).

In tower-building the transitions between Mannerist and Baroque, and between Mannerist and Mediaeval, were indistinct. Most towers were essentially Gothic, and subconsciously at least one approaches them with Gothic preconceptions. This was felt by the most classical of Dutch architects, who for towers built only cupolas. The

centralized churches of the Classicist period all have cupolas[31], while at Haarlem Jacob van Campen must gladly have side-stepped the problem by elegantly uniting a severe exterior to the gay Mannerist tower constructed by Lieven de Key in 1613.

The only truly Baroque tower, the *Westerkerkstoren*, was executed in a modified version after De Keyser's death and not shown in any reliable engraving. Other towers remained traditional. The most important example (copied by Hooke) is the *central turret* on the *Nieuwe Kerk* at the Hague (Plate 62), which though it gives the impression of being Baroque derives most of its elements from De Keyser, or – in the case of the open crown at the summit – from even earlier craftsmen.

When the numerous and impressive examples of Dutch towers reached Wren through prints and drawings, as an eclecticist he was not as sharply conscious of the differences between Dutch Mannerism and Classicism as an Inigo Jones would have been. In addition it was clear that in the face of traditional demand he could not give every tower a cupola. At *St. Mary-le-Bow* he discarded the cupola-project for the familiar bows between small temples.

Most Dutch towers have more projecting detail than their London counterparts – such as balustrades, mouldings, cornices, or even onions or large pineapples. This gives them a more varied silhouette, but they never achieve the plasticity of the concave and convex surfaces of the Roman spires and of St. Vedast. Many details occur simultaneously in Holland and England or are taken from Dutch spires. The pedimented clocks, for instance, (or, at St. Benet Fink, panels) are found sometimes between scrolls, flattened on the surface as on the *Oudekerkstoren*[32] (Plate 112), or in silhouette as on the *Zuiderkerk*, or merely on brackets in front of the façades of the *Noorderkerk* and *Oosterkerk* at Hoorn (Plate 113).

The flat variety appears at *St. Andrew, Holborn,* and *St. Martin* (study); the bracketed type, which was immensely succesful, at *St. Mary-le-Bow.* In *W.S.* X, plate 23, three different proposals for *St. Stephen, Walbrook*, dating from 1681–2, are shown.

The clock of the Oosterkerk in Hoorn is dated 1688[33], but the clock of the Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam, bears the date 1614. A similar clock on the tower of the Exchange was from c. 1612, while that of the Oude Kerk is still earlier.[34]

Inverted brackets or bows are very common. The late Gothic towers have very delicate ones, such as the Lodewijkskapel at Leyden (Plate 114) and the Haarlem Bakenesserkerk.

Gradually they grew sturdier and the accompanying pinnacles tended to disappear, as did the open bow-like crowns on top of the spires. The Oudekerkstoren retains both features but the Zuiderkerk has a very small open crown.

The most important designs of Hendrick de Keyser do have brackets: the *Zuiderkerk, the project for the Westerkerk*, the *Montelbaanstoren* and the *Haringpakkerstoren*[35] (Plates 115–6).

Lieven de Key's tower for the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem is a display in the established Mannerist manner of every kind of Renaissance and older element. It has bows both above the balustrade and at the top, where they support an open work obelisk.[36] Whether or not Wren knew of this tower, he had certainly, through the *Architectura Moderna*, learnt of Hendrick de Keyser's Amsterdam towers, and the idea of an entrance under an oval window, both inserted in a niche, as in *St. Mary-le-Bow* may therefore have an embryonic prototype in the Zuiderkerk.[37] The straight Doric

entablature of St. Mary-le-Bow may derive from Jacob van Campen's entrance feature at Haarlem; but the grandiloquent feature of the niche with channelled voussoirs is certainly drawn from François Mansart's Hotel de Conti. The creation of circular openings between arch and concave-headed doors is a typically French device.[38] The balcony over the arch is reminiscent of certain Jonesian designs, notably those in the R.I.B.A. for "Pergulars" and an entrance to an unidentified house[39] (Plates 119–20).

Huet's engraving of the Sorbonne Church[40] (1639) may not be the only possible source for the ornaments on the corners next to the balustrade of St. Mary-le-Bow. Similar adornments appear in plate XXXVIII of the *Architectura Moderna* representing De Keyser's project for the Delft Town Hall[41] (Plate 65) and related ones in plate XIIII of the Westerkerk (Plate 121).

We have seen that Lieven de Key's tower at Haarlem is surmounted by an obelisk on brackets – in a less extravagant, slightly more Classicist form it reappears at the top of St. Mary-le-Bow.

At *St. Bride, Fleet Street* (Plate 122), the bell stage has a pedimented frame which resembles that of the third stage of the *Munttoren* (Plate 123) or the lower stage of the turret of the Noorderkerk; to the frame pilasters and columns on the corners as at the Zuiderkerk are added. All these towers have niches or round-headed openings for louvres in the frames, and in all of them square bases are surmounted by octagons with round-headed openings, but then all resemblance to De Keyser's spires vanishes: on the Amsterdam towers the octagons lack orders whereas the London one – presumably following Alberti – piles one ordered storey on another.

A striking feature of the sandstone stage of the Zuiderkerkstoren is the freestanding Ionic columns on the corners which enliven the silhouette (Plate 124). The stage is square with chamfered corners, approaching an octagon. The entablature follows this quasi-octagon but protrudes in the diagonals to reach the columns, a movement marked by vases. This rather Mannerist idea[42] – the columns are really too independent – was adapted by Wren for the Chelsea Hospital tower, but for his churches he preferred the more Baroque form of coupled columns. It can be seen at St. James, Garlickhythe, or in the clustered square variant at St. Stephen, or doubled in depth (and closer to Roman sources) at St. Michael, College Hill.

These Roman sources must have been Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona[43] and the dome of St. Peter's, both also cited as possible influences on the western towers of St. Paul's. The latter, however, strike a rather Mannerist note: the intercolumniation between the corner columns is exaggerated so that each corner column is grouped with the receding columns and pilasters rather than with its twin. This indicates other influences, perhaps the early seventeenth century in Holland or France – the clock stage in fact also shows a French motif, a cornice with a segmental upward curve over a round opening, perhaps derived from Salomon de Brosse's Blérancourt.[44]

The pedimented storey of *Christ Church, Newgate Street* (Plate 125), might be interpreted as a reduced form of the gable at Hendrick de Keyser's Noorderkerk. An oblong panel, held by scrolls at the ends and surmounted by a segmental pediment under a balustrade, and decorated with vases, is common to both churches, the only difference being the position of the vases: in Amsterdam on the balustrade, in London on the cornice.

At *St. Martin, Ludgate Hill*, the proportions and applications of the transitional panel

are even closer to the Noorderkerk. Otherwise the façade as a whole recalls Vingboons, notably in the way the second storey rises between volutes, and in the use of swags.[45]

The similarity to Vingboons is still more striking in Hooke's design for *St. Edmund the King* (Plate 126). The first house in Vingboons' 1648 book, Elsenburgh, has a similar balustrade in the central bay with four balls on the railing and an octagonal turret above. The forms of the second storey of St. Edmund with the festoons hanging along the triangular panels is reminiscent of the House Nuerenburg (completed in 1662) (Plate 127). Finally the use of the quoins in the first storey can be found in a design for the Alewijns House (plate 47 in the 1648 edition). (Plate 128).[46]

Hooke therefore emerges as an eclecticist who combines incongruous detail in his overall schemes. The contrast to a brilliant eclecticist like Wren lies in Wren's ability to unite various sources in one convincing concept, whereas in the "cupola design" for the façade of St. Edmund, for instance, the correct relation between façade and crowning cupola is completely lost.

Apart from the Amsterdam towers, Wren was certainly interested in the tower of *St. Charles Borromeo* at Antwerp (Plate 129). This tower is later than the church and so in all probability not built by Huyssens, who was dismissed during the construction of the church.[47] The designer drew motifs from many existing towers: the balustraded balcony on consoles in particular should be compared to similar balconies at the Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam, and the Hanse building in Antwerp itself (Plate 130). Most of the motifs of the Antwerp tower were not used by Wren: the ringed columns or pilasters, the Palladian (or Serlian) window, or the restless dormer windows which hide the springing of the cupola. A closer comparison could be made between the tower of *St. Magnus the Martyr* (and probably the first design for St. Mary-le-Bow) (Plates 131–2) and the cupolas of the Town Hall designs by Jacob van Campen and Philips Vingboons, (Plates 164 and 159) or Pieter Post's Swanenburgh turret[48] (Plate 133) which has two superimposed cupolas and terminates in an obelisk.

Older Netherlandish Sources

Wren turned to architecture when in Holland Classicism already declined and in France the cultural hegemony of the Court became established. So it is hardly surprising that Wren in his eclecticism was more diversified, using more sources than the Dutch Classicists, who cannot be called eclecticists as they had no choice: they sought to restore the way of building of the ancients. At some distance from the righteous mentality in Holland Wren did not hesitate to use the older Netherlandish sources which Van Campen's generation thought to have swept away once and for all.[49]

Wren might have found many of the details that have been mentioned in existing English architecture or in French and Italian prints, as well as in the current interpretations of classical architecture. I hope, however, that I have demonstrated that the Dutch contribution to the magnificent sky-line of London and to some of Wren's most beautiful towers, though dispersed and often confined to details, was remarkably strong.

Reverse Influence Later

About possible reverse influence in the eighteenth century I can be brief. After the

Round Lutheran Church no more circular or polygonal churches were built until the historicism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Most churches built in the eighteenth century were small churches for the Noncalvinists, mostly either longitudinal without subdivisions, or in the "Charenton-style".[50]

In Wren's churches the division between the rooms is always casual, never assertive, although one of the aisles sometimes has a certain independence. When his basilical or pseudo-basilical rooms resemble hall-churches they do so in a playful manner approaching the spirit of the Rococo. It is hardly surprising that when Wren influence is sought in Holland it is to be found in the eighteenth century, when for the first time stucco ceilings were applied in Dutch churches.[51]

Late in the eighteenth century we find a fine example in the Rococo manner of low vaulting with a saucer dome in stucco and outer bays of the same height as the central one, which have also stucco vaults. It was built from 1785–7, a rather elegant affair, for the small community of Zegwaard (Zoetermeer); the exterior is severe and already Louis XVI, but the interior is a Rococo variation on the cross in the square plan in which all the parts open into one another through spacious arches (Plates 137–8).

The church is unique in Holland, and when the architect was seeking foreign inspiration he may well have studied the City churches.

Equally, very few towers were built during the eighteenth century; again, the only one of some importance, the steeple of the Nijkerk church (1774–6), can be considered in relation to the London spires[52] (Plate 139).

Chapter 7

Jacob van Campen and Constantine Huygens as Inspirers of the Classicist Era

Jacob van Campen's Life

"Memoria iusti cum laude,
nomen impiorum putrescet"[1]

We know surprisingly little about Van Campen's life. The biography, which eventually appeared in 1961, written by an amateur, is short, both on new information and insights.[2]

Jacob van Campen was born into a well-to-do bourgeois family in Haarlem in 1595, and baptised in the Protestant St. Bavo. His father died in 1615; from him and from his maternal grandmother who died in 1616 Jacob inherited a considerable amount of money, enough to leave him independent. In addition, at his mother's death in 1625 he acquired the title "Heer" (Seigneur)[3] of Randenbroek, and its estate near Amersfoort in the province of Utrecht.[4] A more easy-going character would probably never have become more than a meritorious dilettante; Van Campen, however, grew into Holland's greatest architect. He was trained as a painter and at the close of his apprenticeship in 1614 entered the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke as a master painter.

His master may have been Frans Pieterszoon de Grebber, a painter with classical leanings. At de Grebber's studio Jacob would have met Pieter Janszoon Saenredam (1597–1665) who was to make many drawings and paintings of his work. It is, however, not certain that de Grebber was Jacob's master. De Grebber did name a pupil called "Van Campen" when he paid the Guild in 1637, but though he was often late in paying for his pupils, twenty-three years seems an excessively long delay. Perhaps he was trying to bolster his own renown by laying claim to a pupil who was already famous.

The "classical tendency" established itself in the painting of Jacob van Campen as a subdued Caravaggist style which in fact is more often found in the circle of Utrecht painters like Hendrick ter Brugghen and Dirck van Baburen than in the Haarlem School.

When Van Campen was growing up at Haarlem the old Flemish school of building was vigorously represented by Lieven de Key, a great Netherlandish Mannerist, who worked for the most part in the style of Vredeman de Vries. This school would not have attracted him in the least; but he would have known Salomon de Bray, who was preaching, if not always practising, a more classical manner. Indeed the society of a prosperous city of moderate size would have brought him into close contact with a broad range of people and ideas.

The Van Campen family had long been established among the Amsterdam patriciate. Jacob's uncle Cornelis was on the board of a Rhetoricians' Chamber, and his nephew

Nicolaas held several official posts, including that of Regent of the *Burgerweeshuis* (the City Orphanage) which was to extend its buildings and, in addition, to commission the new theatre in 1636.

By marriage the Van Campens were related to the Visschers, a family at the heart of Amsterdam literary circles. These circles included men like Hooft, the historian, Spieghel, the humanist and man of letters, and Vondel, the poet and dramatist. Huygens was also connected with this group, but his important acquaintance with Van Campen was not initiated before 1634.

Before he took up architecture as an imperative passion (as far as we know in about 1625) Van Campen moved in circles which represented the height of the Republic's achievement, in both art and literature; but at that time, so soon after the death of Hendrick de Keyser in 1621, they did not yet feel the need for an upheaval in architectural values. These men were highly receptive to new ideas, but in many respects, including religion and literature, their views were surprisingly multifarious. Thus the theatre retained many old-fashioned ideas, to which Van Campen, as we shall see when discussing his playhouse, responded with a wonderful union of new and old.

As has been mentioned he was inscribed in 1614 in the Guild of St. Luke; in October 1615 and February 1617 he must have been in Haarlem on family business; but from 1614 to 1624 his name appears nowhere. In 1624 he probably returned home, from wherever he was, on the sudden death of his sister Machteld.[5]

These ten unaccounted-for years have bred many a speculation – an old gipsy fortune-teller, rich Roman cardinals, and so forth. The hypothesis about his prolonged stay in Rome ignores the fact that when he returned to architecture he soon developed a very personal style, but one deeply indebted to the *Veneto.* As a rich young man he may very well have travelled by ship and disembarked at Venice, which had close commercial ties with Holland. Palladio's classical manner adapted to a northern climate and way of life, seems to have been his ideal. His was not the Roman "Academicism" or "Baroque" of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We notice moreover, in analyzing him, that if his travelling took him to Rome and Paris he was not impressed by Baroque or French "classicism" either. Before 1625 French Classicism of course meant Salomon de Brosse, but in strong contrast to Pieter Post and Philips Vingboons who both show French influence, Van Campen shows none at all.

The Coymans House

When Van Campen started building, yet another influence, in addition to the *Veneto*, was apparent in his style: Inigo Jones. He knew perfectly well which Italians and which single English architect should be his models. On his first architectural commission, the Coymans House, a double house built in 1625 for the wealthy merchants Balthasar and Ioan Coymans, Salomon de Bray writes:

"in our town of Amsterdam, at the Keizersgracht facing the Westerkerk: the *Façade* or Upright of this fabric, which is really what was wrought by our said Artist, and (what) we represent here, has two-and-a-half stages in its height, of which the lower one is of the order *Ionico*, and the second with the half one above it of the order *Romano*, is everywhere full with pilasters and their apparatus, everything most closely observed and purely executed: in such a way that the entire *Façade* is of excellent beauty, and of

such stately and pleasing aspect that one can fairly say that those who examine our Town without seeing or noticing the beauty of this Building, they neither have seen all the splendour of our Town nor understood Architecture." (*Architectura Moderna*, p. 24.)

It would be difficult to find a Dutch seventeenth century author who wrote with the clarity of, say, Wotton in his *Elements of Architecture.* But one thing is clear. De Bray praises Van Campen even more than Hendrick de Keyser! And another remarkable fact is that Van Campen made his first design as so many dillettanti do: he only drew the façade[6] (Plate 140).

The elevation of the Coymans House is a reinterpretation of a *palazzo* by Palladio, and owes much to houses like the Palazzo Barbarano (the superposition of two orders; the alternating window pediments between the upper capitals; the straight modillion cornice, the attica) or the Palazzo Iseppo Porto (the treatment of the ground storey as a podium). But it appears that the *decisive* model was the Banqueting House, both for the Scamozzian superposition of Composite[7] over Ionic and as demonstration that a northern translation of Italian Classicism was feasible. Van Campen did take some liberties with the orders: in the second storey Scamozzi's Corinthian cornice is used over Scamozzi's Composite capitals. The roof is extremely low by Dutch standards, another indication of the Banqueting House's influence. In surface treatment the Coymans House is extremely simple. There is a forward break of the four middle bays, but so slight that the duplication of the pilasters is essential to the full effect. These pilasters are in two layers, those of the salient half covering those of the outer parts. This, in effect Mannerist, device is very often found in buildings of the Dutch Classicist period. Meischke has shown that although the general design recalls Palladio, the detailing is in many instances derived from Scamozzi. This method was startlingly new in Holland where a mixture of Serlio and Vredeman de Vriese was common.

Another point should be stressed: the clear ratios of the design, the length of the façade being exactly twice the height, and so on. These characteristics were entirely novel in Dutch architecture and set the pace for a style which was to develop rapidly, to reach maturity as early as 1635, and to last until about 1670 when it was abandoned as suddenly as it had been adopted. It was this idiom, of which Van Campen was the progenitor, that has been called Classicism, the Dutch classical interpretation of antique and palladian examples.

In comparison to the gaudy Mannerist houses in the city the Coymans House had an almost monochrome exterior. This holds true even if the capitals were, as was the custom, originally gilt. An elevation without gable was also revolutionary. It was a double house so that Jacob van Campen would not use a pediment, but the older architects would not have hesitated to raise *two* gables on the house.

It is probable that Van Campen had visited London. Apart from ties by trade and the Protestant religion there were strong diplomatic links, and many painters and other artists followed rich patrons to England. Constantine Huygens had already stayed in London; and, in preference to other masons, Nicolas Stone, connected in many ways with the De Keyser family, was appointed to work on the Banqueting House. The Coymans House was no less of a novelty than Jones' work, but its impact in Holland was more immediate than Jones' in England. As Dutch Classicism developed the Coymans House became transitional, a catalyst for the new style which, especially in Amsterdam, developed into a somewhat sturdier, smaller and higher type of house,

preferably pedimented. The houses developed at the Hague seem to owe more to the Coymans House – this was perhaps due to chance circumstances of broader building lots, different architects, and so on. It was anyhow to last some years before a second generation of architects – all about ten years younger than Van Campen – had assimilated the new style sufficiently to find their own idiom.

Other Early Works

The Huis ten Bosch, Maarsen, is not dealt with here; it and nearly all the other early works mentioned by Meischke belong to the chapter on country houses.[8] An exception is the upper storey added in about 1630 to the house Jodenbreestraat 4–6, the house where later Rembrandt was to live and which has subsequently been called the Rembrandthuis. It is difficult to think of Van Campen as the designer, as the truly classical entablature with a pediment is adorned with an oversized cartouche in the *kwabornament (Ohrmuschelstil)*, which so obviously belongs to a former period. The parchment-like animal's mask on its summit (ill. *W. & W.* p. 106) bears a close resemblance to a mask over the top coat-of-arms on the centrepiece of the Canterbury Quadrangle at St. John's College, Oxford (col. ill. on front cover of *Summerson*). We are reminded that the carver John Jackson, who was involved in the centrepiece, was associated with Nicholas Stone (*Summerson*, p. 103). They seem to depend on a common Netherlandish source.

Huygens and Van Campen

The "Classical Revolution" did not penetrate every region of art and thought with equal rapidity and thoroughness. In painting we have only to compare the academic formalism adopted by a court painter like Honthorst with the full-blooded realism of Frans Hals. Then there were extremes like Rembrandt, deeply religious, and Jan Steen, who overtly and stubbornly clung to emblematic subjects, often incomprehensible today. Johannes Vermeer of Delft had such a personal way of rendering everyday life that we tend to forget, affected as we still are by Romanticism and Victorian repression, that he, too, often makes erotic allusions.

In the theatre, the intricacies of the Rhetoricians were very slow to give way to Vondel's baroque verses. Politically, Classicism meant the assertion of independence. Mannerism had been developed in common with and to a great extent under the influence of Flanders; after its surrender to the Hapsburg monarchy Flanders could not contribute to Classicism with its merger of indegenous Mannerism and Austrian Baroque.[9]

In ecclesiastical matters too the new style provided an excellent means of creating greater decorum in the Protestant place of worship. Here the purity of the style was increased by the extreme austerity which almost banished orders, and by avoiding – in execution at least – Temple-like fronts which could have been labelled Roman Catholic. The churches by Jacob van Campen, among them the Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, have been discussed in the chapter on churches.

In domestic architecture, there was a growing tendency to spend the wealth accumulated in trade on rich interiors rather than on showy façades.

In general, elaborate emblematic schemes gave place to a direct appeal to the senses. At first the change was slow. Architects trained in the old manner, Pieter de Keyser and Bartholomeus van Bassen for instance, were reluctant to accept Classicism. The two large palaces of Frederick Henry were nearing completion, for the most part in a French style inspired by Salomon de Brosse but already with some more classical alterations. If there was one influential man in the Republic who was highly dissatisfied with the Late Mannerist style, and who, as secretary to the Prince, was in a key position to promote the new style, it was Constantine Huygens (1595–1687). He could not fail to be aware of the inconsistencies of Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuwburg, but as an ardent and perceptive patron of the arts he soon detected the capabilities of each of the many craftsmen employed on the palaces: masons, joiners, cabinet-makers, painters, and so on as well as draughtsmen and architects. Huygens' advice on their selection will often have been followed by Frederick Henry, and it was Huygens, with Van Campen, who advised Amalia van Solms on the scheme, subjects, and painters for the Huis ten Bosch, the memorial to Frederick Henry.[10]

Huygens' father secured a very good education for the young boy. Huygens had to learn Latin, French and English, as well as Italian, indispensable at the time for a nobleman, and to travel abroad. It is to be noted that he went to England for a stay of five months in 1618 before visiting Italy in 1619 as secretary to the ambassador to Venice. Constantine was acquainted with Sir Henry Wotton as early as 1614, when Wotton arrived at the Hague as a special envoy from King James I.

Huygens visited England again in 1621 (when he was knighted), in 1623–4 and in the 1660s. Sir Constantine, as he may therefore be termed[11], was an excellent amateur on the viol and other instruments, and composed a series of airs. He was a highly talented playwright and poet both in Dutch and Latin; his work is witty, intellectual, and passionate.[12] He combined these interests with a demanding diplomatic career as secretary to three successive Princes of Orange.[13] His friendship with Jacob van Campen lasted until the death of the latter.

There is something baffling in the story of Huygens and Van Campen coming to know and like one another. Huygens must have been quite aware of the presence in Holland of the architect of the Coymans House, the Huis ten Bosch at Maarsen and presumably other country houses. In addition he must still have remembered Machteld, Jacob's sister, with whom he had been infatuated some years earlier.

Jacob van Campen himself sought to establish the acquaintance, offering for example to paint a picture[14] for the Secretary, but was met with a certain evasiveness. Huygens postponed the inevitable encounter. Did he want to allow himself a free hand in designing his own house? Did he too aspire to rival Inigo Jones?

The Huygens House

Some years after its completion Huygens began an account in Latin, called *Domus*, of the designing and building of his house. Preparatory sketches for this account, meant for his children, survive: . . . "I wished myself to prescribe the dimensions *(modus)* and form *(figura)* of the house. The situation . . . was established in consultation with Prince Frederick Henry. The plan (*ichnographia*, Huygens uses the Vitruvian terms) as by several people, also *(etiam)* La Vallée, at first a square. Later a rectangular shape,

especially by the intellect of my wife . . . Troubles with the foundation. The upright *(orthographia).* That, when at last Van Campen accidentally inspected the foundations, he asked that nothing should be raised on them without consulting him, in order to avoid the mistakes which he had noted in the stables. Praise to Van Campen. Count Maurits and I of the same advice. (Agreed on the project). That it was at last defined."[15] (Plates 141–4).

This sketch is not particularly clear. There are some references in letters, but these are not very illuminating either. On April 11th, 1634, Huygens writes to a friend about the building site (which was presented to him by Frederick Henry): "place vrayment digne d'un beau batiment, comme aussi j'y en desseigne un de 90 pieds de front, aveq sa bassecour, galeries et autres appartements, *le tout à l'instance de S.Exc.* qui, par affection naturelle qu'il porte à l'architecture, ne cesse d'animer un chascun à l'embellissement de la Haye, et à mesme intention m'a honoré de ce beau present". (Kamphuis, *op. cit.*, p. 168 my italics).

In designing, Huygens already had to reckon with the wishes of his wife and the Prince. Lunsingh Scheurleer has shown[16] that – apart from the orientation – the building embodied several other tributes to Frederick Henry. The arrangement of the *voorhuis* and the staircase was made in imitation of Ter Nieuwburg Palace, and statues of Providence and Abundance were placed in front of the staircase screen in homage to the Prince. The screen had three arches, the central one leading to the garden by a passage under the returning flight of stairs that was formed by the uniting of symmetrical flights flanking the central passage.

One of Huygens' agents confirms as early as March 29th, 1634, that fifty "kruiskozijnen" (transom-and-mullion cases) and thirty "deurkozijnen" (door cases) are to be ordered at Lingen in Germany, as the oak was better there. It was the exact number of cases in the completed house – as far as we can deduce, since there seems to be no etching of the rear façade.

As always in the summer Huygens had to follow the Prince on his campaign. In the middle of October 1634 he returned to the Hague, and then at last he wrote on December 5th that Van Campen "had come to him for this scheme" and was helping him like a very Vitruvius: " . . . Tout ce que j'ay de loisir de reste s'en va aujourdhuy à l'architecture pour le bastiment que j'ay fondé et doibs achever l'année qui vient, s'il plaist à Dieu. Le Sr. van Campen, qui m'est venu veoir à ce dessin, m'y assiste en Vitruve tres-parfaict . . .".[17]

It is evident therefore that Huygens was glad to have Van Campen apply the paraphernalia of the new style to the house whose actual design he had artfully managed to keep to himself. The timing of the whole affair appears designed to balance the architectural tastes of the Prince and the authoritative ideas of Van Campen. Van Campen was to serve as the lever of the architectural revolution – which was to be achieved at the Hague about five years later. Huygens wished the designing of "Domus Sua", his own house, to be his own affair in so far as he was competent for it, and he had no wish to affront the Prince, with whom he discussed the design, by calling in Van Campen too early.

It is very difficult to ascertain Van Campen's share in this building whose window dimensions were already fixed. We may justly doubt whether Huygens could draw an elevation with any exactitude. As Lunsingh Scheurleer points out in his article, the

statues on the pediment, which represent *firmitas, utilitas,* and *venustas*[18], by the sculptor Pieter 't Hooft (who had made the two statues in the hall) will have been sketched by Van Campen, in the same way that Van Campen made sketches for the beautiful stone screen in the hall. The screen is now built into a wall of the Rijksmuseum, but of the rest of the building nothing survives. State property in its last years, it was pulled down in 1876.

The detailing will have been supervised by Van Campen, who will also have supervised the sculptor, stone masons and carpenters over the finishing.

The idea of the superimposed pilasters will have been Huygens'; but if the orders were Ionic and Composite[19] this Scamozzian arrangement of orders would have been advanced by Van Campen and gladly accepted by Huygens, who already admired the Banqueting House and in any case explicitly wished to emulate Inigo Jones.[20] The highly cultivated patron of the arts and the painter who was developing into the most talented architect in Holland's history had found one another.

The Huygens House was a self-contained reposeful building. There is still some uneasiness, a diagrammatic quality in the central pediment, but the main mass with its beautiful hipped roof, bearing on the chimneys two iron globes, the rhythm of the elevation and the two lower wings along the *basse cour*, all unite into one pure design – not a picturesque accumulation of motifs in the Mannerist manner, but harmony based on correct proportion. The same harmony is found in the plan with its careful relation of well-proportioned rooms round the axis of symmetry: both Huygens and his wife Suzanna were to have their own *appartement* and their own gallery.[21]

Huygens' *coup d'architecture* had an immense and immediate effect. Within a few years Van Campen was involved in the designing and supervising of parts of Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuwburg (for the latter he remodelled a top gable into a pediment), as well as designing Frederick Henry's Noordeinde Palace and the Mauritshuis for the Count Johan Maurits of Nassau. Jacob van Campen was immediately followed by Arent van 's-Gravesande in his typically Dutch version of Palladianism. In other architects such as Post and Vingboons we can trace some French influence but Van Campen and Van 's-Gravesande were decisive in the formation of a new style which combined Palladio's classical manner with the exigencies of a northern climate.

The Amsterdam Theatre

I find it no easy task to define the extent to which Inigo Jones' example was an incentive to Jacob van Campen. The Coymans House was built before Van Campen was well acquainted with Huygens, of whose admiration for Jones we are certain. Let us turn to another building by Van Campen, later than the Huygens House: the Amsterdam public theatre, the Schouwburg, designed in 1637.[22] (Plates 98–9, 145).

It consisted mainly of a hall of 65 by 75 feet, divided on the long axis into two parts, stage and auditorium. The auditorium had a large pit, paved with bricks, for the standing room, and around this, two almost semi-circular storeys of boxes to which a giant Corinthian order was applied. The stage was of one storey, with Corinthian columns and pilasters, also fluted, with balustraded galleries in the corners. Thus the orders, giant and normal, are used here in exactly the opposite way to those in Scamozzi's Sabbioneta.

Before we look further into the decoration of the theatre we should consider its functioning. Plays were staged in the afternoon, at least at first when artificial lighting was still imperfect – except for certain scenes representing Hell and other fireworks. The repertoire had retained a large number of Rhetoricians' plays, sometimes still polytopically staged, and even in Vondel's works, the most Baroque in form and language, "Vertoningen", *Tableaux Vivants*, were staged between the acts. In general the stage was extended in breadth rather than depth: playing in "planes" was not yet in vogue here. The stage was very shallow: it had one curtain but no wings, only a few flats which could be placed in the booths (*mansiones*) at either side. From the late medieval plays some conventional apparatus did survive: traps for devils and their like, a slanting rope for rapid descents and disappearances, and – presumably already more formalized, and due to survive until far into the nineteenth century – the *Cloud*, a kind of actors' lift in the centre of the stage, masked by clouds which could be slid open.

In the very centre stood an important relic of the Rhetoricians' past, the throne (Plate 146). It was built in two stages, the lower one a canopy or baldacchino, with a triangular pediment, the upper one a painting representing the Judgement of Paris, with the appropriate (?) inscription "Iupiter omnibus idem" above, in an aedicule with a curved pediment. At the sides of the throne were painted, as though in niches, the statues of Apollo, Melpomene, and Thalia, and of Mercury – the last perhaps an allusion to the theatre's profits, which went to the orphanage and the old men's home.

Fremantle has pointed out similarities in form between this central part of the *Schouwburg* and the Court of Justice, the Vierschaar, at the Town Hall.[23]

Whether the throne was easily removed from the stage or not is a question which may never be solved. More important here is the existence of side entrances to the proscenium through side doors; the actors could also reach the stage between the flats and vistas in the booths at the sides. These booths, incidentally, which project in an angle at the corners, are very similar to the *tempietti* in Van Campen's church architecture. One third of the theatre's ceiling consists of an enormous barrel vault which runs from a large window over the gallery straight to the centrepiece, the throne. It will have added considerably to the lighting of the building and also to its ecclesiastical appearance – probably the Calvinist ministers' general hostility towards the theatre was only enhanced by this rather Roman Catholic air to the stage.

It is astonishing how much the Classicist Jacob van Campen troubled to satisfy the wishes of the antiquated Rhetoricians, and to make a stage admirably fitted to them – so that the general appearance of the Schouwburg is really Mannerist. When we look for analogous theatres we find them not in Sabbioneta or Palladio's Teatro Olimpico – whose vistas are only vaguely similar – but far closer at hand, where another Classical architect was building a Mannerist[24] theatre: Inigo Jones' Cockpit-in-Court, Whitehall, of 1629–30.[25] Here Jones faced the same difficulty – he could not stage his Baroque masques but had to adapt himself to older English forms of playing. Jones' success in magnificently integrating the necessary element of sixteenth century staging with Italianate decoration was adapted by Van Campen for his Schouwburg, much as for the Coymans House he adapted the façade of the Banqueting House.

Thus in two early works of Jacob van Campen we see the influence of Inigo Jones and, independently, of Palladio. As soon as Van Campen became intimately acquainted with Huygens a French motif appeared in his work, the galleries at right angles to the

corps-de-logis, as at Huygens House and Noordeinde Palace. This was a passing element in his work. Already in the Mauritshuis, designed immediately after Huygens' house Jacob van Campen was developing to the full his own classical style; and that essentially was Dutch.

Huygens' Influence

Huygens was succesfull in obscuring the design history of his own house, presumably the first city house with perfect symmetry and certainly the first in which ample room was found for a state staircase; but such concealment is not uncommon in architectural history, especially where there happened to be a close collaboration between patron and architect.[26] More astonishing is the remarkable diplomatic move: an architectural revolution that went according to plan.

Having succeeded in his admirable coup Huygens could more easily delegate responsibility to Van Campen and others. Late in 1639 he acquired a plot of land in Voorburg near the Hague to build a small country house, and as he himself testified in his poem called after the house *Hofwijck*[27], the house was designed by Van Campen while Post supervised the technical side.

Pieter Post entered Huygens' service when Huygens was building his town house. Huygens states in a letter of 1637 to Johan Maurits of Nassau[28] that Post is making drawings of his house which will be etched and sent to his friends and relations. It seems strange that these etchings (by Hondius) were not ready until 1639, and it has been suggested that the first proofs were not to Huygens' taste. But what really was the difficulty for Post? The oddly represented female statues were drawn after Van Campen's sketches which Post would probably have had to recover from the sculptor. So Post had only to work out the façades. The considerable lapse of time suggests that elevation drawings simply did not exist and never had. In addition the commissioning of Post goes a long way towards proving that he was the man best qualified to know the elevations, having probably executed them. We can imagine that Post was not very eager to draw the elevations of the already completed house – the eventual result is painfully accurate in dimensions and foreshortenings (as in the garden stairs!)[29] but rather flimsy in details.

Huygens intervened in town planning when the Plein Square was designed. It was eventually made into a regular square by cutting off the very tapering site which yielded the land for his house and garden. He embarked again on urbanistic work[30] with a grandiose scheme for the *Zeestraat*, a paved road through the dunes connecting the Hague with the sea at Scheveningen. After many years the road was built, in 1664–5, and at about the same time Huygens published his poem "Zeestraat" with a fine frontispiece by Romein de Hooghe.[31] De Hooghe was born in 1645, and it was again Huygens who, sensing the young man's talent asked him to make an etching of a Triumphal Arch which would be suitable as the entry to the new road. The arch was never erected, but the design, which will have followed closely the patron's scheme and iconology, was on a grand scale: a triple arch (Plate 147), resembling those of Septimius Severus and Constantine, surmounted by statues and with an inscribed tablet in the middle, reminiscent of the triumphal arch at Orange.[32]

The Mauritshuis

Huygens was certainly the intermediary between Van Campen and Count Maurits van Nassau, who from 1637 to 1644 was living in Brazil as governor of the Dutch possessions there; and we may assume that when the count had his famous town house erected, Huygens collaborated on it as surrogate patron. The house is situated between the Plein and the Binnenhof at the Hague, and faces at the rear the water of the *Vijver*, the large pond in the centre of the village. The area of the site, a former bastion, was cut in half by the road from the Plein to the Binnenhof, so the Count had a tunnel constructed to his garden on the other side of the road next to Huygens' garden.[33]

In the case of the Mauritshuis one should make no allowance for more than the usual patronal influence: the mature plan and the perfectly balanced elevations are surely Van Campen's.

The execution, begun in 1633 and slow in progressing – little or none of the interior decoration would have been completed when Maurits went to Brazil in 1637 – was left to Pieter Post.[34] The sculptural decoration of the pediments was presumably done by the Pieter 't Hooft who sculpted Huygens' statues[35], and certainly again followed sketches by Jacob van Campen.

The Mauritshuis plan is a harmonious and closely-knit design: the various rooms are arranged in a logical order with smooth transitions around a monumental central staircase (Plates 148–9). The whole is contained within a near square[36]; in contrast to French practice there is one roof, equally steep on each side, and the pilasters of the giant Ionic order cross all the elevations (Plates 150–2). The house is distinctly Palladian in atmosphere without deriving from one specific model; the use of a giant order for a town house was the first of its kind in Holland. Thanks to its creation of a Northern style in the spirit of Palladio its impact in Holland, and, after 1660, in England was tremendous.

The exterior, which has always been admired for its exquisite proportions, still stands in its original state apart from minor and undisturbing modifications to the windows.[37] The orders and the decoration, such as swags and pediments over the windows, are stone: the backing is brick, a lively and serviceable contrast reflecting the system of the Senators' Palace at the Capitoline Hill.

The façades of this small palazzo and the nearby Sebastiaansdoelen set the example for a whole series of imposing self-confident houses in England, beginning with May's Eltham Lodge.

The plan of the Mauritshuis may be contrasted to the more expedient plans for the Amsterdam patriciate, therefore its discussion is inserted in the paragraphs on Philips Vingboons.

The Noordeinde Palace

The decade of 1639–49 was the busiest and most fertile of Van Campen's career. Later we hear of illness and a difficult temper; even Huygens on one occasion described him as "un homme fascheux à gouverner". His pessimistic device tells its own story: "il todo es nada", all is nothing.

In 1639 he gave advice on Leyden's Marekerk, the churches at Hooge Zwaluwe and

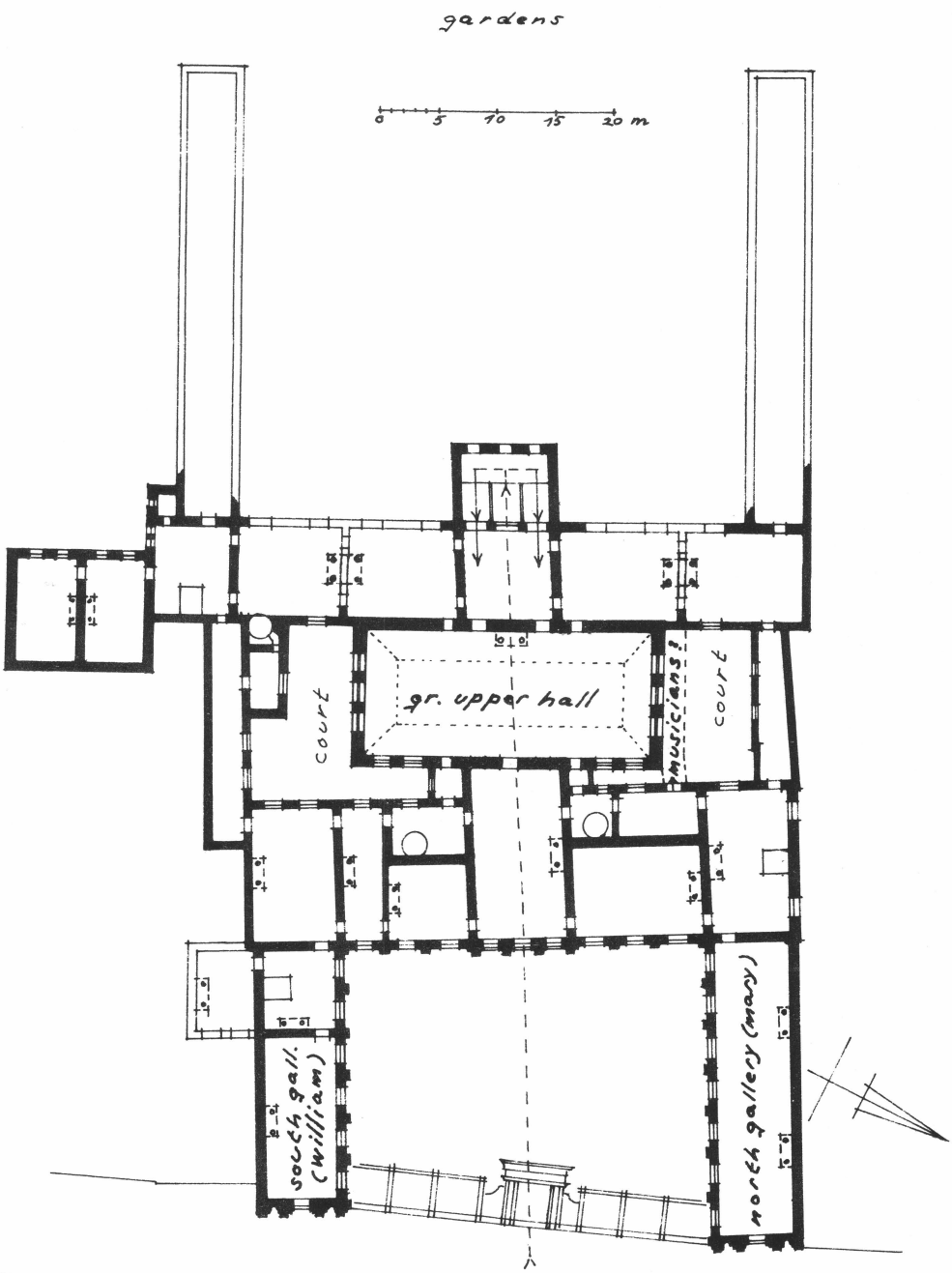


Figure 13. Noordeinde Palace, the Hague. Main floor about 1647

Renswoude were begun – most probably after his plans –, he designed Hofwijck for Huygens, and received an important commission from the Court: the conversion and extension of the "Oude Hof" into a fine palace for Frederick Henry's son William II, one of the means to secure a good match for him.[38] Afterwards it was called the Noordeinde Palace. A pedimented front and side wings enclosing the cour d'honneur were added.[39]. (Plates 153–4; Figure 13). The wings have six and seven bays (the site is irregular) but the arrangement is so cunning that the disparity is scarcely noticeable.[40] Many craftsmen employed on the palaces of Frederick Henry worked here, and here eventually the sculpture in the pediment is documented as by Pieter 't Hooft (1645). This pediment is placed over the three central bays of the nine bay *corps-de-logis*, which has the same superimposed orders (Ionic and Corinthian) as the wings.[41] The wings are distinguished from the *corps-de-logis* in two ways: they do not have high-pitched roofs and their ground floors consist of open galleries. These galleries have their own arcades inserted between the pilasters of the lower order to create, for the first time in Dutch Classicist architecture, a gallery with solid piers.[42] To travelled compatriots Van Campen's galleries would have recalled structures like the Roman theatres and the Palazzo Venezia, but all the same Frederick Henry may have had some French model in mind; he had perhaps heard descriptions of Mansart's Hotel de la Vrillière, started in 1635, with its two-storeyed wings with arcades, though not pilasters. Undoubtedly the Stadholder's cultural francophilia dictated this choise of elements.[43] The formal concept of the palace was of no consequence in Holland, anyway we do not find another layout with lower lateral wings after 1640.[44] Outside Holland, however, the palace is likely to have influenced the Custom House in London.[45] If the match would have been arranged with a little more reluctance on the English side, Frederick Henry would probably have carried out the complete renovation of the Palace. As it was it remained unfinished; a Dutch equivalent of the Whitehall schemes.

The Temple of Peace

On the occasion of the peace treaty of 1648 by which the independence of the Republic was officially recognized, the garden of the Prinsenhof at Haarlem was adorned with a festive temple in the Corinthian style. The temple has four fluted columns-in-antis; it still stands but for the entablature and the roof which have been simplified (Plates 155–6). Jacob van Campen executed murals in the temple.[46] Because of these and on stylistic grounds the whole structure may be ascribed to him.[47] Its inspiration clearly was the Pantheon.[48]

The Orphanage and the Heiligewegspoort

Jacob van Campen's second Amsterdam period, from about 1634 to 1643, exercised far-reaching influence. First it appears that his development of the giant Ionic order for the Orphanage just antedates the Mauritshuis[49], so that the familiar attribution of the genesis of the giant Dutch order to the Hague school may be overthrown – even though the same architect is the initiator in both cases.[50] Secondly, it is very likely that Philips Vingboons played a similar role in the execution of Van Campen's commissions at Amsterdam as Pieter Post had done at the Hague; that is, he served as draughtsman,

and presumably as overseer, at the Theatre, the Heiligewegspoort and the Orphanage, and did some preliminary work for the Town Hall. His formation as an architect was certainly greatly influenced by his contact with Van Campen, but we may also assume that his independent character soon clashed with Van Campen's over the Town Hall. Van Campen may then have summoned Post's help for drawings[51] – later on he was certainly assisted in the execution of the Town Hall by Jacob Vennekool, Daniel Stalpaart and Willem de Keyser. Of these three men Stalpaart would become by far the most important architect and he was to work in a style developed from Van Campen's.

As for the Orphanage: the girls' court was surrounded in 1634–5 by wings with evenly spaced, rather utilitarian, colossal Ionic pilasters with details which elaborate on Scamozzi. As the Orphanage has recently been discussed and lavishly illustrated by Meischke I refer to this standard work.[52]

The Heiligewegspoort was a town gate erected in 1636 and demolished by the expanding city as early as 1663, but known through a number of reasonably accurate drawings and engravings.[53] (Plate 157). The gate had completely lost any defensive character. It was a simple block with three bays on both the inner and outer façades; each façade carried a pediment over a slightly projecting central bay, and the arches in the middle bays were supported by *coupled* pilasters.[54] The gate was very festive in character; the outer bays towards the country contained large niches with female(?) statues, and in addition Van Campen jettisoned every rule for town gates by applying the "feminine" Ionic order.[55] The building was Holland's first definitely Classicist town gate. As a matter of curiosity it may be added that the translation of the roof ridge to the north recalls that of the main shape of Ter Nieuwburgh's roofs.

Also in these years the concept of the Town Hall was born.

Preludes to the Town Hall Design

Whether one considers country seats by Vingboons or Post, drawings of ancient places of city government by Saenredam, learned discussions about the classical authors by Huygens, essays in reconciling differently treated elevations in one house at Elswout (perhaps by Van Campen) or prefigurations of the *Vierschaar* in the Theatre – everything seems to gravitate round the one most splendid commission: the designing of the new Amsterdam Town Hall. There the culture and civic power of the young republic, and its assertion of independence, legitimized by Roman republican precedent, were to be embodied. Almost every aspect of this building, cultural, political, historical and iconological, has been discussed and extensively illustrated in Fremantle's *Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*.[56] Here a few words will be added about the planning of the Dam Square, because it was in the urbanistic projects that we find the visual outcome of the permanent struggle between the more orthodox and the more liberal factions in the City government.

In 1639 the first official step towards the building was taken when Burgomasters and Council decided that the old Town Hall was dilapidated and far too small, so that there was an urgent need for a new one. The design had to accommodate most of the executive as well as legislative functions undertaken by the almost independent City. It was to be the seat of the City Government, of the bank and gaol, guardhouse

and pawn broker's, and – of cardinal importance for the ultimate conception – Court of Justice: in the *Vierschaar* sentences of capital punishment were pronounced.[57]

The power in the United Provinces was principally divided between the Stadholder, supported by the fervent Calvinists on the one hand, and on the other Amsterdam, which through its sheer wealth was the most powerful city in the States of Holland and therefore in the whole Union.[58] When at last Amsterdam, crossing the wishes of the Stadholder, concluded the peace treaty with Spain in 1648, her Town Hall was to be called a Symbol of Peace – that is, of Amsterdam victrix. In the town itself a certain leniency was generally maintained in religious matters; on the whole the Burgomasters succeeded in keeping the number of fervent Calvinists in their midst to a minimum. In the years when the plans for the Dam and Town Hall were being developed, however, one Burgomaster, Willem Backer, a strong adherent of the clerical party, had to be placated with several concessions. The Nieuwe Kerk, the town's main church, a Gothic fabric completely surrounded by buildings, was to have its southern transept front exposed, facing the Dam, and to the west of the church a tower was to be added, as high as Utrecht's cathedral tower and much higher than the cupola of the new Town Hall. Ironically it was Jacob van Campen's design for a tower which was judged the best, but when Backer died the plan was immediately and conclusively abandoned with only two stages completed.

The original site, with long alleys between the Dam and the Nieuwezijdsvoorburgwal – the next wide space – produced a Town Hall plan with a narrow façade of about 150 feet on the Dam, reaching back some 280 feet. This latter measurement was soon reduced to about 230 feet[59], and the first extended slightly to about 165 feet. Seven weeks after this resolution a new one was made[60], widening the hypothetical breadth of the building site along the Dam as far as the Nieuwe Kerk, but tactfully worded as if these new plots only needed to be acquired for urbanistic reasons and would later be sold for house-building.

At this stage there was a kind of competition. Some architects will have been asked for designs, some will have forwarded them on their own initiative. Three of these designs survive. Two are anonymous, drawn by Cornelis Danckertsz de Rij and Pieter Nolpe respectively; the third (with variants) is the work of Philips Vingboons. Van Campen's project is lost; a copy of an earlier design which may very well be a juvenile work of Vingboons has, however, been preserved.[61] The *terminus post quem* for these three proposals is 1645, as in that year the Council agreed to a resolution making it clear that no more would be welcome.[62] As one of them had already been drawn in a map of the site dated 1643, it seems better on account of their similarities to ascribe all three to the year 1643.

The 1643 Designs and the "Piazza del Dam"

The 1643 plans embody the programme of the liberal faction. Some factors of course remain constant through all the stages of design, such as the great hall, the cupolas or observation-platforms – "to see the merchants' vessels returning home" – and the disposition of the principal rooms along a corridor round an open court. But there is one very conspicuous omission: these three plans do not express the Vierschaar as a special architectonical feature, and it must have been no more than an ordinary room

or an arched canopy somewhere in the great hall, as in so many town halls in the Netherlands. It must have been a rather enlightened faction which considered that the city's right to capital punishment should not be heavily underlined. Vingboons in his first design played with the idea of a relatively low entrance storey of about nineteen feet high, with the *Vierschaar* placed asymmetrically to the left (but already with the programmatic window onto the Burgomasters' room), and behind the entrance a great common hall; while the piano nobile would be *much* higher, about 32 feet, and also with a great hall. On the exterior these two storeys would be coupled by a giant order with a subsidiary smaller order, as at the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The exterior is, however, not really satisfactory as the orders only appear in the central salient and the corner pavilions have a completely different vertical division; nor is the horizontal rhythm of the façade harmonious, with its division of about 2:1:3:1:2.[63] Vingboons' last and printed design (Plates 158–9) shows the elements shared with the other proposals. These are an imposing entrance hall, which was also to serve as *Vierschaar* and was grilled in case of difficulties with the mob. Above, it had galleries along three sides. Other common characteristics are a slight tendency to symmetry of the whole arrangement across the minor axis as well, stairs in the centres of the sides, a sole inner court surrounded by corridors, and corner pavilions.

The two other designs are anonymous, but there are strong indications of particular authors. First the design as drawn by Cornelis de Rij, the City Surveyor, in 1643 (Plate 160). It appears to represent the ground floor, but the first floor (the piano nobile?) would have been very similar. Here the side staircases are hidden away, but this is compensated for by a monumental staircase with double flights of stairs as an annexe to the great hall. The hall seems to carry a great dome – presumably a double one: the inner circumference (on pendentives?) is shown as a circle, the outer one as an interrupted line. Enormous piers apparently carry both the dome and the galleries of this intriguing spatial conception. The monumental staircase as a kind of appendix had made its appearance in Post's addition to the rear of the Noordeinde Palace about 1645. Fully Baroque staircases contained within the main body of the building, were already found at Ter Nieuwburg and in the houses of Huygens and Maurits, but here we meet the Gothic staircase-tower in Renaissance disguise. Similar staircases in Post's work and the dome in his Maastricht Town Hall lead one to the conclusion that the design may be his. An architect like Arent van 's-Gravesande can safely be excluded because stylistically the design does not point to him, and because he held the busy post of Town-fabrique of the city of Leyden.

Before dealing with the third and still more intriguing project, something must be said about the planning, the *sistemazione*, of the new Dam. For several centuries already the Dam had been the heart of Amsterdam. Here was the seat of the City's government, here Hendrick de Keyser's Exchange, completed in 1611, here the Fish-market (right on the *dam* in the river Amstel, from which Amsterdam derives its name) – a kind of *omphalos* for the fishermen who sailed from here and returned home with their catch. On the Dam opposite the open water of the Damrak and facing the Fish Market stood the old Town Hall with the *Vierschaar* in front; the same projecting part of the Hall housed the muskets which could be used to cover the Dam as well as the Kalverstraat and Nieuwendijk. To the right of the Town Hall was a deep block of houses hiding the Nieuwe Kerk. Before, between this block ("de Waegh" on De Rij's

map) and the Damrak rose the High Mannerist *Waag* (Weigh-house). The urbanistic ideas of the enlightened party are clearly found in the map of 1643, evidently drawn after the Council's decision of the 28th of January 1643 to buy *all the houses* between the old Town Hall and the church. The Dam had to become a square in the finest Renaissance style, as handsome as any Italian piazza. The axis of the Town Hall was aligned with that of the Fishmarket and was to run across the middle of the Dam. The houses to the Dam's left were considered reasonably regular: the new street to the left (the south) of the Town Hall would only cut off the corner of the Kalverstraat and, by means of an arch, screen what was left of a smaller alley, the Gasthuissteeg. To the right of this main axis the most far-reaching measures were to be taken. The Waag was integrated into the plan: it was to be given a beautiful position in the middle of the right hand side of the Dam, as it were on a little square of its own, not obstructing the view of the 175 feet width of the new Town Hall, which was to lie at right angles to it. Moreover a vista onto the Waag was opened by the new road along the north elevation of the Town Hall. This road did not occupy all the space between the Hall and the Nieuwe Kerk: as had been promised to the Council a block, 45 feet in width and 266 feet in length[64], was to be filled with houses, which were to be resold after the reshaping of the new Dam, but which soon, presumably, were reserved for the expanding functions of the City Government.[65] In any case, this deep block hid a good deal of the Nieuwe Kerk, and to emphasize still further the division between State and Church the remaining gap was screened off from the Dam (in the far corner of the Waag square) by an impressive archway with three gates[66] on the triumphal arch motif. Huygens proposed a similar scheme for his Zeestraat, but, except for temporary structures at pageants, it was never carried out in the United Provinces. This total reshaping of the Dam, which meant an almost perfect *sistemazione* and a very happy union of so many diverse elements, seemed to represent a complete victory for the forces of enlightenment in the Republic. But this handsome Italianate square was a hubristic notion, as the sad developments proved.

Before considering the unhappy progress of the shaping of the Dam I must discuss the third design – a design certainly planned for the situation in 1643. The plan has been preserved in four fine engravings by Pieter Nolpe, published by Clemens de Ionge. They show the plan, two sections and the façade.[67] (Plates 161–2; Figure 14). These prints bear a monogram that has not yet been deciphered, so for the moment they must remain anonymous. There are, however, strong indications of their *auctor intellectualis*. It has been suggested by some authors that the designer may have been a foreigner – a Frenchman, even an Italian. This sounds very unlikely as the unknown artist was remarkably well-informed about the programme. There are similarities to the two other designs. The arrangement with one projecting bay (a kind of canopy for executions and proclamations) over the entrance reminds one of other Dutch town halls, such as Delft. Was the inventor of the two superimposed *open* loggias on the court somebody living in a milder climate? Ignoring the question of the exact nature of the climate in those years, many open galleries can be found in the Dutch architecture of the time.

The heating of galleries and corridors was in any case unknown, and in matters of taste the imitation of the Italians was the decisive element.[68] We find open galleries at the Noordeinde Palace, and, in two storeys, on the central salient of Ter Nieuwburg;

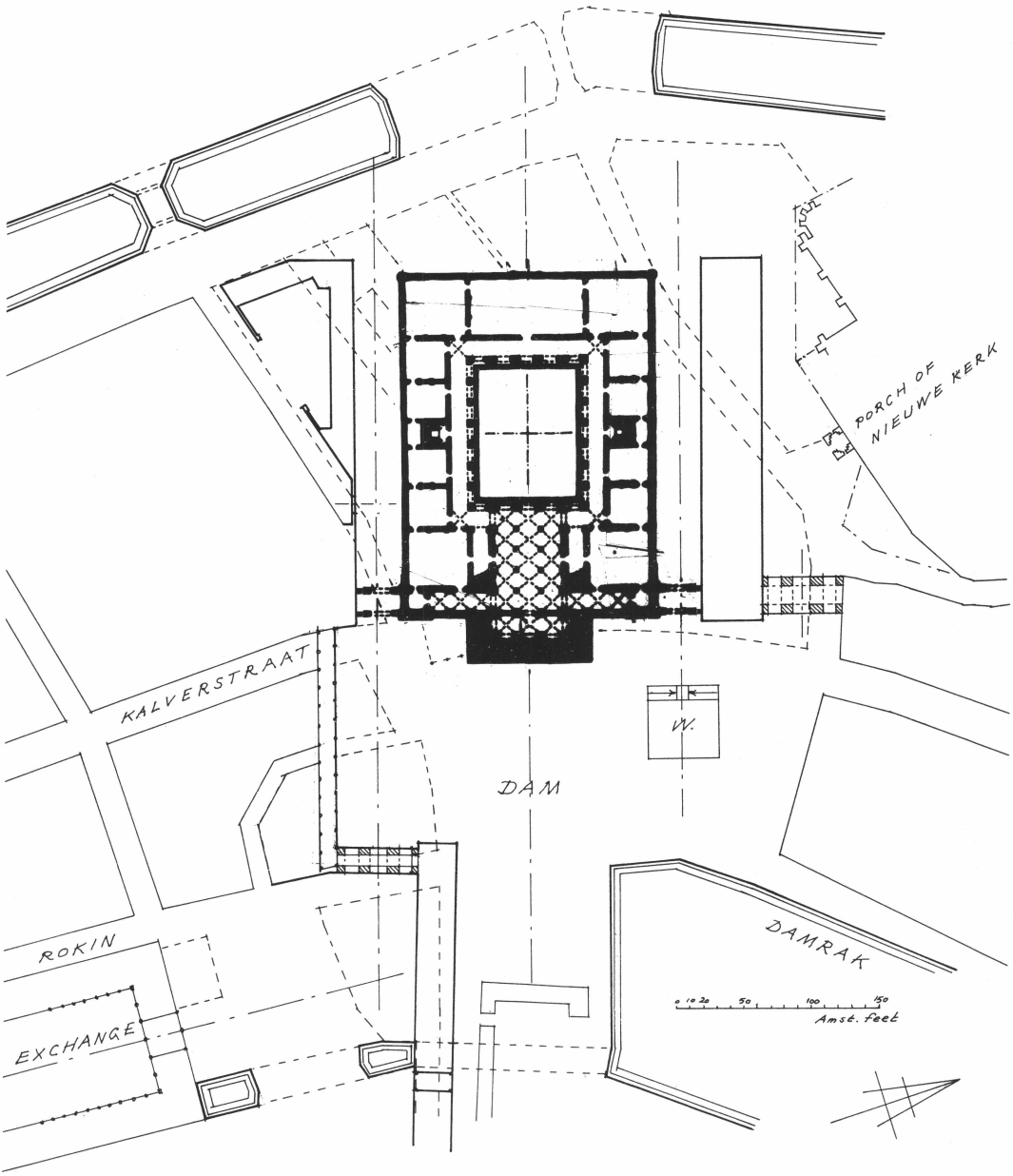


Figure 14. Dam Square, Amsterdam. Anonymous Town Hall project (Huygens?) with hypothetical completion of arcades superimposed on Cornelis de Rij's 1643 site plan. 1565 Weigh-house off centre indicated by W. On the left the 1611 Exchange with square in front

Honselaarsdijk has one – with, what is more, a longitudinal belvedere on top approaching closely the one designed here on top of the Great Hall.

The intention is Learned Dutch; but one is struck by the fact that the engraver did not trouble to replace the Farnesian, or rather Medicean, lilies of his models with the Amsterdam Cog; his corner towers seem to leap happily from some Genoese design; the archway to either side transports the slightly bewildered spectator to a town like Verona – the Piazza dei Signori –[69] but all these features also show an intimate knowledge of the early Dam project. All the evidence points to a classicizing and travelled *dilettante* closely connected with the building committee. When we consider Huygens' deep involvement in the theory and practice of architecture in those years, his familiarity with the Stadholderly estates as well as his Italian voyage, it would seem a convincing attribution to call him the director of the monogrammist Town Hall design.

The Final Design

After 1643 progress was slow and at first slight, owing to the obstinate obstruction of the clerical faction headed by Willem Backer, who certainly regarded the fire which gutted the New Church in 1645 as a token of Heaven against Pompous Worldly Halls. But the very same flames, whether guided by the hand of Providence or not, proved a new basis for negotiation, as the City had to furnish the money for the Church's restoration. Ironically, on account of their outstanding craftsmanship and the influence of the revenue-providing government, Jacob van Campen and Artus Quellien, who in perfect cooperation were to shape the Town Hall, were also chosen for important commissions at the church: the organ by Van Campen and Quellien[70], the monument to Van Galen by Quellien, Verhulst, and Willem de Keyser[71], and the new tower by Van Campen.[72] The *rekkelijke* (lenient) or *staatsgezinde* (pro-States General as opposed to the Orangists) party was led by Burgomasters like Andries Backer (until 1650 when he was ousted by the Orangists) and his relative Cornelis de Graeff[73], an influential, highly educated Regent, several times Burgomaster since 1643 and one of the patrons with a considerable influence on the iconological scheme. The eventual compromise included – as far as we can guess – one major concession to the liberals, that the Town Hall should occupy all the space from the Kalverstraat to the Church, and two concessions to the Calvinists. First, the New Church should have a tall tower and secondly, a far worse, and irrevocable, ruling: the whole Town Hall was to be rotated backwards from the Dam round its left corner near the Kalverstraat, so that the south transept, with the entrance, of the Church was fully exposed. The last compromise was stated by a resolution of the Council on April 8th, 1647; the concession to the Liberals only on July 18th, 1648 (a month after the proclamation of peace with Spain and half a year after pile-driving had already begun), when the Council decided on a Town Hall of 280 by 200 feet.[74] Thus the vista on the Waag, which was still maintained, though obliquely, on the site plan dated April 28th, 1648, was to all appearance already at that time a fiction preserved by both Liberal and Calvinist burgomasters until Council should be ready to approve the Great Design.

Nothing is known of the several stages of Van Campen's design before its final accomplishment, since only a few sheets with drawings for the pediments survive.[75] In

1648, all of a sudden, Council was taken by surprise by a wooden model[76] and two plans which were to be only very slightly altered during the many years of execution (Plate 163). We know nothing of Van Campen's toils and experiments in the five preceding years – the outcome recalls Athena's birth through a thunderbolt. In the same way that Athena's birth could only be effected with the assistance of Hephaestus, it is clear that Van Campen could never have reached his perfect integration of architecture and sculpture on such a huge scale without a perfect understanding with Artus Quellien.[77] The building was on a unprecedented scale: it was the greatest town hall of Europe. It made an overwhelming impression in its own time, as many contemporary and eighteenth century descriptions and prints attest.

Later it was closed to the public after its seizure by Louis Napoleon and conversion into a royal palace[78], so that it lost much of its former fame and was mentioned in histories of art by no more than two or three words, like, for instance, *palastartiges Rathaus* (the description of an outstanding Swiss art historian).[79] When, recently, plans for a new town hall were made in Amsterdam and a series of competitions was started – with the most unfortunate results emerging as the favourites of an arid bureaucracy – Van Campen's creation aroused new interest. Several books and articles appeared illustrating its history, decoration and supposed derivation of plan. The most exhaustive of these studies is Fremantle's above-mentioned thesis, in which sources and extensive illustrative material can be found. Therefore only some decisive features of the building will be discussed here. In the middle of the principal façade on the Dam (Plate 164), on the first floor, is the *pui* (proclamation gallery) between the chambers of the Magistrates on the right (the north) and Burgomasters' rooms to the left. Behind the *pui* is the cynosure of the building, the *Vierschaar*, the High Court of Justice, rising from the ground floor to the second floor and connected on the first floor, by windows, with the proclamation gallery and the Burgomasters' chamber (Plate 165). Katherine Fremantle in her two studies has dealt with the City's right to capital punishment, the course of the ceremony and its reflection in the iconography of the rich decoration. I would only wish to emphasize that however much the manifestly central function of the Vierschaar was due to the conservative factions in the City Government, in its decorative scheme there are more representations of ancient mythology and of scenes recalling the heroic Batavian past than there are Biblical allusions. The same is true for the decorations of the Great Hall, the galleries, and so on. The underlying, implicit, idea was the City as heiress to republican Rome.[80]

When Van Luttervelt supposes that Van Campen was guided in his plan by Villalpando's Temple reconstruction, he misjudges Van Campen's distinction as a humanist architect and, moreover, the reconstruction was not strictly Classicist (Cf. figures 15–16).

When called upon to design a church Van Campen created a serene space determined by liturgy, but here he successfully found an expression for two of the most important shows that were staged in the Town Hall: firstly the semi-sacerdotal proceedings, going back to the old Germanic rites, for meting out justice, and secondly the less ceremonious but incessant spectacle of the proud citizens of a major city meeting one another in the Great Hall.[81] The Hall, as a meeting-place and a stage for festivities, is excellently integrated in the building as part of the first circulating system (Plate 167). In itself a representation of the universe, it lies in the centre of the building, on the first floor or piano nobile, flanked on either side by courts and rising to the full height of the

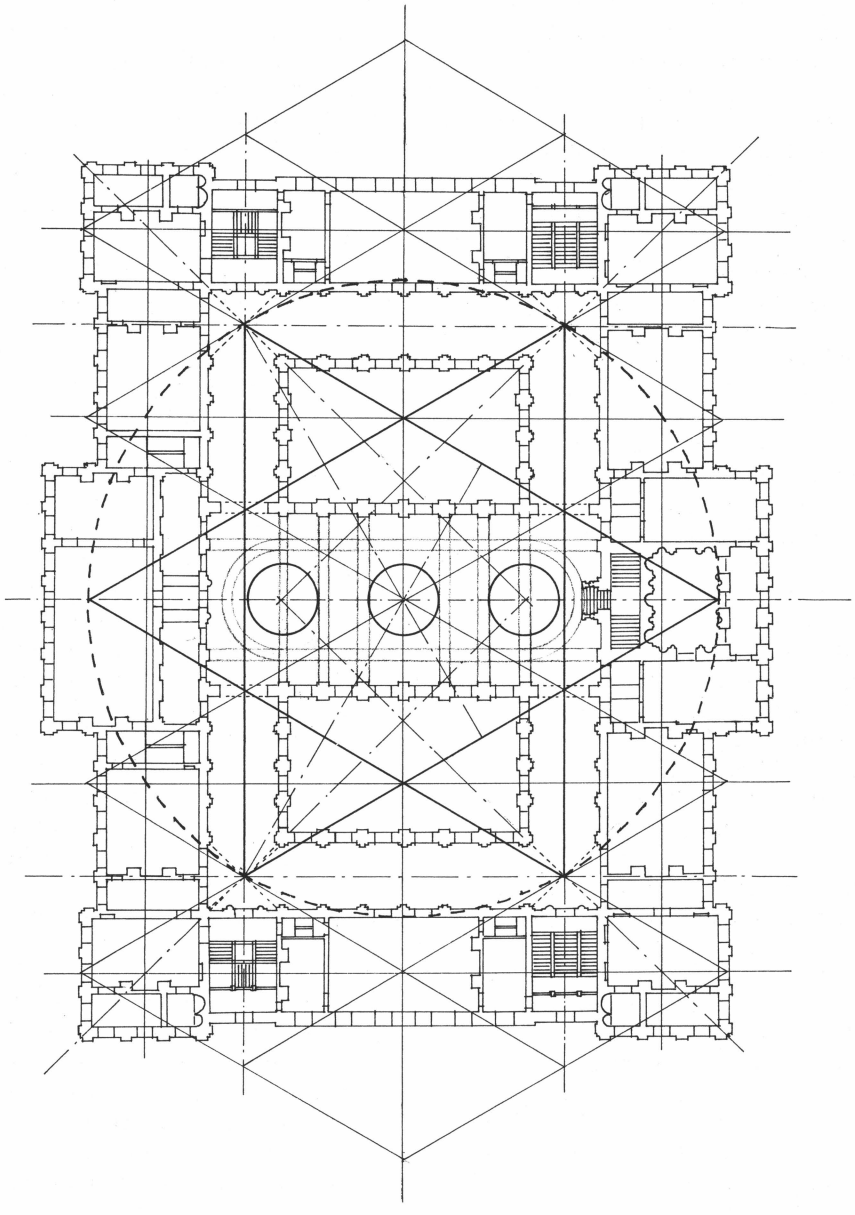


Figure 15. Town Hall, Amsterdam. 1648 plan of main floor with addition of hypothetical "Vitruvian Theatre Figure" or "Sigillum Salomonis"

building. It has magnificent dimensions – about 60 feet in width, 120 in length and 100 to the top of the barrel vaulted ceiling.[82] It is splendidly lit by the tempered light of the courtyards, which enters through six bays at either side, each composed of three superimposed windows, two rectangular, one tall and one low, of a mezzanine type, as on the exterior elevations, surmounted by a large round-headed one. In addition the space is not cut off at the ends but flows easily through wide arches into transverse galleries, which, like the Hall, are lined with white marble. The Hall's ceiling painting by Jan Goeree, done from 1705 to 1707, must be considered the last of the building activities: I will return to these rather dark paintings and their effect when discussing the experiments and initial ideas for the whole structure. The stairs to the Hall, dark and winding round the back of the *Vierschaar*, are the result of programmatic necessity: they were intended to thwart a riotous mob, since the Amsterdam democracy, like the Athenian, was a play for the upper classes alone. On the other hand the soaring effect of the Great Hall is even more impressive when one enters it through these narrow stairs. Intentional or not intentional, it makes a Baroque effect. Or to put it in terms which would have appealed to the seventeenth century burgher: one had passed the emphatic token of Justice as well as the social barrier, and was now entering the proud spacious world of the *Burgerij*.

The galleries lead to the offices and to the staircases in the corners. In the 1648 proposals there are different kinds of stairwells all opening to the axes of the galleries. Of these the variants with an open stairwell certainly demanded a central entrance, but the Burgomasters kept to the less progressive solution of the two entrances opposite ascending flights which they could know from the Mauritshuis and the Palaces. As a result the vista was abandoned; but the symmetry of the actual stairs also led to perfect symmetry in the galleries, as the rooms on the corners already opened through two doors on the longitudinal galleries. Other, sometimes small, changes led without exception to a loss of plasticity. For instance the semicircular staircases for official use in the corner pavilions, carved in the depth of the walls like the equally semicircular closets next to them, were replaced by wooden ones in front of the walls. Even the Vierschaar lost plasticity – and thereby weight. It was conceived more as a square (about 3:4, in execution less than 2:3) and with deep niches for statues. Those niches were replaced by panels, evidently to make room for Quellien's reliefs. On the other hand the beamed ceiling (found in the wooden model of c. 1648)[83] was replaced by a tunnel vault which could more easily represent the open air under which, according to the time-honoured northern custom, death sentences were to be pronounced. The reliefs were Quellien's *chef d'oeuvre*[84], although in carving the caryatids he comes uncomfortably close to the unruly flesh of Rubens, his great painter compatriot. To make their presence yet more evident these caryatids (repenting the sin of rebellion in their slain husbands?)[85] lean forward, so that it is conspicuously clear that they carry the entablature on Ionic capitals after Vignola, whereas the other Ionic capitals in the room follow Scamozzi. This is, however, one of the rare instances in which the final result is not completely satisfactory as an integration of Van Campen's purpose and Quellien's execution.[86]

The plan of the main floor around the Great Hall – which was at once assembly hall, state room and source of access to the galleries round the courts – has always fascinated visitors and writers. They have found it difficult, considering the spirit of

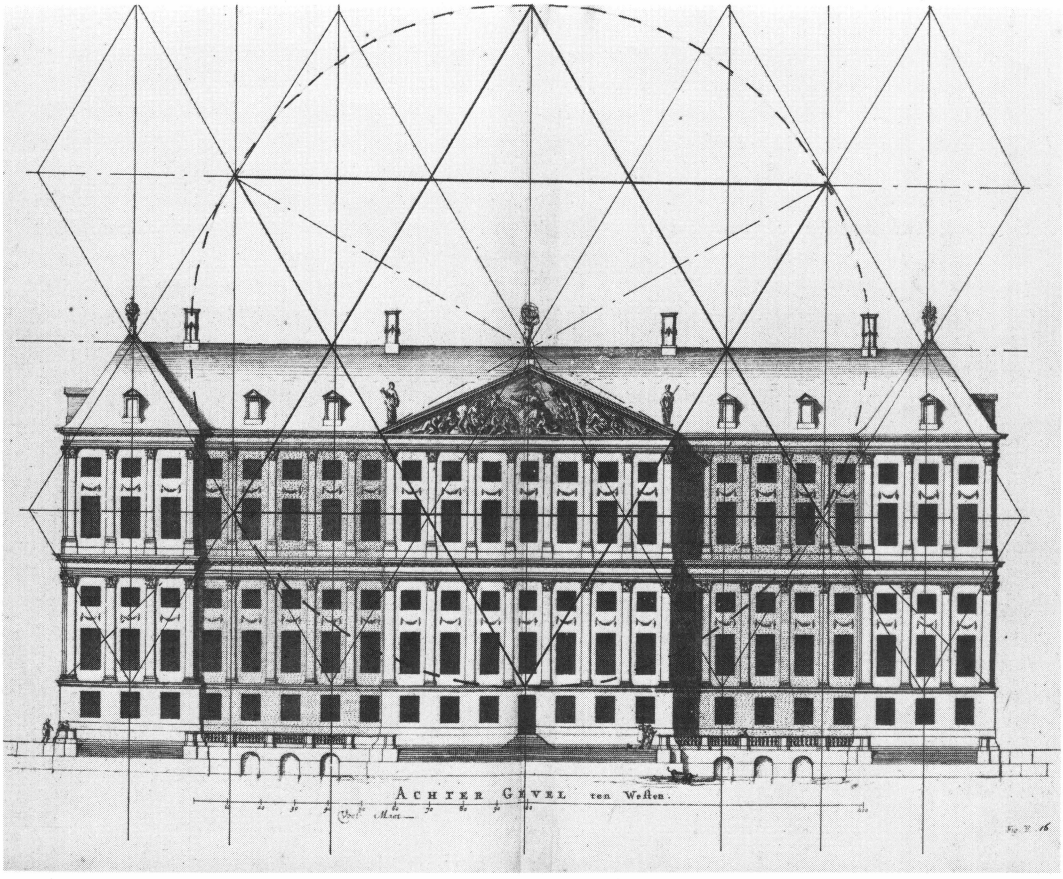


Figure 16. Town Hall, Amsterdam. West elevation with addition of the same figure as in Figure 15

emulation among seventeenth century artists, to ascribe this magnificent rhythm and splendid organization to the genius of one man only, Jacob van Campen. Yet when we look for models we are struck by the fact that no town hall of comparable size was in existence, so that it was essential to find a new arrangement. Another point worth stressing is that classicistic Baroque had never yet produced a building of such dimensions.

In the whole of Holland only one Classicist town hall could be found, that at Middelharnis, of 1639 – elegant and accomplished, but very, very small. Adduced foreign sources are not convincing. Villalpando's temple room has no spatial development whatsoever[87] and his gridiron temple-town does not, not even in the Escorial, which it inspired, reach a completely balanced and symmetrical suite of rooms. Yet when one considers the shape and lighting of the Great Hall and the position of the Vierschaar and of the *schavot* (place of execution), and even the elevations, derivations from other buildings and a continuation of tradition can be detected. At Haarlem the old town hall had been face-lifted about 1629–33. As a result, to the left it had a canopied proclamation-balcony, and to the right a Late Mannerist façade over the arched open *vierschaar*; the solution taken for the *schavot* was the construction of a permanent high platform in front of the *vierschaar*, a very solemn construction on six tall stone Tuscan columns.[88] The petrification of a tradition of wood can only have been superficially interesting to Van Campen. In any case Saenredam sketched the old arrangement but also hastened to Bois-le-Duc to draw the much older stone *schavot* there when it showed signs of collapsing (1632). Van Campen chose a temporary platform.

In Delft the access to a similar construction, in wood, was still emphasized by the queer canopy in front of the first storey; in Amsterdam access was concealed in a side window of the *pui*. Among Saenredam's sketches there is one of about 1630 showing an ideal conversion of the Haarlem town hall, giving it two towers at the corners and ample central stairs leading to *two* entrances, to attain complete symmetry.[89] The towers reappear in Vingboons' "juvenile design", and, reduced to pavilions, in Vingboons and Van Campen's later proposals; the balcony of the executed Haarlem conversion re-emerges only in Vingboons' final design. Other essays are found in the Vredenburgh designs, where Post experimented with coupled pilasters and an attica instead of a pediment. Elswout, another country seat, also seems a trial run in some aspects of the elevations – giant or superimposed orders – and even in the plan.[90]

In 1636 Saenredam made his famous Utrecht drawing showing the Utrecht Town Hall and the Gothic tower of the Dom in the centre – the most beautiful source for the unfinished Amsterdam tower.[91]

As for the problem of the lighting and timber vaulting of the Great Hall, expanding the time limits yields interesting results. On the one hand we find Saenredam's sketches of earlier rooms, including even Romanesque ones. On the other hand in about 1700 the lawyer and inventor of fantastic architecture, Listingh, published a proposal for gigantic lunettes to be struck in the sides of the barrel vault and glazed with representations of the zodiac complimentary to the large mosaics in the marble of the Hall's floor. To his taste the barrel was evidently too dark above the splendid white of the walls. However, Van Campen's choice was deliberate. He had many exemplars available: the barrel vaulted churches, the lunetted ones, the flat beamed, dark-seeming ceilings of the Haarlem Town Hall or both flat and barrel-planked ceilings of the

Leyden Cloth Hall. He himself had presumably experimented with a big cove in the conversion of the Great Hall of the Noordeinde Palace. The effect in Amsterdam is of a serene dark sky over a festive lower world. On Vennekool's print we see that the ceiling was to be divided by shallow bands, related to the pattern of the floor. In the galleries such a system could be executed in marble and stone, but in them the integration with the – inevitably darkening – painting in the lunettes did not achieve the great success of the fusion of architecture and sculpture elsewhere in the building. The three arts are only successfully integrated in the rooms for Burgomasters and Magistrates, especially in the chimney breasts with their sublimely carved friezes under the large paintings.[92]

The constellation of transverse galleries developing from the ends of a central room was developed in embryonic form by Arent van 's-Gravesande in his Leyden Cloth Hall of 1639. There the large beamed hall[93] on the piano nobile is interrupted at the ends by transverse tunnel vaulted wings (Figure 17). This near-by and sternly Classicist building is more likely to have exerted influence than a famous French palace like the Luxembourg. The Luxembourg does have a certain concentration of mass in the entrance pavilion, but this concentration is eroded in the large court behind; the central part of the building is quite different from Amsterdam with its suite of porches and asymmetrical staicases, and in addition the succession of rooms is strongly marked on the exterior, whose centre displays a succession of three steep gables suggesting the approach of a mitred procession.

The breath-taking sensation when one suddenly enters the Great Hall at Amsterdam (Plate 166) from the narrow staircase, is, to my mind, only comparable with the experience of entering the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio.[94]

Jacob van Campen was an architect of great imaginative power who also carefully studied the available antique examples[95] as well as Bramante, Vignola and Palladio, while at the same time absorbing the novelties of Inigo Jones and the traditional and novel works of his own compatriots.

There is a strong congruity in the Town Hall between façades and interior. In both, the corner pavilions are distinct spatial units, yet clearly belong to the main mass which contracts towards the cupola. The Vierschaar is expressed by the seven entrances[96], and, in its vertical sense, by the cupola precisely over it; the Great Hall by the pedimented salients of the east and west fronts. A small but decisive concave basement links building and square. The vast sculptured reliefs in the pediments are as broadly and vaguely narrative as any Dutchman could wish. It may be claimed that they are not intended to be read, being too high and crowded, but though they have no clarity of detail they certainly possess a masterly chiaroscuro and textural quality. For Dutch eyes these sculptures have a firm plasticity, as has the whole building, noticeable for example in the subordination of the window frames, since the windows are cut straight into the walls.[97]

The relation of the cupola to the central salient with its pediment is most satisfying: both retain their independence and show an awareness of the other without intruding into the other's sphere. Similar relations can be found all over the Town Hall, in both plan and elevations; they are characteristic of the best in seventeenth century Dutch architecture. This was not the place for a giant order – the pilasters embracing the lower and upper lights of each storey were already high enough. Here the classical side of Baroque architecture prevails.[98]

"Van Campen menght 't Corinthisch ent Roomsch so wel in één
En maeckt door dese twee sijn kunst so ongemeen
Alsof Corinthen self en Romen in hem steecken."[99]

Thus wrote the country squire and poet Everhardt Meyster in admiration of Van Campen, possibly not even fully understanding the implication of his words: a fusing of Greek and Italian ideals. Perhaps he was thinking only of the orders, and perhaps the orders did still hold such significance for Van Campen. They are applied in Scamozzi's sequence: Roman (Composite) for the piano nobile and Corinthian for the second storey. There is considerable licence in the Composite capitals: in some places sphinxes were carved instead of volutes, recalling the fine sphinxes on Giuliano da Sangallo's capitals in the sacristy of Santo Spirito.[100]

In the building all the members are kept independent, and there are no illusionist effects: architecture, sculpture and painting are discrete yet support each other. In this great civic enterprise we meet Greek individuality and Roman organization. There is no Baroque bullying of the spectator by compelling him in one particular direction, towards one focal point – the spectator participates in the experience, free to enjoy or reject any part of the building at will. Humanism is the essence of the Town Hall of Amsterdam.

In 1655 the Town Hall was inaugurated with considerable pomp although the building and decoration were not yet finished. Gradually the pace slackened so that only in 1708, when Jan Goeree completed the painting of the large vault, could the building be said to be more or less complete. The cost had reached almost eight million florins, an enormous amount in those days. On the day of the festive opening Van Campen was absent.

More Poems by Huygens; Van Campen Retires

We do not know why Van Campen had left the city. Several reasons have been suggested; perhaps they all conspired to defeat the architect. It has been said that he quarrelled with Stalpaert (who was later to finish the building as City architect); perhaps he felt his grip on the many executants, the stonemasons[101], painters and so on, loosen, or perhaps it was merely that his health was deteriorating in those years, and certainly building a town hall for a city like Amsterdam demands shrewdness as well as callousness. The stress will have worsened both his temper and his health. Finally, in about December 1654 he retired to his country seat Randenbroek, never to return to Amsterdam.

In this Stadholderless period Huygens (secretary to three Stadholders) could publicly show his interest in the Town Hall. William II had died in 1650 and his abortive attack on the City was by now forgotten. Huygens addressed the Burgomasters with a poem on the inauguration which was hung in the Burgomasters' chamber, written in manuscript and set in an ebony frame.[102]

Van Campen died in 1657 on his property. Apart from small indications such as his sombre device – "il todo es nada" – very little is known about his personal life. An illegitimate son, Alexander, is merely mentioned as alive in 1658. Nor does Huygens' poem on Van Campen's grave (1658) shed much light: it discusses the architect, not the man. The poet is amazed that as yet there is no marble monument to Van Campen:

"Marbleless he lies who used so many marbles . . ." and hails him as the restorer of Classicism: "who rebuked Gothic curly foolery with the stately Roman, and drove old Heresy away before an older Truth".

On the whole we gain a melancholy picture of Jacob van Campen. He had no apparent reason to become disillusioned, except perhaps that his standards were too high. He created some of the most beautiful and inspiring buildings in Holland.

Chapter 8

Pieter Post

Pieter Post, a Prolific but not an Inspiring Architect

Pieter Post[1], who was born at Haarlem in 1608, first appears about 1635 to 1640 as a general factotum and engineer in the service of Sir Constantine Huygens and the Stadholder Frederick Henry.[2]

He soon became a highly estimable civil servant and a prolific architect. His works include an astonishing variety of buildings: town-halls, churches, a covered butter-market, a number of assembly-halls, sluices, weigh-houses, an almshouse and a mock castle, a few country seats and certainly a score of town houses, a powder magazine, a gun foundry, much interior decoration and a mausoleum for Frederick Henry. His part in these commissions is always that of an obedient servant, adaptable[2a], showing undeniable merit in his best buildings. His contribution to the development of Dutch architecture seems only small: the name of Post evokes the stolid buildings of a conscientious engineer, always a step behind brilliant young men like Van 's-Gravensande or Vingboons.

This view may be applicable to most of his work but an exception should be made for two of his country houses, Vredenburgh attaining an exceptional level, and Rijxdorp having exceptional fantasy. His Leyden work is also above his average level, notably in the Weigh-house and the interior of the Rijnlandshuis.[3]

Post belonged to a very different world from that of Vingboons (although they produced very similar designs in the contest for Vredenburgh). Vingboons worked for a society of rich, cosmopolitan Amsterdam merchants who preferred comfort and some display of wealth to a strict Palladianism, and Post for a Court *milieu* at the Hague where the rules of the classical theorists were more closely observed. Post always remains somewhat dry, but he did gain important commissions and had six of his more important buildings engraved and printed.

Early work

Post's activities for the Court circle can be traced back to about 1636, through Huygens' letter to Johan Maurits van Nassau of November 17th, 1637, in which he wrote that he would have depictions of his house made by Post[4], and through Post's letter to the Secretary, of March 1st, 1639: he has not yet completed the perspective drawing and can he still move a chimneypiece if the plates (after the other drawings) are not yet finished?

There is documentary evidence[5] that Huygens employed Post as a draughtsman to work out Van Campen's design for his country house Hofwijck (begun in 1639) and

supervise its building, and we may assume that the unsigned engravings (Plate 314) of the house and its gardens[6] are after drawings by Post.

It must have been Huygens who introduced Post to the Stadholder and to Count Johan Maurits; and Van Campen may have introduced Post to Huygens, since Van Campen as a member of the Haarlem guild of St. Luke would have known Post's circle very well. It may even have been Van Campen who launched the young painter Pieter Post on a career as engineer and architect and advised him to enter the workshop of one of the Haarlem master-carpenters or masons. From Post's work it is evident that he had an adequate understanding of construction.[7] From 1640 onwards he supervised the work on the Noordeinde Palace for Frederick Henry, and in 1645 was officially appointed Architect to the Stadholder. He therefore left Haarlem to live in the Hague, where he remained until his death in 1669.

Some of his most important commissions show signs of a constant struggle with the placing of the staircase: it begins as a Baroque conception in a Gothic staircase tower adjacent to the *corps-de-logis*, and ends as a monumental staircase whose flight is interrupted by a screen. He applied the tower type of staircase to the rear façade of the Noordeinde Palace. This type appears again several years later in the "1643 plan" for the Amsterdam Town Hall, where for the first time the presence of the staircase is felt within the main room.

The Assembly Hall

One of Post's most influential patrons was Amelis van Brouckhorst, heer van Wimmenum. Through his membership of the States of Holland he secured Post a very important commission – the decoration of the great Assembly Hall of the States. Post carried out this undertaking adeptly in collaboration with Pieter Noorwits (the offical comptroller to the States) from 1652 onwards. The year 1652 is significant: two years earlier the States had decided to dispense with a stadholder and to arrogate all executive power in Holland and therefore, effectively, in the whole Republic. They wanted a reflection of this power in their great hall (Plates 168–9). The room has a continuous painted decoration, with, in addition, a constructional scheme of pilasters or, rather, pilaster-strips, which are continued as beams over the big cove, to intersect in the ceiling. The intermediate panels contain illusionistic scenes, for the most part pastoral, with in addition a painted spectators' gallery under the vault.[8]

Van Brouckhorst was also a member of the powerful "Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland", the authority controlling all dikes and water-regulation in the centre of Holland, from Leidschendam to Amsterdam.

Swanenburgh

In 1645 Post started work on the house Swanenburgh for the Water Authority, as a meeting-place with some sleeping accommodation, with new sluices adjacent. This large construction, apparently the first fully independent work by Pieter Post, definitely has some merit (Plate 171). It is almost square, with a strong, pedimented projection of the three central bays. It stands on an island, which has been neatly divided into squares for alder-trees, a kitchen garden, yards, etc. Behind the building is a farmhouse, and on

both sides are entrances with fenced bridges and pedimented archways.[9] In many respects the façade (Plate 170) points towards the Maastricht Town Hall of fourteen years later; but the central salient, which here includes three of the five bays (as opposed to three out of nine at Maastricht), with a giant order over an open gallery and a dominating tower, achieves much more harmony and poise than the Maastricht façade with its three orders and its over-graphic detailing, especially in the cornice of the pediment.

The tower with its two superimposed cupolas, though in itself charming, is uneasily related to the roof, its exact position is not apparent from a frontal view. As an additonal effect the individual function of the fine roof is weakened by the tower. Post was at his best in small simple commissions. The plan (Plate 172) shows the same awkward situation of the staircase at the end of a corridor as we see in other plans by Post

The Huis ten Bosch

Post's Huis ten Bosch (also called the Zaal van Oranje or Oranjezaal)[10] was begun in 1645 for Amalia van Solms and guided, even from the field of battle, by the criticisms of her husband Frederick Henry. After his death in 1647[11], the Princess had the Great Hall turned into a mausoleum for her husband. This would not have affected the structure, which was already complete. A portrait of Amalia van Solms in the cupola was until a recent restoration concealed by a later portrait showing her in mourning.[12]

The building consists essentially of a great cruciform hall (Plate 173) with bevelled inner corners, which rises through the house past a gallery into an octagonal drum and finally a dome. On two storeys clumsily related rooms are arbitrarily attached to the hall, but find an adequate external expression through corner pavilions which hide the shape of the hall. The great hall is felt from outside only through the drum and the cupola (Plate 174); these are satisfactorily[13] linked to the roof – at least that of the main façades – by a festooned panel that descends over the ridge.

The basement boasts an attractive pattern in the usual Dutch floor tiling with big squares of white marble and polished black stone; so attractive that it is held by some[14] to be the work of Jacob van Campen. There seems, however, to be no reason to deny this design to Post, as he created other exquisite interiors[15] – the real difficulty starts with the piano nobile where two symmetrical staircases wind their way up in the most unexpected turnings, squeezed somewhere between the hall and the corner rooms.

Constantine Huygens advised on the programme and the choice of painters for the representation of Frederick Henry's life and triumphs, but Van Campen was called in to assist with the iconographic and decorative scheme (Plates 175–6). He supplied sketches of the subjects for the artists, and himself painted some of the canvases and it may have been he who designed the giant Corinthian pilasters on the bevelled corners which give at least a minimally tectonic character to the lavishly painted hall. Another surprising feature may also be Van Campen's: the painted pageantry is carried continuously across the corners of the cross through illustionistic arches – a theatrical and fully Baroque device. Daniel Marot made a superb engraving of the hall in 1686 (Plate 177).

The painting of the hall was to be done by the most esteemed painters available, but

owing to the rarity of large-scale commissions in the Republic, Jacob Jordaens – from the Southern Netherlands – was relied on for the triumphal scene. The Dutch painters were Gerard van Honthorst, Theodoor van Thulden and Pieter de Grebber from the Hague, Caesar van Everdingen from Alkmaar, Salomon de Bray from Haarlem, Jacob van Campen from Amersfoort and Jan Lievens from Amsterdam. The result is as good as can be expected from official work to which a dozen or so painters contributed.[16]

The Zaal itself (later turned into a royal palace), was much improved by Marot's addition in the eighteenth century of large double-folded wings which make the whole composition more fluent and more in sympathy with the landscape.

Maastricht

The Maastricht Town Hall (1659–64, tower completed 1684 after a temporary tower built in 1669) presented Post with too complicated a problem; in the interior more so than in the façades (Plates 178–80). The interior is Baroque: a great domed central hall is pierced by arches and galleries on several storeys and is surmounted by a tower that thrusts like a mediaeval belfry through the roof. The hall is screened off by the triumphal arch motif as a *vierschaar*, but the staircase (whose windings are odd anyway) penetrates through the central opening, rising half in, half out of the hall, and thus adding a disquieting feeling.[17] After one straight flight the stair is continued in strange windings. The orders are only feebly and schematically applied to the exterior, and in the later execution the rather good proportions of the spire were unfortunately lowered. It was, however, engraved and published as early as 1664, so it presumably exerted some influence.[18]

Other works

The same arrangement of the staircase, rising to half its height within a hall, is found in the Leyden Gemeenlandhuis[19] (Plate 181). As has been mentioned Post distinguished himself in his redecoration of the hall (voorhuis) and the assembly hall in this building, giving the latter room a classical dress and tunnel vault[20] (Plate 182).

Pieter Post built two houses, Vredenburgh and Rijxdorp, which were printed and published by him himself, and were later distributed much more widely by the 1715 re-issue. The house Sorgh-vliet may fairly certainly be attributed to him on stylistic grounds. These will be discussed with the country houses.

Why Post only published a selection of his works is not known. One reason may have been the fact that he never made copies of his designs and the patrons kept the originals – for this reason his competition design for the Nieuwe Kerk at Haarlem has been lost.

The Leyden Work

In Leyden Pieter Post enjoyed two kinds of patronage. The redecoration of the Gemeenlandshuis was executed for the Rhineland Water Authority.[21] The other patron was the city itself, which was in need of a new City Architect after the dismissal of Van 's-Gravensande. A fortnight after the dismissal Huygens wrote to an influential relation

at Leyden that the Magistrate should select Post for the position "as he is, to my judgement, the best architect in the country and a capable man."

When no new Stadholder was appointed after the death of William II (in office 1647–50), Post, as architect to the Stadholderly family received a reduced salary, and it seems reasonable to suppose that Huygens wished to help the man who had served him so often. Another interpretation of course would be that Huygens had become bored with him.

The city of Leyden was undecided and held a contest – as far as we know for two buildings. One was a new Weigh-house with a Butter-market attached (Plate 184). In my opinion Post's executed design is much better than the Weigh-house he was to build ten years later at Gouda and which features in two variants in the 1715 edition of his works[22] (Plate 185). The Gouda building has for instance mullion-and-transom windows. with a Doric entablature over two storeys. These storeys have the same channelling but no order so that the frieze seems to float over two superimposed basements. At Leyden the Weigh-house is a great deal more elegant. It has two storeys, each with the Amsterdam Town Hall's arrangement of lower windows above higher ones; the lower storey has grooves and, half way up, the imposts of the big entrance arch are carried all round, whereas the upper storey has Doric pilasters and modern windows without transoms or mullions. The effect is therefore created of a giant basement carrying a giant Doric storey.

The big pediment over the building is as at Maastricht insufficiently strong, not plastic but linear. In the case of Leyden we are lucky enough to know the reason for this feature; the use by Post throughout his career of the very high-pitched, typically French roof, conspicuous for example in his proposal for new pavilions at Honselaarsdijk. The original design for the Leyden Weigh-house, in the Leyden City Archives, shows the nicely inset diagram of the tympanum against a high roof (Plate 186). Attached to it is a flap, showing the low roof as executed but without the pediment suitably adjusted. The omission of this building from Post's *Ouvrage* is evidently explained by the City's retention of the drawings. Behind the Weigh-house the Butter-market was constructed, which, with its arches on slender eight-faced piers opening on an inner court, resembled a cloister. When, immediately afterwards, the court was covered with a sexpartite vault, the resemblance to a broad church-room was complete[23] (Plate 426).

Fine well-integrated sculpture by Rombout Verhulst adorns various parts of the building. It includes, in very high relief on the pediment, almost in the round, a representation of labourers with big barrels and sacks and so forth; in the large relief over the entrance we see the functioning of a weigh-house during the use of the large scales, and finally, over the Butter-market Gate, a very accomplished relief showing a group of merchants and market-goers in a stage-like setting of arches and perspective.[24]

With the Weigh-house and the Butter-market the City of Leyden secured sophisticated buildings on a comparatively grand scale for the last time.[25] For the other contest, also about 1657, it accepted a design by Willem van der Helm, who was appointed City Architect, for an entrance in an archaic style to the Burcht, a mediaeval structure in the middle of the city, that had just passed into the City's possession.

The other project for this entrance – not signed but perhaps by Post – is an enchanting *capriccio* in the manner of a French chateau-pavilion[26] (Plate 187).

On Post's death in 1669 Huygens wrote a little rhyme which wittily reveals the characters of both: it contains a pun on the name of Post – who must have seemed dull to the man of letters

Bij dese Post	At this Post
Light Pieter Post	Lies Pieter Post
Die won sijn kost	Who earned his living
Aen Balck en Post	As much as he could
En wierd verlost	And was delivered
Met hij begost	As soon as he started
Want als hij most	Because when he had to –
Verging te Post	He went rapidly.

The meaning of the rhyme is not completely clear but was undoubtedly a joke at Post's expense.[27] Huygens' son-in-law Philips Doublet made a more damning remark about Post in 1661 when comparing him to Le Pautre: "Post n'y attiendra jamais".[28]

Post's share in the development of severe Classicist houses with a central raised pedimented storey, typical of the Hague, will never be clear. Probably it was very considerable. Classicism appears in Post more in the negative sense, i.e. in the omitting of decoration, than in a style based on classical principles; a Gothic disposition is often visible in the central parts of his designs. To conclude this discussion of Post, an important but not particularly inspring architect, let us compare the festive proposal for the Leyden Burcht (Plate 187) with the executed design (Plate 188), and wonder whether the Magistrate made the right choice.

Chapter 9

Arent van 's-Gravesande

Arent van 's-Gravesande: his Early Designs

"This façade . . . wholly in stone, with its majestic Ionic pilasters and luxuriant swags composed of shells and fruits, would not be unworthy of Jacob van Campen". (Weissman on Rapenburg 48, Leyden, writing in 1902).[1]

The somewhat intuitive approach of an architectural historian in 1902 could not very successfully distinguish between works by Van Campen and by Van 's-Gravesande. And in fact Arent van 's-Gravesande and Jacob van Campen are stylistically and in quality so close that, for example, we still do not definitely know which designed Rapenburg 48[2] (Plate 189).

Arent Arentszoon van 's-Gravesande was born around 1599. As long as no biography of him exists we may assume that he added Van 's-Gravesande to his name to indicate his family's place of origin, the small eponymous village near the Hague and the two palaces which Frederick Henry built or reshaped from about 1621 (Honselaarsdijk) and from 1630 onwards (Ter Nieuwburgh at Rijswijk).

Van 's-Gravesande first appears on the scene working for the Prince on these palaces in a wide range of functions. In 1631 we find the first entries in the accounts of Honselaarsdijk in which his name is mentioned, once as "architect" and once as "carpenter-journeyman".[3] Later he is generally called architect, with some added description such as "architect and draughtsman", "architect and overseer", "architect and joiner". In 1632 he received a fixed salary of 300 florins for his most important post, which will have been that of overseer and maker of architectural drawings. He was likewise paid as a cabinet-maker, and as the supplier of a wooden chimneypiece and window casements, perhaps his own work, as well as for models, especially that of the great staircase of Honselaarsdijk after the design of Jacques de la Vallée. Slothouwer, in his study of Frederick Henry's palaces[4], insists that Van 's-Gravesande designed and made detailed drawings for the entrance gate in the wall enclosing Rijswijk's forecourt, as well as for the balustrade in front of the palace (Plate 190). These works were executed by Pieter de Keyser and three other Amsterdam stonemasons in 1632.[5] The archway and the balustrade which separates from the forecourt a platform raised a few steps, are found in the illustrations 30–1 and 34–7 in Slothouwer's work.[6] The archway seems to have carried a handsome Doric order with a pediment, applied to rustication. The wall in which it was set (the entire palace was demolished in 1785) bore a strange antiquated crenellation – perhaps in a romantic mood, at the Stadholders's prompting.

Again, it was presumably Frederick Henry himself who, in about 1635 when work on the palaces was entering a final decorative stage, suggested the village of the Hague to

use Van 's-Gravesande's services in designing and building.[7] If we cannot detect in Van 's-Gravesande's work traces of De la Vallée's manner of building, and if we find Van 's-Gravesande mentioned as an "architect" from 1631 onwards – before Jacques de la Vallée came to Holland, where he was to work for the Prince from 1633 to 1637 – we may surmise that the Dutchman's ideas were settled before 1631. His achievements, in a smaller field, were no less impressive than Van Campen's, which is all the more remarkable as he would not have had the same financial opportunities and before 1636 – the year of his Sebastiaansdoelen – only a few Classicist models in Van Campen's work. As Van Campen only became involved in the palaces in about 1635 he presumably would not have contributed much to Van 's-Gravesande's education. Van 's-Gravesande must have been a man of outstanding talent.

The *Sebastiaansdoelen*, the assembly rooms for the Archers' Corporation, was begun in 1636.[8] (Plate 191). It is situated with its principal façade on the Vijverberg, close to the Huygens House and Mauritshuis. Unlike the Mauritshuis it cannot be seen in the round as it is only freestanding on two sides, and only the side on the Vijverberg has orders applied to it. With its nine bay front and pedimented tripartite centre the Sebastiaansdoelen was to become *the* exemplar for imposing town houses and country seats on a moderate scale. It was far less perfected than the Mauritshuis but could be called thoroughly Classicist, and with its rectangular form it occupied less space than the Huygens House with its wings. It retained only one Mannerist (or if one prefers it, French) feature, in the application of quoins *(chaînes)* at the corners, projecting slightly form the brickwork. This usage was soon to be excluded by the severe Classicists.[9] It is a stern building of fine proportions. The original transom-and-mullion windows have been replaced by taller sash windows, which give the façades a slightly more elegant appearance.[10] The pediment contains some heraldic sculpture; it is surmounted by three pedestals, evidently intended for statues like those on the two nearby Van Campen houses. The transition from the roofs to the vertical planes is carefully worked out, as one might expect from a good architect. The spring of the roof is bent inward and the eaves lie well behind the edge of the cornice so as not to disturb the independent functioning of the entablature.[11]

Soon a reduced version of the Sebastiaansdoelen with five or seven bays or the centrepiece only, was to be found in many town houses in the Hague, Leyden and Dort, though to a lesser extent in Amsterdam where the cost of building really demanded much higher houses.

For Dutch country houses another type with a raised centre and a belvedere or cupola was more sought after, since it faintly recalled the old manor houses; and even if the Sebastiaansdoelen was not engraved it is likely that – through architects' sketches – it exerted more influence on country houses in England, especially on Eltham Lodge and related houses built after 1660, than did other Dutch country houses.

The Sebastiaansdoelen established Van 's-Gravesande as a great architect. He was soon asked to design the new Town Hall at Middelharnis, built in 1639 (Plate 192). This is a small elegant building, rather sober in decoration. It had no pilasters but instead quoins at the corners and triangular pediments over the windows, a pediment over the whole three bay façade and a high hipped roof with pineapples at the corners and a graceful cupola-turret in the centre. Again, as at the Huygens House, the three

statues on the pediment were executed by the sculptor Pieter 't Hooft, presumably after cartoons by Van 's-Gravesande.[12]

Very little is known about Arent van 's-Gravesande's life and his relation with his brother Pieter Noorwits, who assisted him on the Middelharnis Town Hall.[13] If Van 's-Gravesande had remained "comptroller" of the village of the Hague, he and his brother – who became "comptroller" of the States of Holland – would have controlled all official buildings at the Hague.[14] But probably that duty would not have given enough scope to Van 's-Gravesande as the village offered very few commissions[15] and most of his time would have been filled with repairs, maintenance and inspections (which he was still asked to do for Frederick Henry from time to time). As a result after only two years of service at the Hague (1636–8) he accepted a better-paid offer from the town of Leyden to become its "fabrique", starting on May 1st 1638. This meant that he was given important commissions: for the Lakenhal and the Marekerk, both initiated in 1639, as well as many other designs.

His carefully worded "instruction" allowed even for a small private practice in Leyden.[16]

The next fifteen years were the best of his career. Besides the above-mentioned works he designed at Leyden[17] the *Hofje van Brouchoven* (1640)[18], the *Doelenpoort* (1648), the *Heerenlogement*, a large and presumably – the interior has been altered – luxurious hostel for the official guests of the Town (1652. The main façade has nineteenth century cladding and windows. After much neglect a restoration was started in 1976). Other works were the *Bibliotheca Thysiana* (1655)[19], the east and south façades of the *Gravensteen* (1655)[20] and a bridge, the *Korenbrug* (1642), with three arches over the Rhine. (Much later, in 1825, when Neoclassicism was fashionable, a covered market of a harmonious design was placed on top of it by Salomon van der Paauw, then Town Architect)[21] (Plate 193).

.Arent van 's-Gravesande built two churches in the neighbourhood of Leyden: the octagonal church at Leidschendam and, very probably, the Woubrugge parish church (1653). Several houses at Leyden can also reasonably be attributed to him, such as *Rapenburg 2* (about 1640)[22], *Rapenburg 48* (1640)[23], *Noordeinde 50* (1653–4)[24], *Breestraat 139* (1652)[25], the garden front of *Rapenburg 19* (about 1650?)[26], and perhaps also the houses built in front of the choir of the Pieterskerk.

The *Logement van Leiden* was the remodelling as early as 1639, of an older house at the Buitenhof, the Hague, bought by the town of Leyden to convert into a hostel for its deputies to the States of Holland.[27]

The Marekerk, as well as Van 's-Gravesande last great commission, the completion of the Oostkerk, Middelburg, are dealt with in the chapter on churches. But the *Lakenhal*, the Cloth hall of the Draper's Guild, was as important a public building as the Marekerk a religious one. Its form was inspired by the Huygens House though ultimately it departs from it considerably (Plates 194–5; Figure 17). It has the same forecourt, which is screened off by a wall with the entrance gate, running between wings which are lower than the corps-de-logis. The wings have the same low roofs in contrast with the high hipped roof of the main building. The centrepiece is likewise pedimented. But then we meet important differences, prompted mainly by functional considerations. The corps-de-logis has its entrance in the basement storey, which is fairly high and is related to the lower storeys of the galleries; these open towards the court with Tuscan

colonnades. There is a close link between the four lower sides of the court, while the refined structure of the main building with giant Ionic pilasters and a pediment on the centre, a continuous cornice and decorations such as niches and swags which run across both the corps-de-logis and the wings, seems to possess an independent life.

The hall has lavish sculptural embellishments, supplied by Bartholomeus Drijfhout and Pieter 't Hooft. These decorations all refer to the fabrication and trade of cloth, and to the principal function of the hall: constant control of the cloth's quality. We find panels with representations of the trade, instead of windows, in the second storey[28], and on the pediment, statues, not of the Principles of Architecture, as at the Huygens House, but of the suppliers of wool: sheep. The entrance gate is topped by a fulling-mill and in the swags there are smaller instruments like shears. But all this detail is only apparent on close inspection: the whole makes a dignified, harmonious composition.

The spatial composition of the great hall on the first floor is an exercise on the theme of a large room with corridors opening at the ends at right angles to the main axis – a theme we find again, in embryonic form, in the "Monogrammist design" for the Amsterdam Town Hall, which can perhaps be dated to around 1640, and, mature, in Van Campen's project a few years later. It is quite possible that the use of the hall required a partition wall, but in plan the H-shape is clear: the wings along the forecourt and their counterparts at the back run, with their tunnel vaults, into the great hall. This hall has a beamed ceiling but over it Van 's-Gravesande designed, in the roof, a barrel-vaulted room of some size, a kind of assembly room for the Drapers' Guild, so that the imaginary joining together of these rooms leads one close to the final form of the *Burgerzaal* at Amsterdam.

Arent van 's-Gravesande had no prints made of the Lakenhal[29], his finest public building. Its influence was immediate on architects who came to see it. But, as has been said, the desire for buildings with wings soon disappeared in Holland. Van 's-Gravesande's *Hofje van Brouchoven*, completed in the same year as the Lakenhal (1640), shows wings in one line with the higher centre which contains the entrance and the Regents' room (Plates 196–7). The plan of the *hofje*, incidentally, is of the normal *hofje*-type, a central yard surrounded by the old people's dwellings.

In 1645 Arent van 's-Gravesande designed the *Doelenpoort* (Plate 198), a fine arch in the Doric order with much sculpture at the sides and on the top: panels with trophies, cannon, and St. George in the act of piercing a winged dragon. One of the sculptors was again Pieter 't Hooft.[30]

The *Bibilotheca Thysiana* (Plate 199), completed in 1655, is a handsome small building of two storeys: the lower one is treated like a kind of pedestal for the upper structure, which is adorned with an Ionic pilaster order. This house on the Rapenburg, built as a library, is still used for that purpose, and retains cross-and-mullion windows.

Van 's-Gravesande's last commission at Leyden was the conversion and extension of the old *Gravensteen*, the city gaol and house of correction, in 1654–5 (Plate 200). The character of this edifice did not require a jubilant exterior. The frontispiece is pedimented with vases and the statue of Justice on the top; in the pediment stands the coat-of arms of the town, supported by lions. The frontispiece has two bays and three storeys, so that the designer was only consistent in his wide spacing of the two Ionic pilasters which sustain the pediment at the corners. Three bays would have necessitated

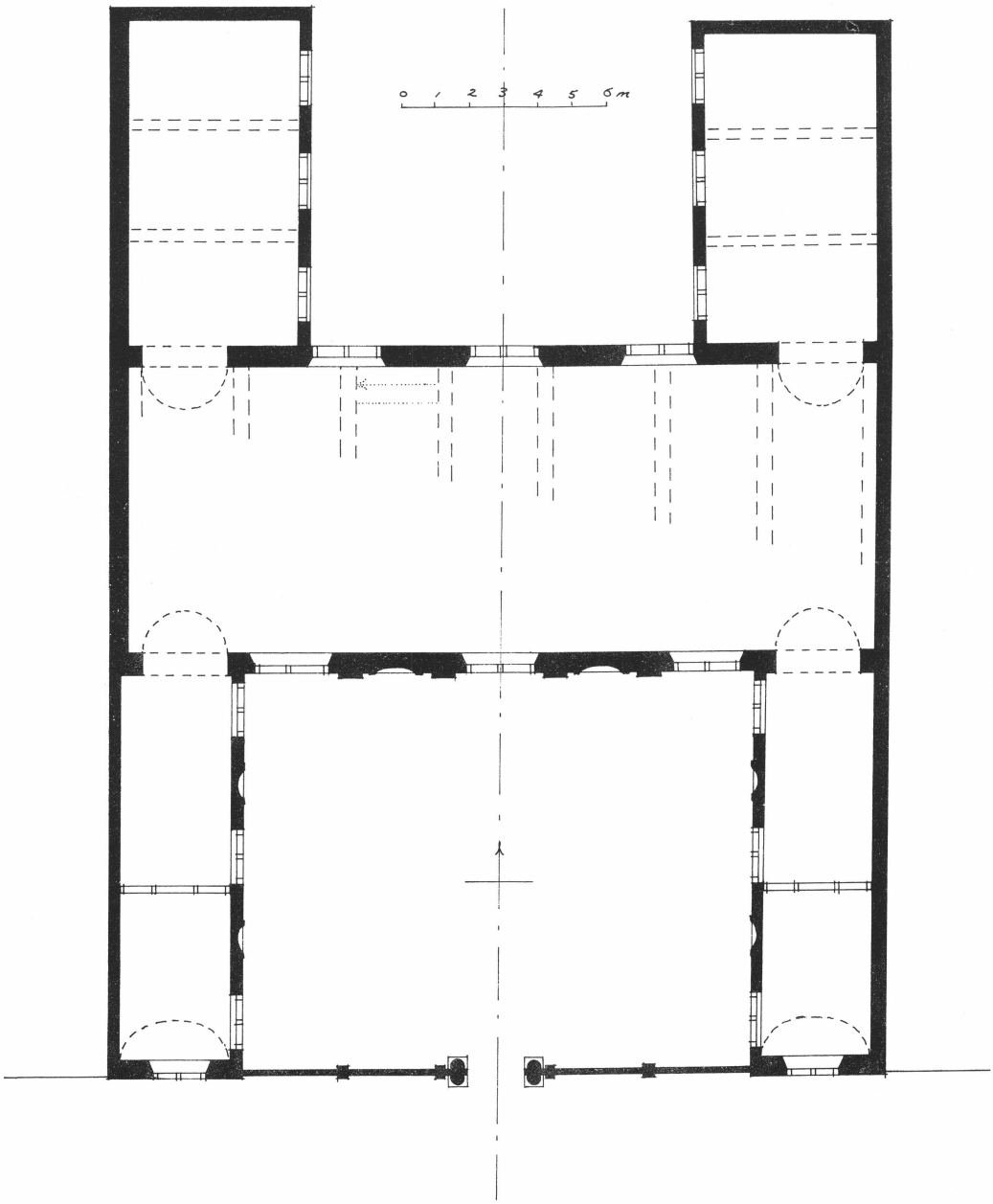


Figure 17. Lakenhal, Leyden. Main floor

both shorter pilasters and a third pilaster in the centre – a device which Van 's-Gravesande never used.[31] The wings are decorated with a sensitive rhythmic pattern of square or round-headed recessions of no more than four inches depth in the sombre brickwork. As a result the white stone pilasters create a fine articulation in spite of their departure from classical canons – they divide the whole façade into three equal parts.

Arent van 's-Gravesande was forced to leave Leyden in 1655. The real reasons for his dismissal[32] can only be guessed at: probably he drew more money from the City Treasury than he could account for. His talent as an architect was, however, beyond question and the city of Middelburg appointed him city carpenter in 1657 so that he could carry on the work at the Oostkerk until his death in 1662.

The Leyden *oeuvre* for private patrons may have been extensive or moderate – not a single house is documented and several may have disappeared. As there were no Leyden competitors of real architectural standing we may attribute to him the finest houses built between 1640 and about 1655 when Pieter Post, soon followed by Van der Helm, made his appearance.

It is probable that Van 's-Gravesande designed Rapenburg 2, in about 1640 (Plate 201). It is an imposing house with evenly spaced giant pilasters in the Ionic order in stone against a brick backing. The windows have alternately segmental and triangular pediments, and the whole scheme derives ultimately from Michelangelo's Palazzo Senatorio.

The ratio of pilasters to intercolumniation in this façade is 1:2.7 throughout. That at the comparable house, Rapenburg 48, is 1 to almost 2.5 for the side bays and 1:2.5 precisely for the slightly wider middle bay. Like other buildings of around 1640, the year when Dutch Classicism seems to reach its apogee, Rapenburg 48 was built with a strictly perpendicular façade. The façade is even more grandiose for a private house than Rapenburg 2, sterner and more developed in not having window pediments, richer with its sumptuous swags. The relatively small intercolumniation must be due to a desire for an overwhelming impression – generally speaking the tendency was towards slender proportions with wider intercolumniations[33] (Plate 189).

As the house was built in 1640 either Van 's-Gravesande or Jacob van Campen may have been its designer.[34] In view of some formal similarities with Rapenburg 2 (the dados and the low plinth) and Brouchoven (the swags suspended between the capitals), I am more inclined to attribute Rapenburg 48 to Arent van 's-Gravesande than to Jacob van Campen.[35]

Another work of sufficient merit to be considered seriously as the work of Van 's-Gravesande is the garden façade of Rapenburg 19. The elevation of Noordeinde 50, of 1653, if designed by Van 's-Gravesande, represent a further stage in his development (Plate 202). It is a very elegant façade but the application of the orders – Ionic for the piano nobile, the ground floor without a basement, and giant Corinthian for the first and second storeys – is highly unusual. The swags hung between the capitals at the top and the ones suspended from pegs or cords halfway up recall those of Rapenburg 48[36], but in Noordeinde 50 the proportions are finer, and even the problem of the Corinthian over the Ionic is deftly overcome – there is no hiatus, yet both orders approach closely Vignola's *regola*. The only expression of effort is the Ionic frieze which seems to be pulvinated under the load of the superstructure.

Apart from his position as an architect Van 's-Gravesande was highly esteemed as an

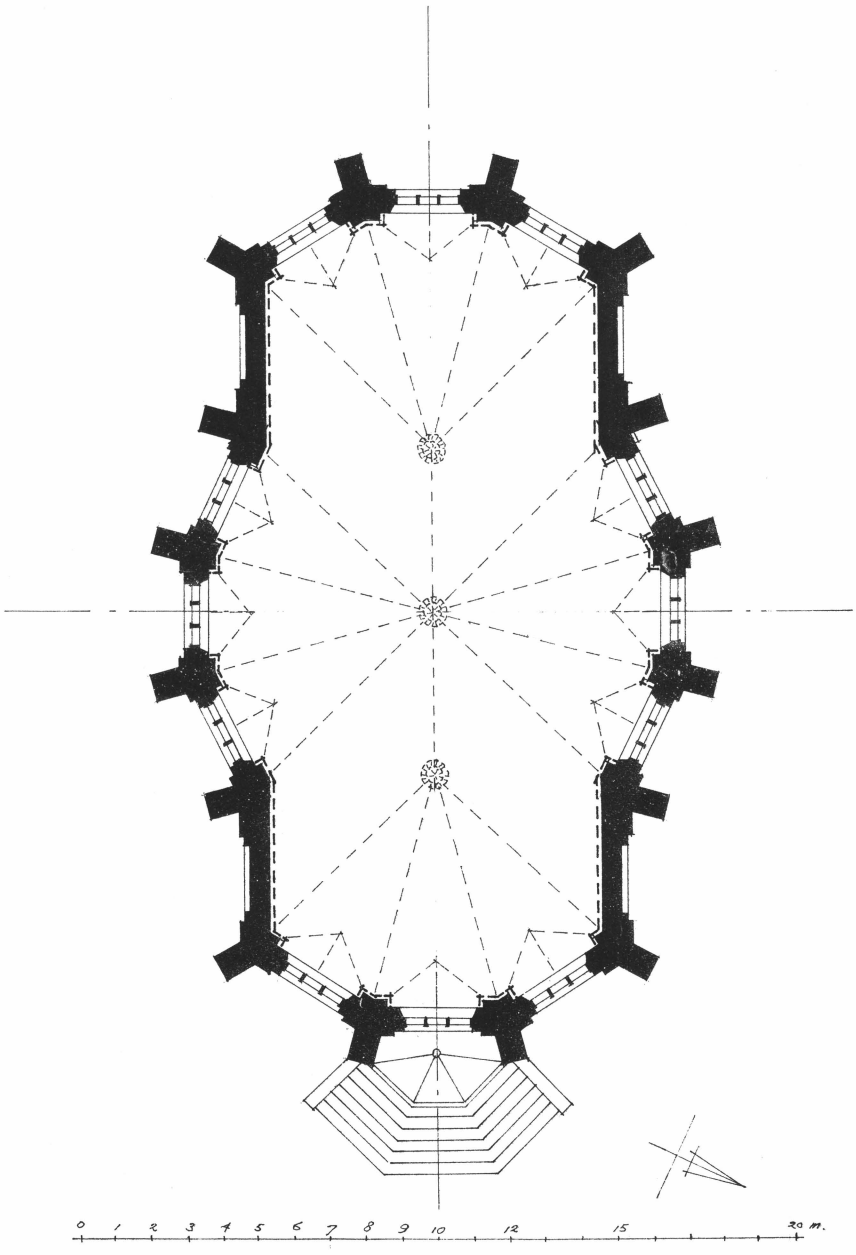


Figure 18. Church, Woubrugge

engineer[37] – even the Rijnland Water Authority once asked his advice[38], though as a rule that body favoured its own architect (in these years Pieter Post) being antagonistic to the City of Leyden.

The last work by Arent van 's-Gravesande to be mentioned here is the small *parish church of Woubrugge* near Leyden, built in 1653 (Plate 203; Figure 18). It is a very charming design, a strongly centralised Baroque space on a dodecagonal principle, with twelve round-headed windows, twelve domed ceiling segments, twelve divisions in the high-pitched roof and twelve Temple buttresses. The twelve-sided structure has, however, been elongated by longitudinal walls and roof sections forming a principal axis; hence sixteen wall sections, ceiling divisions, buttresses[39] etc., are formed, while the straight walls hold niches so that twelve windows remain, grouped in threes. On the exterior only the spired central turret remains dodecagonal – an almost over-stylish effect on this small scale. The interior is serene and humane in scale, as befits a parish meeting house. The light is beautiful: the pulpit is placed under the three north windows. The short ends are galleried so that a new axis on the pulpit is created, and the agreeable spatial feeling is enhanced by a slight inward inclination of the walls. The attribution to Van 's-Gravesande is not documented[40] but to me there seems little doubt that this clear and fine structure[41] was designed by him.

In summing up we see that about forty years after Inigo Jones' visit to Leyden[42] Arent van 's-Gravesande had greatly changed the town's appearance. He had embellished it with a church and public and private buildings which were the finest specimens of the new Classicist idiom ever to be built in Leyden.

Chapter 10

Daniel Stalpaert

Daniel Stalpaert's Work in the Classicist Period

Daniel Stalpaert was born in Amsterdam in 1615. He was probably trained as a painter by his father, but was appointed City Architect in 1648. This post he retained until his death in 1676.[1] His appointment was evidently the result of the city's need for a competent overseer to execute Van Campen's Town Hall.

Stalpaert's task was to solve the technical problems involved, supervise a small army of craftsmen – stone-masons, brick-layers, carpenters, painters and so forth – and work out Van Campen's sketches. His relations with Van Campen are not clear: it has been suggested that Van Campen's resignation, late in 1654 or early in 1655, was prompted by a quarrel with Stalpaert, yet Stalpaert followed Van Campen's designs closely in the subsequent execution of the building. In 1650 Stalpaert had been granted the patent to engrave the Town Hall; and a set of the five engravings is included in a collection of architectural books now in the State Print Room, evidently made by Stalpaert himself. He obviously used the engravings to work out details; thus on the print of the cupola there are measurements added by hand. The collection also contains Vignola's 1640 Amsterdam edition, Vingboons' 1648 work, a Vredeman de Vriese published at Antwerp in 1581, the large engraving of the Remonstrant Church of 1629, a curious proposal for an underwater vessel, and Stalpaert's own drawings for his Block-houses on the river Amstel of 1650, all in one binding.[2] This volume is a fine example of what will have been an important part of a mid-seventeenth century architect's library; Stalpaert's own drawings in this collection differ markedly from the other exemplars in being strictly utilitarian with the minimum of decoration. Stalpaert shows a classical restraint in his work; without actually using the Orders he continues the compositorial schemes of the Classicists.

His first major work, the Admiralty Storehouse or Arsenal, built in the harbour waters of the IJ in 1655–6, is both characteristic and imposing. It is a vast block (210 by 225 feet), with fine, rhythmical façades. Besides the articulation effected by smaller and bigger apertures, the building, Janus-like, has two salients, one towards the city and one towards the water-front. Both have large pediments decorated by sculpture representing sea gods and merchandise, probably designed by Artus Quellien[3] (Plate 204). In addition there was a long ancillary building which contained apartments for ship-builders working on the yard as well as rooms for storage and tools. This mixed function gives the building its characteristic façades – one pierced by windows where the other is closed –, which are accentuated in the middle by a giant gateway with a cupola-turret (Plates 205 and 249). The arrangement of the Storehouse itself around a square court reminds one vaguely of Vingboons' Town Hall plan, though certainly not of Van Campen's version.[4] The Arsenal still exists, though damaged by fire

in the late eighteenth century and since rendered. In the eighteenth century the side elevations were also given pedimented salients, which, in disturbing the strong axial emphasis, have a more deleterious effect than the rendering.[5]

The original plan is known through Stalpaert's own engravings[6], which show, to either end of the town front, block-houses with drawbridges that were never executed. Stalpaert's neat and precise prints give the plan of the great storehouse and one of the ancillary building, as well as the two main façades of each structure.

His second important undertaking, the Storehouse or Arsenal of the Dutch East India Company, built in 1660–1 (the cupola later; the whole collapsed in 1822), (Plate 206) is as least as interesting a building, but less well documented by prints. This East India Arsenal had a quite different plan, not square, but a long line with small shallow wings at the ends and strong emphasis on the central entrance. The landward side (here too the land-entrance was nearly repeated on the water-side) shows, much more strongly than in the case of the other Arsenal, the influence of the Town Hall. It has a double salient, the central one with a large pediment, the second continued in the steep roof and crowned by a belvedere with a cupola-turret. In a drawing of 1783[7] three bays at either side of the entrance show a window-arrangement similar to that of the Great Hall of the Town Hall: a normal tall window, a square mezzanine one and above that a tall round-headed one. But there is no pilastering and there the resemblance ends. The Storehouse was engraved almost immediately – already before its completion and rather clumsily – for the topographical works (the small ones) of Fokkens (1662) and Von Zesen (1664), and appeared on a large and handsome print by Joseph Mulder in Commelin's topography of 1693 (Plate 206).

As a town architect Daniel Stalpaert was commissioned to design a number of buildings for the Protestant community, including two or three almshouses which were large constructions with rather a stern, utilitarian appearance. His other important works in the years between 1657 and 1670 were the churches at 's-Graveland and Oudshoorn, as well as the wooden Amstelkerk at Amsterdam. The only big church which the Town was still to build, the Oosterkerk, was in all probability designed by Dortsman. It was in any event almost as un-inviting as the two enormous arsenals between which it stood.

The Block-houses in the Amstel, designed and constructed by Stalpaert in 1650, not only provided a defence against enemies (they were built after the abortive attack on the Town by William II) but created an obstacle to shipping. Hence they were removed as early as 1654. Apart from Stalpaert's drawings several prints exist of these unambitious constructions[8] (Plate 207).

The 1661 extension of the Admiralty Office, the so-called "Prinsenhof", now the seat of the Municipal Administration, is often attributed to Daniel Stalpaert.[9] The main part is a pilastered and pedimented elevation, well-proportioned and interesting for the carved panel of the pediment, whose rather crowded allegorical representation was executed by Jan Gijseling de Oude after cartoons by Salomon de Bray[10] (Plate 208).

Stalpaert's conversion, in 1668–70, of Hendrick de Keyser's Exchange, deserves notice – if only because it was systematically ignored by the topographies which continued to ascribe the completely altered façade to De Keyser (Plate 423). Was this out of shame at the destruction of De Keyser's joyous creation? Or dislike for Stalpaert's regular symmetrical structure with giant Ionic pilasters?[11] Maybe both; but in

itself the façade, known from numerous engravings, drawings and paintings[12], is quite handsome. The problem of a wider bay over the waterway under the building has been solved elegantly by repeating the arch (filled in with the Amsterdam coat-of-arms) over two openings which flanked a new statue of Mercury by Bartholomeus Eggers.[13] The other side of the extension, the elevation towards the court, as well as the turret, may be regarded as reconstructions in their resemblance to De Keyser's work rather than new inventions (Plates 211 and 441).

Stalpaert's own house on the Keizersgracht, built in 1669, was already demolished by as early as 1733.[14] It was a spacious house which was replaced by three new ones. The three stables on the Kerkstraat survive in a much altered condition up to the present. Stalpaert had evidently earned handsomely as a town-architect – and perhaps before as well since he acted as stockbroker in East India Company shares from 1640 to 1648, rather than earning his money by painting. An interesting departure from his habitual utilitarian manner was the southern city-gate, the Leidsche Poort (Plate 209). Stalpaert expressed the (rather symbolic) defensive character through the quasi-mediaeval form of a block flanked by four towers at the corners.[15]

Chapter 11

Justus Vingboons

We come across Gijselingh again as the sculptor of the external decoration on the Trippenhuis at Amsterdam, which was designed by *Justus Vingboons*. Gijselingh presumably carved the more classical details, like the magnificent frieze, while the other sculptor employed, Hendrick de Keyser the younger, would have been responsible for the more traditional detail.

The type of house established about 1640 and represented at Leyden by Noordeinde 50, Rapenburg 2, Rapenburg 48, and – in a more common version – by façades like Rapenburg 4 to 10, is very close to the classical manner followed by Philips Vingboons at Amsterdam.

One particular private house is on a grander scale, the celebrated Trippenhuis (Plate 210). It was built in 1660–62 for the Trip brothers, wealthy arms dealers, by Philips' brother Justus. In fact the building consists of two houses united behind one façade of seven bays[1] with a giant Corinthian order. The façade is richly decorated – with swags, a fine frieze, fluted pilasters, chimney stacks in the form of cannons – but the decoration does not detract from the forceful and lucid architectural framework. The house has decided grandeur, and recalls one of Palladio's *palazzi* at Vicenza.

Justus Vingboons (1620/21–1698)[2] worked from 1653 to 1656 in Sweden, receiving a salary from the Crown of 800 Swedish thaler (2000 Dutch florins), and designing the Riddarhus at Stockholm for Axel Oxenstierna, Queen Christina's Chancellor. This was eventually finished by others but with façades designed by Vingboons. In this work he appears already as a bold architect working with confidence in the grand manner. On his return to Holland he designed the Trippenhuis. As with the works of Van Campen it is impossible to find exact prototypes for the classical elevation. The façade is organized rhythmically: the pilasters are spaced unevenly, the three central bays being slightly wider than those of the outer salients, and the second and sixth bays, with the entrances, slightly wider still. This variety in the intercolumniation is not found in Michelangelo's Palazzo de' Conservatori or in Palladio's Palazzo Valmarana. Moreover, both the latter *palazzi* carry, half way up behind the colossal order, a subsidiary order, for the sake of which at the Palazzo Valmarana the outer pilasters have even been deliberately removed. In French architecture, always considered the most classicist it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a pre-1660 building not having a mixture of giant and superimposed orders, broken entablatures and windows running into friezes.[3]

The search for influences leads one rather to Italian interiors. The colossal fluted Corinthian pilasters recall those of St. Peter's or the Medici chapel – but it is not impossible that Vingboons had works of the early Florentine Renaissance in mind as being the purest style. The beautifully carved arabesques with putti, on the frieze, strengthen this argument.

Justus may have found his inspiration in Vignola's *Regola*, which shows a detail of a similar richly adorned frieze (plate XXVII), but the fact is that no other Dutch architect ever applied carving to a Corinthian frieze. The study of proportional systems and a certain analytical approach on the one hand, and on the other the disquieting idea that the leap from Gothic into Mannerism had deprived them of something, brought the Dutch classical architects spiritually closer to the Quattrocento and the early Cinquecento than to later Italian architecture. In Sangallo's Santa Maria delle Carceri and Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel we find a pure firm system of fluted pilasters and richly adorned frieze, on a diagrammatic basis.[4] In S. Maria delle Carceri the doorways are pedimented, as are a few windows in the Trippenhuis, a device which the architects of Huygens' circle had abandoned long before.

As there is no subsidiary order the decorations between the pilasters do not interfere with any order, but animate the non-load-bearing surface. One has to look at them closely to realize that – surprisingly – some of them are completely Mannerist carvings. The motifs under the windows of the piano nobile, for instance, are not lambrequins but swags with animal heads in the "Ohrmuschelstil" (*kwab-ornament* is the evocative Dutch name). The cartouches on the first floor are in the same style. The strongly architectural character of the elevations is proved by the fact that such details can be ignored or even taken to foreshadow eighteenth century ornament.

Justus' design for the Riddarhus of seven years before retains even more Mannerist detail within the classical frame[5]: a cartouche in the central bay, the pediments over the windows with pineapples on top, and the window-frames themselves: heavy, and divided by one mullion and two transoms.

In the Trippenhuis the old transom and mullion windows which form part of the wall construction are discarded, and to emphasize the wall's thickness "continuous" glazing, set back in thin timber frames and playing no part structurally, is used instead.

The fine relation of these pierced openings to the giant order bearing its entablature without strain convinces us that the building is purely classical, in spite of its occasional nonclassical details.[6]

The interior is unusual in that the two entrances with their large halls (*voorhuizen*) are placed on the ground floor, permitting a more convenient arrangement of the rooms on the *piano nobile* – more convenient, that is, to the modern mind which rejects the *voorhuis* as limiting privacy too much.

About Justus' other activities as a house-designer nothing is known. Quite a number of houses at Amsterdam ascribed to him[7] have fine façades in the style in which his brother excelled: in fact they may all have been designed by Philips, except for the latest ones which date from about 1680 when Philips was already dead. They do not show the distinctive features[8] which can be detected in the Trippenhuis and the Riddarhus, so that they can be discussed more profitably in the paragraphs on Philips' work. Justus may have been too advanced – and too expensive – an architect even for the richer merchants. As at present nothing is known about his life it is equally possible that the returned to Sweden about 1665 and worked for the De Geer family, the arms and steel magnates, and other Dutchmen living there.

Recently documentary evidence has established that a third work can be attributed to Justus Vingboons. It was a design for a new stage "with three arches", to replace the outmoded Schouwburg by Jacob van Campen. Justus was paid in 1665 for the

drawings, which he had produced the year before. These do not survive: all we know is that they offered a number of alternative designs in the Corinthian, Composite, Doric and perhaps Ionic orders.[9] The theatre was probably executed after one of these designs by his brother Philips. This sheds some light on Justus' training and manner of working: he would have been educated at home in the workshop of his father the painter (who died before 1633), by his brother Johannes the engraver, and in architectural matters by Philips who was his senior by thirteen years. His later interest in the Baroque stage and his relations with the Trip family that was related by marriage to the De Geers suggests that his education was completed in Swedish Court circles. For the execution of his Amsterdam works he would have relied on Philips and other craftsmen.

In any case, Justus Vingboons has always been accepted as an exceptionally talented architect on the strength of his designs for the Trippenhuis alone, the most magnificent work of classical design that an essentially bourgeois culture could achieve.

Soon after its completion there was a complete break – hastened by the war of 1672 – in the development of Dutch architecture, and fashion turned towards a flat style which in the hands of the leading architects was almost devoid of decoration.

Justus' brother Philips participated in this new style in several buildings; it seems however they should not be discussed here – Philips' activities should rather be discussed chronologically: his *oeuvre* not only provides a link between Classicism and the Flat Style, but also overlaps with late Mannerism, and even carries Mannerist features into both later movements.

Chapter 12

The Amsterdam Patriciate and Philips Vingboons

From Mannerism to the Flat Style

His life – trained as a painter?

Philips Vingboons was an extremely versatile architect. Rather early in his career he worked already in different styles and his *oeuvre* shows a constant development until about 1671. He then seems to have retired, only to publish the second selection of his most important works in 1674. Until recently little was known of Vingboons' personal circumstances but research in the last decades has at last shed some light on his life.[1] The Vinckeboons family (who about 1640 changed the spelling of their name into Vingboons) came originally from the Southern Netherlands. Towards the end of the sixteenth century they fled to the North like so many of their compatriots, who were to reinforce the Brabant element in Amsterdam. They were probably Baptists, but Philips, born at Amsterdam in 1607 or 1608[2] – he died there in 1678 – was perhaps raised a Roman Catholic and certainly became one. By marrying Petronella Questiers in 1645 he entered a prosperous Catholic family. The Questiers are said to have been plumbers for the Town Orphanage[3]; they had many artistic and commercial connections in the city's Catholic society.[4] Petronella's father wrote plays which were staged in the *Schouwburg*.[5] Philips' father, the painter David Vinckeboons, died before 1633, leaving his mother in charge of ten children, of whom perhaps only the eldest, Pieter, had by then left home. The mother, who may have been a woman of difficult character, stipulated in wills dated 1658 and 1665, that all prints, maps, incised copper plates and so forth in the house should be kept together after her death. Maybe as a result Philips' unmarried brother Johannes (or Jan, 1616/7–1670) who had engraved the first edition of Philips' works in 1648, did not engrave the second edition of 1665.[6] These and later editions of Philips' work help to explain the great influence of his style.

Vingboons was probably trained as a painter, and then presumably worked in an architect's office. The only painting by him recorded by Van Eeghen shows – revealingly – the Exchange[7] (Plate 211). His travelling, we may assume, would have taken him to France and Italy[8], and perhaps also to Augsburg. He was the first Dutch architect to publish his own works, and at the age of forty could advertise himself with a variety of types of building: some traditional but all quite novel in their general appearance. It is unfortunate that so little is known about his education, and almost nothing about his architectural training. There are hints that he worked for Van Campen as an architectural draughtsman in the years around 1636–7, but it is difficult to understand how in the next five years he could complete more than a dozen important commissions, both town and country houses. That he studied both French and Palladian models is proved by his work only; his library has been dispersed, the

only volume known to have been in his possession is a copy of Du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents bâtiments de France* which bears his signature.[9]

Calvinist and Catholic Attitudes, Vingboons versus De Bray

An Englishman once commented on the difference between Jones and Pratt: "It would seem that Pratt's taste was more Catholic than that of Inigo Jones, and that he was less obsessed by the Ancients".[10] It is tempting to rephrase this sentence with Jacob van Campen as Inigo Jones and Philips Vingboons as Pratt. Van Campen and his circle suffered, however, from one disadvantage that was spared Inigo Jones: Calvinism.

In his preface to the *Architectura Moderna* Salomon de Bray attributed the establishment of Architecture to biblical figures like Cain, Seth, Iabel the son of Lamech, and, of course, Noah builder of the Ark – as opposed to the marauding Greeks. It is characteristic of the change in the intellectual climate that seventeen years later Vingboons did not need the shield of religion to protect his architecture. On the contrary, in the preface to his work[11] he deliberately denigrates the power of the Hebrews in the field of Architecture.[12] After a brief reference to the Hebrews and the Tower of Babel he rapidly turns to the wonders of the world – all pagan, and proceeds to discuss eight of them. He declares "Architecture reached perfection in Greece. Then she was shipped to Rome. There she reached the highest splendour so that even now we find perfect examples in the vestiges of Palaces, Theatra, Amphitheatra, Needles, Stone Bridges, Statues erected in honour of their Forefathers and yet more buildings . . . enough to show us that the art was then not new but in full perfection.

"Fallen into a wilderness through the invasions of the savage Northerners . . . Architecture was revived when the Pope returned to Rome and fixed his see there. There followed Venice, Genoa, Florence, Naples and other towns in Italy. . . . Italy is a Theatre of Architecture for Europe because of her old and new Buildings. France may almost be compared with Italy, one need mention only the Louvre . . . and the Luxembourg . . .

"Germany's buildings, when more than a century old, are built in a completely different manner, by the Artists called modern, as they owe little to Antiquity. ("Modern" or even "Filthy Modern" were common pejorative terms for "Gothic"). Here in the Netherlands practically all churches are built in that manner – every nation having had its own particular style (i.e. of Gothic architecture). But now, even in the middle of the War, Roman Antiquity is again an examplar . . . within a few years' time we have seen a great many changes, not only in the large and excellent buildings but also in the common buildings, in the Towns as well as in the Country. I only wish to give the most important in Holland and Utrecht and especially at Amsterdam. Trusting that this publication will please everybody whose Houses and Plans are represented here."

The preface of 1665 is identical to that of 1648, except that Vingboons omitted the end, which stated that he had at first not meant to publish his designs but "was compelled to", as some self-interested people copied and published them so damagingly "that I cannot acknowledge them but have to reject them as abortions, and in order that people who have not seen the houses should not judge me by false copies."

A comparison of this disquisition on the origins of Architecture with Salomon de

Bray's of 1630 reveals a reversal of values. There is no mention of God and the Divine Inspiration. "One may believe that Cain did not found Enosa without *some* knowledge of Building" – that was as far as Philips was prepared to go. Solomon's Temple was admittedly built by architects, but by Lebanese ones, sent by Hiram. This statement is followed by the Seven Wonders to which the Pharos is appended. It all appears to be intended as a parody of De Bray's lengthy biblical genesis of architecture.[13] The long theoretical section, until then *parte obbligata* in architectural treatises, is omitted altogether. The lauded wonders had been treated coolly by De Bray: "For *Playhouses, Race-courses, Colossea, Pyramids* and all such superfluous institutions have become completely obsolete because of the simpleness of our Christian Teaching, and also [as they are] foreign to the thrifty laboriousness of our countrymen".[14] The Pope, not surprisingly, does not feature in De Bray's account.

Vingboons' evident pleasure in telling a completely different story cannot be merely explained by his being an architect who achieved complete success while denying all the rules of Classical Theory and Calvinism. He must have known very well that his words were an indirect attack on the Burgomasters and on Van Campen who was to build the Town Hall. By 1648, therefore, he was sufficiently self-assured to take such a risk. He needed to be very sure of his patrons as well, and this he was – his *Afbeeldsels* (Representations) already showed all the types of house and country-seat that his patrons could have imagined. They included one style of house that was particularly well-suited to Amsterdam and so much the individual creation of Philips that it is generally called by his name, the Vingboons-type.

Philips' marriage in 1645, after the architect of the Town Hall had been chosen, was another deliberate decision. If he would not receive offical commissions – which as a rule went to Protestant architects – he would live in the world of well-to-do merchants, many of them Roman Catholics, where he could develop his abilities in comparative ease.[15]

The Vingboons-Type

In the so-called Vingboons-type Amsterdam painting and architectural traditions played an important part.[16] A house of this sort was nearly always shaped by the division of the expensive lots into small parcels and the desire of the merchants for store-rooms in the basements as well as in two, three, or even more attic-floors. The difference from a warehouse was sometimes minimal. The plan of the main floor usually consists of the traditional elements: hall (voorhuis) on the street and a large room with, somewhere in between them, the newel-staircase; this is followed by a small yard or inner-court and yet another room.

In Philips' work one may notice a transition to the modern plan in which the *voorhuis* is reduced to a mere corridor along the depth of the house. It has often been claimed that Vingboons was a designer of façades and, being mainly interested in picturesque effect, did not trouble to suit them to the plans. Significant for his own opinion, in his books the elevations are always preceded by the plans, and in the later editions the title is *Gronden en Afbeeldsels*, Plans *and* Representations. The criticism might also be the result of an undeniable lack of correlation which is often apparent between his plans and his façades.[17] Nevertheless this deficiency does not diminish the intrinsic value of the plans.

The Daniel Soyhier House

As an example of the Vingboons-type one may take the Daniel Soyhier House, Keizersgracht 319, built in 1639 (Plate 212).[18] The three bay façade is strictly symmetrical, so that entering in the middle meant entering on the extreme left of the two bay *voorhuis*. At the back of the *voorhuis* the staircase began, already with a straight flight, but leading to an old-fashioned newel-staircase. To the left of the *voorhuis* there was a side-room or cabinet; behind it a large drawing room (21 by 27 feet)[19], which could be entered from a corridor which ran alongside to a small vestibule of 9½ by 15 feet. This vestibule gave access to the yard and to a second stairwell, which again combined straight flights with a newel-stair. At the end of the straight flights there were a big garden room (16 x 23 feet)[20] and an adjacent kitchen. The garden room had no windows on the yard, only on the seventy-five feet deep garden. The whole combination of garden room and stairs seems to have been designed to create separate living quarters. The enjoyment of so much space for one family would have been wasteful in seventeenth century Amsterdam.

The façade (still practically intact, with only the lower front altered) shows Vingboons at thirty-two already in the full maturity of his style: *barocco*, somewhat bizarre in the heyday of Holland's Classicism, but always mature and self-assured.

It is true that all the elements of the three bay façade do derive from Amsterdam Mannerist invention: the cartouches and *oeuils-de-boeuf*, and the scrolls at the top with the characteristic diamond-knob half way up, a motif taken from Vredeman's strapwork which recurs constantly in Amsterdam architecture.[21] On the other hand Vingboons also uses Classicist elements, such as the dissolution of solid planes into *tempietti*. On this façade the outer bays may be considered the tempietti, each with a giant order, and each crowned by its own triangular pediment.[22] Unity is imposed by the elongated gable[23], which in its turn carries a classical triangular pediment. The balance is a frail one though, and the "Vingboons-type" is often threatened by a splitting in half, especially as there is a strong temptation to widen the middle bay for convenience's sake (for the hoisting up of heavy merchandise). Here the pilasters are Tuscan and Doric. A simple but cunning trick conceals their difference in height: their shafts are always of the same width, irrespective of their lenght. This enabled Vingboons to apply to his façades various normal and giant orders at a time untrammelled by the prescribed changes in width: an almost Gothic strict vertical system runs from ground to top, and the pilasters are reduced to lesenes on which we are pleased from time to time to encounter capitals and bases. This as an essential difference from Hendrick de Keyser's houses, which adhere more or less to the regular proportions of pilasters.

An arched entrance with a pediment could already have been found at Amsterdam[24], but the placing of a channelled or rusticated door-case under the classical pediment derives rather from Vignola, or from the Faleti engraving of the Porta Pia which – like so many Baroque churches – might have been the ultimate source of Philips' elongated pedimented gables.

The swags, too, had been applied earlier by Van Campen; and yet, whether it is Late Mannerism, (or "Dutch Renaissance" as the Dutch like to call it) or Campensian classicism, the blend is very much Vingboons. He succeeded in making the Gothic gables

appear very Baroque and very much to the taste of Amsterdam, which in its best periods is always fond of an element of fantasy. Philips Vingboons was quick to develop this theme, but we can see something of its history when we look at the prints of the pre-edition of his work of 1642.[25]

The 1642 Prints

Added to several Vignola-editions we find six prints: the Daniel Soyhier House and three other houses as executed in the years 1639 to 1642[26], and two plates of unexecuted ones, which were merely suggestions. One plate (Plate 213) juxtaposes two variants of an elongated gable with a traditional stepped gable. The elongated variants have a giant order embracing two storeys but still carying basket arches instead of an entablature: an indication of how Vingboons made the transition from De Keyser's style to his own by gradually banishing over-Mannerist elements. Yet another Vignola-edition[27] shows among its Vingboons prints, in place of the Paeuw House, an unsigned, unidentified design, evidently by Vingboons and very interesting as it is perhaps his earliest attempt to approach the new style (Plate 214). One might point out the quite impossible entrance-feature which recalls Southern Netherlandish patternbooks, or rather the third storey windows of Elias Holl's Augsburg Town Hall. The design is also feeble at the top, where parts of the entablature are omitted as though the designer was afraid that his house might grow too high. It was these prints which Vingboons disowned in his preface to the definitive edition of 1648, but it is clear that whoever engraved them had drawings by Philips at his disposal.

The Michael Paeuw House

An important variation on the elongated gable, the gable without pilasters, is represented by the 1638 house for Michael Paeuw (Heerengracht 168, now the seat of the Theatre Museum, with fine eighteenth century interiors)[28] (Plate 215). The plan might easily be mistaken for an eighteenth century one, which it precisely foreshadows, having no *voorhuis* but a long corridor and a large staircase with three flights round a square opening.

The façade had pediments[29] over the windows, but otherwise the design was completely flat. It was revolutionary to use that precious material, stone, while at the same time replacing the usual masses of decoration on the elevation with a smooth surface. It is one of the first stone-faced Amsterdam houses without pilasters and the like. The only decoration is at the top, which is flanked by pineapples. [30]

Built immediately to the right of the very rich Late Mannerist Bartolotti House by Hendrick de Keyser, the Michael Paeuw House was shockingly modern. The painter Jan van der Heyden was attracted by this contrast and made a number of paintings of the pair – some of particular interest as he juxtaposed to the two houses, as a third competing type, a Classicist extension of the Haarlem Town Hall.

The ultimate source of this façade is to be found in Italian buildings, where pedimented openings are placed in large planes, but the spacing is disquieting narrow, and this is reminiscent of Holl's Augsburg Town Hall. As at Augsburg an elongated pedimented top bears a huge coat-of-arms – here held by Mark's winged lions as Michael Paeuw had been awarded a knighthood by the Venetian Republic.

The Designs for Nicolaes Soyhier

When in 1640 Philips designed a house for Daniel Soyhier's relation Nicolaes Soyhier, the plan was much further developed.[31] The *voorhuis* was reduced to a vestibule of 10¾ feet in width, with rooms on either side. Behind, a second, square vestibule was to give access on the right to a small room (probably the kitchen) and to the inner yard. On the left, raised, and reached by one flight of the straight staircase, was to be a large room with three big windows to the south (Plate 216).

This, at least, was Vingboons' proposal. He adds gloomily to the description: "had this disposition been followed, (it) would have better suited the site as it was hemmed in at the back by other houses of considerable height, and would have had its windows better placed, at the side where the opportunity was."[32] He does, however, show the executed plan and façade as well (Plate 217).

As executed, the façade had the same window-composition only without orders, but the plan was decidedly less convenient and more old-fashioned, with a small eastern source of light for the large room and a newel-staircase. This willingness to compromise, and the inclusion of the superior proposal in his book, may be considered significant of Philips' relations with his patrons. Even in the late 1660s newel-stairs were retained in some plans. He was pliant enough to accede to his clients' demands, but once the house was built he would vent his spleen. Several unexecuted designs in both his volumes suggest on the other hand that there were limits to his amenability.

Influence of the Augsburg *Rathaus* is apparent in Philips' type of astylar town house of five or seven bays, of which the middle three are raised and particularly tall. The executed design for the Nicolaes Soyhier House is a fine example in which the central salient with five storeys and encased top windows recalls Elias Holl's work.

Philips' proposed façade had showed in the same silhouette a completely different solution with superimposed orders: Doric on the tall *piano nobile*; Doric again, of equal height but a giant order, embracing two storeys; and another, Ionic, giant order for the raised centre. The calm of these three equally high orders was contrasted with a strong horizontal rhythm, as the second and fourth bays were reduced to half the width of the others.

It was a pity that this extremely well-balanced elevation was not executed then, but – even if he did not build it himself and his print was plagiarized – it may have been something of a consolation for Philips to witness the building of an almost exact copy, at Heerengracht 388, in 1665.[33]

The Palazzi di Genoa as a Source

In Vingboons' "broad" type several influences fuse. One may think first of the Hague work by Post with raised central parts. Vingboons came across Post's work when from 1639 to 1642 they were both making one design after another for Frederick Alewijn's country house Vredenburgh. That house, as finally built by Post, is of the Mauritshuis-type, of which Vingboons was already enough of a master to exclude any influence from Post. One of Post's variants, drawn on a flap placed over the central pediment, shows a straight attic made into a belvedere – but Philips Vingboons had applied a similar raised belvedere to the House Elsenburgh as early as 1637. The common source

was presumably Ruben's collection of Genoese houses, the *Palazzi di Genoa*, which was a major source of information for the new gentry building country-seats.[34]

One may also see some Late Mannerist idioms, especially when studying the 1639 elevation of the Ioan Huydecoper House, formerly on Singel 548[35] (Plate 218). This five bay house, with three bays raised and balustraded, was deeply channelled, even over the pilasters, so that by contrast the two plain friezes became quiet elements over the Doric and Ionic of the lower stages. Towards the top the grooving became even wider, so that the Corinthian pilasters of the raised part were forecefully blocked, with channels that had become as wide as the projecting intermediate blocks. If other members of the Vingboons family helped with this design[36], they still had a taste for the work of Hendrick de Keyser. In any case Philips retained grooves in two other pre-1648 projects, one for an enormous country house[37], the other for a town house[38], strikingly novel in that, besides some scrolls at the elongated top, it has no decoration at all: no pediments, no window-sills, only grooves in the sandstone (Plate 219). It anticipates the channelled Amsterdam houses which Dortsman was to build a quarter of a century later.

Two Late Houses

Philips repeated the use of channels in one of his last houses, Heerengracht 450, the Joseph Deutz House of 1670–2[39] (Plate 222). It has a magnificent broad façade with very slight projections of the central salient and the corners, and horizontal grooves to give plasticity. The minimum of ornament – a balcony – is concentrated on the central axis, but the windows, which in the modern manner are without mullions and transoms, are simply cut sharply into the plane of the façade. Even the sills seem to be a later addition. Over the cornice there are two dormers; otherwise nothing. The quiet grandeur of this elevation was to inspire many others in their houses of the 1670s.

Up to his last known engraved house, the Hieronymo de Haase House of 1671, Heerengracht 466[40], (Plates 220–21) Vingboons explored new directions, making new combinations. Some, like the big pediment and the scarcely perceptible joints in the stone in this last house, revert to earlier work, others prefigure the eighteenth century: the Haase House for example has the modern windows and one of the first examples in Philips' *oeuvre* of a generous entrance with a fanlight. The decoration is concentrated in the French manner around this entrance: a balcony on half-columns, two cherubs holding coats-of-arms on the corners and a pediment over the balcony window.

The façade is otherwise completely without decoration: the architect who thirty years earlier had started as an eclectic equally conversant with Late Mannerism, Classicism and his own new "Vingboons-style", here created a precedent for the Amsterdam architects of the eighteenth century.

Vingboons' churches are described in other chapters; but something should be said here about his Town Hall.[41]

The Town Hall Project

The Town Hall project as shown in Philips' 1648 printed work has been hailed by

French authors as an elegant design; but neither in plan nor elevation does it show the strong control and harmony of Van Campen's design. Vingboons' proposal has the independent corner pavilions of a French *château*, with particularly French looking domes. Four colossal pilasters adorn the centre; a massive entablature tries to unite the building but succeeds only in running around it[42] (Plates 158–9).

The high windows are cast in peculiar Mannerist forms, with excessively small pediments or with none at all, and they are all encased in downward-tapering features reminiscent of the tabernacles in the vestibule of the Laurentian Library. These surrounds and the relation of the encased high and low openings to the pilasters recall the work of Galeazzo Alessi, such as the Palazzo Marini at Milan. Over the pediment of the centre a fine turret rises from the high pitched roof – at least, on the engravings.[43] No section survives, and it is difficult to devise a satisfying solution for the great hall with too deep galleries over columns nearly at its centre.

Vingboons lifted the very successful slender cupola-turret from the design and used it much later, in about 1661, to adorn a brick tower at Kampen in the province of Overijssel, a safe hundred miles away[44] (Plate 223). For the Town Hall it had remained a phantom-cupola, presumably added as an afterthought to emulate Van Campen's, but having no foundation either in plan or section.

It is clear that around the age of thirty-five Philips could not yet cope with the size and complexity of the commission. His project remains an unsuccessful amalgamation, but it shows what different sources stirred the young man's imagination.

Influence of the Vingboons-Type

In 1648 Vingboons was, however, already experienced enough in designing houses to exert a tremendous influence. In Amsterdam his impact was immediate, in the rest of the Union the so-called Vingboons-type spread only gradually and less widely. The Hague, dominated by Classicism, has not a single example. Rotterdam possessed several, as did Dort and Middelburg; a few were erected in the Hanseatic towns along the river IJssel to the east: in Kampen, Zwolle and Deventer; and late in the seventeenth century in Groningen and Leeuwarden to the north.

The rest were in the province of Holland, mainly to the north and in the city of Leyden. Significantly, all of them were built after the first printing of Philips' works in 1648. Illustrated here are two examples from Leyden, Rapenburg 31 and 29, dating from 1664, and very fine elevations which differ slightly – a demonstration of the flexibility of the Vingboons-type[45] (Plate 224).

The Mauritshuis-Type

Vingboons was by no means the only man to develop the broad elevation with colossal pilasters from the outstanding model of the house of Count Johan Maurits. We may recall that the conspicuous features of the pure Mauritshuis-type are rigid symmetry, the ample *voorhuis* and the luxurious, generously proportioned staircase. The staircase is usually of three flights, with two at the lower level leading to a single flight or one lower flight dividing into two. They are nearly always screened off by richly

carved pilastered arches, in stone (though this is rare – Huygens' house is an example), oak, or other wood.

The elevations are also fully symmetrical, with a continuous system of pilasters so that the skeleton would remain intact, even if the walls in between disappeared. At the Mauritshuis, Jacob van Campen succeeded in creating a consistent sequence on all four elevations. In this no one could follow him; at best they managed to attach the costly classical orders to the front alone. Some architects with no particular predelection for pilasters contracted the classical part still further: at the Dort house *De Onbeschaamde* built around 1650, Post creates a giant temple front of three bays flanked on either side by a bay without pilasters or entablature but with swags continuing as it were the central entablature.

Jacob van Campen adheres strictly to Italian symmetry in his Mauritshuis plan. The *voorhuis* is screened off by three straight openings: the central one to the large room on the Vijver side, the other two for the flights of stairs which unite half way up and return to a sort of first floor *voorhuis*. This allows for a repetition of the whole range of rooms on the first floor. The house was gutted by fire and restored in the heavy Louis XIV style of 1704, but fortunately drawings, with brief descriptions by Pieter Post survive.[46] They give the ingenious sections. The great room on the first floor had a central part which rose into the top of the building where it was surrounded by a small gallery with a double row of Corinthian columns (Plate 225). Over the void there was an oblong dome, brightly lit by an unusual rould window like a spotlight, of which Post says in his description "As a light comes from above in the Cupola it gives a great and splendid pleasantness to the white and gold with which the hall is embellished".[46a] The dramatic lighting of the great room and the decidedly theatrical effect of the gallery suspended "in the Air" foreshadow the Schouwburg, which Van Campen was to build a year or two later. They are also reminiscent of contemporary English theatres still in the Mannerist tradition – for instance the hall by Jones or Webb as published by D.F. Rowan[47] – but we have already seen that Van Campen welded different styles into a highly personal and consistent whole.

This great room was chosen as the appropriate setting for the banquet offered to Charles II on the eve of his return to England in 1660.

Van Campen and Vingboons

When they met Van Campen was about forty, Philips Vingboons about twenty-eight. Vingboons was paid three times for "models" of works by Van Campen. Payment was considerably delayed: Schouwburg in 1642 for work done presumably in 1637, Heiligewegspoort in 1640 (for work of 1636), and the Town Hall in 1640.[48] Van Campen was surely not the man to have apprentices: even Pieter Post who collaborated closely with him on several commissions did not fully understand his ideas. Thus we noticed that in his house *De Onbeschaamde* he substituted festoons for part of the entablature. But a comparison cannot be made betweeen the swift intelligence of Vingboons and a certain dulness of mind in Post.

Vingboons certainly grasped the meaning of Van Campen's work, and he profited from the variety of Van Campen's invention: the grooved Heiligewegspoort wich represented Van Campen's furthest excursion into Mannerism; the severe Baroque of the

Town Hall; and finally the diverse work done for the Orphanage – extensions for the Foundation itself as well as the erection of the theatre, the Schouwburg. After some years Philips took over Van Campen's functions at the Orphanage, sometimes assisted by Justus. This eventually led to the complete renewal of the Schouwburg. We may regard the elaborate prints of the theatre that were made in 1658 as a prologue to this conversion; a late tribute was paid to Van Campen by one of the renovating architects, Justus Vingboons, when his fluted giant Corinthian pilasters at the Trippenhuis reflected those of the theatre – the first of their kind to be used in the Republic.

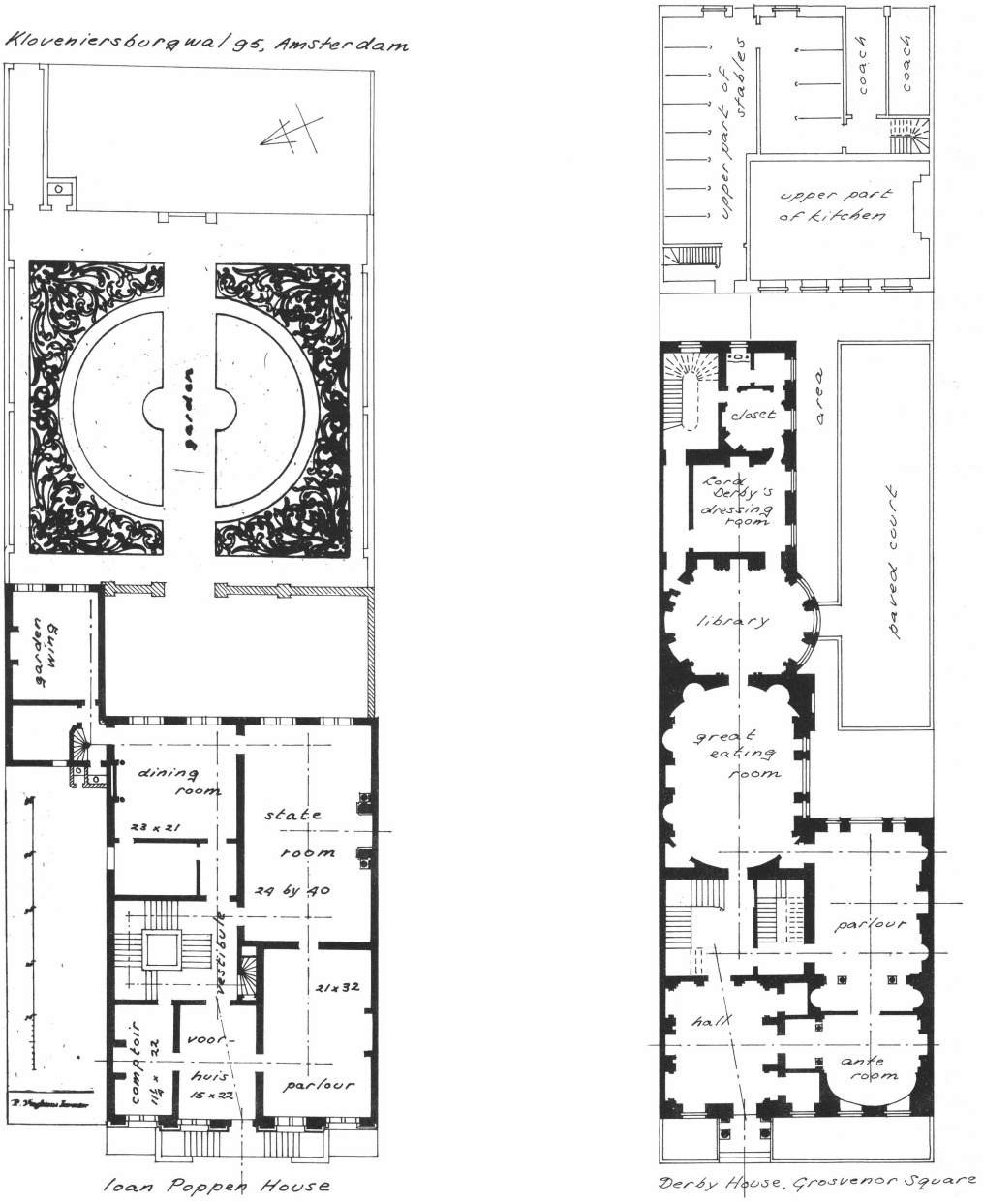
The new Schouwburg of 1665 doubled the size of the old one. Justus and Philips enlarged the auditorium and, most important, constructed a deep stage, behind a proscenium arch, for Baroque perspective scenery along one commanding axis. There are no representations of the new interior, descriptions state that it was "in the Venetian manner", we may suppose that it did not differ much from what we see on many eighteenth century prints. These show a Baroque theatre much like the others in the big European cities. So the splendid Classicist setting created by Van Campen for long-surviving Mannerist pageantry was overtaken by the rapid development of acting and stage-machinery.

The Ioan Poppen House

Philips Vingboons not only used façades in the style of the Mauritshuis for the Vredenburgh designs of 1639–42, but also for the Ioan Poppen House, Kloveniersburgwal 95, as early as 1642[49] (Plate 226). This façade has five bays with a giant order, like the Hofvijver façade of the Mauritshuis, but still more regular and severe, with Corinthian capitals and is built wholly of Bentheimer stone. The only fault that might be found with the elevation is the placing of the entrance door which cuts into the basement.

The interior is not symmetrical, but the whole and the constituent parts are conveniently, spaciously and harmoniously laid out (Fig 19). The cabinet occupying one bay to the left has the ratio of 1:2; it was presumably the *comptoir*, the office where business affairs were handled. The *voorhuis* next to it served as an entrance and meeting place for the family and visitors. It has a ratio of 2:3, and the parlour to the right, also of two bays, approximately the same. The parlour is placed – a novelty – in *enfilade* with the state room at the rear. The latter, a large apartment of 24 by 40 feet (giving the harmonious division of 3:5) had symmetrically placed entrances, windows and fireplace. To the left at the back another room, almost square[50], served as a dining-room. In the very centre of the plan, though scarcely apparent, there is a service staircase, while to the left of the vestibule the grand staircase rises. The treads, over five feet wide, go round a square core, which was presumably – the interior has been changed – lit from above by a lantern-cupola.

The whole composition is based on a very ingenious system of axes. Two longitudinal axes, the left one connecting the centre of the *voorhuis* to the staircase vestibule and the dining-room to the rear, and the right one in the *enfilade* of the two large rooms, are crossed by three transverse axes. Two of these run through the state apartment, and between them there is a third, auxilliary axis, so that the state room itself has three transverse axes. The garden front being wider than the canal front, the last transverse



Figures 19A and 19B. Ioan Poppen House, Amsterdam, compared with Derby House, London

axis runs into the newel of a service staircase and is diverted at an angle of ninety degrees into a small garden wing behind the hôtel.

To follow the movement of the axes the ceilings would have been coffered and painted.

This very flexible and ingenious planning by the thirty-four year old Philips indicates a careful study of French architecture: Lemercier's work at the Hôtel de Liancourt, of 1623, might have been the specific prototype.

There were several reasons why the patron, Ioan Poppen, had decided to pull down his father's house which was not yet 40 years old[51] and have this magnificent house built. The severe Classicist façade may be regarded as a token of adherence to the rules of the Protestant Republic. Although they accepted this the City Government would never have used Poppen's house to give a banquet for a visitor like Charles the second. The reason for this was that Poppen had returned to the Roman Catholic faith, and so we find that the great state room was not only meant for the family but for church services as well.[52] The elaborate system of axes was certainly meant to enhance by its rhythm the spiritual feeling when one approached the altar, which would have been erected on such occasions before the fireplace in the great room.

The marked difference in feeling between the façade and the plan of the house does not only express the difficulty of reconciling convenience and Classicist rules, it also expresses two sides of the rich merchant who was at the same time a law abiding citizen and, privately, a convert to the Catholic church.

Vingboons was the obvious choice for Poppen. He was the one Dutch architect who would convincingly combine a classical Palladian front with French interior planning . . .

Notwithstanding many epigones in this "Vingboons-style" Philips Vingboons risked to outlive the popularity of his own ideas – until he brilliantly engendered from his own much earlier ideas the new Flat Style. The 1665 reprint of his first volume was intended to have a large circulation in England: the broad pilastered type and details of other buildings would have been especially attractive to English architects, though the "Vingboons-type" was obviously not for export.

The two or three other houses that had the greatest impact on English architecture under Queen Anne are found engraved in the second volume of his works, which appeared in 1674. They will be considered with Dutch influence on later English work.

It was of course the climate of religious and cultural tolerance that favoured the flourishing of Vingboons' art. He was a Roman Catholic architect who had the exceptional opportunity of working in an atmosphere of freedom: he took the opportunity and used it to the full.

Chapter 13

Influence of the Classicist Period

First Influence of the Dutch Classicists in England

John Webb

The greatest building enterprise of Amsterdam, the new Town Hall, aroused considerable interest in England. When John Evelyn visited Amsterdam in 1641 he was evidently shown a provisional design. He does not seem to have realised that he was privileged in being given access to it, and in his diary merely states: "The State, or Senate-house of this vast Towne is (if the designe be perfected) one of the most costly, and magnificent pieces of Architecture in Europe, especialy for the materialls, & the Carvings, which exceeds all description".[1] The plan as it was in 1641 contained as yet only one court, but it may, like the Monogrammist plan, have shown a central feature of three bays at one side and five at the other. By 1647 Jacob van Campen's "penultimate" design, with two courts and centrepieces of equal importance on the Dam and the canal, was ready. It was engraved and printed about the same time (Plate 163). A glance at John Webb's Durham House, especially the plans of the third design, of 1649, (Plate 227), reveals its debt to the Amsterdam proposals. Webb took from the Monogrammist design or from other sources the idea of having a broader centrepiece on the water than on his Strand elevation, as the latter was lower by one storey on account of the sloping site. In doing so, he may have retained canonical proportions in the centre, but the Strand front is quite unbalanced.[2] Apart from the façades[3], however, this gigantic London house of 332 by 173 feet, for the Earl of Pembroke, is in plan dependent on Van Campen's design. One should remark in particular the development of corridors from the central room, the position of the great hall (over a pillared hall) between two courts, the almost rigid symmetry and the treatment of the staircases.[4] After this experiment Webb returned to his familiar non-Dutch sources and it is only in a design by Hooke, some twenty-five years later, that we again find an echo of the Amsterdam Town Hall.

Robert Hooke

First a comment on the eclectic way in which Robert Hooke made his designs. We know from his diary that he himself collected architectural books and prints (he mentions the purchase of a *Vingboons*[5] and the *De Laet* he buys in 1675 may be the 1649 Elzevier edition of Vitruvius, with the engravings of the Ionic volute "restored" by Nicolaus Goldmann[6] (Plate 457A); but he also had access to Wren's collection. In contrast to Wren Hooke seldom or never attained a successful fusion of borrowed elements. A good instance of his piecemeal composition is the Royal College of

Physicians, London (1672–8, destroyed 1866–79) (Plate 229). Here the dome of the theatre with its pyramidal lantern is derived from a temple in the fifth book of Serlio, but the way in which the theatre is placed, pavilion-like, over the entrance to the court-yard is French, as are its round windows, while the swags under these windows derive from Dutch precursors. The façade of the main building is generally acknowledged to be Dutch-influenced, but owing to Hooke's eclecticism in designing, it seems difficult to single out any particular building or print as influential. Nancy Schless in her important article of 1969[7] suggests that Hooke adapted the print of the Schuyt House (*Vingboons* II, 8; Plate 228), but this has a giant order *over* a normal one, three storeys in all and no roundheaded windows, and the book cannot have reached Hooke before 1674, two years after he started to design the College building. The real source was the interior façades of the Great Hall in the Amsterdam Town Hall, which show the order of a square mezzanine-window over a rectangular window in the first stage, surmounted by tall roundheaded windows in the second stage, both stages having giant pilasters and festoons (Plate 230). Hooke's façade had a large pediment like Van Campen's external elevation, but the domed cupola Hooke replaced with a more Baroque Roman turret. Thus the circle, started in Serlio's Italy, passing through Dutch Palladianism and French "Classicism", is closed by Roman Baroque.

Hooke's interest in Dutch science and architecture is well known. In his diary there are many references to Christiaan Huygens, who was a fellow of the Royal Society, but also two to Christiaan's father Constantine[8], and their interests in common may have touched on musical theory as well as town-reconstruction and architecture. In December 1672 Hooke started to learn Dutch, evidently so as to be able to read Dutch books, of which he mentions several on diverse subjects.[9] His entry on Mr. Story describing to him the recently completed churches in Amsterdam in 1674, is well known.[10] There are in addition some indications that he visited Holland shortly before 1672. Among his drawings in the British Museum[11] there is a copy of the design for the Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague, which could only have been made in Holland, and the influence of Vingboons' House Nuerdenburg (1661) on Hooke's (unexecuted) design for St. Edmund the King again suggests a visit to Holland, as the house was only engraved in the second book (1674), presumably later than Hooke's design. Influence from the Vierschaar at Leyden (1671–2) might be possible if Hooke visited Holland in 1671 – one may sense his concern with politics there from his remark (August 19th, 1672): "News of De Witts and his brothers cutting in peices". In 1671 he was rebuked by the Royal Society for being absent for some time in 1670.[12]

In any case, several of Hooke's designs show striking similarities to earlier Dutch buildings, whether engraved or not. Ragley Hall, as shown by Kip's engraving and Tasker's survey[13], was designed (or the design was modified by Hooke[13a]) under the strong influence of Van Campen's Town Hall. The plan is a fortunately reduced version of the Amsterdam plan[14], and the pavilions' lack of separate hipped roofs (as a French building would have) must be due to Van Campen's façades. The Town Hall did not provide for outside staircases, so these are quite obviously Hooke's own inventions.[15]

The executed design for Bedlam Hospital (1675) had in its pavilions giant segmental pediments (Plate 231), a feature which is extremely rare in Dutch architecture before the end of the century[16] and which does not appear in prints of the famous architects. The lofty ground storey with a pierced entrance, which is treated as a basement for the

giant pilaster storeys above, is not found in the works of Van Campen or Post; the unexecuted design in the British Museum[17] (Plate 232) has triangular pediments. Nancy Schless surprisingly considers it "almost a direct copy" of Pieter Post's Swanenburgh (Plate 171). In fact Swanenburgh differs in the shape and surrounds of the windows, in possessing an arcade on the ground floor, a different order, and so on. A possible source might be Vingboons' design for a façade published in 1674 (II, 72, Plate 233). This proposal is closer to the unexecuted Bedlam design, but not much closer than, let us say, the centre of Raynham Hall. Indeed when one seeks a *Dutch* source it seems possible to find only two, which were not engraved, both at Leyden; the first, the house Rapenburg 6 (c. 1667) (Plate 234) may be attributed to the town architect Willem van der Helm, while the second, the Vierschaar, an extension of the Gravensteen made in 1671–2, is definitely his (Plate 235). The latter in particular, in its proportions, its smooth undecorated stone window surrounds (unusual for Holland), its high basement and large pediment, is a very close model for Hooke's design. In execution, however, Hooke returns to quoins which had already been extinct for thirty years in Holland (he could find them in one of Vingboons' Vredenburgh designs)[18] and to swags, which were also rapidly disappearing in Holland. As Hooke could only have seen the plans for the Gravensteen extension if he had visited the Republic shortly before the outbreak of war, and since Van der Helm was also an eclecticist one may look for a common source. Anyway, throughout Bedlam Hooke tried to fuse Dutch and French taste.

The same may be said of Montagu House, especially if the design illustrated by Batten is the one executed (Plate 236). As at Ragley we find here a general arrangement of the elevation (for instance in the pavilions which are not as independent as on a French building) which is reminiscent of the Amsterdam Town Hall, whereas the centrepiece again has a faint echo of Raynham. The curved roof line, on the other hand, is decidedly French in inspiration. The columns between piers may also have been suggested by such examples as Le Vau's Hôtel Lambert.

A not altogether happy mixture of sources can also be seen in Escot House, of 1677–88, for Sir Walter Young[19] (Plate 237). The entrance recalls the doorway of St. Mary-le-Bow; curious details like the volutes under the pilasters may have been borrowed from Hendrick de Keyser's Westerkerk (detail on plate XIIII of the *Architectura Moderna*) (Plate 121); the vases on the roof corners derive from those on the Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague, and were copied from some pattern book; the top balustrade and the quoins are reminiscent of a design by Vingboons for Vredenburgh (I, 47) (Plate 128); while the palm sprays may be drawn from a reconstruction of Solomon's Temple, such as the one circulating in Amsterdam in the second half of the seventeenth century, which is sometimes attributed to Philips Vingboons[20] (Plate 238).

It appears that Hooke's attention was often scattered and that he considered his designs as finished before they had reached a coherent and potentially influential style. In architecture Hooke's importance lies in his frequent contacts with Wren and the ideas that he was able to convey to Wren. Possible derivation from Dutch church architecture is dealt with elsewhere. To judge secular influence on Wren's work one must first examine several buildings of the period before him.

Hugh May

The only Restoration architect fully to understand the accord between interior planning and external form in the Dutch Classicists seems to have been Hugh May (1622–84), who had stayed in Holland in the service of the second Duke of Buckingham in the fifties. His Eltham Lodge, Kent, built in 1663–5, shows complete sympathy with and understanding of the ideas expressed by Van Campen and Van 's-Gravesande thirty years earlier (Plate 239). In fact it was not the Mauritshuis – as is generally accepted – but Van 's-Gravesande's Sebastiaandoelen which provided a model for Eltham Lodge (Plate 191). Schless remarked this[21]: "Almost a replica, Eltham Lodge shows its heavy dependence upon the St. Sebastiaansdoelen in such subtle yet fundamental comparisons as the emphasis upon the entrance façade by its being the sole elevation to have a sculpture-filled pediment supported by four intensely flattened, giant pilasters". The Ionic capitals, we may add, have garlands between the volutes – not a novelty, but unusual in the Classicists' period. May used his eyes in the Netherlands![22] The three bays of the centrepiece correspond to the entrance hall, comparable to the *voorhuis* of Dutch houses, and it was perhaps, like the *voorhuis* originally screened off in some way from the staircase. The beautifully carved panels of the staircase are reminiscent of similar ones in seventeenth century houses at the Hague and Leyden, though the few surviving examples in Holland all seem to be of later date[23], whereas England could boast several of them already in the 1650s. The south front of Eltham Lodge has a one bay entrance corresponding to the one bay anteroom, and the plan of the ground floor – as at the Mauritshuis and Huygens' house – is almost repeated on the first floor. To this competent handling of the Dutch style May added as much of the English vernacular as was needed to suit typical domestic requirements and taste. To make ample space for the main as well as the service stairs[24] he designed his plan in three rectangles giving a clear division between the rooms and the service or staircase areas.

Eltham Lodge is richly illustrated in Hill and Cornforth's *Caroline.*[25]

It is a great pity that in England so little of May's work survives – especially his work on Windsor Castle – and in Holland nothing of Frederick Henry's Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk, or of the interior of the Noordeinde Palace.

May's first recorded work is the stable building at Cornbury Park of 1663[26] (Plate 240). Judging from the prints[27] it was based on Post's design[28] for the stables at Honselaarsdijk (Plate 288). In May's somewhat later east front of Cornbury Park, of 1666, one may, however, remark a development which starts to lead him away from Dutch models (Plate 241). The plan is more traditionally English: the three central bays of the façade project in front of three rooms which add up to eight bays; the proportions of the elevations are still fairly similar to the Sebastiaansdoelen but the whole front is in stone, unlike any giant order building by Van Campen, Post, or Van 's-Gravesande. To find a house with a giant Corinthian order over the whole stone façade one has to turn to Vingboons' *oeuvre*, for instance his Ioan Poppen house (Plate 226). But May does not show any affinity with Vingboons' work and, moreover, his pilasters at Cornbury Park clearly show a classical entasis which does not occur – except for the very coincidental case of the Marekerk, Leyden[29] – in Dutch Classicist architecture. He turns decisively to Italian sources or to their first imitation in England, by Inigo Jones.

The same turn is noticeable in the roof line which in the case of Eltham Lodge projects further than in Dutch buildings, but which at Cornbury is held back much more strongly, in other words is much closer to Italy.[30]

The balance of brick and stone in Dutch buildings was followed in May's Berkeley House (1664–6)[31], but here quadrant arcades were added more or less in the Jonesian Stoke Bruerne manner.[31a] After Post's plain straight colonnades at Vredenburgh (Plate 321), quadrant colonnades were only taken up in Holland in William III's circle in the last decades of the seventeenth century, very probably under the influence of Berkeley House. If these Dutch houses in their turn influenced Winde's Buckingham House (1703–5) their importance would have been minor, with the example so near to hand of the Jones-May tradition.

May's later Cassiobury (1677–80) had an oval entrance hall, a feature which cannot be found in contemporary Dutch architecture. The "vigorous and restless decorative sculpture"[32] in the pediment, on the other hand, follows Dutch examples like the decorative[33] sculpture of Van 's-Gravesande's Sebastiaansdoelen or Lakenhal, or on Vingboons' design for a pedimented house (*Vingboons*, II, 70), or in Post's pediment on the Huis ten Bosch (the latter were engraved). For the parts which represent relief figures (whose carver was possibly a foreigner)[34] the source may have been the statuary sculpture in the pediments of Honselaarsdijk, the Mauritshuis and the Amsterdam Town Hall, all directed by Jacob van Campen.

May employed Grinling Gibbons to carve the staircase at Cassiobury (now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York). Gibbons (1648–1721) was born in Rotterdam and probably spent part of his youth there. His astonishing achievement was the fusing of early Caroline staircase panel carving with his extremely accomplished naturalistic decoration, forming an Anglo-Dutch school in this field.

The Customs House, London, built 1669–74 (Plate 242), was "pronouncedly Dutch"[35] and it derives, with its wings enclosing three sides of a courtyard, from Jacob van Campen's Noordeinde Palace at the Hague (1640). Since that building was not engraved until much later, I would like to take up Summerson's suggestion that it was probably made not by Wren but by a deputy[35] and to support Whinney's remarks about May's possible influence on the design[36] rather than Hooke's.

The great halls which Hugh May would have visited when he was in Holland showed various phases of a transition from Classicist to a more illustionistic Baroque decoration.[37] The most Baroque of these schemes, the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch, survives (Plate 177). It was directed by Jacob van Campen who used the smooth surfaces, almost without architectural ornament, provided by Pieter Post. Its only real plastic detail was the musicians' gallery under the lantern, similar to one used by Van Campen in the Great Hall of the Mauritshuis (Plate 149), but the latter was so small that one would have been forced to employ midget musicians to preserve the perspective effect. It represented a transitional stage from the ceiling paintings directed by Van Campen at Honselaarsdijk[38] and Rijswijk[39], which showed illusionistic galleries crowded with musicians and spectators. Of Rijswijk very mediocre prints are left, of Honselaarsdijk only the description.[40]

Kerry Downes indicates the possibility[41] that in decorating Windsor Castle May used schemes and motifs which he had found in these Dutch halls. The sources of Van Campen's schemes will have been North Italian rather than French – for example

Veronese's decorations at Palladio's Villa Barbaro. May's decorations at Windsor tend to move gradually away from Dutch models, but in the Queen's Drawing Room (c. 1676, destroyed)[42] there are still similarities to work directed by Van Campen or Pieter Post (such as the reappearance of the "pilasters" over the balustrade, a feature found in Post's States' Assembly Hall (Plate 168). Even some of the detail quite closely resembles detail in the Dutch palaces – for example the swags in the King's Chapel (1680–4, destroyed)[43] and its twisted painted columns were also employed in several rooms at Rijswijk.[44]

In all probability the King's Staircase bore a considerable resemblance to the Great Staircase at Honselaarsdijk: both started with two flights which turned at 180 degrees and met at the upper landing; both had a kind of dome, although the Honselaarsdijk one was supported by windows like a giant lantern.[45]

If the King's Staircase was similar to one of Frederick Henry's, the Queen's Staircase, with its three flights rising along the walls round a square void seems to derive rather from the Luxembourg, but a decoration with pilasters and paintings along the hall was also found at Honselaarsdijk.[46] Thus we see in May's work marked Dutch feeling at the beginning of his career when he was still under the influence of what he had observed on his travels through Holland.[47] Later he assimilated more ideas from France and Italy and also went back to Inigo Jones, fusing them all into a well-balanced and strongly personal style.

Roger Pratt

The very interesting development of Late Mannerist architecture in the Netherlands in the 1620s, which led to a particular Mannerism with a strongly Baroque feeling in massing and plasticity, especially in the large churches of Hendrick de Keyser and buildings like the St. Pieter's warehouse at Amsterdam[48] (Plate 4), had its English counterpart in such a building as Broome Park, Kent (1635–8) (Plate 3).

In Holland the early seventeenth century "proto-Baroque" was swept away on the strong tide of Classicist work, but its disappearance in England in the wave of Artisan Mannerism suggests that it was in any case an abortive style, an attempt without a future – perhaps because it came too near to Roman Catholic Baroque. After the appearance of François Mansart and Jacob van Campen proto-Baroque could not gain international reputation anyhow.

Sir Roger Pratt (1620–85), who had travelled widely in Italy, France and the Netherlands, realized this when he returned to England in 1649 and began Coleshill House, Berkshire (1650–62, gutted by fire 1952) (Plate 243). As with all great architecture it is not possible to indicate one specific source. In one stroke Pratt had attained a perfect and personal Classicism. If one wishes to detect Dutch features in this work one may note the carefully studied projection of the cornice and the recession of the foot of the roof behind it, as well as the equality of the two principal storeys, as at the Mauritshuis and the Huygens House. On the other hand Coleshill is astylar (like all Pratt's houses) and without a pediment; and, in a further departure from works by Van Campen and Van 's-Gravesande and other Classicists in Holland, emphasises length rather than height. The cupola (Plate 244) is certainly not derived from a Dutch source[50], nor was there any Dutch staircase arrangement comparable with the sudden dramatic approach at Coleshill.[51]

Pratt's next house, Kingston Lacy (1663–5) (Plate 245) had a far more Dutch feeling in its slightly projecting centrepiece, its pediment, its use of brick with stone dressings, and even the complete entablature of the cupola. More significant, however, are the higher general dimensions and the higher roof (the ratio of roof to elevations being 1:2, as at the Mauritshuis – at Coleshill the roof was smaller and the balustrade too much more of a competing element). Still typically English is the rival importance of the chimney stacks and the cupola. Equally neither Van Campen nor Van 's-Gravesande would have placed dormers so near to the pediment or have used them in such profusion.

Horseheath, also begun in 1663, has a somewhat wider façade, eleven bays. In its general proportions and in having only two dormers, it bears some similarity to contemporary Dutch architecture. Its plan, however, (the development to the sides with ancillary buildings, and the two large staircases, invisible from the central hall) follows English traditions. The plan of his next house, Clarendon House, London (1664–7, demolished 1683) is not known. We may assume an arrangement similar to Horseheath, with the cabinets in the outer bays transformed into corridors leading to the wings. Pratt was quite consistent in his work: we may trust the engraver who shows[52], in Pratt's own words, "a clear vista through the very middle of the building where the principal entrance ought always to be placed". Very probably Clarendon House, like Kingston Lacy, was brick with stone dressings. Here too there was an unclassical abundance of dormers. When Roger Pratt a few years later built his own house, Ryston Hall (1668–72), he scarcely disguised his preference for a French roof-line. The centre piece was topped by a large segmental pediment, similar to the style of a French pavilion.

This feature does not only reflect Pratt's personal taste, but also the growing importance of Louis XIV's Court. In the case of Hugh May and Christopher Wren the nature of the commissions was also influential: so their attention eventually turned almost automatically to France for palaces and other vast enterprises for which there were no Dutch examples available.

In the case of Pratt's Ryston (which was smaller than Horseheath or Clarendon House) it must have been a personal inclination towards the splendour of the French Court which seduced Pratt into adopting a form so French and so unclassical.

Christopher Wren

It appeared from the sections on the Dutch influence on Wren's churches that there was more influence than even Sekler thought and that the examples were taken from a longer time span than is generally supposed.[53] Another conclusion was the growing influence of other sources – Italian or French – in the course of time and according to the size of the commission. Thus we again notice in Pembroke College Chapel (1663–5) a simpler Classicism, more sympathetic to contemporary Dutch architecture than the later, somewhat more complicated Emmanuel College Chapel at the same university (1668–73). However strong the enthusiasm of English architects may have been for the success of Protestant church architecture and modest country estates, it did not blind them to the fact that they had to seek greater enterprises elsewhere. The best of them, like Pratt and May, fused the different sources into a consistent style of

their own, whereas the more enquiring, probing, scientific mind of Wren tried from time to time to assimilate various complete façade schemes into his vast complexes.

In the case of Winchester Palace (begun 1683, left unfinished in 1685), he did not create a convincing unity, on the evidence of the ungainly plan and much later reconstruction of the court front in Milner's *History of Winchester* (Plate 246). If the quadrant colonnades and the form of the lateral chapels in the engraving are correct, the palace was returning to the motifs of Stoke Bruerne (Plate 247). It would moreover have been the second instance of quadrant colonnades after Berkeley House and before those built in William III's circle in the Netherlands. The dome was not executed and does not in any case correspond to Wren's preliminary design. But if it appeared like this in the final project, rather than deriving from French sources (several are adduced)[54] it is extremely close to Van Campen's Town Hall dome in having a smooth hemispherical dome (over a pediment) with an, again domed, lantern on top (Plate 164).

In the case of Chelsea (1682–91) (Plate 248) not only the simple and imposing general appearance but some of the massing and detailing recall examples of Dutch work, especially the extreme austerity of Daniel Stalpaert's Admiralty Arsenal at Amsterdam (1655–6), which was represented in five engravings. It is not the huge Arsenal itself which is of importance here but the plan and the two long façades of an ancillary building which contained in its centre large rooms for general use, approached by an entrance on the land side and one on the side of the yard, flanked by lodgings for personnel, so that the use of the building, essentially a barracks and store for a shipyard, is comparable to that of Chelsea Hospital. Stalpaert's yard shows on the land side a division into three parts: barracks to the sides, in the middle a building with round-headed niches (often in Dutch architecture surrounded by redder brick) and a centre with giant Doric pilasters carrying a pediment and surmounted by an octagonal cupola with a hemispherical dome (Plate 249). This provided a useful model which was to be improvised on by the use of one of Inigo Jones's surviving cupolas for St. Paul's. But the compositional scheme remains the same.

A source for the executed cupola, which has diagonals stressed by projecting columns, may have been the cupola-turret of the Nieuwe Kerk at the Hague (after Hooke's drawing; Plate 252) or, rather, Hendrick de Keyser's Zuiderkerkstoren at Amsterdam (after the *Architectura Moderna*)[55] (Plate 101).

In his later Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich (from 1696 onwards) Wren developed more Baroque forms, as he did in his preliminary designs for Hampton Court (1689–94).[56]

The first ambitious schemes for rebuilding most of this palace were abandoned for reasons of expediency – speed, economy, availability of stone – and eventually the greater part of the Tudor fabric was accepted, only the almost square wings round the Fountain Court being added. As soon as William had become King of England he had realized his need to vie with Louis XIV – but here he failed to achieve a great scheme. In his attempt to become a genuinely English monarch we may say that he was successful. The decorations – especially the personal allusions to Hercules *pro Guilielmo* – are befitting to a monarch and the architecture as a whole is decidedly neither French nor Dutch[57] but, in its long sweep, planted in the gardens and exaggerating length at the cost of central accents, it has a strongly English character.

This is not entirely true, however, of the court elevations (Plate 250). William's architect Jacob Roman had from about 1686 onwards completed the sixteenth century court of Breda Castle (Plate 251). He continued the arcade, the pedimented windows on the first floor and roundheaded ones on the second. Perhaps the arcade, the cramped pediments and the circular elements over them in the Fountain Court are reminiscent of the Breda courtyard. Thus the final appearance of Hampton Court would owe as much to Wren's Englishness as to William's conservatism.

As for other building-types, Dutch influence may appear in country houses. At Tring Manor (c. 1670), by Christopher Wren, this influence is apparent in the wide spacing of the two pilasters at the corners of the salient, but most of the prominent features of the house derive rather from Serlio.[58]

Of Winslow Hall, three decades later[59], formerly attributed to Wren, one can only say that it is of the vernacular type current since Pratt and May, a placid Anglo-Dutch style suitable for unpretentious country-houses.[60] As soon as the time-gap caused by England's internal troubles was overcome there existed in such commissions a certain parallelism between Holland and England, which makes it extremely difficult to speak of influences. The results could equally be judged to derive from English prototypes or from Dutch prints. So if one likes to find Dutch inspiration for Henry Bell's Custom House (Plate 403) or Jerman's Exchange one should likewise consider the already completed work in England from 1660 onwards, and recall the close affinity which had existed already in the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century between Netherlandish and London Mannerism and between Dutch and East Anglian vernacular.

So I will discuss these architects very briefly, concentrating on some general patterns of planning in the great country seats and the post-Wren churches, and deal even more briefly with resemblances in exterior design between the Dutch Flat Style (c. 1670–1700) and Georgian houses.

In matters of detail a late inspiration from plate VII of the *Architectura Moderna* (Plate 253) may be found in the Dean's door of St. Paul's Cathedral (Plate 254).

When Christoper Wren built Drury Lane Theatre (1672–4) (Plate 255) he certainly knew that Jacob van Campen's 1637 *Schouwburg* (Plates 98, 99, 145) had already been demolished because it was not sufficiently deep for Baroque staging. There were no prints of the new *Schouwburg* (1665, by Vingboons)[61] but through oral communication Wren would have heard that it did not contain a royal box – so that the perspective was not rigidly centralised – or seats and boxes on the stage, as the public was not admitted there.

In the place of boxes on the stage there were the statues of Thalia and Melpomene between giant columns; a similar giant order is visible on the engraving of *Ariadne* on the Drury Lane stage, but for the boxes on the sides of the auditorium Wren was clearly inspired by Van Campen's auditorium scheme.[62] Introducing a far greater depth than at Amsterdam and apparently wishing to keep the perspective illusion from a central royal box, Wren constructed the sides of the auditorium in perspective. This doubtless gave the royal box a splendid view of a smooth transition from the sides to where the wings and shutters continued the setting – but seated in a side box one could easily become giddy. This remained a unique experiment.

As for the King's Gallery, Kensington Palace (Plate 256), I think that Ozinga[63] was

right in suggesting that it may very well have been built (1695–6, from plans of about 1690[64]) after designs by Jacob Roman, William III's architect, who was staying in England with the king in about 1690. The façade of the King's Gallery shows several of Roman's idiosyncracies: the partial attic topped with vases and the bracketed cornice, for instance, occur on his Butter House, the Hague (1681) (Plate 374), and on Zeist (1686), (Plates 300 and 380), and one may remark the pilaster strips running into the cornice at Kensington, also at Zeist and on the pavilions of Het Loo (Plate 302). In 1682 Roman had designed the Wilsveen church, near Leyden[65], and the arrangement of the turret over the pediment and some of the detailing of the Clock Court, Kensington Palace, are strongly reminiscent of this small church. So there is some reason to ascribe the design of the Clock Court to Jacob Roman as well.[66]

As an exception in this survey I will discuss an unexecuted design, the plan and elevation at All Souls for a very large house, almost certainly in Wren's hand[67], because it forms such an important link between Inigo Jones' Stoke Bruerne and Pieter Post's Vredenburgh on the one hand, and the Georgian country house on the other. It is a pity that the date of the project is unknown, because the 1686 *corps-de-logis* of Zeist and Het Loo show in their centres the same contraction of ornament (only one bay and one storey with an order, and above it an adorned window-casing). The design is, in any case, like Hooke's Ragley with which it may be connected, later than the publications of Vingboons' and Van Campen's Town Hall plans (which may have inspired the corner pavilions), whereas Pieter Post's print of Vredenburgh (Plate 321) supplies the lower, short, straight colonnades linking the house laterally to the stable and service blocks. Apart from the very English plan of the corp-de-logis the house shows the very wide range of influences which a few Dutch buildings could exert on the development of English country houses.

In interior layout and decoration the King's Staircase at Hampton Court should be compared with the staircase of Zeist[68] (Plate 257). The latter, designed by Roman in about 1686 on a simpler plan but one comparable to the King's Staircase, had a wrought iron balustrade (presumably a novelty in Holland), while the staircase hall (planned asymmetrically, to the side of the central hall), was painted by Daniel Marot with illusionistic views. Jacob Roman may have had a hand in the general design of the King's Staircase; but the painting was executed much later (1700–02) by Verrio. It seems that William III, when it came to expediency and, especially, speed, drew on models with which he was familiar, a habit to which Roman was well accustomed. When more at leisure he would have paid more attention to Christoper Wren's proposals.

Chapter 14

Mercury turned Farmer

Introduction

Throughout the period with which we are dealing several types of garden continued to be in fashion. I have divided these into five categories, making each sufficiently comprehensive to give an overall impression. If this system seems arbitrary, it is feasible and seemed preferable to a chronological order that would have blurred significant distinctions. In this respect I follow the example set in that distinguished study of Dutch gardens by Anna Bienfait, *Oude Hollandsche Tuinen*, which appeared at the Hague in 1943.

Bienfait's work deals approximately with the period 1500–1750 and covers the whole of the Northern Netherlands excluding the "landscape" of Drente and the duchy of Limburg, provinces which, in the words of the author (page 285), "did not yield matter for our description". Bienfait describes the country houses as contingent to the gardens. Since I am concentrating on a period when the architectural layout of an estate could not be separated from the architectural features of the house, and one, in fact, derived from the other, I have taken the houses as point of departure.

Part one, *Mercury turned Farmer*, deals with the development from a single room on a farm, reserved for the investor and only occasionally used, into the country house of the quiet living rentier. This may seem a natural progression, but the original type of house involved was already slightly distinct from the normal farmhouse.

Princely Gardens are those created through the patronage of the Courts of Frederick Henry, William II and William III. The gardens of the Nassaus who were the contemporary Stadholders of Groningen and Friesland have not been taken into consideration. On the whole the most telling examples in the Classicist period occur in the western parts of the Republic. In the paragraphs on the small estates with strong roots in history, the *Nucleus of Holland*, the scene is narrowed to the surroundings of Leyden, where the political foundations of the Republic had been laid in the Middle Ages. The last Renaissance town garden in the Hague, that of Prince Maurice, serves to set off the comparative novelty of the little country-seats around Leyden.

Pliny versus Calvin attempts to give a picture of the Calvinist attitude to Nature. On the whole it appears that contradictions, which in retrospect seem irreconcilable, were not in the least regarded as incompatible. The geometrical *was* natural, one might say. The compartments containing "wild nature", as in several gardens, were rather an admonition of the barbarous times when God's plan in its beautiful geometry was not yet apparent, than something one was expected to delight in.[1]

Finally the paragraphs entitled *Pluto Omnibus Idem*[2] are not as one might suppose a sequel to "Princely Gardens". Duinrel and Clingendaal in particular should be regarded as the summit of a specifically Dutch development in garden layout which was, quite

consciously, in a direct contrast to the French gardens of the reign of Louis XIV.

Mercury turned farmer

De soetigheyt, de vreucht des herten, gaer en gans
Is uyt de Stat gevlucht, woont op de Moffeschans.
De Moffeschans die leert aan nederheyt te wennen,
De Moffeschans alleen leert alle kruyen kennen,
De Moffeschans die leert het teelen van het vee,
Het koken van de spijs, het maecken van de mee.
. . .

De Steden staen nu leeg, de Moffeschans ist al,
Hof, boecken, brouwerij, de keucken en de stal.
(Dedicatory poem by Daniel Heinsius to Petrus Hondius' Dapes Inemptae, 1621).[3]

This theme runs through all the country house poems of the seventeenth century: the turmoil of the city, the dangers of seafaring, all could be happily exchanged for the calm and pleasures of country life.

The question of whether this desire was the result of literary invention or of servility to Classical authors need not be discussed here, only the tone should be noticed, the praise, by the author of this dedicatory poem, of the countryside. There one becomes acquainted with all the herbs, learns how to raise cattle, to cook, to make madder or mead . . . the country is everything: Court, library, brewery, kitchen and stable.

This particular poem was dedicated to the author of a long poem with the title "Dapes inemptae . . . that is the Sweetnesse of Country-life in the company of books". The title – unpaid-for fruit – reflects the ideal of a self-supporting country estate far from the vices of the city.

The Dutch had struggled for centuries to reclaim their soil, so that their approach to the land was hardly romantic: land was an investment and had to yield useful products. The Dutchman liked to see rich crops and fine cattle, and the merchants who invested in the new polders of the seventeenth century built farmhouses in which they reserved for their own use – for their carefully regulated pleasure – a number of rooms so that they could live on the farm for a few months in the summer. His garden was a farmer's garden, that is a vegetable garden, an orchard, perhaps a herb garden and a few flower-beds, and possibly an aviary or a warren.[4] Even in many fully-developed country seats late in the seventeenth century there appears to be no garden – presumably the owner had a parterre with a broderie behind his town house and when in the country liked only to keep ducks and swans on his moat, turtles in holes in his walls, and otherwise peep through his belt of lime-trees to see where he could best hunt pheasants, partridges, quails and the rest.

If at *Westwijck* the indications are slight, and if at *Elsenburgh* there are no rear windows on the piano nobile (specifically so that the farm should not be in view), the country-house *Groenhoven* (1643) near Amsterdam is clearly constructed in front of a farmhouse by extending it to the right and by giving it a new façade[5] (Plate 258). It

seems to be purely chance that this broad front of seven bays, of which three are raised, is to the modern taste the most in keeping with the countryside – soon the country would be overrun by the urban taste for severe high square façades. (Plate 333).

The custom of living with one's tenants in the summer was especially cultivated in the new polders like the Beemster – where a good example of a farm with *Heerenkamer* (Squire's chamber) is the *Eenhoorn* of 1682[6] – but is was also common in the "old" country. Often the Heerenkamer consisted of a suite of rooms and was built in a more or less fashionable and urban manner in the front of the existing farmhouse. For this reason several of Vingboons' country houses have no windows at the back, either because the owners did not wish to look on the farmhouse immediately behind their house, or because the residence shared a wall with the farm.

Before dealing with the next type, the farm-cum-country-house Meerzicht, something must be said about the geographic background.

In the west of Holland, behind the dunes, there had existed in the Middle Ages a vast area of marshy land and small lakes. Under the Romans this land had still been forest, but a slow persistent rise in the water-level had turned most of the heart of Holland into a region of swamps. Some dykes did exist, mainly along the bigger rivers, but the troubles of the Eighty Years War had been the occasion of much neglect. When at last the powerful Water Authority Board (the Hoogheemraadschap van Leiden) towards 1580 became all pro-Orangist[7], the situation was as follows. The different areas can be most clearly visualised as large saucers with large borders of peat which were continually threatened by the water in the middle, until the whole area was closed in by a dyke and the water-level lowered by pumping until the central area was dry enough to be cultivated: the great difference between the older polders and the later ones was that the former tended to be small, with peat even in the middle (these are used for pasture), while in the larger later ones the peat has been swept away by the water and the underlying clay uncovered. These polders are mainly arable.

As a result in the smaller polders we find farms along the borders which are older than the construction of the dykes, as at the farm *Meerzicht* between Zoetermeer and the Hague, which dates from 1640, while its polder only gained its dykes and windmills in 1668. The original farm does not lie at right angles to the dyke, so that the façade was cut off obliquely when in 1677 the country house was built in front of it (Fig. 20). This Classicist structure faces the carriage-drive over a bridge, at right angles to its centre (Plate 260). The old entrance to the farm, with the year of construction carved on the lintel, was later re-used for the summer-kitchen of the farm.[8] It is still there, with, though much neglected, the whole house[9]; presumably it is the only surviving seventeenth century example of its type. One can imagine the fine view from the high main storey until quite recently: Gouda and the Hague to east and west, and to the north the vast *polderlandschap* with the beautiful silhouette of Leyden.[10]

A rather coarse example of the house beside the farm, where the combination is not concealed, was Ter Spekken at Lisse in the neighbourhood of Leyden. It had an elegant wrought iron entrance gate in front of a formal *basse cour* between low modern wings, but the fourth side of the court was occupied by both the thatched farm and the Classicist house[11] (Plate 259).

The most famous instance of a farmhouse extended by additional rooms and a

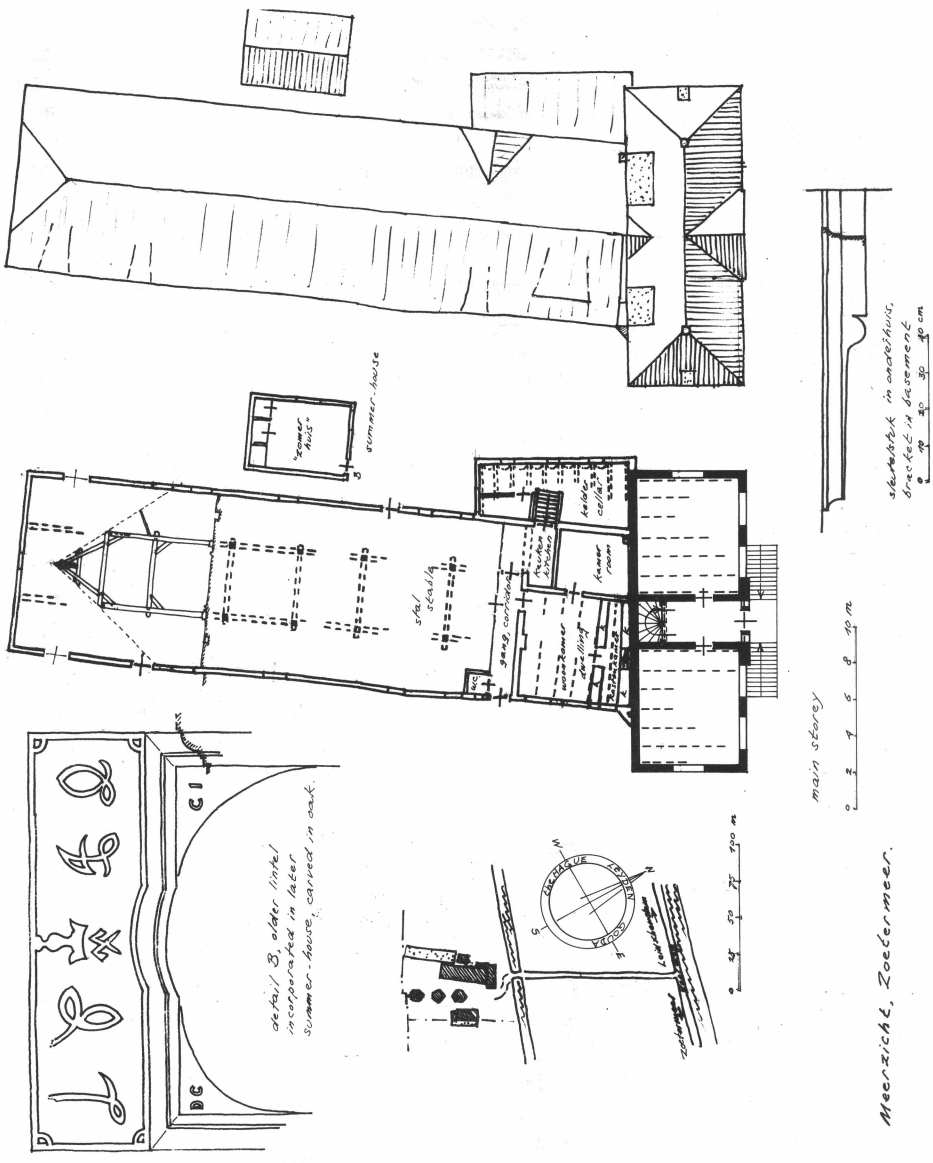


Figure 20. Meerzicht, Zoetermeer

formal façade was Goudehoef on the river Vecht, known since its conversion of about 1629 as *Goudestein* (Plate 261). One reason for its fame was the renown of its owner, Ioan Huydecoper (who had his Amsterdam house built by Philips Vingboons in 1639), a renown which was the result not only of his personal merit and wealth but of his patronage of the arts – as a result of which Goudestein was earlier and more frequently depicted than most other country estates in the Netherlands, in prints and paintings as well as in country house poems.

Jan Vos, the dramatist, wrote several poems about the place as Huydecoper was his most important patron. There was a spring, and flowers:

"Laat oudt Arkadien op zuivre bronnen roemen,
Men vind op Goudestein,
Een loffelyker bron, omheint van schoone bloemen"[12]

We are told of a grotto, a warren, and a nightingale (all features not to be guessed at from the visual depictions), as well as the owner's enjoyment of hunting.

A minor poet, Lukas Rotgans, sacrifices all realism to the idea of a Georgic poem: he compares Ioan Huydecoper to Cato and sees withered flowers spring to life at his arrival. After mentioning the elms, beeches and oaks Rotgans climbs up to the cupola, not to gaze at the flowers and gardens but to hear

"de koejen met opgezwollen uyers loejen;
Ik zie ze al hupplend, tot een blyk
Van vreugde, naar de Melkmeidt draaven";

. . . and to see "akkers ryk van graan;
. . . Hier zietmen Ceres veeltydts waaren . . ."

An allusion to Diana follows ("Dochter van Latoon"), and then the Tiber is compared unfavourably to the Vecht:

"Wat stroom kan by den Vechtstroom haalen?
Dat hier de Roomsche Tyber zwigt'.
Maar welk een aangenaam geschater, . . .
Vervult de Maarseveensche lucht?
De Nimfen dartlen op het water . . ."[13] (Plate 262)

Evidently the rural appearance of the grounds was appreciated by the Huydecopers after the formality of city life.

About 1730 Cornelis Backer, a member of the Amsterdam patriciate, built a seven bay front in the flat urban style, in front of the farmhouse he had acquired at Wassenaar. The tall new structure incorporates a cellar of the old farm, the rest of which was eventually pulled down in the middle of the nineteenth century. Backershagen is a late and unrecognized example of the house combined with farm, and is also interesting for the cultivation of pineapples on the estate – although Cornelis Backer never achieved the success of his grandfather, Pieter de la Court. De la Court was the first man to grow pineapples in Holland, and his son Pieter de la Court wrote a treatise on gardening which among other geometrical forms advocated the triangular layout as the best to contain the traditional elements on a small scale.[14]

From the scarce descriptions of Backershagen[15] we gather that the garden was not particularly notable. Its only interest lay in two ponds on a transverse axis directed towards a side elevation, but this cannot have been more than a faint echo of the arrangement at nearby Clingendaal, where ponds were arranged at either side of the

house to reflect the high side elevations. Only in 1772 was the garden at Backershagen extended with a landscape park in the English style, in which the most conspicuous feature was (and is) an elegant high cupola on top of a steep artificial mount.[16]

Even today Holland still has a fair number of farms where some of the rooms are so lavishly decorated that it is improbable that they were originally intended for tenants.[17]

The next stage in the development is the placing of the farmhouse on an independent site in the grounds. At Swanenburgh (Plate 170) it was sited discreetly behind the house; while at *Vredenburgh* (Plate 325) the farm (with the boat-house) lies to one side of the entrance road with the house on the other side. Eventually the farmhouse was removed from the grounds altogether: if there was any need for cows or she-asses for fresh milk, their sheds were given the architecturally co-ordinated form to the other ancillary buildings: stables, harness-rooms, bath-houses[18], wagon-sheds and so forth.

The bucolic scene at Goudestein depicted by Rotgans is confirmed by the paintings of Jan van der Heyden of about 1670.[19] Immediately behind the house cattle and haystacks are portrayed. Most of the farmhouse had by then disappeared: it is clearly visible on Van Berckenrode's map of 1629.[20] Van der Heyden shows a regular Classicist façade towards the meadows, with five central bays (three raised under a pediment), flanked by shallow wings and topped by the cupola on the ridge of the roof; in his paintings of the street façade along the Vecht the façade is still assymmetrical, with two windows to the right of the central part and three to the left – though higher since the original *opkamer* (sitting-room raised over a cellar, especially in a farmhouse) was still intact.[21] And so it remained until, in the mid eighteenth century, the whole house was rebuilt.

The cupola of Ioan Huydecoper's house was surmounted by an arrow-shooting centaur, his emblem (also found on the chimneys of his house Singel 548). The entrance gate, of 1627, bore two metal spheres, a symbol of the owner's maritime wealth[22], similar to those placed a few years later on the chimneys of Huygens' house and so much admired. "Mercury turned farmer" is an accurate enough description of the average farmer – in the case of the Huydecopers one might detect an element of deliberate romanticism which is surely associated with the school of Ruysdael and Hobbema. It would be indeed surprising if their famous landscapes did not reflect an attitude towards Nature which was also apparent in actual landscaping.

Chapter 15

The Nucleus of Holland

The symbolic Garden of Prince Maurice

In Hortulum Principis Mauritii δίκυκλον

Quidni Mauritius geminos calcaverit orbes?
Orbis Alexandro non satis unus erat.

20. Apr. (? 1631; Huygens, poems, edition Worp, II, p. 229)[1]

Towards the end of his life Count Maurice (who was succeeded as Stadholder by Frederick Henry in 1625) relaxed somewhat from his continual warfaring. He watched – probably not without satisfaction – the beheading of his political adversary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, and had his elaborate garden embellished by the painter and engraver Jacob de Gheyn at a few yards' distance from the place of Van Oldenbarnevelt's execution[2] (Plate 263).

The garden was given a stern exterior: it was enclosed by a high brick wall, nostalgically crenellated; only the bright stone tops of the brick merlons hinted at some festivity inside. Grave to the public eye, but festive within – Maurice had this lovely enclosed space built to lend a charm to the domestic life with his mistresses and their children.

Huygens' pun on the "two-wheeled" garden is based on its form: two arbours were laid out in circles round fountains and linked by a pavilion. This was painted on the inside with foliage and pilasters alternating with illusionistic paintings; according to Hondius' description (which would have been furnished by De Gheyn) it was "as though one beheld a blue sky". Bronze flower-pots ("a l'imitation des antiquailles de bronze") bordering the circles and the wall contained orange-trees, figs, olives and bays, and also flowers and herbs in due season, as the description emphatically states.[3] The garden as an enclosed court with its flowers, pavilions, and *berceaux* is the fulfilment of mediaeval taste, a *hortus conclusus*, and equally its rigid symmetry would have appealed to the military-minded Maurice, the great promotor of scientific warfare. Shortly before his death he decided to beautify this old-fashioned setting with a Renaissance gem, a grotto to be created by Jacob de Gheyn, and whose designs survive[4] (Plate 264). It was a gorgeous fantasy of human heads and bodies interlaced with animals and shells. Maurice's imagination would have been fired by Huygens' account of the gardens at Heidelberg[5] on which Salomon de Caus had worked. The knot of Maurice's twin circles, painted as the sky, was the representation of Heaven, which seemingly was the only connection between the two closed worlds of the hemispheres.[6] The grotto, an extravagant but obligatory element, persisted in the great

Dutch gardens throughout the seventeenth century; they were often designed by Italian grottoists.

The example of Maurice's dicycles was so powerful that they were copied exactly by Johan Wolphaert van Brederode when he remodelled his garden at Vianen for his wife Anna van Nassau about 1630 (Plate 289). This garden may well have been laid out by Isaac l'Eschevin, Brederode's *jardinier*. The same gardener presumably made the preliminary drawings for Milheussers's 1644 engraving of Rijswijk's garden.[7]

When Frederick Henry laid out his estates he included not only grottoes, but also, at Honselaarsdijk, the circles, and, at Rijswijk, the crenellation of the forecourt, though here it becomes a kind of sentimental conceit. In one of the ponds at Rijswijk he placed a river-god which closely resembled one in the Schlosspark at Heidelberg.[8]

There will be occasion below to note the predilection of Frederick Henry's grandson, William III, for the retention of picturesque and historic features in his gardens, especially at Het Loo.

In the small castles, country houses and gardens round Leyden every kind of transition from one style to another is found: the estates generally consist of the haphazard contributions of several generations.

Berendrecht

Thus the house Berendrecht (Plate 265) had mediaeval as well as modern features. It was "newly founded" in 1646, in the heyday of Classicism, and to judge by Jan de Beyer's drawing of 1749 was scarcely altered in a century.[9] The façade is Classicist; only the quoins of the pedimented central bay are a little old-fashioned. In general the house is as novel as could be expected in the *polderlandschap* around Leyden. The general layout, however, is mediaeval: an inward-looking garden (or a mere forecourt), moated, walled, with corner pavilions and a drawbridge in front of the entrance gate. On this estate new architectural forms were happily married to a quiet, introverted garden design.

Warmond

At Warmond[10], one of the first of the old castles to be reshaped in the seventeenth century (1629), there was no old-fashioned taste at work. Salomon de Bray designed the new, rather shallow but long wing which was erected in front of the south elevation of the corps-de-logis. (Plate 266). The rest of the structure he took for granted, much as one takes for granted the existing fabric of a town when building a new house within it. But his addition was startlingly original. The gardens, so far as they did exist were separated from the house by a large moat. The wall closing the fore-court had to be kept, as well as an ungainly drawbridge – the last chain in a new stone bridge –, less for security than to maintain some feudal pretensions. To the stone part of the bridge[11], which was broad and pilastered between the arches, De Bray did, however, give a certain grandeur.

In the seventeenth century at Warmond gardens were subordinated to the pleasures

of hunting and fishing. Even in 1712 the engraver Johannes Lamsvelt (who in a Rococo spirit exaggerates the height of the castle) shows practically no garden worthy of mention, but in its place numerous arrangements for birds: for swans in the moat, for pigeons in the walls, and on the roof for storks, who are seen happily looking around among the many survivals of the Middle Ages – fantastic wind-vanes, a bell-turret on brackets and with bows, a sundial attached to one of the eight facets of a tower, and so on (Plate 267). At the end of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth the building was regularised and rendered, and English landscape gardens were laid out.

It was only in 1951 that Ter Kuile related Saenredam's drawings of De Bray's design to Warmond[12] (Plates 67 and 268) so that it became possible to understand De Bray's original intention: the creation of two long galleries, one over the other, real state rooms, without chimneys; for Holland they were to be of unusual length, more than four times their width, and were to be accompanied by superimposed Doric and Ionic orders on the elevations. The coved and partitioned ceilings of the new rooms will have been the first of their kind in Holland. The façade incorporated several novelties, such as the pseudo-mezzanine windows (later to be used in the Amsterdam Town Hall and the Weigh House at Leyden), and the pediment which comes immediately after the one at Maarssen. (In an unexecuted variant it has an oculus and statues on top of a triton and of Diana, appropriate in this area between the water and the hunting fields of the dunes, and several years earlier than Huygens' statues.) This design is one of the very first in Holland that can be called truly Classicist.

Castle Clant

In every one of the houses and castles round Leyden mentioned here something of the old structure was retained in the remodellings. An excursion to Johan Clant's estate near Stedum, Groningen, built in 1669 by Philips Vingboons[13], shows that Vingboons did the same thing (Plates 269–72). He boasts that he pulled down even the old foundations, but an examination of the prints (note for example the form and position of the several staircases) reveals that he merely built a long (12'4" by 34'4") one-storeyed, balustraded gallery in front of the old corps-de-logis, and at the rear added a bay window, also with a balustraded balcony on top. He then proposed to build wings with very austere corner pavilions along the forecourt.[14] Apart from minimal adornment of the entrance and the balustrades, there is no decoration at all. The windows are grouped in vertical and horizontal rhythms, but as in the engravings the thickness of the elevations is not apparent, these small windows have the air of holes in a punch-card. In reality the house must have looked like a sombre mediaeval fortress, appropriate to the sobriety of Groningen. By contrast the castles in the core of Holland are gay affairs.

Klein Poelgeest, De Kruidberg and De Koningshof

Klein Poelgeest at Koudekerk was given a cheerful mixture of old and new motifs. It retained the stump of a tower and a central gable with steps and scrolls. To make it appear up to date it was enough to hang a timber and iron gallery on the façade between the corner salients[15] (Plates 273–4).

To the north of the old dunes of Holland, near Haarlem, was the estate *De Kruidberg* (Plates 275–6), owned by fashionable patrons and perhaps favoured with fashionable architects. The house, with a garden in front, was engraved by Cornelis Decker, a pupil of Romeyn de Hooghe, about 1684, after William III had acquired the property.[16] William was a reluctant and rather conservative patron of building, and as in the gardens there had before 1688 been no incentive to impose a Baroque axis, the extension to the sides was maintained. The illustrated building will have retained the form in which it had been rebuilt or reshaped by Balthasar Coymans who owned the estate from 1644–77. The engraving is too clumsy for one to judge whether Coymans used a gifted architect – if so Jacob van Campen could have furnished the design of the centre. This centre is rather Italianate and fanciful, but as represented is not the work of a great architect, with its restless shifting of axes – worse indeed than Post's Huis ten Bosch which it resembles fairly closely. The old wings are connected by two galleries or *voorhuizen* one over the other, with a broad terrace on their roof. Set back on the terrace there is a centrepiece with a sculpture-filled pediment and three statues on top, one of which is recognizably Justice. From the high terrace one gained a good view of the *parterres* and *broderies*. One could see dwarf trees in pots, two octagonal-seeming flowerbeds, (descendants of Maurice's dicycles,)[17] and, in the centre of the garden, a large statue of Aesculapius, as the estate was renowned for the healing properties of its herbs.

At the *Koningshof*, Katwijk[18] (Plate 277), the gallery is reduced to a mere balustrade running between two topped gables. The limited extent of this modernisation is somewhat remedied by niches on the ground floor with statues of antique deities. The print shows several devices which became very popular around 1700: hedges trimmed like the rolling waves of the sea, flower pots or busts (for which Roman Emperors were much sought after), placed in niches which were cut into high hedges. These hedges shut off the rear and sides of the garden to disguise the fact that is was only a small plot in the middle of the village. The creation, through high clipped hedges, of compartments became increasingly popular, to disguise the smallness of most estates.

Groot Poelgeest, De Burcht and Duivenvoorde

Other patrons lived in overt nostalgia. *Groot Poelgeest*, situated like Klein Poelgeest at Koudekerk, was as mediaeval and romantic as one could wish (Plate 278). Adriaan van Beerstraten painted an extremely picturesque view of it[19], a winter landscape with skaters and the dark threat of an approaching thunderstorm.

In the very centre of Leyden the city acquired in 1651 *De Burcht*, an eleventh century *château à motte*, a circular defending wall with a small keep on top of a steep artificial hill. For centuries it had remained the property of the county in the middle of the developing city. The town then lavished on it every available token of imaginative association. There may have been a faint desire to assert the town's legitimation through these symbols – though that would hardly seem necessary after its heroic resistance to the Spaniards. Instead, the town's motive must have been the creation of fanciful historic reminiscences. A mock Gothic archway was constructed, flanked by crenellated pavilions. At the entrance to the hill two Gothic pillars bearing lions were erected, with an arbour which crept up the hill to the château (Plate 279).

This *berceau* was later reduced to a few green arches and hedges, but in yet another inversion of values the hill was adorned with a *broderie*. This time no elevated walk or terrace was needed, the slope creating an elevated parterre.[20]

The mediaeval castle *Duivenvoorde* (Plate 280) was externally scarcely changed in the seventeenth century. The Wassenaar family did nevertheless add one emphatic detail, a little crenellated wall closing the fore-court. These battlements may have been a mark of reverence by the Counts of Wassenaar to the Princes of Orange. Perhaps too they recalled nostalgically the olden times of chivalry and a less bourgeois form of government.[21]

Endegeest

The castle of *Endegeest* at Oegstgeest, as one of the few survivals of its kind, palpably stands before us, but as soon as we try to unravel its building history becomes extremely enigmatic (Plate 281). In the basement storey, whose vaulted ceilings intersect, at least three building stages can be discerned[22] – but further research on the site should reveal the relative age of each section. Parts of the basement (perhaps extending under the fore-court) are from the castle destroyed during the siege of Leyden in 1573–4, parts from the subsequent rebuilding, while in about 1650 the house was "completely pulled down" according to some sources, "burnt down" according to another[23] – in any case thoroughly reshaped. Important elements of the interior of the 1650 renovation remain: the staircase[24], several chimneypieces, ceilings and paintings. Others date from the alterations which gave the exterior its inscrutable appearance, since it was remodelled possibly in 1706, and definitely in about 1747 and about 1800. At the time of the 1650 rebuilding Classicism was already so firmly entrenched that a strongly romantic flavour could be given to the new building, principally through the domed octagonal towers (with small bell turrets and bows), announcing the ancient feudal pretensions of the family. The pavilions at the corners and entrance of the court created in their height points of accentuation and were also a little archaic[25] but more interesting was a connecting arched gallery along three sides of the forecourt, of which little is left apart from some columns with Ionic capitals. Like those of the entrance gate these capitals are after Vignola, and curiously enough are placed at right angles to the row of arches in which they are placed. Probably the identity of the architect will remain a mystery.

In the interior perfect Classicist mantel pieces carved in wood and marble are combined with a mock stucco ceiling in a geometrical pattern which really belongs to the sixteenth century but is apparently work of the middle of the seventeenth[26] (Plate 416). The owner from 1646 to 1652, Elisabeth van Schouwen[27], was married to Jacob van Berchem, who was a member of the Raad van State which assembles at the Hague. When we consider the antiquated capitals after Vignola, the fact that they are arbitrarily turned at ninety degrees, the archaizing ceiling and finally the likeness of the domed turrets to the turret of the Town Hall at the Hague (1647, by Van Bassen[28]), we would not be surprised if it were discovered that the painter-architect Bartholomeus van Bassen (c. 1590–1652) was architect of Endegeest.

The entrance to the house, and many of the windows, were changed about 1747, when in addition the line of the roof was straightened. The remaining mullion and

transom windows were replaced by sash windows about 1800. The castle was acquired by the city of Leyden in 1895 and became a mental home.

About 1700 various myths were deliberately spun around the castle's history. A drawing suddenly appeared showing the castle completely rased in 1574, except for the octagonal towers which stand firm and trusty with their (timber-structured) cupolas, turrets, and bows. It was meant to prove that the two corner towers dated from the mediaeval building. At the same time[29] the domes of the towers were provided with ribbed domical vaults in plain oak. The ribs of these semicircular domes have a Gothic profile – they were either made for the occasion or were taken from some demolished building.[30] It would be extremely helpful to establish this dating of around 1700, not only because it would continue the chain of Gothic survival throughout the seventeenth century, but because in this case we can speak of Gothic *revival.*

Also about 1700, a deliberate effort was made to lay out a regular garden and park. In all probability, apart from the watercourses and the plantations of trees, little or nothing of the plan with its three grand broderies in the French style[31] was executed. The layout was designed with the octagonal corner towers as central points; though the castle was to retain its moat the general effect would have been a well-proportioned relationship between castle and garden.

On the plan, to the south two broderies lead to a circular *bassin* backed by a semicircular hedge, and the garden was closed by a pointed bastion-like canal from the top of which emerged a *patte d'oie*. In a corner of the park a concession to modern taste was introduced in the form of a labyrinth with almost serpentine lanes. Whether or not it was fully executed according to the plan, it is indicative of the small scale of the properties around Leyden that this park of less than two hundred by four hundred yards was one of the biggest in the entire region.

Poelgeest

The other castle which survives at Oegstgeest, the House Poelgeest (Plate 282), was remodelled in 1662.[32] It was excellently situated on the border of the wooded "geestgrond" near the *trekvaart* from Leyden to Haarlem and on to Amsterdam, which had just been dug. The house was built by Constantine Sohier de Vermandois. As Philips Vingboons had worked for the Sohier family it is possible that here too he was the architect.[33] The house was erected on the old foundations but was given a severe block-like appearance. It became famous as Boerhaave's country seat. The picturesque onion-like capped spires are only a nineteenth century addition, but with them it could at last vie with the nearby domes of Endegeest.

Zuidwijk and Offem touched by Fashion

Eventually in about 1700 fashion reached the region of Leyden with the *parterre de broderie.* The design for Endegeest, mentioned above, showed a united whole. But in the two instances which follow the *broderies* were added to existing gardens. They are Zuidwijk and Offem, both represented in fine engravings (of 1712)[34], showing a certain relationship to one another. The first garden, that of *Zuidwijk* at Wassenaar, has recently been discussed by L.J. van der Klooster[35], who shows that the impressive

intricate *broderie* in front of the mediaeval castle of Jan, Count of Wassenaar, was designed by Daniel Marot about 1711 (Plate 283). It was aligned on one tower of the castle and was terminated by Marot's customary *anse de panier*. In the arch at the end there was a small *bassin* of a typically early eighteenth century form, with an alternately concave and convex border. When a Swedish traveller, Bengt Ferrner visited Zuidwijk in 1759 he remarked in his diary that the variety of views was the most beautiful he had ever seen in Holland, "be it that the other Dutch gardens were more splendid in detail", and he goes on to mention the grottoes, labyrinths and theatre with its statues. It is a pity that the engraving is cut short on the right, with the prospect of a small staircase rising to some kind of platform interrupted. Was this the theatre? Documentary evidence about its existence is to be found only in 1729.[36] A Dutch visitor in 1734 praises the same features as Ferrner but is amazed to find an old castle in the midst of this unrivalled beauty. We will have occasion to consider whether castle as well as grounds could be successfully transformed when dealing with Zwieten, where both castle and moat were given an eighteenth century form.

At *Offem* at Noordwijk (Plate 284) the mid seventeenth century house was related more closely to the garden by the enlargement of the axial window over the balcony. The walk in front of the house seems to counterpoint the fine *broderie* as it projects a little in the centre, forming the base of a fair-sized lily in the *broderie*. This smooth transition is not reflected at the far end of the *parterre*, where the embroidery is simply cut off by the straight half of a semicircular pond. On the other hand much is done to preserve the unity of *parterre* and pond by extensive trellising which surrounds both and gives them an intimate character, closely linked with the façade of the house. At Zuidwijk the corners of the raised walk were just spare, shapeless surfaces, whereas at Offem the walks are curved round the pond and raised above one another, forming a kind of exedra to which the necessary feeling of antiquity is lent by statues of deities and the busts of Roman Emperors. On account of this perfect termination the theatrical element is much stronger than at Zuidwijk: Offem was on a small scale but is was certainly the most successfully unified garden near Leyden.

Zwieten from the Middle Ages to Late Louis XIV

Zwieten[37], at Zoeterwoude, was before its transformation in 1717 a dream castle (Plate 285); it rose in the middle of an almost circular moat with high walls, stepped gables, grim pointed towers, an oriel window, dovecotes attached to the walls. It was then changed into a smug bourgeois affair: the corps-de-logis brought under one hipped roof with a Baroque canopy as a bell-turret on top; the surviving towers (it was, after all, intended to represent an old castle) made ridiculous as defensive structures by the extremely tall and wide sash-windows with which the whole building was supplied (Plate 286). The decline of taste was most clearly apparent in the inflation of the small *bassin* remarked on in Zuidwijk's broderie: here the moat itself took on a similar shape, as if the castle in its centre were no more than a piece of sculpture in a modish pond.

At about this time all enterprise had vanished in the old centre of Holland, and Leyden itself was in rapid decline. Yet at the border of Rijnland and nearby in Delfland three estates boasted integrated, strongly independent and well-constructed plans. They were laid out between 1685 and 1705 and point towards eighteenth century

developments which would be continued outside Holland. Their common denominator in terms of patronage was the profitable occupation of their owners: all tax collectors general of the Union. These gardens will be dealt with in the section on gardens called "Pluto Omnibus Idem".

Chapter 16

Princely Gardens

Prince Maurice (1585–1625); Prince Frederick Henry (1625–47)

Several of the stadholders of the House of Orange-Nassau showed a keen interest in laying out fine, imposing gardens, naturally stimulated by political motives. It was understandable that the gardens should have been designed to impress, but this does not alone account for the genuine love and understanding of the latest French ideas shown by Frederick Henry, or, in striking contrast, William III's refusal to accept a Baroque axis through his retention of an ancient building and its surroundings in the grounds of his new estate.[1]

Count Maurice (in office 1585–1625), a son of William the Silent and a dedicated soldier, Prince of Orange since 1618, only considered creating a garden towards 1610; the result was the symbolist or – if one prefers – Mannerist garden dealt with in the previous chapter.

Maurice's half-brother Frederick Henry, who came to the Stadholdership after his brother's death, had a French mother, Louise de Coligny[2], and had twice visited the French Court. In introducing the grand vista style to Holland he emulated the best French examples. A garden still in the transitional style after Mannerist was the *Princessetuin*, the garden he developed since 1609 at the back of the Oude Hof (Noordeinde Palace, the Hague) for himself and his mother Louise de Coligny.[2a] This fashionable enterprise certainly compelled Maurice to think out his garden in the years between 1610 and 1620.

Honselaarsdijk

Whereas at the castle of Honselaarsdijk the retention of old elements, the personal intervention of the Prince, and a lack of sufficiently de-Gothicized French models prevented the emergence of a stylistically unified building, in the case of the garden a united layout was achieved to a remarkable extent. This success is made more intriguing by the fact that the main work was completed about 1638. The unpropitious conditions of the ancient castle were only overcome gradually and with some difficulty. To start with the old scheme consisted of the division of the garden into two rectangular areas beside the castle, and four large square plots behind it[3] (Plate 287).

In addition the old castle was too close to the road, so that the new bassecour had to be formed at the rear.

As a result the corner pavilions were very near the garden, and the whole design was closely related to the back of the castle. Only much later was the drawbridge here replaced by a larger terrace. The visitor, having passed a gate and bridge from the public road and crossed a drawbridge, through a gate, into the forecourt, still had to

traverse the *corps de logis*, the *basse-court*, and the gallery, which in the French manner shut off the courtyard, to reach the garden.

At first therefore the plan resembled a town garden; here the vistas were closed by tree plantations. Within the squares trimmed hedges formed two circles[4] resembling the dicycle in Maurice's garden, and here forming weak diagonals towards the corner pavilions.

The Prince evidently did not listen to Huygens, who, on the evidence of his own rather severe garden at Hofwijck, would have advocated a strictly symmetrical pattern. About 1633 the Prince had two beautiful broderies laid out by André Mollet on the rectangular parterres beside the castle: to the right an intricate flower pattern in box, to the left the Dutch lion in turf, box, and coloured stones. The *grottier* and *fontenier* Joseph Dinant worked on the property from about 1632; the last payments to him, for a grotto and three fountains for which the marble was brought from Tivoli, date from about 1649.[5] As early as 1633, long before he came to work for the Town Hall at Amsterdam, two over-lifesize statues were ordered from Artus Quellien, a Mars and a Venus.[6] Frederick Henry hesitated for some time over transforming the castle from an elaborate hunting box (in those days there was still a good deal of game in the Westland to the south west of the Hague) into a state building, but the intimate character of the garden was eventually lost when modest extensions were made on three sides, (to the fourth side the estate ended in the small village of the same name).[7]

As the new gardens to the back and the left were intended as deer parks and animal gardens, they were enclosed only by ditches and trees and to a small extent by wooden fences[8], so that the main axis, at first an avenue of trees, terminated in a large meadow with a view of the dunes in the background (Plate 288). The transverse axis to the left was bordered by trees along its whole length, and divided the pheasant reserve from the deer park.[9] Here in embryonic form we encounter the system of the diverted axis, which in a few instances would develop into an intricate and beautifully interrelated system to cope with the limited vistas permitted by a densely populated country with small estates.

The long axis was extended on the other side of the high road by a mall of about 800 metres, starting with a semicircle[10] and directed towards the church of Schiedam in the far distance. Bordered by ditches and double rows of trees it was one of the avenues that until quite recently provided one of the most enjoyable sights in the flat meadow lands.[11]

In the garden and forecourt a four-sided development is already found, which in the second half of the century would lead to the beautiful well-balanced solutions of Elswout, Middachten and Endegeest. In the eighteenth century such regular arrangements would be replaced by more fluid, sinuous forms, as at Sion.

Brederode's garden at Vianen (about 1630; Plate 289) is in its form and in the person of its gardener, Isaac l'Echevin, an intriguing but not yet elucidated link between Maurice's garden and both Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk.

Ter Nieuwburgh

In the development of Ter Nieuwburgh at Rijswijk (Plate 290) the old house was completely demolished[12] and from the start (about 1630) a symmetrical axial layout

was planned; but it avoids the vulgarity of a Baroque design in which the axis is intended to impress through sheer length. The drive towards the house between trees[12a] was effectively widened into the transverse space of the forecourt and the linear design of the house itself which stood at right angles to the main axis.

The garden, to the south of the house, is at first sight inward-looking, like the garden at the château of Anet. It has a basket arch at the far end and is surrounded completely by a raised walk. This seems unsurprising as the designers of the house and its grounds were Frenchmen or orientated to the French Court. The architect Jacques de la Vallée, who may have designed the façades, worked for several years for the Prince before going into the service of the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna of Sweden. The *grottier*, Joseph Dinant, was in permanent service for grottoes, fountains, and such refinements as papier mâché ornaments for interior decoration. One Louis d'Antonio (or d'Antoni) served as a gardener, but there are some indications that André Mollet, who made the broderies at Honselaarsdijk, was also the overseer of the Prince's other gardens.[13]

We know from a letter from Huygens that Frederic Henry once refused a garden design by Jacob van Campen as he preferred his own. As at the house, the Prince must have had a strong influence on the design of the garden.

From the house there was a magnificent view of the Hague on one side and the whole garden on the other – the garden's entire axis did not yet measure three hundred yards. This axis was, however, strongly emotive as it pointed towards the New Church at Delft a few miles away, towards the monument to William the Silent, Frederick Henry's murdered father.[14]

Visitors, who did not need to pass through the house[15], but could enter by side entrances, found a more surprising feature in the garden. The central walk between the broderies was interrupted by three large statues at three cross-paths, the first and third of which led to lateral ponds. The ponds near the house were in full view, with gigantic water-spouting reclining river gods at their centres (perhaps the Rhine and the Meuse). From their outer corners emerged a long continuous arbour which lay on the inner side of the two further ponds, hiding them from view, and finally closing the garden in a semi-circle. This was a very stylish and original feature, which created a gradual transition to the garden's end but gave the sensitive visitor an idea of the consistency and equilibrium of the whole design.

It is a shock to realize the incongruity between this well-balanced and imaginative garden[16] and the developments to the north of the house. Here Frederick Henry indulged in an almost mediaeval arrangement with his three *tuinen*, compartments completely enclosed by high crenellated brick walls.[17] Two compartments were parterres, the central one the forecourt. This courtyard was at least no longer a quagmire: it was paved with bricks[18] so that at festivals it was filled with the clatter of carriages entering through the archway and halting ceremonially at the only possible place: the three round steps in the middle of the balustrade which divided the court from a broad flagged pavement[19] as at Blérancourt.

The walls of the compartments sprang from the centres (!) of the four-bayed pavilions. The whole arrangement was remarkably conservative, and evidently intended to accentuate the modernity of the garden to the south – but in the hands of a less capable designer, say Pieter Post at Huis ten Bosch, such walls would acquire the character of garden walls along a street, and the space in front that of a desert.

Rural Interlude

In fact, before the equipages with fashionable visitors coming by way of Rijswijk reached the scene of Ter Nieuwburgh, its gracious melody was counterpointed by the simple rural tune of the estate Blotinge, 600 yards from the Palace. As late as 1681 the then owner, Willem van Nobelaer, had added no more to this mediaeval castle than a girdle of trees . . . (Plate 291). Before turning to the next estate, the Huis ten Bosch, one should underline the fact that several varieties of estates existed side by side all through the seventeenth century and far beyond.

The Huis ten Bosch

After the gardens of Maurice and Frederick Henry, the layout of the Huis ten Bosch was the fourth stadholderly enterprise to be initiated before 1650 (Plate 292). Pieter Post made the walls spring from the side of the house and then folded them back, so that the land was cut in two halves. The back part consisted of a conglomeration of square areas of various sizes, containing "bed" parterres and "embroidery" parterres, and two huge green pavilions which echoed the central octagonal theme of the house (Plate 293). Before the addition of wings the actual house had the air of a town house set in a garden wall. Small twin buildings (the kitchen and the steward's residence), set half way down the indeterminate space to the front, try desperately to unify the design.[19a]

In spite of various re-arrangements the forecourt here still lacks definition (Plate 294).

Ozinga and Slothouwer show[20] a proposal by Daniel Marot for the re-arrangement and extension of the gardens, made about 1730 when Marot was adding the wings to the main block. Behind the house it has broderies, a pond and berceaux in a successfully foreshortened design; to the right there is an indispensable eighteenth century feature, the theatre, whose wings are formed by trimmed hedges. Slothouwer cuts off the new extensions, apparently on purpose, because a new garden, consisting mainly of dots and dashes and scrolls in green, was to be wedged into the old part by means of an incongruous sheet of water, used like a large pivot. So much for the later history of Huis ten Bosch.

Vingboons I, 56–59

In the first volume of Vingboons' works, plates 56–59 (Plates 295–8) there is a design for what might be described as a building of state. It is not known for whom Philips made this plan or to whom he intended to present it, but the prospective patron certainly proposed to build on a large scale, in a more elaborate and imposing manner than the average rich merchant. The park design retains a rather mediaeval arrangement, but at its core has features which were to be consciously manipulated towards the end of the century. The forecourt, about a hundred square yards, is too big and bare, and the equally large broderie also suffers from over-extension, but through his introduction of a cross-axis, by attaching ornamental ponds to the sides of the house, Vingboons adumbrates the layouts of fifty years later at estates like Clingendaal and De Hartecamp.

The grand, plastic façades of the house would have appealed to the masters of English Baroque, with their channelled surfaces almost engulfing the giant Doric pilasters but held firmly together by a strong entablature. The English would also have been attracted by features that are highly unusual in Dutch architecture: the application of a high hipped roof to the broad corps-de-logis with a flat belvedere on the centre at right angles to it, whose high elevations cut the hipped roof into two.[21]

Another very unfamiliar feature in Holland is the Baroque staircase. Double arms are bent along the walls of a central vestibule, leaving ample wells which were very probably lit from above. In the Netherlands a symmetrical open staircase was only developed much later, in oval form at Middachten.[22]

Philips' whole design seems to be a parody of Post's Huis ten Bosch: there brick for the plain elevations, here the festive sandstone (to an extent it was never to be used for a country house in Holland); in both plans a cross, but here the ceremonial centre is filled with a staircase design that was never to be executed – and similarly the coupled pilasters in the centre would remain a rare exception in the United Provinces.[23] Post's building (which became a mausoleum for Frederick Henry) had a cupola solely for illumination, and an understated balcony over the entrance. Vingboons therefore designed an enormous viewing platform to cover the entire central portion. Emulation was in this case a remarkable stimulus!

The isolated position of the corner rooms is evidently retained in order not to depart beyond recognition from Post's creation.

The 1672-War

William II, Frederick Henry's son and successor, died in 1650. His son William III was born posthumously and only acceded to the Stadholdership in 1672 when the country was besieged by England, France, Munster and Cologne, and, apart from the province of Holland, was overrun by the French who looted and burnt many of the old castles and country-seats in Guelders and Utrecht, notably along the river Vecht. After their retreat late in 1673 rebuilding started, but William's principal concern, – apart from Honselaarsdijk which underwent some alterations and additions – in the Netherlands, was hunting and facilities for hunting, and he disliked a large retinue.

Soestdijk Palace

Soestdijk had no gardens worth mentioning[25] (Plate 299). The palace was intended as a hunting lodge and most of the cultivated ground was occupied by deer parks.

The forecourt, which possessed a few trees, was of a pleasant size, but the corps-de-logis had a strong rear projection, and nothing was done to make a logical transition between this projecting form and the parterre behind the house. A spectator could see from the top of the house parterres de broderie to the left and right, but as there were two parterres on either side, he would have had a disquietingly distorted view of the perspective, which was disturbed more than balanced by the over-life-size statues in the centres of the broderies.

Baroque architecture may swing between voluptuous, suggestive forms and more severe, cerebral, classicist forms, but such a division cannot be applied convincingly to

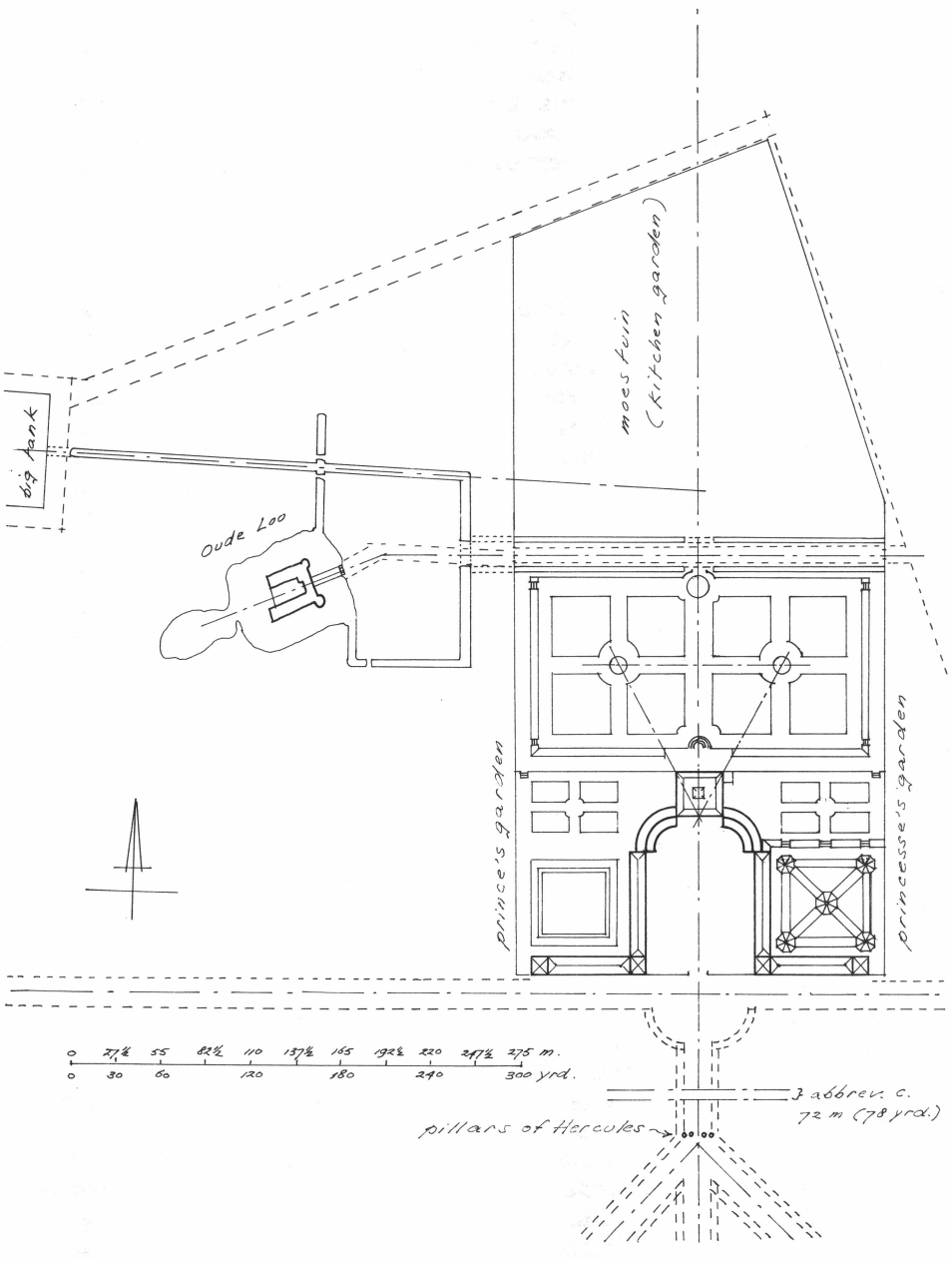


Figure 21. Het Loo and the Oude Loo, about 1687

the art of garden design. Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuwburgh had set the pace for the Nassaus and their circle – the Classicist phase of Dutch architecture passed unnoticed by them, or rather, they laid out no estates during its flowering.[26] One of the reasons for William III's conservatism was his recollection of the republican government by the States General from 1650 to 1672; another would have been his admiration for his grandfather Frederick Henry. Zeist, Het Loo, and De Voorst all have a family likeness, although one's view of Het Loo is blurred by over-extended work, alterations and afterthoughts.

Zeist[27]

The form of the *anse de panier*, the basket arch, already found in a developing stage in the arbour at Rijswijk (Ter Nieuwburgh), is full-grown at Zeist, as a *demi lune d'eau*. In this broad moat the castle is set in a mirror-frame (Plate 300) with its fore-court between wings, and on the other side the inevitable *parterres de broderie*. There was no further development to the sides: the truly Baroque feature of this estate, built about 1686 for William Count of Nassau-Odijk, is the long axis which is continued to either side for several miles as an avenue. On the lower side it cuts through meadows with triple rows of beeches, on the upper side through the village of Zeist, formerly woodlands and groves.

Coenraad Droste, an ex-regular officer driven by political vicissitudes to poetry, compared Zeist with the estate Heemstede, Utrecht, and considered Heemstede negligible, tiny and doll-like. And, he added, Heemstede had much wooden trelliswork which was bound to perish quickly.[28]

Constantine Huygens the younger, on the other hand, complained that he was kept for hours at Zeist, with Odijk "dragging (him) all over his plantation". Much of this estate in fact was – to a greater extent than at Heemstede – planted with geometrically shaped groves of firs and deciduous trees. *Sterrebossen*, groves planted with radiating paths like stars, were very popular at that time and long after.

Het Loo[29]

The layout of Het Loo (Plate 301) was begun at about the same time (1686). Water was scarce and extensive pipelines were constructed to feed the many ponds, cascades, springs, fountains[30], and so on, of the gardens.

The first design is different from Zeist and De Voorst. In fact it was closer to the Huis ten Bosch and Soestdijk, but was an improved version of both (Figure 21).

The corps-de-logis was a square block connected by quadrant colonnades to the service wings along the forecourt. In the quadrants the design foreshadows De Voorst; the walling in of the gardens to the side and especially the raised terrace attached to the rear façade recall the Huis ten Bosch, except that the forecourt is much better handled. The garden behind the house, adorned with fountains, cascades, and eight *parterres de broderie*, was developed to the sides, rather like the overall design of Soestdijk, and was even closer to the group of gardens designed by collectors-general of the Union (Clingendaal, Duinrell, Sion), with their highly advanced and individual systems of transverse axes.

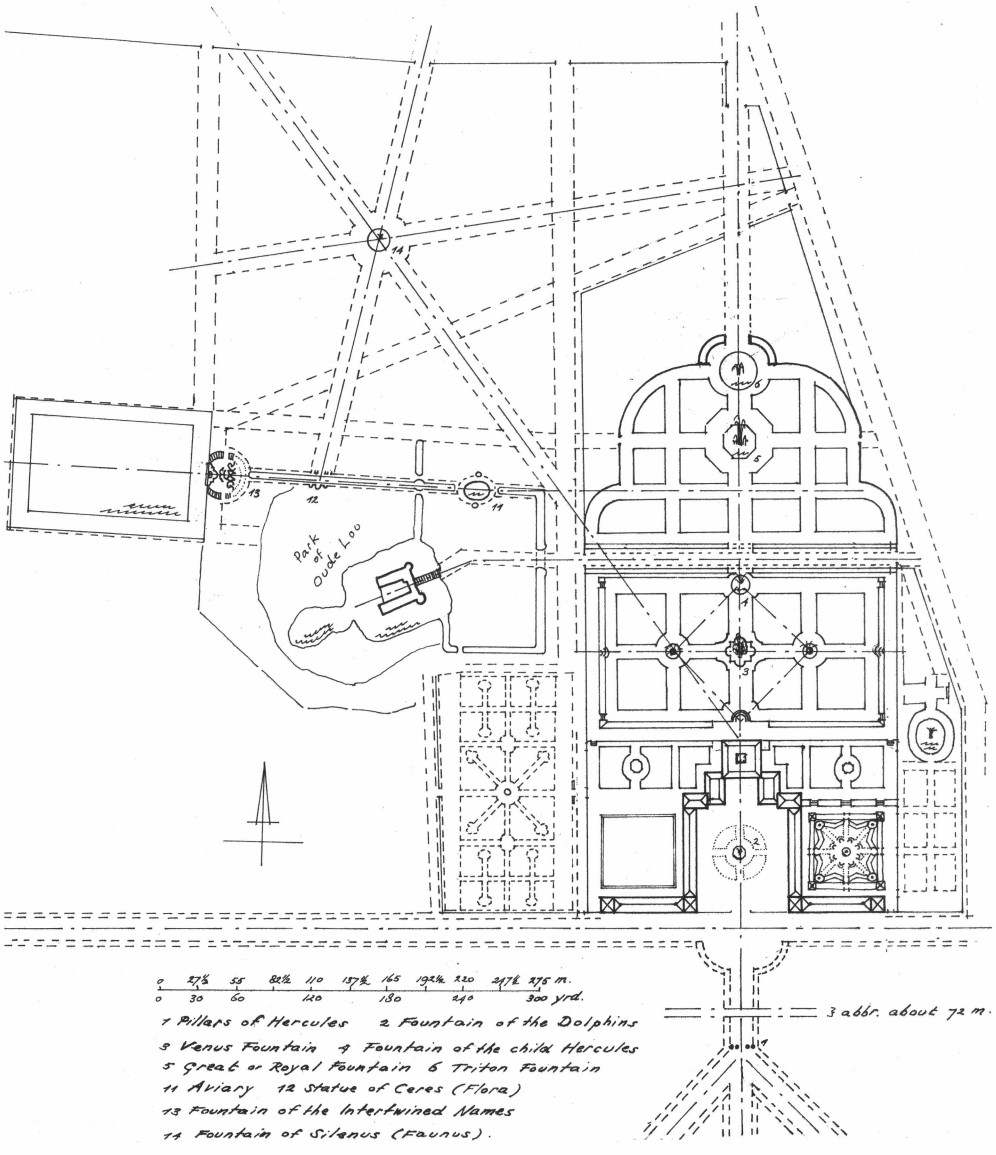


Figure 22. Het Loo and the Oude Loo, about 1692

This transverse movement was taken up by the raised walk which closed the "lower garden". This cross walk, "remarkable for its double row of tall Oaks in both sides"[31] was directed towards the old castle, the Oude Loo, which William maintained in the grounds. Behind the walk there was a kitchen garden.

When William became King of England this rather modest plan had to be embellished to rival Louis XIV's parks.[32] About 1692 most of the alterations were finished (Plate 302; Figure 22).

In place of the imposing colonnades, high square pavilions, two to either side, awkwardly linked the main block to the low service-wings. The gardens were extended and a main axis imposed upon them. The king still did not want to lose his tree-lined drive towards the Oude Loo, so that the second garden behind it, the "upper garden" was rather clumsily connected with the lower garden, and to obtain the necessary perspective closed with a giant basket arch, the curving effect being reinforced by the rebuilding in this position of the unfortunate colonnade.[33] From outside the gardens a second transverse axis crept in: the path between the first and second rows of parterres in the new garden was extended to the west of the garden by an aviary, followed by a long narrow canal with jets of water spouting to the sides – it was a sort of water-arbour which skirted the Oude Loo and led to a large pond (in fact the tank for the water-system), with fountains, cascades, statues and all the rest (Plates 303–4).

Claude Desgots made a fine drawing of the arrangement, probably in 1698, which seems to have been a working-drawing for a completely new design, worked out on a second drawing which is attached to the first as a flap.[34] It was a beautiful design, imposing and well-balanced though a little formal. The Oude-Loo avenue with its double row of oaks was naturally to be removed to create a broad main axis, which would be crossed only by the continuation of the sequence in the park, mentioned above, of aviary, water arbour, and pond.

William, however, stood firm and the second design was maintained[35] until its destruction in the French Revolution.[36] His grandfather's gardens, created half a century earlier, were to remain the most French on Dutch soil.

De Voorst

De Voorst[37] (Plate 305), laid out somewhat later, about 1695–7, for William's young favourite Arnold Joost van Keppel, (whom he created the first Earl of Albemarle in 1697, rather to the annoyance of Portland), rests on much the same principles, with for example the basket-arch – popular since the time of Louis XIII – enclosing the elaborate parterres. This is a feature one would have considered old-fashioned by this time, but on account of its theatrical appearance, closely associated with Court ceremonial, it could in no way be omitted from the great gardens.

The house, on the other hand, is modern and fashionable and the scale of the gardens grander than at Het Loo, though they retain the Ter Nieuwburg type, with the high-hedged rectangles narrowing the prospect which is closed by the basket arch. This arrangement is intrinsically unfavourable to non-axial developments. The situation is worsened by the attractive linking of the house to the wings by quadrant colonnades, since their curve is in no way reflected by the gardens to the sides.

Middachten

The old castle of Middachten[38] in Guelders was demolished by the Spaniards in 1625, rebuilt and enlarged in 1643, and again wrecked by the French army of invasion in 1672. About 1695–8 it was completely repaired and modernized by Godert van Reede-Ginkel, who was created Earl of Athlone by William III. Steven Vennecool regularized the house and gave it a new centrepiece, which resembles the central portion of his Enkhuizen Town Hall.

Here Vennecool's greatest achievement was the staircase, whose double flights along the walls of an oval hall meet in front of an archway on the upper storey (Plate 306). Details such as the richly carved balustrades of the stairs or the stucco cupola and lantern over it are certainly Louis XIV, although in the corridor of the upper floor which encircles the staircasehall an element of Rococo is apparent. The spatial relationship between this corridor and the oval hall is not clear and wholly visible, but the corridor is linked to the hall as a second, partly-concealed oval, giving onto the stairwell through round-headed windows.

The arrangement of the water-castle, in a wide moat and with a moated forecourt with entrance-tower, was still mediaeval[39], but the unknown architect or patron who made the general design was very skilful in inserting the uncompromising feature of the castle into a broad swathe of garden, terminated at either end by a basket arch (Plate 307). Only the apsidal end behind the house was interrupted in the middle for a brief vista towards the farmland on the other side of the river IJssel.

The cube-like form of the house was accepted, to give plantations to the sides as much emphasis as the great broderie on the main axis, while the problem of the two remaining squares was elegantly solved by giving each a somewhat higher labyrinth of clipped hedges.[40] The exaggerated Baroque axis is abandoned for a centripetal arrangement around the castle, which is reflected, in the interior, in the central but not axially underlined staircase hall.

The garden is not novel but is easily the most balanced and restrained in its choice of outmoded Franco-Dutch features – so that it would not be surprising if the architect of the house designed the garden as well.

Middachten kept to the family-likeness of the Court houses, but there were some designs by the nobility close to William III which escaped it: in particular Rosendael.

Rosendael

Jan van Arnhem[41], who inherited Rosendael, had the sense to take advantage of the very propitious ground formation around the mediaeval pile to reach a completely different design. Certainly he was as conservative as the king, and deliberately maintained the two early seventeenth century shaped gables of his castle's dining-room as a counter-balance to the formal parterres[42] (Plate 308); but he used the huge brick trunk of the ancient round tower as a pivot to turn the whole layout round a quarter-circle, in order to establish, on the cross-axis, a sequence of delightful ponds which curve slightly down the valley (Plate 310). The scheme was both planned and "natural". In a country house poem the poet Joan Pluimer compares Van Arnhem to Cato and addresses him as follows:

" 't Lust u somtyds de konst te ontleeden,
Te volgen 't spoor der Ouden na;
t' Ontleenen 't kern der goude lessen
Van Cicero, en Seneca,
ô Minnaar van de Zanggodessen!
Gy kend de kracht, gy kend de styl
Van Flakkus, Nazo en Virgyl.
. . .

Hoewel ge u veeltyds bezig houd
Met boven waereldlyke zaaken,"[43]

The last two lines are an allusion to the baron's elevated occupations: he eventually had a volume of devotional verse printed.

The sudden shift from Classical authors to Calvinist reality was not uncommon in the Netherlands. What was uncommon and probably unique[44] was this garden design, which turned sharply from the "orthodox" parterres to the sequence of ponds, and showed an unparallelled awareness of the existing landscape.

The writers of Georgics extol the garden as a "paradise on earth", but as they all offer these eulogies both before and after the important alterations of 1725, they appear to be imitating Huygens in this respect: it was a literary convention. The garden naturally contained all the customary statues, grottoes, fountains and so on (Plate 309), but the ponds were originally given quiet, pleasant shapes which were spoilt by the alterations of about 1725, when the tree-lined borders were broken by numbers of artificial terraces. But the park's reputation derives from the survival into the present of much of the stone menagerie of spouting animals and deities, and of many of the grottoes and cascades, as well as a gallery or screen of shellwork, added after the designs of Daniel Marot. Sir John Murray even compared it in 1819 to the Villa Doria Pamfily![45]

Let us leave Rosendael with the lines of Huygens:

"Vaert wel dan schoon verblijf, groen Hemeltjen op aerd,
Doorluchtige orgelen van silvere geruchten,
Vaert wel, soet Paradijs, weergaloos Roosendael;"[46]

Sorgvliet II – The Earl of Portland's Garden

In his poems Jacob Cats mentioned historical characters from Cato, Diocletian, Cincinnatus and Sulla to Charles V and De Busbecq; but as a Calvinist, like De Bray with architecture, he introduced Biblical figures such as Moses, Abraham and Isaac to exalt Agriculture, and after this prefiguration, Christ himself:

"Wat segh ick? Christus selfs, Gods beelt, en eygen wesen
Heeft 't landt en landt-bedrijf gedurigh hoogh gepresen."[47]

Hans William Bentinck, who was to be created Earl of Portland[48], bought the estate in 1674.[49] Almost immediately he obtained the advice of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau on the plan, a particular feature of which was the idea of leaving the Haagse Beek sinuous "as straight lines are not always pleasant". Indeed, in a small lower corner of the gardens the stream was allowed to curve undisturbed (which would also have

facilitated the water control). By way of "wild nature" across the brook a "high and desolated pasture" was left in its original state (Plate 311).

As English Ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV in 1698 (negotiating the Spanish succession), he met the old Le Nôtre who, Bentinck wrote to William III, could perhaps be persuaded to make designs for Windsor. In any case Claude Desgots, Le Notre's nephew, came to England with Bentinck, perhaps to supervise the execution of designs made by his uncle.

Portland had already in 1689 been appointed superintendant of William and Mary's gardens with a salary of £ 200, which in 1696 was raised to £ 4,800. His concern with Het Loo has already been hinted at and the position would certainly not have been a complete sinecure.

Cats' Sorghvliet was gradually transformed into Bentinck's Sorghvliet. Bentinck's aim was undoubtedly a court of green where the Princely Court of the Hague could be escaped.[50] Its patchwork appearance suggests that every time Bentinck received William III he had one of the bucolic features of Cats' time removed and replaced by some novelty. Thus the small grotto with the great and gay Neptune on top was replaced by the tall elegant grotto-cum-cascade which closed the axial view from the house over the parterres (Plate 312). Portland's labyrinth crept over the slopes of a steep hill – and whoever reached the exit through this *selva oscura* was rewarded by a view of the estate, the Town and the country to the east and Scheveningen and the sea to the west. Whoever wanted a climb undisturbed by shade could ascend a bare tetragonal pyramid, very like the ancient Ziggurat: this utterly prosaic mountain, with its single tree at the summit[51], was called the Parnassus in commemoration of Cats' poetic genius. This dry mound was by no means as droll as Cats' original one which supported at the top a curious obelisk placed on a ball.[52]

Bentinck may have made these changes a little grudgingly. At any rate, when William went to England the garden could be "frozen" by illustrations in an elaborate series of views by Van den Aveele and others[53], whose details are confirmed by Cruquius' marvellous geographical map of Delfland in 1712 (Plate 350).

One is struck by the inconsistent state in which Bentinck left Sorghvliet. Beside a cramped square of *berceaux* with arches, pavilions and the usual *fenêtres* are the parterres with fashionable broderies. These broderies lay at the rear of the house, while the very similar entrance-façade of Post's by now old-fashioned building was faced by a fully contemporary semi-circular orangery with a central pleasure-house, whose coved ceiling was higher than the roof of the old mansion[54] (Plate 313). Other features of Cats' garden were retained in addition.[55]

The reactions of English visitors were mixed. Chiswell, in 1696, remarked[56]: "the Garden, for the green House, Forreigne Plants[57] and other Curiousitys in that Art is counted one of the best in these parts, but compared with the Duke of Beauforts at Bodmington and severall others in England, it ought not to be mentioned. Here they are forced to cover their Walks with Sand instead of rowled Gravell, which is certainely one of the greatest Ornaments to a Garden".

Part of his criticism seems to be aimed at the lack of gravel. Thomas Bowrey writes in 1698: "The Gardens Consists of Many fine Rows of Sycamores, Ewes and other Trees cut very handsomely, good Grass walks and some sandy walks, a fine Green house in the forms of a Half Amphitheater and Hansomly built, before which is very fine Ewe

Trees and Hedges, with fine Orang and Bay Trees & ca. finely sett out. There is also a Groto sett Curiously with Shells, Rock Corall and Lookinglasses, and in it a Fountain. There is another Shell House with water Springing out of the Floor.[58] On the side of said Houses is One Oyster Shell of 40 Inches Diameter.[59] Here is nothing of a House". Penson[60], in 1690, after mentioning "delicate Gardens, Walks, Ponds, Motes, Grottoes, Fountaines and figures, Bridges and Gates and great Plenty of fruit and flowers very Curious and various" goes on: "A place so neatly composed that here Art and Nature seem to go 'hand in hand' ".

In 1696 Southwell merely hurries on to Scheveningen without noticing the garden at all – perhaps deceived by its naturalness.[61]

The impression conveyed by the prints is of a Looking Glass chessboard where the visitor is obliged to make strange jumps from one square to another – even though he could use a straight *berceau* with round-headed windows which ran along the parterres like a Pullman car.

At any rate, to an English visitor Bentinck's gardens were not strikingly different from an English garden.[62] The same is true of other Dutch and English gardens, and it is therefore not surprising to find at the Melbourne Hall gardens of 1722 almost the image in reverse of the layout of Het Loo.[63]

Count Maurits' Springenberg

In 1653 Maurits (in full, Johan Maurits) of Nassau created a sort of terraced theatre near Cleves (having become Brandenburgian Stadholder of Cleves, just over the Dutch frontier, in 1647). Jacob van Campen is said to have made plans for the alterations which started in 1656 and went on into the sixties; there is documentary evidence of his stay in Cleves in 1657, shortly before his death.[64] The result of the second plan was not a garden-theatre in the modern sense, but a highly formalized procession of atavistic Germanic symbols freely combined with classical mythology. The gouache by Jan van Call[65] shows a series of ponds descending from a semi-circular arcade. This layout was continued through a gigantic trellised entrance into the Rhine valley by an avenue aligned with Hoog Elten.

There is in fact nothing unusual about the Baroque axis. The apparent incongruity begins with the statues in the ponds – at least if one wishes to interpret the symbolism in the fully Mannerist, complicated way which was evidently intended, rather than in an obviously sexual sense. The highest pond is decorated with Minerva Tritonia, a present from Amsterdam to the Count. This fine *Pallas Amstellodamensis*, made by Artus Quellien, remains on the spot. She was followed by a small urinating boy (a Manneken Pis) and a Roman fountain at the third pond. The fourth, the *Fontana Miranda*, was succeeded by every kind of diverse ornament: artificial rock parties, cascades, rare plants such as the Araucaria from Brazil[66], a display of Roman antiquities, and military trophies such as mortars, shells and a cannonball. To complete this dazzling picture there was a high pillar on which was mounted the armour of a knight who died not in battle but by drowning.[67]

The various phases of this scene have been drawn many times by artists attracted by its incoherent, unhappy mixture of German, Brazilian and Dutch elements (Plate 313A). A drawing by Cornelis Pronk of 1731 shows the Prussian eagle in the

middle of the fourth pond flanked (guarded?) by two lions carrying the coats-of-arms of Holland and Amsterdam.

The next paragraphs will discuss the typically Dutch history of the assimilation of Italian ideas in the creation of a native style.

Chapter 17

Pliny versus Calvin

Huygens' Hofwijck

"God the first Garden made, and the first City, Cain".
(Abraham Cowley, The Garden).[1]

Literally Hofwijck means Evade-Court.[2] We are fairly well informed about Huygens' attitude to his small country-seat. In 1651 he wrote a country house poem on it, *Hofwyck*, of no less than 2824 alexandrines. This work proved rather influential among Dutch authors; its tone was moralising, and anathematising the Bad City of the Hague. Huygens will have read Cowley's lines with pleasure and approval. He recalled how, as a young man, he crossed the Alps in the suite of Van Aerssen, the ambassador to Venice. The dangerous descent of the frozen Via Mala had inspired him to write a poem after his safe arrival in Italy.

"Passando l'Alpi"

"Giunto con stanchi passi
Alla cima de' sassi
Ove il piu chiaro giorno
Fa nuvole d'intorno;
Ove i diletti horrori,
Le nevi sono fiori,
Emmi vicino al Cielo,
Dissi nel mezzo gelo:
Fa tu, ch'in Cielo siedi
Padre del Ciel Signore,
Ch'acostandone i piedi,
Non n'allontani il core".[3]

The idea that a mountain landscape could be beautiful was absurd. Only Nature in symmetrical paterns (did God not make Man symmetrical?) and in ratios controlled by the golden rule could be an expression of beauty and thereby of the divine. An imitation of Nature, as close as possible to what the Creator intended, was the most morally improving; Huygens equates this "Nature" with the Bible. It was a Nature full of utilitarian considerations – oaks that could become neat, profitable planks, and so on – and of numerical conceptions. The symmetry of the layout could be compared to a balance:

"Dit t'samen (kost het zijn) in 't Goud gewicht geleght,
Soo stond de Tongh in 't huys en bey de Schaelen recht".[4]

All the trees and plants are enumerated and the poet is pleased by Nature's bountiful duplication of them in the water:

"Een' Roose maeckter twee, vijf Boomkens zijnder tien,
Vijf op het water-vlack, vijf op het land gesien".[5]

After describing the generally edifying qualities of the grounds Huygens turned to lengthy descriptions of the details of Nature, as always an inexhaustible source of Calvinist edification. During all this period he was conducting a correspondence in Latin

with the poet Westerbaen (who also versified on his estate near the Hague, Ockenburgh), about the best way to cultivate fruit and trees, comparing their success with Pliny's.

Aristotle's precept for imitating nature had not yielded specific conceptual directives. Neoplatonism and its ensuing classicism had therefore to be invoked to show the proper imitation.[6] Only a very few of Huygens' compatriots accepted Nature for its chance beauties; painters like Hobbema and Ruysdael were too advanced for him. In spite of his standard appreciation of the modern painters of his time he reproached painters who described landscapes as "picturesque": they seemed to think that God was artfully copying their picturesque originals! He, Huygens, does not need a painter's facsimile of God's work; can he not walk in, look at, own God's work itself?[7]

And so he was busily engaged in making his "Bible" more readable by planting and cutting, clipping, trimming, grafting and inoculating.

The engraving (Plate 314)[8] shows the plan, a perspective view and details, including two variants of the mound. The obelisk was struck by lightning and replaced by a more complicated structure, called "et Pharos et specula", by Huygens. Two symmetrical drives united in front of the house; they were lined with lime trees (A–B), ash trees (B–C), and in the square area there were maples. The island in front of the square contained fruit trees and corner pavilions. There were no *broderies*, only two minute parterres, almost flower-beds.

The house was of the purest geometrical shape, a cube with a pyramidal roof. It walls were enlivened only by some paintings, imitating sculpture, in very slight wall recessions. Opposite the house there was a small platform on the river Vliet. Here the house's lack of direction is modified: the river Vliet forms a transverse axis – one will notice the *trekschuit* being drawn by.

A second transverse axis is the high road dividing the property into two, a feature it shared with many estates along rivers, and which was tacitly accepted.[9]

With this small cube, really no more than a pavilion for retirement, Huygens' wishes were fulfilled: a few miles away from the urban bustle he could write his letters, treatises, poems.

Naturally the busy secretary of Frederick Henry could not lay out a labour-consuming garden; he will have had the smallest possible number of servants at his country seat. Nevertheless his estate provides the perfect example of the sober forms to which an industrious Calvinism tended, even when on its own admission it was creating a place for diversion.

A Country House on the River Vecht: Huis ten Bosch

At the emergence of Classicism attitudes had been different: it had seemed as though a more relaxed style of building, adapted to the landscape, would be adopted, a style in which the transition from house to gardens would be gradual and attuned to the natural surroundings.

It had been Jacob van Campen himself, the designer of Huygens' cube in 1639, who introduced the small villa in the Venetian manner into the Republic.

At the very least we may assume with Meischke, on stylistic grounds, and on account of the marriage of the owner with Constantina Coymans, a daughter of Balthasar

Coymans, that the country seat Huis ten Bosch[10] at Maarsen, was converted in 1628 by Jacob van Campen into a stylish Palladian dwelling. To the low existing building he added a temple-like front (Plate 315) of the colossal Ionic order embracing two storeys crowned by a triangular pediment with modillions. Three surviving doorways in the interior and the central break of the exterior have detailing after Scamozzi, here characteristic, with the volutes of the Ionic capitals diagonally placed – soon to be *de rigueur* in Dutch Classicism.

It is difficult to assess how far the plan was made or altered by Van Campen. It has the traditional hall, the *voorhuis*, which combined the functions of state room, meeting place, and wide corridor, and which in the towns at least was regarded as an extension of the street into private territory.

The house has recently been restored. In the 1628 rooms interesting polychrome painting was found on the beams and the intervening panels. It was necessary to leave the façades plastered, which they were not originally, but the plastering only adds to the Palladian country house quality, especially in the view between high trees on a bend of the river Vecht.[11]

The high hipped roofs of the wings on either side rise as high as the pediment over the temple front; the ends are accentuated by tall round chimneys. Van Campen was evidently pleased with these hipped roofs without gables, which became the typical Dutch solution of the classicist architects. Van Campen never returned to the low roofing of the Coymans House. The stucco of the façade has one effect that was surely not intended: the dark tiles of the roof are visually unemphatic so that the Italianate quality of the Temple front with its low additions is even more apparent. The influence of the Huis ten Bosch was strong, especially on country seats along the borders of the Vecht, but did not persist: soon after country houses tended to become taller and thinner.

Goudestein

Ioan Huydecoper, the great patron of the arts, (his bust was carved by Artus Quellien), at about the same time converted Goudestein. At this period he preferred a less Palladian, more Genoese style, which was to become one of the splendid facets of Vingboons' talents. Huydecoper had in 1627 bought "the Houses of Italy in print, cost 9 guilders", presumably Rubens' *Palazzi Antichi e Moderni*[12] and he was so pleased with the raised balustraded belvedere as a centre-piece[13] that he used it a second time when he had his town house built ten years later.

This town house had a garden with statues and a fountain, though his country house had none.[14] Ioan's Amsterdam house was built by Philips Vingboons, but it cannot therefore be deduced that Vingboons drew the Goudestein façade, as he would have been exceedingly young for an architect – about 22 – and no other works of his of the period are known. If Van Campen was the architect he was experimenting with a type of house he had never designed before and which was never to appeal to him. On the other hand, Ioan Huydecoper had in 1624 married Balthasar Coymans' daughter Maria and she may have recommended the architect of her father's house.

In view of the weak composition of the frontispiece, and the old-fashioned details, such as the stone blocks over the windows, it seems more likely that some other

architect reshaped the old farmhouse, and that Jacob van Campen added the rather stern entrance gate on the Vecht (in 1627, Plate 261).[15]

This was built in brick and supported at the sides by temple buttresses, to which were added small wings with stone garlands and dressings, topped by vase-like forms as on the Heiligewegspoort. At the summit of the whole structure stood two open-wrought metal spheres, symbolic of Heaven and Earth.[16] Goudestein appears in this state in the bird's eye view by Floris van Berckenrode in 1629.[17] Quite soon after, before Classicism began to decline, an addition was made, in a corner of the estate, overlooking the Vecht, of a small but very fine pavilion with Tuscan pilasters, window casements, and festoons in stone against a background of brick. The pavilion was topped by a high hipped roof with a delicate curve.

Comparisons with other buildings in-the-round by Van Campen, especially the Heiligewegspoort consistently favour an attribution of the pavilion to him.

When this pavilion was completed Ioan Huydecoper, who was an astute Regent and diplomat as well as a merchant, diverted his attention to Amsterdam building affairs, and for a few years made no further alterations to the Maarsen property. It seems worth while to offer a bold conjecture to explain the eventual appearance of Goudestein as it features in the painting by Jan van der Heyden of 1674. (Wellington Museum, London), and which can be related logically to events in Amsterdam. In 1635 Huydecoper led an embassy to Sweden and was knighted by Christina of Sweden in 1637. He was already a member of the City Council; originally allied with the Remonstrant side, he was in 1650 (and with some pomp) to become a member of the Reformed Church and be appointed a Burgomaster on September 9th, 1651. Immediately afterwards he again sided with the liberal party. Many times a sheriff between 1629 and 1650, he must have been searching for the best architect for the Town Hall, and as soon as he was convinced, by 1635, of Van Campen's capacities, he was interested in testing the abilities of others. The construction of Elsenburgh (1637) and his time in Sweden naturally made him aware of the Vingboons family, and when in 1639 he bought three adjoining town houses he sent for Philips Vingboons, who showed him the design we know from the 1642 pre-edition of his work. Mr. Ioan's feelings for economy ran high when he inspected the design, and for three centuries to come a splendid sandstone façade was to cover the old houses.[18]

In 1640 the purchase of the seignorial rights of Maarseveen (the land around Goudestein) provided a good occasion for Huydecoper to ask Philips Vingboons to add a cupola-turret "like that planned for Mr. Jacob Burchgraaf at Elsenburgh". At a later date the celebration of September 9, 1660 – nine years after the beginning of Huydecoper's membership of the Council of Burgomasters, twenty years after the purchase of Maarseveen, and so on – persuaded him of the need for yet another "new" house. The rear façade is represented on a glass dated 1660.[19] It had become symmetrical with two wings and a central pedimented projection: a pediment was likewise added to the front[20], which produced the view painted by Jan van der Heyden in 1674.

The left hand corner of the painting needs further comment. I take the pilastered archway for a 1629 entrance to the farm avoiding the main entry. Next to it a pavilion-like tower was constructed in front of an existing house for farmhands. The rather old-fashioned archway with cornucopiae to the extreme left bears a coat of arms with the Swedish eagle on the left half, which suggests that it is later than 1637, and

the nether part of the animal is replaced by a lily, so that it must be the escutcheon of some relative of Huydecoper's. The shield may of course have be been added to an earlier archway. Behind the arch, and next to the manor, there is a wagon-shed in the style favoured for such buildings by Pieter Post.

In summing up, the whole estate has the appearance of a shop window in which everything available is on display. It is in the painterly tradition of the country: co-ordination with no Baroque predominance of one of the parts.

Goudestein's example was soon followed by many houses on the borders of the Vecht. Thus Harteveld, exactly opposite Goudestein and Elsenburgh, had a projecting frontispiece which was raised and pedimented.[21]

In 1637 Ioan Huydecoper acquired the house Cromwijck. It was ruined by the French invasion in 1672 but soon rebuilt, so that Lukas Rotgans, who inherited it, was able to settle there, on returning from the campaign in 1674. Rotgans was a bucolic poet of some notoriety – it was he who depicted the cows of his family's Goudestein longing to have the milk teased out of their bulging udders – but as he was on bad terms with the publisher Andries de Leth, Cromwijck did not appear in the *Zegepralende Vecht* (1719).[22] There was some difficulty in dating the known representations of Cromwijck[23] until recently J.W. Niemeyer solved this problem and identified an etching of the ruinous condition of 1672.[24] It is clear that after the war the house retained an elevated central part with a pediment, and probably the house was reconstructed as it had been in the mid-seventeenth century.

Huydecoper's patronage had favoured architects who built in most different styles.

Villas by Vingboons

It was not only Van Campen at the Huis ten Bosch and the unknown architect of Goudestein's frontispiece who used the Italianate style: Philips Vingboons also used it, though only until about 1645. His Italianate villas were designed early in his career: they are (a) Elsenburgh, of 1637,[25] (b) Groenhoven, of 1643,[26] (c) Westwijck, of 1637,[27] and (d) Driemond.[28] They have all been destroyed. The first, Elsenburgh, is the most original and fanciful, but will be discussed later as its fatal conversion around the turn of the century is indicative of a change in attitudes.

Groenhoven (Plate 258), built in front of a farmhouse (as mentioned above) was by far the most charming and successful adaptation of a North Italian villa to Dutch conditions. The seven bay façade is broad and restful, smooth and without pilasters or old-fashioned detailing; the three raised bays are crowned with a pediment. The stoop in front is easily accessible; the lines of the steps, descending to the sides, are echoed in the sculptured features which ease the transition from the frontispiece to the wings. Groenhoven is the most sympathetic of these houses to the surrounding countryside – meadows and perhaps a kitchen garden. His other early country houses already show a tendency to rise with uncompromising verticality from the flat soil. The reasons for this change were largely practical. The soil was damp, water could be absorbed in the brick walls, flooding of the polders occurred. A building with economical foundations of concise groundplan also had the advantage of a small roof; and in addition the memory of wars kept entrance doors high and narrow.

As a late descendant of Groenhoven the country seat Meerzicht, Zoetermeer (1677), has already been mentioned. It too was built in front of a farmhouse in a similar manner and had a comparable, though taller, front.[29]

The house *Westwijck*, built for Reynier Pauw (as seen in the painting of perhaps 1650 by Cornelis Holsteyn and presuming it was not meant in the painting as a model as well[30]), was executed in exact accordance with the engraving in Philips' oeuvre: only the balustrade in front, recalling that of Rijswijk and explicitly mentioned in Vingboons' description and shown on the plan, is omitted (Plates 316–7). Parterres with flower-beds within neat geometrical figures of box run straight to the front of the house. The parterres are enlivened by a few busts and statues and enclosed by a hedge; two lateral drives unite in a transverse approach to the front door. The plan of the house is symmetrical at the front, having a square hall and beatiful rooms at each side with surface dimensions on a ratio of three to four.[31]

A surprising element is the appearance of the festive giant Corinthian order with its heavy Roman overtones – in the country and for the grandson of an extreme Calvinist burgomaster of Amsterdam. It was the first time that this colossal order, clearly derived from the Capitol, was used in Holland, in city or countryside. The evident uneasy feelings over a broad entrance prompted a solution that was still Mannerist, semi-rusticated and with an oval light in a cartouche over the door; but the general façade design is princely, with the raised centre well balanced by the elegant balcony over the entrance. Even if Vingboons' Town Hall design was not to be executed, and Westwijck's owner was never to become an Amsterdam burgomaster, still Westwijck would shine in all the decorative pomp suited to a Town Hall of Amsterdam![32]

Driemond was situated at the confluence of three rivers. In fact, the name means "three mouths" and seems symbolic of the ambiguous appearance of the house: three faces would be an appropriate translation as well. The house changed hands many times: as early as 1648 Vingboons calls it "*now*" the property of Messrs. Aernhout and Hans Pelt. Vingboons himself emphasized the *trias frontium*: the north façade towards the dyke (i.e. the road along the river) is adorned with sumptuous giant Corinthian pilasters[33], swags, a fine entablature, and is in short an elegant Classicist façade (Plate 318). The two side elevations are the same, completely blind, whereas the south front, smooth without orders, has a strongly projecting middle break topped by a balustraded belvedere. The organisation of the elevations reflected a harmonious, symmetrical arrangement of the rooms. An exceptional feature was the easy access both to the forecourt and to the main gardens to the south. The estate was to become famous for its early eighteenth century gardens which are praised especially in the 1759 diary of the Swedish visitor Bengt Ferrner[34], and they appear in no less than eight engravings in *De Zegepralende Vecht* (Amsterdam, 1719), however without giving an exact idea of their general plan.[35] Immediately behind the house there was a pond in a supple scalloped form in which neither the transverse nor the longitudinal axis was emphasized (Plate 319). The prints reveal the thorough division into compartments by high shorn hedges, which curve gracefully round the forecourt, cunningly fencing off the empty sides and disguising the transition from the seventeenth century front of the house to the eighteenth century façade on the inward-looking garden at the back (Plate 320). Driemond's eighteenth century garden behind the house was certainly an extension of the interior, concealed and unostentatious. It is characteristic of a very

Dutch ideal: a mask of severity in front of a beautiful interior, an ideal that was to be expressed in the last decades of the seventeenth century to its full extent.

Buildings by Van 's-Gravesande and Post

Arent van 's-Gravesande is not known to have built any country seat, but an almshouse of his, the 1640 *Hofje van Brouchoven* at Leyden (Plates 196–7) is discussed here as it forms an important link between the earlier Huis ten Bosch, Maarsen, and the execution, only two years later, of Vredenburg (1642). The frontispiece[36] of the *hofje* contains according to custom the Regents' room over the entrance. It is designed as a festive but grave temple front, wholly in stone, with four colossal Ionic pilasters between which hang swags carrying a pediment. The pilasters are raised on a basement, as at Maarsen, but as only one window was needed the planes between the outer pilasters are decorated with panels, partly festooned, The most important difference from Maarsen is that the wings are conceived as independent pavilions, lower, and with their own Doric order, small and rather diagrammatically applied, in stone against brick. There is a hint of the Palladian church[37] but the ultimate result is well composed and convincing Dutch Classicism.

Vredenburgh

Vredenburgh, Frederick Alewijn's estate in the polder Purmer quite near Westwijck, was designed about 1639–42 and completed about 1652 to Pieter Post's design[38] (Plate 321). Frederick Alewijn held a sort of contest between Post and Vingboons and by sheer coincidence many of their drawings are in the collection of the state service for ancient monuments.[39] Philips Vingboons himself published his two designs.[40] Much can be said about the unexecuted design by Post, signed and dated 2 August 1639 (on a *Post*ament), as it will have been discussed in Huygens' circle and is quite remote from the current Dutch ideas of correct Classicist architecture (Plate 322) (ill. in Vermeulen 775, without the flap over the pediment). The composition of the outer windows with the great blank space between them is queerly Mannerist, though it seems difficult on the other hand to find Italian examples in which coupled pilasters of the giant Ionic order alternate with *two* or even *three* windows.[41] The concentration of pilasters, with the inherent danger of their becoming decorative instead of functional elements[42], the playing with the idea of a straight attic, and the placing of one window over another in front of one room (as was to be carried out on each main storey of the Town Hall) all show a serious study of the conflict between the concentration of mass or of decoration, and Renaissance ideals, here considered more democratic in spirit, of the coordination of equal parts. This conflict had to be solved in the few years before the elevations of the Town Hall were to take definite shape.

Vingboons' pilastered façade (I, 34; Plate 323) is based on the Mauritshuis, but the back (I, 35; Plate 324) articulated only by lesenes and a balustraded terrace, is a "truly monumental design".[43] Philips' other and presumably later façade (I, 47; Plate 128) has no pilasters and so on, but instead strangely old-fashioned rusticated quoins at the ends of the façade and of the salient, a motif which may have been inspired by Van 's-Gravesande's Sebastiaansdoelen, and to which Philips never returned. Since this

design was published, however, it could easily have been as influential as Post's executed house, which was also published but in a restricted circulation. Post's design, executed in the Corinthian order but close to Vingboons' first project (Vingboons, I, 34) is less interesting for its main block than for a new element, the addition of wings to this block by means of straight colonnades, each with two Doric columns.[44]

From this design it is a small step, by bending the colonnades and covering the passages through the side pavilions, to an arrangement like William Winde's Buckingham House.

There is little to say about the garden layout which is really more a plantation than a garden (Plate 325). Nearly all the grounds consisted of trees, including cherries. Behind the house extended a narrow "grass-work", a kind of parterre, and in front, a geometrical arrangement of flower beds between arbours, in front of the court. The court in front of the house with its four lawns was not yet as large as the one at the Huis ten Bosch, and so was still controllable. It had additional value as the second turning-point of the entrance axis.

Rijxdorp

Some time after the completion of Swanenburgh Pieter Post's patron Amelis van Brouckhorst commissioned him to build his own country seat Rijxdorp at Wassenaar (1662–68, eventually demolished). It was one of the most disunited buildings of the seventeenth century (Plate 326). In character it belongs to the sixteenth century, being surmounted by a bizarre tower and having end pavilions broader than the frontispiece. Inside, a long rather low hall (Plate 327) connects the pavilions; its centre is widened and throughout its length it bears a succession of variously curved arches, resembling the Maastricht Town Hall where the great hall also consists of an accumulation of rooms. At Maastricht the hall appears to soar, but here, owing to the awkward construction of the tower, the centre of the hall is no taller than the rest of the room.[45] For some reason Post drew a perspective of the whole estate (Plate 328) whose clumsiness enhances the impression of mediaeval walled and moated orchards (nos. 8), with their high corner pavilions over bridges like the water-gates of an old town. The index to the map speaks of more gates and moats (called "ponds"). Most of the garden seems to consist of avenues, though it is not clear of what species of trees. Of the ponds, only no. 14 is identified – it is intended for pikes. The purpose of the triangles (nos. 4), of which theorists were to become fond when gardens had to be laid out "economically"[46], remains a mystery.

Sorgh-vliet I

The house Sorghvliet[47], between the Hague and Scheveningen, built about 1651–2 by Jacob Cats, Grand Pensionary of Holland and a Calvinist poet, may well have been designed by Pieter Post to whom it is often ascribed[48] (Plate 331). It is much simpler than Rijxdorp, but has the same linear form with steep-pitched end pavilions and a small but high bell-turret at the centre. The estate's fame depends largely on the many didactico-bucolic lines produced on it by Cats.[49] These and Huygens' *Hofwijck* inspired others – thus Claas Bruin in 1715: "'t is Zorgvliet, 't welk hy met eigen hand /

Gegraaven heeft uit duin, ja uit het dorre zand / Een lusthof heeft herschept . . ." (Zorgvliet that he himself dug from the dunes, yes from the barren sands a pleasure-garden made). He continues, confusing after half a century Cats' original and Bentinck's additions: "Ziet daar de Oranjerie, zo schoon van vrucht en pragt" (Behold the Conservatory, so beautiful in fruit and splendour).[50] Cats had himself initiated the rumour that the land had consisted only of "some sand" which he had arduously cultivated. In reality Sorghvliet was situated at the nether end of Segbroek, one of the ancient valleys running through the dunes, watered by the Haagse Beek, the brook which still feeds the *Vijver* in the centre of the Hague. The conventions of the country house poem demanded that a plot of land should be broken up with much toil; accordingly the myth was told of Sorghvliet.[51] Another ancient Georgic theme in Cats' work must also be cited: "Een huys met lage muren is dienstigh op 't lant. En sal oock lange duren . . ." (A house with low walls is expedient in the country. And will last long . . .). In this case literary theory did become practice: the house was low and, surely, suitable to its site.

Cats' garden plan is not known, as Bentinck, who bought Sorghvliet in 1674, made many alterations, but two engravings in Cats' works after drawings by Adriaan van de Venne (Bienfait, *Tuinen*, ills. 63 and 64) show a pleasant disorderly old-fashioned affair. To French taste it would have seemed half-civilised, half-rustic, but who really cared for French taste in gardens during the first Stadholderless period of 1650 to 1672? Only Bentinck's reshaping from 1675 onwards was to give Sorghvliet its neat chequer-board quality.

To our eyes the extreme demands of Calvinism breed hypocrisy. For many decades after the change, around 1645, from the leisurely country houses inspired by Pliny and the Palladian villas, to austere cubist buildings on fertile soil, country house poets went on rhyming about land reclaimed with much labour, and low, convenient houses. Perhaps the generally accepted distinction between (religious) theory and practice was much greater than we, still heirs to the Victorian age, are inclined to believe.

An ideal: Elswout near Haarlem

Elswout, as completed about 1660 (Plates 329–30), was closer in appearance to some late seventeenth and early eighteenth century English country-seats than to any Dutch house. One may think particularly of Chatsworth. The design of the grounds and the building of the house were started in about 1645 by an ambitious confectioner who had married the rich widow of his former patron. An enormous plot of ground in the dunes was levelled and dug out but the enterprise was suddenly halted when the upstart who was to stun the world went bankrupt. His enterprise was completed by Gabriel van Marcelis, about 1655–60, and the result, grand as it was and recorded in many drawings and paintings[52], is not stylistically coherent. Various elevations, perhaps the work of different architects, succeed one another on the main pile, a square round an inner courtyard. It had the unusual plan of a corridor running round this court which connected the rooms.[53] The entrance façade to the south shows a giant temple front in the centre of an apparently low building, very similar to the façade of the Huis ten Bosch, Maarsen, and quite convincingly attributed by Meischke to Jacob van Campen.[54] The house is approached on a bent axis: the visitor advances along the

formal gardens facing the east elevation and then turns towards the fore-court, which he reaches through an archway in a big greenhouse which closes the court. This orangery, broader than the house and with large round-headed windows, certainly derives from the later building period.

At the centre of its sides the walled fore-court has little pedantic gazebos, three bays wide and two storeys high, with arched windows, and an oculus and pediment in the projecting central break; they were surmounted by small bell-turrets. The arrangement of entrance façade and lower buildings with turrets to the sides of the court (all presumably originating form the first building-campaign) foreshadows later similar developments in England and the Netherlands. The gazebos, incidentally, resemble in detail a small interesting gate-house for the house at Gansenhoef on the Vecht, built by Philips Vingboons in 1655.[55]

The visitor's sense of direction was finally routed by the square corridor round the light-well, whether open or not open. To the east as well as west sheltered terraces were formed between the projecting walls of fore- and back-courts. The balustrades of these terraces were repeated on top of the raised parts of the eastern and western elevations, an elegant solution, especially as the architect realized that a temple-front cannot be used more than twice in one building without becoming ridiculous. The descent to the gardens at the sides was carefully planned, with narrow stairs leading down from the broad terraces and dissolving into concave and convex hemicycles opposite one another.[56] These highly Italian structures led, on the west, to a "star grove" plantation with a tempietto-like pavilion in the centre.[57] This part of the gardens was reached by a bridge across a wide pond. To the east there was direct access to a formal garden with three parterres of box in the axis, statues, pavilions and the like. The most Italianate feature, however, was the hidden treasure to the north: a sunken garden enclosed by a wall with statues in niches, and above, a raised and covered walk. A double flight of stairs descended into the garden which was adorned by a fine fountain composed of a bronze Neptune encircled by spouting bronze animals, a collection of curious little creatures: pigeons, a dolphin, an armadillo, a crocodile, a parrot and a tortoise.

Walking round this fountain and looking back one saw that the designer had matched the scale of the court's two storeys by giving the rear façade superimposed orders under a pediment.[58] The still rare phenomenon of "superimposed" windows (in the centre, as at Vredenburgh) and of sculptured pediments for a private building outside the Stadholders' circle, again seem to adumbrate the building in which artistic and civilian virtues were to reach their apex, the Amsterdam Town Hall. The grounds of the estate were bought between 1634 and 1642, and the more one studies the plan the more convinced one becomes that it was ultimately executed after one early master-plan, with only the incongruous addition of the conservatory closing the fore-court. At Driemond we already noticed a desire to evoke different atmospheres at front and back of the house, but owing to the narrow side elevations of Dutch country houses more than two gardens, both on the main axis, could almost never be created. At Elswout the great surprise lay in the division of the main axis into three enchanting and completely different gardens, each with its peculiar atmosphere, but firmly united by the square of the house. It may be that an architect like Vingboons completed the side façades if they were not finished in the first building period, but the excellent design must have been Jacob van Campen's.

Meyster's Emblems

The Utrecht country squire Everhard Meyster was fascinated by every conceivable symbol of Youth, Life, and Death. Of all his buildings and gardens only his idiosyncratic house in Utrecht, de Krakeling, still stands. (Achter St. Pieter 8 (1664), ill. Vermeulen, 840). An (evergreen) palm-tree is carved in the entrance door, and the side elevation is adorned with hourglasses, skulls, and so forth and originally had a few modest boulders also incorporated. Meyster aimed at making Utrecht a sea-port again (as it had been in the early Middle Ages); he rushed to the defence of Van Campen in quarrels over the Town Hall with poems and pamphlets; he induced the city of Amersfoort to haul within its walls the enormous boulder which is still in the market place. Near Amersfoort, close to Van Campen's country seat Randenbroek, he had three properties – Nimmerdor, which he cultivated with evergreen conifers, and Dool-om-bergh and Dool-in-bergh (which lay next to one another), horticultural representations of Earth and Heaven, admonitions to Man to mend his ways (Plate 332).

As a Roman Catholic Meyster could not enter the Civil Service, so he was able to devote all his energy to these enterprises. A line from Virgil, *Hic Ver assiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas*, served as the motto to Meyser's intricate poem on Nimmerdor (Never-bare), which most appropriately was printed in green ink. It expresses the usual horror of the Vile City and extols the life of the country. Two years later Meyster had a country house poem printed about the other estates. He says little about them and more about the city's evil inhabitants. But a few pertinent lines and the print of Dool-om-Bergh (Wander round the mound) and Dool-in-Bergh (Wander within the mound)[59] are enough to make it clear that the site was crammed with symbols.

The most conspicuous item was a "Cretensian labyrinth" climbing a hill on which stood a cupola with a statue of Vanity. Christian and antique symbols are arranged alternately. The hill is ascended by stairs like Bramante's in the Cortile del Belvedere, and the number of hills on the estate is seven. There are of course a spring, a fountain, a small water castle, thickets, groves of oaks, a cleft in one of the mountains – but in particular we may remark a garden theatre[60] as it seems to be the first of its kind in the Republic, and for a long time to come was to be unique. In this respect, therefore, this estate like a religious labyrinth, was very advanced.

Vingboons' Vanenburgh and Elsenburgh

The country houses built by Philips after 1648 are nearly all contracted into simple cubes. One example, Vanenburgh, built in 1664, can give an impression of them all (Plate 333).[61]

If these rather citified cubes were designed in complete deference to the wishes of the merchant patrons, in the case of Philips' earliest country house, Elsenburgh I (1637) the patron, Jacob Burchgraef, evidently allowed his architect to evolve a novel type. It was the change of fashion which changed the house about the turn of the century into Elsenburgh II, almost unrecognizably. As represented in Vingboons' works (I, 2, the façade and I, 1 the three plans) (Plates 334–5) the façade is assured and well-balanced, yet elegant and playful with an air of freedom. It contained geometrical exercises, but only in the details: the semicircular stoop, the spheres on the

corners of the roof, perhaps circular chimneys. All this was to disappear in the house's sad metamorphosis.

Elsenburgh II – Calvinism Triumphant

After the conversion nothing of Philips' intentions remained. The house was doubled in depth so that it became a square. Consequently the two slender chimneys on the sides were replaced by four rather low corner chimneys with oppressive metal hoods. The belvedere over the raised front was changed into a plump segmental pediment[62] and the frontal orientation towards the village, ignoring the river Vecht, was dispersed by the addition of windows to all the sides. Two smaller changes would have been improvements, the new "English" sash windows and a stoop with railings. The house was eventually pulled down in 1812. The part of the garden shown in the 1719 print (Plate 336) did include some topiary such as cones and *arbres nains*, and some busts by way of statuary; though a more interesting feature is the enclosures of high clipped hedges which add open rooms to the sides of the house. When in the second half of the eighteenth century English landscape gardening was introduced existing houses could easily and economically be adjusted to it by plastering, which in addition suited the new classicist architectural ideas of the end of the century and the Napoleonic era.[63]

Chapter 18

Pluto Omnibus Idem

Clingendaal

Clingendaal[1] was laid out for, and presumable designed by, Philips III Doublet, the immensely wealthy heir to a Regent family from the Hague, which had held the lucrative post of Collector General of the Union from 1588 to 1666, when Philips II was dismissed for fraud. Philips II had married Geertruyd, a sister of Constantine Huygens, and their son, Philips III, married his cousin Susanna, Constantine's daughter. In 1680 Philips III Doublet inherited the estate and immediately set himself the enormous task of extending and reshaping the house and gardens. He had already finished this work by 1687, when Nicodemus Tessin could write "ist dieses das beste von garten so hier umb Haag zu finden ist", and could give an account of the gardens which corresponds closely to the series of engravings that date from about 1690[2] (Plates 337–8).

Clingendaal's main axis was along the dunes, the whole estate being laid out as an embroidered ribbon about four times as long as it was wide, between the rising dunes and the flat meadows of the countryside.

The approach on a transverse axis is wide between two ancillary buildings (gardener's lodge and coach house); the transverse movement is not blocked, but at the other end of the forecourt the corresponding ancillary building (with stable, bath, and "other dwellings") merely narrows the vista, being built over an archway. It is agreeable to change direction in the middle of the courtyard, beckoned by the high arches in the hedges at the sides. The actual introduction to the house (Plates 339–40) is very unostentatious: a second, bare court, with high trees only at the sides so as not to detract from the architecture of the house. The other side of the first court is reserved for the typical mid seventeenth century garden: here we find a few small statues (the rest of the layout had, apart from a statue of Apollo, very little sculpture of this sort), a fine broderie (with some contrasting vertical elements, like flowers), and here the prospect is closed by a Classicist pavilion, perhaps left from an earlier garden arrangement. It was ingeniously used for what may be called a "patte d'oie en eau": it abutted on a pond spreading in five directions.

As the enlarged house stood on a dam (like the earlier house[3]), the only access to the main gardens was through the house – and a ten foot wide corridor was therefore introduced.[4] Behind the house one discovered first the relatively small remains of the mid seventeenth century garden, with to the right a square arbour round turf in a geometrical pattern, and to the left an orangery with a circular pond. But between these relics there were four small broderies of a highly finished form and, to enhance their ornamentality, completely in box. Tessin says of them: "vier kleine parterren, da die enroulement von den plattebanden herumb gar artig wahren; die kleinen brodereien

wahren von buchsbaum inwendig auffgefült, davon ich sonsten kein exempel gesehen habe".[5] At more or less the same time and presumably with the aid of a skilled architect the Collector General in office, Cornelis van Ellemeet, laid out his estate Duinrel in a shallow stage-like arrangement at the foot of the dunes some five miles to the north. The main axis of Duinrel is aligned with a triumphal arch which was always closed, as it gave onto dunes and nothing but dunes. This seems to be parodied by Doublet's long main axis which is intersected again and again by transverse vistas over the countryside, while Duinrel's long transverse avenues had no vistas over anything. The overriding character of Clingendaal, a little whimsical but balanced and very individual, is certainly Doublet's and not, for example, Marot's (who was not particularly succesfull in his large lay-outs[6]).

" . . . gehöret einem Herren zu, der f. 100.000,– einkommen had. Er heist Herr von Santannenlandt, ist sehr curieux undt hat sonsten keinen dienst". Tessin noticed that Doublet had ample time to work out his system.

The garden gradually increases in scale, but the hedges and groves also become thicker and higher (Plate 341), and every Baroque expectation of the visitor is quietly and effectively smothered by the labyrinth at the end.

The poet Claas Bruin versifies about this shady maze: "Behagelyk dwaalen! / Hier kan men de straalen / Der zon steeds ontduiken, / In 't dichtste der struiken, / En ademtogt haalen".[7] Were summers hotter in those days? Would the rays of the sun have spoilt the ladylike paleness of our eighteenth century citizens? Or was it simply another literary convention.

To return to the structure of the garden: the groves in front of the house are already cut by a transverse axis; the ponds are set transversely and even the arbour has a trellised archway giving onto the grassy plains of Holland, at the end of which the estate is set. This sudden clustering of ornament to terminate a smooth surface is also found in the way the Flat Style houses along Amsterdam's canals, which are quite without decoration, suddenly burst into sculptured movement against the sky. Clingendaal's sudden burst of movement is of course mirrored at the other side of the dunes by the breaking surf of the North Sea.

The garden design is also very interesting as it reflects the various stages of Dutch garden design during the seventeenth century – in the vicinity of the house, Classicist; in the large parterre de broderie behind the house, the Flat Style in its aversion to guiding the eye in a particular direction; and in the high labyrinth at the end the appearance of a sinuous line prefigures the patterns of the opening decades of the eighteenth century.[8]

Christiaan Huygens, Philips Doublet's brother-in-law, in 1660–1 visited London and Paris, buying architectural books and conversing with Christopher Wren, so that he will have discussed the latest French and English ideas with Philips Doublet. Constantine Huygens, Doublet's father-in-law, had at Hofwijck laid out a geometrical pattern forty years earlier – so that if Clingendaal epitomises in a well-balanced whole several tendencies of the seventeenth century it can be seen not only as a rare accomplishment for an amateur, but also as an act of homage to the artistic ideals flourishing in his family.[9]

Duinrel

"One may give Nature another aspect,
If one is versed in cultivating the soil:
And change, by labour and judgement,
Wilderness into profitable and fertile land,
a bare Dune into Meadow"
Coenraed Droste[10]

It should not be supposed from the above account that Duinrel[11] lacked interest or originality. In its own way it even has a strongly eighteenth century flavour; it was perhaps the most advanced garden of the period. We have a lengthy poetical description of Duinrel in Coenraed Droste's four hundred line country house poem, as well as a magnificent bird's eye view by Pieter Schenk[12] (Plate 342). It consisted of a great number of walks, terminated by needles or obelisks and adorned with statues and sculpted vases. There was a temple[13] of Diana, a Triumphal Arch (Plates 385–6), a pond with spouting water gods, and clipped hedges with busts in niches[14] and windows "in between (which) the people moved as though between the flats of a stage" (Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 143). Indeed in looking at Schenk's prints one can feel the theatrical effect, with the various scenes set in relief by the grandeur of the whole setting, and the inhabitants in a constant *marivaudage*. The dunes and sky would form the typical Dutch back-cloth for this performance. There were of course some geometrical relics, especially in the formal garden behind the house with its circular pond, trees clipped like obelisks – in contrast to Doublet's cones – vases, statues, and so forth[15] (Plates 343–4). But there was no parterre de broderie, no arbours; although part of their effect was given by high clipped hedges which gave the formal garden a somewhat compartmentalised structure, in strong contrast to the rest of the grounds, to which several vistas were opened.

The principal axis is the shorter one and to cope with this fundamental element the whole estate and house are developed in a broad narrative way, as the canvasses of the Dutch painters tend to be. The difficulty of gardens to the side of the principal axis is overcome by suppressing them altogether. Tree-lined transverse avenues run in front of the house and behind the formal garden, connecting the central lay-out with the groves (with their *étoiles* and ovals) and enclosing stretches of farmland. The enclosed meadows were even bigger than the formal garden which covered scarcely a sixth of the total area; in the general design symmetry was not strictly observed and the main axis through the formal garden stopped short at the Triumphal Arch, (closed as the architect realised that a view onto sandy dunes had few charms). We may suppose that Jacob Roman, who designed the house[16], also made the plan for the garden as they are perfectly co-ordinated, the general form of the house being repeated in the gardens.

Duinrel is exceptional in the coherent relationship between park, garden, and house. As water was scarce there the ditches are more similar to ha-has than are the usual brimful Dutch ditches.[17] In this respect and in the inclusion in the design of parts of the "natural" surroundings the park reflects a tendency which was soon to be fully developed in England.

Duinrel was laid out from 1681 onwards by Cornelis de Jonge van Ellemeet,

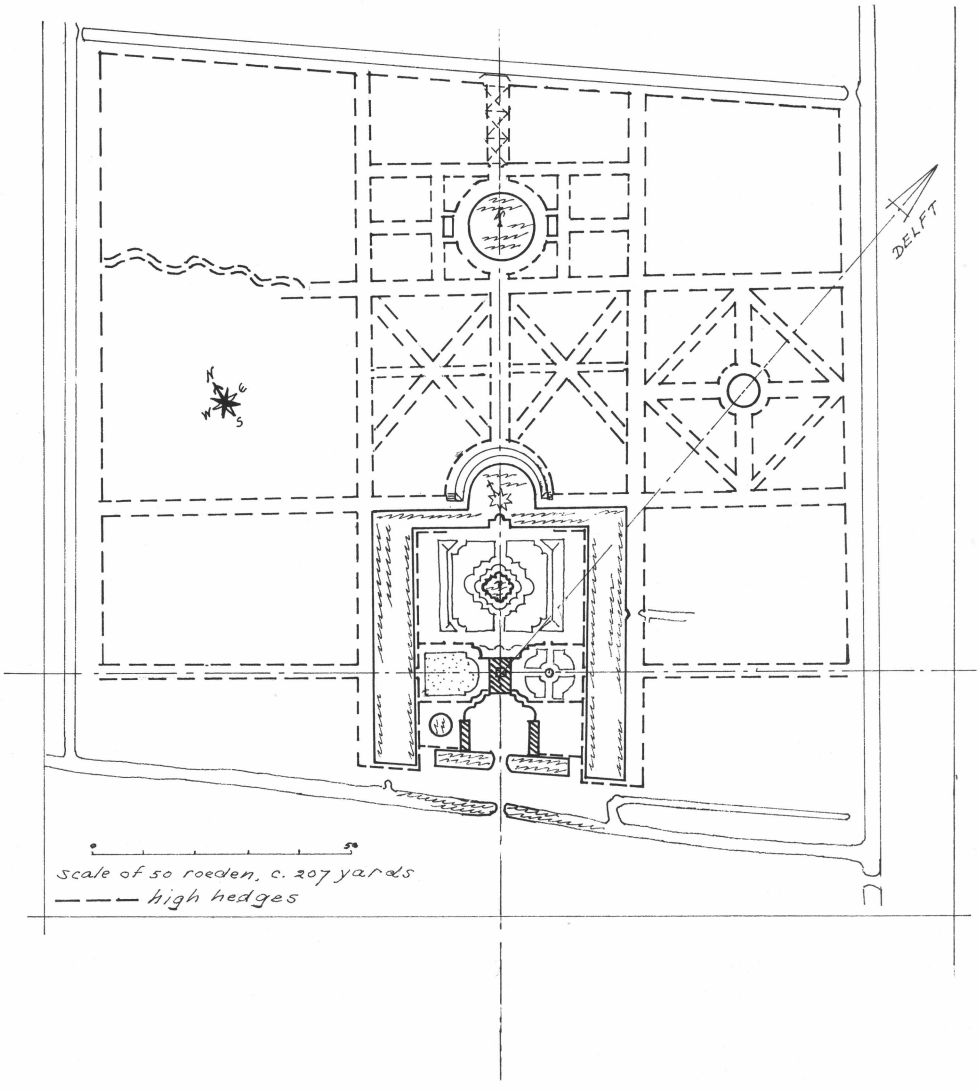


Figure 23. Sion near Delft, about 1710

Collector General of the Union from 1674 to 1707 and afterwards Pensionary of Rotterdam until his death in 1721. The engravings of Duinrel are, with the exeption of the large views, included in Schenk's 1702–1705 work on Het Loo, De Voorst, Rosendaal and other aristocratic mansions.[18] The execution of the large general view, dated 1707, may have originated in Van Ellemeet's wish to give his youngest daughter, Maria Margaretha, a faithful representation of the whole estate, when in 1705 she had married William North, 6th Lord North and Grey. B.E. de Muinck, who has studied the financial affairs of Van Ellemeet[19], writes of the marriage: "Incidentally the marriage of Maria Margaretha was encouraged by the Duke of Marlborough who, as Maria Oyens (Maria Margaretha's mother) recorded with some pride in her diary, visited the Van Ellemeets on several occasions"[20]

It is not unlikely that Marlborough was presented with a set of views of the estate. There are in any case sufficient examples of the speed with which ideas travelled over the North Sea. To give one astonishing example: L. Knyff and J. Kip's *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* was published by David Mortier in London[21] in 1708. But at Leyden Pieter van der Aa had already in 1707 succeeded in having about 74 of its engravings reduced to duodecimo, and published them under the name of James Beeverell.[22]

Sion

Laid out a quarter of a century later than the exceptional Clingendaal and Duinrel, the estate of Sion near Delft had to submit, to a considerable degree, to French influence. Van Hogendorp succeeded De Jonge van Ellemeet as Tax Collector General in 1707; he had acquired Sion by the end of the seventeenth century and will have laid out the gardens in the first years of the eighteenth century, certainly before 1712.[23] At first sight it would appear that the estate, as represented in the large engraving by Pieter van Cal (Plate 345), developed almost equally in four directions, which was no doubt a reflection of the impartiality of its owner, Gijsbert, Count of Hogendorp, who like De Jonge van Ellemeet was to be Collector General of the Union for thirty-three years.

The grounds were cut up into nine squares and everything seemed to indicate that these squares would be developed equally. To the seventeenth century house, a cube of four by five bays, one bay was added at the back, making a new garden front[24] (Plate 346). The block was further extended by attractively curved garden walls which, springing from the corners of the house, connected it with the ancillary buildings and at the same time shut off the side gardens from the forecourt (so that a begging war-invalid, like the one shown on one of Van Cal's engravings, could not enter this paradise)[25] (Plate 347). As a result each of the four elevations of the house commanded its own reasonably large garden or court (Figure 23). There were vistas through clipped hedges from the surrounding belt of thickets onto the three gardens, respectively a large parterre de broderie behind the house, a parterre de fleurs to one side and a bowling-green on the other side.

Over the façades of the building one could see a large cupola on top of the house, and one might easily feel that from there the estate would appear even more beautiful. So, indeed, it was, but from that point it became disagreeably clear that at a certain

stage in the laying out all good Dutch intentions had been forgotten and that a long French axis had been superimposed on the centre. At each side of the formal garden large ornamental sheets of water were added, in the centre with mock naval vessels floating upon them, as at Fontainebleau[26] (Plate 348). Anyone who, excited by the view from the cupola, had gone downstairs, was obliged to walk for some minutes round the ponds before he could rediscover the main axis. It continued, probably visually, but not physically, over the round basin of the aviary towards the grassy fields which continued for miles and miles beyond the garden. It is strange that there was no visual alignment, no distant eye-catcher, but it appears that Van Hogendorp was hampered by the existing garden arrangement on the low watery grounds. In any case even the feeble proposal in Van Cal's engraving for a high green pavilion in the line of the cupola and the Delft towers was not executed[27], and various devices were worked out to give the French avenue as impressive an ending as possible. The view onto the fields was framed by a huge trellised portico and, to provide the greatest possible contrast, was prepared for by a tunnel-like arbour (Plate 349).

Those walking in the enclosed garden behind the house were not, however, disturbed by the empty central axis, as they were surrounded by a delicate broderie on the slope of a raised walk, which was even continued in a semicircle round the water. The great broderie itself had a fine pattern, completely filled with box. Apart from the three central, formal squares, the others for the most part contained plantations. On Zijnen's map of 1760 (supported in part by Cruquius' plan of 1712) there are some sinuous paths through the groves, but these are still feeble and unconvincing, as though made in obedience to a reluctantly accepted programmatic commandment: "thou shalt have a meandering path in thy grove". As Pieter van Cal made the bird's eye view and as this shows several unexecuted proposals it is not unlikely that, as Bienfait suggests[28], Van Cal himself designed the lay-out. It will be clear that, after the carefully thought out plans of Clingendaal, Duinrel and a number of other genuinely Dutch designs of around 1680, Sion represented a surrender to France, whose influence was to be felt throughout the eighteenth century.

Chapter 19

The Flat Style, 1670–1700

Introduction

In the sections on country houses we have seen how the Flat Style can be related to the straight lines of the polders. The play of reflection in the waters of ponds and canals often added a third dimension to those flat surfaces, a dimension which in a country like Italy is attained by strong plasticity in the façades themselves. The gardens of the rich Amsterdam town houses differed from those of the country-houses along the Vecht. They are of course smaller, to the rear of the house, with a broderie closed at the far end by a garden pavilion. Moreover the town houses are linked in long closed blocks – which protect the quietness of the gardens – and a canal takes the place of the river. But did the last feature lead to a different architectural approach? I remarked on the scarcely developed side elevations of many country houses (in some of Vingboons' unexecuted designs it is difficult to tell whether they are intended for town or country), and often we have the feeling that they could just as easily be connected to form a row of *grachtenhuizen*.

Since the most fashionable houses had stables on a back street their façades were free from carriage-entrances. It should be pointed out, moreover, that the water surface of the canals in Amsterdam and Leyden lay immediately below street level, so that the canals reflected quite as effectively as the most decoratively placed pond or river in the countryside. (An example at Leyden is the Hofje Meermansburg facing the water of the Oude Vest). This seemingly fortuitous third dimension (in reality Amsterdam's layout, with three concentric girdles of *grachten* was based on a master-plan of genius) encouraged some fanciful finishing touch, like statues on the balustrades, corresponding to the termination of country gardens' geometry with statues, busts and the like.

In the first decades of the Flat Style attics and balustrades were still rather reticent, but soon afterwards, with the Louis XIV style of the eighteenth century, followed by Rococo, the severe façades came to be crowned by the most elaborate sculptural detail.

Elias Bouman

Elias Bouman's main work, the splendid Portuguese Synagogue, has been discussed in the chapter on churches.[1] Bouman (1635/6–1686), who worked exclusively in the Flat Style – as far as we know, and we have only a very few facts – may have designed a number of important *grachtenhuizen*, although only the houses Amstel 224–6 can be attributed to him with certainty.[2] It is, however, not unlikely that about 1675–80 he designed a new façade for the De Pinto House, Sint Antoniesbreestraat 69, to bring it up to date for the extremely rich owner, a *parnas* (elder) of the Portuguese

community, for which he had built the great synagogue some five years earlier (Plate 351).

The façade of the De Pinto House is given a pronounced verticalism by fairly strong and closely-spaced pilaster strips, which run into the cornice and continue as the main posts of the high attic (intended to conceal the old roof).[3] A subtle diversity of colour is given by the solid sandstone of the pilaster strips and the white marble of the intervening panels. The elevation is strongly Baroque in feeling, especially when compared with the earlier houses Amstel 224–6, which date from 1672 (represented in the *Grachtenboekje*, plate 23).[4] The print (Plate 352) seems fairly accurate in its general presentation[5]; an interesting feature is that it gives one the sensation of looking at part of some Georgian square in London. It has the same distinction of fanlights and an attic-balustrade as the only embellishment.

The old Portuguese Synagogue of 1639 was sold in about 1676[6] and converted into a dwelling place once more. We know nothing about the new interior[7], but Romeyn de Hooghe made a print of the new façade (Plate 73). It was given a fine balcony with fanlit doors, and an attic. An elegant wrought iron grille was added and the attic may have had marble panels as at the De Pinto House.[8] It is by no means out of the question that Bouman designed this conversion.[9]

Bouwman's career was a brief one. Born in 1635 or 1636 he trained as a mason in his father's shop and became a master in the guild probably in 1659 – certainly before 1662 when he already had two apprentices. His reputation, on account of the churches and, presumably, the houses he built for his Portuguese clientèle[10], was such that he was appointed City Mason of Amsterdam in 1681, with a salary of f. 800,–, and from 1684 earned as much as f. 1000,– p.a. He died fairly young, and was buried on March 18th, 1686, in the Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam.[11]

When Mr. Vriese in a recent publication[12] ascribes every house[13] commissioned by a Jewish patron and drawn by Romeyn de Hooghe to Elias Bouman he is jumping to conclusions. These Portuguese had to employ Gentile craftsmen (Jews were not admitted into the guilds)[14] and De Hooghe also worked for Catholic and Protestant patrons.

In the case of Heerengracht 586, Romeyn de Hooghe's etching (Plate 354) has been a source of mystification. To assume that it really represents Heerengracht 586 one has to make a number of suppositions. In the first place that the house, built in 1672 by Dortsman for Gijsbert Dommer, had been completely reshaped after about 1689 (when it was drawn by Van Call[15] in its original state) for the Baron Belmonte, who had lived there since 1686 and acquired the house in 1700.[16] Secondly, that the conversion after 1689 lent the house some extremely old-fashioned characteristics and, thirdly, that this particular print by De Hooghe is reliable – which seems to be arguable in view of the peculiar detailing of the attic.[17]

In the absence of sufficient proven works by Bouman we cannot as yet obtain a clear picture of the development of his style. The houses Amstel 224–6 are related to Dortsman's style, but are simpler still, totally without decoration such as triglyphs on the frieze. Whether the greater degree of plasticity of the later De Pinto House was fortuitous – due to the wishes of the patron or the exigencies of the conversion – or whether it represents a significant stage in Bouman's development will remain uncertain.

In the final event the evidence of the Portuguese Synagogue and the houses Amstel 224–6 alone indicate that Bouman was a very gifted architect, both when handling façades and when creating a superb church interior.

Steven Vennecool

Steven Vennecool (1657–1719)[18] built the Enkhuizen Town Hall in 1686, an imposing and advanced structure in the Flat Style (Plate 355). It has the great hall in the centre of the piano nobile and the staircase hall, closed off, to the side. Sculpturally the main elevation marks the middle of a development beginning with the Amsterdam Town Hall which has a complete integration of architectural and sculptural parts and ending with the Deventer Town Hall with its rather independent decorative details. Enkhuizen has a fairly plastic central bay with statues, a balcony and an "inverted" Serlianesque tripartite window – two round-headed lights flanking a higher straight-headed one. The vertical central axis is still heavily emphasized.[19] The Town Hall was not engraved, but I mention it here as it was Vennecool's *chef d'oeuvre*[20], and because of Enkhuizen's close commercial ties with East Anglia.

An ephemeral creation, but of great significance as it was many times drawn and engraved[21], was his Triumphal Arch, commissioned by the States of Holland on the occasion of William III's first return to Holland as King of England, early in 1691 (Plate 356). It was erected on the *Buitenhof* at the Hague.[22] The most important aspect of this arch, apart from its being engraved, is its form which is easily the most Baroque ever seen in Holland. The main arch of this *arcus triumphalis* connects two Doric tempietti. These tempietti, each also pierced by an arch, have a continuous entablature curving inwards in the middle under the Royal coat of arms attached to the attic, and outwards at the sides. Statues, trophies, and the like crown the attic, whilst the spandrels of the main arch are decorated with genii. The roof over this central arch has a rectangular base with bevelled corners; the quarter circles, resembling those to be observed in Roman's work, are surmounted by the equestrian statue of Augustus – William.[23]

This triumphal arch, which may readily be called Vennecool's apotheosis of all the Baroque tendencies in Dutch architecture, could be realized because the States of Holland provided f. 6000,– for a structure that was to be hampered by no utilitarian considerations, except that one should be able to ride through it. How the sum was divided is not known. A large part would have gone to Romeyn de Hooghe for designing and directing, and perhaps also executing the sixteen large and many small grisailles on the arch[24]; Govert Bidloo, the medico-architect, would have claimed some stivers for his Latin inscriptions. De Hooghe etched all the decorations on this arch[25] as well as his other work for William's entry into the Hague[26]; there was a short and bitter quarrel, enlivened with satires, about the authorship of the arch on the Buitenhof, which is, without question, Vennecool's. It will be clear that Vennecool's source of inspiration was contemporary Rome rather than Paris.[27] Should it be stressed that the propagandistic value of this delightful toy was tremendous?[28]

Vennecool's fine oval staircase in Middachten Castle, rebuilt by him in 1695, has been discussed in the chapter on gardens and country houses.

When in 1697 the Muscovite embassy was received with some pomp at Amsterdam,

Vennecool designed the fireworks on the Amstel. Moucheron's print (Plate 357) shows an Ionic tempietto with alternately straight and concave faces, crowned by a celestial globe riding on Tritons' tails. Vennecool succeeded in the difficult task of designing a fairly small structure which was simultaneously Baroque, monumental, and festive.

If Vennecool was the designer of the Deutzenhofje at Amsterdam, of 1695, which is often ascribed to him[29], he created there a sober brick façade with some sculptural decorations round the entrance. Of much greater interest is a small garden structure along the inner court, as it seems to foreshadow late eighteenth century structures of its kind.[30] It is a small and charming Doric portico-in-antis surmounted by an attic with decorated panels. The much wider intercolumniation of the centre of this three-bayed pavilion is a sure indication that the rule of the Classicists was over.

From the few works which can be attributed to him Vennecool emerges as an architect of outstanding merit, equally capable when designing permanent buildings in the Flat Style, or temporary structures in the Baroque.

Adriaan Dortsman

"Had ooit de bouwkunde eer, 't was door uw brein en hand;
Zij sterft met u en straft 't ondankbaar Vaderland.
Gij echter, die u wel, en wijz'lijk hebt gekweeten,
Zult bij 't onsterfelijk, het sterf'lijk lot vergeten".
(Govert Bidloo on Dortsman's death).[31]

In so far as Dortman's claim to immortality depends on the number of buildings ascribed to him, he has considerably improved his position in recent decades.[32] Interest, especially in his houses, was stimulated by the reprint of Cornelis Danckert's *Grachtenboekje*, thanks to Isabella van Eeghen[33], and the changed appreciation of the Flat Style, which has come to be regarded as a high accomplishment.[34]

Adriaan Dortsman was born at Flushing around 1635.[34a] Most probably his father was a carpenter and Adriaan was trained in his father's shop. He was already a master carpenter in 1652, but in 1658 went to Leyden University to study mathematics. He came to Amsterdam about 1665.[35]

Since Dortsman left some of his houses to his housekeeper Cornelia van der Gon we may have some clue to his personal life, but in general only a very few facts are known. Cornelia later married a painter. Adriaan Dortsman was buried on October 8th, 1682, in the Oosterkerk, a church he probably designed himself.

Flushing is near Middelburg where the round church was being built in Dortsman's youth, a certain familiarity with this construction may have been one of the reasons for the Lutherans of Amsterdam to commission him to design their new church, the Round Lutheran Church, in 1667.[36]

This magnificent structure, completed in 1671, has been discussed in the chapter on churches. It only should be added that the main considerations for the Lutherans to appoint so young – and as far as we know so inexperienced – an architect must have been his both practical and theoretical education and the fact that he had already been received into the patrician patronage by a commission for Jan Six.

Late in 1665 or early in 1666 Dortsman had made a first design for Heeren-

gracht 619, the town house of Jan Six, Heer van Wimmenum.[37] This preliminary design, to which I will return, still had an old-fashioned high unconcealed roof, but very soon Dortsman made a novel version which was executed from 1667 to 1669. The chronogram on the façade, SaLVS hVIC DoMVI, reads 1667.

The house, now unfortunately altered (Plate 359), was in its original state closely related to Heerengracht 456 for Ioan Corver, which was completed in 1671[38] and is very well represented in the *Grachtenboekje* (Plate 360).[39]

Dortman's stately style which he would practise until his death, was already epitomised in these fine elevations for Six and Corver. The Corver House can not be ascribed with certainty to Dortsman, but in view of the great probability and the excellent engraving of it, I take it as a basis for the description of its kind. The composition is contained within a rigid square (from street level to the Doric frieze), which is divided by subtle ratios. The black window surfaces of diminishing height contrast with a smooth stone surface which is framed on four sides by the slight plasticity of basement, rustication at the corners and frieze with balustrade. The stoop's projection is balanced by that of the balcony; all the curving elements – the balcony posts, the fanlight and the concave attic – seem in mutual agreement. When it was necessary, however, as in the Walloon Orphanage of 1671, to erect a simple structure in brick, Dortsman acquitted himself competently of this utilitarian task.[40] The houses Keizersgracht 672 and 674 (Plate 361) were built by Dortsman in 1671 for Jeremias van Raey, who was a Regent of the Walloon Orphanage.[41] These are higher than the previous houses, having two and a half storeys within the square, but as they have five bays instead of three, (within the similar width of 52 feet), they achieve the same harmonious balance.[42]

A comparison between these executed houses with the preliminary design for Jan Six, as worked out in twelve drawings (Plate 363), reveals significant differences. The rather hesitant modillion cornice and high hipped roof are replaced by an attic; the whole composition is raised somewhat to accommodate basement lights and a double stoop, the free-standing statues flanking the first stoop are transported to the attic, and lastly, the corner-rustication is far more pronounced. On the evidence of the drawings it seems that within a few months Dortsman developed from an accomplished draughtsman and engineer with some charming architectural notions to the self-confident protagonist of the new style.[44]

Amstel 216, the Dommer House (1672) (Plate 364), which Dortsman built for the wealthy Roman Catholic manufacturer Gijsbert Dommer, owner of soapworks, still stands almost in its original form. It shows the next step taken by Dortsman in façade design.

An attica-balustrade with a concave centre is contained within the square of the composition, but this surrounding square begins to dissolve as the basement is treated in the same way as the rest of the surface and the channelling of the corners is carried over the whole building. This sandstone elevation is extremely imposing.

Adjacent to this building, but round the corner on the Heerengracht, Dortsman almost had the opportunity to execute one continuous urbanistic scheme. Apart from nos. 598–600 (constructed in an old-fashioned style by Jan van Strijen, a local carpenter) he built, also for Dommer, every house from no. 586 to no. 596[45] (Plate 365). Any disappointment Dortsman may have felt over the incompleteness of

this view was ample compensated for across the canal, at the northern end of the Heerengracht. Here he did indeed realize a continuous scheme. On land including allotments acquired for himself and Jan Six he built the nos. 621 to 629, Heerengracht, completing this row with the three adjacent houses round the corner on the Amstel.

By a miracle Heerengracht 623 still survives (Plate 366), the only remaining house in Amsterdam built by a seventeenth century architect for himself.[45a] The façade is almost unaltered. Unfortunately the other houses of the row have all been destroyed. No. 625, the central house, had as its single distinctive feature an ornamented balcony in the centre.[46] Otherwise, like the others, it was a modest three-storeyed house of three narrow bays, with a Doric frieze and an attic. The already mentioned houses for Dommer on the south side of the canal, nos. 586–596, had the simplest of brick façades, but his own houses were richer, using stone. The elevations, stretching from Heerengracht 621 to Amstel 208, were visually connected by the channelling which ran over eight of them continuously. Although attractive in themselves, from an urbanistic point of view the houses are weakened by a loss of individuality and a certain monotony, clearly visible on Van Call's print of about 1689.[47] So after all we need not resent too much the perhaps slightly clumsy but cheerful variant on the persistent Gothic gable theme offered on the south side of the canal by Van Strijen in 1687, five years after Dortsman had died.

Dortsman was many years a fortification engineer: for the City of Amsterdam in about 1672, for the so-called "waterlinie" along the river Vecht in 1673–4, and on the Fortress of Naarden from 1678 until the end of 1681. It is said that there were financial irregularities due to poor overseeing at the latter – that at least explains Bidloo's vindication in the epitaph quoted above. In any case Dortsman designed two town gates for Naarden, of which one, the Amsterdamse Poort (completed 1683, destroyed 1915) is sufficiently well documented to be mentioned here[48] (Plate 367). It was a low building of five bays, the brick niches of the outer bays were framed with *chaînes*, the concave trio of central bays with coupled Doric pilasters. The stone entablature was surmounted by a low attic whose only vertical accent was a small decoration resting on the centre.[49] Compared with the usual square and high-built town gates this simple structure with its development in breadth was wholly novel.[50]

Only one country seat by Adriaan Dortsman is recorded. It is still extant: Gunterstein on the Vecht, built in 1681 for Magdalena Poulle, another Regent of the Walloon Orphanage.[51] Presumably on account of the shape of the old castle, which had been destroyed by the French, this house was given a cube-like aspect (Plates 368–9). From the road and the river the house looks like a Heerengracht house, except that it is moated and, rather breaking the cubic impression, surmounted by a kind of elongated *baldacchino* in which statues are placed. Two forecourts, one slightly bigger than the other, and again moated, lie on the farther side of the house; the visitor has to circle them before he can enter. The gardens were transitional between the formal architectural ones of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century ones with more freedom of design. In its formal part the layout was an early example of the "economic" triangle, prompted rather, it seems, by the formation of the land than by any other consideration. This part of the garden, through the loosening of strict geometrical form, tends towards the freedom of a *chinoiserie*. Apart from a fountain in the form of a winged dragon and, like a quotation, a Mannerist gateway, the garden

included a kind of rock-fountain surmounted by a spouting chicken whose backside was the target for a spouting dog – this contraption was called La Fontaine de la Poulle, a bizarre allusion to Magdalena Poulle.

The rest of the grounds were laid out like a park, with various mounds supporting an obelisk and cupolas, and, at some distance, among the meadows of the property, a labyrinth.

Called on to design a tiny country house at Wimmenum for Jan Six, Dortsman left a few sketches signed and dated February 1681 (Plate 370). They are roughly sketched – the notes of an assured designer. Everything is indicated on this preliminary draft. The very neatly worked out sketches, on six sheets, are in the Print Room of Leyden University[52] (Plate 371), and one is struck by the strict ratios, the precise divisions into quarter inches and the cubic shape of the main room which only measures, all in all, 17 by 17 feet, by 17 again to the top of the cove. For all the difference from the contemporary Duinrel, the idea of one "big" square room on each floor, surrounded by the tiniest of sleeping cabinets, is the same. The renewed interest in Dortsman is gratifying. Bouman's work seems bleak in comparison, Vennecool's, with its Baroque variations, less composed. Examining the newly established attributions as well as the Round Lutheran Church we find an *oeuvre* of rare coherence, confident and well-balanced.

Chapter 20

Jacob Roman, Architect to the King

Jacob Roman

Jacob Roman started his career as a sculptor and woodcarver – his shortcomings in architecture are surprisingly those of the interior-decorator turned architect rather than those of the sculptor. No sudden piercing of oval and round shapes or vehement plays of light and shadow are found in his work. On the contrary, nothing in his fairly reticent architecture intimates that there was a Bernini lost when suddenly, on November 23, 1681, Roman at the age of 41 sold his sculptor's tools.

A cautious but self-confident and convincing architect emerged, who composed for twenty-five years in the graphic contrasts of the Flat Style before at last, in 1705, in his last well-known work, surrendering to the taste of France.

Only once does the sculptor unexpectedly appear when he has the harmonious composition of the Deventer Town Hall interrupted by three highly plastic balconies.

Jacob Roman[1] was born at the Hague in 1640, the eldest son of the sculptor Pieter Roman (c. 1607–1670), who had participated in the decoration of Frederick Henry's palaces and in the sculptural features of the Nieuwe Kerk at the Hague.[2] Jacob was trained at his father's; his first recorded architectural works date from 1681.[2a] His father died in 1670, two years before the accession to the Stadholdership of William III, but the name Roman would have been a recommendation when in the eighties William III, deploying his building activities over the country, wanted someone better versed in the grand manner than his officially appointed architect Van Swieten. When William III became King of England the parallels and affinities of the new Dutch style with English architecture were to become even more apparent than in the previous years; nevertheless Roman was already working before that date for William on alterations, extensions, garden embellishments and on Het Loo, whose elevations must be his. Early in 1684 Roman was paid the fairly considerable sum of f. 315,– for drawings and "what he has earned, and for expenses, in the making of all the new arbours and other works at Honselaarsdijk"[3], "and also for an inspection tour of the manor of Dieren".[4] As usual William employed several architects at the same time, but perhaps the *gloriette* shown in Allard's series on Honselaarsdijk is by Roman[5] (Plate 372). In 1689 Roman was paid the considerable sum of f. 3738 and 3 s. for services in 1686–8. The main work completed in these years was Het Loo in its first stage; Roman's possible share in it is discussed below. Another work to which we must return was the completion in historical forms of the castle at Breda.

About Roman's personal background before 1680 little is known. He was married; he adhered to the official Protestant creed. But from the sheer geographical and social variety of his early work we gain the impression of a certain versatility. About 1676 he worked on the *Vierschaar* in the town hall of Bois-le-Duc, the hall

being the rather weak creation of a Rotterdam architect under the influence of the Amsterdam Town Hall. Between that year and the end of 1681 he secured from the municipality of the Hague the (sculptural) commission for decorations on the pulpit of the Nieuwe Kerk and the (architectural) commission for the extension of the Butterhouse; the Regents of the Hofje Meermansburg at Leyden commissioned him to build the Regents Room of the Hofje; and by the Tax Collector General of the Union he was commissioned to design his country house Duinrel. Moreover, the Meermansburg designs were so much appreciated at Leyden that Roman was appointed Town Architect on April 8th, 1681.

Thus the throwing away of his old tools was a gesture rather than a risking of everything to follow his desired profession. And even then his most important work at Leyden was of a decorative nature: the chimneypiece in the Burgomasters' Room in 1681[6] and the less elaborate one in the Magistrates' Room in 1687[7], both lost when the Town Hall burnt down in 1929. The large chimneypiece in the Burgomasters' Room was the more interesting as it had an upturned cornice over Corinthian panels on the overmantel, which was itself supported on twisted Ionic half-columns.[8]

Leyden's building boom was over, however. The city seemed very pleased to have an architect who was mainly employed elsewhere (thus avoiding frictions): apart from the above-mentioned decorations he at first did very little at Leyden – only the insignificant Heerenpoort of 1682, a small and simple town gate, destroyed in 1863[9], and the equally small and insignificant parish church of Wilsveen, of 1682[10], which has long since vanished.

The city was indeed very satisfied with Jacob Roman[11], and when in 1689 he was officially appointed architect to William III (at f. 1000,– p.a. – his predecessor only received f. 600,–), he was made honorary architect of Leyden, and continued to receive f. 250,– annually. In gratitude he designed and directed an ornamental fountain for the town on the Vismarkt in 1692. The composition, sculpted by Hannaert and Minnee[12], was very successful, both in its detailing and outline. It is a pity that it has been neglected for the last ten years.[13]

As for façade compositions, the three commissions of 1681 seem to contain all the facets of Roman's style until about 1695. The *Meermansburg* façade (Plate 373), though well-composed, is the most obviously decorative in origin. One may think of it entirely in terms of an interior with a chimneypiece in the centre; the order has no structural function but is applied as a decoration. We recognise a hearth in the round-headed, fanlit entrance, the rusticated stonework around it carrying the chimney-breast of the second stage, which is finished with coupled Ionic pilasters supporting a pediment. Through the re-introduction of stone quoins at the corners an attempt is made to balance this decorative quality, but still we look around as if to find the walls and ceiling of this room.

Another type of composition is shown by the Butterhouse at the Hague[14] (Plate 374). As an extension of existing work it maintained the outmoded swags and stone courses between brick, but it shows some characteristics which recur persistently in Roman's oeuvre: the contraction of decoration on the entrance[15] and, more important, a partial attic sustained on giant brackets[16], and crowned with vases. This feature will be found in several of the buildings patronised by William III or his family: at Zeist (1686) and the King's Gallery at Kensington (1690–6).

The third instance, *Duinrel* (Plate 375), is of far more consequence as here we notice a spatial development of the country house in close, well co-ordinated relation to forecourt and garden layout. In the chapter on gardens the typically Dutch development in breadth was remarked on. Gardens to the sides which would destroy this effect are suppressed, as well as something which could be called side-façades: the house has practically no depth, and is firmly attached to a transverse axis just in front of it. This axis runs through two gates in the fences which connect the small transverse wings with the longitudinal wings along the forecourt (Plate 376). The control of the general plan (Plate 342) was extraordinary, and not to be surpassed in any later houses with integrated forecourts.

At *Zeist* Roman could not link the existing wings to the corps-de-logis by fences; lacking space he had to arrange rooms behind the connecting walls, an unsatisfactory solution (Plate 377). At Het Loo the original intention was soon blurred by the new, high pavilions, but from the abrupt transition from the colonnade to the side gardens at De Voorst we gather that the problem of joining square gardens to quadrant colonnades had not been solved at Het Loo either.

The longer wings of Duinrel contained the stables[17], the kitchen and the bath; the smaller wings next to the house, aviaries; the windows in the wings were transomed and mullioned whereas the new expensive sashes were reserved for the corps-de-logis. This lofty but small and shallow main pile (21' x 42') effectively had only one room on every floor – to the sides there were newel stairs and tiny sleeping cabinets. The entrance doors on both sides into the central room, as well as both balcony doors upstairs, were glazed, so that the main axis was visually continuous. In clear distinction to the other 1681 buildings the enormous wealth of the patron, Cornelis van Ellemeet, allowed Roman to integrate the roof completely into the composition by continuing the quoins into the roof-line. The alternately raised and sunken quoins were extremely effective on the bold semicircular form of the roof-edges. This accentuated "circular roof" was a French motif; its ultimate sources were either engraved (Du Cerceau's Verneuil and Lemercier's Richelieu) or perhaps were known to Roman through a visit to France (François Mansart's Berny). Roman handled the motif very deftly and returned to it whenever possible: at the Leidschendam church, De Voorst and a much later garden pavilion for the King of Prussia. Naturally in all these instances the features of the central block, if possible the round roof with slates, the height, the whiteness of the façade and the novel sashes, were accentuated and enhanced by the juxtaposition of low, brick, red-tiled service wings with oldfashioned windows. Similar developments can be seen in England at about the same time, and the time-lag seems almost to have disappeared, though in fact it was soon to be increased again by the Baroque outburst in England, a phase which in Dutch architecture passes almost unnoticed. An English parallel is Montagu House. In Montagu I, Hooke's house, the circular roof is still smooth and partly hidden behind the pediment[18]; in Montagu II, the rebuilding of 1686, the roof is fully exposed and the ribs accentuated by qoins.

Another example is Petworth (1688–96), whose central pavilion seems to have had a circular roof (not restored after a fire in 1714) like Montagu II's. In chapter twenty-two I will go into the possibility that at Petworth Jacob Roman and Daniel Marot may have collaborated in their usual way on the exterior and interior designs.

After Pieter Post William III had first employed Maurits Post, youngest son of Pieter

Post, as his official architect, until his premature death in 1677. William then appointed Johan van Swieten, to whom can be credited with some certainty only the large orangery at Honselaarsdijk of 1680, a long rather plain building, visible on Valck's engraving of 1695[19]. In 1689 William dismissed Van Swieten – for unknown reasons; perhaps he merely wanted an architect of more reputation – and officially gave Roman the important post, taking him to London late in the same year. In describing the work done by Roman for the King and in trying to disentangle his share from Daniel Marot's, we must take up the Stadholderly building activities somewhat earlier.

Soestdijk

As soon as the French invaders left the Netherlands William converted Soestdijk (Plate 378), most probably after plans by Maurits Post, from 1674–8. The plan and the elevations of the house, intended as a hunting-lodge (altered and enlarged in 1816 to serve as a royal palace), became very awkward. In principle there was a corps-de-logis extended along the far side of a moated and walled forecourt.[20] In the chapter on gardens it has been remarked that the gardens extended from the small *sides* of the house (Plate 299) – this transverse movement was intensified by transverse bridges and rows of trees in the forecourt, and by strongly projecting bay windows at the sides. The engraving by Hendrik Cause does little to make the façade appear attractive, but its effect is confirmed by later engravings.[21] The bay windows have sashes, as do the small windows at either side of the entrance – these will have been the first in the Netherlands.[22] Of the plan it should be noted that it showed for Holland the most unusual enfilade with the passages running along the long façades, and that it abandoned classical symmetry in placing the staircase hall to the left of the entrance hall. Very shortly afterwards, certainly before Tessin's visit, a great hall was rather clumsily added to the back.[23] The important features of the entrance front are the irregularly placed brackets, the partial attic and the inward-curved central panel of the latter – all three before Roman used them; the inward-bent attic was probably borrowed from Amsterdam houses by Adriaan Dortsman. So the main novelties in the house were the bay windows which were aligned with the main axis of the new gardens.

Het Loo

Het Loo was built in several stages, described here as Het Loo I or Princely Loo for the period from 1684 to 1689 (seen in 1687 by Nicodemus Tessin), and Het Loo II or Royal Loo for the extended but never completed stage after 1689 and Roman's glorious promotion as architect to the King. Since the publication of Ozinga's *Daniel Marot* (1938) there has been no serious attempt to define the respective shares of William III, Roman, and Marot in designing Het Loo I.[24] I wish to offer a tentative hypothesis, though I realize that I may have to revise it as soon as the unresolved chronology of the many prints of the palace has been elucidated[25] and their relative accuracy sorted out.

The prints all share one feature: they show transomed and mullioned windows (Plate 379) whereas Tessin emphatically states that on the second floor there were sashes. Now disunity in elevations, even in great houses, with the use of both sash and old-fashioned windows, was not altogether unusual in the first decades of the introduc-

tion of the new window[26], but we may reasonably suppose that the architect tried to avoid this awkwardness by concealing the difference. Very likely the sashes were executed in such a way as to have the appearance of transomed and mullioned windows. At Zeist, completed in 1686 for Willem Hadriaan van Nassau-Odijk, grandson of Prince Maurice and Margaretha van Mechelen, and favourite of William III, and very probably built by Jacob Roman, the whole corps-de-logis has sash-windows in their fully developed form[27] (Plate 380). Supposing that Soestdijk in 1678 already had several sashes we notice a conservative tendency at Het Loo, where the new windows were only accepted, their technical details being entirely in the hands of Roman, in their crossed disguise.

Similarly Soestdijk's enfilade in breadth reappears at Zeist, but Het Loo I returns to the old cube-like form (Figure 21) with rooms grouped round a *voorhuis*, and a screened axial staircase with two symmetrical flights uniting at a landing. The staircase hall and its decoration by Marot have been much praised, but for all that the dimensions and linking of the axial rooms to one another are not very happy. The height of the vestibule or *voorhuis* is only one-third of its depth, presumably to give an overpowering effect to the succeeding, very high staircase hall.[28] The stairs, once united, rise to the second landing which is so shallow that it can only be used when the doors to the great room over the *voorhuis* are open.[29] There would be no objection to this if it were only a link in a spatial succession reaching its dramatic climax in the state room. But this great room is about half as high as the staircase hall and has a flat ceiling with, in the centre only, a coved elevation. A shrewd observer like Tessin noted that this "keinen guten effect macht".[30] Both at Zeist and the later Voorst the staircase hall is shut off asymmetrically from the central vestibule – but at Het Loo there are no experiments. We noticed the same at Hampton Court: in his hurry to build William simply ordered the disposition familiar to him from his older houses, without embarking on any novelty of plan. These are the tactics of the careful strategist, and their conservatism reveals the fatherless child, raised in unsympathetic surroundings, reverting to the splendour of his father and grandfather. To the main pile of the princely Loo, service blocks were linked by quadrants. These service blocks along the court terminated in pavilions: at right angles to these pavilions were more service blocks, also terminated by pavilions. I would not be surprised if this too followed a known example – in 1677 William, visiting London on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Stuart, had undoubtedly noticed May's Berkeley House, in which nearly the same disposition was observed.[31] The only difference in the form of the quadrants was their execution: in London as a kind of arcade and at Het Loo as a fashionable colonnade.

These considerations, in my view, suggest that Ozinga exaggerates Marot's architectural capacities when he was young and underrates the influence of William. That Marot, apparently brilliant[32], but inexperienced in architectural design, should have been involved in the overall design, is highly unlikely. His share consisted of interior decoration executed in the course of years. One might suggest that for his paintings the staircase hall was extended into the second storey – under Roman's direction. In my opinion it is very likely that Roman designed the house whilst the influence of William (and for the colonnades perhaps Mary) went as far as his exacting duties as Stadholder permitted – lack of time is an additional explanation for the conservative aspects which must be his.

As for the gardens, the overall designer lost control, first in connecting the side gardens to the colonnades and, secondly, in the extension of the central axis, vying with Versailles, while William did not want to lose his transverse axis on the Oude Loo. The second transverse axis, aligned on the aviary and the principal tank, was less visible and so less obstructive. The very fact that at De Voorst (c. 1695) the quadrants were not Roman's first intention and that he did not trouble, having accepted them, to harmonise them with the gardens, suggests that he may have planned the general design for both gardens, leaving to Marot details like broderies.[33]

The extension of Het Loo in about 1690[34] is a more complex matter (Figure 22). To either side of the corps-de-logis two high, rather square pavilions were added, replacing the colonnades (Plates 302 and 379). Unlike the smooth façades of the main block they had pilaster strips.[35] The corps-de-logis has a triangular pediment with some sculptural filling and an oculus; the first pavilions were given partial attics in the centres, the outer pavilions fairly large segmental pediments, larger at any rate than those usual in Holland.[36]

The outer pavilions are partly hidden behind the older wings, and one can only guess what the abandoned general scheme would have looked like – one imagines forms similar to those executed at Versailles, or Wren's proposals for Hampton Court – in any case the plan would have provided for a wider forecourt. Probably Roman's conception was thwarted by the royal conviction that the enterprise, started as "noe more than a small hunting seat"[37] was really grand enough.

Roman's possible share in William's English works, notably in Kensington and in the Breda reminiscences at Hampton Court has been referred to in the chapter on the first influence of the Classicists in England.

De Voorst

De Voorst, built from about 1695 to 1700[38] for Arnold Joost van Keppel, Lord Albemarle from 1697, was, without doubt, designed by Jacob Roman. His first designs, with straight colonnades on the Vredenburgh theme, are in the University Library at Leyden.[39] In execution Roman had to bend the colonnades – he surrendered deftly to this wish and the result is an extremely accomplished country house (Figure 24). The grand vestibule is in the centre and the staircase hall lies to one side.[40] As at Zeist, where he did the illusionistic painting of the staircase, Daniel Marot decorated the staircase hall.[41] Pieter Schenk made engravings of the house after Roman's drawings – as he did of Duinrel, Het Loo, and other works by Roman (Plate 381)[42] – but Daniel Marot also made a fine print, which, curiously enough, differs in some small but telling details from the Schenk-Roman representation (Plate 305). Both show the beautiful base-court in which the shape of the quadrants is answered by the outward curving balustrade along the moat, closed by an artfully wrought iron gate. On both the main roof is virtually identical, contrasting, with the blue slates and circular quoined edges, with the ordinary tiled hipped roofs of the wings; the main block in stone, the wings in brick; the entrance bay flanked by smaller windows. A significant departure on Marot's print from Roman's and the executed building is the height of these flanking windows on the first storey. This height is reduced and panels are placed above, so that the central window is both wider and higher, a pronounced departure from the Classicist

rules still observed on this point by Jacob Roman. It is the clash between the architect who still regarded decoration as something additional to the main structure in which window openings were an integral part, and the Baroque decorator with his central emphasis *à tort et à travers*.

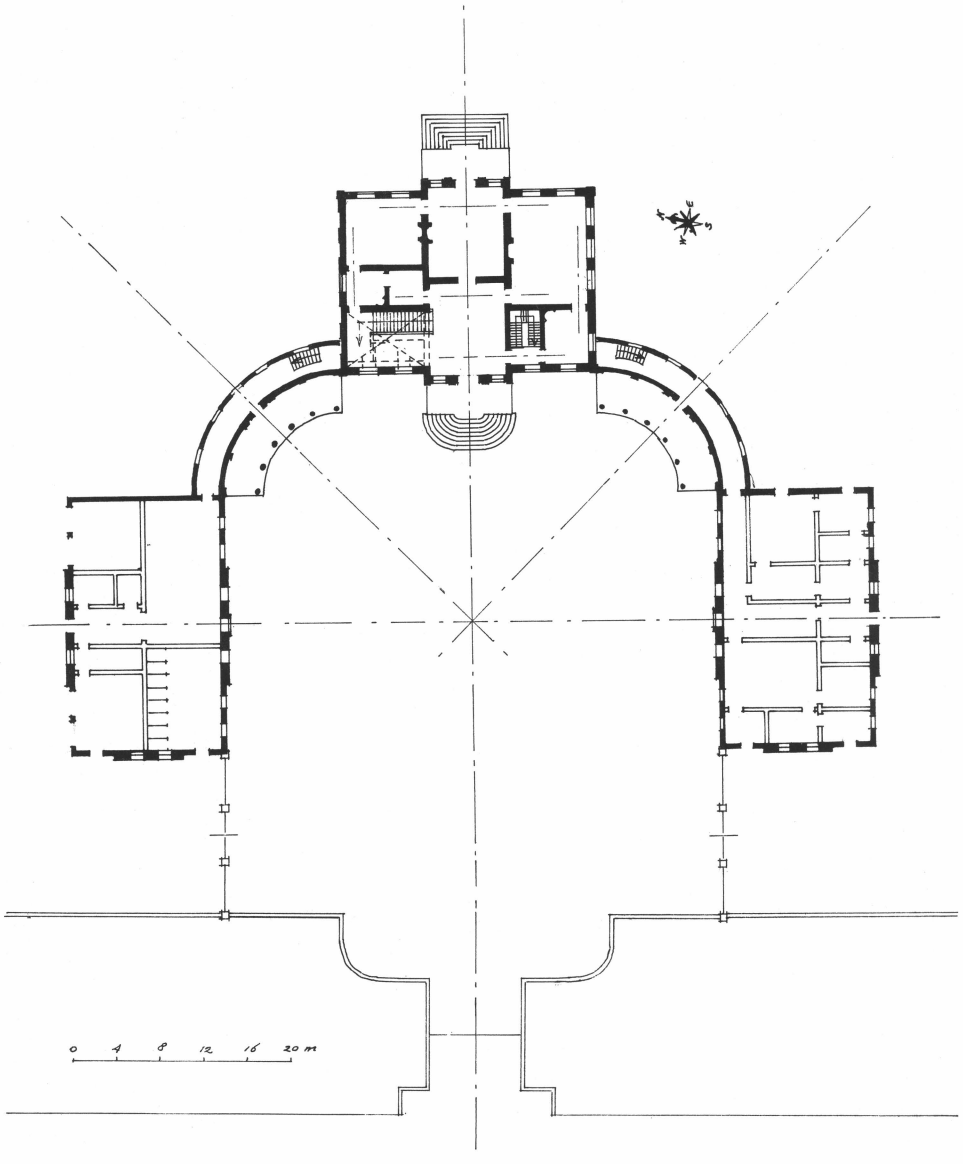


Figure 24. De Voorst near Zutphen, about 1700

A wooden model, preserved at De Voorst until the fire of 1943[43], showed the general plan as it had crystallized after some time. It was evidently made by an English cabinet-maker who worked from examples he already knew, so the central part is much like Ranelagh House[44], and the colonnades may very well derive from Wren's 1695 Greenwich Hospital proposal.[45]

Southwell, in his 1696 diary, states of De Voorst: "The Main Body will be like my Lrd. Ranelagh's at Chelsey, to which will be added 2 Wings; with Corridor's or Galleries to joyne them like Berkley House. "Tis said ye whole project will cost 250,000 Gilders".[46] But the general shape of the Berkeley House wings is reminiscent rather of Het Loo, whereas De Voorst wings, both in the model (without pediments) and as executed (with pediments) derive rather from a source like the low side wings of Chelsea Hospital. As to the main body: the model, like Ranelagh House, had a pediment and hipped roof, whereas the executed building has a circular roof and an attic with a concave panel in the centre, clearly carrying out Roman's design. Yet Southwell's remark shows what designs were authoritative in William's circle.

The Town Hall, Deventer

It is incredible, if only because the Deventer Town Hall (1693) (Plate 382) is his design, that Roman's work has not yet been the subject of a monograph.[47] In fact the Deventer design was only for a new façade, so Roman had to omit the receding roof from the composition, but he captivates us by the grandiose two storeys and attic of the sandstone elevation by itself. On analysis there is no innovation of detail on this eleven bay front: the attic curving behind a coat-of-arms can be seen in Amstel 216, Amsterdam, built in 1671 by Dortsman, and also in works by Amsterdam architects of the '70s and '80s the flat stone surfaces are accentuated by channelled parts in the middle and at the ends. The sculptural balconies even echo the older examples from Rubens' *Palazzi di Genova*, especially the Palazzo for Giovan Augustino Balbi (Plate 383), where similar balconies, also coupling windows, cling to smooth façades. But the internal relations are quite different to the even spacing of Balbi or the height of the Amsterdam examples. The relationship between the white surfaces and the black of the abruptly cut in windows is developed in breadth, quietly but firmly controlled by the sculptural V, or rather semi-ellipse, which curves upwards from the portico to the balconies, and then, gaining more speed, to the vases at the ends of the attic. The design has an almost unparallelled grandeur for the Netherlands, and displays tendencies towards abstraction which were only to be expressly stated in the twentieth century, in the work of Rietveld and Mondriaan.[48]

A comparison with Vennecool's Enkhuizen Town Hall of five years earlier shows that at Deventer for the first time the overpowering influence of Van Campen is excluded.

Later Work

The few works executed later by Roman at the Hague are for the most part of a decorative nature. Ozinga[49] ascribes to him "Triumphbogen und Ehrenpforte" on the occasion of William's first return from England, in 1691, after his coronation. But it is fairly certain from the accounts in which Romeyn de Hooghe and Govert Bidloo are called directors[50], that they designed at least the arches at the Westeinderbrug and on

the Market, as well as the paintings on the arch at the Plaats. Roman is mentioned as "sculptor and Fabrique of Leyden" which suggests that he participated in the decoration; it is moreover stated[51] that he lent for the occasion his great wooden horse – the only item he had preserved on liquidating his sculptural business; and it may be added that Hannaert, one of the sculptors employed, was to work two years later under Roman's direction at the Leyden fountain. It seems to me that one may ascribe to Roman the architectural composition of the triumphal arch on the Plaats (Plate 384) (The one on which the horse was used to carry a statue of William)[52], on the additional evidence that it has much the same composition as the central part of Het Loo's garden front.[53] All the above-mentioned decorations were erected by the Municipality of the Hague; the States of Holland also had a triumphal arch erected, the one already mentioned on the Buitenhof, by Vennecool.

In 1702, to celebrate a victory in the War of the Spanish Succession, the Government had fireworks designed. The States of Holland commissioned Roman, and the States General Daniel Marot – Roman's design seems the more plastic.[55]

This renewed encounter of the two artists, at a distance of a few yards, raises the intriguing question of whether they collaborated or competed. There is no indication of quarrels; perhaps each simply held the patron responsible for the ultimate result of the commision. Among the Meermansburg drawings published by Mrs. Terwen-de Loos there is a design for a *broderie* (in two variants) for the middle court of the *hofje*.[56] Would it be another instance of Marot more or less adroitly decorating someone else's general layout?[57]

In 1713, on the occasion of the Peace of Utrecht, the same patrons as in 1702 again had two elaborate fireworks displayed at the Hague, one by Marot, one by Roman.[58]

The eighteenth century works by Roman show that he could no longer withstand French taste (i.e. the Louis XIV style) in façade architecture, although it was there that for more than twenty years he had been the exponent of a thoroughly Dutch style. His most important work after 1700 is the Rotterdam town house of Cornelis van Ellemeet, a grand *hôtel* in the Parisian fashion[59], started in 1705, completed in about 1712, and destroyed by the German attack on Rotterdam in 1940. The house had a broad channelled sandstone façade whose most conspicuously French feature was the window surrounds. The transition from the unaccentuated windows of a quarter of a century earlier, at Duinrel, to the French form, is parallelled in the building history of Petworth, where we also find a growing emphasis on the surrounds of the windows.[60]

After William's death, a grandson of Frederick Henry, Frederick I of Prussia, who contested the will, occupied the palaces Noordeinde and Honselaarsdijk, and did a good deal of redecorating in the first years of his possession; Jacob Roman simply entered into his service as his "intendant", in other words, he was again architect to a king. It is possible that he designed the wrought-iron fence of the Noordeinde Palace for Frederick in 1704 and made a proposal for sash-windows in the front.[61]

For Philips von Hessen-Philipstal Roman designed the house Rustenburg with a rather French plan[62] (about 1711, situated next to Sorghvliet, on the spot where later the Peace Palace was built); for the King himself he designed a new central pavilion for the Orangery which Van Swieten had built in 1680. In this small elegant structure[63] Roman could for once return to his beloved circular roof-line with quoins.

In 1716 or shortly before[64], Roman died.

Chapter 21

Church Building in the Seventeenth Century

Fantastic Church Projects

Listingh and Truer's designs

Following the completion of the large Lutheran and Jewish churches about 1675 almost all church-building activities came to an end – there was simply no need for more churches – but this did not prevent the appearance in print of two bizarre projects. Nicolaas Listingh (1630–1705)[1], mentioned before as the designer of enormous glazed lunettes which would have cut into Van Campen's *Burgerzaal*, became much talked about for his gigantic church planned on the Buttermarket (now the Rembrandtsplein), at Amsterdam (Plate 388). This immense structure, 180 feet in diameter and 300 feet in height, was to be a tall hexagonal, domed room, surmounted by a lantern-turret of several stages and enveloped to half its height by a dodecagonal ambulatory, in whose still enormous dimensions three tiers of galleries were planned (Plate 389). The surfaces of the ambulatory's six pediments were to be dissolved entirely in huge glazed lunettes. The curved buttresses along the drum clearly derive from S. Maria della Salute, as they are forked.[2] In the Venice church the buttresses divide their thrust impartially on eight sides; in Listingh's construction they occur only on the sides of the non-emphasised bays. This solution may have inspired Gibbs in his handling of the buttresses of the Radcliffe Camera, which throw their stress onto the less important bays. But like his illumination project for the Town Hall, Listingh's spaces tend as a whole far more towards the Rococo. This is clearly visible on most of the 22 prints[3] (the prints too are enormous) on which the plan was presented by Stoopendaal.[4] These prints are remarkable for several reasons. There are pointed arches between the main room and the galleries (Plate 390); and comparisons are made with existing religious buildings, including several Amsterdam churches, the Pantheon, St. Peter's and an excellent plan of Sancta Sophia (Plates 391–2). The concurrence in the same series of engravings[5] of giant Gothic arches and the Byzantine plan may, much later, have influenced James Wyatt: the Gothic for Fonthill Abbey (the Octagon, 1796–1807), and the ancient plans for the Pantheon, Oxford Street (1770–2).[6]

Stoopendaal's important role in the substantialisation of Listingh's church[7] is another instance of the considerable share of successive engraver-inventors like the Danckerts, Vennekool, Stoopendaal and others, in the diffusion of Dutch ideas in England.

A project of 1736 for the same site, by the Master Mason Dirk Truer, shows in the elevations the insinuation of French detail – disastrously so in the window tracery (Plate 393). Ozinga[8] was obliged to judge this church from one print showing one of the shorter façades, so he deduced a centralised building. Since then the three missing

engravings have reappeared, showing side elevations about twice as long as the known elevation, with an extra buttress in the middle of the clerestory and the absidiole-like ambulatory. A section informs us that this clerestory, rising over the central bays, was to be vaulted in an approximately Gothic way with two bays of quadripartite vaulting. The engraving of the plan shows a mediaeval basilican nave, cut off from an imiginary front and crossing by a Baroque contour[9] (Plate 394). So much for Dirk Truer – and this concludes our discussion of churches.

Chapter 22

Dutch Influence on Later English Work

The Influence of the Flat Style

A study of the engravings of Dortsman's and Bouman's houses in the *Grachtenboekje* suggests that they may have had a considerable influence on eighteenth century London houses. A possible instance is Lady Isabella Finch's house, 44 Berkeley Square, designed by William Kent in 1744. Its affinities with plates 14 and 22 (Plate 353) of the *Grachtenboekje* are remarkable.[1] On the other hand, the *Grachtenboekje* was issued in a limited edition[2], the prints were anonymous, and their authority was weakened by the obviously distorted representations of the Vingboons-houses among them. The wish to emulate such houses may have been aroused instead when the architects of Georgian London were travelling in Holland.

When, however, one considers the types of houses which Vingboons evolved, from his earlier channelled façades, still with a Mannerist flavour, in his first book (1648) (Plate 219), to the authoritative buildings represented in his second volume (1674), one encounters schemes and elements that anticipate aspects of the Palladian movement. These houses are channelled like the 1670 Deutz House (II, 55; Plate 222); or smoothly worked in sandstone with a fanlight over the door, like the 1671 De Haase House (II, 63; Plate 220)[3]; or are pilastered and pedimented projects (II, 70 and 72; Plates 395 and 233) which, appearing after 1672, were hardly suitable for the Dutch market. As for his final project (II, 74; Plate 396) this again had a balcony like his early designs and was the first print to show an Amsterdam house with an attic-storey.[4]

To continue the analogy between England and Holland I would like to point out the similarity between the façade given in Philips Vingboons' second volume as plate 70 and Lord Pembroke and Roger Morris' Marble Hill, Twickenham (1723–9) (Plate 397). This does not exclude the possibility that the elevation of Marble Hill could ultimately derive from Palladio's Palazzo Giulio Capra, Vicenza, as shown in *I Quattro Libri*, book 2, p. 21, or, even more likely, from the first floor elevation of the Villa Pisani (*I Quattro Libri*, book 2, p. 52), as that has an Ionic order and, in some engravings[5], a second tier of windows.[6] Yet an adaptation of an Italian house to English requirements would certainly have been facilitated both by existing examples like Lindsey House and by Vingboons' above-mentioned engravings. The reduced plasticity in comparison with the Palladian examples, the use of Ionic pilasters, the sobriety of the composition – all these features would have been more easily imitated when the Vingboons prints showed them to be fashionable in a country which did not suffer from Baroque extravagances.

Vingboons' influence was not confined to what was soon to be called the *villa*. The more ambitious schemes, notably the Town Hall project (Plate 159), would have exerted a powerful influence on the first Palladians, especially the theorists and

engravers – if only through the fine quality of his prints. Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, built between 1675 and 1689 (presumably by Robert Mylne[7], assisted by his son-in-law James Smith[8]), fairly strongly echoes Vingboons' Town Hall in its centre with an applied giant Corinthian order. This is even more true of Campbell's engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Plate 398) than in reality. Drumlanrig shows – like Heriot's Hospital, Edingburgh, to which it owes the pavilion turrets – "a strange concurrence of influences"[9]: Scottish, Dutch and French (i.e. St. Germain en Laye in its terraces and curved staircase).

Mylne's style was "inherited" bij James Smith[10], especially in his elevation of Dalkeith Palace and another elevation (a drawing) attributed to him[11], and this inheritance seems to include Vingboons' engravings. Smith's successor, William Adam (1688–1748), was responsible for yet another work, the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh (1738; demolished), which was unsuccessfully eclectic. In the centrepiece[12] Dutch and French features compete. Here Leoni's edition of Palladio seems to have been involved. The treatment of the large volutes to the sides of the partial attic is suggested by Leoni's Gallic or Dutch alteration of the similarly placed simple curved wings of the Villa Foscari, into double bent scrolls.[13] In fact Leoni's way of changing details, such as his provision throughout of fat Baroque vase-like balusters instead of slender Renaissance ones, suggests either that he had left Italy when very young or that he was an over-zealous moulder of eighteenth century fashion.[14] A significant example is his reinterpretation of the Villa Valmarana, Lisiera[15]: the once outstandingly tall pediment is now rivalled by domed wings rising as high as the centre. These domes, in place of the original humble roofs, may have been invented by Leoni in reminiscence of Vingboons' Town Hall design.[16]

Of the plans developed about 1645 for Amsterdam's major commission, the Town Hall, three were engraved, as has been mentioned: the anonymous design, Vingboons' and van Campen's. Quite unexpectedly Van Campen's design even adumbrates a plan by Archer, who generally used recent English sources and applied Italian detail. In Archer's Heythrop the two courts and the "spiral staircases hidden in the salients of the ends", symmetrically on both axes, recall corresponding elements in Van Campen's plan.[17]

Isolated Cases

There are several isolated cases of supposed Dutch influence which should be dealt with. When we look closely the theory of Dutch influence does not appear to be flawless. Take Ashdown, Berkshire, built about 1660 for Lord Craven (Plate 399). In Pevner's words: "Its style is decidedly Dutch".[18] Cornforth and Hill remark more cautiously: "In spite of its Dutch look, the detailing is unsophisticated".[19] Apart from the fact that it is a rather tall, square building, it is not clear why the house should be considered Dutch. It cannot be the fenestration; and the way in which the roofline exceeds the walls of the house, making it resemble a kind of toadstool, can more usually be observed in Italian works, notably the Palazzi di Genoa.[20]

It does not seem unlikely that the idea for the staircase at Ashburnham House, Westminster, of about 1660, with the recessed cupola and balustrade over it, came from the upper hall at the Mauritshuis where Charles II had been received before his

return to England in 1660.[21] As an alternative source William Samwell – or whoever was the architect – may have used Post's 1655 print of the Huis ten Bosch, showing on top of the great hall a recessed cupola over an octagonal balustraded gallery.

On the evidence of his design for Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk[22], Samwell (1628–76) worked in the same tradition as Peter Mills, but if the plate of Eaton Hall, Cheshire, (1675–83; demolished), is to be accepted as his design, this late work already possesses some important qualities of eighteenth century country houses. The continuous parapet, almost an attic, and the two-storied cupola, for instance, are not yet found in the work of somebody like Pratt.

Milton Manor, Berkshire, (about 1670?) (Plate 400), gives one absolutely no reason to suspect an imitation of Vingboons' plate (II, 34; Plate 401) of the Karel Gerards House.[23] Maybe the unknown designer had visited the Hague and, long afterwards, confused the Sebastiaansdoelen (hence the garlanded capitals) and the elongated orders of the nearby, still Mannerist, Vijverberg 3, or even the house on the corner of the Vijverberg and the Plein.[24] The latter could have provided a remote source for the brooches[25] on the pilasters or the waistbands which "turn out to be raised panels with fleurs-de-lis".[26] Whatever the source the house did not end up looking Dutch.

Belton House, Lincolnshire, built between 1684 and 1688 and often ascribed to William Winde, betrays no more Dutch influence than Clarendon House, on which it is modelled. Much the same may be said of Winde's Combe Abbey, Warwickshire (1681–2).[27] William Winde (c. 1642–1722) must have spent the first eighteen years of his life in the Netherlands, but his birthplace and home town, Bergen-op-Zoom, in Brabant, was unlucky with Classicist architecture. The ancient and proud mercantile city on a branch of the Scheldt, capital of a marquisate, adhering to the Union since 1579, had already in Winde's youth been for half a century in the front line of the War, so that no fashionable buildings were erected there, although funeral monuments were provided by Nicholas Stone and his school.[28] When Winde started to design, the dominant influence was Pratt's rather than Dutch architecture. We must return, however, later to Buckingham House.

Summerson mentioning May's influence writes: "Melton Constable, begun for Sir Jacob Astley about 1665, has no pilasters but is otherwise strictly comparable in plan and detail to May's Eltham Lodge".[29] On the model[30] (Plate 402) the house shows stone quoins and window-surrounds which may be considered the English contribution to the contemporaneously developing Anglo-Dutch country house style. The chimney-stacks, the H-form of the roof and, especially, the round-headed and pedimented windows of the cupola hint that the designer (Roger North says it was Astley himself[31]) had carefully studied Post's engraving (ca. 1664) of Rijxdorp.

Henry Bell's Custom House at King's Lynn, Norfolk, of 1683 (Plate 403), may be regarded as a reduction of Post's Maastricht Town Hall, with a very English steeple. On the other hand it employs Artisan Mannerist features which were kept alive after the Great Fire by craftsmen like Edward Jerman in his Royal Exchange (completed 1671).[32] And as for Englishness: half-windows on end bays are not likely to be found in Holland's architecture.[33]

A striking affinity with Jacob Roman's second Loo designs is apparent in a "design for a large house", presumably by William Dickinson (illustrated by Kerry Downes).[34] There is the same double break forward at the corners and an astylar centre flanked by

pilasters which draw away from the centre with an increasingly nervous rhythm.

Petworth

Most scholars are puzzled by the magnificent west front of Petworth, Sussex (Plate 404), built in 1688–96 for Charles, Duke of Somerset. The Duke was married to Elizabeth Percy, the step-daughter of Ralph Montagu who had rebuilt his London house in 1686, giving it a circular roof without pediment (Plate 236), and apparently employing the services of a French architect. So one may suggest that a French architect was also involved at Petworth. This hypothesis is reinforced by many French features in the 21-bay elevation, especially in the centre. Nairn and Pevsner[35] mention as French the banded rustication of the centre, the central doorway with its straight entablature on strong brackets and the coupled brackets with close and rich carving between. To these may be added the central circular roof or dome, which was not rebuilt after a fire in 1719, but which is visible in a painting[36], and we may well join in Nairn and Pevsner's rhetorical question: "It has clearly French elements, but was it done by a Frenchman?".[37] If the painting is reliable the window surrounds looked less French before the fire, the central attic was more balanced with four vase-like pedestals (for statues) instead of the present two, and, lastly, the house shows an early use of sash windows. The clearly English elements are the house's length, its relative lack of height and its smooth ashlar facing.

Other conspicuous features of Petworth's west front are the chromatic contrast of the local greensand and the silvery Portland stone for the dressings and centrepiece[38]; the continuous attic storey, as at Hampton Court[39], and irregular bracketing, which is also found at Montagu House II.[40] The houses of the Amsterdam patriciate of about 1670 display many of the same elements. In particular the horizontal rustication, the continuous attic with statues, and the light emphasis on the centre with a balcony on brackets over the entrance occur in houses by Dortsman and Bouman. Strikingly, however, nearly all the features of Petworth occur in the work of Jacob Roman, who may be considered the most French in outlook of contemporary Dutch architects, even though until about 1700 his work remains thoroughly Dutch. If Charles Seymour, the 6th Duke of Somerset, was looking for an architect who could give him reticent grandeur (as opposed to the lively Baroque of Wren) and who would be acceptable to his social pride, the architect of William III would have appealed to him.

The elevated patronage which Roman always received and the characteristics in his work which recur at Petworth have already been mentioned. It was Jacob Roman who introduced the "circular roof" in Holland about 1680, who was the first Dutch architect to use sash windows for an entire corps-de-logis, and who had a preference for developing his plans in breadth, with an *enfilade* directly behind the façade and an independent space, off centre, for the staircase hall.[41] In short it seems to me that there is a strong case for attributing Petworth to Jacob Roman.[42]

Around the turn of the Century

When James Lees-Milne in his *Baroque*[43] describes Stansted Park, Sussex, built by William Talman in 1687, he speaks of a "lack of Baroque flavour". This remark reveals

the essential distinction between Talman on the one hand and Wren, Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh and Archer on the other. Talman's sources would have been manifold, and included French, Dutch and Italian engravings – he may also have travelled on the Continent.[44] From French architecture he chose the more classical examples (including Bernini's most Classicist design for the Louvre, assuming he also took that as a model). When in a mannerist mood he used Italian examples – as at Drayton; sometimes classicizing them almost beyond recognition – as at Chatsworth. He evidently composed carefully, from well-studied sources, not risking adventures in a more extravagant manner. Nevertheless, with his somewhat dry, eclectic style Talman did achieve great successes. The south front of Chatsworth and the Trianon design for William III are instances of his ability to add outstanding personal feeling to his borrowings.

Undoubtedly Talman had direct access to Vingboons' printed work, but it seems worth while to identify the relevant examples. Margaret Whinney, writing on Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire, his first house, presumably begun in 1683 (burnt down 1745, illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*) says: "The most mysterious feature is the wide spacing of the half-columns (i.e. the giant Corinthian ones flanking the centre piece of three full bays in a for the rest astylar front). After a fairly extended search only two comparable examples have come to light but both have pilasters and not columns. Both are Dutch, one being an engraving in Vingboons' book (pl. 33 b) (i.e. *Vingboons*, I, 34, a design for Vredenburgh) where giant pilasters run the length of the façade, but are separated in the centre by three windows, and the other the back of the Gravensteen at Leiden (. . .). Neither is very close to Thoresby, but in the Leiden building there are only two pilasters on a longish brick façade, and as they rise from the ground they are in some ways closer to what was presumably the original design of Thoresby. (i.e. with a pediment). Neither is, however, entirely convincing as a source".[45] The difficulty here is that the first example is most definitely not convincing (Plate 323), in that is has quite different general proportions, and in the centre only one full bay, flanked by two half-bays – like so many other engraved Dutch houses.[46] Doubt is thrown on the second example, Van 's-Gravesande's Gravensteen extension (Plate 200), by Whinney's own supposition that Talman was not a travelled man – had he visited Holland the Mauritshuis would have been a more likely source with three bays between the pilasters flanking the entrance salient. In fact it seems more probable that the centrepiece at Thoresby was modelled on Stoke Bruerne, with the Roman addition of cupolas on the sides. Seen in this light Talman becomes a link between Inigo Jones[47] and the eighteenth century Jones revival.[48]

Talman's south front of Chatsworth is splendid in its own right. When one looks for influences, Rubens' *Palazzi di Genoa*, the related elevation of the Trippenhuis, or Vaux-le-Vicomte[49] offer themselves, rather than Bernini's last Louvre design. The likelihood that Talman looked at Justus Vingboons' print is supported by the fact that his east front for Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire (designed about 1698), seems to originate from a Trippenhuis stripped of its pilasters. The Amsterdam house has the same peculiar alternation of pediments, garlands and Mannerist cartouches, as well as strong window-heads.[50]

Several smaller country houses by Talman are fine examples of the by then well-established vernacular Anglo-Dutch country house style.

On Talman's façade (1702–4) at Drayton House, Northamptonshire, to quote Lees-Milne: "Mannerist it undoubtedly is, but more Dutch than Italian. How much was this due to Germain's insistence? He may well have pressed for a design to remind him of the sort of architecture that was current in his native land at the time of his youth".[51] If the patron, Sir John Germain, a Dutchman and probably an illegitimate brother of William III, really insisted on a "Dutch" appearance for Talman's courtyard front, why should it have been so old-fashioned in appearance? A son of William II he must have been born in the heyday of Dutch Classicism, as his father was himself born in 1626. Hence the front appears to be Mannerist for whimsical rather than sentimental reasons, which may perhaps explain its Italian rather than Dutch flavour.[52] Talman's refitting of the Tudor Hall[53] with compartments and panelled vaulting made it resemble Post's Hall in the Gemeenlandshuis at Leyden.[54]

Kiveton House, Yorkshire, (1694–1704, dem. 1811), was in the traditional Anglo-Dutch style. A comparison with Buckingham House (Plate 405) suggests that Talman indeed provided the main scheme for the latter house, up to the cornice, and that Captain Winde, left to finish it, added the attic, which combined several Dutch features in a most unfortunate way. The plan of Buckingham House from *Vitruvius Britannicus* seems clumsy in the relation of hall and staircase space, certainly in comparison to Thoresby House. The idea of the quadrant colonnades, however, may be Talman's, and it would be interesting to know whether he, the avid collector, had access to the prints of De Voorst with its similar colonnades.

In the Trianon design for William III the general layout and the plan for the building itself look rather French, but the architecture of the entrance front has a Dutch air – irrespective its ultimate source, which would have been an engraving in the *Grand Marot*, such as the *Vestibule coté de la cour du chateau de Turny*.[55] In the arcaded arbours enclosing the garden we find an echo of Portland's garden at Sorghvliet.[56]

To sum up, we may call these works by Talman, with the exception of Drayton, "Baroque" only in the sense in which it applies to the work of the Dutch Classicists, for instance "the Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam". The "Baroque" of Wren, Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh and Archer shows a completely different attitude.

It is a pity that Talman did not design churches. If he had, he would presumably have had more difficulty in disguising his sources. Certainly some of the persistent characteristics of Protestant church building since De Keyser in Holland and Hooke and Wren in England, would have emerged in his projects.

Such characteristics do appear in the ecclesiastical work of Hawksmoor, especially in the use of two transverse axes, and in the filling of the side rooms in and between the corners with more or less independent *tempietto*-like structures. This may be regarded as a Dutch feature, occurring already in Hendrick de Keyser's Westerkerk and Van Campen's Nieuwe Kerk. If Hawksmoor knew the latter church he must have noticed the high, flat entrance-front like a tall but shallow triumphal arch (Plates 37–8). He himself liked to flatten his towers over the entrance, the extreme case being St. Mary Woolnoth (Plate 407). The architecture of this church, incidentally, shows more interest in Roman archaeology than in Dutch buildings.

Lateral development and the inclination to design plans which can be described as a topped-over H, noticeable in Dutch country houses like Soestdijk, Zeist, De Voorst, may be observed in Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor's Castle Howard and Blenheim Palace.

At Blenheim especially the projection of the strokes of the H from the Great Hall and their enclosure of inner courts is strongly reminiscent of Van Campen's Town Hall plan. The silhouette of Castle Howard (Plate 408) evokes in its centre the skyline of the Baroque Town Hall.

An isolated example of Dutch influence on Vanbrugh's work seems to be the Orangery at Kensington Palace (Plate 409) where the concave attic panels recall those on Soestdijk or the Amsterdam *grachtenhuizen* of about 1670. In the paragraphs on Jacob Roman the suggestion has already been put forward that Roman left the design for the King's Gallery of Kensington Palace to be executed by Hawksmoor or someone else in the Office of Works, such as Talman. Eventually it was Vanbrugh who revised the design but who may have retained some of the original features.[57]

In any case Hawksmoor's first independent country house, Easton Neston, (structure completed 1702, probably begun about 1696–7), has a completely different character. Like a magic box it contains every kind of spatial ingenuity in a restricted volume. A detail of Hawksmoor's work does only once betray study of Dutch architecture. Kerry Downes has pointed out Hawksmoor's use of the giant banded eggs symbolizing the breaking of the bonds of death at the Last Judgement.[58] These eggs are found at the Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague[59], and similar ones may be observed on the print of the Oostkerk, Middelburg, published by Smallegange in his chronicle of Zeeland in 1696.[60]

It is not altogether impossible that another print in Smallegange, showing the village, church and manor of Oost-Kapelle, Zeeland (Plate 410), had a certain attraction for English Baroque architects. The manor has a colossal order, and, extremely rare in the Northern Netherlands, a giant broken pediment.[61] This may have inspired Archer in his pediments for Roehampton House (Plate 411) and Monmouth House.[62]

Chapter 23

Seventeenth Century Historicism

What will briefly be discussed here under the general heading of seventeenth century historicism, is, on analysis, not a single phenomenon. Throughout the seventeenth century building activity instances of it are rare and never comprise the whole *oeuvre* of an individual. The approach to earlier styles ranges among architects from a scientific archaeological interest to an exploitation of romantic associations, and often our suppositions as to which effect the builders were trying to achieve must be tentative.

Consequently the division of these paragraphs will be arbitrary. I will first discuss the ceilings, then the tower designs for Amsterdam's main church, followed by other "completions", some rather sentimental Leyden phenomena, and lastly some conservatisms on country estates. None of these subdivisions will be exhaustive: they follow the general pattern of this study, in which, apart from the sources which were circulated through prints, only those examples are mentioned which are needed to obtain a consistent view of the period. What may be called the surviving Gothic tradition in the building of small churches has already been dealt with in the paragraphs called "Rural Gothic".

Ceilings

Stucco ceilings dating from before the beginning of the eighteenth century are extremely rare in Holland. The main drawbacks of stucco ceilings were relative heaviness in the light, often timber-skeletoned construction of the majority of the houses, and vulnerability to leaking water – so obvious drawbacks that in most cases stucco ceilings were precluded from the patrons' consideration. Even outside Holland and Zeeland, in the other provinces of the Union where constructions were heavier as a rule, the number of stucco ceilings seems to have been restricted and they were often executed by families of foreign craftsmen who also worked in the Rhineland.

Gothic forms are sometimes used to express adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, as at Nobelstraat 1, the Hague (Plate 412), where the fine plaster vaulting of about 1600 occurs in a room which was used as a secret chapel.[1]

But when a Gothic stucco ceiling is used in the "Iron Office", the charthouse of the Rhineland Water Authority, this example of historicism expresses solidity – even pure conservatism.[2]

Traditional timber finishings for ceilings, on the other hand, were excellent for light constructions, and easily adapted to Renaissance forms. The Gothic vaulting in wood in the large churches was replaced by the "pure" geometric forms of Classicism, also in wood – so the painting changed motifs but had no need for stucco relief. Already in the Middle Ages the Dutch preference for showing the actual material led to constructions with oak ribs and thin oak panels between, with a minimum of decorative

painting, the patterns being repeated again and again from the same stencils. At the end of the Middle Ages the system of floors consisting of binding joists (the "mother beams") and bridging joists (the "child beams") on which the floor-boards rested, was perfected. The small remaining panels were clad with very thin layers of the finest oak.[3]

When, around the middle of the seventeenth century, oak became more expensive, and fir and pine more easily available, this beautiful but demanding construction method was abandoned, and the larger panels between the beams without joints were usually painted. When occasionally a richer decoration was wanted, larger panels, no longer oblong but square, octagonal and so on, were introduced. Once this step had been taken the transition to completely decorative stucco ceilings would have been easy – but the high quality of the native painters[4] resisted this tendency until the eighteenth century.

Thus the appearance of a stucco ceiling in the seventeenth century usually indicates more than a mere desire for fine decoration.[5] Examples in Holland are very rare. Apart from those mentioned above there is one other instance, at Leyden, in Rapenburg 65, which dates from about 1625 (Plate 413).[6] It must have been executed by an East Netherlandish or Rhineland craftsman, as the same patterns and moulds are used as for several ceilings at Zutphen, Guelderland.[7] Ter Kuile states that these are by an artist with a Dutch name[8], but in the case of a recently rediscovered ceiling of Schoenmakers-straat 16, Roermond (Plate 414), the foreign provenance of the stucco worker seems certain.

Yet another type of plaster ceiling occurs in several houses at the Brill. That of Voorstraat 31, of about 1600[9], is illustrated here (Plate 415). The shallow ribs in geometrical patterns, and the contracted decoration, sometimes a Tudor rose, are reminiscent of Elizabethan ceilings, and it should be recalled that the Brill had been pawned to England from 1585 until 1616, so that it would not be surprising if these ceilings were executed by English plasterers. The stucco is now white washed, but the coats-of-arms at least would originally have been colour-painted.

Although, in these last cases, it would be difficult – or impossible, as no relevant data survive – to discern the patron's motives, in the case of a special historicising plaster panel, formerly at Doornenburg, Guelderland, and destroyed in the War, the question seems easy. The history and the reason are given in the pioneering article by Staring[10], who also illustrates the scene. In a kind of medallion we see a mediaeval knight on horseback, the thirteenth century Gijsbert van Aemstel, represented here because he was a famous forefather of the owner of the castle.[11]

There were other reasons, apart from advertising one's pedigree, for using stucco ceilings.[12] In view of an Endegeest ceiling I hesitate between religious and sentimental, romantic associations, and it should be added that the picture there deludes the spectator, in that it is a mock stucco ceiling (Plate 416). I will have occasion to return to Endegeest Castle and its mysterious architect, but first an enterprise should be mentioned which, though not completed, paved the way for Gothick building in the seventeenth century[14], sanctioning it, as it were, and preparing people for the eclecticism of the century's later decades. And yet the man who explored the possibilities of the byways of antiquarianism was Jacob van Campen himself.

Van Campen's Tower

One of the most intriguing ventures into the Gothic was the project for a tower of three hundred feet, to be added to the west front of the Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam, next to Van Campen's Town Hall.

This project was a concession to the Calvinist faction and has been referred to already. The facts about what was really built are to be found in several articles[15], but on the number of designs submitted and their ascription, there is considerable confusion.

The following facts about the building history are relevant here. After the fire in the church in 1645 the Council decided in the same year to restore the church in its old form and to add a tall tower. Pile driving started in August 1646 and was completed in June 1647 (the pile-drivers immediately went on to work at the Town Hall). The foundation stone was laid by a son of the Burgomaster William Backer and work was vigorously taken in hand, only to be abruptly and conclusively stopped at Backer's death in 1652, with one stage completed.[16]

An urbanistically interesting point is that the Council decided[17] that Jan Roodenpoortstoren, that charming spire by Hendick de Keyser, only 100 yards away, should be demolished, "at is was obstructing traffic". The actual reason – to avoid overcrowding the view with spires – is proved by the fact that the tower was not destroyed until 1829.

As far as we know four proposals submitted to the Council survive. The design by Leeghwater would have been considered old-fashioned[18], since it was 50 to 100 years behind the times and therefore could be considered neither Gothic nor Classical.[19] This design was represented in a drawing. The second one shown in a drawing is a magnificent tower in pseudo-Gothic forms, which came up in a sale some years ago and is now in the Kok collection in Amsterdam (Plate 417). It is a fine powerful variation on the theme of several Gothic towers. Its autorship is still a mystery[20], here I can only make the observation that the completed stage was not executed after this model. In addition, there are two wooden models[21] (Plate 418). Ozinga's remarks of 1929[22] about them are still the most convincing.[23] He argues that the (still partly existing) first stage and Clement de Jonghe's 1666 print are in almost complete accordance with the more serene of the wooden models – as far as the lower stage is concerned. Ozinga terms this model "Palladian", using the words of an older historian of architecture, but I would prefer to call it Van Campen's design, apart from the difficulty of conferring a single epiphet on a tower which recalls several styles. Most authors agree that Van Campen made a design; the other wooden model, to be known as the Gothic one, cannot, stylistically, be his. Ozinga also mentions that the Gothic model consists of two parts. This is a useful hint when we try to sort the numerous representations of the tower in paintings and prints into coherent groups. In the Van der Ulft group, deriving from Jacob van der Ulft's splendid panorama of the Dam square (etching, c. 1655; Plate 420) and his gouache of 1653 in the Municipal Archives, parts of the Gothic design are used over a square stage.[24] This stage resembles existing Renaissance towers, such as the one then being built at Kampen (from 1648 onwards), but not the lower part of either the Gothic or the other wooden model.[25]

A second group is represented by a painting by Hendrick van den Burch[26] (undated,

about 1660?).[27] Van den Burch's extrapolation of the second stage has diagonal buttresses like those at the base of Van Campen's model. But on top of this he places two slender stages, which are so indistinctly painted that they might equally well derive from Van Campen's model (by doubling the octagonal storey) as from the powerful pseudo-Gothic design now in the Kok collection. The latter design may also have been the source for the *gâbles* at the top.[28] Van den Burch evidently knew that on the square stages two octagonals were planned, and on top of these a helm behind pointed gables (gâbles) as at Utrecht. In any case Van Campen's model needed completion – the painter would have learnt from people who had discussed the matter with the architect, that the wooden model followed Van Campen's design as far as the octagon.

The incongruous Classicist dome and domed lantern may represent somebody else's proposal.[29] It is clear that they do not fit the rest of the model, which may properly be called a harmonious fusion of Gothic elements – to match the church; and Classicist simplicity, with some Classicist detail – in keeping with the Town Hall.

After the perfect fusion of traditional and Classicist elements at the Schouwburg, Van Campen's restoration work at the church and on its organ, and the tradition that ascribes the design of the tower to Jacob van Campen, I do not hesitate to attribute the completed stage to him, and to regard the wooden tower, as far as the octagon, as the working model for the tower's erection.

After Van Campen's departure this surviving model gradually evolved into the state – which may be called the third group – that we see portrayed in the engraving published by Clement de Jonghe in 1666 (Plate 419).[30] It has doubled Van Campen's octagon, whereas the helm over a low attic has still not found a satisfying solution. So the only consistent roof design is Leeghwater's – all the other designs are flawed or show variants which leave the decision open.[31]

It seems that Burgomasters had made the best choice in working after Van Campen's model. It provided sufficient *conformitá* with the church's Gothic fabric to appease ecclesiastical taste, while avoiding incongruity with the new Town Hall. They could not foresee that Van Campen would retire before completing his design – but at the time of the production of Clement de Jonghe's print nobody was really concerned about the completion of the tower. Most of the finished part was pulled down in 1783. Van Campen obviously would not have advocated a tall tower next to his Town Hall, but when asked to design one he devised a solution as satisfying as an exacting and dissentious body of patrons could demand.

Other Interest in the "Old Foolery"

It is not unlikely that Jacob van Campen's interest in the styles of the barbaric age was roused at an early stage in his career. The close connections between Van Campen and Saenredam are known. Saenredam made drawings of the Cuneratoren, Rhenen, and the Domtoren, Utrecht, as early as 1644 and 1636 respectively, both being sources for Van Campen's model[32]; he also drew Romanesque churches and copied Roman drawings by Maarten van Heemskerck. The representation in print of Geertgen tot Sint Jan's retable with a lamentation of Christ, by the Haarlem artist Theodoor Matham, was dedicated to Jacob van Campen.[33] The relations between De Bray and Saenredam are also known. However, the development of ideas in the Haarlem group of painters

and architects in the years when Dutch Classicism was being created, still needs much research.

Any reservations about mediaeval styles among other leading architects were removed by Van Campen, and several historicising projects can be dated to between 1650 and 1660. Salomon de Bray added a small consistory in a Gothic vocabulary to the old fabric of St. Bavo, Haarlem, in 1658[34] (Plate 421). It should be mentioned too that the Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk boasted not only a tower in the old style (though it was never executed), but also, apart from pure restoration work, an archway in the Gothic style[35], and paintings on the timber vaulting for which the 1525 decorations of the Warmenhuizen church were taken as a source.[36]

It is still not clear whether the archaeological spirit in which these and other completions were made differentiated in feeling between Gothic, as we see it, and other "modern" styles. Hitherto it has simply been assumed that in complimenting Van Campen because he "admonished Gothic curly foolery with the stately Roman, and drove old Heresy away before older Truth"[37], Huygens meant Gothic and nothing else, or at most Gothic and Romanesque. In fact, though, most of Lieven de Key's Haarlem buildings and De Keyser's Amsterdam works would also have been regarded as "curly foolery" by Huygens. To gain a clearer insight into historicism we should examine the completion of some buildings in other than Gothic styles. The attitude of the seventeenth century towards these activities, incidentally, corresponds to its attitude to the Gothic completions: they were ignored and even denied.

Completion of Renaissance and Mannerist Works

1. The Gravensteen, Leyden, had an elegant arcaded gallery dating from 1605. In 1655–6 it was doubled in length, most probably after Van 's-Gravesande's instructions.[39] (Plate 422).

2. A very interesting case, documented by many seventeenth century and later prints and paintings, is Stalpaert's 1668 extension of Hendrick de Keyser's Amsterdam Exchange (originally built 1608–11 after the Antwerp-London model) (Plate 423).[40] The inner court was enlarged by a few bays exactly like the existing High Mannerist work; the tower was somewhat simplified and re-erected in a symmetrical position, while the exterior on the Rokin side was given a completely new Classicist elevation. Up to this moment the paintings by Job Berckheyde[41], which represent almost exclusively Stalpaert's extension of the inner court, are labelled De Keyser's Exchange. The use of De Keyser's style in enlarging the court may account for this. But even all the prints made soon after 1670 to depict the neat Classicist façade ignore the fact that it is new and simply state that what we are looking at is De Keyser's exchange!

Up to today the man in the street and the more popular histories of architecture as well as archaeological societies (e.g. "Hendrick de Keyser") have cherished a predilection for Dutch Mannerism at the expense of later styles. Inevitably the nineteenth century revivalists were strongly biased in favour of De Keyser's mannerism, that "typical Dutch" style. But what feeling was it that propelled already classical Amsterdam to a comparably whole-hearted attachment to De Keyser's Exchange? Was it the solidity of the Exchange that was thus most fittingly expressed? Or a peculiar association of the rise of Amsterdam with De Keyser's style? In the late 1660's

Classicism was on the wane – perhaps a scarcely perceptible lack of confidence in the accepted style was a factor, until in the seventies and eighties the new generation of architects established the Flat Style.

3. I have already mentioned that the Council's decision to pull down De Keyser's Roodenpoortstoren was not carried out.[42]

The Prinsenhof, Amsterdam, often attributed to Stalpaert, has sculptural decoration in the large pediment (by Jan Gijselingh the Elder in about 1661, after a cartoon by Salomon de Bray) whose programme exactly repeats the old sculpture by Hendrick de Keyser.[43] (Plates 424–5).

4. It is remarkable that in the eighties William III's conservatism reverted to an even earlier date, and a building by his illustrious sixteenth century forbear Henry of Nassau was finally completed. This building, the first Renaissance palace in the Northern Netherlands had been begun by Count Henry III of Nassau, who reshaped the mediaeval castle of Breda from 1536 onwards.[44] This project had been completed except for the south range of the quadrangle. The Stadholder William III completed the work: in 1686 the south wing was pulled down, and in 1688 and the following years the court was completed by Jacob Roman in exactly the forms used by Henry III's architect 150 years before.[45] This activity preceded the Hampton Court conversion; there are similarities in the chosen designs.[46]

Ceilings in Wood and Other Work Recalling the Past

The example of the wooden ribbed vaulting of the Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague (1649–56) (Plate 60), led to some experimentation, with which the name of Bartholomeus van Bassen may be connected, as well as Van 's-Gravesande and other architects working round Leyden. Endegeest Castle, perhaps by Van Bassen, displays as well as the mock stucco ceiling, ribbed octagonal vaults in the Gothic manner[47] high up in the towers, and umbrella-like brick vaults in the cellar stage of the towers.[48] The overall appearance of the castle seemed the ideal background for a mediaeval play. One of Endegeest's nostalgic reminiscences is the arcades of the forecourt which recall those of the Noordeinde Palace before its conversion about 1640.

As for Van 's-Gravesande's work: the lunettes of the Woubrugge church show not a semicircular section but a pointed one. If Van 's-Gravesande (and I think that more evidence points to him as architect than to Post) was experimenting here with a smooth ceiling, a year or two later, in restoring and completing the 15th–16th century Zoeterwoude parish church, he tried Van Bassen's effect in a small church, using wooden rafters to create a Gothic sensation; the church in its general space, though not its details, looks mediaeval.[49] (Plate 433).

Already discussed with Post's work, the Leyden Butter Market has a wooden vault (intended as mock stucco?) in a somewhat Gothic style (Plate 426).[50]

The competition for the gateway and guardhouses of the Leyden Burcht at about the same time (1658), yielded both a quasi-Mannerist design (Plate 187) and the winning project, Van der Helm's Gothic archway and crenellated guardhouses (Plate 188).[51] Willem van der Helm (c. 1630–1675) is as an eclecticist outside the scope of this work.[52] His share in shaping the architectural ideas of Hooke will probably always remain obscure[53]: his work is not shown in fine engravings, and most not even in crude

ones. Van der Helm worked, apparantly indifferently, in the Classicist style, the "Vingboons-style" and the Gothic: but the cases where he did so are more out of the ordinary than earlier examples. As to the gateway guardhouses: the Burcht, an old *chateau à motte* in the centre of the town (dating from about 1100) was eventually, in 1651, acquired from the feudal owners, and it is after all not surprising that the city wished to stamp the tokens of its own feudal pretension on its architecture. Nor was it a vagary for Van der Helm, in 1662, to restore the time-honoured "Green Church" at Oegstgeest in antiquarian forms (Plate 427), and to add, in 1665, an unmistakably seventeenth but equally unmistakably Gothic-intended doorway to the mediaeval church of Saint Pancras (Plate 428). And in his 1669 Neo-mannerist gateway, the Morschpoort (Plate 429), he was surely recalling the heroic age of Leyden's defence against the Spaniards. It seems, however, an *Umwertung aller Werten* that in 1662 he extended the Leyden Town Hall façade (in the richest Mannerist forms) with the mock Gothic façade of the Burgomaster's Room (Plate 430). A consideration may have been the contrast with the rest of the elevation[54] (Plate 6), but for that purpose Classicism would have been equally suitable. The fact remains that for the assertion of the secular arm Leyden's Government in 1662 was casting back to the antiquity of Gothic.

Archaisms in Country Houses

Archaising tendencies were remarked on from time to time in the chapters on country houses and their gardens. Count Maurice indulged in battlements on his garden wall next to his court; Frederick Henry in a crenellated forecourt at Rijswijk[55]; and when Frederick Henry had the castle of Zuylenstein rebuilt between 1631 and 1635; for his bastard Frederick of Nassau, the result was completely Mannerist, with crow-stepped gables and onion-capped turrets. Many noblemen followed suit, such as the Count of Wassenaar who erected a wall with battlements to screen the forecourt of his castle, Duivenvoorde, at Voorschoten (Plate 280).

Garden pavilions could easily be raised in distant styles. Examples are found at Clingendaal (Plate 431), in a mock Classicism long after the style had ceased to be fashionable, and the Mannerist gateway in Gunterstein's garden (Plate 369C).

A tendency to build new dwellings or restore existing ones not as country-houses but in antiquarian castellar forms is often noticeable.[56] Endegeest is exceptional because of its Gothic detail rather than in its general appearance.

Another instance is Pieter Post's project for Castle Heeze, of about 1663–5[57], which shows a quadrangle with corner towers in a wide moat, to which is added an outer court with ancillary buildings on its three outer sides.

To Englishmen many of the estates would have looked like fortresses rather than inviting country-houses. In the semi-fortified category may be mentioned, besides Endegeest and Heeze, many others, such as the pre–1672 Poelgeest and Castle Clant, but also the post 1672 Amerongen and Middachten, as well as Swieten, in its various phases, and Zuylenstein, in its seventeenth century form.[58] At Zuylenstein in Daniel Stoopendaal's engraving of about 1700 the moat has at last surrendered to an extension of the garden up to the walls of the house.[59]

The 1663 Amsterdam town gate the Leidsche Poort (Plate 209) is again – and militarily quite unnecessarily – in the form of a mediaeval castle.

William III's completion of Breda[60] and the plan of Het Loo with the already old-fashioned staircase are glorifications of famous forefathers rather than a conscious adaption of an ancient style for a particular effect.

More remarkable in its consequences for park and garden is William's preservation of the Oude Loo, (Plate 432), a mediaeval castle in the grounds of new Het Loo.[61] Was this picturesque and historic feature in the view from Het Loo preserved on scenic grounds? In any case the reasons must have been strong, and sentimental, since a Baroque development of the new gardens was completely thwarted by the oak avenue aligned on the old castle, and by the slightly slanting alley to the aviary and beyond.

Cupolas

The Dutch Cupolas built during the dominance of Classicism tend towards geometric shapes with structural limbs, such as a hemisphere, supported by Ionic or Corinthian columns acting as the corners of a lantern over a plain octagonal attic, to give sufficient height. In a single instance the hemisphere may take the form of an inverted ogee, at Vingboons' Elsenburgh (Plate 335)[62] or Hendrick Danckerts' church (Plate 46); and the attic may be linked to the supporting dome by scrolls, as at the Marekerk, Leyden. The columns along the lantern were often suppressed altogether, but before the extinction of Classicism they were never treated as elongated volutes, invalidating the notion that the Coleshill lantern might derive from Dutch sources.[63] France was abundantly provided with cupolas too, and Italy with a few powerful examples. And there was of course a strong vernacular tradition – *vide* Stoke Bruerne.

After the middle of the century less rigid forms emerge in Holland. Pieter Post's extravagant turret at Rijxdorp – which is in fact more a garden pavilion intersecting the helm of a lower tower – was engraved an may have exerted some influence on Melton Constable.

Van der Helm's work was not published, and if Robert Hooke's project for an end pavilion at Bedlam shows a cupola with elongated volutes similar in shape to that of Van der Helm's 1669 Morschpoort, the similarity can lead to nothing more than speculation, as long as Hooke's possible visit to Leyden is not proved by documentary evidence.

In 1694 the spire of Breda's principal church burnt down. It was rebuilt in 1702, perhaps by Jacob Roman, in a style which to a certain extent recalls the ancient spire.[65]

Thus the only cupola which could potentialy have been an important influence – not in detail but in its strong silhouette, for example on the roof line of Castle Howard – was Van Campen's Town Hall cupola, which, it may be remembered, had been available since 1660 in Vennekool's fine engraving.[66]

The Supremacy of the Circle

In considering Jan van der Heyden's painting of the lower stage of the Amsterdam tower (Amsterdam historic Museum), one is struck by the circular oculus over the pointed archway. A painter's fantasy?[67] A comparison with the models shows that the

oculus was certainly intended. All the models in their lowest storey have some kind of oculus over the Gothic arch, and some repeat it higher up, as an oval or clock-dial; in the interior of the "Van Campen model" the stages are connected by a round void, which is given three classical balustrades, and on the first level the balustrade is even surrounded by five circular steps to give it an almost Bramantesque flavour.

Salomon de Bray applies circular windows over pointed ones in his Haarlem work at Saint Bavo's, and Van 's-Gravesande already, some four years earlier, in 1654, uses emphatically round and oval windows over the old chancel windows in his restoration of the Zoeterwoude church[68] (Plate 433). Was there a *communis opinio* on the symbolic value of circular over pointed forms? One recalls the title of one of De Vries' church fantasies: *Ionica super Dorica*, and is inclined to paraphrase this as *Geometria supra Gothicum*. Van der Helm's restoration at the Oegstgeest church is not clear on this point: the circle at the top of the vestry may derive from a later alteration, as may also the tripartite division of the window under a single arch, with the circle suspended over it. That Van der Helm was capable of designing a division into three lights under a single arch is, however, proved by his work at the Leyden Town Hall.

The last instance in this series, but a particularly notable one, is Clement de Jonghe's 1666 edition of the print of the Amsterdam tower. Here, in addition to the familiar circles in the lower stages[69], there is an attic with impressive oculi on top of the Gothic fabric.

Chapter 24

Summing up and Conclusions

A retrospective view shows that it was not only the severe Classicist style of between 1630 and 1670 that provided models for English architecture, but also De Keyser's earlier transitional manner and the later Dutch architecture of between 1670 and 1700, the so-called Flat Style. The examples of Vingboons' late style and the houses by Bouman and Dortsman represented in the *Grachtenboekje* could be used by the architects of Georgian London without much consideration of English Baroque.

Comparing executed Dutch works with their representation in print and the printed projects has proved on the whole very fruitful. The tracing and chronological arrangement of Dutch printed sources has been tedious work[1], but made it easier to trace possible derivations – such as the surprising likeness between Van Campen's Town Hall plan and Webb's Durham House.[2]

After a short introduction and some paragraphs on gables in which the importance of the reliability of sources was stressed, Dutch churches and Wren's London ones were compared. The Dutch were the first Protestant nation to build large churches and to experiment with round, cruciform and longitudinal plans. But even the round forms were not confined to ecclesiastical buildings. The early seventeenth century sense of enjoying, in one's own Republic, one's own quattrocento, encouraged polygonal and circular plans for garden structures and buildings in the countryside as well. Notable examples of these are the small octagonal castle of Drakensteyn[3] and the pleasure-house of the Barons of Breda[4] (Plate 434). Round forms were of course appropriate for anatomical theatres; the cruciform plan was used for the Huis ten Bosch, which could thus easily be turned into a mausoleum for Frederick Henry.[5] For influence on Protestant church buildings abroad these secular buildings can be excluded. Van Campen's Schouwburg, however, with its semicircular galleried auditorium and its stage with tempietti-like altars and a throne like a reredos, would have been attractive to the English eclectic church-builders.[6]

The appearance in c.1620 of the cruciform plan for the Amsterdam Noorderkerk has been found to indicate a relaxation of the sternest Calvinist patronage, since the cross surely had strong ultramontane connotations. Nearly all Dutch architects were trained as sculptors, carpenters or painters and were more or less insensitive to any architectural theory which had not been embodied in engravings or buildings. Jacob van Campen, a nobleman trained as a painter, was an important exception, but even in his work there is no trace of such a work as Vitruvius' Basilica at Fano. As for another famous example, Villalpando's reconstruction of Solomon's Temple: the Dutch architects followed the law in easily applied details like the temple buttresses, but in general they observed the practical considerations of ample space, audibility, and visibility.[7]

Two early seventeenth century designs were visible sources of considerable influence.

The first of these was Johan Vredeman de Vriese's print called "Corinthia" showing a three-aisled pseudo-basilica (Plate 435) which in its general appearance and vaulting would have influenced the Belgian Jesuit churches, such as Francart's in Brussels, which "seems to bear a striking resemblance to some of the City Churches".[8] It appeared in many editions in the Netherlands and Wren would have had direct access to it. It used to be bound with Paul Vredeman de Vriese's "Ionica super Dorica", of which Wischnitzer states "The design of the galleried basilica shown in Hondius' manual can be considered the source of inspiration for Salomon de Brosse's Temple at Charenton, the dissenters' churches in Amsterdam, and the Amsterdam synagogues of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews".[9] Apart from a simple rectangular form this influential print (Plate 69) shows the combination of round[10] and rectangular shapes, the tempietti, the tablets of the Law, the transverse axis: all factors which contributed to the creation of Wren's parish churches.

All these possibilities were of course worked out in the churches of Van Campen, Van 's-Gravesande[11] and Stalpaert, in the classical manner, but Wren may have had at his disposal only good prints of churches and projects by Hendrick de Keyser, Bosboom and Danckerts – as well as more or less detailed information about the others through Hooke's communications.[12] In the simplest form of church, the closeness between Dutch and English architecture was so great towards the end of the century that even Ozinga does not exclude the possibility of a Dutch architect at the English Episcopal Church at Rotterdam (1708, demolished 1913), whereas in my opinion the architecture (Plates 134–6) is decidedly English in feeling. I would even like to repeat the statement by W. Cool that it was "extremely probably no less than Wren" who built it.[13]

I believe that in the chapter on the English and Dutch architects I have demonstrated that the influence of Van Campen's Town Hall has hitherto been underrated. It can be traced as early as 1649 in Webb's plans for Durham House, and the contour of the cupola is found in eighteenth century architecture. That 's-Gravesande's Sebastiaansdoelen was at least as influential as Van Campen's Mauritshuis was to be expected, but I felt a certain disappointment at not being able to establish the exact date of the British Library print of the Oostkerk, Middelburg, to which my attention was drawn when this study was almost finished (Plate 49), nor to find any English derivation from the (evidently Roman[14]) theme. The print is in any case a contribution to our knowledge of 's-Gravesande's work, as it antedates Smallegange's 1696 print and shows the intended entrance façade.

A great surprise was the resemblance between one of Stalpaert's Admiralty-Arsenal prints and the main theme of Wren's Chelsea Hospital. That this has not been observed before is surely a tribute to Wren's power to fuse several examples into a personal style. We may recall Sekler's comment on Wren's work, that it was "neither an isolated, national phenomenon, nor a purely derivative offshoot of Continental architecture, but, like most English architecture, an original achievement of considerable importance which, nevertheless, cannot be taken out of its greater European context".[15]

I expect that the chapters on the country houses – as they were "the ruling element in a ruled environment" – will have given the English reader a bird's eye view of their gardens too. The references to Dutch gardens in English literature often lack adequate documentation.[16]

In Holland itself, to give an example, Het Loo, the garden with the strongest historical associations, is at present being restored with little understanding of either the sentiments or the politics on which its design was based.

Comparisons between Dutch and English seventeenth century gardens are omitted. At first sight, however, there is no indication that the layout of the ordinary English and Dutch garden was based on different principles. Most travellers' diaries concentrate on details: they extol the excellent gravel and turf of the English gardens as opposed to their neighbours' across the Channel. A more exact definition of the word "Dutch" than as something which a succeeding generation sought to avoid, seems desirable. For example, when Verey[17] writes "Of the fifty-eight houses illustrated by Kip (probably from paintings by Knyff) in Atkyn's *Present State of Gloucestershire* in 1712, twenty-eight have variations of the Dutch water-garden", much more research is needed to establish whether "Anglo-Dutch" or even "English" would not have been an equally suitable term.[18]

The creation of Dutch Classicist architecture was essentially a concern of the province of Holland. The period from 1630 to 1700 lays a second, unexpected emphasis on the architecture of Leyden – both in the Classicist era and during Van der Helm's eclecticist service. It appears that the city's share in the forming of the Republic's architecture is greater than is generally stated or even thought. On one hand it was a late vindication of Gerulf, the almost legendary ninth century founder[19] of the County of Holland and ancestor of Floris V, the thirteenth century count who completed the establishment of the County. Gerulf's settlement at the mouth of the Rhine where it was crossed by the waterway, behind the dunes, from North to South and West, was well chosen; but his partitioning of sites to all his vassals presumably accounted for the smallness of the estates around Leyden. Later in the Middle Ages these waterways through Leyden grew to be obstructed, so that the city literally became a backwater.[20] The late mediaeval and seventeenth century renaissances in the city were hazardous, founded on the solitary base of the cloth industry. The centre of government was moved to the Hague, whereas Amsterdam was the commercial upstart of the county – dazzlingly, self-consciously so – quite outstripping Leyden. The old town's architectural recovery between about 1625 and 1675 is all the more amazing.

The chapter on the small traditional country houses concentrates on houses in the neighbourhood of Leyden, which are, however, representative of the type in a much larger region. If it was necessary to be brief on Van der Helm's eclecticism, which, I assume, would have had a considerable appeal for English architects, it was because in terms of research his work is a *terra incognita.*

Little more information was available on the Amsterdam tower-building campaign from 1647–52.[21] In retrospect the decision to erect the building in a restrained Gothic was very intelligent: the allusions in Town Hall and Dam Square to Classical and Michelangelesque Rome, underlining the function and independence of the City Government, would only be strengthened by the other-worldliness of the church.[22]

To validate the concept of the "Flat Style", I omitted any overtly Baroque effects in contemporary buildings. That should not, however, be taken to mean that Baroque tendencies in De Keyser's work were not on occasion revived in the later decades of the seventeenth century. The house called "The King of Poland", formerly Heerengracht 192, built in 1661 and destroyed in 1896, clearly shows Baroque features in its

superimposed giant orders which embrace as many as two or three storeys (Plate 436).[23] It was not engraved until a century later in Caspar Philips' *Grachtenboek*, but the late seventeenth century *Grachtenboekje* may have exerted influence at this point. One should for instance compare examples like its print 12 C of Heerengracht 535–5 (1666) (Plate 437) with Hall Barn, Bucks., of around 1675[24]: both have a kind of curious superimposed canopies in the centre of the façade. Another comparison may be made between the *Grachtenboekje*'s number 19A, Heerengracht 482–8; of about 1670 (Plate 438), with its colossal order and peculiar attic – a freak, in that it places all emphasis on the houses' partition walls – and a pair of houses of the 1720s, in Took's Court, Chancery Lane, London.[25] As these instances lie outside the mainstream of the Baroque we might call them Para-Baroque – but this should not blind us to the fact that the Flat Style itself shows many Baroque features. Certainly it was a reaction against the worn out and ostentatious pilaster orders, but it undeniably possesses Baroque characteristics, such as the appearance in the plans of the central corridor replacing the square and broad *voorhuis*, or, in the elevations, the absolute predominance of the centre over the rest of the façade. This "Inverted Baroque" showed the way in which the Calvinist burghers of the Republic could swallow a style propagated by the Republic's great enemy.

Something which on first inspection seemed a completely separate form may thus be brought into the territory of international Baroque, if only through a little adjustment of the term.

The introduction of sash windows was another means of emphasizing the mass of the walls. Without constructional needs or fire-prevention building acts (which had the same effect in London), the window frames in the prominent houses were recessed, as had not been done before[26], and in addition the plasticity of the wall was underlined by extremely fine bricklaying with almost invisible joints.[27]

It will be clear that in unskilled hands this last method might have had the opposite effect of eliminating all tectonic and plastic expression. But the creativity and imagination of the Dutch architects of about 1670–1700 suffered no decline at all. In this field, there is no justification for a sombre statement like Rosenberg and Slive's on painting: "After the deaths of Frans Hals (1666), Rembrandt (1669), and Vermeer (1675), the heroic age of Dutch painting was over. Reasons can be given for the rapid decline, but it is also well te remember that a culture rarely maintains the vitality and high artistic standard the Dutch sustained for three generations".[28] There were still engravers like De Hooghe and De Moucheron who were working at a high artistic level and who were also particularly sensitive to the subtle moods of the Flat Style. But even on painters the statement seems a little exaggerated. Did not Koninck die in 1688, Cuyp in 1691 and the Van de Veldes only in 1693 and 1707?

In the field of architectural painting there is a definite shift of interest. Here the seventeenth century opens with a continuation of a sixteenth tradition. Painters like Van Bassen[29] and Van Delen create imaginative constructions – ofter far more advanced than anything that would be executed in reality. Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712) was an eclecticist who often composed novel views which included areas faithful to reality. The work of Emanuel de Witte (c. 1617–1692), on the other hand, is already romantic in feeling, with its vaguely evocative church interiors in a Gothick of his own invention, as in his painting in the Mauritshuis.

Eclecticism is a quality common to many of the English and Dutch architects of the last three or four decades of the seventeenth century, while on the other hand the extreme closeness of the introvert architects of the Flat Style leads to a possible attribution of Petworth to Jacob Roman. It was clear that the Flat Style was the one officially favoured. Wren's ambitious schemes for Hampton Court were turned down, and when some ten years later Talman designed a Trianon for William III he was so conscious of the King's predilection that he produced one of his most restrained, and therefore Dutch-looking, designs.

If the Commonwealth had lasted longer and taken deeper roots, Inigo Jones' style would perhaps have led in the middle decades of the century to a significantly English manner. As it was, his example would have been of importance to Huygens, but it was left to the Dutch Republic to assert her independence with an individual style which originated out of a fusion of Northern character with Renaissance and Palladian features. Holland was the cradle of Dutch Classicism; it was in Holland that the Seven United Provinces for the first time in their history developed a personal, Protestant and Republican, way of building.

In a similar way the Inverted Baroque in the years 1665–1700 may be regarded as a Protestant answer to the challenge and absolutism of Louis XIV. William III's position and ambition fostered between his two countries an architectural relationship which was stronger than any before or after.

Chapter 25

The Printed Sources

Introductory Note

"The popularity of the Dutch style in architecture, at any rate in its most obvious and characteristic form as at Kew Palace or Raynham, was shortlived. Other styles, chiefly Italian and French, soon toned down its native originality and we must look closely to discern its continuing influence in more subtle forms in the work of Christopher Wren and his followers".

(C. Wilson, Holland and Britain, *London, (1945), p. 84.)*

It is not only to stress the continuous misunderstanding of Dutch styles that I use here again a quotation from a general work of history. In the chapter on gables I tried to point out that "Dutch" in the quotation had been applied to various aspects of a phenomenon which was indigenous in Flanders, Holland as well as England. The "toning down" was the reverse of the rise of Classicism; we must look closely indeed to discern Wren's late interest in the *Architectura Moderna*, manifesting itself in more subtle forms.

I think that one should look at all the various publications of Classicist architecture Wren would have been able to choose from in his time. As a rule only accurate prints authorized by the architects themselves which will have been recognised as reliable sources are recorded here. Only in those rare cases when the generally crude representations published in the topographical works or as loose sheets lose something of their crudeness and become less improbable as sources they have been mentioned at the end of the relevant paragraph.

As the period dealt with is confined to the Classicist era of about 1625 to 1675 the reader will have to speculate on the influence on the Queen Anne. He may find however in the main text indications that the words of Weissman cited at the very beginning of this book possess a germ of truth. Especially so when one replaces "eighteenth century" by "Queen Anne" and supplements the slight cross-current of ideas about 1800 by a certain Edwardian influence, particularly by the example of a Norman Shaw, in the beginning of the twentieth century.

On the easy communications I will cite yet another passage of Wilson's *Holland and Britain* (pag. 35): "For the seventeenth century Londoner, it was easier to travel from England to Holland than it was to visit Lincolnshire or Cornwall: even in 1700 it was easier for a London merchant to send a letter to a correspondent in Amsterdam than to a customer in Hull". It is just the profusion of Dutch engravings and their diffusion in

England which seems to have prevented the making of a systematic synopsis of the available and relevant prints. I have abstained from listing any of the abundant and artistically often very beautiful views of entire towns, as the information they give about particular buildings is mostly slight. An example may be the print appearing at Rotterdam in 1666 on the occasion of the Great Fire of London and which, in an explicatory note, considered the Fire God's righteous punishment for cruelties by the English army on the Dutch isle of Terschelling. As the publisher[1] used a much earlier engraving by P.H. Schut we find a peaceful scene to which only some smoke is added somewhere about Hampstead Heath. Everybody would have known that maps and town-views did not give the latest architectural state. And if they tried to do so they merely inserted the architect's print of a new building reduced nearly beyond recognition. So in Frederick de Widt's town view of Middelburg[2] the new Oostkerk hovers in the air about the place where it was being built and reduced to incredible smallness from the "Templum Medioburgense" engraving.[3] In confining myself in this way I hope to have sorted out those prints which were the more influential as their apparent quality was the more authoritative.

Theory books without prints could not induce the majority or achitects, even the theoreticians among them, and certainly not the craftsmen-architects, to design new works. For them the words of Alberti on Vitruvius held a special truth: "neither Greek nor Latin and as far as we are concerned he need not have written at all since we cannot understand that kind of writing."[4] Luckily they could get fine prints. The aim of this chapter is to show which prints they could have at disposal – and, by implication, which they could not.

The existing catalogues were compiled for other purposes like listing individual collections (e.g. Catalogue British Museum, Catalogue Print Room Rijksmuseum, Catalogue of the Fowler collection) or concentrate in the first place on general works of art (e.g. Cicognara, *Catalogo*; Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur* or Schlosser-Magnino, *La Letteratura Artistica; Universal Catalogue of Books on Art*). None of these works is in the least exhaustive or even accurate in what is given of the important seventeenth century Dutch production. Millon even writes "A bibliography of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books on architecture does not exist".[5]

When I started compiling the following list I was aware of Van Campen's and Vingboons' importance by their fine books. However, in the course of events I found that one should not underrate the importance of the loose sheets with engraved buildings by others, notably by Stalpaert, Post and Van 's-Gravesande. Thus Stalpaert's influence on Wren's Chelsea hospital is given as fairly certain in the light of the fine prints of the Admiralty Arsenal. But Stalpaert's other great storehouse, that for the East Indian Company, was only represented by rather crude engravings in the topographies of about 1665.[6] It had to wait until 1693 for an accurate engraving. So in this case its resemblance to Wren's Great Storehouse in the Tower is taken as a chance occurrence caused by the similarity in purpose. For reasons adduced in the introduction to this book – that is its influence on Wren's churches – the printed work of Hendrick de Keyser has been included, but other prints dating from before the Classicist period are only mentioned in the main text of the book when there seemed to be special occasion for it. The prints of Dortsman's Round Lutheran church are included here as there is a slight chance that they date from before 1675, but other prints after his works,

especially those which appeared in the *Grachtenboekje* are mentioned only in the paragraphs on his work. The same applies to representations of the works of others after 1675, so the suggestive but elusive prints by Romeyn de Hooghe also find a place in the main work.[7]

Hendrick de Keyser

The Architectura Moderna

The first architectural book published in Holland to include a work of classical design was the *Architectura Moderna* printed for the publisher Cornelis Danckertsz. van Seevenhoven (or Cornelis I Danckerts), with an introduction by the painter-architect Salomon de Bray (Plate 439). It appeared in 1631 and contained works – mostly churches and spired towers – by Hendrick de Keyser.[8] De Keyser was an original and powerful architect and sculptor, but essentially Mannerist in his taste, although he introduced many Baroque motifs.[9] The most surprising feature of this edition is its inclusion of the façade of the Coymans House, a startling new design in the classical Baroque style that was to become predominant in Holland in the next fifty years. It was built in 1625, and was the earliest documented work of Jacob van Campen, the first Classicist architect in Holland. On the whole, however, the *Architectura Moderna* would have been considered a pattern-book for an outmoded Mannerism.[10]

The Coymans House – closer to English architecture[11] than any other work by Van Campen – would have been regarded as influenced by the Banqueting Hall rather than as an exemplar. Only when Dutch Classicism was firmly established and manifested itself in feverish building between about 1635 and 1672, did its influence become powerful.

Jacob van Campen

In 1639 Sir Constantine Huygens sent prints of his recently completed house in the Hague to his friends: Rubens, Guez de Balzac, and naturally his English relations.[12] These etchings[13] were printed in the spring of 1639 and give an excellent impression of the Hague's first classical building.

About the same time Count Johan Maurits van Nassau was building his house, the Mauritshuis, next door. This was illustrated much later, in 1652, in a set of thirty-seven drawings by Pieter Post. These do not appear to have been worked out as engravings before 1715, when six of them were incorporated in the second edition[14] of Post's *oeuvre.*

These houses are included here as Van Campen had a share in their design. Van Campen's Coymans House has been mentioned above because of its inclusion in the *Architectura Moderna.*

The Amsterdam Town Hall

Van Campen's masterpiece, the Amsterdam Town Hall, was engraved even before its

completion, and numerous other engravings of this great building followed. The first prints date from 1647 or 1648; they show the ground floor and first floor (the piano nobile) only, and were probably never published but used as models for the Burgomasters to show to the Council (Plate 163). On the 1st of September 1650, however, a privilege was granted to Daniel Stalpaert, the City Architect who collaborated closely with Van Campen on the Town Hall, to engrave, print, and edit a series of six views of the building. But for minor details these show the building in completed form[15] and include, in addition to the ground floor and piano nobile, all four façades. This must have been a limited edition: Stalpaert was an architect and not a publisher.

The sculpture of the Town Hall, the work of Artus Quellien, was etched by his brother Hubert and published in 1655 and 1663, although some plates did not appear until 1664–5. The idea of an comprehensive edition became very attractive, and required still more engravings to show all the architectural features of the building including the third floor, sections, and views of the *Burgerzaal* and *Vierschaar.* A comprehensive edition of this sort was indeed planned by Cornelis I Danckerts, but he died in 1656 before it had been printed.[16] It was presumably at his request that Jacob Vennekool made thirty copper plates showing the most important features of the already celebrated building. Consultations with Stalpaert about the copyright would have been proceeding meanwhile. Eventually in 1660, Cornelis' son Dancker Danckerts had an edition of the architectural part printed. As yet he did not dare to give Vennekool's name on the titlepage: the engravings are not signed and on the frontispiece he cautiously printed *anno 1661.* Normally he would not sell copies before then, but for a visiting foreign architect less caution was needed: Sir Roger Pratt could write in his copy: "Purchased Dec. 1660 for 15s." – and add it to his otherwise exclusively Italian-oriented library.[17]

The Utrecht University copy has a note in ink in a seventeenth century hand "Met Previlegie voor 15 Jaren", and soon after, in copies of 1661, "geteeckent door Jacob Vennekool" was added.[18]

The Utrecht University copy is interesting for other reasons as well. It is bound with editions of Philips and Justus Vingboons' works, dating from 1648 and 1664, and with Hubertus' etchings of Artus' work dating from 1655 to 1665. Hubert made two series: both are without an editor's name but state that they have been drawn and etched by Hubert and printed at Artus' house. The first series is dated Anno 1655, and its plates are nearly all marked with the initials A.Q. and H.Q. The second series bears the cryptic phrase "is printed at the house of Artus Quellinus and published". It is not clear from the Dutch whether this means "printed and published at Artus' house" or whether it was to have been completed with a publisher's name. The date is given as A^{O} 1663, the 16th of January, and the series of sculptural elements (which are not signed) are preceded by prints of the rear pediment with Artus' name and the year 1664, and two plates dated 1665.

Had Dancker Danckerts at last achieved his aim? Was this joint edition prepared by him before he died in December 1666? Were the sculptural prints supplied to him by Hubert Quellien, who had himself returned to Antwerp? The sculptural parts of this copy bear no editor's name – yet as soon as he obtained the rights, Frederick de Widt[19] added his name and had the years 1655 and 1663 clumsily altered to 1665 and 1668 (He had acquired all the plates from Hubert Quellien in August 1666 for fl. 470,–.

They were 113 plates in all, plus their prints and descriptions, together with the patent granted to Hubert by the States of Holland and West Frisia).[20]

Frederick I de Widt was active as a publisher of architectural books and geographical maps between about 1654 and 1681, but was already working as a cartographer and engraving maps in 1648. In 1698 he bequeathed his printing works to his son – another Frederick de Widt – who sold it to a relation of the same name. There is a tradition that the second De Widt edition dates from 1701[21], but in my view this is the father's edition (the altered dates in Quellien's work were left unchanged), sold by the son from the remaining stock. Moreover 1701 seems too convenient an interpolation between the prints of the sixties and the first French edition of 1719, even overlooking the fact that in 1706 Frederick III sold the plates in his possession to C. Mortier and J. Covens who apparently issued the first edition with one title plate for the 101 plates of the three parts, and who will not have waited to do so.[22]

The next edition must have been the French one just mentioned published by Gerard Valk (his name pasted over "Chez David Mortier")[23], Amsterdam, 1719. It is not quite the same as the seventeenth century versions: some architectural plates have been re-engraved, i.e. the first (I) signed: "A. de Putter fecit" and I to VII marked "à Amsterdam chez Gerard Valk".

Most editions open with portraits of Jacob van Campen and Artus Quellien; but here it was thought appropriate to add a small portrait of Desiderius Erasmus! (signed B. Picart fecit 1718).[24] Bernard Picard also signed an attractive vignette, dated 1730 and showing the interlaced initials of the editors J. Covens, C. Mortier and J. Covens jun. This vignette was printed on their publication of the great work, presumably in the same year 1730.[25]

Another French edition of the 109 plates was published by Leonardus Schenk at Amsterdam in 1747.[26] This was perhaps the last major edition, since interest in Baroque architecture was waning. Nevertheless, as a "wonder of the World" the Town Hall possessed a reputation which was sustained by . . . "a long series of guide-books to the Town Hall published in Dutch, English, French and German during the eighteenth century. The earliest of those of which there is a copy in the Library of the Gemeente-Archief, Amsterdam, is a French one, quite clearly a translation, dated 1714; the latest are Dutch and English ones of 1782. The texts apparently vary very little".[27] The Sate Print Room contains a French example of these mostly octavo editions, apparently printed as late as 1793.[28]

Many of the seventeenth century copies, with or without the sculptural prints, and, later, eighteenth century copies of the folio work, found their way into the libraries of English architects and eventually into public collections: for example Pratt's copy, evidently bought directly from the publisher, and one belonging to George Clarke in which he wrote: "Empt: Amstelodami 14° Junij styl: novo 1706 21 fl 6^{d}.".[29]

The R.I.B.A. possesses two copies: one Dutch, of 1664, one French, of 1719.[30] The British Museum has nearly the same, with editions of 1661 and 1719[31], and in addition one of the smaller "Descriptions of the City-House . . . Amsterdam, 1782". The loose sheets used for Beudeker's atlas in the British Museum are from Frederick de Widt's publishing house. Many prints are added in the atlas, among them Jan van der Heyden's imaginary application of his invention, the fire-hose, to the new Town Hall[32], as well as three engravings, derived from Stalpaert's 1650 ones, representing the east, west and

south elevations with filling in (stoffage) by Laurens Scherm, published by Nicolaes Visscher about 1700.[33] The same three large engravings are added to the 1661 Victoria and Albert Museum copy, as well as an enormous one, a splendid oblique view of the front by Daniel Stoopendaal, sold also by Nicolaes Visscher about the same year.[34] The Bodleian lists an edition of 1668.

The Town Hall was also one of Marot's first large engravings. It is a beautiful print showing the Town Hall obliquely. It is usually dated about 1686 and catalogued under "De Amsterdamse Schutterij op de Dam". (The Soldiery on the Dam). In the caption "Designé et Gravé . . . D. Marot, ce vend ché l'Oteur a la Haye . . . aussi à Amsterdam . . . ché I. Gole".

Schouwburg

Just after Van Campen's death in 1657, his *Schouwburg* at Amsterdam, built in 1637, was depicted in three engravings of 1658, showing the ground plan and views of the stage and auditorium. The caption of the ground plan states that it was designed by Van Campen, drawn by Philips Vingboons, engraved by Van der Laegh who also did the lettering, and published by Iacob Lescaille.[35] The same Lescaille must have published the views, which are engraved by S. Savery. These are fine engravings on a large scale; on a reduced scale they are to be found in the topographical works on Amsterdam.

Noordeinde Palace

The important work of rebuilding and extending the *Oude Hof* at the Hague (the "Old Court", nowadays called Noordeinde Palace) by Jacob van Campen about 1640 was recorded only in much later engravings of about 1704, showing the façade with the forecourt. Presumably because the rebuilding remained an unfinished "remodelling" of the cour d'honneur, it was not engraved in the 17th century.[36]

Rijswijk Palace, Honselaarsdijk Palace

Van Campen also collaborated on the important Rijswijk and Honselaarsdijk palaces belonging to Prince Frederick Henry, of which many engravings exist.[37] These palaces are hybrids: a number of architects and craftsmen worked on them, including the Prince and Constantine Huygens who themselves made plans and often worked out details. As a result French and Dutch, mannerist and classical ideas are combined. Neither palace has convincing stylistic unity; still less are they integrated Baroque conceptions. Since they are surpassed by both their French exemplars and Dutch classical buildings their exteriors were of little architectural influence.

After Slothouwer the gardens were designed by the Frenchmen André Mollet (Honselaarsdijk) and Louis d'Antoni (Rijswijk).[38]

Huis ten Bosch

It was also Jacob van Campen who organized the arrangement of the paintings in the great hall at Huis ten Bosch; this will be discussed with the prints of Pieter Post's work.

The Temple of Peace

The 1648 peace memorial in the garden of the Prinsenhof at Haarlem in the form of a Corinthian temple with a high hipped roof was fairly accurately engraved by Romeyn de Hooghe in 1688. Changes in the entablature and removal of the roof about 1800 gave it a far more Neo-classical appearance.

Festoons

Frederick I de Widt also edited (c. 1665?) a small oblong work in quarto with the title "Diverse new festoons invented by Iacob van Campen. Fransois Dancx delineavit. Michiel Mozyn sculpsit". It was a series of twelve plates, followed by another series of twelve plates called "New Festoons. second part". Whether or not these were *invenzioni* of Van Campen's, Dancx and Mozyn made only minor engravings of them, not comparable with Artus Quellien's festoons as rendered by his brother Hubertus.

Van Campen's festoons are also found bound with "Diverse Doorways and Screens and also Chimney Pieces . . . invented by Iacob Vennekool, Architect and painter. At Amsterdam . . . by Frederick de Wit". This work is undated; it contains mainly simple chimney-pieces by Vennekool and would have been published before his death in 1673.

Monuments

About 1658 the admiral Tromp's funeral monument at the Oude Kerk at Delft, the architectural design of which had been made by Van Campen about 1654, was engraved in a large clear representation by C. van Dalen.[39]

There exists also an engraving of the marble screen of Cornelis de Graeff's funeral chapel at Amsterdam. This screen is ascribed to Van Campen by several authors.[40]

Heiligewegspoort, Tower Nieuwe Kerk

Van Campen's *Heiligewegspoort* at Amsterdam (1636, demolished 1663), a fine example of the integration of classical features with the Mannerist style customary in Town Gates since the sixteenth century, was rendered least inaccurately in the topographical work of Olfert Dapper which appeared in 1663.[41]

The *tower* projected for the *Nieuwe Kerk* at Amsterdam was represented many times in its several variants and by mostly rather inaccurate prints. The print of the tower only, by Rombout van den Hoeije, should be dated about 1650.[42] The same engraving, with the church added, was published in 1666 by Clement de Jonghe. This tower representation is rather convincing, it is presumably based on a model by Van Campen.

Jacob van der Ulft's etching of about 1655 which gives a total impression of the Dam square with Town Hall, Weigh-house and Nieuwe Kerk, departs considerably from designs which may have been Van Campen's as far as the tower is concerned.[43]

Representations of Van Campen's executed churches, pulpits and organ-cases seem to exist only in drawings, paintings and models.

Constantijn Huygens

Huygens' Architectural Works

The prints of Huygens' own house at the Hague have been mentioned above since the house was built in collaboration with Van Campen.

The same applies to Hofwijck, Huygens' modest country-seat near the Hague (c. 1640). Here, however, Van Campen's share in the designing would have been considerable. The print, probably after drawings by Pieter Post, appeared as an illustration to Constantine's country house poem *Hofwijck* which was written in 1651 and published in 1653. The engraving is divided into six parts showing a general plan and perspective of the estate, a plan and a perspective view of the house and two representations of a "pharos" (a needle) on top of a mound: before its destruction by lightning ("invidia coeli") and after its re-erection.

If Constantine Huygens were the inventor of the famous anonymous Town Hall design for Amsterdam he had the engravings made by Pieter Nolpe and published by Clement de Jonge as early, perhaps, as 1640.[44] The four plates show the plan, the main façade and two sections; they are signed by the monogram SGL which has not yet been solved.

Huygens' Triumphal Arch for the *Zeestraat* was engraved by Romeyn de Hooghe after a drawing of Jan de Bisschop ("Episcopius" in Constantine's caption to the print). The fine print was published in 1667 in Huygens' poem on the Zeestraat, when this paved road from the Hague to the Sea at Scheveningen, which Huygens had promoted for many years, was at last finished.[45] The idea of erecting a Marble Arch at the beginning of the road remained far from the Magistrates' thoughts – as a toll-gate they ordered a simple wooden construction which occurs in an engraving by Elandts about 1685. To give further diffusion in print of his newly created street Huygens had a very big engraving (from three plates) made after drawings by Van Swieten. It gives four illustrations: sections of the old and new sites and a plan of the completed road, all three from the Hague to the Sea, as well as a section. Latin verses ("Hac tumulos sub planitie tumulavimus;" etc.) signed "Constanter" accompany the print which is signed, translated from the Dutch: measured, surveyed and drawn by Johan van Swieten, Surveyor, and engraved by F. de Wit.[46]

Daniel Stalpaert

As already mentioned Daniel Stalpaert engraved two plans and three façades of the Town Hall in 1650. In the legend he inscribed "designed by Iacob van Campen and Daniel Stalpaert" – which tends to exaggerate his share in the designing.

Stalpaert built two enormous and remarkable storehouses with enclosures such as shipyards and so forth for the Dutch East Indies Company and the Amsterdam Admiralty. The Admiralty Storehouse or Arsenal (1655–6) was engraved on five plates showing the plan and two elevations of the big storehouse and the plan and the two main façades of an ancillary building as well. This totalled six representations since the stretched-out plan of the ancillary building could be engraved on the same plate as one of the façades.[48]

The equally interesting East Indian Company Storehouse appears only in a fine engraving, signed J. Mulder, in Commelin's description of Amsterdam of 1693–4.[49]

Stalpaert's Classicist façade for the old Exchange has been engraved fairly accurately. The engraver took the old print and changed as little as possible, so the caption stating that the work had been finished in 1611 remained unaltered (Plate 423; compare plates 441 and 211).

It is not necessary here to go into the numerous comparatively rough prints of buildings by Stalpaert in the topographical works on Amsterdam printed from 1662 onwards or appearing as loose sheets.[50] An exception may be made for Mulder's prints which are of exceptionally high quality. It must, on the other hand, be pointed out that Joseph Mulder was born about 1659, so that his plates[51] can scarcely have been made before the eighties, presumably just for Commelin's topography of 1693–4. To indicate the average quality of the topographical prints I illustrate the Admiralty Office (*Prinsenhof*) as one only slightly distorted in its proportion (Plate 443) and, dating also from about 1664, the East Indian Company Storehouse by I. Veenhuysen. The latter was rather distorted and with imaginary cupola as the building was not yet completed with it.[52]

A third example, an engraving[53] of the Block-houses in the river Amstel, surpasses in its artistic value the architectural accuracy, whereas other representations are neither pretty nor accurate. At least one engraving confuses in its caption the storehouses of the Admiralty and the East Indian Company (Plate 444; cf. plates 204–8).

Pieter Post and Orange

Pieter Post published his works only gradually. He began with drawings, often of other men's designs. The prints of the Huygenshuis and Hofwijck have already been mentioned. In 1651 followed the "Begraeffenisse" (the funeral procession of Frederick Henry in 1647); this was drawn by Post, engraved by P. Nolpe and printed at Nikolaas van Ravesteyn's at Amsterdam in 1651.[54]

Vermeulen, III, p. 157, mentions as further publications the inauguration of Count William Henry of Nassau on the 7th of May, 1665, and the reception of Huygens at Orange on the 12th of April, 1664. This is all rather confusing. The Count William Henry of Nassau who was inaugurated as Stadholder of Friesland in 1641 and of Groningen in 1651 died in 1664. However, the William Henry referred to here is commonly known as William III, Prince of Orange, born in 1650.

Constantine Huygens succeeded in getting back the Princedom of Orange, which Louis XIV had kept for many years, after long and tedious negotiations in Paris. Substituting for the fifteen-year-old Prince, he then enacted the re-investiture in the antique theatre of the tiny Princedom on the 7th of May, 1665. This scene with all its histrionic emphasis, is represented by Pieter Post.[55] Constantine is seated before the throne between the members of the Parliament, in the auditorium the people of Orange crowd together, their round heads looking like a field of obedient cobblestones. Only two or three among them are represented *en face* or *en profil*. These may, perhaps, be portraits of Post himself and of the engraver Johannes de Visscher.

This spectacle, which is attended by the propitious appearance of the rainbow, did not need to be represented by more than one print. Huygens may very well have commissioned it (Plate 445A).

Swanenburgh

Pieter Post's house Swanenburgh was engraved on eight plates by Jan Matthys and published by Post and Frederick de Widt in 1654.[56]

Huis ten Bosch

Assisted by the same professional publisher Pieter Post published his Huis ten Bosch or Oranjezaal in twenty-three plates by Pieter Nolpe and Jan Matthys in about 1655. That the arrangement of the paintings in the great hall was Jacob van Campen's work is acknowledged by Post on the relevant plates.[57]

Vredenburgh

The prints of Vredenburgh almost certainly belong to the publications of 1654 and 1655. They consist of a series of four. On these the general plan and general perspective view were engraved by Jan Matthys and the façade by Pieter Nolpe. Presumably the plan of the piano nobile was also made by Nolpe.[58] These engravings as well as the first edition of Rijxdorp (see below) are rare; a set came into Beudeker's collection and so eventually into the British Museum.

Chimney-pieces

About ten years after his first series Post again published several works. One volume was dedicated to William III of Orange, whose service he had entered in 1654, with engravings of chimney-pieces for buildings belonging to the Princely family, and comprised twenty-two plates, of which all but number four (by Pieter Nolpe) were the work of Jan Matthys.[59] They depicted ten mantelpieces from the Huis ten Bosch, seven from the Noordeinde Palace, three from the Stadholderly Court at the Binnenhof[60] (plate 446) and two from the Mauritshuis.

Rijxdorp

The very interesting country house Rijxdorp (at Wassenaar, near Duinrel) which was being built from 1662–8 and demolished in 1824, was engraved on five plates. Two plans, the main elevation and a section are fine engravings, evidently after drawings by Post, whereas the fifth, representing a general plan and perspective, is a fairly clumsy work certainly not by the same engraver and perhaps not even after a drawing by Post.[61]

The Maastricht Town Hall

On the 29th of September, 1664, Post obtained the patent to publish his *chef*

d'oeuvre, the Maastricht Town Hall. The work appeared in ten plates by Matthys at Leyden (published by Post himself?) and at Amsterdam by Frederick de Widt, presumably also in 1664.[62]

The construction of the wooden tower of the Town Hall was considered a great feat of engineering. A section of it was engraved and included in Justus Danckerts' *Architectura Chivilis*, (Amsterdam, c. 1675).

The Oranjezaal again and all the Works together

The next item in the chronology of engravings of Post's work is the famous 1686 Daniel Marot engraving of the great hall at the Huis ten Bosch. It shows a court ball: the hall (the "Saal van Oranje"), decorated for festivity, is represented in a magnificent perspective view; in the corners of the engraving the façade and one of the rooms of the house are also visible. This print would arouse the curiosity of any architect – but the plates of the house proper were only reprinted in 1715. They were then re-issued, together with other buildings like Rijxdorp and Vredenburgh which had gained a certain renown as the prototype of a style that became widespread in the eighteenth century. The publication by the Leyden publisher Pieter van der Aa got the title "Les Ouvrages de Pierre Post, Architecte de Leurs Altesses les Princes d'Orange".[63] (Plate 445B). To this edition were added the Gouda Weigh-house, and, described as another Work of Post's, the Mauritshuis in six engravings. In all, the volume contained, besides the Mauritshuis, a preface, perhaps by Marot; thirteen engravings of the Huis ten Bosch (the thirteenth being the front pediment sometimes erroneously bound as the eleventh plate of the Maastricht Town Hall); eight of Swanenburgh; five of Rijxdorp; ten of the Maastricht Town Hall, seven of the Weigh-house at Gouda including three of a variant; four of Vredenburgh and twenty-two chimneypieces.[64] Most of the prints were by Jan Matthys but his name was suppressed.

Later Publications

Other works by Post appeared later in topographical works: the Buysero House and the Hofje van Nieuwkoop were included about 1729 in De Riemer's description of the Hague, together with two engravings by I.C. Philips after drawings by M. Terwesten and G. van Giessen, of the Assembly Hall of the States of Holland, designed by Pieter Post about 1652 in collaboration with Noorwits.

Honselaarsdijk's corner pavilions as Post left them were engraved about 1695. Editions of these far from exact prints exist by Carel Allard as well as by Gerard Valk.

A small and coarse engraving of Post's Leyden Weigh-house appeared in 1672[65]; much later a quite reasonable representation of the Gate-house of his Delft Gunpowder Magazine was engraved by C. Decker and published by P. Smith.

Many rather inaccurate representations (Plate 329) of the old house on Sorghvliet, attributed to Post, occur in the late 17th and early 18th century series on this country seat.

Arent van 's-Gravesande

It is not yet clear whether the beautiful print of the Oostkerk at Middelburg,

engraved by P.H. Schut[66] (Plate 49) and appearing as a loose sheet in 1657[67], is after a drawing by Van 's-Gravesande. It is not likely to represent the final design as fixed by Drijfhout before his death in 1649. There is, however, a less careful print signed by H. Udemans[68] (Plate 53) and presumably dating from the same year. This engraving (as opposed to Schut's) does not show the balustrade around the lantern, but it does show (this again contrary to Schut) the added windows flanking the entrance, as well as other, for the greater part sculptural, decorations which occur in the execution (such as the imposts in the window fields and panels over the small entrances). The omission of all this detail on Schut's print, its sterner appearance and the addition of the consistory with its small repitition of the cupola that would normally not be visible from the front, seem to point to Van 's-Gravesande as the inspiror – with the aim of improving on Drijfhout's design.[69] It is just possible that Van 's-Gravesande made this version as a kind of master-piece, as the presentation to the Council of how he would proceed if appointed overseer. Van 's-Gravesande was appointed in 1657, but he had to give in to those mainly sculptural "embellishments". Moreover, most of these were probably already executed or at least contracted. But Van 's-Gravesande could maintain his silhouette with the balustrade as the greater prize.

Van 's-Gravesande apparently had not cared to publish his works. An oblique view of one of his major buildings, the Logement of Leyden at the Hague[70], is given only much later in the beautiful view of the Fair on the Buitenhof engraved by Daniel Marot about 1687. His Lakenhal and Marekerk at Leyden appear only later as passable but evidently not accurate prints in the borders *(randwerk)* of Hagen's maps of the town of 1670 (the bigger map) and 1675 (the smaller one).[71] (Plate 447A).

Noorwits and Van Bassen

Van 's-Gravesande's brother Pieter Aaronsz. Noorwits, who with Bartholomeus van Bassen designed the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) at the Hague, also avoided publishing his own designs. The City Archives at the Hague possess seventeenth century drawings of the church, which are mentioned here because Hooke or another English architect probably used them as a basis for his view of the building.

There exist in addition some rather small and arkward illustrations, starting with prints made by C. Elandts (1668 and 1681) and continuing into the eighteenth century. Even the Nieuwe Kerk's engraving by Daniel Marot (c. 1710, publisher Anna Beek) is taken from a view "par devant" and consequently shows little.

Philips and Justus Vingboons

Philips Vingboons, unlike Van 's-Gravesande and Noorwits, took a great deal of trouble to arrange attractive editions of his (almost exclusively non-ecclesiastical) work – work that could not be called Classicist in the strict sense but that was very influential because of its sensitive balance of Mannerist tradition and Classicism. His earliest designs date from about 1639, and as early as 1642 a series of six prints of façades appeared which can be considered either projects and exercises or preliminary prints of executed buildings. These were in any case not intended for publication, but

were purloined from the artist's house by Jan Jansz and Jan van Hilten who bound them in their multilingual Vignola edition of 1642. They are marked I to VI and represent:

I. Two coupled stepped gables in a Mannerist style but with colossal pilasters embracing the first and second storeys. This design is unsigned, and does not appear in the official Vingboons edition of 1648.

II. The Michael Paeuw House (1638), in reverse. Signed P. Vinckeboons. Invenī. With height and width measurements.[72]

III. The Daniel Soyhier House (1639), in reverse. Signed P. Vinckeboons. Inventor. With width measurements.

IIII. The (left or right) half of the Ioan Huydecoper House. Signed Pieter (sic) Vinckeboons Inventor. With height and width measurements to which the letters P and V are added as abbreviations of *Piedi* and *Voeten.*

V. Not signed. On the left a design for two variants of a tall, narrow façade, similar to (I) but more Mannerist still, the colossal pilasters bearing basket arches; the gable with steps and scrolls, carrying a pediment. On the right a current Mannerist stepped gable, probably taken from an existing example. Not included in the official edition. Height indication for the left part (and so by implication to the right part too).

VI. The design for the Ioan Poppen House of 1642. Unsigned. Width measurements given.[73]

Only (II) and (III) have the same dimensions as the prints in the edition of 1648 and are nearly correct; (IIII) and (V) were completely redrawn.

The signature "Pieter Vinckeboons" on (IIII) is very remarkable, particularly as it reappears as "P. Vinckeboons" in the new print of 1648. The ground plans of the Huydecoper House are signed "P. Vingboons" as are all Philips' works in the 1648 edition (except for the Daniel Soyhier House which also retains "P. Vinckeboons"). The plates of 1648 are additionally signed J. Vingboons sculpcit (sic); this refers to Philips' brother Johannes who engraved them[74], and the possibility of an engraver's error in the varying signatures must therefore be excluded. Further the Huydecoper House bears in the 1648 edition the inscription "I.V. Boons. Sculp. et Excud." as if a separate edition had originally been planned. The façade is moreover the most Mannerist[75] of all those erected by the Vingboons, and the hypothesis may be allowed that the print was intended as an act of homage to the eldest brother Pieter, who died in 1644, at the age of about forty, in Ceylon[76], and that he had been involved in the façade's design.

The first official edition of Philips' *oeuvre*, including most of his buildings and some proposals designed between 1637 and 1647, appeared in 1648 as a joint venture by Philips and Ioan (Johannes) Vingboons and Ioan Blaeu. It has sixty-two[77] engravings to scale by Johannes. The façades are drawn with particular delicacy. The plates represent nineteen executed houses[78], mostly façades and ground plans, a variant on the Nicolaes Soyhier House, six projects for houses, and the plan and elevation on the Dam of Philips' projected Town Hall.[79]

The work has an index which gives the names of the patrons and localities, a brief description and the years of completion. It has the customary preface commenting on the Origin of Architecture; in an advertisement (omitted from the second edition

seventeenth years later) Philips states that although he was not eager to publish his work he had decided that it was a necessity because his designs had been so garbled in other men's editions.

In 1664 a strange event occurred: the States of Holland granted a patent, not to the publishers of the first edition, Philips and Johannes, but to Johannes and Justus, empowering them to "print, edit and sell" all the buildings designed by "their brother Philips" and by Justus himself. Oddly enough Vermeulen[80] writes that only Justus profited by this patent to publish his *Trippenhuis*, a work which in fact was published in 1664 by Ioan and Justus Vingboons and Ioan Blaeu, in an edition of five engravings signed by Justus and by Johannes as engraver.

It was natural that Philips' designs should be republished in the years when – on account of the demand from England – Dutch architectural books enjoyed such a boom. His work appeared in 1665, produced by Clement de Jonghe, in the Kalverstraat, Amsterdam[81], an edition which surprisingly has been overlooked by most historians of Dutch architecture[82] (Plate 450). But as an edition it has other unusual features: the different publisher, a complete resetting of the (unchanged) text, and a re-engraving of the plates, which appear with Philips' name but not the engraver's. The fire which devestated Blaeu's printing office cannot have been responsible for the changes, since it occurred only seven years later.[83] In fact the reason seems to have been given in Van Eeghen's article (Oud-Holland, 1952)[84] about the Vingboons family. Johannes, who was unmarried and still living with his mother, quarrelled with her and lost the rights to produce the plates himself. The 1665 edition omits his name and contains plates of a lower quality. The same engravings and vignette were used for the third edition, published by Justus Danckerts in 1688 with minor alterations in the preface.[85]

The next edition was published by Pieter van der Aa, at Leyden, in 1715. It could be obtained with a Dutch or French text.[86] This again includes the buildings' dates, which were omitted from the third edition.[87] It was published jointly with the second volume of Philips' works and the Trippenhuis by Justus Vingboons.

The second volume had first been published in 1674 by Philips Vingboons and Ioan Blaeu, with most of the seventy-five plates[88] signed by Philips. As Johannes had died in 1670 the engravings were made by B. Stopendaal and Jan Matthys who signed the majorty of them.[89] They represent twenty-three executed works[90] dating from about 1649 to 1669, while the last six engravings are dedicated to three projects.

Philips died in 1678 and the second volume's second impression was produced only in 1715 – accompanied by the fourth edition of the first volume and the third of Justus' Trippenhuis as that famous building had in the meantime been reprinted (in 1699).[91]

The joint edition came out for the last time in 1736, in French, rather carelessly produced by Pieter de Hondt at the Hague.[92]

Philips' activity as draughtsman and perhaps surveyor of Van Campen's *Schouwburg* has been referred to above.

The fine prints in Johannes Coccejus, *Prophetia Ezechielis cum commentaria illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1669, are sometimes ascribed to Philips Vingboons. They look neatly Dutch, very friendly in comparison with Villalpando's assertive righteousness. Of course the "Temple-buttresses" are conspicuously displayed (Plate 449). Coccejus

states in his work that the mathematician Samuel Carl Kechel was the designer of the 19 prints.

Three houses by Philips[93] and Justus' Trippenhuis (Plate 451; cf. Plate 210) are among the plates of the *Grachtenboekje* which contains representations of Amsterdam houses built in the two decades between 1665 and 1685. The engravings will have been made about 1685, but no edition can be dated with certainty before 1696.[94] The book shows clear representations of elevations designed by Dortsman and Bouman. Even the Trippenhuis is fairly nicely represented, although reduced in scale compared to the original print. But the engravings of Philips' houses are so coarse and out of proportion that it is difficult to recognise them. Still, the books of the architectural publishers, who printed and sold every representation they could lay hands on, are often so important that it is necessary to say a few words about them. The following paragraphs have the heading "Publisher's Editions" to indicate the varied quality of these publications – often in contrast to the careful architects' publications.

Publisher's Editions

Frederick I de Wit has already been encountered as an active editor of architectural publications between c. 1660 and 1680.[95] There are other figures who are important either because they published work not found elsewhere or as examples of the enormous activity in this field in the years of the Restoration and after the Great Fire of London. Among many others, Symon Bosboom, the Danckerts family and various editors of Vignola deserve particular mention.

The Danckerts family included architects as well as engraver-publishers. Cornelis I Danckert (c. 1603–1656) has been mentioned as publisher of the *Architectura Moderna*, in which he included the first house in Amsterdam by Jacob van Campen. In the second edition (1641), he also included a church by his relation Hendrick Danckerts[96], signed and dated 1628.

Cornelis may have produced the first edition of Palladio in Dutch. He published his own translation of Le Muet's edition in 1646[97] with his translation of the same author's *Manière de bien bastir.* He took over Le Muet's adaption and reduction into octavo of Vignola's *Regola* from Louys Elzevier (whose publication dated from 1638) and published it in 1643.

In the last years of his life he embarked on the production of fine editions of Scamozzi's *Idea dell' Architettura Universale* (Plates 455 and 457B) and Van Campen's *Stadhuis*, an aim in which he only partially succeeded. In 1640 he did publish, *Amstelrodami, apud Cornelium Dankerum*, Scamozzi's sixth book in folio, "embellished with curious copper plates". The translation into Dutch, and presumably the engravings as well, are his own.[98] It contains about thirty-five plates, depending on which additional material is included. The State Print Room copy for instance contains Hendrick Danckerts' church, inserted between the façade and ground plan of Scamozzi's Palazzo Strozzi; so this church was not only included with De Keyser's work in the *Architectura Moderna* but had already been published a year before in the Scamozzi volume.[98a]

This edition, however, evidently did not satisfy Cornelis. In 1655 his son Dancker Danckerts (1633/4–66) travelled to Venice and from Scamozzi's heirs bought the original woodcuts of the third book and some of the other books. Cornelis died before the new edition could be printed.

In the preface to the Van Campen Town Hall folio Dancker Danckerts complains that the plates made for his father remained unused "for some years". He does not state the name of the author and Vennekool's name is added to the title-page only later, so it may be assumed that Vennekool did not wish to become involved in Danckerts' difficulties in obtaining the patent from Stalpaert. In the end the claims were settled; Dancker Danckerts was granted the patent by the States of Holland on July 26th, 1661.[99]

Before Dancker could carry out his idea of publishing the complete Scamozzi edition he was outstripped by Bosboom who published a small folio edition which was to become extremely popular and long-lived.

Rival Editions of Scamozzi and the Right Order of Orders

Bosboom

Scamozzi's *Idea*, edited in Dutch as "Short Instructions in the Five Columns" by Symon Bosboom, the Amsterdam City Mason (1614–62)[100], was published at Amsterdam for the first time in 1657.[101] (Plate 456). It proved a handy work for masons, carpenters and architects with little theoretical inclination and was reprinted time and again until the early nineteenth century, not only in Dutch but translated into English and German as well.

As early as the first edition Bosboom added a proposal of his own for a centralised church, in three engravings: a plan, an elevation with three of the eight façades, and a section with a perspective view more than three quarters of the interior (Plates 31–3). In comparison with Hendrick Danckerts' church this design gives a sense of unified Baroque space.

The practical Bosboom was in competition with editors of a more theoretical turn of mind, three of whom – Danckert Danckerts, Salomon de Bray and Joachim Schuym – collaborated closely on the second edition of Cornelis I Danckerts' Scamozzi. He was moreover quite aware that Danckert Danckerts was preparing a complete, new edition and had acquired the Venetian wood-blocks.

Danckerts reacted immediately to Bosboom's publication with a pamphlet cautioning against Bosboom's bungling of Scamozzi. The warning is drawn up as a preface to Danckerts' own edition and states in the present tense the inclusion of a plate useful for the division of all parts into minutes and four plates by De Bray giving details with their Italian *and Dutch* names.[102]

Yet the earliest known edition of Danckert Danckerts' Scamozzi with this inclusion of auxiliary plates dates from 1661, whereas Bosboom's counter-attack is already bound with a 1657 edition of his version.[103] Most probably the Warning was circulated as a loose pamphlet. The counter-attack by Bosboom is rather vicious. Danckerts, he says, "judges Art as a blind man judges colour", and he finds minute errors in the 1640 edition of the Danckerts family.[104] He exonerates himself at length for "showing the

5 columns in so light a manner", his reasons were the request of his pupils and Danckerts' over-use of Italian, Greek and Latin words. He then goes on to expostulate thoroughly under four separate headings the numerous minute errors in Danckerts' copper-plates which he had just signalized. Etcetera.

Bosboom's work was, as said, a tremendous success. It was published in Amsterdam in 1657, 1670, 1682, 1686, 1694, 1715, 1760, 1774, 1784, 1816, 1821 and finally 1854, as well as in some undated early eighteenth century editions.[105] It was translated into English, appearing as *Brief and plain description of the five Orders* in London in 1676.[106]

Schuym

Bosboom's success apparently persuaded Joachem Schuym to edit his version of Scamozzi as *Ground Rules of Building or the Excellence of the Five Orders*, which was printed in Dutch in 1662, 1677 and 1694.[107] This work reduced Danckerts' plates into quarto, except for the two chimney-pieces and the section and façade of the Palazzo Strozzi, which were not reduced in scale but were merely cut in half. It was translated by "W.F." (W. Fisher?) and published by W. Fisher in London as the *Mirror of architecture; or, The Ground-rules of the Art of Building* in 1669. It had its third edition in 1676 or 1687, and later London editions appeared in 1693, 1700 and 1708.[108]

Dancker Danckerts

Bosboom also induced Danckerts to amend his father's treatment in the 1640 edition of the correct order of the Orders. This sixth book was published in 1661[109], with the additional four plates by Salomon de Bray; it gave details of the Orders with their Italian names and Dutch translations (Plate 457C), and a fifth plate of the columns in the order Tuscan – Doric – Ionic – Corinthian – Composite ("Roman"). This was accompanied by the comment that although this handling was to the taste of some, it had not been to Scamozzi's taste, as would be evident later in the book which would present the order in the version of Scamozzi.[110] An explanation of the scale by Joachem Schuym was also added. This book is generally bound with parts (plates without text) of the books I, II, IV, V, VII and VIII[111], and with Book III, already published by Dancker in 1658, evidently under the pressure of Bosboom's *Short Instructions*. It was re-edited by Pieter van der Aa at Leyden in 1713 in a French translation by d'Aviler, with some additions and a mixture of new and old engravings.

Dancker Danckert, who died rather young in 1666, was most active as a publisher between about 1658 and 1664. Apart from the Town Hall and Scamozzi he published in 1664 two books on perspective by Abraham Bosse[112] and the reduced Muet-Vignola already published by his father in 1643.

Vermaarsch

Another adaptor of Scamozzi was the Leyden carpenter Joost Vermaarsch, who conflated into one volume the five columns after Scamozzi, Palladio and Vignola and

had this work published at Leyden in 1664. This edition was re-issued by an Amsterdam publisher in 1667 and 1678, and, "merkelijk vermeerderd" (considerably enlarged), was published by Justus Danckerts in 1689 and re-issued again by his sons Cornelis (no date, 1696 or later) and Theodorus in 1721.[113]

Justus, Cornelis and Theodorus Danckerts

Dancker Danckerts' publishing work was taken over by his brother Justus (1635–1701). He naturally published Schuym: in 1662, 1677 and 1694. Justus also published his brother's rival Bosboom, in 1670, and again in 1686.

Justus Danckerts himself compiled a book on timber construction, mainly roofs and staircases, which included Post's turret at Maastricht. It appeared c. 1675 as *Architectura Chivilis*[114] and had some success; later it was enlarged by the addition of a print of the Round Lutheran Church, (1680) (Plate 447B), and chimney-pieces by Bullet and Treillages by Le Pautre, engraved by Cornelis II Danckerts. His last enterprise seems to have been Justus Vingboons' Trippenhuis, in 1699.

The *Architectura Chivilis* was later edited by his son Theodorus Danckerts (1660–c. 1727), and finally, after 1726, by Reinier and Iosua Ottens.[115] Theodorus published a Vignola in 1726, and, as mentioned, a Bosboom in 1721.

Another of Justus' sons, Cornelis II Danckerts, engraved and sold "Architecture of diverse new Archways or Entrances of Houses" by an unidentified amateur[116], and, in addition, the ever-popular Solomon's Temple. His real importance, however, lies not in these books but in an album of fashionable houses in the Amsterdam canals, most of which were built in the new style after about 1670.[117]

Vignola editions

The folio editions of the volume normally issued under the name of Vignola generally consist of forty-two plates closely following Vignola's *Regola*, and supplemented by works by Michelangelo, Fulli, Paulus van Vianen, Joost van Santen (Vansanzio), Salomon de Brosse, Hendrick de Keyser (who contributed an elaborate pulpit), and, in the 1642 edition, the six plates after Vingboons. The 1617 edition has texts in Italian, Dutch, French and German, to which in 1629 an English text was added. Omitted from the 1640 edition, it was again included in the fourth edition produced in the Low Countries in 1642.[118]

Topographical works

In 1662 Fokkens' topography of Amsterdam was printed, followed in 1663 by Olfert Dapper's, in 1664 by the (German) version by Von Zesen, and in 1665 by that of Van Domselaer.[119] This series was followed by topographical works on other towns and on those districts where most of the country houses were being built. Daniel Stoopendaal, Romeyn de Hooghe, Petrus Schenk and Daniel Marot engraved many country seats and a few town houses; but no artist working in the flat style of the last decades of the seventeenth century seems to have sought a bound edition of his own work. The most important architects – Dortsman, Vennecool and Roman – had only very limited numbers of their works engraved.[120]

Vitruvius and Wotton

One more work needs to be mentioned: the 1649 Latin edition of Vitruvius, edited by Joan de Laet and printed at Louys Elzevier's at Amsterdam. It was supplemented by some commentaries and a lexicon, as well as Alberti's three books on painting, and was dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden. By way of an introduction to Vitruvius a translation into Latin (by De Laet) of Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* was included.[121] This is an indication of the impact of the ideas in Inigo Jones' environment on Dutch learned circles.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. This was, of course, a gross generalization, but by deriding it we would be ignoring in it an element of truth.
2. Thus in Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, p. 242.
3. This closeness is parallelled in many fields of Anglo-Dutch relations. More than one Dutchman became a member of the Royal Society in the first years of its existence: Christiaan Huygens, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek and Herman Boerhaave. Writing about the theatre (in *Theatre Research*, VII (1965), p. 57) Robert M. Wren remarks of cross-Channel influences: "The difficulty in assessing such influence arises from the very fact that commercial, social and cultural relations between England and Holland were so close in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that such matters were hardly more worthy of comment than similar relations between London and Oxford". In architectural history this is reflected in the use and misuse of the epithet "Dutch" which we shall have occasion to return to several times.

   In Leyden many British, and especially Scottish, students enrolled at the University. The interaction of Dutch and English ideas on architecture in the last decades of the 17th century seems to overshadow even the direct influence of France on Holland and England (apart from the very large buildings).

   For furniture of the period c.f. the remarks by A. Staring in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1963, cols. 228–9: "French furniture caused imitation, as to the English furniture: there was mutual influencing during a long time. The wholesale buying of Dutch walnut-veneered furniture for the London antique market blurred the distinction between the English and Dutch furniture until about 1750, and there occur types of furniture in the older English literatuur which are decidedly Dutch and not English".
4. Van Bassen reshaped an old convent at Rhenen into a palace for Frederick V of the Palatinate.

   Much research on Anglo-Dutch relations in the period before Classicism is presented by A.G.H. Bachrach, J.A. van Dorsten, R.C. Strong and others in the publications of the Sir Thomas Brown Institute, General and Special Series.

   The reason I dedicate the first chapter to the Holborn Gable is to emphasize the breach between the gay Mannerism in the Netherlands before about 1625 and the stern Classicism of the later years. Mr. H.J. Louw is preparing an article on the Mannerist relations, "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange in the Pre-Restoration Period", which is due to appear soon in *Architectural History*.

   For a general bibliography covering the whole of the 17th century see K.H.D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1972, pp. 200–203.
5. As a rule in this work no chimneypieces or other features of interior decoration are mentioned, though here too an affinity between Holland and England can be detected in the last decades of the century. See for instance Kerry Downes, "Hugh May's Interiors" in *E.B.A.*, p. 17, and, for sources of Talman's work, John Harris, "The Hampton Court Trianon Designs of William and John Talman", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIII (1960), pp. 139–49, on p. 144: "This decorator's (Marot's) influence should not be overrated, for here as elsewhere, Talman relied considerably upon Dutch books of architecture".

   Farmhouses, fortilications, mills and urbanistic designs are not dealt with here. The whimsical history of town gates is not touched on either. It is, I believe, a fascinating one, but predominantly Mannerist in its interest.
6. It is very strange that an observer like Sir William Temple did not acknowledge that

the three Anglo-Dutch wars (1652–4, 1655–7 and 1672–4) caused the interruptions in the building of the Amsterdam Town Hall (*Stadhuis* in Dutch; the passage cited from the 1720 edition of his works, p. 50): "The Stadthouse of *Amsterdam* has been left purposely to Time, without any Limitation in the first Design, either of that, or of Expense; both that the Diligence and the Genius of so many succeeding Magistrates should be employ'd in the Collection of all things, that could be esteem'd proper to encrease the Beauty or Magnificence of that Structure; and perhaps a little to reprieve the Experiment of a current Prediction. That the Trade of that City should begin to fall the same Year that the Stadthouse should be finish'd, as it did at *Antwerp*".

Generally I have abstained from quoting from diaries and journals, whatever their attractions. The architectural information that they give is often very slight, as in the indication that there was a cellar under the Amsterdam rasphouse (The Papers of Thomas Bowrey, Thursday June 16th, 1698): "Then see the Rasphouse, which is a Strong Prison (. . .) also Idle persons who will not work, of which there is Severall Monuments hung up in the Prison Yard, as Crutches, Trusses, & ca., of Persons pretending to be Lame and soe to Beg. They are kept hard to Work to Rasp hard Wood for Dyeing, and for such as refuses to work, they are put into a Celler into which the water runs, and there is a Pump. If they will Pump Hard, they keep the water Low; if not, it rises and Drownds them".

7. The system of grouping in this work (churches, architects, country estates, printed sources) is not rigid; for the sake of convenience a few deviations have been made. Thus in the chapter on Philips Vingboons a house by Van Campen is discussed for comparative purposes. A village church in the neighbourhood of Leyden has been dealt with in the chapter on its architect, Arent van 's-Gravesande, partly because I feel that Van 's-Gravesande is so often underrated, partly because there was no print of the church and it would not have been known outside Holland.

   The term "Holland", incidentally, is sometimes used for the whole Republic.

8. Even here important buildings are omitted When no prints of them exist, nor any proof of the architect's identity. An instance is the Admiralty at Hellevoetsluis, which is often, and not altogether unconvincingly, ascribed to Pieter Post (as in Vermeulen, III, p. 406).

9. For these works see the list of abbreviations and the bibliographical remarks in the notes. It may be recalled that at the time Ter Kuile wrote his chapters in the Pelican History of Art, Hammacher was professor of Art at Delft, not Ter Kuile as the flap of the book states.

10. I have tried as far as possible to give contemporary illustrations, especially in the case of Dutch architecture, so as to recall to the reader the seventeenth century picture.

11. To give an indication, however faint, of what one may find in the specialised literature on cross-Channel relations, some aspects are touched on here. The history of the *polders* in East Anglia and the roles of the engineer Cornelis Vermuyden and his financier Mr. Philibert Vernatti (knighted in England) are well known.

    Milton's debt to Vondel's *Lucifer* (1654), *Samson* (1660), and *Adam in Ballingschap* (1664), in *Paradise Lost* (printed 1667) and *Samson Agonistes* (1671) has been strongly argued by Edmundson, and attacked by Verity (Milton was blind by that time and, in any case, was his knowledge of Dutch sufficient?). J.H. Hanford (*A Milton Handbook*, New York, 4th ed., 1946, p. 279) compromises by stressing their closeness of ideas: "The significant kinship between *Lucifer* and *Paradise Lost* is that which arises from the independent handling of identical materials by the two great poets of similar culture and imaginative inheritance", and he stresses a mutual indebtedness to Grotius and Du Bartas.

    Milton, incidentally, shared with Vondel a sympathy for Arminianism.

    On the influence of Heinsius' *De Tragoediae Constitutione* on Milton see Paul R. Sellin, "From *Res* to *Pathos*: the Leiden

'Ordo Aristotelis' and the origins of seventeenth-century recovery of the pathetic in interpreting Aristotle's *Poetics*" in Jan van Dorsten (ed.) *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, Leyden and London, 1974.

It is the same difficulty that we encounter in our architectural history: we are amazed and delighted at having found an unexpected Dutch source for Wren's Chelsea Hospital, but, unequivocal as it seems, we can never prove absolutely that there was not an exactly similar French source for Wren, or an Italian one for both masters. All our comparative history must be offered with that proviso.

Constantine Huygens knew English very well. When dedicating *An Essay upon the Cure of the Gout by Moxa* to him in 1677, Sir William Temple complimented him upon his English, "being the Language I always observed to have most of your Kindness among so many others of your Acquaintance". In fact Huygens wrote some of his poems in English, and in 1630 and 1633 he translated into Dutch several of Donne's poems. Nevertheless I do not think that a further study of Huygens' gigantic literary inheritance would shed enough light on his *architectural ideas* to justify such a demanding undertaking. Without doubt it is as a young man that Huygens is most interesting. But even then the talented literary spirit seems to be overshadowed by the diplomatist. His "courting" of Jacob van Campen's sister Machteld is such a circumspect literary affair that Hooft, the historian, asks him (again, poetically), whether or not he is serious. A more promising line would presumably be further research into people closely connected with Huygens, especially the theoretician and maker of architectural drawings Jan de Bisschop (who designed Huygens' *Arcus Triumphalis*).

12. As formulated here this was a Protestant notion like expressed, for instance, in Huygens' garden. Cf. for the conception that one cannot force Nature into something God does not intend William Temple, "Miscellanea", *The Works of Sir William Temple*, London, 1720, I, p. 185 (on Moor Park): "but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Sense in Proportion to Money, or if Nature not be followed (. . .) And whether the greatest of Mortal Men should attempt the forcing of Nature, may best be judged, by observing how seldom God Almighty does it Himself, by so few, true and undisputed Miracles, as we see or hear of in the World. For my own Part, I know not three wiser Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or Private Men, than
– Servare Modum, Finemque tueri Naturamque sequi."

Chapter 2

1. Cf. the captions to illustrations on p. 149, and more astonishing still, on p. 143.
2. These three are related by Meischke, "De Geschiedenis van het Terrein van het St. Pieters- of Binnengasthuis te Amsterdam", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1955, cols. 1–20 and 49–84, plates 6, 7, 14–17. Summing up (col. 68) he writes: "an expression of the vigorous Baroque of the early 17th century, which soon – and in the city of Hendrick de Keyser as well – was to be swept aside by Classicism". In view of the late seventeenth century Baroque tendencies in both Holland and England which continue this development, I would prefer to call this early phenomenon proto-Baroque.
3. Illustrated (but not seriously discussed) Vermeulen, 770. One could argue that the top – but the top only – of Oudenzijdsvoorburgwal 239, Amsterdam, (1634), belongs to this class too (Ill. in *W. & W.*, p. 58); as far as the façade the house has an uncommonly strong emphasis on the horizontals. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 275, is not convincing in ascribing it to Philips Vingboons.
4. The other important names are Cornelis Bos, Pieter Coeck and Cornelis Floris (or Cornelis Floris de Vriend).
5. *Summerson*, p. 23.
6. For the diffusion into Germany see for instance H. Vogts, *Das Koelner Wohnhaus*, 2nd. ed., Neuss, 1966, for Denmark:

M. Heimbuerger, *Danmarks Bygningskunst fra Oldtid til Nutid*, Copenhagen, 1963. Henry-Russell Hitchcock has a work in hand on the German Renaissance architecture.

7. Of course there were many variants. With great involuted scrolls this gable easily adopted the form of a cut-through onion. There are many 16th and 17th century English instances of various kinds. Sometimes the "onions" are placed on a concave tier as at the Gatehouse of Stanway House, c. 1630. (Illustrated in David Verey, *Gloucestershire*, 1970, ill. 59). The Treasurer's House, York, has broad bell-like shaped gables (1610), whereas Aston Hall, Birmingham, (1618–35), has the same form placed over a square and a convex step. (Both ill. in Chr. Hussey, *English Country Houses open to the Public*, 2nd. ed., London, 1953, pls. 137 and 148).
8. For Limburg see Ch. Thiels, "Krulgevels in het Maasland", etc., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* XXII (1971), pp. 41–174, with English summary: "Curved gables in the Maasland. Catalogue of Volute Gables in South Limburg and their origin".
9. Illustrated in *Summerson*, pl. 14B.
10. When Philips Vingboons, about 1670, designed the rows of houses for weavers, the so-called Noortse Bosch, Amsterdam, as an investment for the almshouses, he discarded gables and used continuous cornices and a reasonable quantity of dormers. Arent van 's-Gravensande did approximately the same when designing a housing development for artisans at Leyden about 1645. Only an unexecuted variant, left as a drawing, shows a "Holborn" design without scrolls, cornice or a string course between top and lower stories. In this Van 's-Gravensande anticipates the later a-stylar "klokgevel" ("bell-gable") in Holland by many years. (Illustrated in Van Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de Stadsvesten*, Leiden, 1975, afb. 477; cf. chapter 13 note 49). The earliest executed and dated gable having big concave sides is Spuistraat 13, Amsterdam, (*Vermeulen*, III, p. 81, ill. *W. & W.* p. 151), but this house still has pilasters.

    The first without pilasters, also at Amsterdam, seem to be situated round the Leidsegracht: no. 10 on the Leidsegracht, which still exists; Heerengracht nos. 415, (1666), 418 and 422 (1668), 384 (1668–9), 467 (1669), 545 and 549 (1669), all demolished or altered; and the surviving Heerengracht 394 and Keizersgracht 464, both of about 1671 and on corners of the Leidsegracht.
11. C.L. Cudworth, "Dutch influence in East Anglian Architecture", *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings* XXXVII, 1937, pp. 14–42, gives a classification of the English gables, but his Dutch examples are not convincing. For instance the Woodbridge Shire Hall (itself changed in the course of time) is compared with the Schiedam Town Hall. But the latter is the product of many changes and restorations. The Gothic fabric burnt down and was restored about 1604, in the 18th century new stairs, entrance, windows and a brick facing were added, and the turret replaced by a Neo-classicist one in 1843 (See M.S. Sigal *De drie Maassteden*, Amsterdam, 1948, p. 33 and G. van der Feijst, *Geschiedenis van Schiedam*, Schiedam, 1975, pp. 89–95 and pls. 13–15). A. Percival, "Nederlandse Invloed op Engelse Architectuur", *Spiegel Historiael* IX (1974), pp. 672–683 (and 704, where further reading is mentioned), stresses the importance of the thriving 17th century mercantile towns like Enkhuizen, Hoorn, etc. in the north of Holland, in architectural relations with East Anglia and East Kent.
12. This happened for instance when after William III's death several of the artistic achievements of his reign were repudiated by the new ruling class. A late confusion is "Pont Street Dutch", that is Revival of Flemish Mannerism or "Holborn Revival". But to return to the terminology applied to the 16th and 17th century gables: Nikolaus Pevsner is very outspoken on this matter, e.g. "the Dutch gable made its first appearance on a house in Holborn in 1618" (*Sussex*, 2nd. ed., 1970, p. 57) and (in the glossary of the same book): "Dutch gable: A gable with curved sides crowned by a

pediment, characteristic of c. 1630–50", whereas *Shaped gable*: A gable with multi-curved sides characteristic of c. 1600–50". John Harris credits the International Flemish style in the origin of the Holborn gable ("Inigo Jones and the Prince's Lodging at Newmarket", *Architectural History*, II, 1959, p. 40), "the classical version of the "Holborn" gable, which (. . .) occurred at Sir Fulke Greville's House in London (before 1619), a building possibly by Jones himself".

James Lees-Milne (*The Age of Inigo Jones*, London, 1953, pp. 192–4) has the prudence to use Dutch in inverted commas. He remarks the closer affinity of the Holborn House to Raynham Hall than to those two others houses, Swakeleys, Middlesex, and Kew Palace which stem rather from long established tradition. He speaks of a category which "has been rather arbitrarily designated as "Dutch"; and he also remarks a further development in Broome park.

Finally John Newman (*North East and East Kent*, 1969, p. 160) argues for the essential individuality of Broome: "not classical in the Jonesian sense, but rather the classical rules are understood only so that they can be most piquantly broken; i.e. this is Mannerism, not the fussy Mannerism of an artisan builder, but the calculated conceit of some sophisticated, though not perhaps refined, artist".

Just before handing in my manuscript (August 1979) I received Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, New York, 1978. He also draws the conclusion that the Holborn Gables have no Dutch origin. He even suggests that Inigo Jones had an important share in developing them. Not dealing with church-façades he does not discuss Jones' design for the West Front of St. Paul's Cathedral – whatever its date. There, the Italian sources which helped to develop the "Dutch" gables in a fusion with Northern motifs are apparent. Hitchcock supposes (p. 96) that the Italian source for the Greville House design may have been direct, by way of Serlio's *scena tragica* woodcut of 1545 (which, however, shows an aedicule) and that (p. 98) the drawing may not be by Jones at all.

Mr. Louw, *op. cit.*, offers the more probable explanation that certain South-Netherlandish gables were the most important intermediary in the development of the Holborn gable; among his examples the De la Torre House at Bruges is rather convincing.

13. We may regard Classicism as the Protestant parallel to Counter-Reformation Baroque, equally orthodox and against licentious Mannerism. In the Dort synod of 1618–9 (attended by an English delegation) orthodoxy was established as the proper Calvinism, which generally was to be supported by the State.

Chapter 3

1. All the Protestant churches mentioned in this chapter are discussed in the doctoral thesis of M.D. Ozinga, *Protestantsche Kerken Hier te Lande Gesticht – 1596–1793*, etc., Amsterdam, 1929, and in the edition with plates, Amsterdam, 1929, with the slightly different title *De Protestantsche Kerkenbouw in Nederland*, etc., and the same text (apart from the foreword) and pagination.
2. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 42.
3. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 105.
4. Theoretical proposals appeared over and over again. As well as the vignette I may mention Paul Vredeman de Vriese's print "Ionica super Dorica" from 1606, a print by Theodoor van Thulden after Rubens in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, p. 159B (published 1641) and the background of *The Justice of Zaleucus*, one of Quellien's marble panels in the *Vierschaar* of the Amsterdam Town Hall.
5. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 4. It is certainly open to doubt whether Ozinga, when pointing out this central theme in 17th century practice, knew of Wren's famous memorandum on church building.
6. For the exterior see fig. 3 in Marian Card Donnelly, *The New England Meeting*

Houses of the Seventeenth Century, Middletown, 1968. There is a painting of the interior as well (Genève, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève).

7. Mentioned in C.A. van Swigchem, *Een blik in de Nederlandse kerkgebouwen na de ingebruikneming voor de protestantse eredienst*, the Hague, 1970, p. 9, as the first Reformed centralised church in the Netherlands. The source, Pieter Bor, *Oorsprongk, Begin, en Vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen*, Amsterdam, 1679, p. 100, mentions the foundation, in 1566, of two Calvinist churches at Antwerp. The Netherlandish one was evidently indifferent, but the "French or Walloon" one is particularly commented on as a round church.
8. In this we find a pre-Classicist attempt to combine round and square forms. A similar tower was attached to the *Speelhuis* near Breda. In the Southern Netherlands a famous example was the high tower which should accompany the seven-sided Scherpenheuvel church (known only from print since the tower was never completed). The extension-drawings, which make IJzendijke's original octagon without additions highly probable, are illustrated in Ozinga, *Kerken* and in Claudine Chavannes-Mazel, "Zeeuws-Vlaanderen", *Langs de Oude Zeeuwse Kerken*, Baarn, 1975, pp. 137–48, plates 158–9.
9. He requested a centralised plan and Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 19, hints at the possibility that the same happened at IJzendijke.
10. The *Architectura Moderna* was only printed in 1631, but Hendrick de Keyser had English connections (one of the Zuiderkerk's archways is attributed to Nicholas Stone). Perhaps the unknown designer of the London church had visited the Zuiderkerk and the Westerkerk, especially the latter whose nave has a clerestorey divided by pilasters similar to those at St. Katherine Cree.
11. They *are* complete transepts, and it is only externally that their roofs are not as high as the nave's. *Ozinga*, p. 34, lines 3–6, with his rapid change from interior to exterior, can easily give a false impression.

In *Fremantle*, p. 96, the "short projecting strips above the columns which run up to a cornice" are rudiments of the corbels so boldly used in the Zuiderkerk, which are placed here on the frieze of the first entablature.

The tower does not break the symmetry of the plan in the ordinary sense of the word. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 373, states that Burgomasters and Council, who had the church built, specifically refused a model with a west tower off the axis and decided that it should be placed in the middle of the west façade. Of course the symmetry of the subsidiary axis between the first three and the last three bays is broken by any tower.

Ter Kuile (*A. & A*, p. 230) writes: "The design is as fluent as the previous one [the Zuiderkerk] was laboured. The cool elegance of the spaces is to remarkable degree similar to the spirit of Florentine Mannerism". It seems Ter Kuile is right in so far as one can describe Brunelleschi's churches as "Mannerist".

12. On the Greek Cross plan are Maassluis (1629–39), with the addition of a tall rather Gothic tower, Renswoude (1639–41), Hooge Zwaluwe (1639–41), the Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem (1645–9), 's-Gravenland (1657–8), Groningen (1660–5), Oudshoorn (1663–5), and the Oosterkerk, Amsterdam (1669–71). In this account the Late Mannerist Noorderkerk, Amsterdam (1620–23) is included as an influential building, while the omissions are Maassluis, which closely follows the Noorderkerk and is Gothic in appearance, and the church at Groningen, the "Metropolis of the North", since in this provincial city Holland's Classicism only penetrated very late, and in any case the building is another version of the Noorderkerk.

A particular group of buildings must also be excluded: the high clerestoried square with arcaded aisles on all four sides. One charming example is the wholly timber Amstelkerk at Amsterdam (1670, by Stalpaert), the more exquisite because of the later Gothic redecoration of the interior with pointed arches (in 1840 by Hendrik

Springer, see J.A. Groen, Jr. "Drie Eeuwen Amstelkerk, Oudste Noodkerk van Amsterdam jubileert (1670–1970)", *Ons Amsterdam* 22 (1970), pp. 2–8, ills). The exterior is insignificant, more a barn or huge hay-loft than anything else, and there are no prints of the interior.

All the large churches on a round plan will be mentioned. The smaller church at Leidschendam (1647–53 and 1693–6; cupola replaced by octagonal cone, 1865) will also be included.

13. Ter Kuile (*A. & A.*) for mysterious reasons does not mention the Noorderkerk.
14. See for the different editions the chapter on the printed sources. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 138, gives the first printing in 1682 instead of 1657. Relying on him F. Sekler in *Wren and his Place in European Architecture*, London, 1956, pp. 98 and 100, discussing two London churches says "If Bosboom does not draw on an earlier Dutch source, Wren could have been his model". Perhaps we may exchange the names Bosboom and Wren in this phrase.
15. It shows the cross-arms in section one bay in front of their actual position.
16. In the case of St. Swithin (see also note 14 above) the derivation is less likely, since the tracery (*Colvin*: "Italianate tracery inserted in windows . . . 1869") that lends it a certain Dutch character is much later.
17. Here "Heer van" literally means "Squire of", but for the rich merchants of the 17th century Heer of X often meant only that they had bought the country seat of X without any seigneurial rights, and added "Heer van" to their names as a kind of knighthood.
18. The large windows were of course intended to hold stained glass. But firstly the stained glass of the seventeenth century is rather light in colour (Oudshoorn for example has beautiful glass), and secondly the custom died out with the decline of religious zeal and consequently of endowments – particularly as the Reformation reduced the range of subjects. Those at Oudshoorn merely depict the coats of arms of those who had raised money for the building.
19. The work, by Pradus (Jerónimo de Prado) and Villalpandus (Juan Bautista Vilalpando), published in Rome, 1596–1604 and 1606, has the title *Hier. Pradi et Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi e Soc. Iesu In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis, ac Templi Hierosolymitani Commentariis et Imaginibus illustratus.*

    Utrecht University has a copy – maybe the one Van Campen received from Jacob van Wicquefort in December 1636 after Huygens has asked Van Wicquefort for it in December 1634 – printed in 1606.

    The two Jesuits who, under the persuasion of that great admirer of Ezekiel, Philips II of Spain, provided this reconstruction were obviously no architects – as is quite clear from a glance at the details of construction in the section. Nor were they archaeologists, but their work suited the counter-reformationary spirit of the late 16th century, and the rather dogmatic Scamozzi. See Rudolph Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, 1962[3], p. 121; also for further reference. The visible embodiment of their ideas, in the front and side elevations of the Temple, was for the next century or so to haunt Dutch and English church design, even if only in details.
20. The cornice without frieze and architrave also indicates Van Campen. Compare his advice, given in 1639, to have no upper entablature applied to the Marekerk but only swags under a cornice (Published by J.C. Overvoorde in *Leidsch Jaarboekje 1909*, p. 109).
21. Not without evidence as is shown by the documents given by Ozinga, *Kerken*, pp. 57 and 167–8.
22. In the Middelburg church the turret is still disturbing in its dimensions, but in the earlier Marekerk and the other later churches it has already become insignificant.
23. Those on the East-West axis – even though they were part of the design and appear on Saenredam's drawing now in the Gemeentearchief, Haarlem – are eventually left out.
24. A faint hint of this idea may be seen in the

incomplete pilasters in the outer corners of the Renswoude church.

25. At least, they are not known. When Nicolaus Pevsner in *An Outline of European Architecture*, Harmondsworth, Sixth, Jubilee edition, 1960, Reprinted 1961, p. 551, says "Wren evidently had engravings from Haarlem . . ." he is speaking in riddles. These engravings do not appear in earlier editions of *An Outline*, not even in the first Dutch version (Rotterdam, 1949), in which the influence of Dutch churches on Wren is strongest. (So p. 204, about the Noorderkerk: . . . "an ideal protestant scheme, which strongly influenced the English church" . . . pp. 217–8, on Wren's churches: . . . (in some) "he profited by the Protestant church-building which the Dutch developed so much more intelligently than any other country" . . . and: . . . "The plan of St. Anne and St. Agnes was borrowed directly from Van Campen's Nieuwe Kerk . . . and one may see a connection between St. Benet Fink and St. Antholin and the Marekerk at Leyden" . . . etc.).

    In the new Dutch translation of 1971 all those references are suppressed in favour of a phrase merely indicating a perpetual Dutch influence after 1660 by the works of Van Campen, Post and, especially through engravings, of a certain David (sic) Vingboons.

    The influence of the Dutch churches on Wren only merits one phrase in the German edition of 1963, p. 362, which is balanced a little by Dutch influence on churches in Berlin (Parochialkirche, 1695), Hehlen (Pfarrkirche, 1697–8) and even the Frauenkirche at Dresden (1722–43). It seems likely, however, that the influence on Nering's plan for the Berlin church comes from Wren's Great Model, as Sekler points out (*op. cit.*, p. 190).

26. The form of a domed Greek Cross appears in Giuliano da Sangallo's Santa Maria delle Carceri at Prato; a kind of quincunx in Michellozzo's choir of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Pistoia – a development it seems of Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel and Sagrestia Vecchia. The plan of a Greek Cross with some additions is used in Antonio da Sangallo's Madonna di San Biagio at Montepulciano.

27. Mauro Codussi's San Giovanni Crisostomo is almost a quincunx but the apparatus is not classical; in that way San Fantino and San Felice are more developed.

28. The pulpit repeats the general theme, being square, with – elevated on slender Corinthian columns in brass – a square sounding-board.

29. This square, high gable was much broader than deep, a feature we also find in some of Hawksmoor's tall shallow façades. A photograph of the swag, with a heliotrope in it as an emblem of the Amor Dei, by Katharine Fremantle, in J. Bruyn and J.A. Emmens, "De Zonnebloem als Embleem in een Schilderijlijst", *Bull. Rijksmuseum*, IV (1956), p. 9.

30. At Oudshoorn and the Oosterkerk at Amsterdam the centre is opened with arches, but the church at 's-Graveland, 1657–8, ascribed to Daniel Stalpaert, is a pure Greek Cross; the interior has one continuous architrave and the vaulting ends in coves at the four ends. The church at Oudshoorn, 1663–5 (Ter Kuile, *A. & A.* p. 244, erroneously: 1657), has piers and a continuous Doric entablature with triglyphs and cornice – the proportions of the room and of the barrel-vaulted, cove-ended roofs are harmonious; it has a very fine serene quality which is lost in the Oosterkerk for a plump monumentality. Oudshoorn is further remarkable for the restored but original painting of the vaults and its stained glass.

    Opinions differ on the architects. Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, pp. 148 and 157 avoids committing himself, by attributing both Oudshoorn and the Oosterkerk to either Stalpaert or Dortsman. Ozinga, *Kerken*, pp. 69–72, attributes the Oosterkerk and *therefore* Oudshoorn to Dortsman, whereas *Vermeulen*, III, p. 366, sees a "logical development" in the "progression" 's-Gravenland–Oudshoorn–Oosterkerk, and so ascribes all three to Stalpaert. But the last two churches are different in feeling, and as Stalpaert is mentioned at 's-Gravenland,

and, if we are to believe *Vermeulen*, III, p. 366, n. 2, at Oudshoorn, it is very tempting to attribute 's-Gravenland as well as Oudshoorn to Stalpaert, and the Oosterkerk to Dortsman.

31. Also in the Reformed Church at Emmerik (1697–1715), a copy of the Oosterkerk.
32. Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, p. 244, erroneously gives the date of the church as 1669.
33. Towards the end of the 17th century when the struggle with Spain was long since over and the Republic had consolidated itself, social mobility decreased considerably. This is reflected in a fixed order of church pews, which mark a division according to rank and station. These seating arrangements were shown on huge engravings of the Amsterdam church plans. The one of the Oosterkerk, made by Daniel Stoopendaal around 1700, includes also, in the margins, two exterior and two interior views. (Illustrated in Ozinga, *Kerken*, plate 28A). Already in 1693 Commelin in his topography gave a fine exterior view.
34. The weather-vane in Danckerts' church has the Amsterdam insignia. Maybe there was also an engraving, now lost, of the main façades, which had tetrastyle pilastered porches. The tiny scale of these porches has nothing in common with the first Leyden and Middelburg designs, but some ideas like the keystone over the windows or the giant pilasters on the corners of the Middelburg and the Hague churches may have been derived from Danckerts' print as well as the minimal size of the porch at the Hague. All this points to Danckerts' design not being known before 1640.
35. Arent van 's-Gravesande (c. 1599–1662) became town-architect in 1638, he was dismissed in 1655, accused of adultery. (This seems, by the way, to remain to this very day a common Leyden procedure for disposing of civil servants).
36. This ceiling is closed in the middle by a pine-apple surrounded by a dial set in acanthus foliage.
37. The vases are drawn on the original plans in the City Archives (Cat. Prentverz. 23455-6) and on the somewhat later engravings by C. Hagen for his town-views, the so-called Grote Hagen (1670) and Kleine Hagen (1675). These engravings show the entrance-façade and are made after accurate drawings which are not signed but are traditionally ascribed to Hagen himself. The Marekerk has one old-fashioned feature absent in all the other Classicist churches: the traceries of the windows are still very much in the Gothic tradition.
38. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 82. Ozinga states that the *Salute* was mainly completed in 1630. Even if that is a printing error for 1639 it does not follow the course of events. Cf. Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600–1750*, Harmondsworth, 1973 (3rd ed.), p. 191: "Construction began on 6 September 1631, and after more than twenty years the bulk of the structure was standing though the consecration did not take place until 1687". The pendulum of Dutch architectural history swings rapidly. In his doctoral thesis Ozinga praises the silhouette (p. 81), and so, presumably, Ter Kuile finds praise inappropriate (*A. & A.*, p. 245): "The Marekerk is no great masterpiece, it is a truly bourgeois interpretation of an aristocratic idea". At least that is less deprecating than his earlier view (*1000 jaar*, p. 142): "The exterior is definitely plump and betrays the un-monumental timber construction. The Temple buttresses are anything but beautiful". And so on. I do not agree with his evaluation. And on the construction: I do not think that a stone vault would have produced less outward thrust. It is moreover a matter for discussion quite why at Renswoude we should accept timber construction and hidden vaulting which does the work visually ascribed to the architraves, but not at the Marekerk (*1000 jaar*, p. 152).
39. For the complete advice, see Overvoorde, *op. cit.*
40. This idea was taken up again at the Oostkerk, Middelburg. For a reconstruction of the Leyden tetrastyle portico see J.J. Terwen, "De ontwerpgeschiedenis van de Marekerk te Leiden" in *Opus Musivum*, Assen, 1964, pp. 231–56.

41. The cupola of Van Campen's Town Hall shows no steps on Stalpaert's engravings (1650); it does on Vennekool's (about 1660), but in execution it is a hemisphere.
42. Illustrations in Wittkower, *op. cit.*, plates 9-b and 10-a-b-c and in James S. Ackerman, *Palladio*, Harmondsworth, 1966, ills. 75–77. No mention of Maser is made in W. Lotz and Heydenreich, L.H., *Architecture in Italy 1400–1600*, Harmondsworth, 1974.
43. A small inaccurate print in Simon van Leewen, *Korte Besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden*, which appeared in the unhappy year 1672. A rather good large print (after Hagen) only in Frans van Mieris, *Beschrijving der stad Leyden*, volume I, Leyden, 1762. See also note 37 above.
44. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 88, is very difficult to understand when he speaks of the "beide leden" (both members) of a "dubbele gevel" (double elevation) meaning the entrance-façades of the exterior and the interior respectively.
45. The tax on wines and beers to finance the building of the church was suspended for four years after riots in 1651.
46. The customary subject for stained glasses in the 17th century. For the building history see also W.S. Unger, *De Monumenten van Middelburg*, Maastricht, 1941, pp. 95–101.
47. Bartholomeus Fransz. Drijfhout (1605–1649) from Dort worked about 1636 for Frederick Henry (on Honselaarsdijk) and so will have made the acquaintance of Van 's-Gravesande for whose Leyden *Lakenhal* he supplied stone-work. Apart from the delivery and cutting of stone he did some designing, e.g. the Vlaardingen Town Hall (1648). ("Frans Drijffhout" and "Bartholomeus Drijfhout" in Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, pp. 143 and 151, are the same person). (His brother Laureys possibly designed the *Gasthuis* at Breda, one of the rare instances of pilaster architecture in that town).
48. A commemorative silver trowel, made at the occasion of the commencement of building, recently turned up; it is now in the Freimauer Museum, Bayreuth. It bears a crude representation of the original design with a tetrastyle portico – without doubt under the influence of the Marekerk design. The trowel is described and illustrated in J. de Bree, "Een Zilveren Troffel uit 1648", *Antiek* II (1967), pp. 184–5. Since these lines were written the trowel was transferred to the Zeeuws Museum (see Carel van Tuyll van Serooskerke, "Walcheren", *Langs de Oude Zeeuwse Kerken*, Baarn, 1975, pp. 105–20, plate 124).
49. The septagonal part of Scherpenheuvel would certainly have had some influence on the Oostkerk as well, for instance in the Oostkerk's faintly depressed form when compared to the slender Marekerk, and in details like the window surrounds.
50. Building resumed 1655; lateral entrances in main façade 1656; windows in the same 1664. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 87, writes that *the* stonework in the interior should be painted an alabaster colour – could it be that only important parts such as capitals were meant?
51. In 1659 Pieter Post and Pieter Noorwits were requested to review the position. In spite of the severe punishment of the carpenter responsible, who was dismissed, the original model of the church failed to reappear. It was never recovered and Van 's-Gravesande could therefore proceed with his ideas for the cupola and lantern.
52. The Ionic capitals have small garlands between their volutes, a rare feature in Classicist Holland. It may have been Drijfhout's idea as he also used it in Van 's-Gravesande's Sebastiaansdoelen at the Hague and probably remembered it from the Groothoofdspoort in his native Dort. (Vermeulen, 684).
53. So here we find on the exterior the succession Ionic-Corinthian, whereas Leyden has Ionic on the entrance façade as well as in the lantern, which was odd by Classicist standards.
54. Here it was the "burg" (round castle, borough) as a symbol for Middel*burg*, surmounted by a crowned double eagle, also from Middelburg's coat-of-arms, and on top as a vane the Dutch or Zealand lion.

55. Showing the cupola above the surrounding houses by C. Decker about 1667 and an 18th century print by P.C. la Fargue showing the rebuilt church (Vermeulen, 857). The Classicist hemispherical form of both the dome and cupola are best represented on a drawing by Jan de Bisschop dated 1664.
56. For the church's history see I. Diakonoff, "Het Koepelkerkje van Leidschendam" in *Leids Jaarboekje 1973*, pp. 117–28.
57. A number of coarse prints circulated before 1700, among them an engraving published by Justus Danckerts in 1680 (Plate 447B).
58. Not to be confused with the Oosterkerk at Amsterdam! (As in Whinney, *Wren*, London, 1971, p. 64). For the Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague, see below. The new Synagogue Mr. Story mentions could be either the Portuguese one whose main fabric was completed in July 1674 and which was to be inaugurated in 1675, or, more likely, the "Great Synagogue" of the German Jews which was finished in 1671. Neither complies exactly with the "100 foot square" of Hooke's diary (7 July 1674).
59. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 197, even states that Dortsman himself assisted in building an "Oostkerk" in Flushing. This seems a myth.
60. For possible minor changes in the spatial impression see below.
61. Rebuilding from 1823–6 by Tieleman Frans Suys and Jan de Greef. A proposal for a cast-iron cupola was discarded. See W.J. Kooiman, *De Ronde Luthersche Kerk te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1941. Having exactly the same hemisphere for its cupola, the rebuilt church by its wider and higher lantern achieves a more soaring effect.
62. Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, fig. 6, shows the rear columns as equal in size to the front ones. In fact, in the original engraving the pairs are ruled by the radii of a circle, and consequently the column towards the middle is the slender one. In Ozinga, *Kerken*, figs. 30 and 31, and plate 45B show the building after the restoration of 1826, whilst Ozinga's plate 45A is after an 18th century aquatint. His plate 46 gives a drawing of the main elevation, presumably by Dortsman himself. Here already the compounds of Doric pilasters, consisting in each case of a pilaster and a broader pilaster behind it, are clearly visible. The translation in Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, p. 246, by "composite pilasters" is not very happy.
63. The church is now, after much neglect, in course of restoration and will serve some representational function for the adjoining Sonesta Hotel. I hope that the later inner-glazing which spoils the plasticity of the walls will be removed. The accordance of interior and exterior has always been sought by Dutch architects. It received eventually the Calvinistic label "honesty" and was much advocated by the 20th century architects, who in fact only achieved a silly exhibitionism.

63a. Nominally the Hague had always remained a village because the Counts of Holland did not wish to reside in a town. "but a Dorpe" (village) Brereton remarks in 1634, adding: "Here is the courts of the States-General, and of the Prince of Orange, and of the Queen of Bohemia." It was common practice to call the Hague the "greatest village" of Europe, e.g. the De Bovios in 1677 (*Journal*, ed. G. Brom, 1915, p. 127): "L'Haya de'Conti, se si considera come un villaggio, egl'è il più bello ed il più nobile che sia in Europa".

64. Add. MS. 5238.
65. The Burgkirche at Koningsberg was modelled on it. G. Fritsch, *Die Burgkirche zu Köningsberg in Preussen und ihre Beziehungen zu Holland*, diss. Berlin, 1929.
66. Only in Leyden was it followed closely – by the Waardkerk, which never rose higher than its foundations and whose design was anyway spoilt after three months by the suppression of the central turret and the addition of a tall rather old-fashioned tower to one of the short sides.

    Sketches made after the roofing of the Nieuwe Kerk but with slightly altered proportions and details (the wall-posts have been given the baluster form, but the arched braces are still rather Gothic) are kept in the Leyden City Archives (Cat. prentverz. 23.458, mistakenly among the Marekerk

drawings). They evidently were made when Willem van der Helm had to design the Waardkerk. It was common practice at that time to assemble plans of existing buildings, in order to select an ideal type before one began on the design. In Middelburg for instance plans of the Old Lutheran Church at Amsterdam and of the Greek Cross church of Maassluis were discarded for a Leyden model. In Amsterdam between the Oosterkerk designs there is also another version of the Hague; in Leyden on the other hand among the Waardkerk papers there is a variant of the Noorderkerk at Amsterdam on a pure Greek Cross. It was used either as a model in the designing of the Waardkerk, or more likely, as suggested by Terwen, *op. cit.*, p. 233, as a model for the Marekerk.

The final design for the Waardkerk in Ozinga, *Kerken*, ill. 42; it is also shown on the "Groote Hagen" (1670) and the "Kleine Hagen" (1675), the well-known maps of the town. The designer has sought an articulation of the middle walls by entrances and pillars, but the spatial effect seems very dubious. A far more interesting variant (Cat. prentverz. 23.694) shows semicircular absidioles and columns directly in front of the middle walls in the interior.

Chapter 4

1. In rough translation:
   "Here lives who life did give to marble, metal, clay,
   To alabaster, ivory. So Utrecht boasts:
   'If Rome be proud of Caesars, pomp imperial,
   The *Cayser* of the Arts was born within my wall'."
   (Keyser, also spelled Caiser or Caisar, means Caesar, Emperor).
2. Elisabeth Neurdenburg's *Hendrick de Keyser Beeldhouwer en Bouwmeester van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1929) is one of the very few thorough and scholarly biographies of a Dutch architect. Subsequent research has added little: a few new finds in the sculptural field; his grave-stones in the Zuiderkerk; and two vague attributions by Neurdenburg fairly definitely established by Meischke in *Liber Amicorum J.P. Mieras* (Amsterdam, 1958), pp. 44–56: the Bartolotti House, Heerengracht 170, as the doorcase, plate XXXV–B of the *Architectura Moderna*, fits exactly in it, and the "Huis met de Hoofden", Keizersgracht 123. The latter attribution is made convincingly on stylistic grounds, and, less convincingly, on the grounds that the site may have been bought some months before De Keyser's death.

   For another approach to De Keyser in the studies by Forssman and Taverne, see below, where Salomon de Bray will be dealt with.

   Recently R.E.O. Ekkart, "Het Grafmonument van Scaliger", *Leids Jaarboekje 1978*, pp. 81–90, draws attention to De Keyser's beautifully carved epitaph for Scaliger in the Leyden Pieterskerk. *Universiteit & Architectuur*, Catalogue, Leyden, 1979, pp. 51–2 and 96, mentions f. 250,– paid to Hendrick de Keyser by Leyden University in 1618. Such an important amount may have been for a statue of Minerva.
3. He was severely reprimanded by the Reformed (State) Church for the carving of the famous Saint John for the screen of the Bois-le-Duc Roman Catholic Cathedral, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum: the statue could easily have become the object of divine worship!
4. *Vermeulen*, II, p. 271, considers the Noorderkerk Staets' design, an opinion I do not share. Vermeulen then goes on rejecting the works in the more Flemish vein, sorting out as De Keyser's works those in "a sterner classicist manner" (sic). He ignores certain iconological facts: a grouping according to the use of the buildings shows a far more consistent De Keyser, and, in contrast a Lieven de Key, called "Flemish" by Vermeulen, who designed buildings as completely different in character as the Haarlem Meat-Hall and Weigh-House (ills. Vermeulen, 485 and 488).
5. Only the designer could give such accurate

gesichten binnen Amsterdam, geteickent en int licht gebracht door R. Zeeman, Amsterdam, n.d., F. de Wit, as well as series of ships: *Verscheyde Schepen en gesichten van Amstelredam*, Amsterdam, n.d., Clement de Jonghe, and a joint edition, dated 1675, with Latin dedication, London, Arthur Tooker and Amsterdam, Carolus Allard.

54. Coupled pilasters are rare in Dutch Classicistic architecture; they occur for instance at the Marepoort, Leyden, (built by Van der Helm in 1664): for other instances see the section *Pliny versus Calvin*, note 42. In the period of the flat style they are found several times, but mainly, again, in towngates, as for example the Amsterdamse Poort, Naarden (1683–1915).
55. "Ma à Giunone, à Diana, à Bacco & ad altri Dei, à iquali ne la gravità de' primi, ne la delicatezza de' secondi (scil. the "Doric" and the "Corinthian" deities), pareva che si convenisse, attribuirono l'opere Ioniche". Palladio, Quattro Libri, p. 6, as cited in Erik Forssman, *Dorisch, Jonisch, Korinthisch*, Stockholm, 1961, p. 16. It seems better to exclude, on stylistic grounds, from Van Campen's work the *Accijnshuis* (1638, still standing, ill. *W. & W.* 29, often ascribed to him). For this Excise House the Ionic order was likewise applied, but after Vignola.
56. See note 6 above. To the extensive bibliography should be added H. Brugmans and A.W. Weissman, *Het Stadhuis van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1914, and Boeken's second article on the subject in which he had to correct the first because the 1643–plan of the Dam had been discovered in the meantime: A. Boeken, "Een Stadhuisontwerp van 1643", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 42 (1948), pp. 47–9, as well as Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *De Zeventiende Eeuwsche Beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1948. Later and illustrative for the relations between Saenredam and Van Campen is *Catalogue Raisonné van de werken van Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Utrecht, 1961 (second, revised edition), with some plans and many plates.

    The number of prints of 1650 (*Fremantle*, p. 193) is five rather than six as the north elevation is only the counterproof of the south elevation. Mixed technique of engraving and etching. There is a copy also in the British Museum (Catalogue of Printed Maps, p. 562, under *Aenwysinge* . . . and *Voor-Gevel*).

    Recently, K. Fremantle, *Focus on Sculpture, Quellien's Art in the Palace on the Dam*, Amsterdam, 1977.
57. For Katharine Fremantle's article see note 6 above.
58. Between the Stadholder and Amsterdam was the precarious post of Raadspensionaris (Great Pensionary). Twice a Raadspensionaris met his death in office by opposing the influence of the Orangist party. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was sentenced by a prejudiced court (1619); Johan de Wit, who held the office from 1653–72, and who was married to an Amsterdam Regent's daughter, was murdered by an incited mob in 1672.
59. The relevant resolutions of the Council are published by A. Boeken, "Over de Voorgeschiedenis van den Bouw van het Voormalige Amsterdamsche Stadhuis", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 17 (1919), pp. 1–30. We may interpret the words of the 1639 resolution about the formation of the building committee "is gecommitteert de heeren Burgermrs. ende Thresoriers in der tijdt neffens den heere Burgermr. Hasselaer" as "are commissioned the acting Burgomasters and Treasurers, to whom is added the Burgomaster Hasselaer" so that there was one committee whose members changed from time to time, but in which Hasselaer had a permanent seat.
60. Resolutions of 10 December 1642 and 28 Januari 1643.
61. Published by Boeken, *op. cit.*, ill. 3. It consists of a façade design whose main characteristics are tower-like balustraded corner-pavilions, superimposed giant orders and a colossal statue on top of the middle pediment. Its source is Peruzzi's Poggioreale.

62. By the resolution of 20 November 1645 the site was fixed as 160 by 200 feet, but it was worded to suggest that it could easily be altered, so that unwelcome designs could be dismissed as having the wrong dimensions.
63. The extremely important drawings by Vingboons for façades and plans are in the British Museum, Atlas Beudeker, maps C 9 d 10. They seem to have been seen by several historians of Dutch architecture but were never published (!). To open the discussion about these designs, which certainly need further study, I wrote "Vingboons' Capitool" in *Spiegel Historiael XI* (1976), pp. 614–22.
64. Or, measuring the space to the Waag as well, 328 feet. The same applied to the street to the south of the Town Hall: 233 feet along the Hall, but 292 feet onto the corner of the Kalverstraat. As Boeken in 1919 only knew these measurements he thought the plan was not rectangular.
65. It was not until 1641 that a Chamber of Marine Affairs was added (*Commissarissen voor Zeezaken*) and still later, in 1644, the Bankruptcy Office (*Desolate-boedelkamer*).
66. Apart from temporary arches at festive entries no triumphal arch had ever been erected in Holland – it was planned again twenty years later for Huygens' *Zeestraat*.
67. A quite convincing ground plan has been reconstructed by J.J. Terwen on the data of the sections and the upright, on the assumption that the original had been irretrievably lost: "De Herkomst van de Amsterdamse Stadhuis-plattegronden", *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp.3–5. The engraving of the ground plan, however, is in the British Museum, Atlas Beudeker, maps C 9 d 10 and in Pieter van der Aa's *Galerie agréable du monde* (who ascribes the plan to Pieter Post).
68. The plan is illustrated in W. Kuyper, "Wat een mooi Stadhuis!", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, LXIX (1977), pp. 73–88.
69. Cf. the archway to the right of the Palazzo del Consiglio which screens off the Maria Antica.
70. See for the Amsterdam and Alkmaar organcases by Van Campen J.H. Kluiver, "De Orgelarchitectuur van Jacob van Campen", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* 73 (1974), pp. 1–18.
71. In 1654–5 two monuments for famous admirals were commissioned, that for Jan van Galen in the Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam, and that for Tromp in the Oude Kerk, Delft. The sculpture for both was executed by Rombout Verhulst and Willem de Keyser (the reliefs). The general design for Van Galen's tomb was by Artus Quellien, who received f. 200,– for the bozzetto (*Swillens*, p. 207, thinks that Van Campen was the designer, giving credit (a) to the caption of a print – this is confirmed by Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, note 330 –, (b) to Vondel – I failed to find the place in my edition of the poet – and (c) to Houbraken. Houbraken, however, referred to Tromp's monument. Swillens may have been confused by Neurdenburg who switches in the same note nr. 330 from one tomb to another). The general design for Tromp's tomb was by Van Campen, as is confirmed by several sources, for instance the fine large engraving by C. van Dalen jr. who mentions him as *inventor*, whereas the recumbent figure of the admiral is signed by Verhulst, who shared in the publishing patent for nine years. Tromp's monument is discussed in R. Meischke, *Klassicisme*, pp. 177–81. Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, p. 195, and *Vermeulen* III, pp. 137 and 232, plate 881, ascribe also the design and the execution of the beautiful screen for Burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff's sepulchral chapel to Van Campen and Quellien respectively. (In the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, c. 1650).
72. There were two main designs (models in Amsterdams Historisch Museum, ill. Vermeulen, 865–6) with variants for spires or cupola-endings – the one stricter, more "classical", the other more "gothic" in detailing but apart from that with badly coordinated stages. Even when work was started either design continued to be illustrated. Jacob van der Ulft both engraved (1654?) and painted (1659) the more "gothic" design (*Fremantle*, p. 35,

note 3 and Peters, *Stedenbouw*, fig. 244). The other design, as seen from the Voorburgwal, was engraved by Rombout van den Hoeije (about 1651?; published by Clement de Jonghe in 1666) and painted (seen from the Dam) by H. van den Burgh (before completion of the Town Hall's cupola). (Ill. in J.A.C. Tillema, *Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van de Monumentenzorg in Nederland*, the Hague, 1975, ills. 36–7).

Fearing that, seen from the Dam, the new tower would appear in conjunction with the Jan Roodenpoortstoren, the Council decided to pull down the latter "as an obstacle to the traffic" (*Swillens*, p. 138), but the tower survived till 1829. Cf. the section on Van Campen's tower in the chapter on Historicism below.

73. Marble medallions with portraits of De Graeff and his wife by Artus Quellien in the Rijksmuseum. It was De Graeff's niece who was married to Johan de Witt.
74. The 13,659 piles were all driven in on October 16th; the foundation stone was laid on October 28th, 1648.
75. See *Fremantle*, 198, and plate 185. See also Fremantle, "Some Drawings by Jacob van Campen for the Royal Palace of Amsterdam", *Oud Holland* LXVIII (1953), pp. 73–95.
76. Now in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum. Ill. *Fremantle*, pl. 5.
77. And others, of whom Rombout Verhulst, the sculptor, should be mentioned.
78. Screening the galleries from the Burgerzaal by big wooden partition walls and thus spoiling the spatial effect.
79. Peter Meyer, *Europaeische Kunstgeschichte*, Zuerich, 1947, II, p. 197. Pevsner in *An Outline of European Architecture*, 5th ed., 1957, deals with it after the British Museum in his chapter "From 1760 to the Present Day", p. 272, writing "There were town halls of course, the most splendid of them all that of Amsterdam (now Royal Palace) built by Jacob van Campen in 1648–55".
80. R. van Luttervelt, *Het Raadhuis aan de Dam*, (Amsterdam, about 1950), pp. 13–17, 31–34, 39, plates 7 and 11.
81. The Great Hall. Indicated on Vennekool's plan and on the 1648 one as "Groote Sael", great hall, but commonly and more fittingly called *Burgerzaal*, i.e. Hall of the Burghers.
82. The height is given erroneously in *Fremantle*, p. 112, as 90 feet to the upper cornice. The height to the cornice is about 71 feet. The dimensions in meters are about 16½ x 35 x 29 (total) or 20½ (to cornice). So the best I can make of the ratio is 1 : 2.1 : 1¾ or 1¼. The sala dei cinquecento is larger but less high, its measures about 22 x 53 x 18 meters (ratio 1 : 2.4 : 0.8). With 21,000 cubic meters it tops the Great Hall's 15,600, or, to the cornice, 11,850 cubic meters.
83. A. Noach, "Een vergeten ontwerp voor het Paleis op den Dam", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* XXXIII (1936), p. 147.
84. They show, however, some queer intersections.
85. If the city-fathers believed Vitruvius (quoted in *Fremantle*, p. 80). Yet it seems Vitruvius mixes up the region Caria in Asia Minor with the Laconean village of Caryae. See further D.S. Robertson, *Greek & Roman Architecture*, second ed., London, 1974, pp. 100 and 124 (the last reference also mentions male figures).
86. About these "ancora manieristiche cariatidi" and their yet diminishing emblematic value see also Manfredo Tafuri, *L'architettura del Manierismo nel Cinquecento europeo*, Rome, 1966, p. 312.
87. And about the construction: every craftsman would have regarded it as wretched.
88. So that on the more crude engravings it bears a certain likeness to Inigo Jones' portico for St. Paul's Cathedral (1634–42). Saenredam painted the old Haarlem town hall before the alterations, see *Cat. Saenredam*, plate 88 and discussion on p. 131, where for the modernizing of the façade Salomon de Bray is held responsible.
89. *Cat. Saenredam*, nr. 89. Compare also Rembrandt's later setting for the 1655 Ecce Homo etching. (Added piquancies of the ideal Haarlem town hall drawing are that some do not attribute it to Saenredam and that Gudlaugsson suggests that the figures are by Pieter Post). It may be noted that

Saenredam sketched and painted every structure and atmospheric condition (existing or imaginary) Van Campen could wish to study. Van Campen may even have asked him to study specific objects, e.g. the Rhenen and Utrecht towers (Cuneratoren and Domtoren respectively) when he was working on the Nieuwe Kerk's tower; the various *vierscharen* when he was involved in that problem.

See also, *Cat.* nr. 4, and altar design to be worked out as a sepulchral monument or, *Cat.* nr. 12, the singers' gallery (now disappeared) in the Kapelkerk, Alkmaar, – the mere fact that Saenredam has drawn this very Classicist tribune (not balustraded but festoon-panelled) gives reason to suppose that Van Campen may have been the designer.

90. In having two courts, be it an inner and an outer court.
91. One notices in this splendid drawing, that has often been illustrated (e.g. Peters, *op. cit.*, ill. 139 and *Cat. Saenredam*, nr. 115) the old town hall still with its stepped side gable. This drawing escaped Henry-Russell Hitchcock's attention so that he took a mid 17th century, rather Baroque, gable for a "much larger version of what may loosely be called the Serlian gable." (*op. cit.*, p. 39). (Cf. Vermeulen, 434, where the classical pediment is clearly visible).
92. Good illustration in *Brugmans and Weissman*, p. 147, better still, Vermeulen, 752.
93. This hall (originally?) had light partition walls, but these would not have prevented shrewd observers from grasping the main form.
94. I would like to stress the Florentine and Roman parallels to Van Campen's work as there have been authors who claim Venetian or Sienese influences. These however were too picturesque for Van Campen.

The influence of Ruskin, notably on architectural historians – but on Dutch architects as well – has been disastrous. Whole generations imagined that Sansovinian plasticity or second hand Gothic could flourish among Dutch sobriety and Dutch weather. For a late Sienese implantation on Dutch soil see for instance Berghoef's 1963 (!) Town Hall at Hengelo.

95. Here again Saenredam helped him in his studies by copying Roman antique instances after the drawings of Maarten van Heemskerck, e.g. the portico of the Pantheon (*Cat.* nr. 112, c.f. *Fremantle*, pp. 113–4 and plates 128–34).
96. In fact three arches lead to the gallery in front of the *Vierschaar* from which the performance in the *Vierschaar* itself could be witnessed; two on each side lead to the *voorhuizen* or entrance-porches. The equal entrance-bays have given rise to caustic criticism, especially from French authors – they mistrust the egalitarian, democratic qualities of the design and prefer Vingboons' project to Van Campen's "plates et monotones façades" (Auguste Schoy, *Philippe Vingboons*, Brussels, 1878, p. 8).

Also Multatuli, the most romantic of Dutch authors, derided these many entrances. See his description of the foreign "Kavaliere" in quest of a particular toy running in and out of the wrong arches like so many wheathercocks . . . (Multatuli, *De Geschiedenis van Woutertje Pieterse*, Amsterdam, 1890, vol. 2, p. 80).

97. The cross in these frames by no means had the structural role of the old transom-and-mullion windows. For the windows see J. de Bie Leuveling Tjeenk "De Restauratie van de Ramen in het Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1936, pp. 69–78. *Vermeulen*, III, pp. 225 and 230 goes on calling the windows of the Amsterdam and Enkhuizen town halls "transom-and-mullion windows" thus causing confusion as these windows are fundamentally different from the traditional ones.
98. On the classical rather than Baroque features, e.g. the freedom of the spectator to prefer some aspects to others and to interpret in his own way, cf. *Fremantle*, pp. 114, 140 and 187–8. In the case of the pilasters a spectator who shifts the emphasis from the main rooms to the lower ones with mezzanine-floors may maintain that there are two giant orders.
99. Everard Meyster, as cited in *Brugmans and*

Weissman, p. 101. They also cite Meyster (p. 81) when Meyster in a play on the Town Hall gives Maarten van Heemskerck the following words: ". . . 't Is alles wonderlijck en wonder op de maet, Eenvoudigh heerelijck en heerelijck eenvoudigh". (It is all to be wondered at and like a wonder in its measures, it is simply splendid and splendidly simple). The last words "simply splendid and splendidly simple" we may take to epitomize Van Campen's ideas as expressed to his friend Meyster.

100. Illustrated in *Heydenreich and Lotz*, plate 13. Examples with eagles (aquile) and gryphons (grifoni) could be found in Vignola, of which the first quadrilingual Amsterdam edition had already appeared at Blaeu's in 1619. The meaning of the sphinxes remains enigmatic. Brugmans and Weissman take them to represent uncertainty, Fremantle rather wisdom, whereas in the Oxford Classical Dictionary the sphinx becomes the wise, enigmatic and musical messenger of divine justice.
101. In the case of the stone-masons we may think of a pedant like Bosboom.
102. Cf. *Fremantle*, p. 68. The poem cited in full in *Brugmans and Weissman*, p. 130. I have considerable difficulty in appreciating it. Two more poems by Huygens are cited in Danckerts' edition of the *Town Hall*. They are short poems on the mosaics of the *Burgerzaal:* "op d'Aard'-kloot, in twee Globen op de Vloer" (on Earth's sphere, in two Globes on the Floor) and "op de Hemels-kloot aldaer gevloert" (on Heaven's sphere, which has been floored there).

So even here we find the macrocosmos reflected in smaller spheres.

Chapter 8

1. On his life and work see G.A.C. Blok, *Pieter Post 1608–1669, der Baumeister der Prinzen van Oranien und des Fuersten Johann Moritz van Nassau-Siegen*, Siegen, 1937, thesis at Aix-La-Chapelle, 1936. This quite informative work is set in small German letters, it lacks a list of illustrations and indexing is *lückenhaft.*
2. He was a painter of some merit as well, already inscribed in the Haarlem guild of St. Luke in 1623 (*Blok*, p. 5, relying on the statement of a later member of the Guild), but he never rivalled his brother Frans Post who painted some very fine Brazilian landscapes.

2a. For Post's share in Honselaarsdijk see Blok, *op. cit.*, and Slothouwer, *Paleizen.*

3. I doubt very much whether the Woubrugge church near Leyden can be ascribed to Post. The drawings for a church shown in Vermeulen, 858 and III, p. 148, and in Blok, *op. cit.*, p. 38, are less successful.
4. Blok, *op. cit.* p. 6, writes "Stiche" instead of "Radierungen". The main part of the representations is etched, some small parts only are engraved (the dark parts in the windows for instance) and Huygens seems right to speak of "tailles douces" in his letter to Rubens (July 2nd, 1639). From Post's letter of March 1, 1639, it is clear that he did not etch the plates himself; this was done by Henry Hondius; *Bienfait*, pp. 59–60, ascribes the drawing for the general view to Aegidius van Scheyndel.
5. In the Poem by Huygens called *Vitaulium-Hofwyck.* The passage is cited by J.H. Plantenga, *Verzamelde Opstellen*, Amsterdam, 1926, p. 33.
6. One plate, printed in the various editions of the poem. John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe as Book Illustrator*, Amsterdam, 1970, p. 61, suggests that De Hooghe made the print. This seems extremely unlikely.
7. His suggestion for a tower on Swanenburgh – to be supported on the beams of the third floor – cannot be considered sound; nor can his tower at Rijxdorp. The timber construction of his Maastricht Town Hall tower on the other hand was considered by Justus Danckerts worthy to be included in his *Architectura Chivilis.*
8. Two prints by I.C. Philips after drawings by M. Terwesten and G. van Giessen in De Riemer's topography of the Hague, edited by Reinier Boitet only in 1730. Large views;

that to the East Ill. 93 in Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, that to the South: Vermeulen, 845.

The engravings are illusionistic. Apart from the richly carved chimney-pieces all the decorations beneath the painted gallery, probably even the gallery itself and the pilaster-system may have been woven into the tapestries which were completed in 1662.

The Hall was not yet finished when Charles II addressed the States in 1660: one engraving shows the King completely surrounded by hangings, whereas an other artist made a nice guess at the final result. Cf. *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht*, Cleves, 1979, plate C40.

The Hall below, equally by Post, for the *Gecommitteerde Staten* (the Commissioners of financial affairs), shows a variant of Solomon's columns: four enormous gilt pillars with spiralling painted foliage.

Another commission from Amelis van Brouckhorst was drawings for the views in the margins of a large map of Rhineland, edited (and engraved?) by Cornelis Danckerts in 1647.

9. On top of the archways are sculpted *burchten* (castles) surmounted by *zwanen* (swans) as a reference to the house's name Swanenburgh meaning Swan-castle. These remain as well as the centre of the house though incorporated in a sugar-factory.
10. In seventeenth century Dutch: De Sael van Orange, la Sale d'Orange also on the prints in two languages. Huis ten Bosch means literally House in the Wood. It should not be confused with the building of the same name built by Jacob van Campen in 1628 near Maarsen.
11. Ter Kuile, *A & A*, p. 239, states 1649.
12. Slothower, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
13. Ozinga is very severe on this point, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–8. He says of Post's main works that they do not allow one to consider Post as a creative architect of very great importance, and about this cupola in particular "solved insufficiently" – but I think we should compare it with the other towers and cupolas by Post.
14. Slothouwer, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
15. E.G. the Assembly Hall for the States of Holland at the Hague, the Assembly Room in the Gemeenlandshuis van Rijnland at Leyden, as well as fine chimney-pieces in the Admiralty at Hellevoetsluis. The latter building may be ascribed to Post with some certainty, the exterior has recently been reconstructed, the interior is original.
16. Reynolds was not mild in his comment: "only produced a variety of wretchedness." The scenes are allegorical, inspired by classical mythology. For the Calvinist mind this is mitigated by the name of God in Hebrew characters (the tetragrammaton) on the ceiling over the spot where the Queen is accustomed to receive foreign ambassadors. (Visible on plate 195 in Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*). For the paintings see J.G. van Gelder, "De Schilders van de Oranjezaal" in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1948–1949*, the Hague, 1949, pp. 118–64.
17. A similar staircase in his Gun-foundry at the Hague (destroyed in the second world war. Illustration: Vermeulen, 896).
18. C.f. Nancy Halverson Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 28 (1969), pp. 265 and 269 for the influence of Swanenburgh (between Amsterdam and Haarlem, Post's work on the Swanenburgh at Cleves was not engraved) on Hooke and Maastricht on Williamsburg.
19. Here the screen had a functional justification.
20. Ill. in A. Loosjes, *Leiden*, Amsterdam (1929), pls. 13–4.
21. Mr. Johannes Hulshout, secretary of the Rhineland Water Authority, had the house Rapenburg 8 built in 1668, presumably by Pieter Post (E. Pelinck, "Architectuur en Decoraties" [van het pand Rapenburg 8 te Leiden] in *Ons Leidse Huis en zijn Voorgeschiedenis*, Rotterdam, (1952), pp. 20–6). The house has been changed, notably the windows, but it is still an impressive five bay building, having – typical for Post – a complete entablature only on the middle salient. Presumably the house never had

pilasters, on the central axis it retains the original stone decoration with a fine entrance (Plate 183).

22. The Leyden Weigh-house only appeared in a rather clumsy print after the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch war of 1672–4 in the topography of Simon van Leewen, Leyden, 1672. Another Leyden work, the 1656 Loridanshofje (ill. 234 in Ter Kuile, Rijnland, and better, ill. 84B in A. Loosjes *Leiden*), comes very close to designs by Post with its small high succession of pediment, pitched roof, ornamental chimney and iron bows on top of it.
23. It is really a depressed barrel-vault pierced by large lunettes which meet at the longitudinal rib and with the exception of the plaster construction quite mediaeval in form.
24. To judge from the drawings Post went as far as Van Campen in prescribing and presketching the sculptural programme. Is the same representation in Van der Helm's Weigh-house design after Post or was the programme already worked out for Rombout Verhulst? There was a persistent mediaeval tradition of depicting over the entrance to a building the function of its interior; this was often intended as an admonition, as, strikingly, in the reliefs of the Madhouse at Amsterdam (built 1562–1615). Similar giant sculptural parts are found at other works by Post, e.g. the Gouda Weigh-house, the Gun-foundry and the Hofje van Nieuwkoop, both at the Hague, and the Delft Powder-magazine.
25. An exception should be made for Van der Helm's Zijlpoort of 1667. His Morschpoort, 1669 (Plate 429), is less important, while his Waardkerk had already been proved a failure before it was started in 1669.
26. Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, p. 36, attributes the drawing of the executed design to Willem van der Helm, and he must be right. But he continues "unlike us . . . Blok . . . page 43". Blok may also be right with reference at the other drawing. The missing right-hand part of that drawing was likewise pasted onto a piece of wood and fixed at right angles to the left-hand, forming a small model.
27. In his diary Huygens is milder: "2 May 1669. Obit amicus meus Petrus Post Architectus". Post invited the pun by often signing his drawings on the Post(ament) of a pilaster.
28. In a letter to his brother-in-law Christiaan Huygens. In *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaen Huygens*, cited by Blok, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Chapter 9

1. A.W. Weissman, "Arent van 's-Gravesande", *De Opmerker*, 1902, p. 140. Weissman had a zealous approach which makes it difficult to distinguish in his work between unfounded hypothesis and flashes of sharp insight. For instance he attributes Rapenburg 4 and 6 to Van 's-Gravesande, though in fact they were built five years after Van 's-Gravesande's death. He thinks the work of Post always suffers from a certain pettiness and attributes to him the Loridanshofje at Leyden. So far so good. But about Noorwits, Van 's-Gravesande's brother, he writes: "The 'comptroller' Norwits merits closer inspection. Perhaps he was an Englishman who was called Norwich and who came to the Netherlands in 1640 when so many artists fled from England". *(Oud Holland*, 1909, p. 48).
2. I myself would prefer an attribution to Van 's-Gravesande. See below.
3. This may be a slip of the clerk who wrote the entries. On the other hand the confusion between the rare title of architect and that of "timmermansgezel" may be due to more than one member of the Van 's-Gravesande family working on the palaces. More research is necessary, especially to see whether there were any family connections with the Adriaan Adriaanszoon 's-Gravesande who was Town carpenter of Rotterdam from 1633 to his dismissal in 1642. (H.C.H. Moquette, "Van Stadstimmerman-

metselaar tot Directeur van Gemeentewerken" in *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje 1922*, Rotterdam, 1922, pp. 109–10 and 136.

An annotation in the Rotterdam Archives copy gives the date of his marriage: 3 June 1601).

4. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 29.
5. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 263 for the reference as "architect", pp. 289–90 for the entrance gate, etc. Van 's-Gravesande was paid for drawings and for taking models to Amsterdam as well as for surveying the foundations and the brickwork.
6. Illustration 31 is clearest, but 34 is a welcome piece of evidence as it shows that the side entrances were merely cut into the wall to facilitate the cumbersome peace-negotiations of Rijswijk (1694–7) – giving either belligerent party its own access whereas Van 's-Gravesande's entrance was reserved for the "mediator".
7. Van 's-Gravesande became an official of the Village of the Hague. In 1636 he is called "overseer and comptroller", in 1637 "fabrique".
8. It was, as mentioned, Drijfhout who executed the stone-mason's work (e.g. the capitals) on the Sebastiaansdoelen. One may even infer from *Vermeulen* III, 400, that the design of the building was made as early as 1634; *Vermeulen*, III, 111, states explicitly that Van 's-Gravesande made *a* plan and *an* upright as early as 1634.
9. They occur at the Vlaardingen town hall (c. 1650) which is ascribed to Drijfhout. (Ozinga, *Kerkenbouw*, p. 154).
10. Ill. Vermeulen, 730 and 731.
11. The Ionic capitals with small garlands between their volutes were executed by Bartholomeus Drijfhout who used them later at the Oostkerk, Middelburg (cf. note 52 in the chapter on churches). A possible source was Michelangelo's Ionic capitals at the Palazzo dei Conservatori which sometimes are found in the appendix on Michelangelo's work in Vignola's *Regola*.
12. Here the statues represent Justitia, Caritas and Prudentia. See E. Neurdenburg, "Pieter Adriaensz. 't Hooft", etc. in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1950, pp. 47–56.
13. We meet Noorwits as comptroller of the States of Holland in which capacity he designed and surveyed with Bartholomeus van Bassen the Nieuwe Kerk and with Pieter Post the States' Assembly Hall, both at the Hague; and in 1659 he inspected the Middelburg church on which his brother was working.
14. Noorwits would have consulted Van 's-Gravesande about the Nieuwe Kerk.
15. The building of the Nieuwe Kerk did not start before 1649. It was not only in the juridical sense that the Hague remained a village; in building activities too it could not be compared with a town like Leyden which played an important role in the early stages of Dutch Classicism.
16. In 1649 he even made a model for a towngate at Utrecht (unexecuted). See P.H. Cuperus, "De Witte-vrouwenpoort van Utrecht", *Jaarboekje van "Oud-Utrecht" 1952*, Utrecht, 1952, pp. 110–6, who shows (ill. 2) Van 's-Gravesande's wooden model. Among other projects before his appointment at Leyden Van 's-Gravesande may have designed the architectural setting for the admiral Piet Hein's tomb at Delft about 1637. See R. Meischke, "Het klassicisme van 1620–1660", *delftse studiën*, Assen, 1967, pp. 171–86.
17. Except for the much changed façades of the Heerenlogement all the Leyden buildings are illustrated in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, and most of them also in Vermeulen, *Handboek*. For the non-documented works attributions vary greatly among different authors.
18. Attribution. No documentary evidence.
19. H. van Oerle, "De Bouwgeschiedenis van de Thysiusbibliotheek aan het Rapenburg", *Leids Jaarboekje 1943*, Leyden, 1943, pp. 170–9. In the interior symmetrical flights of stairs united to reach the library-hall on the first floor with one flight in the middle. On the corners of the roof: metal spheres. The carpenter was Willem van der Helm which gives an indication about his architectural formation.
20. No documentary evidence, but as it was a work of the Town its "fabrique" will have

been responsible for the design. Mentioned as by Van 's-Gravesande by J.J. Terwen, "De Ontwerpgeschiedenis van de Marekerk te Leiden" in *Opus Musivum* (festschrift Ozinga), Assen, 1964, p. 248. Not to be confused with the later (1671–2) extension of the same building by Van der Helm.

21. The same considerations as in note 20 above. Mentioned as by Van 's-Gravesande by E. Pelinck, "De functionarissen belast met de zorg voor de Stadsbouwwerken te Leiden (1575–1818)" in *Leids Jaarboekje 1967*, p. 65. There is an error in the caption to the portrait by Barent Fabritius: it does not represent Van 's-Gravesande but Van der Helm. (Cf. *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam–Maarssen, 1976, p. 224). As the portrait is dated 1656 the architecture in the background – a mediaeval structure behind a Classicist fabric – will be an allusion to Van der Helm's work on the Bibliotheca Thysiana and the Burcht).

Pelinck also mentions the turret proposal for the Blauwe Poort, an exquisite cupola-turret designed in 1644 (Municipal Archives, Leyden, P.V. 3961). Cf. H. van Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, Beschrijving*, Leyden, 1975, p. 347 (The design was not executed, eventually Willem van der Helm built a new turret in 1667).

It may be noted that Arent van 's-Gravesande seems as yet extremely succesful in defying time. All his great works survive. And, so far as they are known to us, most of his smaller works. Of the 22 works mentioned in the text only the gate-way of Rijkswijk has been completely demolished. The Leidschendam church was repaired after a fire and altered in the 19th century. Also changed beyond recognition is the Logement van Leiden, while the Heerenlogement after many alterations caught fire when it was about to be restored (September 1976). But *all* the other 18 works are more or less intact! (Including the model for the Wittevrouwenpoort which is in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, and the pen and water-colour of the Blauwe Poort cupola in the Municipal Archives, Leyden, P.V. 3961, signed and dated 20 December 1644).

22. Attribution. No documentary evidence.
23. Year of construction documented. See note 8 of the section on Justus Vingboons.
24. Built for the rich cloth merchant Adriaan Hennebo. Application to the town in *Gerechtsdagboek C.C.*, fol. 249–249 verso, dated 3 April 1653. Kind information of P.J.M. de Baar, Municipal Archives, Leyden, It appears from the application that the forward inclination was less than that of the neighbour so that only the Ionic pilasters of the ground floor had a relative projection (for which special permission was asked), whereas the upper stage was in keeping with the neighbours.
25. See note 36 below.
26. A. Versprille, "De Geschiedenis van het huis van Daniel van der Meulen (Rapenburg 19)", *Leids Jaarboekje 1943*, Leyden, 1943, pp. 158–69, who suggests that Arent van 's-Gravesande may be the architect. Illustrated in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, plate 309. Note the pulvinated stone friezes over both the centre and the windows of the ground floor.
27. It was a fairly modest remodelling, with new entrance, pediment, etc. To be discerned with some difficulty on Marot's 1686 engraving of the annual fair. Still it was important as one of the first Classicist elevations at the Hague. It was changed to Rococo taste in 1731, sold by the Town in 1799 and acquired, in 1807, by the Society "De Besognekamer", one of the oldest clubs of Holland, which still has its general headquarters there. See E. Pelinck, "Het Logement van Leiden te 's-Gravenhage" in *Leids Jaarboekje 1965*, pp. 37–48 and A.D.R. Verbeek, *De Besognekamer 1795–1945*, the Hague, 1946.
28. Related composition schemes in Palladio's S. Francesco della Vigna and S. Giorgio Maggiore.
29. First passable prints: Randwerk Hagen (1670 and 1675). A stiff but very accurate painting by Susanna Steenwijck, dating from 1642, was bought by the City in the same year and has remained in its

possession, so that now it is exhibited in the Lakenhal itself, which was adapted to house the municipal museum in 1869–70.

30. See also Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, pp. 162–3. In *Universiteit & Architectuur*, (*op. cit.* in chapter IV, note 2) it is suggested that Van 's-Gravesande designed the archway to the University Library and Anatomical Theatre. This gate, with a sculptured tympanum, is known from a not too accurate late 18th century water-coloured drawing.
31. In the 1671–2 extension Van der Helm used a high basement storey so that he could reduce the height of the giant pilasters over it and have four pilasters under the pediment. For the similarities between this later extension and a design for Bedlam see the paragraphs on Hooke.
32. See Ozinga, *Kerkenbouw*, pp. 153–4.
33. Cf. the intercolumniation of other buildings: Philips Vingboons' Ioan Poppen House, 1:2.5, his Driemond 1 to more than 3, in the middle bay almost 4. Justus Vingboons' Trippenhuis varying from about 1:2 to 1:2.5 (in 1662 a late instance of so small a ratio). Van Campen's *meisjesplaats* (in the orphanage at Amsterdam; for discussion and illustrations see Meischke, *Burgerweeshuis*, passim), about 1:3. On all these buildings the height of the pilasters is about nine diameters, except at Rapenburg 2 (taller, about 1:10) and Driemond (a rather thick-set Corinthian, about 1:8).
34. Vingboons is not recorded as having designed at Leyden. If he had, he would have included so important a house as Rapenburg 48 in his book. Moreover all his known designs differ from it in having either a much wider intercolumnation in the middle bay (Westwijck, Vredenburgh), or, when evenly spaced, in having a higher basement and centre pediment (Ioan Poppen). Only Driemond has a low base and almost even spacing, but here Corinthian is used and the upper windows touch the architrave. It may be noted that the Ioan Poppen façade is strictly perpendicular.
35. *Vermeulen*, III, 313, dealing with the house Janskerkhof 13, Utrecht, from 1648 (his ill. 818) writes that this house has been ascribed to Jacob van Campen but that he, Vermeulen, would prefer to think of Arent van 's-Gravesande as he detects many of the latter's idiosyncracies in the building. That is true, but I am still very much inclined to attribute the house to a pupil – though a gifted one who is exhibiting every detail, the whole catalogue, of his master's work. And how un-classical is the festooned attica between the storeys! Janskerkhof 13 has fine harmonious proportions but not the firmness of Van 's-Gravesande's authentic work.

    Almelo House has the same rare occurrence of two tiers of swags between giant Ionic pilasters as the house Rapenburg 48, but it was built after Van 's-Gravesande's death. As it dates from 1662–6 it has more slender pilasters than earlier work; it is sometimes attributed to Philips Vingboons (*Vermeulen*, III, 187–8) and it has close similarities to some of Philips' designs, for instance plate 70 from the second book – but the broken pediment seems uncharacteristic of Vingboons.
36. Similar swags at Breestraat 139, which has a giant Ionic order and can be seen as a transition between Rapenburg 48 and Noordeinde 50. Breestraat 139 is rather mutilated but in its remaining parts it bears close similarities to Noordeinde 50. If the last house may be ascribed to Van 's-Gravesande, it may be noted that it was Adriaan Hennebo's cousin Abraham Hennebo who had the house built in 1652 (Municipal Archives, Leyden, Quohier van de nieuwe getimmertens, Secr. Arch. 6890. Kind information of P.J.M. de Baar).
37. He advised on various buildings, in 1645 for Frederick Henry on the great hall of the Noordeinde Palace. In 1646 together with Drijfhout on the stables at Honselaarsdijk. In 1650–1 on the tower at Maassluis. In 1651 on the Oostkerk, Middelburg. This is apart from his work as a water-engineer for the City of Leyden, most of which must have been lost, such as the lock-gates at Leidschendam (drawing dated 25th October 1650, Municipal Archives,

P.V. 85358) and a number of bridges in the town itself.

38. In a committee, on the sluices next to Swanenburgh. These sluices were evidently not entrusted to Pieter Post. J. Slagter and W.F. van den Burgh, "Pieter Post als Architect van Rijnland", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1941, p. 58.
39. The Woubrugge buttresses are a striking example of meticulous bricklaying: being on the corners they have an outward or inward angle running along their middle, apart from their curve and inclination.
40. Some authors ascribe it to Pieter Post on the flimsy evidence that in 1661 (when Van 's-Gravesande was no longer in Holland) Post supplied drawings of it to another village wishing to build a church. It was common practice to have (copies of) drawings made after several models before deciding which type of church to build.
41. It seems an emendation in a nutshell of the Nieuwe Kerk at the Hague.
42. Cf. W.C.S. van Benthem Jutting, "Vorstelijk Bezoek te Leiden in 1613?", *Leids Jaarboekje 1967*, pp. 101–5, and the same author, "Het Vorstelijk Bezoek te Leiden in 1613", *Leids Jaarboekje 1972*, pp. 109–10. The Duke of Arundel is recorded to have visited Leyden in the train of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine, in 1613. So most likely Inigo Jones stayed as well at Leyden from 21 to 22 May 1613.

Chapter 10

1. Most authors agree on the year of his death. Only Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, p. 242, gives 1682. It seems superfluous to go on noticing similar mistakes in this disappointingly inaccurate work.
2. J.J. Terwen, in *Opus Musivum*, Assen, 1964, p. 253, note 28, conjectures that the book may have been Stalpaert's; to me it seems pretty certain. The plan and section of the Marekerk in it may have been given to Stalpaert by Van Campen or perhaps by Van 's-Gravesande himself. Terwen enumerates the parts of the collection, so we can note here briefly that it also contained Besson Dauphinois, *Théâtre des Instruments mathématiques, etc.*, Lyons, 1579; a restoration design (partly followed) for the parish church at De Rijp, which burnt down in 1654, which occurrence seems to give the latest date of the collection; Terwen's nr. 10 are the print of the Remonstrant Church, a map of South-Holland of 1644 and the underwater vessel "built 1653".
3. *Vermeulen* III, pp. 193 and 251. H.F. Wijnman in *D'Ailly's Historische Gids van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1963, p. 195, states that the sculpture was designed by Quellien and executed by Jan Gijseling de Oude.
4. A.W. Weissman, "Daniel Stalpaert" in *Oud-Holland*, 29 (1911), pp. 65–85, is rather prudent, for him. He writes, p. 81: "very good proportions . . . the elevations betray Van Campen's influence . . . having two pediments and alternating full storeys and mezzanines". Magda Révész-Alexander in *Die Alten Lagerhäuser Amsterdams*, the Hague, 1954, second edition, p. 81, says "Der Bau ist unter dem faszinierenden Einfluss des Rathauses entstanden wie so manche grosse Bauten jener Zeit, doch ist hier durch Zwang und durch Forderungen des praktischen Zweckes die Nüchternheit mehr in der Vordergrund getreten". The impossible remarkt that the plan must have been influenced by Van Campen's Town Hall is in *Vermeulen*, III, p. 251.
5. Ills. in Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, pl. 103, and *W. & W.*, p. 283.
6. Weissman, *op. cit.*, p. 80, mentions four engravings, edited by Nicolaas Visscher; Révész-Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 81 says "einige gute, genaue . . . im Stadtarchiv", *Vermeulen* III, 192 speaks of "eenige" (some). But see the chapter on the printed sources for the five engravings representing four elevations and two plans altogether of the Arsenal and the ancillary building.
7. This and another drawing, both by H. Schouten, ills. 64 and 65 in Révész-

Alexander, *op. cit.*

8. They range from a fairly accurate one, illustrated here, with the caption "Representation of the two blockhouses on the Amstel in front of Amsterdam, founded in the year 1650, cut by Nolpe, who prints and sells the same at Amsterdam", to pretty genre pictures (by Reinier Zeeman or Nooms, in 1650 too) in which the accidental skaters attract all attention.
9. Illustrated in *W. & W.*, p. 293. Weissman, *op. cit.*, p. 82, holds it to be a work by Stalpaert; *Vermeulen*, III, p. 253, mentions the possibility that a mason of the Admiralty made the design. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 866, refutes this and says that it is quite possible that Stalpaert created the design with its Ionic pilasters.
10. For the representation cf. the section on De Bray, third paragraph, above.
11. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 864, does not mention the conversion of the Exchange and states that Stalpaert only used Tuscan if he used any order. But see note 9 above.
12. Stalpaert's work, together with De Keyser's, was pulled down in 1836.
13. A tinted drawing in the Amsterdam City Archives shows a slightly sterner pre-design with the regular two panels instead of an arch and without Mercury. The statue is omitted in Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst.* It was mentioned, however, by A.W. Weissman in "Daniel Stalpaert", *Oud Holland* 29 (1911), p. 82. An account of the building history by Joh. C. Breen in *Uit Amsterdam's Verleden*, Amsterdam, 1934, pp. 67–8.
14. I.H. van Eeghen, "De Restauratie van Kerkstraat 183 en Daniel Stalpaert", *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 1976, pp. 112–17.
15. The Gate has long since been demolished. There are passable engravings in the topographies. The authorship is documented by an old gloss in the Municipal Archives: "extract uit Memoriael ter Thesaurie der Stad berustende . . . 1662 . . . Den 1 September: Dat de Sloterpoort sal gemaeckt worden volgens de tekeninge van Daniel Stalpart." (Extract from memorandum in the Town's Financial Department . . . 1662 . . . 1 September: that the Sloterpoort (an old name for the Leidsche Poort) will be made after the drawing by Daniel Stalpaert).

Chapter 11

1. The partition wall in fact runs into the middle of the windows of the central bay.
2. On the few known personal facts about the family see I.H. van Eeghen, "De familie Vinckboons-Vingboons" in *Oud-Holland*, 67 (1952), pp. 217–32.
3. It seems to be impossible for the French to achieve a completely classical façade. At Marly for instance the effect of the order is spoilt by the quoins at the corners.
4. Vingboons cannot have known Hellenistic examples of carved Corinthian friezes, but he may have seen the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and the Mausoleum at St. Rémy de Provence.
5. Illustration: Vermeulen, 906.
6. As a house in a continuous block it cannot be seen in the round, and the transition to the adjoining houses is solved by non-functional smooth planes over which festoons are suspended.
7. They are: 1. Heerengracht 400–408, five very similar houses of 1665, of the small high "Vingboons-type" with three bays. Detailing with pediments over the middle salient (segmental) and over the windows triangular and segmental pediments or swags, mullion-and-transom windows; the attic-scroll consisting of acanthus and festoons. Illustrated in *W. & W.* p. 229.

   2. Heerengracht 390–392, similar to the above, but flatter, originally probably even without swags and pediments over the windows, and perhaps without mullion-and-transom windows. Triangular Classicist pediments over the gables, but in attic wings fanciful sculpture: cartouches for the coat of armes of the house's master and mistress, held by their over life-size statues.

Illustrated in *W. & W.* p. 226.

3. Two smaller houses, Heerengracht 396–8. Façades not in stone as the fore-going but in brick, in all aspects simpler. About 1680, maybe by Hendrick Lometis (E. van Houten in notes at the 1962 reprint of Caspar Philips' *Grachtenboek*). Illustrated in *W. & W.* p. 227.

4. Keizersgracht 387, built in 1668. Owned by the Hendrick de Keyser Society. Sandstone façade, in details very similar to Heerengracht 400–408, but on somewhat grander scale and with very fine proportions. Illustrated in R. Meischke, *Het Nederlandse Woonhuis van 1300–1800*, Haarlem, 1969 (describing all the houses of the Society), p. 445 and in *W. & W.* p. 235.

5. Heerengracht 476, De Vicq-De Neufville-Mirandolle House. Built about 1670, owned by the Hendrick de Keyser Society. Broad, very beautiful façade whose colossal Corinthian apparatus in stone contrasts with the red brick filling. Original pediment replaced about 1710 by excellently designed and carved attic in the style of Louis XIV. Rather coarsely engraved in the "Grachtenboekje" of Cornelis Danckerts. Illustrated in Meischke, *op. cit.* pp. 459 and 463. The earliest engraving does not show the customary incision of the cornice into the adjacent houses of which the earlier dates from 1669, this seems to be an indication that De Vicq had it built in 1667 as a wedding present to his son. Attribution to a Vingboons by *Vermeulen*, III, p. 189. Meischke, *op. cit.* p. 462, invokes as sources of inspiration both the Trippenhuis and Philips Vingboons' house for Ioan Poppen (Kloveniersburgwal 95, ill. *W. & W.* pp. 9 and 102).

These houses have wholly sandstone façades, here the contrasting effect recalls the Palazzo Senatorio.

6. Heerengracht 507, from 1676, presumably the last 17th century house in Amsterdam with a pilaster order. Broad five bay sandstone façade with four colossal Corinthian pilasters on the pedimented salient. If one is inclined to attribute Heerengracht 476 to Justus Vingboons, one may ascribe this one to him as well.

Illustrated in A.A. Kok, *Amsterdamsche Woonhuizen*, Amsterdam, 1946, fourth edition (enlarged), pp. 212 (façade) and 203 (plan).

8. Individual features characteristic of Justus, apart from the fluted pilasters and the decorated frieze, are the plan, with the entrance on the ground floor, and the rigid verticality of the façade. This verticality is a feature that distinguishes Justus from every other contemporary Dutch architect. From the earliest construction, at the end of the Middle Ages, of elevations in light brick or faced with stone, it was customary to incline them slightly towards the street. This was also done with the two street elevations of the corner houses of the blocks, sometimes even with two or more façades of free-standing buildings. The custom continued until abbout 1800 and gives the old Dutch streets their intimate spatial character.

The Trippenhuis façade on the other hand is strictly perpendicular. Even if the other houses attributed to Justus are really his, they lean forward. An other important example of a 17th century house that – being perpendicular – seems to lean back between inclined neighbours, is Rapenburg 48 at Leyden. It is on a grand scale, with sandstone giant pilasters of the Ionic order, very sumptuous swags in high relief and a fine doorcase that is original. The house, dated by Ter Kuile XVII-c (*Rijnland*, p. 146 and ill. 333), is mentioned by *Vermeulen*, III, p. 295, who "would like to ascribe it to Van 's-Gravesande" if it were not "for a certain hardness" that suggests to him a building time about 1660. But it *was* built, for Wouter Alewijn's heirs, as early as 1640! (New taxation in 1642, quarrels with neighbour over new façade in 1640 – kind information of P.J.M. de Baar, Municipal Archives, Leyden).

The year 1640 is very important as there are in Leyden some other elevations of about the same year which are strictly vertical: Rapenburg 2 in the Mauritshuis way and the Hofje van Brouchoven, of

which the latter is almost certainly by Arent van 's-Gravesande. This pure Classicism was very soon discarded again in favour of the old custom of building *op vlucht*, i.e. with a slight inclination.

9. See W. Kuyper in *op. cit.* in chapter 7, note 22.

Chapter 12

1. Especially Isabella H. van Eeghen, "De familie Vinckboons-Vingboons" in *Oud-Holland*, 1952, pp. 217–32. Earlier studies by Schoy and Weissman are not reliable; Schoy is often biased.
2. There has been some confusion about this date. Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, p. 139, states 1607 or 1608, but in *A. & A.*, p. 239, he begrudges him seven years of his life, erroneously giving 1614. After the former of these publications Van Eeghen, *op. cit.*, p. 221, had given the more probable date of 1607/8.
3. Van Eeghen, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 and 231. The name Questiers is not found in the index of Meischke, *Weeshuis.*
4. A brother of Philips is also known to have married a Catholic wife. Petronella's sister Catarina Questiers had some notoriety as a very beautiful woman as well as poetess and playwright. One of the plays performed at the opening of the 1665 theatre designed by Philips, her brother-in-law, was hers. She also made drawings for the frontispieces of her plays and a portrait of Pieter de Mayer, whose house was to be built by Philips.
5. J.A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg 1496–1772*, Amsterdam, 1920, pp. 75 and 78.
6. The prints are not as fine as in the 1648 edition. As they are not signed the engraver must remain unknown.
7. In *Oud-Holland*, 1952, p. 229. The architectural painting is dated 1634, the subject was Hendrick de Keyser's 1611 Exchange. It is a hint to pay more than superficial attention to the turret of that Exchange. Cf. note 43 below.
8. Cf. Weissman's assumption in *Oud-Holland* XXIX (1909) that Vingboons did not visit Italy "because the voyage from Florence to Naples would have taken him to Rome, which at that time had an architecture of great importance, about which an architect would not have remained silent. So VINGBOONS will have known the art of Italy only by hearsay." The passage illustrates the insubstantial basis of Weissman's articles. He quotes from the preface of the 1688 edition in which – after Philips' death – the eulogies of Rome and the Pope are omitted.
9. It was found among the books of the Town-Architect Van der Hart which were bought by the Town after his death in 1820. Published in C.A. van Swigchem, *Abraham van der Hart*, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 320. Thesis nr. 6 to this dissertation, translated: "Considering the origins of the gable-type which was practised by Ph. Vingboons at the Amsterdam canals and which was typical of his style, one should pay attention to influences by the works of Villalpandus and Du Cerceau" certainly needs further investigation.
10. Margaret Whinney and Oliver Millar, *English Art 1625–1714*, Oxford, 1957, p. 138.
11. *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste Gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft. t'Aemstelerdam, by Philips en Ioan Vingboons, 1648. Men vintse by Ioan Blaeu oock te koop.* (Representations of the most important Buildings out of all that Philips Vingboons designed . . . Also sold by Ioan Blaeu.)
12. Ten years later, in 1658, when there is more competition, the level of architectural debate lowers. Danckert Danckerts even calls the pedant Bosboom a "Rabbi" (in *Noodighe Waarschouwinghe*, "Necessary Caution", preface in some of his Scamozzi-editions).
13. Vingboons seems to have noticed that De Bray mixed up two chapters of the Bible and therefore two Hirams, the king of Tyre and a craftsman who, coming from the

Lebanon, worked for Solomon's own palace (I. Kings, 5 : 1–10 and 18, and 7 : 13–14).

14. *Architectura Moderna*, p. 11 "Want de *Schouw-hoven, Ren-banen, Collossen, Piramiden*, en alle dergelijcke overstallige Gestichten, zijn volgens d'eenvoudighheyd van onse Christelijcke Leere, gantsch in ongebruyck geraect, en oock vreemt aen de suynige arbeytsaemheyd van onse Landsvolck". (He uses on purpose a Dutch word for "theatre" coining "schouw-hoven" some seven years before Vondel coined his "schouw-burg").
15. Van Eeghen, *op. cit.*, p. 221, mentions as Catholic Patrons Guilliaume Belin la Garde, Pieter Jansz. Swelinck, Abraham Pietersz. Croock and Jacob Kromhout. See also note 49 below.
16. Colours gradually disappear from the façades at that time, though, and there is a transition from the "picturesque" effect of the Mannerists to a kind of sculptural *clair-obscure* in Vingboons' work.
17. Some of his plans show partition walls running into the mullion of a window. The Nicolaas van Bambeeck House (Kloveniersburgwal 77, from 1650) has four bays and so the middle pilaster is immediately under the centre of the pediment. This has often been criticized, others have countered the attracks by saying that the motif is French and can be found at several corner pavilions, or that Vingboons may be excused by classical examples, even "if he did not know the Basilica at Paestum"(!).
18. *Vingboons*, I, 17, 18. The 1648 edition has no engraver's name on the two plates. The name of the "inventor" is spelled Vinckeboons on the plate of the façade (nr. 18). There is no name at all on the plan (nr. 17).
19. An Amsterdam foot, measuring 28.31 cm, is somewhat smaller than a Rijnland one (used at Leyden and the Hague, 31.39 cm) or an English one (30.48 cm).
20. The first edition states 16¼ x 23½ feet (on the plan). One of the small mistakes of the later editions makes it only 11¼ x 23½. Vingboons' description, as all in his first volume, is brief: "This . . . Building, of which the Elevation is wholly of white stone of Bentheim, Sr. *Daniel Soyhier* had it built; is fitted up very luxuriously in the interior, and furnished with diverse Rooms, which are very elegantly decorated, at their Chimneys and Ceilings as well, and likewise is represented on the Plan the size of all the Rooms, has a Garden of 70 feet, which I have not been able to show because of the smallness of the place (i.e. in the book). Is within *Amsterdam*, at the Eastside of the Keizersgracht, obliquely across the Schouwburg". (from *Gronden en Afbeeldsels*, 3rd ed., 1688, description at plates 17 and 18, similar to the other editions, only the dates of the houses, mentioned in the 1648 and 1715 editions, have been left out).
21. Notably at the elongated gables ("halsgevels") of about 1725–1750.
22. At the Ameldonck Leeuwen House, Rokin 95, the temptation to connect the *tempietti* by continuing the entablature and to "de-gable" the front became too strong for a later proprietor. So he got a smart neo-Classical house. Perhaps that is the reason why the *Voorloopige Lijst* and *Vermeulen*, III, 177 (of 1941) did not recognize the house. *Slothouwer*, however, did, *op. cit.* (1928), p. 41.
23. The elongated gables are classified in Holland, according to their particular form, as "neck-gables" or "elongated neck-gables", "bell-gables", "peaked-gables" (tuitgevels, topgevels), "stepped gables", etc.
24. For instance: Oude Zijds Voorburgwal 249 (1610).
25. For this edition see the section on the printed sources.
26. The three other houses are those of Ioan Poppen, Ioan Huydecoper and Michael Paeuw.
27. The title of this Vignola edition does not go back to those given in the Catalogue of the State Print Room. The editor is Chrispyn de Pas, at Amsterdam, the title "Regola de Cinque Ordini D' Architettura Di M. Giacomo Barozzio D' Avignola" is followed by Dutch, French and German versions. The year of the edition has been tampered with and made into 1659. If

perhaps the original date was 1639 it means that the façade of the Ioan Poppen House (which was begun in 1642) should have been designed by 1639 as well. Library of the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap.

28. *Vingboons* I, 3, 4. The beautiful 18th century staircase has most pitifully been painted white quite recently.
29. These pediments were still (and in every direction) alternatingly triangular and segmental.
30. The pineapples are still visible on Van der Heyden's paintings, in the 18th century they were replaced by vases.
31. *Vingboons* I, 7, 8 (project) and 5, 6 (executed design). Heerengracht 237, since demolished. For detailed information about the houses on the Keizersgracht see annotations to Caspar Philips Jacobszoon's *Grachtenboek* by E. van Houten in the reprint of 1962, on the Heerengracht those of G. Roosegaarde Bisschop in *Heerengrachtboek.*
32. "Had dese verdeelingh gevolght geweest, soude op de plaets beter gepast hebben, aengezien 't Erf achter seer hoogh van andere Huysen betimmert is, en soude dan syn lichten van ter syde, alwaer gelegentheyt was, beter gehad hebben". (1688, at plates 7 and 8).
33. There is no documentary evidence about the architect. It would have been somebody working with Scamozzi as the orders are Ionic-Composite-Corinthian. The magnificent house is still standing, only the half-bay windows of the lower storeys have been walled up.
34. P.P. Rubens, *Palazzi antichi di Genova. Palazzi moderni di Genova*, Antwerp, 1622.
35. *Vingboons* I, 30–32. The façade, only slightly damaged during the war, was dismantled and stacked away, and has been awaiting resurrection ever since. For the rustication c.f. that of the Luxembourg.
36. For the question of the authorship see the sections on the printed sources.
37. *Vingboons* I, 56–59.
38. *Vingboons* I, 19, 20.
39. *Vingboons* II, 51–55. The very steep roof with high dormers is a recent addition.
40. *Vingboons* II, 60–63.
41. *Vermeulen* discusses Vingboons mainly in III, pp. 175–91. The lapse of twenty-five years allows some minor alterations to be made. Thus on page 175: his father's name should be David, not Philips. His birthdate was 1607 or 1608. Page 176, on the editions: erroneously stated that the 1664 patent was only used for the Trippenhuis. The list of works, pp. 176–8, can be amended on several points. Using Vermeulen's numbers: Nr. 6, since identified as Singel 282–6. Nr. 7, Heerengracht 237, demolished 1881. Nr. 8, (*Slothouwer* erroneously: Heerengracht 438), *Heerengrachtboek*: Heerengracht 258, changed 1764. Nr. 10, Rokin 145 *and* 147, the latter with a new façade of 1884. Nr. 11, (*Slothouwer*:) Gelderse Kade 18A (i.e. 18–18A–18B, façade changed). Nr. 14, House Driemond, commissioned presumably by Gerbrant Anslo. See Gustav Leonardt "Een Vingboonshuis geschilderd door Hondecoeter", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 52 (1960), p. 90. Nr. 15, Croot, not Groot. Nr. 16, On the Rokin or Turfmarkt. Parts retained in the buildings of the *Nederlandsche Bank.* Nr. 18. Rans, not Ram. Nr. 19, Rokin 95. Nr. 20, For Sara de Waal. Since rendered and spoilt by big extension of 1835. Nr. 21, Dubious attribution, see below. Nr. 22, "House" is too lofty a name for a structure, on a site of about 1350 square foot, which contained several cellar-dwellings, shops and a lot of tenements. Nr. 23 and Nr. 25, One and the same house. Nr. 29, For N. van Heuvel. Nr. 38, Keizersgracht 577, changed.

For the inclusion of Nr. 21, the Oude Zijds Heerenlogement, there is no documentary or sufficient stylistic evidence. The building (Plate 4, also illustrated in Révész-Alexander, *op. cit.*, plates 26, 29, 31, 47–8 and 49, demolished in 1874) has some characteristics, or rather details that might have been Vingboons': the grilles as at the Nijs Hous, for example. The archway with two lions on the pediment, a motif repeated on the upper pediment, is rather old-fashioned. The whole façade seems adapted

gesichten binnen Amsterdam, geteickent en int licht gebracht door R. Zeeman, Amsterdam, n.d., F. de Wit, as well as series of ships: *Verscheyde Schepen en gesichten van Amstelredam*, Amsterdam, n.d., Clement de Jonghe, and a joint edition, dated 1675, with Latin dedication, London, Arthur Tooker and Amsterdam, Carolus Allard.

54. Coupled pilasters are rare in Dutch Classicistic architecture; they occur for instance at the Marepoort, Leyden, (built by Van der Helm in 1664): for other instances see the section *Pliny versus Calvin*, note 42. In the period of the flat style they are found several times, but mainly, again, in towngates, as for example the Amsterdamse Poort, Naarden (1683–1915).
55. "Ma à Giunone, à Diana, à Bacco & ad altri Dei, à iquali ne la gravità de' primi, ne la delicatezza de' secondi (scil. the "Doric" and the "Corinthian" deities), pareva che si convenisse, attribuirono l'opere Ioniche". Palladio, Quattro Libri, p. 6, as cited in Erik Forssman, *Dorisch, Jonisch, Korinthisch*, Stockholm, 1961, p. 16. It seems better to exclude, on stylistic grounds, from Van Campen's work the *Accijnshuis* (1638, still standing, ill. *W. & W.* 29, often ascribed to him). For this Excise House the Ionic order was likewise applied, but after Vignola.
56. See note 6 above. To the extensive bibliography should be added H. Brugmans and A.W. Weissman, *Het Stadhuis van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1914, and Boeken's second article on the subject in which he had to correct the first because the 1643–plan of the Dam had been discovered in the meantime: A. Boeken, "Een Stadhuisontwerp van 1643", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 42 (1948), pp. 47–9, as well as Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *De Zeventiende Eeuwsche Beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1948. Later and illustrative for the relations between Saenredam and Van Campen is *Catalogue Raisonné van de werken van Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Utrecht, 1961 (second, revised edition), with some plans and many plates.

    The number of prints of 1650 (*Fremantle*, p. 193) is five rather than six as the north elevation is only the counterproof of the south elevation. Mixed technique of engraving and etching. There is a copy also in the British Museum (Catalogue of Printed Maps, p. 562, under *Aenwysinge* . . . and *Voor-Gevel*).

    Recently, K. Fremantle, *Focus on Sculpture, Quellien's Art in the Palace on the Dam*, Amsterdam, 1977.
57. For Katharine Fremantle's article see note 6 above.
58. Between the Stadholder and Amsterdam was the precarious post of Raadspensionaris (Great Pensionary). Twice a Raadspensionaris met his death in office by opposing the influence of the Orangist party. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was sentenced by a prejudiced court (1619); Johan de Wit, who held the office from 1653–72, and who was married to an Amsterdam Regent's daughter, was murdered by an incited mob in 1672.
59. The relevant resolutions of the Council are published by A. Boeken, "Over de Voorgeschiedenis van den Bouw van het Voormalige Amsterdamsche Stadhuis", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 17 (1919), pp. 1–30. We may interpret the words of the 1639 resolution about the formation of the building committee "is gecommitteert de heeren Burgermrs. ende Thresoriers in der tijdt neffens den heere Burgermr. Hasselaer" as "are commissioned the acting Burgomasters and Treasurers, to whom is added the Burgomaster Hasselaer" so that there was one committee whose members changed from time to time, but in which Hasselaer had a permanent seat.
60. Resolutions of 10 December 1642 and 28 Januari 1643.
61. Published by Boeken, *op. cit.*, ill. 3. It consists of a façade design whose main characteristics are tower-like balustraded cornerpavilions, superimposed giant orders and a colossal statue on top of the middle pediment. Its source is Peruzzi's Poggioreale.

62. By the resolution of 20 November 1645 the site was fixed as 160 by 200 feet, but it was worded to suggest that it could easily be altered, so that unwelcome designs could be dismissed as having the wrong dimensions.
63. The extremely important drawings by Vingboons for façades and plans are in the British Museum, Atlas Beudeker, maps C 9 d 10. They seem to have been seen by several historians of Dutch architecture but were never published (!). To open the discussion about these designs, which certainly need further study, I wrote "Vingboons' Capitool" in *Spiegel Historiael XI* (1976), pp. 614–22.
64. Or, measuring the space to the Waag as well, 328 feet. The same applied to the street to the south of the Town Hall: 233 feet along the Hall, but 292 feet onto the corner of the Kalverstraat. As Boeken in 1919 only knew these measurements he thought the plan was not rectangular.
65. It was not until 1641 that a Chamber of Marine Affairs was added (*Commissarissen voor Zeezaken*) and still later, in 1644, the Bankruptcy Office (*Desolate-boedelkamer*).
66. Apart from temporary arches at festive entries no triumphal arch had ever been erected in Holland – it was planned again twenty years later for Huygens' *Zeestraat*.
67. A quite convincing ground plan has been reconstructed by J.J. Terwen on the data of the sections and the upright, on the assumption that the original had been irretrievably lost: "De Herkomst van de Amsterdamse Stadhuis-plattegronden", *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp.3–5. The engraving of the ground plan, however, is in the British Museum, Atlas Beudeker, maps C 9 d 10 and in Pieter van der Aa's *Galerie agréable du monde* (who ascribes the plan to Pieter Post).
68. The plan is illustrated in W. Kuyper, "Wat een mooi Stadhuis!", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, LXIX (1977), pp. 73–88.
69. Cf. the archway to the right of the Palazzo del Consiglio which screens off the Maria Antica.
70. See for the Amsterdam and Alkmaar organcases by Van Campen J.H. Kluiver, "De Orgelarchitectuur van Jacob van Campen", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* 73 (1974), pp. 1–18.
71. In 1654–5 two monuments for famous admirals were commissioned, that for Jan van Galen in the Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam, and that for Tromp in the Oude Kerk, Delft. The sculpture for both was executed by Rombout Verhulst and Willem de Keyser (the reliefs). The general design for Van Galen's tomb was by Artus Quellien, who received f. 200,– for the bozzetto (*Swillens*, p. 207, thinks that Van Campen was the designer, giving credit (a) to the caption of a print – this is confirmed by Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, note 330 –, (b) to Vondel – I failed to find the place in my edition of the poet – and (c) to Houbraken. Houbraken, however, referred to Tromp's monument. Swillens may have been confused by Neurdenburg who switches in the same note nr. 330 from one tomb to another). The general design for Tromp's tomb was by Van Campen, as is confirmed by several sources, for instance the fine large engraving by C. van Dalen jr. who mentions him as *inventor*, whereas the recumbent figure of the admiral is signed by Verhulst, who shared in the publishing patent for nine years. Tromp's monument is discussed in R. Meischke, *Klassicisme*, pp. 177–81. Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, p. 195, and *Vermeulen* III, pp. 137 and 232, plate 881, ascribe also the design and the execution of the beautiful screen for Burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff's sepulchral chapel to Van Campen and Quellien respectively. (In the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, c. 1650).
72. There were two main designs (models in Amsterdams Historisch Museum, ill. Vermeulen, 865–6) with variants for spires or cupola-endings – the one stricter, more "classical", the other more "gothic" in detailing but apart from that with badly coordinated stages. Even when work was started either design continued to be illustrated. Jacob van der Ulft both engraved (1654?) and painted (1659) the more "gothic" design (*Fremantle*, p. 35,

note 3 and Peters, *Stedenbouw*, fig. 244). The other design, as seen from the Voorburgwal, was engraved by Rombout van den Hoeije (about 1651?; published by Clement de Jonghe in 1666) and painted (seen from the Dam) by H. van den Burgh (before completion of the Town Hall's cupola). (Ill. in J.A.C. Tillema, *Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van de Monumentenzorg in Nederland*, the Hague, 1975, ills. 36–7).

Fearing that, seen from the Dam, the new tower would appear in conjunction with the Jan Roodenpoortstoren, the Council decided to pull down the latter "as an obstacle to the traffic" (*Swillens*, p. 138), but the tower survived till 1829. Cf. the section on Van Campen's tower in the chapter on Historicism below.

73. Marble medallions with portraits of De Graeff and his wife by Artus Quellien in the Rijksmuseum. It was De Graeff's niece who was married to Johan de Witt.
74. The 13,659 piles were all driven in on October 16th; the foundation stone was laid on October 28th, 1648.
75. See *Fremantle*, 198, and plate 185. See also Fremantle, "Some Drawings by Jacob van Campen for the Royal Palace of Amsterdam", *Oud Holland* LXVIII (1953), pp. 73–95.
76. Now in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum. Ill. *Fremantle*, pl. 5.
77. And others, of whom Rombout Verhulst, the sculptor, should be mentioned.
78. Screening the galleries from the Burgerzaal by big wooden partition walls and thus spoiling the spatial effect.
79. Peter Meyer, *Europaeische Kunstgeschichte*, Zuerich, 1947, II, p. 197. Pevsner in *An Outline of European Architecture*, 5th ed., 1957, deals with it after the British Museum in his chapter "From 1760 to the Present Day", p. 272, writing "There were town halls of course, the most splendid of them all that of Amsterdam (now Royal Palace) built by Jacob van Campen in 1648–55".
80. R. van Luttervelt, *Het Raadhuis aan de Dam*, (Amsterdam, about 1950), pp. 13–17, 31–34, 39, plates 7 and 11.
81. The Great Hall. Indicated on Vennekool's plan and on the 1648 one as "Groote Sael", great hall, but commonly and more fittingly called *Burgerzaal*, i.e. Hall of the Burghers.
82. The height is given erroneously in *Fremantle*, p. 112, as 90 feet to the upper cornice. The height to the cornice is about 71 feet. The dimensions in meters are about 16½ x 35 x 29 (total) or 20½ (to cornice). So the best I can make of the ratio is 1 : 2.1 : 1¾ or 1¼. The sala dei cinquecento is larger but less high, its measures about 22 x 53 x 18 meters (ratio 1 : 2.4 : 0.8). With 21,000 cubic meters it tops the Great Hall's 15,600, or, to the cornice, 11,850 cubic meters.
83. A. Noach, "Een vergeten ontwerp voor het Paleis op den Dam", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* XXXIII (1936), p. 147.
84. They show, however, some queer intersections.
85. If the city-fathers believed Vitruvius (quoted in *Fremantle*, p. 80). Yet it seems Vitruvius mixes up the region Caria in Asia Minor with the Laconean village of Caryae. See further D.S. Robertson, *Greek & Roman Architecture*, second ed., London, 1974, pp. 100 and 124 (the last reference also mentions male figures).
86. About these "ancora manieristiche cariatidi" and their yet diminishing emblematic value see also Manfredo Tafuri, *L'architettura del Manierismo nel Cinquecento europeo*, Rome, 1966, p. 312.
87. And about the construction: every craftsman would have regarded it as wretched.
88. So that on the more crude engravings it bears a certain likeness to Inigo Jones' portico for St. Paul's Cathedral (1634–42). Saenredam painted the old Haarlem town hall before the alterations, see *Cat. Saenredam*, plate 88 and discussion on p. 131, where for the modernizing of the façade Salomon de Bray is held responsible.
89. *Cat. Saenredam*, nr. 89. Compare also Rembrandt's later setting for the 1655 Ecce Homo etching. (Added piquancies of the ideal Haarlem town hall drawing are that some do not attribute it to Saenredam and that Gudlaugsson suggests that the figures are by Pieter Post). It may be noted that

Saenredam sketched and painted every structure and atmospheric condition (existing or imaginary) Van Campen could wish to study. Van Campen may even have asked him to study specific objects, e.g. the Rhenen and Utrecht towers (Cuneratoren and Domtoren respectively) when he was working on the Nieuwe Kerk's tower; the various *vierscharen* when he was involved in that problem.

See also, *Cat.* nr. 4, and altar design to be worked out as a sepulchral monument or, *Cat.* nr. 12, the singers' gallery (now disappeared) in the Kapelkerk, Alkmaar, – the mere fact that Saenredam has drawn this very Classicist tribune (not balustraded but festoon-panelled) gives reason to suppose that Van Campen may have been the designer.

90. In having two courts, be it an inner and an outer court.
91. One notices in this splendid drawing, that has often been illustrated (e.g. Peters, *op. cit.*, ill. 139 and *Cat. Saenredam*, nr. 115) the old town hall still with its stepped side gable. This drawing escaped Henry-Russell Hitchcock's attention so that he took a mid 17th century, rather Baroque, gable for a "much larger version of what may loosely be called the Serlian gable." (*op. cit.*, p. 39). (Cf. Vermeulen, 434, where the classical pediment is clearly visible).
92. Good illustration in *Brugmans and Weissman*, p. 147, better still, Vermeulen, 752.
93. This hall (originally?) had light partition walls, but these would not have prevented shrewd observers from grasping the main form.
94. I would like to stress the Florentine and Roman parallels to Van Campen's work as there have been authors who claim Venetian or Sienese influences. These however were too picturesque for Van Campen.

    The influence of Ruskin, notably on architectural historians – but on Dutch architects as well – has been disastrous. Whole generations imagined that Sansovinian plasticity or second hand Gothic could flourish among Dutch sobriety and Dutch weather. For a late Sienese implantation on Dutch soil see for instance Berghoef's 1963 (!) Town Hall at Hengelo.
95. Here again Saenredam helped him in his studies by copying Roman antique instances after the drawings of Maarten van Heemskerck, e.g. the portico of the Pantheon (*Cat.* nr. 112, c.f. *Fremantle*, pp. 113–4 and plates 128–34).
96. In fact three arches lead to the gallery in front of the *Vierschaar* from which the performance in the *Vierschaar* itself could be witnessed; two on each side lead to the *voorhuizen* or entrance-porches. The equal entrance-bays have given rise to caustic criticism, especially from French authors – they mistrust the egalitarian, democratic qualities of the design and prefer Vingboons' project to Van Campen's "plates et monotones façades" (Auguste Schoy, *Philippe Vingboons*, Brussels, 1878, p. 8).

    Also Multatuli, the most romantic of Dutch authors, derided these many entrances. See his description of the foreign "Kavaliere" in quest of a particular toy running in and out of the wrong arches like so many wheathercocks . . . (Multatuli, *De Geschiedenis van Woutertje Pieterse*, Amsterdam, 1890, vol. 2, p. 80).
97. The cross in these frames by no means had the structural role of the old transom-and-mullion windows. For the windows see J. de Bie Leuveling Tjeenk "De Restauratie van de Ramen in het Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1936, pp. 69–78. *Vermeulen*, III, pp. 225 and 230 goes on calling the windows of the Amsterdam and Enkhuizen town halls "transom-and-mullion windows" thus causing confusion as these windows are fundamentally different from the traditional ones.
98. On the classical rather than Baroque features, e.g. the freedom of the spectator to prefer some aspects to others and to interpret in his own way, cf. *Fremantle*, pp. 114, 140 and 187–8. In the case of the pilasters a spectator who shifts the emphasis from the main rooms to the lower ones with mezzanine-floors may maintain that there are two giant orders.
99. Everard Meyster, as cited in *Brugmans and*

Weissman, p. 101. They also cite Meyster (p. 81) when Meyster in a play on the Town Hall gives Maarten van Heemskerck the following words: "... 't Is alles wonderlijck en wonder op de maet, Eenvoudigh heerelijck en heerelijck eenvoudigh". (It is all to be wondered at and like a wonder in its measures, it is simply splendid and splendidly simple). The last words "simply splendid and splendidly simple" we may take to epitomize Van Campen's ideas as expressed to his friend Meyster.

100. Illustrated in *Heydenreich and Lotz*, plate 13. Examples with eagles (aquile) and gryphons (grifoni) could be found in Vignola, of which the first quadrilingual Amsterdam edition had already appeared at Blaeu's in 1619. The meaning of the sphinxes remains enigmatic. Brugmans and Weissman take them to represent uncertainty, Fremantle rather wisdom, whereas in the Oxford Classical Dictionary the sphinx becomes the wise, enigmatic and musical messenger of divine justice.
101. In the case of the stone-masons we may think of a pedant like Bosboom.
102. Cf. *Fremantle*, p. 68. The poem cited in full in *Brugmans and Weissman*, p. 130. I have considerable difficulty in appreciating it. Two more poems by Huygens are cited in Danckerts' edition of the *Town Hall*. They are short poems on the mosaics of the *Burgerzaal:* "op d'Aard'-kloot, in twee Globen op de Vloer" (on Earth's sphere, in two Globes on the Floor) and "op de Hemels-kloot aldaer gevloert" (on Heaven's sphere, which has been floored there).

So even here we find the macrocosmos reflected in smaller spheres.

Chapter 8

1. On his life and work see G.A.C. Blok, *Pieter Post 1608–1669, der Baumeister der Prinzen van Oranien und des Fuersten Johann Moritz van Nassau-Siegen*, Siegen, 1937, thesis at Aix-La-Chapelle, 1936. This quite informative work is set in small German letters, it lacks a list of illustrations and indexing is *lückenhaft.*
2. He was a painter of some merit as well, already inscribed in the Haarlem guild of St. Luke in 1623 (*Blok*, p. 5, relying on the statement of a later member of the Guild), but he never rivalled his brother Frans Post who painted some very fine Brazilian landscapes.

2a. For Post's share in Honselaarsdijk see Blok, *op. cit.*, and Slothouwer, *Paleizen.*

3. I doubt very much whether the Woubrugge church near Leyden can be ascribed to Post. The drawings for a church shown in Vermeulen, 858 and III, p. 148, and in Blok, *op. cit.*, p. 38, are less successful.
4. Blok, *op. cit.* p. 6, writes "Stiche" instead of "Radierungen". The main part of the representations is etched, some small parts only are engraved (the dark parts in the windows for instance) and Huygens seems right to speak of "tailles douces" in his letter to Rubens (July 2nd, 1639). From Post's letter of March 1, 1639, it is clear that he did not etch the plates himself; this was done by Henry Hondius; *Bienfait*, pp. 59–60, ascribes the drawing for the general view to Aegidius van Scheyndel.
5. In the Poem by Huygens called *Vitaulium-Hofwyck.* The passage is cited by J.H. Plantenga, *Verzamelde Opstellen*, Amsterdam, 1926, p. 33.
6. One plate, printed in the various editions of the poem. John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe as Book Illustrator*, Amsterdam, 1970, p. 61, suggests that De Hooghe made the print. This seems extremely unlikely.
7. His suggestion for a tower on Swanenburgh – to be supported on the beams of the third floor – cannot be considered sound; nor can his tower at Rijxdorp. The timber construction of his Maastricht Town Hall tower on the other hand was considered by Justus Danckerts worthy to be included in his *Architectura Chivilis.*
8. Two prints by I.C. Philips after drawings by M. Terwesten and G. van Giessen in De Riemer's topography of the Hague, edited by Reinier Boitet only in 1730. Large views;

that to the East Ill. 93 in Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, that to the South: Vermeulen, 845.

The engravings are illusionistic. Apart from the richly carved chimney-pieces all the decorations beneath the painted gallery, probably even the gallery itself and the pilaster-system may have been woven into the tapestries which were completed in 1662.

The Hall was not yet finished when Charles II addressed the States in 1660: one engraving shows the King completely surrounded by hangings, whereas an other artist made a nice guess at the final result. Cf. *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht*, Cleves, 1979, plate C40.

The Hall below, equally by Post, for the *Gecommitteerde Staten* (the Commissioners of financial affairs), shows a variant of Solomon's columns: four enormous gilt pillars with spiralling painted foliage.

Another commission from Amelis van Brouckhorst was drawings for the views in the margins of a large map of Rhineland, edited (and engraved?) by Cornelis Danckerts in 1647.

9. On top of the archways are sculpted *burchten* (castles) surmounted by *zwanen* (swans) as a reference to the house's name Swanenburgh meaning Swan-castle. These remain as well as the centre of the house though incorporated in a sugar-factory.
10. In seventeenth century Dutch: De Sael van Orange, la Sale d'Orange also on the prints in two languages. Huis ten Bosch means literally House in the Wood. It should not be confused with the building of the same name built by Jacob van Campen in 1628 near Maarsen.
11. Ter Kuile, *A & A*, p. 239, states 1649.
12. Slothower, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
13. Ozinga is very severe on this point, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–8. He says of Post's main works that they do not allow one to consider Post as a creative architect of very great importance, and about this cupola in particular "solved insufficiently" – but I think we should compare it with the other towers and cupolas by Post.
14. Slothouwer, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
15. E.G. the Assembly Hall for the States of Holland at the Hague, the Assembly Room in the Gemeenlandshuis van Rijnland at Leyden, as well as fine chimney-pieces in the Admiralty at Hellevoetsluis. The latter building may be ascribed to Post with some certainty, the exterior has recently been reconstructed, the interior is original.
16. Reynolds was not mild in his comment: "only produced a variety of wretchedness." The scenes are allegorical, inspired by classical mythology. For the Calvinist mind this is mitigated by the name of God in Hebrew characters (the tetragrammaton) on the ceiling over the spot where the Queen is accustomed to receive foreign ambassadors. (Visible on plate 195 in Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*). For the paintings see J.G. van Gelder, "De Schilders van de Oranjezaal" in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1948–1949*, the Hague, 1949, pp. 118–64.
17. A similar staircase in his Gun-foundry at the Hague (destroyed in the second world war. Illustration: Vermeulen, 896).
18. C.f. Nancy Halverson Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 28 (1969), pp. 265 and 269 for the influence of Swanenburgh (between Amsterdam and Haarlem, Post's work on the Swanenburgh at Cleves was not engraved) on Hooke and Maastricht on Williamsburg.
19. Here the screen had a functional justification.
20. Ill. in A. Loosjes, *Leiden*, Amsterdam (1929), pls. 13–4.
21. Mr. Johannes Hulshout, secretary of the Rhineland Water Authority, had the house Rapenburg 8 built in 1668, presumably by Pieter Post (E. Pelinck, "Architectuur en Decoraties" [van het pand Rapenburg 8 te Leiden] in *Ons Leidse Huis en zijn Voorgeschiedenis*, Rotterdam, (1952), pp. 20–6). The house has been changed, notably the windows, but it is still an impressive five bay building, having – typical for Post – a complete entablature only on the middle salient. Presumably the house never had

pilasters, on the central axis it retains the original stone decoration with a fine entrance (Plate 183).

22. The Leyden Weigh-house only appeared in a rather clumsy print after the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch war of 1672–4 in the topography of Simon van Leewen, Leyden, 1672. Another Leyden work, the 1656 Loridanshofje (ill. 234 in Ter Kuile, Rijnland, and better, ill. 84B in A. Loosjes *Leiden*), comes very close to designs by Post with its small high succession of pediment, pitched roof, ornamental chimney and iron bows on top of it.
23. It is really a depressed barrel-vault pierced by large lunettes which meet at the longitudinal rib and with the exception of the plaster construction quite mediaeval in form.
24. To judge from the drawings Post went as far as Van Campen in prescribing and presketching the sculptural programme. Is the same representation in Van der Helm's Weigh-house design after Post or was the programme already worked out for Rombout Verhulst? There was a persistent mediaeval tradition of depicting over the entrance to a building the function of its interior; this was often intended as an admonition, as, strikingly, in the reliefs of the Madhouse at Amsterdam (built 1562–1615). Similar giant sculptural parts are found at other works by Post, e.g. the Gouda Weigh-house, the Gun-foundry and the Hofje van Nieuwkoop, both at the Hague, and the Delft Powder-magazine.
25. An exception should be made for Van der Helm's Zijlpoort of 1667. His Morschpoort, 1669 (Plate 429), is less important, while his Waardkerk had already been proved a failure before it was started in 1669.
26. Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, p. 36, attributes the drawing of the executed design to Willem van der Helm, and he must be right. But he continues "unlike us . . . Blok . . . page 43". Blok may also be right with reference at the other drawing. The missing right-hand part of that drawing was likewise pasted onto a piece of wood and fixed at right angles to the left-hand, forming a small model.
27. In his diary Huygens is milder: "2 May 1669. Obit amicus meus Petrus Post Architectus". Post invited the pun by often signing his drawings on the Post(ament) of a pilaster.
28. In a letter to his brother-in-law Christiaan Huygens. In *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaen Huygens*, cited by Blok, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Chapter 9

1. A.W. Weissman, "Arent van 's-Gravesande", *De Opmerker*, 1902, p. 140. Weissman had a zealous approach which makes it difficult to distinguish in his work between unfounded hypothesis and flashes of sharp insight. For instance he attributes Rapenburg 4 and 6 to Van 's-Gravesande, though in fact they were built five years after Van 's-Gravesande's death. He thinks the work of Post always suffers from a certain pettiness and attributes to him the Loridanshofje at Leyden. So far so good. But about Noorwits, Van 's-Gravesande's brother, he writes: "The 'comptroller' Norwits merits closer inspection. Perhaps he was an Englishman who was called Norwich and who came to the Netherlands in 1640 when so many artists fled from England". *(Oud Holland*, 1909, p. 48).
2. I myself would prefer an attribution to Van 's-Gravesande. See below.
3. This may be a slip of the clerk who wrote the entries. On the other hand the confusion between the rare title of architect and that of "timmermansgezel" may be due to more than one member of the Van 's-Gravesande family working on the palaces. More research is necessary, especially to see whether there were any family connections with the Adriaan Adriaanszoon 's-Gravesande who was Town carpenter of Rotterdam from 1633 to his dismissal in 1642. (H.C.H. Moquette, "Van Stadstimmerman-

metselaar tot Directeur van Gemeentewerken" in *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje 1922*, Rotterdam, 1922, pp. 109–10 and 136.

An annotation in the Rotterdam Archives copy gives the date of his marriage: 3 June 1601).

4. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 29.
5. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 263 for the reference as "architect", pp. 289–90 for the entrance gate, etc. Van 's-Gravesande was paid for drawings and for taking models to Amsterdam as well as for surveying the foundations and the brickwork.
6. Illustration 31 is clearest, but 34 is a welcome piece of evidence as it shows that the side entrances were merely cut into the wall to facilitate the cumbersome peace-negotiations of Rijswijk (1694–7) – giving either belligerent party its own access whereas Van 's-Gravesande's entrance was reserved for the "mediator".
7. Van 's-Gravesande became an official of the Village of the Hague. In 1636 he is called "overseer and comptroller", in 1637 "fabrique".
8. It was, as mentioned, Drijfhout who executed the stone-mason's work (e.g. the capitals) on the Sebastiaansdoelen. One may even infer from *Vermeulen* III, 400, that the design of the building was made as early as 1634; *Vermeulen*, III, 111, states explicitly that Van 's-Gravesande made *a* plan and *an* upright as early as 1634.
9. They occur at the Vlaardingen town hall (c. 1650) which is ascribed to Drijfhout. (Ozinga, *Kerkenbouw*, p. 154).
10. Ill. Vermeulen, 730 and 731.
11. The Ionic capitals with small garlands between their volutes were executed by Bartholomeus Drijfhout who used them later at the Oostkerk, Middelburg (cf. note 52 in the chapter on churches). A possible source was Michelangelo's Ionic capitals at the Palazzo dei Conservatori which sometimes are found in the appendix on Michelangelo's work in Vignola's *Regola*.
12. Here the statues represent Justitia, Caritas and Prudentia. See E. Neurdenburg, "Pieter Adriaensz. 't Hooft", etc. in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1950, pp. 47–56.
13. We meet Noorwits as comptroller of the States of Holland in which capacity he designed and surveyed with Bartholomeus van Bassen the Nieuwe Kerk and with Pieter Post the States' Assembly Hall, both at the Hague; and in 1659 he inspected the Middelburg church on which his brother was working.
14. Noorwits would have consulted Van 's-Gravesande about the Nieuwe Kerk.
15. The building of the Nieuwe Kerk did not start before 1649. It was not only in the juridical sense that the Hague remained a village; in building activities too it could not be compared with a town like Leyden which played an important role in the early stages of Dutch Classicism.
16. In 1649 he even made a model for a towngate at Utrecht (unexecuted). See P.H. Cuperus, "De Witte-vrouwenpoort van Utrecht", *Jaarboekje van "Oud-Utrecht" 1952*, Utrecht, 1952, pp. 110–6, who shows (ill. 2) Van 's-Gravesande's wooden model. Among other projects before his appointment at Leyden Van 's-Gravesande may have designed the architectural setting for the admiral Piet Hein's tomb at Delft about 1637. See R. Meischke, "Het klassicisme van 1620–1660", *delftse studiën*, Assen, 1967, pp. 171–86.
17. Except for the much changed façades of the Heerenlogement all the Leyden buildings are illustrated in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, and most of them also in Vermeulen, *Handboek*. For the non-documented works attributions vary greatly among different authors.
18. Attribution. No documentary evidence.
19. H. van Oerle, "De Bouwgeschiedenis van de Thysiusbibliotheek aan het Rapenburg", *Leids Jaarboekje 1943*, Leyden, 1943, pp. 170–9. In the interior symmetrical flights of stairs united to reach the library-hall on the first floor with one flight in the middle. On the corners of the roof: metal spheres. The carpenter was Willem van der Helm which gives an indication about his architectural formation.
20. No documentary evidence, but as it was a work of the Town its "fabrique" will have

been responsible for the design. Mentioned as by Van 's-Gravesande by J.J. Terwen, "De Ontwerpgeschiedenis van de Marekerk te Leiden" in *Opus Musivum* (festschrift Ozinga), Assen, 1964, p. 248. Not to be confused with the later (1671–2) extension of the same building by Van der Helm.

21. The same considerations as in note 20 above. Mentioned as by Van 's-Gravesande by E. Pelinck, "De functionarissen belast met de zorg voor de Stadsbouwwerken te Leiden (1575–1818)" in *Leids Jaarboekje 1967*, p. 65. There is an error in the caption to the portrait by Barent Fabritius: it does not represent Van 's-Gravesande but Van der Helm. (Cf. *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam–Maarssen, 1976, p. 224). As the portrait is dated 1656 the architecture in the background – a mediaeval structure behind a Classicist fabric – will be an allusion to Van der Helm's work on the Bibliotheca Thysiana and the Burcht).

Pelinck also mentions the turret proposal for the Blauwe Poort, an exquisite cupola-turret designed in 1644 (Municipal Archives, Leyden, P.V. 3961). Cf. H. van Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, Beschrijving*, Leyden, 1975, p. 347 (The design was not executed, eventually Willem van der Helm built a new turret in 1667).

It may be noted that Arent van 's-Gravesande seems as yet extremely succesful in defying time. All his great works survive. And, so far as they are known to us, most of his smaller works. Of the 22 works mentioned in the text only the gate-way of Rijkswijk has been completely demolished. The Leidschendam church was repaired after a fire and altered in the 19th century. Also changed beyond recognition is the Logement van Leiden, while the Heerenlogement after many alterations caught fire when it was about to be restored (September 1976). But *all* the other 18 works are more or less intact! (Including the model for the Wittevrouwenpoort which is in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, and the pen and water-colour of the Blauwe Poort cupola in the Municipal Archives, Leyden, P.V. 3961, signed and dated 20 December 1644).

22. Attribution. No documentary evidence.
23. Year of construction documented. See note 8 of the section on Justus Vingboons.
24. Built for the rich cloth merchant Adriaan Hennebo. Application to the town in *Gerechtsdagboek C.C.*, fol. 249–249 verso, dated 3 April 1653, Kind information of P.J.M. de Baar, Municipal Archives, Leyden, It appears from the application that the forward inclination was less than that of the neighbour so that only the Ionic pilasters of the ground floor had a relative projection (for which special permission was asked), whereas the upper stage was in keeping with the neighbours.
25. See note 36 below.
26. A. Versprille, "De Geschiedenis van het huis van Daniel van der Meulen (Rapenburg 19)", *Leids Jaarboekje 1943*, Leyden, 1943, pp. 158–69, who suggests that Arent van 's-Gravesande may be the architect. Illustrated in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, plate 309. Note the pulvinated stone friezes over both the centre and the windows of the ground floor.
27. It was a fairly modest remodelling, with new entrance, pediment, etc. To be discerned with some difficulty on Marot's 1686 engraving of the annual fair. Still it was important as one of the first Classicist elevations at the Hague. It was changed to Rococo taste in 1731, sold by the Town in 1799 and acquired, in 1807, by the Society "De Besognekamer", one of the oldest clubs of Holland, which still has its general headquarters there. See E. Pelinck, "Het Logement van Leiden te 's-Gravenhage" in *Leids Jaarboekje 1965*, pp. 37–48 and A.D.R. Verbeek, *De Besognekamer 1795–1945*, the Hague, 1946.
28. Related composition schemes in Palladio's S. Francesco della Vigna and S. Giorgio Maggiore.
29. First passable prints: Randwerk Hagen (1670 and 1675). A stiff but very accurate painting by Susanna Steenwijck, dating from 1642, was bought by the City in the same year and has remained in its

possession, so that now it is exhibited in the Lakenhal itself, which was adapted to house the municipal museum in 1869–70.

30. See also Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, pp. 162–3. In *Universiteit & Architectuur*, (*op. cit.* in chapter IV, note 2) it is suggested that Van 's-Gravesande designed the archway to the University Library and Anatomical Theatre. This gate, with a sculptured tympanum, is known from a not too accurate late 18th century water-coloured drawing.
31. In the 1671–2 extension Van der Helm used a high basement storey so that he could reduce the height of the giant pilasters over it and have four pilasters under the pediment. For the similarities between this later extension and a design for Bedlam see the paragraphs on Hooke.
32. See Ozinga, *Kerkenbouw*, pp. 153–4.
33. Cf. the intercolumniation of other buildings: Philips Vingboons' Ioan Poppen House, 1:2.5, his Driemond 1 to more than 3, in the middle bay almost 4. Justus Vingboons' Trippenhuis varying from about 1:2 to 1:2.5 (in 1662 a late instance of so small a ratio). Van Campen's *meisjesplaats* (in the orphanage at Amsterdam; for discussion and illustrations see Meischke, *Burgerweeshuis*, passim), about 1:3. On all these buildings the height of the pilasters is about nine diameters, except at Rapenburg 2 (taller, about 1:10) and Driemond (a rather thick-set Corinthian, about 1:8).
34. Vingboons is not recorded as having designed at Leyden. If he had, he would have included so important a house as Rapenburg 48 in his book. Moreover all his known designs differ from it in having either a much wider intercolumnation in the middle bay (Westwijck, Vredenburgh), or, when evenly spaced, in having a higher basement and centre pediment (Ioan Poppen). Only Driemond has a low base and almost even spacing, but here Corinthian is used and the upper windows touch the architrave. It may be noted that the Ioan Poppen façade is strictly perpendicular.
35. *Vermeulen*, III, 313, dealing with the house Janskerkhof 13, Utrecht, from 1648 (his ill. 818) writes that this house has been ascribed to Jacob van Campen but that he, Vermeulen, would prefer to think of Arent van 's-Gravesande as he detects many of the latter's idiosyncracies in the building. That is true, but I am still very much inclined to attribute the house to a pupil – though a gifted one who is exhibiting every detail, the whole catalogue, of his master's work. And how un-classical is the festooned attica between the storeys! Janskerkhof 13 has fine harmonious proportions but not the firmness of Van 's-Gravesande's authentic work.

    Almelo House has the same rare occurrence of two tiers of swags between giant Ionic pilasters as the house Rapenburg 48, but it was built after Van 's-Gravesande's death. As it dates from 1662–6 it has more slender pilasters than earlier work; it is sometimes attributed to Philips Vingboons (*Vermeulen*, III, 187–8) and it has close similarities to some of Philips' designs, for instance plate 70 from the second book – but the broken pediment seems uncharacteristic of Vingboons.
36. Similar swags at Breestraat 139, which has a giant Ionic order and can be seen as a transition between Rapenburg 48 and Noordeinde 50. Breestraat 139 is rather mutilated but in its remaining parts it bears close similarities to Noordeinde 50. If the last house may be ascribed to Van 's-Gravesande, it may be noted that it was Adriaan Hennebo's cousin Abraham Hennebo who had the house built in 1652 (Municipal Archives, Leyden, Quohier van de nieuwe getimmertens, Secr. Arch. 6890. Kind information of P.J.M. de Baar).
37. He advised on various buildings, in 1645 for Frederick Henry on the great hall of the Noordeinde Palace. In 1646 together with Drijfhout on the stables at Honselaarsdijk. In 1650–1 on the tower at Maassluis. In 1651 on the Oostkerk, Middelburg. This is apart from his work as a water-engineer for the City of Leyden, most of which must have been lost, such as the lock-gates at Leidschendam (drawing dated 25th October 1650, Municipal Archives,

P.V. 85358) and a number of bridges in the town itself.

38. In a committee, on the sluices next to Swanenburgh. These sluices were evidently not entrusted to Pieter Post. J. Slagter and W.F. van den Burgh, "Pieter Post als Architect van Rijnland", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1941, p. 58.
39. The Woubrugge buttresses are a striking example of meticulous bricklaying: being on the corners they have an outward or inward angle running along their middle, apart from their curve and inclination.
40. Some authors ascribe it to Pieter Post on the flimsy evidence that in 1661 (when Van 's-Gravesande was no longer in Holland) Post supplied drawings of it to another village wishing to build a church. It was common practice to have (copies of) drawings made after several models before deciding which type of church to build.
41. It seems an emendation in a nutshell of the Nieuwe Kerk at the Hague.
42. Cf. W.C.S. van Benthem Jutting, "Vorstelijk Bezoek te Leiden in 1613?", *Leids Jaarboekje 1967*, pp. 101–5, and the same author, "Het Vorstelijk Bezoek te Leiden in 1613", *Leids Jaarboekje 1972*, pp. 109–10. The Duke of Arundel is recorded to have visited Leyden in the train of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine, in 1613. So most likely Inigo Jones stayed as well at Leyden from 21 to 22 May 1613.

Chapter 10

1. Most authors agree on the year of his death. Only Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, p. 242, gives 1682. It seems superfluous to go on noticing similar mistakes in this disappointingly inaccurate work.
2. J.J. Terwen, in *Opus Musivum*, Assen, 1964, p. 253, note 28, conjectures that the book may have been Stalpaert's; to me it seems pretty certain. The plan and section of the Marekerk in it may have been given to Stalpaert by Van Campen or perhaps by Van 's-Gravesande himself. Terwen enumerates the parts of the collection, so we can note here briefly that it also contained Besson Dauphinois, *Théâtre des Instruments mathématiques, etc.*, Lyons, 1579; a restoration design (partly followed) for the parish church at De Rijp, which burnt down in 1654, which occurrence seems to give the latest date of the collection; Terwen's nr. 10 are the print of the Remonstrant Church, a map of South-Holland of 1644 and the underwater vessel "built 1653".
3. *Vermeulen* III, pp. 193 and 251. H.F. Wijnman in *D'Ailly's Historische Gids van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1963, p. 195, states that the sculpture was designed by Quellien and executed by Jan Gijseling de Oude.
4. A.W. Weissman, "Daniel Stalpaert" in *Oud-Holland*, 29 (1911), pp. 65–85, is rather prudent, for him. He writes, p. 81: "very good proportions . . . the elevations betray Van Campen's influence . . . having two pediments and alternating full storeys and mezzanines". Magda Révész-Alexander in *Die Alten Lagerhäuser Amsterdams*, the Hague, 1954, second edition, p. 81, says "Der Bau ist unter dem faszinierenden Einfluss des Rathauses entstanden wie so manche grosse Bauten jener Zeit, doch ist hier durch Zwang und durch Forderungen des praktischen Zweckes die Nüchternheit mehr in der Vordergrund getreten". The impossible remarkt that the plan must have been influenced by Van Campen's Town Hall is in *Vermeulen*, III, p. 251.
5. Ills. in Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, pl. 103, and *W. & W.*, p. 283.
6. Weissman, *op. cit.*, p. 80, mentions four engravings, edited by Nicolaas Visscher; Révész-Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 81 says "einige gute, genaue . . . im Stadtarchiv", *Vermeulen* III, 192 speaks of "eenige" (some). But see the chapter on the printed sources for the five engravings representing four elevations and two plans altogether of the Arsenal and the ancillary building.
7. This and another drawing, both by H. Schouten, ills. 64 and 65 in Révész-

Alexander, *op. cit.*

8. They range from a fairly accurate one, illustrated here, with the caption "Representation of the two blockhouses on the Amstel in front of Amsterdam, founded in the year 1650, cut by Nolpe, who prints and sells the same at Amsterdam", to pretty genre pictures (by Reinier Zeeman or Nooms, in 1650 too) in which the accidental skaters attract all attention.
9. Illustrated in *W. & W.*, p. 293. Weissman, *op. cit.*, p. 82, holds it to be a work by Stalpaert; *Vermeulen*, III, p. 253, mentions the possibility that a mason of the Admiralty made the design. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 866, refutes this and says that it is quite possible that Stalpaert created the design with its Ionic pilasters.
10. For the representation cf. the section on De Bray, third paragraph, above.
11. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 864, does not mention the conversion of the Exchange and states that Stalpaert only used Tuscan if he used any order. But see note 9 above.
12. Stalpaert's work, together with De Keyser's, was pulled down in 1836.
13. A tinted drawing in the Amsterdam City Archives shows a slightly sterner pre-design with the regular two panels instead of an arch and without Mercury. The statue is omitted in Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst.* It was mentioned, however, by A.W. Weissman in "Daniel Stalpaert", *Oud Holland* 29 (1911), p. 82. An account of the building history by Joh. C. Breen in *Uit Amsterdam's Verleden*, Amsterdam, 1934, pp. 67–8.
14. I.H. van Eeghen, "De Restauratie van Kerkstraat 183 en Daniel Stalpaert", *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 1976, pp. 112–17.
15. The Gate has long since been demolished. There are passable engravings in the topographies. The authorship is documented by an old gloss in the Municipal Archives: "extract uit Memoriael ter Thesaurie der Stad berustende . . . 1662 . . . Den 1 September: Dat de Sloterpoort sal gemaeckt worden volgens de tekeninge van Daniel Stalpart." (Extract from memorandum in the Town's Financial Department . . . 1662 . . . 1 September: that the Sloterpoort (an old name for the Leidsche Poort) will be made after the drawing by Daniel Stalpaert).

Chapter 11

1. The partition wall in fact runs into the middle of the windows of the central bay.
2. On the few known personal facts about the family see I.H. van Eeghen, "De familie Vinckboons-Vingboons" in *Oud-Holland*, 67 (1952), pp. 217–32.
3. It seems to be impossible for the French to achieve a completely classical façade. At Marly for instance the effect of the order is spoilt by the quoins at the corners.
4. Vingboons cannot have known Hellenistic examples of carved Corinthian friezes, but he may have seen the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and the Mausoleum at St. Rémy de Provence.
5. Illustration: Vermeulen, 906.
6. As a house in a continuous block it cannot be seen in the round, and the transition to the adjoining houses is solved by non-functional smooth planes over which festoons are suspended.
7. They are: 1. Heerengracht 400–408, five very similar houses of 1665, of the small high "Vingboons-type" with three bays. Detailing with pediments over the middle salient (segmental) and over the windows triangular and segmental pediments or swags, mullion-and-transom windows; the attic-scroll consisting of acanthus and festoons. Illustrated in *W. & W.* p. 229.

   2. Heerengracht 390–392, similar to the above, but flatter, originally probably even without swags and pediments over the windows, and perhaps without mullion-and-transom windows. Triangular Classicist pediments over the gables, but in attic wings fanciful sculpture: cartouches for the coat of armes of the house's master and mistress, held by their over life-size statues.

Illustrated in *W. & W.* p. 226.

3. Two smaller houses, Heerengracht 396–8. Façades not in stone as the fore-going but in brick, in all aspects simpler. About 1680, maybe by Hendrick Lometis (E. van Houten in notes at the 1962 reprint of Caspar Philips' *Grachtenboek*). Illustrated in *W. & W.* p. 227.

4. Keizersgracht 387, built in 1668. Owned by the Hendrick de Keyser Society. Sandstone façade, in details very similar to Heerengracht 400–408, but on somewhat grander scale and with very fine proportions. Illustrated in R. Meischke, *Het Nederlandse Woonhuis van 1300–1800*, Haarlem, 1969 (describing all the houses of the Society), p. 445 and in *W. & W.* p. 235.

5. Heerengracht 476, De Vicq-De Neufville-Mirandolle House. Built about 1670, owned by the Hendrick de Keyser Society. Broad, very beautiful façade whose colossal Corinthian apparatus in stone contrasts with the red brick filling. Original pediment replaced about 1710 by excellently designed and carved attic in the style of Louis XIV. Rather coarsely engraved in the "Grachtenboekje" of Cornelis Danckerts. Illustrated in Meischke, *op. cit.* pp. 459 and 463. The earliest engraving does not show the customary incision of the cornice into the adjacent houses of which the earlier dates from 1669, this seems to be an indication that De Vicq had it built in 1667 as a wedding present to his son. Attribution to a Vingboons by *Vermeulen*, III, p. 189. Meischke, *op. cit.* p. 462, invokes as sources of inspiration both the Trippenhuis and Philips Vingboons' house for Ioan Poppen (Kloveniersburgwal 95, ill. *W. & W.* pp. 9 and 102).

These houses have wholly sandstone façades, here the contrasting effect recalls the Palazzo Senatorio.

6. Heerengracht 507, from 1676, presumably the last 17th century house in Amsterdam with a pilaster order. Broad five bay sandstone façade with four colossal Corinthian pilasters on the pedimented salient. If one is inclined to attribute Heerengracht 476 to Justus Vingboons, one may ascribe this one to him as well.

Illustrated in A.A. Kok, *Amsterdamsche Woonhuizen*, Amsterdam, 1946, fourth edition (enlarged), pp. 212 (façade) and 203 (plan).

8. Individual features characteristic of Justus, apart from the fluted pilasters and the decorated frieze, are the plan, with the entrance on the ground floor, and the rigid verticality of the façade. This verticality is a feature that distinguishes Justus from every other contemporary Dutch architect. From the earliest construction, at the end of the Middle Ages, of elevations in light brick or faced with stone, it was customary to incline them slightly towards the street. This was also done with the two street elevations of the corner houses of the blocks, sometimes even with two or more façades of free-standing buildings. The custom continued until abbout 1800 and gives the old Dutch streets their intimate spatial character.

The Trippenhuis façade on the other hand is strictly perpendicular. Even if the other houses attributed to Justus are really his, they lean forward. An other important example of a 17th century house that – being perpendicular – seems to lean back between inclined neighbours, is Rapenburg 48 at Leyden. It is on a grand scale, with sandstone giant pilasters of the Ionic order, very sumptuous swags in high relief and a fine doorcase that is original. The house, dated by Ter Kuile XVII-c (*Rijnland*, p. 146 and ill. 333), is mentioned by *Vermeulen*, III, p. 295, who "would like to ascribe it to Van 's-Gravesande" if it were not "for a certain hardness" that suggests to him a building time about 1660. But it *was* built, for Wouter Alewijn's heirs, as early as 1640! (New taxation in 1642, quarrels with neighbour over new façade in 1640 – kind information of P.J.M. de Baar, Municipal Archives, Leyden).

The year 1640 is very important as there are in Leyden some other elevations of about the same year which are strictly vertical: Rapenburg 2 in the Mauritshuis way and the Hofje van Brouchoven, of

which the latter is almost certainly by Arent van 's-Gravesande. This pure Classicism was very soon discarded again in favour of the old custom of building *op vlucht*, i.e. with a slight inclination.

9. See W. Kuyper in *op. cit.* in chapter 7, note 22.

Chapter 12

1. Especially Isabella H. van Eeghen, "De familie Vinckboons-Vingboons" in *Oud-Holland*, 1952, pp. 217–32. Earlier studies by Schoy and Weissman are not reliable; Schoy is often biased.
2. There has been some confusion about this date. Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, p. 139, states 1607 or 1608, but in *A. & A.*, p. 239, he begrudges him seven years of his life, erroneously giving 1614. After the former of these publications Van Eeghen, *op. cit.*, p. 221, had given the more probable date of 1607/8.
3. Van Eeghen, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 and 231. The name Questiers is not found in the index of Meischke, *Weeshuis.*
4. A brother of Philips is also known to have married a Catholic wife. Petronella's sister Catarina Questiers had some notoriety as a very beautiful woman as well as poetess and playwright. One of the plays performed at the opening of the 1665 theatre designed by Philips, her brother-in-law, was hers. She also made drawings for the frontispieces of her plays and a portrait of Pieter de Mayer, whose house was to be built by Philips.
5. J.A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg 1496–1772*, Amsterdam, 1920, pp. 75 and 78.
6. The prints are not as fine as in the 1648 edition. As they are not signed the engraver must remain unknown.
7. In *Oud-Holland*, 1952, p. 229. The architectural painting is dated 1634, the subject was Hendrick de Keyser's 1611 Exchange. It is a hint to pay more than superficial attention to the turret of that Exchange. Cf. note 43 below.
8. Cf. Weissman's assumption in *Oud-Holland* XXIX (1909) that Vingboons did not visit Italy "because the voyage from Florence to Naples would have taken him to Rome, which at that time had an architecture of great importance, about which an architect would not have remained silent. So VINGBOONS will have known the art of Italy only by hearsay." The passage illustrates the insubstantial basis of Weissman's articles. He quotes from the preface of the 1688 edition in which – after Philips' death – the eulogies of Rome and the Pope are omitted.
9. It was found among the books of the Town-Architect Van der Hart which were bought by the Town after his death in 1820. Published in C.A. van Swigchem, *Abraham van der Hart*, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 320. Thesis nr. 6 to this dissertation, translated: "Considering the origins of the gable-type which was practised by Ph. Vingboons at the Amsterdam canals and which was typical of his style, one should pay attention to influences by the works of Villalpandus and Du Cerceau" certainly needs further investigation.
10. Margaret Whinney and Oliver Millar, *English Art 1625–1714*, Oxford, 1957, p. 138.
11. *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste Gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft. t'Aemstelerdam, by Philips en Ioan Vingboons, 1648. Men vintse by Ioan Blaeu oock te koop.* (Representations of the most important Buildings out of all that Philips Vingboons designed . . . Also sold by Ioan Blaeu.)
12. Ten years later, in 1658, when there is more competition, the level of architectural debate lowers. Danckert Danckerts even calls the pedant Bosboom a "Rabbi" (in *Noodighe Waarschouwinghe*, "Necessary Caution", preface in some of his Scamozzi-editions).
13. Vingboons seems to have noticed that De Bray mixed up two chapters of the Bible and therefore two Hirams, the king of Tyre and a craftsman who, coming from the

Lebanon, worked for Solomon's own palace (I. Kings, 5 : 1–10 and 18, and 7 : 13–14).

14. *Architectura Moderna*, p. 11 "Want de *Schouw-hoven, Ren-banen, Collossen, Piramiden*, en alle dergelijcke overstallige Gestichten, zijn volgens d'eenvoudighheyd van onse Christelijcke Leere, gantsch in ongebruyck geraect, en oock vreemt aen de suynige arbeytsaemheyd van onse Landsvolck". (He uses on purpose a Dutch word for "theatre" coining "schouw-hoven" some seven years before Vondel coined his "schouw-burg").
15. Van Eeghen, *op. cit.*, p. 221, mentions as Catholic Patrons Guilliaume Belin la Garde, Pieter Jansz. Swelinck, Abraham Pietersz. Croock and Jacob Kromhout. See also note 49 below.
16. Colours gradually disappear from the façades at that time, though, and there is a transition from the "picturesque" effect of the Mannerists to a kind of sculptural *clair-obscure* in Vingboons' work.
17. Some of his plans show partition walls running into the mullion of a window. The Nicolaas van Bambeeck House (Kloveniersburgwal 77, from 1650) has four bays and so the middle pilaster is immediately under the centre of the pediment. This has often been criticized, others have countered the attracks by saying that the motif is French and can be found at several corner pavilions, or that Vingboons may be excused by classical examples, even "if he did not know the Basilica at Paestum"(!).
18. *Vingboons*, I, 17, 18. The 1648 edition has no engraver's name on the two plates. The name of the "inventor" is spelled Vinckeboons on the plate of the façade (nr. 18). There is no name at all on the plan (nr. 17).
19. An Amsterdam foot, measuring 28.31 cm, is somewhat smaller than a Rijnland one (used at Leyden and the Hague, 31.39 cm) or an English one (30.48 cm).
20. The first edition states 16¼ x 23½ feet (on the plan). One of the small mistakes of the later editions makes it only 11¼ x 23½. Vingboons' description, as all in his first volume, is brief: "This . . . Building, of which the Elevation is wholly of white stone of Bentheim, Sr. *Daniel Soyhier* had it built; is fitted up very luxuriously in the interior, and furnished with diverse Rooms, which are very elegantly decorated, at their Chimneys and Ceilings as well, and likewise is represented on the Plan the size of all the Rooms, has a Garden of 70 feet, which I have not been able to show because of the smallness of the place (i.e. in the book). Is within *Amsterdam*, at the Eastside of the Keizersgracht, obliquely across the Schouwburg". (from *Gronden en Afbeeldsels*, 3rd ed., 1688, description at plates 17 and 18, similar to the other editions, only the dates of the houses, mentioned in the 1648 and 1715 editions, have been left out).
21. Notably at the elongated gables ("halsgevels") of about 1725–1750.
22. At the Ameldonck Leeuwen House, Rokin 95, the temptation to connect the *tempietti* by continuing the entablature and to "de-gable" the front became too strong for a later proprietor. So he got a smart neo-Classical house. Perhaps that is the reason why the *Voorloopige Lijst* and *Vermeulen*, III, 177 (of 1941) did not recognize the house. *Slothouwer*, however, did, *op. cit.* (1928), p. 41.
23. The elongated gables are classified in Holland, according to their particular form, as "neck-gables" or "elongated neck-gables", "bell-gables", "peaked-gables" (tuitgevels, topgevels), "stepped gables", etc.
24. For instance: Oude Zijds Voorburgwal 249 (1610).
25. For this edition see the section on the printed sources.
26. The three other houses are those of Ioan Poppen, Ioan Huydecoper and Michael Paeuw.
27. The title of this Vignola edition does not go back to those given in the Catalogue of the State Print Room. The editor is Chrispyn de Pas, at Amsterdam, the title "Regola de Cinque Ordini D' Architettura Di M. Giacomo Barozzio D' Avignola" is followed by Dutch, French and German versions. The year of the edition has been tampered with and made into 1659. If

perhaps the original date was 1639 it means that the façade of the Ioan Poppen House (which was begun in 1642) should have been designed by 1639 as well. Library of the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap.

28. *Vingboons* I, 3, 4. The beautiful 18th century staircase has most pitifully been painted white quite recently.
29. These pediments were still (and in every direction) alternatingly triangular and segmental.
30. The pineapples are still visible on Van der Heyden's paintings, in the 18th century they were replaced by vases.
31. *Vingboons* I, 7, 8 (project) and 5, 6 (executed design). Heerengracht 237, since demolished. For detailed information about the houses on the Keizersgracht see annotations to Caspar Philips Jacobszoon's *Grachtenboek* by E. van Houten in the reprint of 1962, on the Heerengracht those of G. Roosegaarde Bisschop in *Heerengrachtboek.*
32. "Had dese verdeelingh gevolght geweest, soude op de plaets beter gepast hebben, aengezien 't Erf achter seer hoogh van andere Huysen betimmert is, en soude dan syn lichten van ter syde, alwaer gelegentheyt was, beter gehad hebben". (1688, at plates 7 and 8).
33. There is no documentary evidence about the architect. It would have been somebody working with Scamozzi as the orders are Ionic-Composite-Corinthian. The magnificent house is still standing, only the half-bay windows of the lower storeys have been walled up.
34. P.P. Rubens, *Palazzi antichi di Genova. Palazzi moderni di Genova*, Antwerp, 1622.
35. *Vingboons* I, 30–32. The façade, only slightly damaged during the war, was dismantled and stacked away, and has been awaiting resurrection ever since. For the rustication c.f. that of the Luxembourg.
36. For the question of the authorship see the sections on the printed sources.
37. *Vingboons* I, 56–59.
38. *Vingboons* I, 19, 20.
39. *Vingboons* II, 51–55. The very steep roof with high dormers is a recent addition.
40. *Vingboons* II, 60–63.
41. *Vermeulen* discusses Vingboons mainly in III, pp. 175–91. The lapse of twenty-five years allows some minor alterations to be made. Thus on page 175: his father's name should be David, not Philips. His birthdate was 1607 or 1608. Page 176, on the editions: erroneously stated that the 1664 patent was only used for the Trippenhuis. The list of works, pp. 176–8, can be amended on several points. Using Vermeulen's numbers: Nr. 6, since identified as Singel 282–6. Nr. 7, Heerengracht 237, demolished 1881. Nr. 8, (*Slothouwer* erroneously: Heerengracht 438), *Heerengrachtboek*: Heerengracht 258, changed 1764. Nr. 10, Rokin 145 *and* 147, the latter with a new façade of 1884. Nr. 11, (*Slothouwer*:) Gelderse Kade 18A (i.e. 18–18A–18B, façade changed). Nr. 14, House Driemond, commissioned presumably by Gerbrant Anslo. See Gustav Leonardt "Een Vingboonshuis geschilderd door Hondecoeter", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 52 (1960), p. 90. Nr. 15, Croot, not Groot. Nr. 16, On the Rokin or Turfmarkt. Parts retained in the buildings of the *Nederlandsche Bank.* Nr. 18. Rans, not Ram. Nr. 19, Rokin 95. Nr. 20, For Sara de Waal. Since rendered and spoilt by big extension of 1835. Nr. 21, Dubious attribution, see below. Nr. 22, "House" is too lofty a name for a structure, on a site of about 1350 square foot, which contained several cellar-dwellings, shops and a lot of tenements. Nr. 23 and Nr. 25, One and the same house. Nr. 29, For N. van Heuvel. Nr. 38, Keizersgracht 577, changed.

For the inclusion of Nr. 21, the Oude Zijds Heerenlogement, there is no documentary or sufficient stylistic evidence. The building (Plate 4, also illustrated in Révész-Alexander, *op. cit.*, plates 26, 29, 31, 47–8 and 49, demolished in 1874) has some characteristics, or rather details that might have been Vingboons': the grilles as at the Nijs Hous, for example. The archway with two lions on the pediment, a motif repeated on the upper pediment, is rather old-fashioned. The whole façade seems adapted

to two older buildings.

Omitted are the following: (a) the Burchaert House at Hamburg (about 1660, *Vingboons* II, 11–13, demolished in the second world war). (b) All the unexecuted projects (except the Town Hall). These include six in vol. I and three in vol. II, (c) The dubious attributions by Vermeulen himself: pp. 187 and 316, two houses at Kampen, his plates 797 and 805; p. 275, the 1634 house O.Z. Voorburgwal 239 at Amsterdam; p. 187, Polstraat 18 in Deventer (he might as well have mentioned nr. 39 in the same street).

There should be added to the list Vingboons' work for the Orphanage, which included (1) A project for houses along the Luciensteeg, (2) Houses for artisans in the Noortsche Bosch quarter, of which some survive, (3) Work on the Schouwburg of 1637 – in any case the drawing of the plan, presumably some small alterations and, with Justus, the total rebuilding of 1665. See Meischke, *Weeshuis* and L. van Nierop, "De Huizen in het Noortsche Bosch", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 34 (1937), pp. 93–131.

Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 868, suggests that Heerengracht 59 and 257 and Keizersgracht 401 may be Vingboons'. Of these the first seems the least, the last the most likely suggestion.

There is also the probability, as Vermeulen himself remarks on p. 187–8, that Vingboons had a hand in the rebuilding of the country seats Singraven and Almelo.

Apart from *schuilkerken* at least one ecclesiastical building was designed by Vingboons, the 1671 Roman Catholic church of SS. Joannes and Ursula at the Begijnhof, and also, as Meischke makes very probable, the 1672 Jesuit church on the Raamgracht, both at Amsterdam. See Meischke, *Kerken*, cols. 110–5.

42. *Vingboons* I, 60, 61.

43. This turret seems to derive from that of the Exchange, one of De Keyser's more classical turrets and which Vingboons had once painted. Illustrations of the Exchange in Elisabeth Neurenburg, *Hendrick de Keyser*, Amsterdam, (1929), plates XVII and XVIII. For a comparison of the two others see G. Kolleman, "Philips Vingboons", etc., in *Ons Amsterdam*, 1970, p. 312. (The engravings illustrated in *Neurdenburg* differ from the present plates 423A and 441B).

44. E.H. Ter Kuile, *De Houten Torenbekroningen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Leiden, 1929, p. 98, and *De Torens van Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1941, pp. 99–100, does not mention the likeness, and so *Vermeulen*, III, p. 186, seems really the first.

45. The one on the right, nr. 29, still has four original transom-and-mullion windows at the top. The flexibility of the type is also shown by the fact that the other later windows (and lower storey as well) do not disturb the total effect.

46. Post states for example that the voorhuis has Composite pilasters "as described by Vinc. Scamozzi", and that in between them and all over the staircase are paintings; the treads and balusters of the staircase are of solid "Palo Santo Wood" – so there we find the Brazilian wood which makes of the Mauritshuis, that "belle, tres belle & bellissime maison" as the count himself calls it, a little jewel, a real "Temple of Solomon". Of course the beautiful materials that Johan Maurits was to send from Brazil were not intended to make a model of the Temple of Solomon as the translation by Worp suggests (nr. 1763: . . . for a small temple of Solomon . . . The original French in the works of Christiaan Huygens and in *Slothouwer*, p. 343: . . . "les beaux materiaux que vous specifiez à cet effect, tant de bois qu'en pierre, il nous est advis qu'un petit Temple de Salomon doibt resusciter").

Huygens, Van Campen and Count Johan Maurits were not narrow-minded Calvinists; they meant, by comparison, to make the Mauritshuis as beautiful as a small Solomon's Temple. Nor was any reconstruction of that famous Old Testament structure in Van Campen's mind when he designed the Town-Hall.

46a. R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (in chapter VII, note 36) argues that this "spot-light" was inclined in such a way as to light Johan Maurits' face (on a sunny day) when he

received guests in the Great Upper Hall on occasion of his birthday, the 18th of June.

47. The drawings are published by D.F. Rowan in "The English Playhouse: 1595–1630" in *Renaissance Drama*, New Series IV, 1971, p. 39. Also in Harris, Orgel and Strong, *op. cit.*, nrs. 194–5. Post's sections are illustrated in Van der Wijck, *Het Loo*, pls. 9 and 11.
48. This raises the interesting question of when Van Campen really started work on the Town Hall. The delay in payment would have been due to the fact that Van Campen did not receive a fee for the first Town Hall designs or for the two other works.
49. *Vingboons*, I, 36–38. As remarked above the elevation is among the 1642 pre-designs and there is even the possibility that it was made earlier and maybe before the plan. As executed and shown in print in 1648 it has equal bays; the pre-design has a wider middle bay.
50. The newel staircase to the left of the dining-room, to connect it with the kitchen, is *not* given on the plan of the piano nobile, but it appears on the basement-plan in a small service-wing.
51. The house's estimated worth in 1634 was f. 24.000,–, a large sum.
52. Meischke, *Kerken*, col. 98, and see also cols. 98 and 104 for *schuilkerken* to be fitted up in Vingboons' houses for Oetgens van Waveren and Kromhout. The extension about 1665 of the Gerbrandt Ornia House, Heerengracht 135 (*Vingboons* II, 66–8), also has the appearance of containing a *schuilkerk*. Ornia was another Roman Catholic patron of Vingboons. Cf. J.F.M. Sterck "Het Huis Heerengracht 412", Jaarboek Amstelodamum IX (1911), pp. 127–35, and *Heerengracht-boek*.

Chapter 13

1. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 21 August 1641. Ed. E.S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, II, p. 43. According to De Beer's introduction Evelyn may have copied his observations many years after his visit to the Netherlands.
2. Judged by the so-called "Scamozzian design", Worcester College, Clarke Collection, i, 51, which in my opinion is a fairly close variant of the elevations belonging to the third design.
3. Even if the façades of the Town Hall had been ready by this time John Webb would have preferred more Italianate designs.
4. In the collection (see note 2 above) are two plans of the second design, two of the third, one elevation of the first design and the above mentioned, nrs. 19–23 and 51. The rather superfluous third lateral staircases in the longitudinal axis, which do not yet appear in the second design, are a faint hint that Webb took features from the Monogrammist Town Hall design as well. For a plan of the last see W. Kuyper, *op. cit.* in chapter 7, note 63 (and redrawn: Figure 14).
5. Robert Hooke, *Diary*, ed. by W. Robinson and W. Adams, London, 1935, 7 November 1674, "Vingboon and Muets architecture. 30 sh." Presumably Vingboons' second book which appeared in that year, and as likely as not soon after the Treaty of Westminster (19 February 1674) which concluded the Anglo-Dutch war (1672–4). The war annoyed Hooke as it hindered his scientific contacts with Holland. He noted on Feb. 28, 1674: "Peace with Holland proclaimed. Bonfires".
6. *Diary*, 27 December 1675, "Took de Laet at 23 sh". Another reference for instance on 2 July 1675, "Took note of books to send for to Amsterdam."; Goldmann's capital was engraved by Jan Mathijs.
7. Nancy Halverson Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. XXVIII (1969), pp. 254–70.
8. *Diary*, 26 March 1674: "Sent letter to Const. Hugens by Pits", and 28 March 1674: "Sent a book to Hugenius".
9. For instance *Diary*, 21 February 1673, "bought . . . High Dutch bible, 2 low dutch testaments 1 sh. Stevins mechanicks, Dutch 4 d . . . Dutch Corderius".

10. *Diary*, 7 July 1674, "Saw Mr. Story who returnd from Holland Saturday last. Told me of the new Lutheran church 70 foot Diameter . . . and 70 foot over at Amsterdam . . . Of the Jews new Synagogue 100 foot square – Drank ale with him". This leaves no doubt that Hooke really meant the New or Round Lutheran Church (1671) and not the Oosterkerk (as stated in Whinney, *Wren*, p. 64). Moreover he gives an illustration which consists of a circle round the cypher 70, half surrounded by a hemicycle representing the semicircular galleries which aroused his interest. The measurement "100 foot square" suggests that the preliminary design of the Portuguese Synagogue is meant.
11. Add. MS. 5238.
12. At least that he had not shown enough experiments to please the members of that distinguished society. See E.N. da C. Andrade, "Robert Hooke", *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, A. CCI, (1950), p. 471.
13. Both represented in M.I. Batten, "The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke", *Walpole Society*, XXV, 1936–37.

13a. *Colvin*, second edition, p. 431.

14. Note for instance the pavilions and the symmetry of the staircases, unusual for England.
15. See ill. 29 in O. Hill and J. Cornforth, *Caroline 1625–1685*, London, 1966. If the executed version as shown by Kip (c. 1698) had two widely spaced pilasters (or columns) supporting the pediment, this motif could have been found on the Vredenburgh engravings by Post and Vingboons (*I*, 34) as well as seen in Leyden on Van 's-Gravesande's Gravesteen extension.
16. Two examples are the Morschpoort at Leyden (1669) and a house called The King of Poland, Heerengracht 192, Amsterdam (1661, destroyed 1896). Apart from being non-Classicist (the former with Mannerist, the latter with Baroque features) they were not engraved and did not resemble Bedlam. Nor did they resemble that other instance of a giant segmental arch which is sometimes considered to have been influenced by Dutch architecture, Temple Bar, which in its appearance is rather French or even Italian. (The ultimate source may very well have been the Ponte del Sospiri at Venice).
17. Illustrated in Schless, *op. cit.*, fig. 16 and *Diary*, facing p. 146.
18. From about 1640, not executed, published 1648 (*Vingboons*, I, 47).
19. Illustrated in Batten, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX.b. The print is from Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and I can imagine some details being 18th century additions, e.g. the first storey window-scrolls and even the vases on the roof.
20. The series consists of 19 fine engravings. Published in Johannes Coccejus, *Prophetia Ezechielis cum Commentaria Illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1669. It should be noted, however, that this motif occurred already in English interior decoration, e.g. in the Library of Thorpe Hall by Peter Mills (c. 1607), ills. 166–7 in *Caroline*.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 262.
22. As formulated by Kerry Downes, *E.B.A.*, p. 6.
23. Leyden: Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, ill. 256, dated by him XVIId. The Hague, Westeinde 33, to be dated about 1690.
24. Cf. Dutch houses: if there are service stairs at all they are very small and hidden away.
25. Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *Caroline 1625–1685*, ill. 247–56. The book is referred to below as *Caroline*. The photographs and plans of the later Longnor Hall, Shropshire (plates 257–268 in *Caroline*) reveal a regression into the old type in which the spine wall causes irregularities (note the passage-carpet lying obliquely in the Great Hall) and the correspondence between plan and elevations is lost.
26. *Caroline*, pl. 210.
27. Bienfait, *Tuinen*, pl. 74, and, a little earlier but with later caption, Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, pl. 14.
28. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 61, dates 1643–5 and attributes to Post. In Holland it seems to be exclusively Post who builds low main blocks between higher pavilions.
29. J.J. Terwen, "De ontwerpgeschiedenis van de Marekerk te Leiden" in *Opus Musivum*,

pp. 231–56, shows this to be due to the fact that the intended tetrastyle portico was not executed. After Van 's-Gravesande's departure Van Duyvenvlucht designed pediments over the portal, for the executed triangular one see pl. 11 in *Terwen*. The unexecuted variant, a giant segmental pediment (in the Leyden City Archives), could only have been seen by someone who had visited Leyden.

30. Assuming that the latter roof line is not a result of the 1901 restoration.
31. *Summerson*, p. 109 (for the date). For an illustration see Fremantle, *Southwell's Visit*, plate 8.

31a. Evelyn suggests a (common?) Italian source, Diary, 25th Sept. 1672 (ed. de Beers): "note that the *Porticos* are in imitation of an house described in *Palladio*."

32. Schless, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
33. One should distinguish between these examples of decorative sculpture and figurative sculpture as at the Mauritshuis and the Amsterdam Town Hall.
34. Downes, *E.B.A.*, p. 18, who gives the right examples.
35. *Summerson*, p. 121.
36. M. Whinney, *Wren*, London, 1971, p. 42.
37. Presumably the earlier ones directed by Van Campen were the more Classicist. They most probably included the halls in Honselaarsdijk, Rijswijk, the Mauritshuis, the Noordeinde Palace and the Town Hall. The more Baroque ones are by Post: the hall at the Gemeenlandshuis, Leyden, the Maastricht Town Hall and the Statenzaal (Assembly Hall of the States of Holland, the Hague); whereas the Oranjezaal was by Van Campen and Post.
38. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 55. Painters were Pieter de Grebber and Paulus Bors (1638).
39. *Ibidem*, pp. 114, 118–20, plate 38. Painted by Gerard van Honthorst who received the considerable sum of f. 6.800,– (1639).
40. *Ibidem*, plates 38–43. Note as a particular case of conservation the chimney-piece on plate 39. It was retained from the demolished house on the site.
41. Downes, *E.B.A.*, p. 18.
42. *Ibidem*, plate 2.
43. *Ibidem*, plate 8.
44. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, plates 39 and 42.
45. *Ibidem*, pp. 52–5, plates 22 and 25 (lantern) and plan (by Tessin) on p. 75. The stone staircase was designed by Jacques de la Vallée, superseding a wooden one. Model by Van 's-Gravesande (1634–8). The staircase hall was painted by Moses Uytenbroek, Cornelis Vroom, Pieter de Grebber, Paulus Bor and Jacob Matham. Direction most probably by Van Campen. Both the King's staircase and the Honselaarsdijk staircase were directly accessible from a court. Reconstructions of the King's and Queen's staircases in Downes, *E.B.A.*, fig. 3.
46. Description in Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 55.
47. Most probably May had kept note-books of his travels so that he could profit by sources inaccessible to others.
48. Engraved by J. van Meurs, 1663 (at least published by him). Cf. R. Meischke, *op. cit.* in chapter 2, note 2. In England one may take Hall Barn, Buckinghamshire, as a very late example of "proto-Baroque", really a link to English Baroque. Discarding a housing-design by Arent van 's-Gravesande in the Leyden City Archives (Cat. P.V. 30824–2), to be dated about 1645 and which no English architect using this form could have seen, the huge sturdy form was developed in Holland only since the 1670s.
50. Schless, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–2, suggests the Elsenburgh cupola. It seems however, that the Coleshill lantern in detail, with its projecting parts of the cornice, supported by scrolls, is derived from French (church of the Sorbonne; château de Richelieu) or Italian (Venice: Il Redentore and San Giorgio Maggiore) examples. Projecting parts in a lantern cornice in Holland occur in the Town Hall (in print 1650, execution later), but such forward breaks supported on scrolls simply did not exist. As to the whole composition: a weak point of the Coleshill cupola is its "floating" position on the roof terrace. It does not succeed in convincing us that it is more than a convenient vestibule to the terrace, while the Elsenburgh cupola is the logical termination of the silhouette, with the

terrace a stage lower at its foot. A composition similar to Coleshill only occurs in the later East Indian Arsenal at Amsterdam (c. 1661), whereas in the Town Hall Van Campen makes a strict distinction between cupola and roof terrace. Owing to the pitfalls of the Dutch language and shortcomings in architectural histories there are some inaccuracies in the same article. E.g. on p. 256: the *Wanthuis* at Deventer is not a Poorhouse but a Drapers' Hall, *want* being a kind of cloth. To Dutch Palladianism as a source for Philips Vingboons, Mannerist traditions should be added. That Vingboons' colleagues *preferred* other commissions than houses (note 13) is underrating the fact that Vingboons as a Roman Catholic had little opportunity for other commissions. Post's first engravings were published in 1654, not 1664. Note 14 states that publications other than by Philips Vingboons and Post were infrequent, but to the text and the page should be added Philips' reprint of 1665, Justus' first *Trippenhuis* edition of 1664, Bosboom's 1657 edition and, of course, the *Architectura Moderna* (See the chapter on the printed sources). On page 260: it was not Vingboons' (published) designs for Alewijn (Vredenburgh) which were executed but Post's design (equally published); it is the one design, by the way, in which Vingboons uses quoins.

51. There was no proper introduction to this staircase. Its first flights rose immediately behind the front door, quite contrary to the arrangement adduced by Schless, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–9, of the Huygens House and the Mauritshuis. A cantilevered landing with its apparent instability was never found in Holland. The open appearance of the flights at the Mauritshuis is due to restoration after a fire early in the 18the century; earlier the staircase was screened off by three openings with a straight entablature, and the flights rose between walls. Cf. *Summerson*, p. 86, who notes the almost equal importance of the two storeys, which seems a more essential link with the Mauritshuis and the Huygens House (The same may be said of Wren's plan for Tring Manor (*Wren Soc.*, XII, pl. II) in which case the façade (*Wren Soc.*, XIX, pl. LXXIII) harks back to older, Serlianesque examples).
52. *Summerson*, pl. 54. Here the cupola shows itself more prominently between the chimneys. Pratt's preoccupation with the correct placing of the cupola shows more concern with its appearance from the roof terrace than from the court in front of the house: "if this lantern stand in the middle of the platform which will be its best place, the breadth of the platform must be at the least thrice as much" (Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, p. 29).
53. In matters of town planning there are some parallels between works in Holland around the group Van Campen-Post-Van 's-Gravesande and England around Wren and Hooke. Whatever the ultimate Italian examples it should be noted that the idea of adding a portico to a centrally planned church was already experimented with at the Marekerk, Leyden, and that the introduction of a giant portico (or "temple front") between lower colonnades was tried out in the Hofje van Brouchoven, Leyden, both by Arent van 's-Gravesande, and less succesfully – though it was published – in Post's Vredenburgh design. Knowledge of these designs may have played a role in Wren's portico-cum-colonnades project for St. Stephen, Walbrook. Cf. John Summerson, "Drawings for the London City Churches", *R.I.B.A. Journal*, Feb. 1952.
54. *Sekler*, p. 158, likens the dome to that of the Collège des Quatre Nations or Mansart's project for the great façade of the Louvre. He also links the additional pediments at the breaks in the sides with the latter example and the curved screen walls to Le Vau's colonnades at Versailles. But both the peculiar pediments of the breaks as well as the curved screen walls may derive from Stoke Bruerne.
55. Another example may have been the turret of the Hoofdtoren, Hoorn (1650), ills. 100 and 101 in H.M. van den Berg, "Westfriesland" etc., *op. cit.* in chapter 4, note 6. In the absence of engravings it is very difficult

to assess the extent to which the busy towns of Westfrisia like Enkhuizen, Hoorn, etc. would have influenced the vernacular architecture of East Anglia.

In the interior of Chelsea Hospital the Vestibule, in its form and severity of finishing is much like a centralised Dutch church. The original Leidschendam church may have resembled it fairly closely.

For the reasons which are adduced in the Introduction and stated again in the Printed Sources (namely the seeming reliability of prints) I cannot discuss here the striking resemblance of Wren's Tower of London Great Armoury (1685–92; destroyed by fire 1841. *Wren Soc.* XVIII, 187, pl. V.) and another work of Stalpaert: the great East Indian Arsenal, which was only represented on a fairly crude engraving by Jan Veenhuysen (about 1664).

56. The giant order with a subsidiary order carrying a straight entablature (Hampton Court proposal illustrated in *Sekler*, plate 66A and recurrent in Whitehall projects, *Sekler* plate 74 and Downes, *E.B.A.*, pl. 79) is rather derived from Roman examples than from France. It seems to be very rare in France, in Holland Jacob van Campen's auditorium of the *Schouwburg* is an example.
57. There is no reason not to call stone quoins contrasting with brickwork "Dutch" (*Sekler*, p. 163), as long as one specifies that they were only used in a few early works by Dutch Classicists, and were extinct soon after 1640 – not reappearing before the Neo-mannerism of the 1880's. In the different form of corner rustication in brickwork "quoins" return in Dutch architecture in the last three decades of the seventeenth century.
58. Ill. *Caroline*, pl. 410. The façade as engraved by John Oliver between 1686 and 1700 has a kind of Tudor oriel window in Serlianesque disguise. The print is also interesting as it shows four windows altered into sashes or, rather, a proposal for replacement of the old windows. For the plan see note 51 above and, about the French *en suite* planning, *Summerson*, p. 148.
59. At Winslow Hall neither the completely even spacing of the windows, nor the equal dimensions of the ground floor and first floor windows can be called Dutch. About 1700, stone quoins were outdated in Holland (see note 57 above). Moreover a Dutch architect would have applied a smaller pediment or a higher roof.
60. The house for Lord Ranelagh, Paymaster General to the Land Forces, Ranelagh House, Chelsea, about 1689, most probably by Wren, seems to have had altogether better dimensions than Winslow House. To judge from the painting and the water colour it had better general proportions and a well-adjusted pediment; moreover the central windows formed a group of three. The water-colour (*Wren Soc.* XII, plate VI) may be posthumous to judge from its extreme freshness (that is: made after the house's destruction in 1805). It even shows a diminishing height in the windows the painting does not show. The painting (ill. in Fremantle, *Soutwell's Visit*, pl. 7) is most curious for another reason. Christopher Hussey in "View of Old Ranelagh", *Country Life*, Vol. 125 (1959, Jan. 22), dates it "soon after the establishment of the Pleasure Gardens in 1740 (the Rotunda stood just to the left of the house as depicted)". But why then is the Rotunda itself not represented? May it not be a painting of about 1688 to which the elegant eighteenth century visitors are only an addition? Then it would show the Hospital in the background as initially intended: without the ugly break of the side pediments (which occur already in Kip's view of 1694)!
61. Kuyper, *Een Manieristisch Theater*, pp. 111–3, 117.
62. For Drury Lane see W. Ison in "The Theatre Royal Drury Lane", etc., *Survey of London*, Vol. XXXV, London, 1970; for Van Campen's Theatre see the article mentioned in note 61 above. Compare plates 5 and 3: the "architectural" jails could be concealed by flats representing more picturesque jails, in both instances the doors could be used as entrances to the

stage.
63. Ozinga, *Marot*, p. 92.
64. Downes, *E.B.Z.*, p. 43.
65. Leyden City Archives, Cat. P.V. 85500–1, 1a.
66. Whoever worked out the original sketch.
67. *Summerson*, p. 148.
68. Meischke, *Het Slot te Zeist*, figs. 2, 3, plates 8, 9.

Chapter 14

1. Cf. for England Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979, pp. 206–10. He does not mention a difference in form of the gardens of Roman Catholic and Puritan patrons. The gardens dealt with in the following chapters nearly all had Protestant patronage.
2. *Pluto Omnibus Idem*. The gardens discussed under this heading were executed with the aid of almost unlimited funds. The word-play is an allusion to the most prominent inscription in Van Campen's Schouwburg, which declares *Jupiter Omnibus Idem.*
3. Dedicatory poem by Daniel Heinsius to Petrus Hondius' *Dapes inemptae of de Moufe-schans dat is, de Soeticheydt des Buyten-levens, vergheselschapt met de Boucken*, Leyden, 1621.

   The cited lines, in rough translation: "Sweetnesse, heart's joy, whole and entire, has fled the Town, lives at the Moffeschans. The Moffeschans teaches humility, the Moffeschans alone teaches one to know all herbs, The Moffeschans teaches how to raise cattle, how to cook, how to make mead.

   The Towns are empty now, the Moffeschans is all: Court, library, brewery, the kitchen and the stall".
4. Warren; the Dutch word warande, later mainly used for park, but in the 17th century still meaning warren, deer-park, animal garden, etc. Honselaarsdijk had such a *warande*; one Dirck de Milde was paid 700 guilders in 1642 for "een hoijberch met drij hartenhuysen in de warande" (a hay-stack with three deer-houses in the warren) and 520 guilders for a fence of 700 meters in the warren to protect the coppice against the deer (*Slothouwer*, p. 272).
5. A notable example of an estate-annex-industrial establishment was Cromwijck which was acquired in 1637 by Ioan Huydecoper.
6. Illustrated in Van Agt, "Waterland", etc., fig. 4, p. 11 and plate III, nr. 5.
7. Cf. G. 't Hart, "Rijnlands Bestuur en Waterstaat rondom het Beleg en Ontzet van Leiden (1570–1580)", *Leids Jaarboekje, 1974*, pp. 13–33.
8. Maybe in 1701, as the letters on the spandrels and the constructional technique of the summer-kitchen suggest. Was it used elsewhere in-between?
9. Cf. Van der Wijck, *Diss.* p. 29.
10. A new town is being developed in this very neighbourhood and the municipality has bought the farm (1975) in order to restore it. The *ringvaart* (water-girdle of a polder) in front is crossed by bridges that are far too low, almost dams, and, at an angle, by a suburban railway. It is a pity that Zoetermeer is being extended by planners who have no idea of how to integrate what already exists.
11. Illustrated in *Kastelen en Buitenplaatsen*, ill. 73, and, inaccurately, in A. Rademaker, *Rhynlands fraaiste Gezichten*, etc., Amsterdam, 1732, ill. 8.
12. Jan Vos, *Alle de Gedichten*, Amsterdam, 1726, p. 476. (Let ancient Arcady of sources pure be proud, At Goudestein a finer source is found, Enclosed by flowers most divine).
13. Lukas Rotgans, *Poëzy, van verscheide mengelstoffen*, 2nd. impr., Amsterdam, 1735 (first printing 1715), p. 253, Gezang op Goudestein (1690).
    (To hear the full-uddered cows moo and see them trot, skipping to express their joy, to the milkmaid) . . . (to see fields abundant in grain . . . there one often sees Ceres roam) . . .
    (What Stream may one compare with River Vecht?
    Yield here, o Roman Tiber!

But hear, what pleasant laughter
Through Maarseveenian air resounds?
The Nymphs, they frolic in the water . . .).

14. (Pieter de la Court van der Voort), *Byzondere aenmerkingen*, etc., Leyden, 1737. The triangular concept illustrated in *Bienfait*, facing p. 255. The book had some renown, a second impression appeared in Amsterdam in 1763. A French edition, *Les Agrémens de la Campagne*, etc., was published in Leyden and Amsterdam in 1750, and a German one, *Anmuthigkeiten des Landlebens*, etc., in Leipzig in 1758.
15. Monograph on the estate and its owners: D. Hoek, *Geschiedenis van "Backershagen"*, (Rotterdam, 1935).
16. The house Backershagen still exists, but having passed into the hands of a speculator was gutted by fire in the winter of 1974. But the shell is intact; and if the plans to convert it into a Japanese ambassy are realised "a garden of suggestion" will undoubtedly be added to the old site of *ananas* cultivation.
17. An example is Zuidbuurt 29, Maassluis (formerly Maasland), built in 1631. It has a fine newel staircase and a bedstead-screen.
18. Bath-houses in the ancillary buildings occur in several instances; in only a few instances was the kitchen not included in the main block – Duinrel is an example. As a rule the Dutch liked their dinner served hot.
19. Of the five Wagner shows (*op. cit.*, ills. 125–9) two are in English collections.
20. Illustrated in Van der Wijck, *Apollo*, p. 408 and *Diss*, p. 17, the year 1629 in *Diss*, p. 50.
21. In the same publications: illustrations of Van der Heyden's painting of the front and the entrance gate. Ioan Huydecoper (this is Ioan II to whom Lukas Rotgans, a relative of his, dedicated his poem – the rural pleasures not having given Ioan I eternal life) evidently ordered the romantic paintings by Van der Heyden. Huydecoper will have been aware on the other hand that his ideas of nature were not represented by the scenes Jan van der Heyden painted of the Huis ten Bosch. These paintings (Wagner, *op. cit.*, ills. 133–6) show the neat broderies, statues, pavilions, as well as undulating hedges, obelisks and other topiary effects of the official gardens.
22. The Portuguese ships had spheres painted on their flags, so the Dutch when sailing to the Indies took metal spheres on their bows. Cf. G.C.E. Crone, *Onze Schepen in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1939, p. 68.

Chapter 15

1. These lines seem to be best rendered:
"One hemisphere was not enough for Alexander;
Maurice, of course, trod on two".
This is presumably an allusion to Maurice's defeat of Spain in two halves of the world. Such an interpretation is suggested by Anthonides van der Goes' later poem, in which the following lines occur:
"De dappre MAURITS, die geen ALEXANDER week,
Daer Arragon voor zijn vernunft, en moed bezweek".
(The brave Maurice, who was not inferior to Alexander, as Aragon succumbed to his genius and valour). (With quibble on *Alexander* Farnese).
2. Illustrations in plan and perspective view, apparently engraved by Henric Hondius after drawings by De Gheyn appeared in several books about perspective & fortifications published in Leyden and the Hague from 1623–5. E.g. *Onderwijsinge in de Perspective Conste, door Henricus Hondius*, the Hague, 1623, or *Instruction en la Science de Perspective par Henry Hondius*, the Hague, 1623.
The perspective view in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, pl. 43. To the left of the garden was the gallery with the grotto, the aviary and over the gallery a pleasure-pavilion and a taller and some smaller cupolas – the latter to give the canaries an airy space.
3. "van 't begin des jaers tot het eynde elck naer saysoen bloemen en kruiden", Hondius, *op. cit.*

4. This design has been discussed in Felice Stampfle, "A Design for a Garden Grotto by Jacques de Gheyn II", *Master Drawings*, Vol. III, New York, 1965, pp. 381–3 and by I.Q. van Regteren Altena, "Grotten in de tuinen der Oranjes", *Oud Holland* LXXXV (1970), pp. 33–44, in which apart from the smaller design discussed by Stampfle, also a larger design (British Library) is illustrated. The smaller design was acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1954. See also I.Q. van Regteren Altena, "Jacques de Gheyn, 1565–1629", *Jaarboek Nederlands Orgaan voor Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek*, 1974, pp. 96–8. It appears from Huygens' words in his diary (cited in Stampfle and in *Bienfait*, p. 42) and from Hondius' description "daar een grotte in gemaeckt wort" (in which a grotto is being constructed) that the grotto was not yet finished at Maurice's death, nor at De Gheyn's death in 1629, but completed for Frederick Henry by De Gheyn's son.

   Evelyn noted (19th August 1641, ed. E.S. de Beer) "Gardens, which were full of ornament, close-Walkes, Statues, Marbles, Grotts, Fountaines, and artificiall Musique & c.".
5. J.A. Worp, "Const. Huygens' Journaal van zijne reis naar Venetië in 1620", *Bijdragen . . . Historisch Genootschap*, Vol. 15, the Hague, 1894, p. 79, on Heidelberg: "Au bout du jardin . . . grotte et fontaines, de l'invention de Salomon de Caus, qui se parangonnent, voire et se preferent à toutes celles de France; tant la capacité en est grande, l'ouvrage mosaïque relevé et bizarre, et les eaux fortes et abondantes".

   On Maurice's less exciting, triangular garden at Flushing see J. den Hoed, *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1962, cols. 344–6.
6. Looking through the windows of these arbours one would interpret the figures in the broderies as Maurice's *M*, but from the fountains in the centres one could read them as the *W* of his father William the Silent.
7. Cf. the dedications by l'Eschevin on the prints. As the 1632 balustrade in front of Ter Nieuwburg is not yet visible, l'Eschevin may have made his drawing(s) around that year. As on the other hand the alliance of William and Mary (1641) is symbolized in a corner of the engraving, the commission to Milheusser would not have been long before the engraving in 1644.
8. L.A. Springer, *Oude Nederlandsche Tuinen*, Haarlem, (1937), p. 6, noticed the striking resemblance. Here too Huygens may have been the intermediary, as well as De Caus' *Hortus Palatinus* (1620).
9. The accuracy of De Beyer's drawing is confirmed by a (rather crude) anonymous sketch in m.s. *Schoemaker*, 1730, K.O.G. Vol. I, under the heading "Copier". J. Stellingwerf's drawing in the same m.s. is less accurate.

   Except for the Koningshof all the houses in the close neighbourhood of Leyden mentioned here (i.e. all except Clant and the Kruidberg) are illustrated with one or more plates in S.J. Fockema Andreae, J.G.N. Renaud and E. Pelinck, *Kastelen, Ridderhofsteden en Buitenplaatsen in Rijnland* (first ed. Leyden, 1952, reprinted Arnhem, 1974), which is referred to below as *Kastelen.*
10. The castle had been destroyed and consequently rebuilt in 1420, 1426 and at the siege of Leyden in 1573–4.
11. Similar bridges at the castles Heemstede (Vermeulen, 576) and Breda (Ter Kuile, *A. & A.* pl. 177B). There is no documentary evidence that De Bray built the bridge as well.
12. E.H. ter Kuile, "Salomon de Bray en het Huis te Warmond" in *Leids Jaarboekje 1951*, pp. 71–6.
13. Vingboons, II, 56–59. Pulled down 1819.
14. In any case the wings occur on his drawings. They were, however, not executed. See W.J. Formsma, R.A. Luitjens-Dijkveld Stol and A. Pathuis, *De Ommelandse Borgen en Steenhuizen*, Assen, 1973, pp. 378–80.
15. Situation of about 1640? Shown in m.s. *Schoemaker*, 1730, K.O.G., Vol. IV. About 1654 or '87 the space between the salients was filled in and the hanging gallery made into a decent terrace (*Kastelen*, pl. 60).

16. The engraving (*Bienfait*, pl. 238) is found in a book by a Mennonist minister with the telling title *Den Schepper verheerlijkt in zijn Schepselen*, Amsterdam, 1684. (The Creator glorified in his Creatures).
17. A *very* similar design for a house with garden in Jan van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtschen Hovenier*, Amsterdam, 1670 (Letters patent 1668), plate 5, with the caption "France Loofwerken in 't plat en Perspectijf" (French parterres in plan and Perspective) (Plate 276). This suggests that the unknown designer shaped De Kruidberg after this "French" (or common?) model, only replacing two of the four broderies by hemispheres. For the house itself, Groen's building (with wide-paced pilasters) resembles that in Decker's print even more than it does the Huis ten Bosch.
18. Seat of the Boers, bastards of the Lyere family and bailiffs of the village. Illustrated in Abraham Rademaker, *Rhynlands Fraaiste Gezichten*, etc., Amsterdam, 1732, pl. 28.
19. *Kastelen*, pl. 57. Apart from a fragment of the entrance the castle has disappeared.
20. *Bienfait*, pl. 326. Other use of the hill was as a deer-park or a labyrinth (the latter was laid out in 1686, long before the *parterre de broderie*).
21. The garden was not much to speak of. It appears in the "randwerk" (border-illustrations) of Elandt's map of the Hague.
22. Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, 176, gives credence to a surveyor's map of 1631 on which the castle figures with corps-de-logis, two wings and a small turret on the roof (or in front of it). This representation may have been the symbol for a castle, and is in any case contradicted by a drawing in M.S. Schoemaker (Vol. II, 1730, coll. K.O.G.) which shows a high square building with some additions, including a slender square tower. This is an eighteenth century drawing, but it is not romanticising like some others and may very well go back to a contemporary sketch of the building before 1650. The pre-1650 castle was not derelict at all: it was let to René Descartes who lived there from 1641 to 1643.
23. One source (? about 1800; loose ms. page added to ms. *Alkemade* in Municipal Archives, Leyden) states: "Il fut consumé entierement par un incendie vers le millieu du 17ieme. siecle et rebati bientot après" and it continues about the setting: "entouré de larges fossés, environné d'arbres de haute futayé (i.e. full-grown trees), de bois et de promonades". A strange fact about this "quiet little château" remains that it had not yet been reshaped when Descartes stayed there and that he had not yet made the acquaintance of the Princess Elizabeth at that time.
24. As a matter of fact the staircase is being spoilt at the moment: it is being faced with inferior material and the city is not trying to preserve its property.
25. Somewhat later a similar romantic mood is expressed in the Leidsche Poort at Amsterdam. It was a high square building with four high-capped corner pavilions like an old castle (c. 1663, Plate 209).
26. Illustrated in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, plate 400. The regularisation of the façades left some of the old walls intact. So the wall to the right of the voorhuis ran into the mullion of a window. Only since about 1800, when the *voorhuis* was reduced to an entrance hall, has the window stood in its entirety in front of the room.
27. Elisabeth van Schouwen, the heiress to the estate was a Roman Catholic. W. Bijleveld, "Geschiedenis van het Kasteel Endegeest" in *Leids Jaarboekje*, 1909, pp. 1–44, supposes she turned Protestant when marrying. He gives the date of her death as 1652. This is confirmed by Bloys van Treslong Prins, *Genealogische en Heraldische Gedenkwaardigheden*, etc. Utrecht, 1922, who reads the inscription of her tombstone in the Grote Kerk, the Hague, as . . . "died 31 October 1652". Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, p. 176, let her die a year later.
28. Ill. Vermeulen, 478. *Vermeulen*, II, p. 403. thinks very probably Van Bassen built the spire. But he refutes this on p. 282 of the same work, having read E.H. ter Kuile, *De Houten Torenbekroningen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Leyden, 1929, pp.

103–4, who is still not wholly clear on this point. The spire, though, may have been slightly altered even after 1647. For Van Bassen as an architectural painter see H. Jantzen, *Das niederlaendische Architekturbild*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 58–65.

29. The then owner, Jacob van der Rijt of Woestwezel, etc. was a Roman Catholic (ms. Schoemaker, loc. cit.: "een Rooms gesind heer") and maybe in favour of a small chapel in one of the towers. Yet the changes about 1705 seem all to have been made on behalf of Statius Philips Count of Bentheim who rented the house from 1705 to 1730. The garden design will have been made for Bentheim as well as the drawing of the "pre-1573 towers".
30. One is tempted, though, to date these oak ribs earlier, as belonging to the c. 1650 building campaign, when one considers the ribbed ceiling by Van Bassen in the Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague. In that case they would have been lowered a few meters at a later date as they obstruct the windows (now walled up) of the highest tower storey, which are still open on late 18th century illustrations. The lowest tower stage of both towers (which certainly dates from c. 1650) also has beautiful vaulting, a kind of brick umbrella vault consisting of eight truncated cones.
31. *Kastelen*, pl. 33.
32. Started in 1662, Register van Buitengetimmerten, fol. 167, Municipal archives Leyden.
33. W. Bijleveld, "De Architect Erasmus den Otter" in *Verscheidenheden uit de omgeving van Leiden*, Leyden, 1951, pp. 21–3, maintains that Erasmus den Otter was the architect as Den Otter seems to have designed (in 1668) the roofconstruction for Johan Rauter van Arenstein who had married a daughter of the owner in about 1667. This seems to be insufficient evidence to credit Den Otter with the general design as well. On Den Otter see also *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1938, I, pp. 23 and 25.
34. The engravings by Johannes Lamsvelt are found in G. Goris, *Les délices de la campagne à l'entour de la ville de Leide . . .*, Leyden, 1712.
35. L.J. van der Klooster, "Daniel Marot en de Graaf van Wassenaer Obdam. Rondom een Brief uit 1711" in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 74 (1975), 135–43.
36. The scenes of all the known garden-theatres by Marot are two-dimensional, the perspective being created by narrowing the stage and not, apparently, by lowering the topiary flats or raking the lawn at the same time.
37. Illustrated in *Kastelen*, pls. 102–6. Destroyed in 1805.

Chapter 16

1. At Het Loo.
2. Louise de Coligny remained very francophile all her life, in spite of the murder of both her father and her first husband on St. Bartholomew's Night, 1572.

2a. This garden is visible on Bos and Van Harn's map of about 1616, and, more roughly represented, on Londerseel's map of c. 1614. A description by Hennin in about 1680 is cited in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, pp. 46–7. William Brereton (*Travels*, etc., 1634, p. 28 ed. E. Hawkins) comments on it: "the Prince of Orange his garden, the fairest and most spacious platt that ever I saw in my life, and the vastest covered walks: the plot seems to be four square; walks covered go round about it, and in middle of the plot here is a fair round moat, about sixteen or twenty yards wide, and in the middle thereof a little island round, wherein is a round covered walk and a kitchen-garden within that walk. In the middle of this garden a poor young cyprus tree."

3. The old situation is illustrated in *Slothouwer*, ill. 7.
4. They were no concentric circles, nor were they reminiscent of the Wilton House garden: there an elongated form like a reduced version of the *Circus Maximus* was cut in two halves by a wide central path. Cf.

Sten Karling, "The Importance of André Mollet and His Family for the Development of the French Formal Garden", *The French Formal Garden*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, Washington, 1974, p. 19.

5. These were expensive works. For the marble f. 1148,– was paid; to Dinant in 1647 f. 2000,– and in 1650, over 1649, f. 3277,–, and 13 stuivers. (*Slothouwer*, pp. 274–5.) There was one strong Spanish influence at Honselaarsdijk an Ter Nieuwburg: much of the cost was met from the treasures of the Spanish silver fleet captured off Cuba in 1628.
6. The stone statues soon had to be protected against the biting winter by paint or wooden hoods; the lead ones by thick layers of paint.
7. The most interesting architectural feature of these extensions was a small very Classicist pleasure-house, of about 1640, in the new garden on the right, (*Bienfait*, ill. 75). It may have been designed by Van Campen. Pieter Monincx painted the interior with "landscapes fruits, flowers and little birds". (For 2800 guilders! *Slothouwer*, p. 273). The illustrations 75 and 74 in Bienfait show in front of the house curved trellis-work in a rotating form, an addition of the time of William III (Plate 288A). As William III made few alterations at Honselaarsdijk his work has not been considered. After his death in 1702 Honselaarsdijk as well as Ter Nieuwburg was inherited by the Prussian king. They were reacquired in 1754 but insufficiently restored and eventually demolished.
8. See also note 4 of the section "Mercury turned Farmer".
9. The mall before the House was about 220 *roeden* or 825 m (one Rhinelandic *roede* measured about 3.77 m) including the semi-circle at the common road, without only 205 as appears from the payment in 1638 to the carpenter who laid it out. (*Slothouwer*, p. 269).

   Starting from these 220 *roeden* one gets for the rectangle with the house and the park c. 750 meters and an additional 1025 for the long "axis" over the meadows to the north-west. The left or south-western axis added an extra 440 meters to the 560 of the rectangle in that direction. With these dimensions Honselaarsdijk was far bigger than Ter Nieuwburg (about 250 by 600 meters) and stayed easily the most extensive garden layout in the Union until the last decades of the 17th century.
10. "Amphitheatre" would not be the right word to designate this completely flat *demi-lune*.
11. The most famous must be the one painted by Hobbema. Nowadays they are either chopped down as motorists seem to be afraid of trees, or their effect – the long line of living statuary towards a tower far in the distance – is spoilt by high building. Thus, for example, the charming avenue from Driebruggen to Woerden has fallen one of the last victims of "pollution of the horizon".

    Sir William Temple (*op. cit.*, I, p. 45, on the Beemster-polder) noticed already: "*Bemster*, being now the richest Soil of the Province, lying upon a dead flat, divided with Canals, and the Ways through it distinguish'd with Ranges of Trees, which make the pleasantest Summer-Landschape of any Country I have seen, of that sort."
12. The accounts state "teenemael garaseert" and for once this is true as trees were planted on the site of the old building (*Slothouwer* ill. 29, 30 and p. 289). Naturally the materials were re-used, among them a chimney-piece.

12a. Brereton (*Travels*, 1634) admired their order: "about four English acres, wherein are planted sycamore-trees curiously and in such order, as which way soever you look, they stand in order and rank."

13. In the entries cited by *Slothouwer* (pp. 263–5, 289 and 296). Louis d'Antoni is called "hovenier . . . aent huijs ter Nieburch" (gardener . . . at Ter Nieuwburgh), but André Mollet "opsichter van Sijnne Hoocheits thuynen" (overseer of His Highness' gardens) and once "architect hovenier" (architect gardener), in every instance without the specification "at such

and such place". Moreover, after his fixed appointment Mollet figures in the entries about Honselaarsdijk for "vrachten" (fares) and "verteerde costen" (expenses) which suggests that his main base was *not* Honselaarsdijk.

14. Poelhekke, *op. cit.*, p. 492, remarks in the central cabinet a ceiling in the form of a ship's keel. This may be the effect of bad reading and worse digesting of *Slothouwer*, p. 130.
15. *Slothouwer*, ill. 36, gives Milheusser's engraving of 1644 as it was retouched in 1694 to represent the theatre of negotiations for the Peace of Rijswijk (1694–7), without noticing that Milheusser (who lived c. 1611–1680, *Thieme-Becker* i.v.) was buried long before and that the print was altered (the original in *Bienfait*, ill. 49). The small views of the Court at the Hague and of the Town of Delft were erased, and a plan and a frontal view of the Palace with the three *tuinen* were added. For the highly ceremonial negotiations the middle entrance was reserved for the Negotiator. In order to give the belligerent parties equal access two additional openings were made in the wall and in the balustrade. These two new gates in the balustrade got rounded steps like the central flight of steps. When Slothouwer (p. 107) writes "Deze drie ingangen vergemakkelijkten zeer den ritus bij den Vrede van Rijswijk" (These three entrances did much to facilitate the rite at the Peace of Rijswijk) he mixes up cause and effect.
16. The traditional elements could not yet be missed in this ornamental garden. Apart from the features noticeable on the print, like for instance the fine broderies and an over-life-size Pallas in the Middle, we are informed by the accounts of the existence of an orangery decorated with "diverse Indian horns and shells" and the Grotto for which Dinant had ordered 14 barges with "shells, some roots of white coral and black cobbles".
17. This motif was already used by Prince Maurice for his garden-wall at the Buitenhof; on the other hand, the merlons that one seems to notice on the much lower wall around Honselaarsdijk's fore-court are no merlons but flower-pots.
18. The Doric entrance gate and the balustrade were designed by Arent van 's-Gravesande (probably his first designs, late 1631 or early 1632) and executed by four Amsterdam sculptors (Pieter de Keyser and three others) as these additions (an afterthought?) were hurried through. The bricklayer and supplier who paved the court (about 40 by 75 m.) was paid the enormous sum of f. 3740 : 10 : –. (Accounts in *Slothouwer*, pp. 289–290 and 292).

    Curiously the lateral courtyards ("tuinen") with parterres were accessible through archways in the outer walls only and were only later connected with the middle court.
19. This "terrace or balustrade" was paved with 649 blue and 470 grey flags. Cost of the flags: f. 736 : 17 : –. Measurement of the terrace: about seven by 75 meters.

19a. The whole place was arid. The De Bovios (*Journal*, p. 119) noted the green pavilions and wrote "Nel resto non visono nè acque, nè statue".

20. Ozinga, *Marot*, plate 53; *Slothouwer*, ill. 77.
21. This idea recurs in England as differentiation between the forms of roof for the main block and wings, for instance at Buckingham House, Wotton House and Badminton as engraved by Kip. To these examples may be added Cottesbrooke Hall, Northants., and Cliveden House, Bucks. The question of whether a house like De Voorst was in this and other respects (the quadrants) descended from English or earlier Dutch prototypes must be considered below.
22. An English example (rectangular) is found at Newby, Newby upon Swale. A derivation from Palladio's Villa Emo at Fanzolo seems unlikely as there the two staircases have different forms and are scarcely related to the central vestibule.
23. About this time coupled pilasters are extremely rare in the Northern Netherlands. There are some in Post's drawings for Vredenburgh, and in some executed works,

probably by Vingboons, the pilasters, which are separated only by half-windows, are very close together. (Singraven, Denekamp, 1661 and Heerengracht 388, Amsterdam, 1665).

25. Illustrated in *Bienfait*, nrs. 82 and 83. The house itself was started by Maurits Post in 1674 and finished in 1676. Maurits Post (1645–77) was the youngest son of Pieter Post. (Count Maurits had been his godfather). Ter Kuile (*A. & A.*, p. 243) maintains that his spirit still can be seen at Zeist and Het Loo, both built about 1686. In any case he did a lot of work for Johan Maurits of Nassau, and was appointed architect to William III in 1670, a position which he retained until his death.

    Here, as at Het Loo, French influence tried to destroy the transverse axial plan, but without success. The strongly axial design sacrificing the wing-like parterres, drawn by C.P. van Staden (Attribution and illustration in Van der Wijck, *diss*, afb. 7, p. 191 and text p. 186, who antedates it to the well-known engravings of about 1700) and probably designed by him (he was gardener of the estate from 1728 to 1735), was never carried through.

26. The new façades of the Noordeinde Palace being an exception. Its garden, though, was not much as a design. Bienfait gives three illustrations of it, nr. 44 showing the situation before 1640 and nrs. 156 and 155 of after 1736 and of 1747 respectively, but little altered. Van Pelt, *op. cit.* in chapter VII note 38, afb. 9, gives another variant, dating from about 1710, in which a proposal is given for some new parterres, presumably by Daniel Marot. The description by Jacob de Hennin (cited in *Bienfait*, pp. 46–7) runs into so many different species of trees and flowers that it almost implies a *hortus botanicus.* Cf. note 2a above.

27. There is much literature on Zeist, more on De Voorst, and most of all on Het Loo. For various aspects of all three see Ozinga, *Marot*, Bienfait, *Tuinen*, and Van der Wijck, *diss.* For the house at Zeist, R. Meischke, "Het slot te Zeist", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* 1961, cols. 33–56, and Van der Wijck, *diss.*, pp. 119–27 and afb. 1 and 4a relating to Zeist. Afb. 1, p. 125, gives the long axial design and 4a, p. 127, the point of intersection of the avenue and the village high road of Zeist, which is marked by a *rond point.* A ditch filled with water (the Dutch equivalent of the ha-ha) and a transparent fence on the castle's side of the *rond point* allow the continuation of the vista.

28. Coenraad Droste, *Overblijfsels van Geheuchenis*, the Hague, 1728. The passage in extenso in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, pp. 109–110, about the avenue "as far as one can see", the ponds with fish, the statues sent from Rome, etc.

29. See note 27 above and a full description in Sietske de Jong-Schreuder, *De Tuinen van het Loo*, unpublished typescript, (illustrated "doctoraal scriptie"), Leyden, 1968. The extensive bibliography mentions the accounts as well as longer and shorter reports by visitors and engravings, etc., among them Harris, *A Description of the King's Royal Palace and Gardens at Loo*, London, 1699 – becoming in its turn a source for the bilingual reprint of Harris in 1974: L.R.M. van Everdingen-Meyer, *De Lusthof Het Loo*, the Hague, 1974. To this can be added: H.W.M. van der Wijck, "Het Heerlyck Rosendael", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 21*, 1970, Bussum (1971?), pp. 10 and 20–5 and ill. 5, and by the same author, "Enkele Opmerkingen over het Herstel van Het Loo", *K.N.O.B. 1973*, pp. 78–80 and "Opmerkingen over Desgots' Plan voor het Park van Het Loo . . .", *K.N.O.B. 1974*, pp. 33–5. All three articles also in Van der Wijck, *diss*, illustrated for Het Loo on pages 154, 188, 190 and 191, afb. 5. The illustration on p. 190 shows most clearly the alignment of the transverse avenue with the Old Castle. On the discovery of Desgots' "grand design": Runar Strandberg, "Het Ontwerp van Claude Desgots voor het Park van Het Loo", *K.N.O.B.*, 1973, p. *77.

    Edward Southwell's remarks about Het Loo, etc., published by Katharine Fremantle, "A visit to the United Provinces

and Cleves in the Time of William III", pp. 39–68, in the above mentioned *Jaarboek*. About the restoration: C.W. Royaards, *De Restauratie van het Koninklijk Paleis Het Loo*, the Hague, 1972, richly illustrated.

30. As with all the great enterprises of the Stadholders no one architect, decorator, garden-designer, broderie-designer or sculptor can be singled out. In architecture the chain between conception and execution will have been William–Jacob Roman for the 1686 building, and many other people were involved with the later extensions. For the overall plan it is much more difficult to assign responsibility; the sequence may have developed from Mary, William, Roman, Portland to Desmarets, with every kind of cross-influence. For most interiors and broderies Desmarets should be replaced by Daniel Marot. For the fountains designs were made by both Marot and Romeyn de Hooghe, the famous etcher who also made representations of the estate, while their ideas were executed by various sculptors like Van Cleef, Johannes Blommendael (vases), Jan Ebbelaer and Pieter van der Plas (the last three are mentioned by Neurdenburg, *De Zeventiende Eeuwsche Beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1948). The most important fountain-statue was the one of Venus commissioned from the South Netherlandish sculptor Gabriel Grupello.
31. The quotations are from Harris. This paved cross walk is depicted on many views, but one can only see the alignment on complete plans. One must bear in mind the common tricks of prospect engravers: the representation of the broderies, etc., as a kind of raised table in the middle of the park. In other words, the central feature has a much higher vanishing point than the rest – especially when it was extended as at Het Loo, where the end of the garden floats yards up in the sky. None of the numerous and often very beautiful views is accurate in detail. Romeyn de Hooghe's imagination in particular led to rather a romantic view of the Oude Loo with onion-domed corner-towers, which it is difficult to believe in, until one finds them confirmed by other prints like the J. Moucheron – C. Danckerts – J. Danckerts series.
32. Rivalry at that period was thought of only as imitating and, perhaps, outdoing. See also Christopher Wren's remark about influence from France, even in times of war with her: "the fashion of which nation we affected to imitate in all ages, even when we were at enmity with it" (*Parentalia*, 1750, p. 296).
33. Parts of it, especially the columns, may have been re-used, but it seems optimistic to see in it the actual quadrants used in front of the house.
34. Illustrated in the above mentioned article by Strandberg.
35. It is difficult to find one detail in the gardens mentioned so far which does not have a parallel at Het Loo: the "boulegrin" (bowling green), the menagery, the ponds with fantastic statues whose meaning was soon lost (thus Silenus was taken for Phaunus), the quantity of topiary, monograms in box, the *Orange*-trees, one-legged beggars at the foot of classical busts, cascades, elaborate arbours, labyrinths, and trellis work.

    The total effect would have been narrow and over-crowded (an effect emphasized in perspective by the triple basket arch which closes it). One will soon have the opportunity to judge this on the spot as the restoration of the seventeenth century garden is planned.
36. So that it had to become a landscape park. In 1768 an English visitor was struck by the fact that it was not yet a landscape garden rather than by its quintessential Dutchness: "they are what the Dutch most admire, but these are quite in the old stile, all is clipt and regular" (Joashia Marshall, *Travels through Holland* . . . etc., London, 1772).
37. For much information on De Voorst see the articles mentioned in note 24 above. In the articles mentioned in note 26 above "Het Heerlyck Rosendael", on p. 24, and in "Southwell's Visit, etc.", pp. 54–8. Further a series of three articles in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* 1963, cols. 149–220, by H.W.M. van der Wijck: "De Voorst", by

C.A. Baart de la Faille: "De Geschiedenis en de Restauratie van het Huis De Voorst" and by Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer: "Het Huis De Voorst in zijn Glorietijd". The articles by Van der Wijck also in Van der Wijck, *diss.*

38. Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, p. 243, plate 198 B, and ibid., *1000 jaar*, pp. 161–2, plate 123, Bienfait, *Tuinen*, ills. 113–7.
39. And consistently so in that the garden can only be *seen* from the castle.
40. Clearly visible on De Leth's engraving of about 1740. The natural growth of the lateral plantation will soon have spoilt the effect.
41. Specifically on this estate Van der Wijck, "Het Heerlyck Rosendael", mentioned in note 26 above. Integrally included in Van der Wijck, *diss.*
42. The poet Joan Pluimer, *Gedichten*, Amsterdam, 1692, pp. 42–9, called Rosendael an image of Heaven, he thought himself there in the Golden Era, etc. Nature was extolled and the form of the flower-beds as they were "measured by Arithmetica herself" – still in the poem's 1724 reprint Nature could express itself in these geometrical forms.
43. Ibid., p. 48 (You like to analyse Art sometimes / to follow the Ancients' vestiges / to take the pith of the golden lessons / of Cicero and Seneca. O lover of the sacred Nine / You know the power and the style / of Flaccus, Naso, of Virgyl . . .
Yet often occupied by heavenly matters).
44. The only rival would have been Coldenhoven (Koldehove,-n, Coldehove(n); Coldenhoven seems the more eugraphic spelling), had the design for a descending suite of ponds been executed. (Van der Wijck, *diss*, pp. 119–20, afb. 5, p. 127).
45. Cited in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 245: "The greenhouse plants were all set out on the lawn, and we walked between an alley of very large orange trees. There is a waterfall down twelve steps, and a sort of screen, inlaid with shell work, like at the villa Pamfili Doria. Behind the house are four large square ponds. Two of them have screens of shellwork round the sides. Water issuing from a gigantic mouth falls over a number of steps into a large bason, in front of which are a variety of jets d'eau; that of a porcupine's tail had a very pretty effect". The water-stairs and the shell- or scallop-screen illustrated in Van der Wijck's "Heerlyck Rosendael" and in ibidem, "Country-Houses in the Northern Netherlands, etc", *Apollo*, nr. 129 (New Series) November 1972, pp. 406–15.
46. *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens.* Uitgegeven door J.A. Worp, Groningen, 1892–8, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
(Farewell ye sweet abode, green Paradise on earth,
Silvery rumours' lofty organs.
Farewell, sweet Paradise, unequalled Roosendael).
47. Jacob Cats *Ouderdom, buyten-leven en hofgedachten, op Sorghvliet*, Amsterdam, 1656, p. 43 (I'll tell you more: Christ himself, Gods image and own being, Constantly and highly praised the country and its cultivating). Many illustrations of Sorghvliet I and II in Bienfait, *Tuinen*; Th. Morren, *Zorgvliet, Buitenrust* en *Rustenburg*, Amsterdam, (1903), uitgeversmaatschappy "Elsevier" and A. Goedkoop, *Het Catshuis 'Sorghvliet' 300 jaar*, the Hague, 1953, and, especially about King William II's Gothic-revival plans for the estate about 1838, H.W.M. van der Wijck, "Koning Willem II als bouwheer", *Opus Musivum*, (studies presented to M.D. Ozinga), Assen, 1964, pp. 415–38, and with a small addition, in Van der Wijck, *diss.*
48. Hans Willem Bentinck (1649–1709) was eventually made a Knight of the Garter (1696). As William's favourite he became much disliked in England, whereas in Holland the City of Amsterdam manipulated his removal from the "Ridderschap van Holland" (representative body of the peerage) as he "had become an Englishman".
49. Only in the year of his death Portland seems to have asked Marot for designs for Sorghvliet, three years after Marot had made for him the design for his sepulchral monument (Ozinga, *Marot*, pp. 23 and 191). In 1729 his son had the bent-axis entry replaced by

a direct entry from the Scheveningse weg.

50. The latinization of "Sorghvliet" became "Curifugium".
51. At least it was so represented by the wishful etching of Van den Aveele. A tree in that position, exposed to the western sea-winds would never grow. Ill. in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, nr. 103, and nr. 104: a similar tree on top of the labyrinth-mound.
52. Illustrations by A. van de Venne of Cats' pleasant garden reproduced in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, nrs. 63 and 64.
53. The most beautiful engravings are by Van den Aveele (of which in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, nrs. 97–108), edited in 1690. Johannes van den Aveele (Avele, Avelen, etc.), from Leyden? , earliest known work 1678, later went to Sweden and made illustrations for the *Suecia antiqua et hodierna*. He died, in 1727, in poverty and oblivion. His obscurity, incidentally, resembles that of another Dutch illustrator who went abroad. Henry Hulsbergh (died 1729) engraved many of the prints for Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but his name is not even mentioned in P. Breman and D. Addis, *Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus, annotated and analytic index to the plates*, New York, 1972. James Lees-Milne also omits Hulsbergh from the index of *Saint Peter's*. (Engraving of St. Peter's, page 195). Among Hulsbergh's prints is also one of Zeist House (Plate 453A).
54. The old house has been preserved up to the present day but little changed. It has become the official residence of the prime-minister. Of the rest of the layout very little is left.
55. Cats' pond was still there in 1744, when Trembley, tutor of the Bentinck van Rhoon children was able to conduct experiments with polypes in it. (Illustrated by Cornelis Pronk in A. Trembley, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire d'un genre de polypes d'eau douce à bras en forme de cornes*).
56. Add. M.S. 10623, March 1696.
57. Cats as a Curator of Leyden University had rare species from the *Hortus Botanicus*.
58. Ill. nrs. 106 and 107 in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, show this grotto with the *bedriegertjes*, "deceivers", which unexspectedly spout water. Such devices were much appreciated, they were also to be found in Cats' original lay-out.
59. This is about the other grotto, aligned with the house, from which the cascade sprang in the direction of the parterre. This great grotto resembled a kind of baldacchino. ("The Papers of Thomas Bowrey", *The Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, no. 58, Issued for 1925).
60. Harl. MS. 3516, f. 14.
61. Others were not – and of course: a high degree of artificiality was still regarded as "natural".
62. Cf. Switzer in *Ichnographia rustica*, I, p. 75, "in the Hampton Court gardens, as laid out by William III, the only fault was the pleasure gardens being staffed too thick with box, a fashion bought over out of Holland by the Dutch gardeners, who used it to a fault, especially in England, where we abound in so good grass and gravel".
63. Ill. in Chr. Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes 1700–1750*, London, 1967, plate 45.
64. On the successive gardens see W. Diedenhofen, "Trophäen im Park", *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 21 (1973), pp. 117–26. He says of the first stage: "nach Art der Cavea eines griechischen Theaters halbkreisförmig in der Mulde des Springenberges angelegten Terrassierungen und Böschungen, die seitlich von unterschiedlich hohen natürlichen Baumgruppen architektonisch begrenzt werden". It was simpler, but in the same spirit as the second stage. The conspicuous element was a ceremonial seat or throne, made from canon, mortars, bullets, etc.

    In both the first and the second layout the master-idea remains incomprehensible; it seems extremely difficult to ascribe either to Jacob van Campen.
65. Ill. nr. 62 in Bienfait, *Tuinen*.
66. "Araucaria" resembling the Latin names for Orange, such as "Arausio".
67. Diedenhofen, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Southwell took it for count (Johan?) Maurits of Nassau himself.

Chapter 17

1. Abraham Cowley, *The Garden.* Work by Cowley was in Huygens' library.
2. *Vitaulium* in the Latinization.
3. *De Gedichten* . . . (op. cit., note 46 above), Vol. I, p. 185–6. Original spelling oue, neui, etc.
4. In *Hofwyck*, cited from *Korenbloemen*, 1672, p. 338. In translation this paragraph reads: "This together (could it be) in Gold-weight laid, The Tongue were in the house, the Scales both straight". Of course any other weight would have played the trick as well. "House" is a play on the centre of the scales and his own house's position in the middle of the estate.
5. *De Gedichten* . . . Vol. IV, p. 335.
   (One Rose is made a pair, five Trees a sudden Ten,
   Five on the surface wet, five on the lawn beheld).
   His occupation with multiplying is almost pathological. In *Hofwyck* too he writes on an easy flight of steps in imitation of one seen in Venice:
   "I imitated here: two easy steps of stone, and two, and two again, are six of similar shape:
   Rialto-in-Hofwyck."
6. In the eyes of a 20th century onlooker Huygens' Calvinist balance may have been man-made, but to him it was only an expression of God's will.
7. *De Gedichten* . . . Vol. IV, p. 101 and Vol. VI, pp. 18–9. Cf. Th.J. Beening, *Het Landschap in de Nederlandse Letterkunde van de Renaissance*, Nijmegen, 1963, pp. 145–6.
8. Most probably by Pieter Post. The assumption by J. Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe as book illustrator*, Amsterdam, 1970, p. 61, that De Hooghe made this print is untenable. The style is not his and *Hofwyck* appeared in print in 1653.
9. Many of the estates along the rivers Vliet, Oude Rijn and Vecht were situated between these rivers and the old dykes. The dykes had grown less important as the rivers were no longer directly connected with the sea, but they had become useful as common roads. The gardens often lay on either side of the road. Very occasionally this difficulty was averted by devices such as those used at the Queen's House and Pope's garden. An exception was Johan Maurits' fore-court which was connected to his garden by a tunnel.
10. *Huis ten Bosch*, House in the Wood, is also the name soon given to Pieter Post's *Sael* (modern: Zaal) *van Oranje*, Hall of Orange, near The Hague.
11. By the way, one of the changes of direction of this most sinuous stream.
12. Meischke, *Vroegste Werken*, p. 136.
13. *ibidem*, the roof-tiles were painted blue so that the raised centre-piece had still more effect.
14. This is a little simplified. Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 150, cites Vingboons' own words from the description of the town house: "Further it has an elegant, big Garden, with a Fountain as well as some Statues" as proof for the garden, but the plate (*Vingboons* I, 30) only shows four straight flower(?) beds at either side, followed by two different proposals for geometrical layouts around fountains and at the end two square areas which can only have been bleaching-fields. On the other hand Goudestein had several flower and vegetable beds with a sun-dial and some formal aspects like the Classicist garden pavilion.
15. Ill. in Van der Wijck, *Apollo*, p. 408. Meischke, *Vroegste Werken*, p. 136, suggests that Van Campen may have designed it. Yet comparing the Heiligewegspoort and its outer-gate we notice Van Campen applying full friezes whereas here the roof is directly supported by a kind of architrave. Van der Wijck, *diss.*, pp. 50–2 and 58 does not speak in favour of a definite architect: yet he mentions Huygens as an additional link between Huydecoper and Van Campen. Huygens thrice wrote several lines on Goudestein, praising its hospitality but for the rest mainly afraid "that the River Vliet may become jealous of the River Vecht".

16. Cf. note 22 of the section Mercury turned farmer.
17. For illustrations see note 15 above.
18. Huydecoper took care to spread the rumour that the old houses were pulled down completely. Yet the three *voorhuizen*, measuring 22, 16 and 12 feet in width, are found back in the plans (*Vingboons* I, 30 and 31), presumable even two *achterhuizen*. *Opkamers* to the right of the house were taken for granted, as well as an irregular garden façade. Parts of the lavish interior are in the Rijksmuseum.
19. For three glasses with stipple or roulette engravings related to Goudestein see P.C. Ritsema van Eck, "Drie glazen uit het bezit van Joan Huydecoper (1599–1661)", *Antiek* 8, nr. 6 (January 1974), with 7 ills. and one plate. The cup in the Rijksmuseum shows Ioan as the personification of Europe in front of Goudestein. (Details on Vingboons and the two houses in the article are not up to date.)
20. The intermediate state (with a cupola but no pediment) is represented on a map of c. 1690 in Van der Wijck, *diss.*, p. 49. This representation is the more curious as it draws with painstaking accuracy on Van der Heyden's painting of 1674, only *reconstructing* the straight balustrade! We know from the engraving (no. 16) in De Leth's *De Zegepralende Vecht* of 1719 that the pediment was extant – what can have been the reason for this historical reconstruction of the condition from c. 1640 to c. 1660? The king post of the cupola was renewed in 1662 and the apple regilt – so that 1640 is a reasonable surmise for the year of its construction (Van der Wijck, *diss.*, p. 57. In 1672–3 the French riddled the apple and the Centaur, but this damage was only repaired in 1699).
21. Illustrated in *De Zegepralende Vecht*, nr. 13, it was the only house that changed its 17th-century windows and entrance-door to 18th-century ones in the second edition (1791). It was painted by Jan van der Heyden as well, *Wagner*, ills. 131 and 132 (in the description, for "Tor" should be read "Tür").
22. *Luttervelt*, p. 121. Other reasons for omitting it may have been the lack of formal gardens and the old-fashioned façade. However, De Leth could not entirely ignore the influential Huydecoper clan, so Goudestein was inserted, though viewed against the light, like a bad snap-shot which shows next to nothing.
23. *Luttervelt*, pp. 120–1, ills. 36 (Isaac de Moucheron) and 37 (Lutgers) seems to confuse the condition of 1741 with the house before 1672 and the condition of 1836 with the house after the war. The house was evidently subjected to a conversion around 1800 when it was rendered and the whole façade was given two storeys.
24. J.W. Niemeyer, "Varia Topografica V – Het buiten Cromwijck door Isaac de Moucheron", *Oud-Holland*, 1973, pp. 56–60. The etching of the ruins by J. Sorjous is very interesting as it seems to imply that the front had a stone canopy. Maybe this made it fashionable enough to be restored in the old forms.

    To the left of the house there are kilns for bricks and tiles, one of many similar establishments on the clayey banks which made such investments attractive. This industrial settlement entailed behind the house a long building, presumably sheds and lodgings for the workmen; behind the front there is also a kind of turret, perhaps an observation-tower.
25. Elsenburgh, *Vingboons I*, 1, 2, built for Jacob Burchgraef on the Vecht near Goudestein, pulled down in 1812. *Luttervelt*, p. 101, concludes on invalid grounds that the cupola-turret was never built. His conclusion, however, is confirmed by Beudeker's remark in the beginning of the 18th century: "dog zonder Tooren" (but without turret. *Beudeker*, C9e9, fol. 78).
26. Groenhoven, *Vingboons I*, 42, 43, built for Michiel Popta near Amsterdam. Destroyed.
27. Westwijck, *Vingboons I*, 28, 29, built for Reinier Pauw (or Paeuw) the younger, in the Purmer polder. Vanished.
28. Driemond, *Vingboons I*, 39, 40, 41. First owner perhaps Gerbrant Anslo. Near Weesp.

Destroyed.

29. The architect of Meerzicht is unknown. The plan is more modern as it has the newel-staircase incorporated in the main block, to the rear, and screened off from the central voorhuis. Groenhoven had a newel-staircase and Westwijck straight flights, but in both cases the staircase was an addition to the main block. Driemond had the modern solution with straight flights off a central vestibule.
30. When Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, p. 145 says of Elsenburgh and Westwijck "The earliest work by Vingboons known to us, alas! by the prints only", he did not notice that Holsteyn's painting had already been published in Bienfait, *Tuinen* (ill. nr. 181). Holsteyn's light-source is the unusual right, opposite from Vingboons' print, so he may have worked after a drawing by Vingboons.
31. But at the back are the staircase and additional rooms, joined asymmetrically and without windows as if there was something rather awful at the back that should not be seen – presumably a farmhouse.
32. Reynier Pauw's grandfather of the same name was a very orthodox Calvinist and reactionary Burgomaster. Ousted in 1621 he tried to regain his position by a coup in 1628. He died in 1636, presumably leaving his grandson enough to build Westwijck. Elias, *Vroedschap*, states that Reynier the younger (1612–52) had eight *married* children, born between 1633 and 1650, so on that evidence dating of Holsteyn's painting seems impossible. The Pauw and Alewijn families knew each other very well; a sister of Frederick Alewijn had been married to an uncle of Reynier the younger.
33. The pilasters were almost evenly spaced. Vingboons did not like a more than minimal widening of the middle bay; Vredenburgh was the only important exception.
34. Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 171.
35. The idea of raising the fore-court to the level of the dyke will have been Vingboons', as well as the middle part of the wagon-sheds and maybe the cupola on the road. The garden design and the sash-windows at the rear must date from about 1700. Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 171 states "We admire the unity of the outlay, a unity not to be found in so many Dutch gardens because of their disintegration". Lacking a map of the general outlay I can not verify this. Maybe she meant a continuity in the decoration of the gardens.
36. The whole plan shows the usual carré round a central court.
37. San Francesco della Vigna rather than Il Redentore.
38. The engravings are by Jan Mathijs and Pieter Nolpe.
39. Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeist, Utrecht.
40. There is another project in the collection, given by Vermeulen (ill. 772) as a design for Vredenburgh. Now, apart from its 7 bays instead of 9 and an Ionic order instead of a Corinthian one, this design is in every respect *far closer* to Westwijck.

    Or must we give credit to the statement, which is nowhere confirmed, by J. de Balbian Verster in *Maandblad Amstelodamum*, 1934, pp. 48–50, that Vingboons was already making plans for Dirck Alewijn, who died in 1637? In that case we must assume that the design was transferred after Dirck's death to the nearby Westwijck. In any case his son Frederick married two months after his father's death, but his young wife died after only five months. He remarried in 1640, but Vredenburgh was only completed in about 1652.
41. An English parallel for the placing of the outer windows can be found in Inigo Jones' design for the Star Chamber (ill. in John Summerson, *Inigo Jones*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 49).
42. The coupling of pilasters is *extremely* rare in Dutch architecture of the Classicist period. There are a few examples of the Doric order, Vingboons' project for a country seat (*Vingboons I*, 56–9), the Hampoort, Grave (ill. Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, plate 121, and the Old Men's House, Breda (Vermeulen, 778). The last in fact has rather the appearance of channelled pilasters. An exception in Dutch architecture because of its plastic forms is

the Schielandshuis, Rotterdam, (1662–5), which has coupled pilasters and columns, Ionic and Corinthian, both in the middle projection and in the canopy. (ill. Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, plate 101, and Vermeulen, 779). See also the chapter on Jacob van Campen, note 54. For coupled semicolumns at Post's Hofje van Nieuwkoop see Vermeulen, 834 and III, p. 265, where instead of "Corinthische" should be read "Ionische".

43. To use Ter Kuile's words (*A. & A.*, p. 241) for the Van Waveren houses. The whole sentence is "just once Vingboons turned out a truly monumental design: it is the block of three houses in Amsterdam for Oetgens van Waveren, dated 1639, which have long since been demolished". The Van Waveren houses (Vingboons, I, 27) can still be recognised as Singel 282–6, and in comparison the rear elevation of Vredenburgh certainly had more grandeur.
44. This motif at Vredenburgh will not have been inspired by some foreign country house but simply by the flanking colonnades of the first Town Hall projects which ultimately derive from Veronese town designs or the arrangement on the Capitoline Hill.
45. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 842, mistakenly states that the hall is higher in the centre.
46. A triangular shape for an economic design was advocated by Pieter de la Court van der Voort, *Byzondere aenmerkingen*, etc. Leyden, 1737. This was only to be used for modest schemes, but on the other hand it is the only plan given in his book. Gunterstein on the Vecht showed a layout of this sort.
47. The name Sorgh-vliet is ambiguous, like so many of the Rhetoricians' puns. It may mean "flee (the) sorrow (of the town)" as well as "the brook that causes grief". The later(?) Latinization with "Curifugium" confirms the first meaning.
48. Blok, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–6.
49. The illustrations and the remarks about the country-seat are scattered over three works by Cats: *Hof-gedachten*, etc., 1655, *Ouderdom, buyten-leven en hof-gedachten, op Sorghvliet*, 1656 and *Tachtig jarig leven*, etc., 1684. Venne's illustrations show the pond (that was to be retained) with frogs and observation-platform, "deceivers", Neptune over a grotto and many merry visitors.
50. Claas Bruin, *Kleefsche en Zuid-Hollandsche Arkadia*, etc., Amsterdam, 1716.
51. Causing even in the 20th century controversy about the plot's original fertility. Cf. Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 72 "met groote moeite op slechten grond" (with many pains on bad soil) and A. Goekoop (the last private owner of the estate), "Het Catshuis 'Sorghvliet' 300 jaar (1652–1952)", *Die Haghe, Jaarboek 1953*, "wel op vruchtbare grond" (on fertile soil indeed).
52. Most of them illustrated in Van der Wijck, *diss.* pp. 59–70, Van der Wijck, *Apollo*, pp. 413–4 and Van der Wijck, "De onbeschermde buitenplaats", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1972, pp. 12–16; Wagner, *Van der Heyden*; Van Swigchem, *op. cit.*, plate 86; Bienfait, *Tuinen*, pls. 236 and 237. The house was pulled down about 1880; only an entrance gate and some ancillary buildings survive.
53. The house was a square of 25 by 25 meters. The "inner court" measured no more than 6.45 by 6.45 meters, even reduced to 6.45 by 3.80 m by the construction of privies.
54. Meischke, *Vroegste Werken*, pp. 142–3.
55. Visible on plate 25 of the *Zegepralende Vecht*, c.f. *Luttervelt*, p. 198.
56. Whatever the Italian provenance, e.g. the exedra in the Cortile del Belvedere, this feature is found again at Chatsworth.
57. We know from the itinerary of a visitor, Knorr von Rosenroth, that the pond was being dug in 1663, so Van der Heyden's and Berckheyde's paintings are presumably later. – A star-grove (sterrebos) is found rendered in French as "étoile".
58. Both the pediments, in the classical manner on one axis, have sculptural filling; on the possibility of part of this having been originally designed for Honselaarsdijk see Meischke, *Vroegste Werken*, pp. 142–3. The façade on the forecourt had equal dimensions for the temple-centre and the wings; the rear elevation on the sunken

garden had, because of the superimposed orders, the slightly differing ratio of 12:11:12. (The centrepiece is shown as too narrow in Van der Wijck's reconstruction).

59. The print shows that the two estates were only divided by the common road between them.
60. The print (by Meyster himself?) is clumsy, the theatre seems to have shorn hedges as wings, but the designation by the Dutch word *toneel* (stage) does not leave any doubt as to its purpose. There cannot be confusion with an amphitheatre (like at Cleves and Het Loo) because of its form alone.
61. And, similarly, for most houses along the Vecht built by other architects. Some softening Rococo detailing crept in in the 18th century, but mainly in the encasement of the entrance-door and the fine wrought iron fences on the road. Vanenburg (II, 21–26) still boasted a pediment, but some other houses by Vingboons (II, 9, 10 and II, 27–30) only had a straight cornice.
62. The house as changed is reproduced as plate 14 in *De Zegepralende Vecht*. The segmental form of the big pediment makes a change before c. 1700 unlikely. The cupola was in effect never built (see note 25 above). *Luttervelt*, p. 101, does not acknowledge the influence of fashion on (presumably) well-built houses; he ascribes most of the changes in the house to "changes in the execution in the manner of Stoopendaal's representation, who worked after nature". Of course Daniel Stoopendaal, the engraver of *De Zegepralende Vecht*, worked "after nature", but as he represented a changed nature Luttervelt's static view is untenable.
63. Most of the fore-mentioned country houses were eventually plastered if they were not pulled down. So Huis ten Bosch (Maarsen), Sorghvliet, Cromwijck, Soestdijk and Het Loo are rendered.

Chapter 18

1. The name is derived from "hilly dunes" (clingen) and "valley" (daal). The house and the gardens are much changed but in some parts their state in about 1700 is still recognisable. They are situated at Wassenaar, near the Hague.
2. There are several series of drawings and prints, such as engravings by Daniël Stoopendaal published first by Nic. Visser and later by Leon Schenck, engravings by Daniel Marot (which fact induced Ozinga, *Marot*, p. 36, to make the unlikely suggestion that Marot designed the parterres) and a dedicatory print designed and engraved by Laurens Scherm, published by N. Visser. The last one must be dated after 1687 as it mentions Constantine Huygens as dead. There are also fine engravings of the house itself by Stoopendaal (published by Visser) and in the municipal archives at the Hague the original design for the garden outlay and the parterres (on one sheet).

   Nicodemus Tessin does not yet speak of fountains in his diary of 1687 ("Von Fontainen ist zu beklagen, dass hir nichts ist" – citations of Tessin as quoted in Bienfat, *Tuinen*, 139), but the engravings mention them at number 14 (in the orangery, in detail, Bienfait, *Tuinen*, ill. 160) and at 25 (of which no detail is given).
3. A distinction should really be made between Clingendaal I, a small square pavilion on a dam in a transverse pond, built about 1642 (Van der Wijck, *diss*, p. 80, and map, 79) and Clingendaal II built after 1680.
4. This caused undue invasion of the owners' privacy and so a small wooden bridge (with fence) was constructed alongside the house.
5. Evidently fully one-dimensional broderies were Doublet's intention. But in the illustrations we notice that vertical elements, like plants, statuary and *arbres nains* did creep in – even though the trees were clipped into cones.
6. Marot's garden-layouts are best compared to

much modern urbanistic design: they make pretty patterns from the air but the internal relations are not understood. Marot is at his best when designing basically one-dimensional work: iron gates, textile patterns, isolated broderies and the like.

7. In *Kleefsche en Zuid-Hollandsche Arkadia*, second ed., Amsterdam, 1730. (Agreeable roaming! / Here one may always avoid / among the very thick shrubs / the rays of the sun / and get fresh air). Alas, as early as 1733, according to a map by B. den Baes, the design was in full decay. An ungainly turret was added to the house, and the garden, especially the maze, was spoilt by a broad central path cut through it. Thus we witness the ultimate victory of a Baroque (or Louis XIV) axis when the original layout was no longer understood.
8. Essentially new patterns are meant here, not, of course, the isolated Rococo-forms like scalloped borders of ponds etc. which we find in many 18th century gardens. A good example are the groves with wavy paths at Ter Meer (difficult to date, around 1725? – in any way after 1710 and before 1741; Bienfait, *Tuinen*, ill. 227).
9. When considering Doublet's authorship we may take into account Tessin's remark that Doublet advised William III on alterations to the gardens of Huis ten Bosch about this time. And as to Doublet's possible veneration for his father-in-law we would like to point to the fact that the side elevations of Clingendaal closely resemble those of Hofwijck (cf. Plates 314 and 340).
10. "Men kan aen de Natuer een ander wesen geven,
    Als men in d'oeffening van Landbouw is bedreven:
    En maecken Wildernis tot nut en vrugtbaer Landt;
    Een schraelen Duyn tot Wey, door moeyten en verstant".
    Coenraed Droste, lines 1–4 of "Op Duynrel, Buyten-Huys van de Heer van Ellemeet. Onder Wassenaer". *De Haagse Schouburg Gestoffeert*, second part, the Hague, 1714. Droste goes on (lines 5–8) "Die milde Moeder schenckt haer gaven aen de menschen,/Niet t'eenemael volmaeckt, gelijck hun' herten wenschen:/Op dat sy wennen sou haer handt tot arrebeydt,/om te verbeteren dat sy heeft ruw bereydt". (This mild Mother bestows her gifts on the people, not at all perfect as their hearts should wish: In order to set them to labour, to improve what She, nature, prepared in outline). Here there is not much change in the official theory: *Nature has to be perfected to show God's purpose*, but still, a slight shift in emphasis is noticeable, from formal garden to profitable and fertile farm-lands and to meadows as well.
11. The name Duinrel has presumably much the same significance as Clingendaal: dunes and valley.
12. Hitherto unpublished. It is, however, found in several public collections (the British Museum and the Leyden Municipal Archives), and, presumably, in private ones.
13. The puritan Dutch states *cabinet* of Diana. It is rendered, though, in Latin by the far more evocative term *penetrale* (holy of holiest).
14. Droste, *op. cit.*, lines 317–20, notes the colour contrast between the brown beech-hedges and the sandstone busts and likens the whole to a "tapestry".
15. Droste, *op. cit.*, passim, gives some information on the materials of the garden. Some scrolls in the formal part are made of box, and fine grass, seaweed and yew are also used. There were large quantities of different flowers.
16. See J. Terwen-de Loos, "Twee woonhuizen van Cornelis de Jonge van Ellemeet", *Opstellen voor H. van de Waal*, Amsterdam-Leyden, (1970?),pp. 185–202.
17. Droste had observed this already. *Op. cit.*, line 196: "Waer uyt men oversiet al het nabuerigh Lant" (From where one sees over all the neighbouring Land) and 340, on the visibility of cattle, "Daer het gesigt niet stuyt, en opening geniet" (As the prospect is not closed off, and enjoys an opening).
18. The titles of Pieter Schenck's well known series *Paradisus Oculorum* are fully cited in the article by Mrs. Terwen-de Loos; there are 16 small engravings/etchings of Duinrel

in this series, then a large prospect of the house with forecourt dated 1701 and the forementioned general view of 1707, both signed by Pieter Schenck as engraver. Possibly he worked on the earliest print, the façade, after a drawing by Roman, but the lapse of time before the last print was finished does make the supposition that he worked for the whole Duinrel series after drawings by Roman unlikely.

19. B.E. de Muinck, *Een Regentenhuishouding omstreeks 1700*, the Hague, 1965.
20. The same, "Cornelis de Jonge van Ellemeet, Collector-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands from 1674 to 1707", *Progress, The Unilever Quarterly*, Vol. 51 (1966), pp. 125–31. After the death of her husband Maria Margaretha remarried. Her new husband was a Scottish nobleman.
21. A Londres, chez David Mortier, Marchand Libraire sur le Strand, à l'Enseigne d'Erasme. Mortier was the same who published an edition of Jacob van Campen's *Town Hall*.
22. The reduction was done by J. Goeree. The whole series covers England, Scotland and Ireland, but most of the illustrations are the forementioned country-seats after Kip and Knyff and are rather attractively done considering their small dimensions, and somewhat crude engravings of buildings in Cambridge, Oxford and Cambridge. The title is James Beeverell, A.M., *Les Delices de la Grand' Bretagne . . . En huit Tomes, IX. Parties . . . A Leide chez Pierre van der Aa, J. Goeree in. et Fec.*, Leyden, 1707, 12°. (In R.P.K., the signature of the Kip-Knyff volume is 40–G–37a; it contains also the plan of mr. De Tallard's garden at Nottingham and short descriptions to the plates) (Plate 454).
23. The name Sion is derived from a convent on the site. The print signed "P. v. Cal Delin. Fecit et Ex(cudit)" mentions Van Hogendorp as Collector General and the lay-out is clearly discernible on Cruquius' map of 1712. In addition to the big print there are ten small ones, presumably by Van Cal (or Call). The place had antique connections as well if the relevant passage in A.J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek*, Gorcum, 1847, is to be trusted: "People think that it was founded on the place where the brothers Marcus Aurelius, the Philosopher, and L. Comodus Verus may have had a farm".
24. So the house had transom-and-mullion windows on three sides and at the back the more modern sash windows.
25. Inward and outward bent walls and similar devices (the high shorn hedges of Driemond for instance) were to become increasingly popular during the 18th century.
26. Several designs similar to Sion are to be found in Chaufourier, *La Theorie et la Pratique du Jardinage*, Paris, 1708, especially Planche 2 A, signed I. Lamsfelt fc., "Disposition generale d'un grand Jardin dont la pente est en façe du Bâtiment".
27. The pavilion is only shown in Van Cal's big print and on the terribly distorted anonymous map of about 1750, evidently made after Van Cal's view, ill. 171 in Bienfait, *Tuinen*. Cruquius' 1712 map and the 1760 map of the surveyor D. Zijnen completely consistently do not show any formal developments in the lateral blocks. The rounds and triangles in the squares (A, 2) and (C, 2) never existed, maybe even the high pavilion was no conscious alignment on Delft but an alternative proposal only like the one star in (B, 2) suggests, because after Cruquius in (B, 2) symmetrical stars were executed. It rests to mention the beautiful cloudscape on Van Cal's print without which Dutch gardens are unthinkable.
28. Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 144.

Chapter 19

1. As well as the German Synagogue which may very well have been designed by him.
2. The attribution of the Portuguese Synagogue was first established by D. Henriques de Castro, *De Synagoge der Portugeesch-Israëlitische Gemeente te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1875, p. 25, and repeated by

A.M. Vaz Dias, "Elias Bouman, De Architect van de Portugeesche Synagoge", *Maandblad Amstelodanum*, XXI (1934), pp. 87–91. The latter article contains biographical information as well as the attribution of Amstel 224–6.

3. This dignified house in the old Jewish quarter of Amsterdam has fortunately been saved. The quarter, damaged in the war and later by the construction of an Underground, was destined to disappear completely. It was possible at the last moment to save the De Pinto House and it has been carefully restored. Adjacent houses will be reconstructed. The important painted ceilings of about 1690 were partly recovered and partly reconstructed. See the article, with many illustrations, by G. Brinckgreve in *De Lamp*, IX (1975), no. 33 (August) pp. 17–23.
4. These prints were not included in the original set forming the basis of the first edition; it is not unlikely that the plates of the Bouman houses were only acquired by the publishers at the auction after Bouman's death. This suggests the reasonable speculation that the houses Heerengracht 468–470, also reproduced on an added print, were also Bouman's, as they are closely related architecturally to the Amstel houses (Plate 353). For the *Grachtenboekje* see also note 33 below.
5. These prints added to the *Grachtenboekje* (nos. 21–4), were colour prints.
6. The new owner bought it on December 12th, 1675. Van Agt, *Synagogen*, p. 16.
7. The house was changed several times and eventually demolished in 1931. Van Agt, *Synagogen*, p. 15.
8. The backs of the benches on the stoop show palm-sprays, presumably dating from the conversion.
9. As the conversion was most probably made during 1676, we cannot with certainty exclude Stalpaert (died Nov. or Dec, 1676), Dortsman or Vennecool. The first two of these architects, however, were still too much in the Classicist tradition to attach a balcony to a pilastershaft, while Vennecool, even if he was born one or two years before 1657, seems too young at that date.
10. The Amstel houses were for a Jewish patron.
11. "He is last mentioned (Van Dias, *op. cit.*, concluding his article) in an advertisement . . . on May 14th, 1686: "At Amsterdam (the address of a map-dealer follows) will be sold the remaining books of Elias Bouman . . . of which the catalogue may be obtained at . . . (five booksellers at Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, the Hague, and Rotterdam) . . ." It would be very interesting if this catalogue were ever found and published – too little is known about architects' libraries in the 17th century!
12. J. Vriese, "Het Huis Sint Antoniesbreestraat 69", *Ons Amsterdam*, XX, (1968), pp. 74–7.
13. These are Nieuwe Heerengracht 49, for Nunes da Costa, Heerengracht 586 for Manuel, Baron Belmonte, and the De Pinto House; he does not mention the old synagogue.
14. On the other hand he cannot prove that Bouman was the only architect working for them.
15. Illustrated in *Heerengrachtboek*, p. 619 (Plate 365).
16. See *Heerengrachtboek* i.v. no. 586, and also on pp. 130–1 Jacob Bosch's map, which suggests that in 1679 the stable next to the house had not yet been built.
17. De Hooghe's reliability is a moot point. Some houses on his prints seem fairly accurate, others not at all. But conceivably Belmonte's masons took some liberties with the design as Bouman had in any case died in 1686.
18. The year 1657 for Vennecool's birth is given in *Vermeulen*, III, p. 228, without source. On the same page, with documentation: Vennecool completed the decoration of the Burgerzaal of the Amsterdam Town Hall about 1697. Vennecool's name is spelt here with a "c" to distinguish him easily from his father, Jacob Vennekool. His father was Jacob van Campen's draughtsman, and made the engravings of his Town Hall. As Jacob's birth is usually thought to have been around 1632, 1657

seems a reasonable guess for Steven's. On Steven Vennecool see Ozinga, *Thieme-Becker*, i.v.

19. The windows have recessed, non-structural boxes as at Amsterdam Town Hall.
20. For a house at the Hague not mentioned here see Ozinga, *op. cit.*. For possible stage-scenery by Vennecool see note 24 below.
21. One print is shown in Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar*, pl. 133, and several in D.P. Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1975, ills. 68–70 and 72–7.
22. Not to be confused with the Romeyn de Hooghe-Bidloo arches elsewhere on William's route through the Hague.
23. The equestrian statue on the Plaats equally represented William III on horseback (Snoep, *op. cit.*, p. 128). In the fireworks on the *Vijver* the motto "Triumphet semper Augustus" was visible right in front of the Assembly Hall of the States of Holland.
24. Steven Vennecool seems, however, to have worked as a scenery painter as well. If all the Vennekools mentioned in J.A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg 1496–1772*, Amsterdam, 1920, were members of the same family, the family combined literary and visual art traditions. On p. 40, the Steven Jacobszoon who wrote dramas around 1635, may have been the architect's grandfather. P. 84, the Vennekool who was Regent of the Theatre may have been Steven's father, and he is mentioned also on p. 111 as "the well-known architect and painter". P. 137, Dirk Vennekool, painter, a brother of Steven?; and two amounts paid to Steven Vennecool – who must be the architect – f. 630,– in 1695 for painting a new scene (*toneel*) and f. 210,– in 1700. Worp adds in a note: "In 1738 the Schouwburg possessed an Italian street by Vennekool". Considering how long the principal decorations lasted this Italian street may very well have been designed and painted by Steven Vennecool about 1700.
25. Illustrations in Snoep, *op. cit.*, especially 72, 76 and 77.
26. For ills. see also Snoep, *op. cit.* The laudatory character of these decorations directed by Bidloo and De Hooghe scarcely disguises their sources. The *pièce de résistance* on the Market consisted of a triumphal arch after Constantine's, with bent colonnades after Bernini's, and *two* obelisks, doubling the number at the Vatican.
27. Snoep, *op. cit.*, p. 132, takes Perrault's design for an Arc de Triomphe as an example. This arch, however, (Snoep's ill. 71) is a rather rigid academic design with no curves at all.
28. For this see Snoep, *op. cit.*, passim.
29. Ozinga, *op. cit.*, i.v. Vennecool. Ill. in *W. & W.*, pp. 264–5.
30. For these late 18th century buildings see R. Meischke, "Achttiende-Eeuws Klassicisme: Twee Bouwkundige Prijsvragen" *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek X*, (1959), pp. 211–75, especially pp. 244–6.
31. As quoted in Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, pp. 873–4. In rough translation:
"Was ever Architecture honoured, 't was by your brain and hand,
Dying with you she punishes th'ungrateful Fatherland.
But you, who always served wisely and so well,
Forget our daily fate in heaven far from hell."
32. Ascriptions of modern authors are as follows.
A.A. Kok, *Amsterdamsche Woonhuizen*, 4th ed., Amsterdam, 1946, pp. 114–25, "without doubt": Sweedenrijk, Heerengracht 462 (Plate 362) (not documented, ascribed by some to Vennecool, as Vennecool's Enkhuizen Town Hall has a meander in the façade. On the other hand there is Dortsman's meander in the interior of the Round Lutheran Church and Vennecool was too young to design Sweedenrijk), Amstel 216 (since documented), and Keizersgracht 672–6 (since documented).
Ozinga, *op. cit.*, p. 874, implies that Keizersgracht 604, (bearing a close similarity to Heerengracht 619) and Heerengracht 436 are Dortsman's. The latter attribution is fairly vague as the central

decorations around the balcony and the attic have been changed. G. Roosegaarde Bisschop in *Heerengrachtboek*, states cautiously: "It gained an ultra-modern elevation in the style propagated by Adriaan Dortsman and his contemporaries". In other cases he uses the term "Dortsman-like". Indeed, probable as it is that Dortsman designed many of the houses "in his style" built between 1667 and 1682, in most cases the architect's name will remain unknown. On the evidence of the prints in the *Grachtenboekje*, it does not seem unlikely that Keizersgracht 730 to 738 (Plate 358) and Heerengracht 456 were designed by Dortsman. E. van Houten in *Grachtenboek* attributes the group of five houses Keizersgracht 730–8 to him but leaves Heerengracht 456 unattributed. Roosegaarde Bisschop, *op. cit.*, says of Heerengracht 456: "a typical Dortsman-like house" and of Heerengracht 448: "a façade with a strongly Dortsman-like character". The latter judgement seems fairly hazardous for an elevation with ground floor windows lower than those of the first floor, a feature which does not occur in documented Dortsman houses.

33. *Een Amsterdams Grachtenboekje uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, (introduction by) I.H. van Eeghen, Amsterdam, 1963. This rare series of plates seems to have been made in about 1685 and printed for the first time not much later.

34. Sir William Temple's admiration was tinged with the feeling that the later seventeenth century investment in extending the Heerengracht and Keizersgracht was at the expense of sounder ones: "the mighty Enlargement of the City of *Amsterdam* . . . the Extent whereof is so spacious, and the Buildings of so much greater Beauty and Cost than the Old, that it must have employ'd a vast Proportion of that Stock which in this City was before wholly turned to Trade". (William Temple, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

Vermeulen, III, p. 200, detects in Dortsman's architecture a "decisive step towards the fully developed French Baroque". A further indexing of Vermeulen's history would also reveal Dortsman's name on pp. 399, 407, 452–3 and 460. On p. 407 Dortsman is called "fully Dutch and fully Baroque as well", whereas on page 453 the risky hypothesis is offered that one of the Naarden town gates was inspired by the Collège des Quatre Nations.

34a. After his own statement in the *Album Studiosorum* on May 29, 1658: "Adriaen Dortsman Vlissingensis. 22, Mat." (Cf. C.A. van Swigchem, *Ontwerp- en Bouwgeschiedenis van de Oostkerk te Middelburg*, stencil, (Amsterdam?), 1967, p. 12).

35. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 873: a journey to Italy is probable.

36. When Count Johan Maurits visited the church in 1670 he, "comme bon architecte", detected some error in the work, on which he would be quite ready to expound on request. Before the commissioners could reach him at the Hague he had gone to Cleves, but this is an example of how princely patronage meddled with the building activities even of Amsterdam.

37. Ozinga, *Kunstgeschiedenis*, p. 874 and ill. 29. The original design, in the University Print Room, Leyden, signed and dated on the piano nobile sheet "A: Dortsman, in feb. 1666" is so neatly and elaborately drawn (in ink and wash), on twelve sheets, that the first sketches must date from 1665. The house's width of 52 feet exactly corresponds to the executed house, so that it must be a preliminary design. Dutch architects used to make a pen drawing of a design with watercolour in several shades to differentiate brick, stone, slates and so on. Dortsman departs from this usage by giving his pen drawing only one tint, as English architects used to do. The polychrome tradition in Holland persisted until a mere twenty years ago. (Nowadays Marxist phraseology appears to offer a better way to understanding architecture in the architectural department of Delft). Of the preliminary design it should be noted that it had timber windows, which appeared like thin crosses, but were composed of casements in the lower part and a fixed window with a widened central glazing bar

in the upper.

38. Completely altered about 1818. Where no other sources are mentioned dates are taken for the Keizersgracht houses from E. van Houten, *Grachtenboek*, (1962), and for the Heerengracht houses from the superseding *Heerengrachtboek* (1975).
39. The very fact that no. 456 was represented so accurately in the *Grachtenboekje* seems to indicate that it was designed by Dortsman. (Cf. for instance on the same plate, no. 21, the distortions in Vingboons' Deutz House, Heerengracht 450).
40. I.H. van Eeghen, "Het Walenweeshuis Drie Eeuwen Oud", *Maandblad Amstelodamum*, vol. 58 (1971), pp. 74–9. Dortsman bequeathed his fee of about f. 600,– to the orphanage.
41. On the documentation of the attribution see Stichting Van Loon, *Keizersgracht 672*, Amsterdam (c. 1974). The tenant of 672, the painter Ferdinand Bol, complained after several years that the stables belonging to the property (and for which he paid rent) had not yet been completed. Dortsman appeared as a witness in the case, which suggests that he may have been the architect.

    Two other houses, represented in the *Grachtenboekje*, should be mentioned here. The first is Heerengracht 460. Built in 1682–5 (after Dortsman's death), the original, or at least intended, façade, engraved on plate 16 (Plate 362) of the *Grachtenboekje*, shows qualities characteristic of *Jacob Roman* as found at Zeist and Het Loo (the fanlit entrance with small side windows, embedded in a pilaster scheme, carrying at the ends vases and surmounted in the centre by a window with concave decoration). It was altered in the 18th century but very probably owes its still extant entrance part to an alteration of 1803. This entrance is similar to that of an eighteenth century English house like Lord Harrington's, at Whitehall, dating from 1702 (plate XIX in A.E. Richardson and C.L. Gill, *London Houses from 1660 to 1820*, London, 1911). The other house is Heerengracht 475, considered by most authors to have been given a new façade between 1730 and 1740. For the important interior decoration by Van Logteren see Th. Lunsingh Scheurleer. "Het Huis Heerengracht 475 en zijn Bewoners", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* LIX (1967), pp. 79–106, and the other publications mentioned in the *Heerengrachtboek*. Ozinga, *Daniel Marot*, p. 134, rejects the façade (well-illustrated in *W. & W.* pp. 208–9) as a work by Marot on the grounds that it is "unimaginable that Marot would use next to each other volute-brackets and triglyphs" (in the frieze). Could the triglyphs not survive from the original building (1670 or 1682), and the Louis XIV brackets as well as the other lavish sculptural decorations be an addition of the 1730s? The alternately raised and sunken quoins at the ends are also found at Gunterstein, a country-seat by Dortsman.
42. The garden pavilions of both houses have been considerably changed: one into a Neoclassicist style by rendering it, giving it windows with surrounds and crowning it with a pediment, the other – whose ground floor still shows the original brick half-columns – by adding an enormous decorated dormer which is beautiful, but incongruous. The former was changed about 1770; see R. Meischke, "Achttiende-Eeuws Klassicisme: Twee Bouwkundige Prijsvragen" *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek X* (1959), pp. 244–6 and illustration of the new state on p. 249.
44. This raises the intriguing question of the share of Jan Six, the patron, in Dortsman's development.
45. I.H. van Eeghen, "De Huizen van Coenraad van Beuningen", *Maandblad Amstelodamum*, vol. 58, (1971), pp. 98–108.

45a. Stalpaert's own house on the Keizersgracht of about 1670 was demolished as early as 1731. Cf. *Grachtenboek*, p. 30 and *Grachtenboekje*, p. 17.

46. Dortsman let 623 and himself lived in 625, so that the balcony (now in the garden of the Rijksmuseum) is decorated with compasses, protractor, plummet, and the monogram A.D., and also with a swan and a female figure (? as a personification of the

nearby river Amstel), and the chronogram "O, quid amoenius est solutis curis", making 1674. Cf. *Heerengrachtboek.* A photograph of Heerengracht 625 to Amstel 208 before demolition of the greater part is in A.A. Kok, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

47. Illustrated in *Heerengrachtboek*, p. 619.
48. Good photograph in F.W. Drijver, *Naarden, Historie en Monumenten*, Naarden, 1932, facing p. 42. Photo of inner side of gate in J.H. and A. Maas, *De Geschiedenis van Naarden*, Naarden, (1950), 3rd ed., facing p. 96. Slightly retouched photo in A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *De Historie van de Vesting Naarden*, Bussum, 1965, plate 30 (which also gives, in figure 39, an impression of the other gate at Naarden, the Utrechtse poort, which was presumably also built after a design by Dortsman.).
49. Visible on an anonymous drawing, dated 1742, in the Rijksarchief, Haarlem. The small ornament on the centre suggests that the above-mentioned impression after an old drawing may be at fault in the size of its huge crowning decoration.
50. Ill. Vermeulen, 913. Cf. note 34 above in which a reference is made to Vermeulen's statement that the gate was inspired by the Collège des Quatre Nations.

    If one wishes to find French rather than Italian inspiration for the gate one should look for instance at Jean Marot's "Dessein d'un Arc de Triomphe de l'invention du Sr Marot" (in the *Grand Marot*). This shows the same curvature and minimal central stress on height as on the Naarden gate.
51. See also the article by Miss Van Eeghen cited in note 45 above. Another work outside Amsterdam that Dortsman was asked to design was the hofje Meermansburg at Leyden, but in the end Jacob Roman got the commission. Mentioned in J. Terwen-de Loos, *Leids Jaarboekje 1952*, pp. 124–5.
52. The main floor and the rear elevation are represented here; Vermeulen, 915–6, shows the front and the longitudinal section.

Chapter 20

1. The most important articles on Jacob Roman are those by Mrs. J. Terwen-de Loos, "De Bouwgeschiedenis van het Hofje Meermansburg", *Leids Jaarboekje 1952*, pp. 118–31, "Jacobus Roman, architect, 1640–1716", *Bouw*, 1960, p. 704–9, and "Twee woonhuizen van Cornelis de Jonge van Ellemeet", *Opstellen voor H. van de Waal*, Amsterdam-Leyden, (1970), pp. 185–202, and the article by M.D. Ozinga in *Thieme-Becker*, i.v. Roman, Jacob Pietersz.
2. M.D. Ozinga in *Thieme-Becker*, i.v. Roman, Pieter.

2a. The "Mr. sculptor Roman" who was paid f. 250,– for a mantle-piece for the States of Holland about 1668 would have been Pieter Roman. An early payment for Jacob Roman is for work for Mary Stuart (see A. Ising, "Het Stadhouderlijk Kwartier", p. 10 in *Het Binnenhof*, the Hague, 1879: "to Mr. sculptor Jacobus Roman . . . f. 1095,– . . . for carvings and embellishments . . . in the bed-chamber of Her Highness and elsewhere on the Court . . . in 1678").

3. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 276.
4. The second half of the phrase cited in Ozinga, *Marot*, p. 37. Roman's services will have been employed on other princely estates like Buren and Hoog-Soeren as well.
5. The series is dated 1695, the gloriette is on the print with the caption "De Fontein en de Goude Beelden, in de Groote Tuin" (The Fountain and the Gilt Statues in the Great Garden).

    Van den Aveele's prints of 1690 of Portland's Sorghvliet do not suggest participation by Roman in the design of the Orangery there.
6. Attributed by Terwen-de Loos, *op cit.* in *Bouw*, p. 119. Illustrated in A. Loosjes, *Leiden*, Amsterdam, (1929), pl. 9.
7. Documented. Discussed by Terwen-de Loos, *op cit.* in *Bouw*, p. 705, illustrated in A. Loosjes, *op cit.* pls. 10A and 11. (Would the screen shown on Loosjes' plate 10C be attributable to Arent van 's-Gravesande?).

8. Similar twisted columns with carved or painted foliage may be noticed on J. Vianen's representation of the chimney-piece in the upper hall at Ter Nieuwburg. These columns were made by Pieter Roman (Fremantle, *Thornhill*, 37D).
9. Illustrated after drawing of c. 1789 in H.A. van Oerle, *Leiden Binnen en Buiten de Stadsvesten, Beschrijving*, Leyden, 1975, fig. 419.
10. The design was represented in ink and water-colour on two sheets. The long façade has a pediment over the entrance; the high hipped roof is flattened at the top to support a cupola-turret. The interior of 56 by 28 feet was a double cube, the height being c. 28 feet to the cove. Municipal archives, P.V. 85500-1-1a.
11. Another Leyden work which may be assigned to Roman – having been erected in 1685 and showing some of his characteristics, e.g. the architrave-cornice and large acanthus brackets – is the archway of the St. Annahof. Best illustrated in Loosjes, *op. cit.*, pl. 60A. Some work for Leyden University is mentioned in *Universiteit & Architectuur, op cit.* in chapter 4, note 1, p. 101.
12. Illustrated in Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, pl. 186.
13. Formerly it used to be placed beneath a wooden hood in winter (as were the marble statues at Honselaarsdijk to protect them against the climate). See also W. Kuyper in *Aanhangsel tot het Verslag van de Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad van Leiden*, 1973, nr. 14 and 1974, nr. 2. Recently the fountain has been restored.
14. As the Meermansburg the Butterhouse still had transomed and mullioned windows. In the *Grachtenboekje* most representations of which are about 10 years earlier, we notice transitional forms – but the engravings in it are often a bit awkward. I accept the sashes of Duinrel as original, but it should be noted that the engravings of Duinrel date from about 1700, twenty years after its construction. So the first documented case is Zeist in 1686, as long as the date and absolute reliability of Cause's Soestdijk print have not been established. See note 22 below.
15. The entrance has an architrave-cornice in stone in Doric work around wooden doors with a muntin with Ionic capital.
16. These brackets are still giant symmetrical acanthus volutes; only in the 18th century were these to develop into the Rococo form swung around two axes.
17. The right wing still exists, much mutilated. The left wing has vanished; the gardens were superseded by a later Romantic design. The house itself has vanished beyond recognition by continuous additions and changes, alteration of the roof line, etc. Up to several years ago it contained some beautiful 18th century decorative features, but the present owner only seems to regard it as a marble-quarry.
18. (Plate 236).
19. Illustrated in Morren, *op. cit.* p. 56, Cf. Plate 288. As a surveyer and engraver Van Swieten made the large Zeestraat-sheets for Constantine Huygens.
20. The curious entrance arch, still shown on the eldest engraving, by Cause, may derive from the older estate owned by Jacob de Graeff who sold the property in 1674 to William, but the coat of arms on top of it as represented by Cause is definitely the princely one used by William III.
21. Later engravings illustrated in Bienfait, *Tuinen*, pl. 82 and 83; a reconstruction of the plan in Meischke, *Zeist*, fig. 1. The lateral rows of oaks are visible on the later prints; these oaks are already noticed by Tessin (1687), who also writes that the paintings in the *voorhuis* are by (Melchior?) Hondecoeter.
22. After Cause's print which occurs in the anonymous *De Koninglycke Hovenier* which traditionally is dated 1676. (So Bienfait, *Tuinen*, p. 88; the publisher, Marcus Doornick, was working before and after that date). As mentioned (note 20) the entrance gate is odd in 1676, even for Maurits Post. On the other hand the extension at the back is not represented on this print. Maybe Cause worked after various drawings, one of the general layout and one for the façade, perhaps the original. The

fountains are dubious. To the inscription is added "The Court of his *Royal* Highness, etc.", an addition which must date from 1688 or later. Mr. Meischke pointed out to me that the irregular shape of Soestdijk is due to incorporation of the existing De Graeff House. One may imagine an earlier 5 bay house, for instance like Vingboons' last project (II, 74; Plate 396) as the source of a number of irregularities not disguised by a hurried change. The original house is vaguely represented in the background of Ruysdael's painting of De Graeff, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland.

23. Was the example Trompenburgh? (perhaps designed by Pieter Post). There, however, the garden hall was clearly divided from the main block.
24. Het Loo was built about the time when Marot fled to Holland. Marot in any case designed much of the decoration. Anna Bienfait in *Tuinen* (1943), pp. 92–3 already seems a little doubtful about the exaggerated rôle played by Marot in Ozinga's splendid monograph. Meischke, *Zeist*, col. 38, does not *define* Roman's share, and lately Van der Wijck, *Het Loo*, avoids the moot question completely.
25. For instance, many of these prints were reissued again and again, sometimes only with new captions, "princely" becoming "royal", etc.
26. Cf. in England Tring Manor – if that was not only a proposal.
27. Meischke, *Zeist*, col. 43.
28. The ratio of the width to depth in the Voorhuis is 3 to 4, in this and the whole vestibule-staircase scheme resembling Ter Nieuwburgh.
29. For a section see Van der Wijck, *Het Loo*, fig. 15. Read the caption as "Het Loo, doorsnede".
30. *Tessin*, p. 122: "Oben kömpt man in einem Sahl hinein, mitt jonicher Architectur ausgemacht, hatt erstlich wie ein platt dach rundt herumb, dan dass gewelf hernacher je hoch hinaufsteigt, und keinen guten effect macht, der Sahl hat dreij Fenster". Presumably the staircase hall already at that date possessed more than three windows and so a greater height. The Ionic pilasters of the State Room will have been Roman's. As Tessin does not note Marot's painting of the staircase hall it highly probably was not yet executed.
31. Illustrated in Fremantle, *Southwell*, pl. 8. The 1681–2 map of Ogilby and Morgan shows that the outer corners of the service wings along the road were not terminated by pavilions.
32. For his brilliancy see the engraving of the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch.
33. But even the bow-like termination of the garden may derive from Ter Nieuwburgh.
34. About the uncertainty of the dates see Van der Wijck, *Het Loo*, p. 197.
35. Lesenes or pilaster strips occur at the corners of the corps-de-logis of Het Loo and Zeist, as well as in works unquestionably entirely after Roman's design like the Heerenpoort and the Wilsveen church. At Het Loo the inner pavilions have a few pilaster strips, the outer ones more, while the lower wings have many. There is therefore a diminishing rhythm towards the centre which is smooth, creating a full emphasis on the contracted decoration there.
36. The architecture in William's circle is described here as Holland architecture. As a matter of fact Het Loo and De Voorst are in the province of Guelders (Gelderland), Soestdijk and Zeist in the province of Utrecht.
37. Fremantle, *Southwell*, p. 51.
38. Partially (staircase, colonnades, wings) destroyed in 1846–7. Several restorations 1899–1910. Gutted by fire in 1943, restored again 1957–60. Literature: three articles in *Bulletin KNOB*, 1963: H.W.M. van der Wijck, "De Voorst", cols. 149–66; C.A. Baart de la Faille, "De geschiedenis en de restauratie van het huis de Voorst", cols. 167–91; Th.H. Lunsing Scheurleer, "Het huis de Voorst in zijn glorietijd", cols. 193–219. Many illustrations. Plan in which the staircase has been reconstructed. Would the second flight have run *immediately* behind the windows? The columns of the colonnades were re-used for a Neoclassicist building, Beaulieustraat 1, Arnhem.

39. Illustrated in Ozinga, *Marot*, Pl. 10 B.
40. The insistence on an important place for the service-stairs (to the other side of the vestibule) may be called an English rather than a Dutch feature.
41. See Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.*, Pls. 17–8.
42. For the title and contents of the edition, see Terwen-de Loos, *op. cit.*, in *Opstellen voor H. van de Waal*, p. 187, note 8.
43. It had been photographed before. Illustrated in Fremantle, *Southwell*, pls. 4 and 5.
44. Fremantle, *Southwell*, Pl. 7.
45. *Summerson*, Pls. 99 A and B.
46. Fremantle, *Southwell*, pp. 54–5.
47. Apart from the thorough but short article by Terwen-de Loos in *Bouw*. To the works mentioned there Terwen-de Loos could herself add in her later article the two houses for Van Ellemeet.
48. In looking at the photograph of the Deventer Town Hall one should bear in mind that presumably the three openings over the balcony were equal in height. Cf. the anonymous print illustrated on page 49 and the drawing by C. Pronk, illustrated facing page 61, in G.J. Lugard, *Deventer, de Stad van Geert Groote*, Amsterdam, 1949.
49. *Thieme-Becker*, i.v. Roman, Jacob Pietersz.
50. D.P. Snoep, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
51. Snoep, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
52. Snoep, *op. cit.*, p. 128 regards it as the only over-life size equestrian statue ever erected in Holland before the 19th century. Represented in his figures 64 and 67. But compare his figures 69, 68, 70, 74, 73 and 75 for another over-life size equestrian statue (on Vennecool's triumphal arch on the Buitenhof, a hundred yards further to the east). The imperial allusion was to Marcus Aurelius' Capitoline statue. Vennecool's prancing horse was of course more impressive than Roman's which stood on its four feet: the allusion here is to both Constantine and Louis XIV whose rearing horses had just been designed by Bernini.
53. Compare the squat proportions and fluted pilasters of Romeyn de Hooghe's print (*Snoep*, fig. 64) with the anonymous design (by Roman?; *Snoep*, fig. 67) which has the more probable and elegant proportions and smooth pilasters. The garden front of Het Loo is illustrated in Terwen-de Loos, *Bouw*, p. 705. A similar disposition is given in *Grachtenboekje*, pl. 16b, for Heerengracht 460 (Plate 362). Cf. chapter 19, note 41.
55. Illustrated in Maria van Hasselt, "Het Barokke Vuurwerk" (Part) 2, *Spiegel Historiael*, 1971, p. 101 (Roman's firework) and p. 105, ill. 8 (Marot's firework).
56. Terwen-de Loos in *Leids Jaarboekje 1952*, ill. 4.
57. Cf. for other gardens in *hofjes* Bienfait, *Tuinen*, plates 151 (the hofje itself by Pieter Post), 152, 183 and 184.
58. As Jacob Roman was still living at that date I suppose it was he who made the design and not his son Pieter as Maria van Hasselt, *op. cit.*, p. 108, states, presumably prompted by *Thieme-Becker*, i.v. Loofs, Pieter ("draughtsman and engraver . . . designed in 1713 with P. Roman . . . decorations . . .").
59. Illustrated in Terwen-de Loos in *Opstellen, etc.*, ills. 6, 7, 9 and 11. (The house was formerly ascribed to Adriaen van der Werff, Rotterdam painter and amateur-architect, whose documented Rotterdam exchange (1721–36), was influenced by the Ellemeet House).
60. Even if we should not interpret the window boxes on the painting of the house's first state (in *Baroque*, Pl. 72) as wooden boxes, they still seem much simpler than the later elaborate stone surrounds.
61. Cf. Marot's designs for the garden mentioned in chapter 7, note 40.
62. For the plan see *Vermeulen*, III, p. 461, fig. 341.
63. Illustrated by Morren, *op. cit.*, p. 56 with the caption "Print by Pieter Loofs . . . Vuë du nouveau salon de l'orengerie, etc." Cf. Thornhill's entry in his journal, K. Fremantle (ed.), *Sir James Thornhill's Sketchbook Travel Journal of 1711*, Utrecht, 1975, nr. 38.
Mr. Meischke draws my attention to the fact that Roman made a design for Prince-

bishop Frederick Christian von Plettenberg's Schloss Nordkirchen (Westphalia) in 1698. (Nordkirchen was eventually built by G.L. Pictorius under fairly strong Dutch influence). See K.E. Mummenhoff, *Schloss Nordkirchen*, Munich-Berlin, 2nd. ed., 1979, pp. 28–9 for plans and façade.

64. In summing up Roman's works I must not forget two garden structures at Duinrel, presumably dating from two decades earlier. These were the cubic temple of Diana crowned by four balls (Plate 385) and the perpetually closed triumphal arch surmounted by a swan (Plate 386).

Chapter 21

1. J.H. Plantenga, *Verzamelde Opstellen* II, Amsterdam, 1929, p. 26, gives some personalia of Listingh and illustrates the "fourth storey" as well as the section of his church-project. Cf. also Ozinga, *Kerken*, pp. 141–2.
2. The Marekerk at Leyden has single buttresses.
3. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 141, mentions 14 prints, Plantenga, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–7, enumerates 19 ones. Adding to Plantenga's list the plan of Sancta Sophia, *on which Listingh's church is also represented*, as well as the façade and section which belong to it, we get a total of 22. Owing to the enormous size of several of these many more plates were used. Of the two sets in the Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, only one seems complete; in the other, borders etc. which should have been pasted to it are missing. As several pages show smaller representations from one plate and as there are at least two flaps with variants of the spire, counting will remain difficult. The date of the edition would be before Listingh's death.
4. Quite possibly only the large general view is entirely by (Daniel?) Stoopendaal. He may have engraved the other plates after drawings by one Hendrick van Hout who as "architect very good at the art of building" had assisted Listingh, as Listingh himself declares. But Listingh likewise acknowledges help by the carpenter Roelof Germeling, who moreover made an oak construction model of the church. Listingh also made use of Nicolaus Visscher's town plan to represent the church on its proposed site.
5. The big "comparison plan" contains Listingh's plan together with its "mathematical foundation", the plans of the Pantheon (Santa Maria Rotunda) and St. Peter's, all on the same scale, and, on an enormous scale, the Hagia Sophia plan, together with a small bird-eye's view and overall plan of the church used as a mosque. This large plan seems to be by the same engraver as the other plates, including a big section and façade (with minarets) of the mosque.

   To the series are added six prints (from six plates) by another engraver representing four exteriors and two interiors of Byzantine mosques including one interior of the Hagia Sophia.
6. Ill. in Summerson, *Architecture*, fig. 58 and pl. 186A and 189. Having seven intercolumnia to the sides the "Pantheon" 's point of departure would have been the section over the galleries of Sancta Sophia, over which the dome of S.M. Rotunda is placed. An eclecticism which the "comparison plan" seems to invite.
7. Neither Germeling nor Van Hout are known as engravers and Stoopendaal as the author is mentioned by Le Long in 1729.
8. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 142 and plate 60B. All four prints are now in the Municipal Archives, Amsterdam.
9. The concept was chimerical in more than one way. The construction for instance has a continuous saddleback roof over the ambulatory. Continuous repairs of damage by water would have been the result. To make the project feasable the number of graves in the church is as large as possible: on the plan the tombstones are meticulously numbered from 1 to 596.

Chapter 22

1. Kent's house illustrated in J. Summerson, *Georgian London*, rev. ed., Harmondsworth, 1978, pl. 5. See also its plan (Fig. 19B) and Vingboons' plan (Fig. 19A) of Ioan Poppen's house.
2. But compare even much later houses like Burton's Coram Street houses (ill. 30 in D. Cruickshank and P. Wyld, *London: The Art of Georgian Building*, London-New York, 1975) with the houses Heerengracht 468–70 in *Grachtenboekje*, pl. 22.
3. These houses are somewhat distortedly reproduced in *Grachtenboekje*, pls. 21a and 12a respectively.
4. A second instance in Vingboons' second book is the Burchaerts House at Hamburg which would be contemporary.
5. Leoni, *L'architecture de Palladio . . . avec des notes d'Inigo Jones*, La Haye chez Pierre Gosse, 1726, adds a second tier of windows and pediments over windows. Bertotti Scamozzi gives the added windows as well. (Le Fabbriche e i Disegni di Andrea Palladio, Vincenza, 1796).

   To Giulio Capra Leoni adds a tier of sculptured panels; Isaac Ware and Scamozzi add nothing. See also note 6 below.
6. Cf. J. Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation*, London, 1962, p. 87. Panels like Leoni's in Giulio Capra (engraved by I. Harris) are found on Van 's-Gravesande's Lakenhal front, whose general design seems related to Leoni's print.
7. Summerson, p. 361 (note 6 to appendix I).
8. H.M. Colvin, "A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, Vol. 17 (1974), p. 8.
9. *Summerson*, p. 332.
10. On Smith see Colvin, *op. cit.*, passim.
11. Illustrated in Colvin, *op. cit.*, figs. 6b and 6a.
12. Illustrated in Summerson's first ed. of *Architecture in Britain*, etc. 1953, plate 132 B.
13. Plate XXXV in Leoni, engraved by I. Cole. Compared with Leoni Isaac Ware in his 1738 Palladio edition is painstakenly faithful to the original, cf. his plate XXXIII.
14. The way in which he changes the square blocks in Thiene's columns into round rings even suggests that he had never seen the palace. He also likes to alter square towers into round ones; he equips the Rotonda with oeils-de-boeuf; and adds a plate LXI (after his own invention?).
15. His plate XLIV, without engraver's name.
16. Isaac Ware, XLII, is, again, faithful to Palladio's Valmarana. But when he himself designed Wrotham Park, Middlesex, 1754, he chose to cap his outer pavilions with similar non-Palladian domes.
17. Heythrop House, Oxfordshire, c. 1705–10; interior destroyed by fire 1831 and rebuilt 1870. For the similarities to English plans see Kerry Downes, *E.B.A.*, p. 70. He also includes the staircases in that context, comparing them with those in Talman's Chatsworth east front.

    Otherwise Archer's plan seems to combine elements from Vingboons and Van Campen's projects. In particular the position of the stairs and the double-screened hall at the end recall Vingboons.
18. N. Pevsner, "Berkshire", *The Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 32.
19. *Caroline*, p. 139. Illustrations 214–22.
20. Its great charm, the setting, is due, incidentally, to English landscape-gardening. The plan of the house is not Dutch, and the stone balcony over the front door is Genoese as Lees-Milne remarks (*The Age of Inigo Jones*, London, 1953, p. 206). The Genoese source may point to Rubens' friend Gerbier as the architect rather than to Winde.

    If one wants to consider the quoins "Dutch" one should bear in mind that they were already very outdated in Holland. It is in fact on account of his tendency towards Mannerism that Gerbier is omitted from this survey. Mr. Louw will cover Anglo-Dutch relations in the period up to 1660.
21. This suggestion from Hill and Cornforth in *Caroline*, p. 34, seems far more likely than their alternative, the opening over Mansart's

staircase at Blois (for which see plate 96A in *Blunt*).

The engraving by P. Philippe (Plate 225) representing the banquet for Charles II at the Mauritshuis Upper Hall gives a rough impression of a balustraded colonnaded central opening with a kind of cupola in the tunnel-vault of the Hall. It was presumably enough to fire the imagination of an architect "comparable to May" (*Summerson*, p. 352). There is another print, less clear, of the same banqueting scene, and to a travelling architect Post's exact drawings might have been shown. The ingenious staircase of Ashburnham House is shown on plate 43 of Lees-Milne, *op. cit.*, the gallery over it in *Caroline*, plate 30.

22. *Caroline*, plate 390.
23. Plate 34 in the 1715 edition. The attribution is by Nancy Schless, *op. cit.*, p. 266, who writes: "One of the most striking examples is that of Milton Manor, Berkshire, ca. 1680 (Fig. 18) which drew heavily upon a single plate in Vingboons's book (Vol. II, fol. 33-Fig. 19) and adopted in entirety the proportions of the attenuated Doric and Ionic pilasters and the diminution in height of the three ranges of windows between them". In fact the print of the Karel Gerards House (Heerengracht 386, executed with Composite instead of Ionic capitals) does not show garlands in the capitals, while the Ionic pilasters have a normal height of about nine times the diameter.

    Nor does the photograph of Milton Manor show any difference in height between the ground floor and first floor windows.
24. The 1634 De Bruyn, later Nassau-Odijk, still later Lord Raby House, ill. 26 in Fremantle, *Thornhill.*
25. *Caroline*, p. 236.
26. Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
27. *Summerson*, pp. 149–50.
28. The most modern of these, for the English governor of the town, Charles Morgan (died 1642), is attributed to Francesco Dieussart. See Neurdenburg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, pp. 105–17 and ills. 74–8, 82–6 and 88–94.
29. *Summerson*, p. 150.
30. Illustrated in *Caroline*, ill. 34. The sash-windows of the model suggest that some years after the completion of the house the windows were changed.
31. John Newman draws my attention to the fact that according to Roger North Astley himself made the design. John Newman and Howard Colvin are about to publish North's writings on architecture.
32. This rebuilding, by the way, may very well have been an incentive for the Amsterdam merchants to make their Exchange a symmetrical building as well.
33. A rare but notable exception (as it was visible from the Meuse when one sailed to Rotterdam) was the East Indian Arsenal at Delfshaven. This building with half-windows at the ends and a central cupola-turret was twice represented on the borders (*randwerk*) of a map of Delft, presumably by Romeyn de Hooghe. Cf. S.J. Fockema Andreae, "De Kaart Figuratief" in *Delftse Studiën*, Assen, 1967, pp. 240–2. A later drawing of this Arsenal illustrated in E. Wiersum, "De Gebouwen der Oost-Indische Compagnie, Kamer Delft, te Delfshaven", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* 1928–29, no. 4, pp. 90–3, ill. 40. Half-windows have, however, a respectable pedigree in the Veneto, e.g. in its Gothic architecture as well as in Trissino's Villa at Cricoli.

    As for window-divisions: Kempster's round-headed connections of the mullions in Abingdon Town Hall, Berkshire, may be derived from glazing-bars of that form either in Dutch churches or in Wren's church architecture.
34. Downes, *E.B.A.*, fig. 31.
35. Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, "Sussex", *The Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth, 2nd edition, 1970, p. 303.
36. Reproduced in *Baroque*, ill. 71, which shows the "circular roof" also on the decoration of the Grand Staircase (ill. 72).
37. *Op. cit.*, p. 302.
38. *Baroque*, p. 50.
39. *Summerson*, p. 153.
40. Downes, *E.B.A.*, p. 59.
41. The continuous attic and the horizontal rustication of the centre are found on the

Deventer Town Hall (Plate 382); the irregular bracketing on Zeist (Plate 377); the deliberate colour contrast between corps-de-logis and wings in Zeist and De Voorst; a circular roof at Duinrel and De Voorst (Plates 375 and 381); a non-central staircase in a hall of its own at Zeist and De Voorst, as well as sashes at the latter houses.

42. Gervase Jackson-Stops in "Petworth House", *The National Trust,* 1978, p. 38, records a payment of £ 30,– to a "Mr. Maro". This strengthens my view about the design of the façade, because of the common co-operation of Marot, the interior designer and Roman, the architect. It only would be much later that Daniel Marot would act as an architect.
43. *Baroque*, p. 288.
44. M.D. Whinney, "William Talman", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVIII*, 1955, pp. 123–39, supposes (p. 123) that he did not travel as "he would surely have mentioned it when, late in life, he petitioned for reinstatement in the office of Works, and naturally tried to make the best of his qualifications". Talman's father died when Talman was 13, and it was only at the age of 20 that he was granted the reversion of a sinecure in the Customs. Why should he not have travelled in between? (William Talman was born in 1650 and died in 1719).
45. Whinney, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–6.
46. To give a few examples: the Vredenburgh designs by Post and Vingboons; Westwijck by Vingboons. Other published buildings have two bays in the centre, like Vingboons' Schuyt House, Stalpaert's Exchange extension and the Wittepoort (or Wester Nieuwehoofdpoort) at Rotterdam which was engraved towards the end of the 17th century. But, unlike Thoresby, all of them have more than two pilasters.
47. It is not relevant here whether the centre-piece of Stoke was Jones's or not.
48. A possible source are designs by Adriaan Dortsman dating from 1665–6, but there is as yet no proof that these drawings circulated in England.
49. *Summerson*, p. 151. The only Amsterdam example of Ionic capitals over fluted shafts and prominent voussoirs (on the ground floor) is Heerengracht 527, but it is still very uncertain whether this state of the house dates from the last decades of the 17th century or from about 1750. As to the interior: the relief shown in Downes, *E.B.A.*, pl. 152, may very well derive from the Amsterdam Town Hall circle of sculptors.
50. Cf. Lees-Milne, *Baroque*, p. 92, who states as an example *Philips Vingboons* I, 18 and 34. To this the objection must be raised that I, 18, the Daniel Sohier House (1639) is of an altogether different type, and that I, 34, a Vredenburgh design (the one used by Whinney as a source for the wide spacing in the centre) is in rhythm, fenestration and general appearance far less strong a source for Dyrham than the Trippenhuis would have been.
51. *Baroque*, p. 100.
52. Whinney, *op. cit.*, p. 136, mentions a fantastic source which describes the early 17th century "Huis met de Hoofden", Keizersgracht, Amsterdam, as being "Marot style".
53. Illustrated in *Baroque*, plate 159.
54. Gemeenlandshuis (House of the Water Authority Board) (Plate 182).
55. In particular the cupola and the whole central composition is reminiscent of compositions by Vingboons (Town Hall) and Stalpaert (Extension of the Exchange).
56. In the Office of Works all designs for William III would have been a subject of discussion. Bryan Little, *Sir Christopher Wren*, 1975, plate with the caption "Hampton Court: drawing for a *tempietto* and colonnade" shows one half of a layout closely resembling the layout for the aviary at Het Loo. This sketch as plate VIII A in *W.S.*, vol. IV, captioned "Pond Garden or Bowling Green with Pavilion".
57. H.M. Colvin (gen. ed.), *The History of the King's Works, Vol. V, 1660–1782*, pp. 192–4 (Colvin and Newman).
58. *Hawksmoor*, 1969, p. 78.
59. Illustrated with Hawksmoor's project in *Hawksmoor*, pls. 63–4.

60. Smallegange, *Nieuwe Chronyk van Zeeland*, Middelburg and Amsterdam, 1696.
61. The manor's front seems the classicizing conversion of an older building. The engraving shows stained glass in the transom-and-mullion windows.
62. Looking at Badminton's great broken pediment I would like to suggest that it is the Baroque tendencies of men like Archer and Vanbrugh which are responsible for this embellishment, rather than the more academic Kent.

    Has Kent's authorship been established beyoud doubt?

    Cf. David Verey, *Gloucestershire: the Cotswolds*, 1970, p. 57: "to Kent (. . .) is now fairly attributed the whole of the Georgian embellishments . . . including the pediment, the cupolas, and the pavilions . . ." This is fairly easily acceptable for the details which may be called Georgian stylistically, but the pediment seems Georgian only in time. See also Chr. Hussey, *Early Georgian*, p. 162, and his article "Badminton, Gloucestershire" in *Country Life*, Nov. 25, Dec. 2 and 9, 1939, especially p. 554 (on which Verey presumably relies): "To Kent (. . .) can be assigned the curious pediment filled by a composition of brackets (. . .) an ingenious rather than a "correct" device (. . .) but its component parts can be matched in his work elsewhere, notable the staircase hall of 46, Berkeley Square". (44, Berkeley Square, by Kent, is illustrated in *Summerson*, plate 141 B).

Chapter 23

1. On this important house and its inhabitants and their relations with artists and the Catholic Church see J. van Breen, "Een Vroeg-zestiende-eeuwsche Woning te 's-Gravenhage", *Bulletin KNOB 1912*, pp. 209–17, pioneering but not completely accurate, G. 't Hart, *Gedenkschrift Venduhuis*, etc., the Hague, 1962, and I.Q. van Regteren Altena, "Een Drieluik van Jacques de Gheijn", *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, the Hague, 1973, pp. 253–60. On inspecting the ceiling in 1971 I wondered whether it was perhaps a 19th century pastiche, as the extreme clarity of the detail might suggest. But the use of the room as a bathroom for several decades seems (a) to prove the solidity of the plaster and (b) to rule out a fake, because in that case the surroundings would have been adapted to strengthen the illusion. It is even not impossible that the ceiling dates from the early 16th century. The apparent use of the room as a Catholic place of worship, however, leads one to believe that it was decorated after the sequestration of the old churches by the Protestants. The church-room (schuilkerk) in the attic of the house is better documented. It was constructed about 1664 and used until 1692.
2. Ill. in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, nr. 62. The exact date is not clear from the description on pp. 46–8. It may be 1578 or 1602. On p. 48, lines 6–7, another plaster ceiling in the same building is mentioned, which since seems to have vanished.
3. See for this *spreidsel*, often as thin as a few millimeters, col. 322 of H. Janse, "Constructie, Ondersteuning en Versiering van Balken en Houten Vloeren tot omstreeks 1650", *Bulletin K.N.O.B. 1964*, cols. 303–28.
4. To the fine instance of the ceilings of the De Pinto House (mentioned above, p. 297 (3)) many others could easily be added.
5. An innovatory work was A. Staring, "Zeventiende-Eeuws Stucwerk in het Oosten des Lands", *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1948–1949*, the Hague, 1949, pp. 316–40, dealing especially with 17th century stucco-work in the eastern provinces of the Republic. He stresses the still very strong political and cultural ties with the Rhinelandic states like Cleves and Cologne.
6. For the house Rapenburg 65 see C.W. Fock and others *Rapenburg 65*, Leyden, 1967; W. Downer, "Het Huis Rapenburg 65, Zijn

Eigenaars en Bewoners", *Leids Jaarboekje 1960*, pp. 116–40, and H. Janse and C.J. Bardet, "Rapenburg 65, De Bouwgeschiedenis en de Restauratie", pp. 141–47. It should be stressed that the owner from 1623–38, Matthias van Overbeke, was born in Cologne in 1584 and married in Frankfurt in 1613; this would easily explain his relations with eastern craftsmen.

7. C.W. Fock drew my attention to the similarity of the Leyden and Zutphen ceilings. Illustrations of those in the Town Hall at Zutphen in E.H. ter Kuile, *Het Kwartier van Zutfen*, the Hague, 1958, plates 505 and 506, and of the ceiling formerly at Kuiperstraat 20, Zutphen, in Staring, *op. cit.*, pl. 1. Staring seems to imply in his article that the same moulds were used in Zutphen in 1616 and 1639 and that they were used by a plasterer from Cleves.

   Ter Kuile shows a related ceiling at Zwolle, E.H. ter Kuile, *Noord- en Oost-Salland*, the Hague, 1974, plate 387.
8. In *Het Kwartier van Zutfen*, etc. (see note above), p. 208: Jan van Craeckenborch.
9. The ceiling is mentioned and dated by R. Meischke, "De Oude Huizen van Den Briel", *Bulletin K.N.O.B. 1965*, pp. 35–73, in which he illustrates (pls. 23 and 24) similar ones in Nobelstraat 34 and mentions another in Voorstraat 45, all at the Brill and, as he remarks (p. 70) nowhere else in Holland. On literary evidence he assumes Dort, and therefore Antwerp, connections rather than a direct English influence. But even if it ever emerged that similar "Tudor" ceilings were also found at Dort and Antwerp, that would not exclude the existence of English plasterers there as well, in view of the close commercial ties. Cf. *Bachrach*, pp. 104–5 and 118, on the special cultural and political links between England and Zeeland, the province just to the south of the Brill.
10. Illustrated by him, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.
11. Gijsbert van Aemstel and his political opponent, Count Floris V of Holland, have been the subject of many 17th century dramas, notably by Vondel, in whose interpreters (performing in Van Campen's new Schouwburg) Rembrandt in turn found inspiration for drawings.
12. The case of a certain Hanschke, mentioned by Staring, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–20, really is another category. In faking marble in Jacob van Campen's Town Hall (presumably in the upper part of the Burgerzaal) he continued a time-honoured custom in which Hendrick de Keyser had practised already.
14. I use "Gothick" here in the accepted English sense to denote an early approach to achieve Gothic effects.
15. The most recent articles are R. Rolf, *De Nieuwe Kerkstoren te Amsterdam en zijn geschiedenis*, Amsterdam, 1972 (typescript in Municipal Archives), who mentions most of the literature before 1971, except M.D. Ozinga, "Historische und aesthetische Gestaltungsweise in der Denkmalpflege der Niederlande", *Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Bonn, 1964 (*Stil und Ueberlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, Berlin, 1967), who is mentioned in J.A.C. Tillema, *Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van de Monumentenzorg in Nederland*, the Hague, 1975, p. 55. In this article Ozinga reaches an even narrower definition of the models than in 1929 in *Kerken*, p. 162.

   E. de Jong, "≪'t Gotsche krulligh mall.≫ De houding tegenover de gotiek in het zeventiende-eeuwse Holland", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1973*, Volume 24, Bussum, 1974?, pp. 85–145, mentions the article by Rolf, but does not use Ozinga, *Kerken* (or *Vermeulen*, III, p. 127, for that matter) in his description of the models for the tower. He adduces, however, Weissman, who is obsolete, and Swillens, who did not show sound judgement in architectural matters. So it is not amazing that De Jongh must abstain from any definite ascription and that his statement "eventually Burgomasters chose a Gothic model" (p. 122) is not clear.
16. Of course Backer's death is relevant, as well as the pretence, naturally maintained in a Calvinist republic, that the interruption in the building was only caused by financial

factors. Cf. De Jongh, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–8. Rolf, *op. cit.*, p. 25, states that financial reasons prevented completion. See, however, the more convincing argument by Ozinga, *Bulletin K.N.O.B. 1930*, p. 38, that it was a change of taste, rather than economics, which caused the tower to be left unfinished. In my opinion the interruption cannot be brought back to mere financial reasons: Backer's death was the opportunity to get rid of a concession to the clerical party.

17. Resolution of September 2, 1645.
18. It nevertheless made him acceptable to the town of Kampen as the designer of a new tower. The three lower stages of the Nieuwe Toren may be his; his death about 1650 left the tower to be completed later by Philips Vingboons. The design for the lower stages may also have been provided by another craftsman from Holland, cf. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 185. I do not share Ter Kuile's opinion in *De Torens van Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1941, p. 100, that it is "very probable" that the whole tower, including the lower stages, is Vingboons' work.

    The archway in the tower is a succesful concoction of *Architectura Moderna* elements, the scrolled sides deriving from Plate VI, the partially-raised architrave and ogee-shaped frieze from Plate XXV, and the broken segmental pediment with lions and coat-of-arms from Plate XXVIII. Cf. Herma van den Berg in *Geschiedenis van Overijssel*, Deventer, 1970, p. 308.
19. It was wholly in the tradition which had produced a spire like that of the Oudekerkstoren, Amsterdam, of 1565. Ill. in De Jongh, *op. cit.*, ill. 11. Cf. Plate 440.
20. Rolf, *op. cit.*, p. 9, discards it from his study, saying "which is described . . . for reasons unknown to me . . . as a model for the Nieuwe Kerkstoren", but he does not indicate for what other occasion the drawing may have been made.
21. Best illustrated in Vermeulen, 865 and 866. Other illustrations pertaining to these paragraphs in De Jongh, *op. cit.*, and Tillema, *op. cit.* It seems that Van den Burch's painting is shown by De Jong without, and by Tillema, with, restorationwork (of the painting) which reveals a top with *gâbles* and a more elegant wooden spire – quite possibly an invention of the restorer.
22. Ozinga, *Kerken*, pp. 161–2.
23. Merely for the sake of contradicting Ozinga, as it seems, Vermeulen (*III*, p. 127) writes that the Gothic model was chosen for execution – which is proven by the facts to be a mistake.
24. In fact the upper one of two square stages.
25. Wurzbach dates Van der Ulft's etching to 1656. This seems quite convincing as Van der Ulft used Stalpaert's and not Vennekool's Town Hall front (Vennekool omits the curved base and gives the cupola another summit), and of course his own sketches (a gouache and a painting of about 1655, if the attribution of the latter one (*Cat. Rijksmuseum*), which shows the Hall under construction, is correct). In 1661 Van der Ulft was already a bailiff in the distant town of Gorcum.

    This group of illustrations had a long life – even Carel Allardt (active about 1694, see I.H. van Eeghen, "Petrus Schenk en zijn 'Afbeeldinge der Voornaamste Gebouwen van Amsterdam' ", *Amstelodamum* LXVI (Jrbk. 1974), pp. 128–9) still credited this representation with a chance of fulfilment.
26. For illustrations see note 21 above.
27. At any rate before completion of the Town Hall's cupola which was started in 1664.
28. That is to say, the painting as shown in its restored state in Tillema, *op. cit.*, and *Cat. Rijksmuseum.*
29. Even if existing sources may be quoted for the low closed unarticulated drum, such as Rhenen, though there the rest of the spire was better matched to the older parts.
30. J. van Breen, "De Geschiedenis van den Bouw der Onze Lieve Vrouwe Parochiekerk of Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam", *Amstelodamum* XL (Jrbk 1944), p. 94, states that the draughtsman of the print was C. Visscher. I cannot verify this statement. On the earlier edition of the same print shown here see note 69 below.
31. The tower in the Kok-collection has a flap showing a top with lunettes cutting into the

helm – no improvement. For the rest it is a masterly synthesis of the towers of Breda, Utrecht and Amersfoort, to which a dial is added for the occasion.

32. The remark by De Jongh, *op. cit.*, p. 121 that Van Campen had no experience in building towers may be completed by remarking that he had no experience in Theatres, Town Halls, etc., either.
33. H. van de Waal, *Drie Eeuwen Vaderlandsche Geschied-uitbeelding 1500–1800*, the Hague, 1952, p. 70.
34. *Vermeulen*, III, pp. 173–4 and 375.
35. J. van Breen, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–6.
36. *Ibidem*, p. 91. For the pseudo-Gothic foliated capitals, gables, ceilings, and so forth, of the Olofskapel, Amsterdam, dating from about 1645, see A.W. Weissman, "Jacob van Campen", *Oud-Holland*, 1902, pp. 156–7, and R. Meischke, *Het Nederlandse Woonhuis van 1300–1800*, Haarlem, 1969, p. 130. Weissman ascribes the extension of the mediaeval chapel to Van Campen.
37. From Huygen's Dutch funeral poem as cited and translated in Fremantle, *Town Hall*, p. 88.
39. See also Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, fig. 7 and pl. 58.
40. Deficiences of the arches over the river Amstel, over which the Exchange was built, would have been the immediate cause for the restoration. But the knowledge that London would soon have its new Exchange on the old pattern but with a new symmetrical front would have been an incentive as well.
41. One in the Amsterdam Historic Museum, another in Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
42. See above, p. 198.
43. See above, p. 32.
44. On the Breda Castle see J. Kalf, *De Monumenten in de voormalige Baronie van Breda*, Utrecht, 1912 (reprint Arnhem, 1973) and about Henry III as a patron of Renaissance art and his international relations see M.D. Ozinga, "De Strenge Renaissance-stijl in de Nederlanden naar de Stand van onze Tegenwoordige Kennis", *Bulletin K.N.O.B. 1962*, cols. 9–34.
45. Many illustrations in the publications mentioned in note 44 above; the completed state also in Ter Kuile, *A & A*, pl. 177B, where the foremost corner with tower is Roman's work.
46. Above, p. 123.
47. In this context is does not matter very much whether they date from 1650 or 1700.
48. Of course vaulting in brick for cellars in tunnel or cross form always went on – the umbrella vault of Endegeest being an exception not as a vault but as an umbrella.
49. Illustrated in Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, fig. 41 and plates 473 and 474 (before restoration by which a 17th century archway disappeared). The suggestion that Van 's-Gravesande was the architect is raised by Ozinga's remark (*Kerken*, p. 154) that he received payment for work there about 1654.
50. See also Ter Kuile, *Rijnland*, fig. 8 and pl. 76.
51. The crenellation is not shown on the drawing in the Municipal Archives, but it is shown on Hagen's contemporary engraving of St. Pancras' church. Hagen was certainly well informed as he drew another work by Van der Helm, the small excise-houses, on the same print, as they were intended.
52. We are still awaiting a monograph on Van der Helm, cf. Pelinck's remark in *Leids Jaarboekje 1967*, p. 75, note 83.
53. The preliminary conclusion to the question of Hooke and Van der Helm's eclecticism seems to be that Hooke's extended to detail and Van der Helm's to the whole building.
54. Also illustrated in H.A. Van Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de Stadsvesten, Beschrijving*, Leyden, 1975, pl. 444 and A. Loosjes, *Leiden*, Amsterdam, (1929), pl. 5.

    For capitals, Van der Helm used parts of architraves with swags and without volutes. It should be mentioned that the Burgomasters' part of the Hall had since time immemorial (1455 or so) enjoyed a real Gothic façade which was left after the refacing of the rest by Lieven de Key in

1597, and in whose forms Van der Helm found his initial inspiration. It is a pity that this part of the façade was not restored after the fire in 1929.

55. Cf. Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, p. 107.
56. Cf. H.W.M. van der Wijck, "Country Houses in the Northern Netherlands", *Apollo*, November 1972, p. 409, on castles in the province of Utrecht: ". . . nostalgia for the feudal period was shown in an archaic type of castle-like building in imitation of the rightfully turreted nobleman's manor . . . such as may be seen at Linschoten near Woerden (Fig. 7)". (dating from 1647).
57. See A. van Oirschot, "Ontwerptekeningen van Pieter Post voor het Kasteel Heeze", *Bulletin K.N.O.B. 1963*, cols. 93–6.
58. Illustrated on the cover of H.W.M. van der Wijck, *De Nederlandse Buitenplaats*, Delft, 1974.
59. Ill. 68 in Bienfait, *Tuinen.*
60. It may also have been through the mediation of William that the tower of the church was rebuilt in a shape approximating to the old one and possibly by Jacob Roman (see below).
61. Southwell remarked in 1696: "The old seat is a small Castle in the Midst of a Mote about 400 Yards from It". (Fremantle, *Southwell*, p. 51). A surrounding part of the old castle's grounds with trees was also kept as a "grove". Cf. Plate 302 and Figures 21–2.
62. The only other turret in Vingboons' printed work, the one in his Town Hall design, was similarly bell-shaped (Plate 159). But "unofficially" many similarly capped turrets did exist. Van Campen's Town Hall cupola was the only (printed) one with forward breaks in the entablature.

    For a fantastic theory that the present cupola on the wooden model of the Trippenhuis may be the one originally intended for the Town Hall see J. van Breen, "De Maquette van het Paleis op de Dam met de Oorspronkelijke Toren", *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 38 (1951), pp. 41–3. This Neo-classical turret seems to be an addition dating from the time of Van der Hart rather than the work of any seventeenth century architect.
63. Schless, *Dutch Influence*, pp. 260–1. Another untenable suggestion in the same article, p. 265, is the assumption that a cupola design by Hooke for Bedlam might almost be a direct copy of Post's Swanenburgh.
65. Illustrations of the old and the new spires in F.A. Brekelmans, "De Stedelijke Ontwikkeling van Breda", *Bulletin K.N.O.B. 1969*, pp. 51–65, plates 3, 7, 9–12 and Kalf, *op. cit.*, plates VIII, X and XII. Apart from the inscriptions the two projects for the spire in the Breda archives may be in Roman's hand rather than the executed design (These projects are illustrated in *Geschiedenis van Breda II*, Schiedam, 1977, plates 38a and 38b). It should be pointed out that besides these antiquarian forms new ones developed, such as square, domed cupolas, for example at Het Loo and Sion, whereas at Gunterstein a flat top was imposed on a square turret.
66. And of course in the comparatively rare 1650 prints by Stalpaert.
67. That would not have been an exception for Van der Heyden. In fact much of his work is catalogued by Helga Wagner, *Jan van der Heyden 1637–1712*, Amsterdam–Haarlem, 1971, under the heading "Eklektische Stadtansichten".
68. The extension of the Walloon Church at Leyden shows already round over pointed in its very fine gauged and rubbed brickwork of about 1634.

    For the Renaissance form of an oculus over a roundheaded opening cf. the examples cited in chapter 6, note 37.

    In the Leyden *Theatrum Anatomicum*, arranged in a Gothic Chapel in about 1594, also a round window appears over a pointed one – at least in the engraving by Andries Stoc after a drawing by De Gheyn. Not following the actual form of the chapel the engraving suggests that this *superposition* is programmatic. On the banner held by a skeleton an inscription reads "Mors ultima linea rerum". Maybe here the round window symbolizes the circle of life and death.
69. The lower stages are represented after the

"Van Campen model", even in the incongruous, and therefore very emphatic, unframed circular opening over the lower arch.

In seeking an appropriate finial the engraver seems to have seized on Hollar's Jonesian west turrets of St. Paul's. Illustrated in Tillema, *op. cit.*, pl. 36, and De Jongh, *op. cit.*, pl. 14. For Hollar's engravings see *Summerson*, pl. 47B and Summerson, *Inigo Jones*, Harmondsworth, 1966, pl. 45.

The print of the tower standing on its own (not showing the church) may even have been (etched and?) published by Rombout van den Hoeije some fifteen years before De Jonghe's edition of the same plate to which the church was added. (The term for which patents were granted was usually fifteen years).

Chapter 24

1. I cannot be exhaustive. Eventually more prints will be found.
2. Where no prints have been found derivation will remain uncertain, as, for instance, in the case of the supposed influence of Van Campen's Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, on the City Curches. How fluctuating these influences may be, even in the mind of one architectural historian, is shown by a comparison of various versions of Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture.* Here they vary according to the date of print, the language, the publishing house, etc. (I only studied some of the English, German and Dutch editions).
3. In the province of Utrecht. Residence of H.R.H. the Princess Beatrix. Drawing by Cornelis Pronk illustrated as plate 45 in Annelies Becker-Jordens, *Een Kabinet van Utrechtse gezichten*, Bussum, 1973.
4. The Counts of Nassau were Barons of Breda. The pleasure house seems to have been the only galleried octagonal building in the whole of the Republic. Its overall form reminds one of Elisabethan playhouses.
5. The combination of polygonal and rectangular forms in country houses is rare before the 18th century, a notable exception being the house Trompenburgh, 's-Graveland, illustrated in W.J. Rust "'s-Graveland en de Trompenburgh", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1959, cols. 227–35 and sometimes attributed to Pieter Post (So *Vermeulen*, III, p. 156).
6. Sir Nikolaus in *A History of Building Types*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 71–2 and note 65 sandwiches Van Campen's Schouwburg between much later theatres and then infers "The stage was reactionary: it had a built scene for religious drama". So he missed the point completely that this 1637 theatre was especially *adapted* to the Rhetoricians' way of playing and that it was in effect swept away by the rising Baroque tide about 1665. But perhaps we are discussing different subjects as Sir Nikolaus writes of the "Staatsschouwburg" (i.e. Theatre of the *State*) whereas Van Campen built a Stadsschouwburg (i.e. a theatre of the *Town*). I have the same uncanny feeling of dealing with a completely different subject to Sir Nikolaus when in the same work (pp. 33–4) he describes the Amsterdam Town Hall as having "oblong" windows. Is here perhaps a confusion with the low, lying windows of some 20th century administrative building?
7. I do not suppose that the rejection of galleries in the churches of the "official" Protestants in the Union had any theological or theoretical basis.
8. *Sekler*, p. 80.
9. R. Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*, Philadelphia, 1964, p. 86.
10. In Charenton the round form is still traceable in the turret on the roof, in the other instances it is lost.
11. A big but not too accurate engraving of the exterior of the Marekerk by 's-Gravesande was given by Hagen in 1670.
12. Yet I realized that there was more influence than even Sekler thought, just from sorting out the prints so that the possible order of influence in the case of Bosboom's church (1657) and St. Swithin was reversed. But of

course Sekler's is still the best study of European influences on Wren. Another surprising feature was the abiding influence of the *Architectura Moderna*; in its Proto-baroque forms it even affects 18th century detailing. I would like to draw attention to similarities in the designs shown on plates 380 and 443 of Downes, *E.B.A.*, to the plates X and XXXI of the *Architectura*, though in both cases the original source would have been in Italian Mannerism. In general planning the early 18th century churches often show Van Campen's *tempietti* in combination with the two transverse axes of De Keyser's Westerkerk.

13. Ozinga, *Kerken*, p. 143, W. Cool in *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 1914, p. 119. The plans and the handsome print of the façade were ready in 1703. The façade bore the arms of Queen Anne and the Duke of Marlborough, both of whom contributed to the building's cost (Fremantle, *Thornhill*, number 45, note 2). Some features recall works by Wren. The sides especially seem to derive from Inigo Jones' Somerset House chapel through Pembroke College Chapel with their windows having semicircular heads framed by a cornice and consoles; the cupola shows the same mannerism of grouping the columns in pairs on the diagonals as at the West towers of St. Paul's.
14. The print presumably dates from 1657, see the chapter on the printed sources. A recent source for the portal scheme with segmental pediment over the door framed by an aedicule with triangular pediment advancing from a slightly recessed plane with a similar aedicule, may be seen in Maderno's Santa Susanna front (1603, plate 35 in Wittkower, *A. & A. in Italy*) if a print or drawing of this church was in circulation. Otherwise it might have been taken from the somewhat older source of Villamena's engraving of Della Porta's façade (begun 1571) of the Gesù. (Plate 286 in *Heydenreich and Lotz*). Ideas from the latter, by the way, are found again in greatly simplified form in the Rotterdam church mentioned in the note above.
15. *Sekler*, p. 9.
16. For instance Edward Hyams, *A History of Gardens and Gardening*, London, 1971, p. 187, on Dutch gardens: (. . .)" her own great gardens of the period, the Haus Neuberg near Ryswick, Het Loo, Houslaerdyk, the great Heemstede near Utrecht, the Haus Peterburg, and others, were wholly Le Nôtrean" (. . .). His most curious orthography betrays an outdated German source.
17. David Verey, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
18. Compare Temple, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 181, who distinguishes between Italy's gardens on the one hand and those of England and Holland on the other. Intermediate with him, "composed of both Sorts", are the gardens of France and Brabant.
19. By helping to murder Godfried, a Norman leader.
20. Temple, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 46, with his "waters not so easily renew'd" when speaking about Leyden, leaves to our imagination the exact degree of the smell.
21. It was still a surprise to come to the conclusion that for the erection of the semi-permanent iron railing replacing the first temporary slanting roof, the half-completed oculus over the gothic arch of the tower was broken away.
22. Engravings of the proposed situation like Van der Ulft's (Plate 419) would have facilitated the acceptance of the Gothic for restoration and new work in England.
23. Compare for example Edward Strong's St. Bartholomew's Hospital Gateway, plate 495 in Downes, *E.B.A.*
24. Illustrated in *Caroline*, 392.
25. Illustrated on p. 51 in D. Cruickshank and P. Wyld, *London: The Art of Georgian Building*, London-New York, 1975. One may notice in the fine drawing the way of bricklaying the pilasters with closers near the corners, a method still used in England. In Amsterdam and Leyden no closers but only 3/4 bricks were used after about 1710, in the other parts of the Republic closers (Dutch: klezoor) generally became extinct between 1710 and 1810.
26. I.e. of about one brick (approximately 8 inches). The Dutch architects soon

relapsed into their habit of using the boxes as constructional parts nearly flush with the thin walls of the buildings.

27. By rubbing every individual brick into a wedgelike form which almost completely closed at the exterior side, allowing some space for mortar in the middle of the wall.
28. Rosenberg and Slive, *A. & A.*, p. 207.
29. The possible link between Van Bassen and the Castle of Endegeest is most interesting as there Van Bassen would have brought an architectural fantasy into reality.

Chapter 25

1. P. Blijenbergh, in de Brandt-straat (sic). Frederick de Widt, the Amsterdam bookseller, on re-issuing the original print without smoke, simply added a polygot caption on the Fire.
2. Number 34 in *A Collection of all the remarkable Town Cittys*, etc., British Museum, C.25.b.5.
3. By Visscher or Schut. See below under Van 's-Gravesande.
4. As cited in R. Krautheimer, "Alberti and Vitruvius", *The Renaissance and Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, Acts of the 20th international Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, 1963, Vol. II, p. 42.
5. H.A. Millon, *Baroque & Rococo Architecture*, London, 1968, p. 113.
6. See Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 27, for the main series of engravings with topographical subjects besides the architects' publications.
7. Temporal structures as triumphal arches at pageants or on the occasion of state entries are not listed here. For these see Snoep, *op. cit.*
8. There was some sort of tradition of recording important buildings. The construction of the *Oudekerkstoren* at Amsterdam (1566) had already been engraved on huge wooden blocks. The drawing for the print was made by Adriaen Danckerts and the 1613 publication was by Daniel de Keyser, a Haarlem bookseller – clearly because of the completion of Lieven de Key's *Nieuwekerkstoren* in that city. The second publication was by Gerrit Janszoon at Amsterdam in 1646 – about the time plans for the new tower of the *Nieuwe Kerk* were being discussed (Plate 440A).
9. First ed. Amsterdam, 1631, ten years after De Keyser's death. Engravings by Cornelis I Danckerts (?). Second edition Amsterdam, 1641, with an octagonal church-design by Hendrick Danckerts added to the works of other architects at the end. Details of the edition and the works of De Keyser by E. Neurdenburg in her monograph *Hendrick de Keyser*, etc., Amsterdam, n.d. (1929). For reprint and introduction by E.R.M. Taverne see Taverne, *op. cit.*, in chapter IV, note 14.
10. In the words of John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, fifth edition, 1969, p. 98, "No direct quotations from the book have been found in English Buildings". But for possible influence see the chapter on churches.
11. As far as I know J.J. Terwen was the first to draw attention to the similarity: first in *De invloed van Vincenzo Scamozzi op de Hollandse architectuur van de zeventiende eeuw*, public lecture at Amsterdam University, 6th November 1962, synopsis thereof in *Folia Civitatis*, XVI (1962) nr. 10, reprinted in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, LXV (1966), pp. 129–30.
12. Among them Sir William Boswell and Lady Stafford. For Huygens' relations see A.G.H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596–1687*, Leyden and London, 1962. For the architectural relations see Louw, *op. cit.*
13. They are not signed, but Post made the drawings for them. They are very accurate, giving for instance all the small irregularities due to the site, and at the same time without any sensitivity – note for instance the capitals – as if made "contre-coeur". Five of them are kept in the Municipal Archives at the Hague; 1. a general view (trees by somebody else? cf. *Bienfait*, pp. 59–60, who attributes the drawings for (1) to Aegidius van Scheyndel), 2. the plan,

3. the façade, 4. a section and 5. a side elevation; the sixth, presumably the rear-elevation, is lacking. Or perhaps the small individual print of the entrance in the wall closing off the fore-court has been counted as such (Plates 141–4). Illustrations: *Fremantle*, 113, 114; *Vermeulen*, 725. The drawings for the statues on the pediment may have been by Van Campen – that is, when the statues are in the nude – where they are clothed all proportion vanishes.

14. The editor, Van der Aa, attributed the Mauritshuis to Post. See, for the chimney-pieces in the Mauritshuis actually designed by Post, the editions of his *oeuvre*. Fairly good engravings of the Great Upper Hall appeared on the occasion of Charles II's reception there when he was about to return to England. The best and most accurate is P. Philippe's after J. Toorenvliet (1660, Plate 225). One should note, however, that the Hall was newly furnished for this occasion.
15. Ill.: *Fremantle*, 11–3 (piano nobile, side and front elevations). A set in Print-Room Rijksmuseum, bound with Vignola etc., *cat. bib.* 310–I, presumably the copy of Stalpaert himself, used as working-drawings (e.g. detailed measurements inscribed in ink on the cupola); a set in the Koninklijk Huis-archief; another set in the British Museum, catalogued under *Aenwysinge*, etc., nrs. 32657 (1 to 4). As the patent is for six parts, they have always been counted as six. In fact for the North elevation Stalpaert made do with the counter-proof of the South. Even the inscription is in reverse.
16. In the dedicatory letter of the 1661 edition Dancker Danckerts explains that this father began the work and appointed him, Dancker, to finish it when he came back from his journey to Italy (1655).
17. For his library see R.T. Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1929.
18. So that the title became *Afbeelding van 't Stadt Huys van Amsterdam. In dartigh Coopere Plaaten geordineert door Jacob van Campen; en Geteeckent door Iacob Vennekool. Met Speciael Octroy vande Heeren Staten voor 15 Iaren. Tot Amsterdam, Bij Dancker Danckerts . . . 1661*. Vennekool worked with Van Campen on the Town Hall from about 1654. This engraved title-page without the inscription was sometimes used for other purposes. An instance is the atlas in the British Museum (maps C 25b5) in which it occurs as the title-page with an inscription in ink: *A Collection of all the remarkable Town Cittys & Forts in the seaven united Provinces*, etc., and only printed "Tot Amsterdam. Bij Frederick de Widt, in de Calverstraet in de Witte Pascaert".
19. For notes on De Widt (Wit, Witt) and his family see A.M. Ledeboer, *De Boekdrukkers Boekverkoopers en Uitgevers in Noord-Nederland* . . . Deventer, 1872. Wurzbach, i.v.; Waller-Juynboll, *Biografisch Woordenboek van Noord Nederl. Graveurs*, mentions a father, son and grandson, all called Frederick, between 1648 and 1712. It is obvious that in a thriving city such as 17th century Amsterdam a cartographer who started work in about 1650 could have established himself by 1670, so that it is not at all improbable that Frederick I could have retired by about 1680.
20. Obreen's Archief VII (1888–90), p. 257.
21. Old gloss in pencil on the copy of the Amsterdam City Archives and year mentioned in many library catalogues. The sculptural works still bear the dates 1665 and 1668.
22. *Bouw-, schilder- en beeldhouwkonst van het Stadhuis te Amsteldam, vertoont in CIX figuuren* . . . Amsterdam, n.d., perhaps already in 1706. *Fremantle*, p. 195. *Cat. Bib. R.P.K.* III, p. 247.
23. Copy Amsterdam City Archives. Gerard Valk (Valck), Amsterdam c. 1651–1726, associated in 1696 with P. Schenk (for geographical maps), later with Leonard Schenk who took over the joint Town Hall edition. Copies not pasted over, just with "Chez David Mortier, Libraire" in K.O.G. and R.I.B.A.
24. The incongruous appearance of Erasmus is explained in I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680–1725*, III (1965)

p. 256: David Mortier lived for several years at London as a bookseller, in 1698 he is named as such: "libraire sur le Strand à l'enseigne D'Erasmus". There is also a portrait of Erasmus engraved by Sturt with inscription "Sold by David Mortier Bookseller at' ye sign of Erasmus' head near Bedford House all sorts of French & Latin Books". David Mortier, by the way, published Kip and Knyff's *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* in 1708.

25. Copy in U.B.A. (Kunsthistorisch Instituut).
26. The customary frontispiece (anno 1655, in Latin, Dutch and French) of Hubertus' first sculptural part has the name Frederick de Witt printed on it in the R.D.M.Z. copy. This copy was given as a prize for "bootseeren" (modelling) at the Academy of Painting in the 18th century. It was apparently frequently chosen as a prize at this Amsterdam Academy: the copy mentioned in note 25 was also presented as a prize for the same achievement.

    Maybe the poem cited in Fremantle, "Some Drawings by Jacob van Campen for the Royal Palace of Amsterdam", *Oud Holland* LXVIII (1953), p. 74, refers to this custom. Four of its lines, in rough translation, run as follows:

    Thus teaches (his) Art his Fellow-artist.
    His (whose) Wreath of Honour, earned as a prize for Drawing, is full of Effigies and Ornament.

    A copy in the K.O.G. also presented for modelling, in 1779, is signed by the jury among whose names is that of the architect Otten Husley; another copy of the K.O.G. was presented for prespective drawing as late as 1844.
27. *Fremantle*, p. 195.
28. *Cat. Bib. R.P.K. III*, p. 248.
29. Architectural part: Frederick de Widt n.d. Prima Pars of Quellinus' works: printed by Frederick de Witt, Anno 1665. Worcester Library. The date of the purchase seems additional evidence for 1706 as the date of the reprint.
30. a) *bij Frederick de Widt, in de Calverstraet, in de Witte Pascaert, Anno 1664,* b) *chez David Mortier, 1719.*
31. Danckerts and Mortier respectively.

    A fine copy of the joint edition is in the Leyden University Print Room. To the title, with the names of Van Campen and Vennekool and the patent for 15 years, is added "Bij Frederick de Widt", etc. n.d. The copy has the portrait of Van Campen but no introduction. The ground-plan, fig. A, is still marked "Amstelodami Apud Danckerum Danckerts Excudit", which seems to support the thesis that De Widt took over amicably from Danckerts. The frontispiece of the sculptural work (in Latin, Dutch and French) has: "with the consent of the Magistrate of Amsterdam and patent of the States of Holland. Drawn and etched by Hubertus Quellinus and printed at the house of . . . (Artus Quellien's name polished away and replaced by) . . . Frederick de Witt . . . (the original 1655 altered in) . . . 1665." This part *does not* contain the pediment, only the plates marked A . . . T with their additions; with the exception of some of the additions (a few panels and spandrels) all the plates A . . . T are signed A.Q(uellinus), many of them also H.Q(uellinus). Added to the title page (*secunda pars*, etc., in Latin and Dutch) of the second part is: "printed at Amsterdam by Frederick de Witt." The house of Artus has become that of Frederick de Witt and A^{O}. 1663, the 16th of January, has been altered to A^{O}. 1668, the 16th of January. Above the index of plates marked from A to X are added, numbered from 1 to 4, the two vast pediments of the façades, Amsterdam as Peace, and Justice; the prints are indeed bound before the other plates. The inscriptions under the two pediments differ slightly. The first has the names of the 1658 Burgomasters, no date and after Hubert's name "cum Privilegio". The second has the names of the 1664 Burgomasters and the year 1664. Both have Artus' and Hubertus' names and the measurements of the executed work: 82 feet long and 18 feet high. Prints 3 and 4 of Peace and Justice are both signed with the names of Artus and Hubertus and the year 1665. In contrast to part one none of the plates A . . . X has

initials except plate K (Silence), which bears the letters RVH (for Rombout Verhulst). It is not probable that the sculptural works would have been sold separately once the plates all belonged to one owner. Artus Quellien returned to Antwerp in 1664 and died there in 1668. The date of Frederick's edition will be 1668.

32. Published by himself, in *Beschryving der nieuwelyks uitgevonden en geoctroyeerde slangbrandspuiten*, Amsterdam, 1690.
33. The note on the print about Scherm runs "De Stoffatie van buiten geinventeert en gëetst door L: Scherm". In de atlas Beudeker there is also a view with the tower (not clearly engraved) of the Nieuwe Kerk and the Town Hall (the cupola with statues and without steps) signed P.H. Schut, N: Visscher exc(udit).
34. It may be mentioned that Stoopendaal's was one of the first "live" representations as the cupola of the Town Hall was not erected before 1664. Presumably these four engravings published by Visscher were published by Carolus Allard (1648–1709) as well (*Cat. Berlin*).
35. Illustrated in J.A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg 1496–1772*, Amsterdam, 1920, and W. Kuyper, "Een Manieristisch Theater van een Barok Architect", in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* LXIX (1970), 3.
36. D.F. Slothouwer, *De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, Leyden, n.d. (1945), ill. 47, and another with a slight Rococo-tinge, ill. 48 (about 1729). A variant of the 1704 engraving, Vermeulen, 737, also with proposal for sashes. R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* in chapter 7, note 38, shows another 1704 variant, an etching worked up with pen and ink – presumably one of the first proposals (by Jacob Roman?) for the new fence. This wrought iron fence closing the forecourt shown in these prints replaced an original brick or stone wall similar to that of the Huygens House. (Information of Mr. R.J. van Pelt).
37. Fairly accurate engravings of the façades of these palaces appeared only towards the end of the century. Like the Noordeinde Palace Honselaarsdijk never seemed finished during Frederick Henry's lifetime.
38. *Slothouwer*, pp. 50, 263, 367 (on which for François André should be read), and 109, 296, 373. In the chapter on gardens, however, I suggested that Louis d'Antoni presumably held a post subordinated to André Mollet and that Mollet may have designed Rijswijk's parterres as well. (cf. Karling, *op. cit.*, p. 20).
39. The inscriptions on the print about the authors are "I. van Campen Inventor, C. van Dalen Iunior sculpsit and R. Verhulst. F (under the reclining figure, and again, below:) Romboldus vander Hulst cum priv. Or. General. et Holl. ad IX annos". City archives Delft; Atlas Beudeker, British Museum.

    The Atlas Beudeker was acquired by the Museum in 1861. If formerly was in the collection J.M. Gogel at Overveen, Holland. It derives its name from the early 18th century collectioner Christoffel Beudeker.
40. For the attribution see the chapter on Van Campen, note 71. A copy of the print in Atlas Beudeker, British Museum.
41. The great majority of the engravings in the many topographical works were evidently inaccurate and out of proportion: moreover the folio prints were often reduced for 8° and 16° editions. They very seldom state the names of the architects and the Classicist buildings figure among Gothic and Mannerist ones interspersed with historical events such as catastrophes and executions.

    In their general appearance they were pleasant "souvenirs de voyage" rather than works that have had any impact on architects' ideas.
42. Municipal Archives, Amsterdam.
43. Municipal Archives, Amsterdam.
44. The four engravings are found in the Atlas Beudeker, British Museum, maps C.9.d.10, and in Pieter van der Aa's *Galerie agréable du monde*, Leyden, n.d. (1729?). Van der Aa ascribes the project to Pieter Post, which is highly improbable. It seems that Van der Aa as publisher of Post's work was interested in making Post's *oeuvre* as extensive as possible; we are reminded that

he did the same with the Mauritshuis prints. The prints are discussed in W. Kuyper, "Wat een mooi stadhuis", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum 69* (1977), pp. 73–88.

45. *Straat* means paved road in Dutch, so *Zeestraat* is a paved road leading to the sea. A passage through the dunes had to be levelled for this road. The full title of Constantine's poem is *De nieuwe Zee-straet van 's-Gravenhage op Schevening*, the new Sea-road from the Hague to Scheveningen. An old gloss on the print in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection, U.B.L., reads "fictie. Forte ad imitationem arcuum triumphalium Ludovici XIV Parisiis." But the question of which arch erected before 1667 this may refer to, remains obscure. Cf. Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, Tome II, Le Règne de Louis XIV,* Paris, 1948, pp. 240–2.
46. The three sheets pasted together measure about 42 by 154 centimeters. The engraving seems to be rare. It passed into Christoffel Beudeker's possession and so into the Atlas, mentioned above, in the British Museum. It is now coloured in.
47. Literally he put "gepractiseerd en geordonneert" which may be translated by "invented and designed and directed in its execution".
48. The engravings are signed by Daniel Stalpaert, Architect of the City of Amsterdam, as the designer, and Nicolaus Visscher as the publisher.
49. Joseph Mulder also engraved the Admiralty Storehouse for Commelin.
50. Stalpaert's Diaconiehuis on the Zwanenburgerstraat was engraved by Daniel Stoopendaal; a corner of his "Oude Zijds Huiszittenaalmoezeniershuis" appears with quoins which it did not possess in an engraving of the Portuguese Synagogue (This engraving, entitled "Profil van de Kerk", was presumably by Romeyn de Hooghe; Plate 75). In the topographical works prints are found in addition of his Amstelkerk and Leidsche Poort.
51. The East India Company print by Mulder illustrated in Vermeulen, 828.
52. The description in the book states "is expected" ("te verwachten staat"). Presumably its completion (in 1669; J.C. Overvoorde, "Gebouwen der Oost-Indische Compagnie te Amsterdam", *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, 1928, p. 43) had to wait for the completion of the Town Hall's cupola.
53. By Nolpe.
54. There is a copy in the British Museum. It is thought that one of the participants in the funeral cortège is a self-portrait of Pieter Post.
55. The print is signed P. Post, Inventor, I. de Visscher fecit aqua forti; it is mostly etched. Cf. the "Begraeffenisse" for the portraits. The print is large (43 by 55 cm.) and in the Dutch edition is accompanied by two poems by Jan Vos.
56. Copy in George Clarke's Library. Pieter Post himself got the patent to publish his works; most of the Dutch editions between 1654 and 1665 were also printed and sold by Frederick de Widt.
57. Copy in George Clarke's Library; three plans and a side elevation signed Ian Matthys f(ecit) are pasted in the Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room copy of Van Campen's Town Hall, even preceding Van Campen's work. The patent for the Huis ten Bosch engravings was granted as early as 1649 and renewed in 1664 (Bredius in *Obreen's Archief,* VII, p. 143). Most of the plates are by Matthys; Ch.M. Dozy, "Pieter Nolpe", *Oud-Holland* XV (1897), writes that the following three are by Nolpe: a. the rear-elevation and b. and c. two chimney-pieces, being the eleventh and fifteenth in the whole series. This is not very clear.

    The architecture proper comprises 13 plates, including a garden pavilion; the other plates are chimney-pieces and were perhaps not published before 1664.
58. On the upper right hand corner of the sheet with the façade, a reduced view of the rear façade is added. Dozy, *op. cit.*, states that originally the piano nobile was also added to this sheet and was to be found on a reduced scale in the upper left hand corner. Dozy attributes three plates to Nolpe. How-

ever, in the Atlas Beudeker two are signed by Matthys and one by Nolpe and there is no longer any engraver's name visible on the piano nobile. Thus it is highly improbable that Nolpe engraved more than the latter two. Vredenburgh was completed about 1652 and demolished early in the 19th century. Its definitive form would have been decided upon early in the 1640s after the competition between Post and Vingboons.

59. In George Clarke's library. Like Swanenburgh and Huis ten Bosch, also published by Frederick de Widt.
60. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 158, erroneously: three from the States' Halls at the Binnenhof. Cf. note 64 below.
61. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 157, states that these five prints are among the 1664 publications. I did not find them in any public collection – if there still exist some copies they must be very rare. They are known by Van der Aa's 1715 edition, in which all names of engravers are erased.
62. Ten plates including the title-page. In George Clarke's library. In the 1715 edition a pediment is added to this series which in fact belongs to the Huis ten Bosch. Post got the patent from the town, a Dutch States General – Bishop of Liège condominium; in addition he was awarded f. 600,– for 200 copies he presented to the town. Copy in B.M. The muddled French of the inscriptions was corrected in the 1715 edition.
63. Pieter van der Aa had other publications printed earlier. In his preface to Post he says that he had already published Scamozzi and Vignola, and, "depuis peu" (that is, also in 1715) "Philippe Vingboons en deux Tomes in folio". In B.M. and R.I.B.A. The Universal Catalogue of Books of Art mentions erroneously an *Ouvrages* at Leyden in 1717. In the frontispiece to Post's works (Plate 445) the books at Minerva's feet are entitled "Scamossi" and "Vingboons".
64. In some catalogues the figure twenty-three is given, but then the title-page, showing an imaginary chimney-piece, is included. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 158, distinguishes as follows: three mantelpieces in the States' Halls in the Binnenhof ("dans la Cour"), seven in the Noordeinde Palace, ten of the Huis ten Bosch and two of the Mauritshuis, all these buildings being in or (the Huis ten Bosch) very near the Hague. The Gouda Weighhouse was published only posthumously and the Leyden one not at all, perhaps because of difficulties with these towns about the patents. Photostatic reprint: Davaco Publishers, Soest, 1970. On those "dans la Cour": A. Ising, "Het Stadhouderlijk Kwartier", p. 11, in *Het Binnenhof*, the Hague, 1879, put the most conspicuous chimney piece already in its right place with the remark that it shows the coat-of-arms of Nassau-Orange. All three presumably were for the Stadholder.
65. In Simon van Leewen, *Korte Besgrijving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden*, etc., tot Leyden, 1672, p. 75.
66. The engraving is not signed and the copy I consulted in the British Museum (Atlas Beudeker, maps C.9.d.11) does not bear a publisher's name. The print is referred to in M.F. Lantsheer and F. Nagtglas, *Zelandia Illustrata*, Middelburg, 1879, with the publisher's name of N.J. Visscher in parentheses. W.S. Unger, *Catalogus van den historisch-topografischen atlas van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen*, Middelburg, 1931–50, II, nr. 624, adds "with address of C.J. Visscher" and "without date, without name". Cf. Maria Simon, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*, diss. Freiburg, 1958, p. 277, nr. 287, about the second edition of a view of the town: "Van 't Hoff gibt die Veränderungen gegenüber dem 1sten Zustand an, ohne eine Zuschreibung dieser radierte Teile auszusprechen. Sie wurden von Pieter Hendriksz. Schut in die Platten radiert, der für diese Neuauflage aus der Zeit nach 1652 signierte Darstellungen des "Templum Novum Medioburgense" und der "Curia Medioburgensis" radierte, die der Ansicht an beide Seiten hinzugefügt wurden". This is followed by the cryptic phrase "Die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Ansichten wurde noch nicht festgestellt".

The style of engraving of the "Curia" and the "Templum Novum Medioburgense" is so similar that attribution of the unsigned one (the Curia is signed by Schut) is warranted.

67. The church appears on a town plan by Cornelis Goliath which can be dated 1657, which supports the interference of 1657 for the architectural prints.
68. Unger, *op. cit.*, II, nr. 623. The inscription of Udemans' print reads only "Templum Novum".
69. There are several plans of Middelburg which were published by Frederick de Widt. One in the collection Bodel Nijenhuis, U.B.L., for instance represents the Oostkerk inaccurately, but on another, in the British Museum, *A Collection of all the remarkable Town Cittys*, etc., maps C.25.b.5, nr. 34, a very small but clear reduction of Schut's representation is added.
70. Built 1639, made rococo 1731, classicised 1807. Discussed in E. Pelinck, "Het Logement van Leiden te 's-Gravenhage", in *Leids Jaarboekje 1965*, pp. 37–48, with relevant detail of Marot's print.
71. Re-issued only in 1762 in the topographical work of Van Mieris and Van Alphen.
72. See the main text for another design instead of (II) in the 1639(?) Vignola edition in library K.O.G., Amsterdam, representing an early stage in the developing of the "Vingboons Style", between (I) and (III). Not signed, no measurements given.
73. This series of six engravings is in many British collections, for instance two series in Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room, cat. nr. 95 A 10–11.
74. On plate 38: Jan Vingboons.
75. The diminishing height of the quoins, revealing on each consecutive storey more of the pilasters they initially bury, calls to mind De Brosse's use of the quoins at the Luxembourg.
76. I.H. van Eeghen, "De familie Vinckboons–Vingboons", *Oud-Holland*, LXVII (1952), pp. 217–32.
77. Numbered 1–53, 53A–61.
78. Counting different designs. The number is higher when twin-houses or several houses behind one façade are counted as more than one design.
79. *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste Gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft. by Philips and Ioan Vingboons. CIↃIↃCXL VIII. Men vintse by Ioan Blaev oock te koop.* (Representations of the most important Buildings from all those which Philips Vingboons designed. at Philips and Ioan Vingboons'. 1648. Also sold at Ioan Blaev's). George Clarke possessed a fine copy, left to Worcester Library, in which is written the name of the first proprietor: siebrandie Valckenier, and the date 1650. Sibrandie Valckenier, a Burgomaster's son, played a conspicuous role in 17th century Amsterdam: together with three other young people he laid the foundation stone of the new Town Hall in 1648. Bound with Clarke's copy is yet another edition (from 1664) of Post's Maastricht Town Hall, Clarke's second one. The 1648 Vingboons is not in the State Print Room, though it is in many Dutch libraries. The works are listed in *Vermeulen*, III, pp. 176–8, together with those from the second volume of Philips' works. Clarke (1661–1736) evidently collected his books about 1700; there are no 1648 copies of Vingboons in the big English libraries – which is not surprising considering the Civil War. Vingboons' next edition followed soon after the Restoration and seems to be for a great part in English collections.
    N.B. "Afbeelsels" for "Afbeeldsels" is a persistent printing error in many bibliographies.
80. *Vermeulen*, III, p. 176.
81. *Gronden en Afbeeldsels der Voornaamste Gebouwen, van alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft. 't Amsteldam, by Clement de Jonge, in de Kalver-straat, in de gekroonde Konst en Caart-winkel. A^{O}. CIↃ IↃ C LXV.* The vignette shows two collectors, to whom a seller presents a large town-plan of Batavia (representing a work of Johannes Vingboons?) with the inscription "De Gekroonde Konst en Kaart Winckel" (The Crowned Art and Map Shop).

82. *Vermeulen*, III (the Hague, 1941), does not mention it. Ter Kuile, *1000 jaar,* II, p. 144, does not, nor Ter Kuile, *A. & A.*, nor Nancy Schless, *Dutch Influence*, who relies upon them. The Catalogue of the Library of the State Print Room (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam) does mention the edition by implication, stating (III, p. 143) that the third impression was dated 1688. Ozinga mentions it specifically in *Thieme-Becker*, i.v. Vingboons. Van der Wijck also does in *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*, LXVIII (1969), p. 71. Copy in B.M.; in Holland in U.B.L. and Library K.O.G.
83. Jan van der Heiden, *Beschryving*, etc., Amsterdam, 1690: the fire happened on February 22, 1672. The damage to the buildings was f. 27.000,–, but that to the plates, tools, etc., f. 355.000,–.
84. See note 76 above.
85. The title is also the same as in 1665. The alterations, made after Philips' death, mainly concern remarks which could be regarded as having a slight popish hue (Philips was a Roman Catholic), for instance the statement that the right way of building was recovered when the Popes returned to Rome.
86. Cat.Bib.R.P.K. III, 143 (Dutch text); B.M. (*Oeuvres d'architecture*, etc.); Bodleian.
87. The 1688 publisher presumably was afraid that the works would be considered old-fashioned if he gave the dates.
88. Numbered 1–51, 51A-74.
89. *Tweede deel van de Afbeeldsels der Voornaemste Gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft. t'Aemstelerdam, By Philips Vingboons CIↃ IↃ C LXXIV, Men vintse by Ioan Blaev oock te koop.* Not in English libraries? Published when Holland was at war with England, France, Munster and Cologne. Copies in the Utrecht University Library and the Amsterdam City Archives. (Jan Matthys has been mentioned above as engraver for Pieter Post). (Jan Matthys also engraved the fine Ionic capital for Nicolaus Goldmann, *Tractatus de Stylometris sive Instrumentis quibus quinque Ordines Architecturae designantur*, Leyden, 1661. (Plate 457A). Compare for the tiny swag in the capital Michelangelo's Capitoline capital as published in Rossi's 1617 Vignola edition.
90. With the same reservations as given in note 78 above. The number 23 was obtained by counting the Kromhout Houses, Heerengracht 364–370, as four, because of their different plans, and including the conversion of the Ornia House, Heerengracht 136.
91. *Het Huys van de Heeren LOUYS EN HENDRICK TRIP, geordineert door Justus Vingboons, t'Aemstelerdam, by Ioan and Iustus Vingboons, 1664. Men vintse by Ioan Blaev oock te koop.* The 1699 edition by Justus Danckerts.
92. Summarizing, we find the following years of publication. Philips' first volume: 1648, 1665, 1688, 1715 and 1736. Phlips' second volume: 1674, 1715 and 1736. Justus' Trippenhuis 1664, 1699, 1715 and 1736. For Cornelis II Danckerts' inclusion in the *Grachtenboekje* of the Trippenhuis and several houses by Philips see below.
93. In the reprint of the *Grachtenboekje* they occur as number 12A (De Haze House) (Plates 220 and 437), 18A (Belin la Garde House) and 21A (Deutz House) (Plates 222 and 360).
94. See the introduction by I.H. van Eeghen in her re-edition of the book. I.H. van Eeghen (ed.), *Een Amsterdams Grachtenboekje uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1963. The book is here referred to as the *Grachtenboekje.*
95. For instance as publisher of works by Van Campen and Post.
96. Salomon de Bray says in the *Architectura Moderna* that Hendrick was the brother of Cornelis Danckerts de Rij II and "that these were both sons of their common father" Cornelis Danckerts de Rij I, Town Mason. There is no reason to doubt De Bray's words, so Hendrick Danckerts and Cornelis I Danckerts (who added "Van Seevenhoven" to his name) were cousins, Hendrick's father being Cornelis' father's brother. C.f. Waller-Juynboll, *op. cit.*, i.v., who state that Thieme-Becker is not correct in the Danckerts pedigree. We may indeed

read Thieme-Becker's qualification "Sohn *oder* Bruder des Archit. Cornelis" as "Sohn *und* Bruder des Archit. Cornelis, etc.".

97. Cat.Bib.R.P.K., III, p. 17; U.B.A.; R.I.B.A. later also with Dancker Danckerts' name added. Cornelis I Danckert also made six plates with garden-architecture after J. Lepautre.
98. *Grontregulen der bow-const, ofte de vytnementheyt vande vyf orders der Architectura van Vincent Scamozzi. Uyt het Italiaens overgeset en met curieuse copere plaeten verciert*, etc. Printer was Nicolaes van Ravesteyn. Cat.Bib.R.P.K., III, pp. 18–19; R.I.B.A..

98a. The inclusion of Hendrick Danckerts' church was of course prompted by the fact that the Salute with its similar construction, had been under construction since 1631.

99. So that "Met octroy" was added in ink on the already printed copies. See above for Utrecht University copy; U.B.A. also. Danckerts had already presented Burgomasters with a "Representation" (that will have been a print or prints) of the Town Hall for which he received f. 150,– on 22 July 1661.
100. Dates given by *Vermeulen*, III, p. 232, Cf. also *Vermeulen*, III, pp. 90 and 101.
101. *Cort onderwys VANDE VYF COLOMMEN door Symon Bosboom Stadts Steen-houwer tot Amsterdam uyt den scherpsinnigen Vinsent Schamozzij getrocken en in Minuten gestelt seer gemacklick voor de Jonge Leerlingen en dienstich voor alle Ionge Liefhebbers der Bouw-Const. 1657. S. Bosboom inventer. t'Amsterdam, Gedruckt voor Pieter Hendericksz van Vreden Boeck-verkooper inde Huydestraet.* Copy Centrale Bibliotheek Delft. On the title-page portrait of Bosboom looking towards the left. (The "inventor" suggests a self-portrait). The portrait in a medaillon with some *kwabornament* and a Tree (Bosboom means "tree-from-the-Forest"). Further two putti and the attributes of Building. This copy with editor's name but without counter-attack on Danckerts is presumably earlier than the State Print Room one (see note 103 below). The Dutch title says: Short instruction of the Five Columns destilled by Symon Bosboom Town Mason at Amsterdam out of the ingenious Vinsent Schamozzij and put into (the) *Minuti* very easy for Young Pupils and useful to all Young Amateurs of the Art of Building.
102. *Noodighe Waerschouwinghe, Teghens de verbroddinghe over de Gront-regulen der Algemeene Bouw-konst van Vincent Scamozzi . . . door Symon Bos-boom*, etc., signed Danckert Danckertsz.
103. *Cort onderwys van de vyf kolommen door Vinsent Scamozzi geordineert en nu door Symon Bosboom Stadts Steenhouwer tot Amsterdam in Minuten gestelt seer gemacklick voor de Jonge Leerlingen en dienstich voor alle Ionge Liefhebbers der Bouw-Const. 1657. S. Bosboom inventer.* State Print Room (*Cat.Bib.R.P.K.*, III, p. 20). Without bookseller's name and place. The title is worded differently but amounts to the same as the one already mentioned, of the same year.
104. Errors like three minutes too many in one hundred and twenty.
105. For editions of 1657 see notes 101 and 103 above.

Ed. 1670: U.B.A., R.I.B.A., publ. Justus Danckerts.

Ed. 1682 with a few additions and amendments by Bosboom's son Dirk Bosboom, *R.P.K.*, III, p. 20; R.I.B.A.

Ed. 1686: publ. Iustus Danckerts. Bosboom's portrait looking towards the right, etc., *R.P.K.*, III, p. 20; U.B.A.; Centrale Bibliotheek Delft. An edition by Iustus Danckerts, n.d., probably the same, in B.M.

An edition of 1694 stated in Wurzbach, i.v. Bosboom.

Ed. 1760: *R.P.K.*, III, p. 20.

Ed. 1774: R.I.B.A.; *Cat. of the Avery Architectural Library* (1895): ed. Caspar Philips Jacobszoon.

Ed. 1784: editors Caspar Philips (Jacobs) and Jacob Houthuisen, *R.P.K.*, III, p. 20; U.B.A.

In a "sequel" to Bosboom's work, edited in 1786 by the same Caspar Philips and Jacob Houthuisen, strangely out-dated

notions about Gothic art are put forward: Gottic prevailed from 800 to 1300, was despicable, was suppressed by Brunelleschi, Aldibrandus, Morrozini, Buschert and Nicolo Pisano; then had a revival (between 1069 and 1200) but the good art was restored by people like Palladio, Bullant, Scamozzi, de Lorme and . . . Bosboom.

Ed. 1816: ed. Caspar Philips Jacobsz., *R.P.K.*, III, p. 21.

Ed. 1821: ed. Caspar Philips Jacobsz., U.B.A.; Universal Catalogue of Books on Art.

Ed. 1854: ed. Caspar Philips and Jacob Houthuisen by G.D. Blom, B.M. Israël, Amsterdam, Catalogue 91.

It seemed strange that after the *Cat.R.P.K.*, III, p. 20, there should be no editions between 1686 and 1760, but two Utrecht University copies fill the gap. They are not dated, but published by Theodorus Danckerts (presumably between 1700 and 1727) and by (Frederick de Wit . . . now) Joannes Loots respectively. Loots gives his address as "inde Jonge Lootsman" where he certainly had his shop from 1698 to 1724. C.A. van Swigchem, *Abraham van der Hart*, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 329, gives the year as 1715. An edition without date by Reinier and Josua Ottens presumably from 1760.

Presumably there were two lines in the book's descent, perhaps both starting 1657, one including Justus Danckerts – Theodorus Danckerts, the other Frederick de Widt – Joannes Loots.

L.H. Fowler and E. Bear, *The Fowler Architectural Collection of the John Hopkins University*, Baltimore, 1961, entry nr. 54, giving Bosboom's dates as 1614–70 (but cf. note 100 above), write "There were a number of editions of this work: Amsterdam, 1636 (this must be a printing error for 1686) . . . Amsterdam, Danckerts, 1676 (confused with the London edition?) . . . London, 1676, and other later issues".

German editions of 1678 and 1697 mentioned by *Cat. of the Avery Arch. Library* (1895).

106. R.I.B.A.; Wurzbach's 1679 must be a printing error for 1676.

107. Edition of 1662, *De Grondt-regulen der Bouw-Konst*, etc., Amsterdam, for Iohannis Gronsveldt. On frontispiece: Amsterdam, by Justus Danckerts. *Cat R.P.K.*, III, p. 22; U.B.A.; Schlosser, *La Letteratura Artistica*, s.v. Scamozzi, lists "In tedesco (di J. Schaum) come *Grundregeln der Baukunst*, Amsterdam 1664, Norimberga 1678. In olandese (di Schinjor), Amsterdam 1662 (1686)". The misspelling Schinjor for Schuym is from the *Universal Catalogue of Books on Art*, London, 1870–1877. After mentioning the 1713 Leyden Scamozzi edition (published by Van der Aa) Schlosser goes on "In inglese del Brown, Londra 1690, e del Leyburn come *Mirror of Architecture*, Londra 1708 e altre edizioni". For the English translations of Schuym see below – I have not yet been able to find one of 1690.

Edition of 1677: Justus Danckerts. *Cat.R.P.K.*, III, p. 22; R.I.B.A.

Edition of 1694: Justus Danckerts. *Cat.R.P.K.*, III, p. 22, Centr. Bib. Delft.

108. Edition of 1669: *The Mirror,* etc. . . Reviewed and inlarged . . . by J. Schuym. Translated out of the Dutch by W.F. Hereunto is added the description and use of an ordinary Joynt-Rule . . . by John Browne. W. Fisher: London, 1669. 4°. B.M.; R.I.B.A.

Edition of 1676: *The Catalogue of the Avery Architectural Library*, (1895), has a *Mirror*, etc., by J. Brown, 3d ed., enlarged, London, 1676.

Edition of 1687: Cat.B.M.: *The Mirror,* etc. . . The third edition, with addition of stair-cases and chimney-pieces, 2 pt. W. Fisher: London, 1687. 4°. Annotation: The work by John Browne has a separate titlepage dated 1686.

Edition of 1693: The *Subject Index of Books . . . 1880* gives without further description under Scamozzi a *Mirror of Architecture* . . . 1693.

Edition of 1700: *Cat.B.M.* . . . Fourth edition, whereunto is added a compendium of the art of building . . . by W. Leyburn.

Edition of 1708: *The Universal Catalogue* states a *Mirror*, a 5th. ed. by William

Leyburn. 4°. London, 1708.

109. *Cat.R.P.K.* III, p. 18. Book six has the printer's name after page 116, before plates 38 and 39: Cornelis de Bruyn, at Amsterdam, 1661.
110. But Danckerts maintained the ratio $8^1/_{12}$ for composite and $8^1/_3$ for corinthian in this new (revised) print.
111. An effect being that the Palazzo Strozzi appears twice in the book: in the copper engravings of 1640 as well as in the original wood-cuts.
112. *Cat.R.P.K.* I, p. 232.
113. Edition of 1664: Abraham Verhoeff. *Cat.R.P.K.* III, p. 22.

Edition of 1667: Hendrick Doncker's name pasted over Verhoeff's; U.B.L.

Edition of 1678: Hendrick Doncker; *Cat.R.P.K.* III, p. 22.

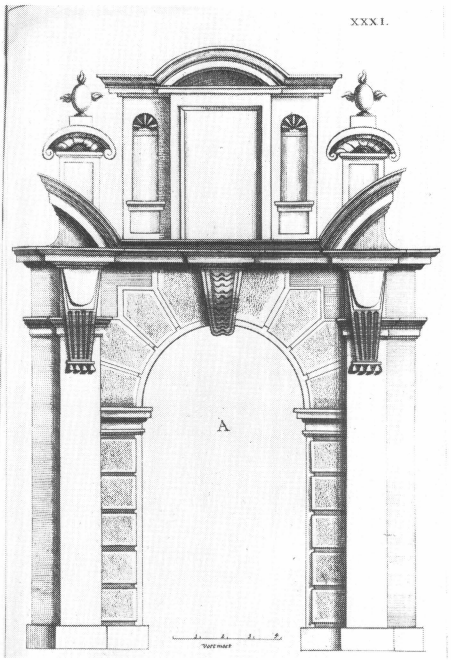
Edition of 1689: *Cat.R.P.K.*, III, p. 22; Centr. Bib. Delft.

Edition 1696 or later: n.d., "by Cornelis Danckerts voor aan op de Nieuwendyck in den Atlas", Centr. Bib. Delft.

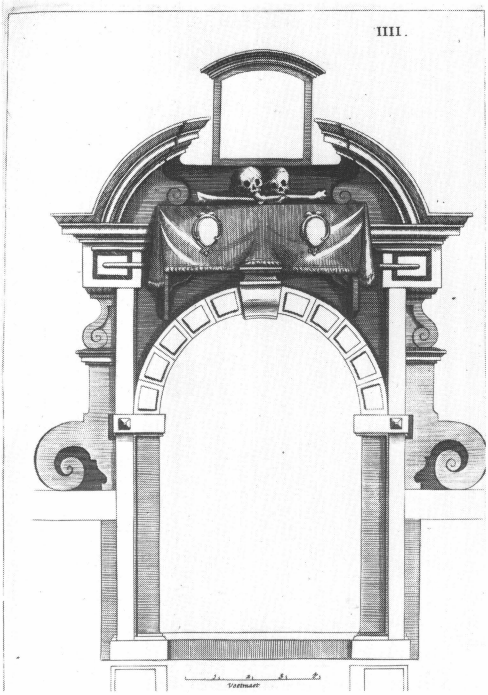
Edition of 1721: Title-page as with Justus Danckerts in 1689 but with the printed addition "gedrukt (printed) by Theodorus Danckerts . . . op de Nieuwendyk, daar de Atlas op de Luyfel staat. Anno 1721". Centr. Bib. Delft. Cf. Van Swigchem, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

114. Sic. Often bound with Bosboom. *Cat.R.P.K.*, III, p. 23; several copies in library R.I.B.A.
115. *Cat.R.P.K.*, II, p. 585 and III, p. 23; R.I.B.A.
116. Hendrick Cramer (Kramer) is sometimes mentioned as the designer. Cornelis II Danckerts published Cramer's design of Pieter Reaal's country-house (1688).
117. See note 94 above. Some words about this book have been said in the paragraphs on Dortsman, Bouman and Vennekool, the most prominent non-Classicist architects.
118. These are editions published in the Northern Netherlands. *Cat.R.P.K.*, III, pp. 14–5. The edition of 1646 of the Department of Architecture, Delft University is, in fact, an edition of 1642, the 2 of 1642 being changed by pen and ink into a 6.
119. On the illustrations of these topographical works see I.H. van Eeghen, "Illustraties van de 17e eeuwse Beschrijvingen en Plaatwerken van Amsterdam", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum 1974*, pp. 96–116.
120. Most of these engravings are mentioned in the paragraphs on those architects.
121. *Vitruvii . . . de Architectura Libri Decem . . . Praemittuntur Elementa Architecturae collecta ab illustri Viro Henrico Wottono Equite Anglo . . . ex optimis Auctoribus & Exemplis Anglico quidem Idiomate scripta et edita Londini Anno MDCXXIV, Nunc vero in Latinum versa A Joanne de Laet, Antwerpiano (Amstelodami, Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, Anno CIↃ IↃCXLIX).* Many copies in English and Dutch Libraries.

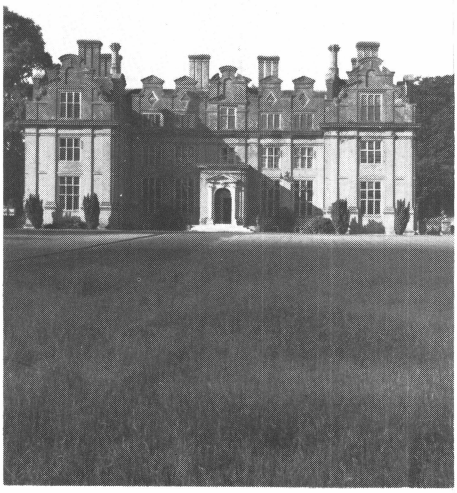
The idea of printing Wotton as a "forerunner" to Vitruvius was already current in Huygens' circle in the early 1640s. In his letter of 6 February 1642 to Huygens, Johan Brosterhuijsen says literally "mijn Wotton, die de voorloper van Vitruuius moet wezen, is ghereedt om ghedruckt te werden" (my Wotton, which is to be the forerunner of Vitruvius, is ready to be printed). He goes on to say that the printing was only delayed by an account of the Origin of the Art of Building which Van Campen had designed and would have finished but for illness. He also says that in translating Vitruvius he has arrived at the middle of the last book. It seems strange that in the end the translation of the *Elements of Architecture* should not have been published. Did Van Campen's and Brosterhuijsen's manuscripts circulate among a small circle? Another possibility is that Brosterhuijsen, (who was professor of Greek at Breda), translated Wotton into Latin rather than into Dutch and that De Laet eventually published it under his own name.



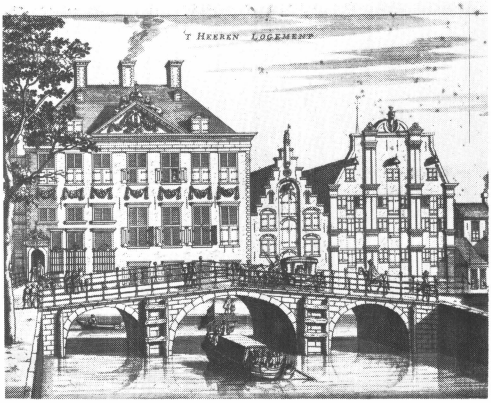
1. Hendrick de Keyser: design for an archway.



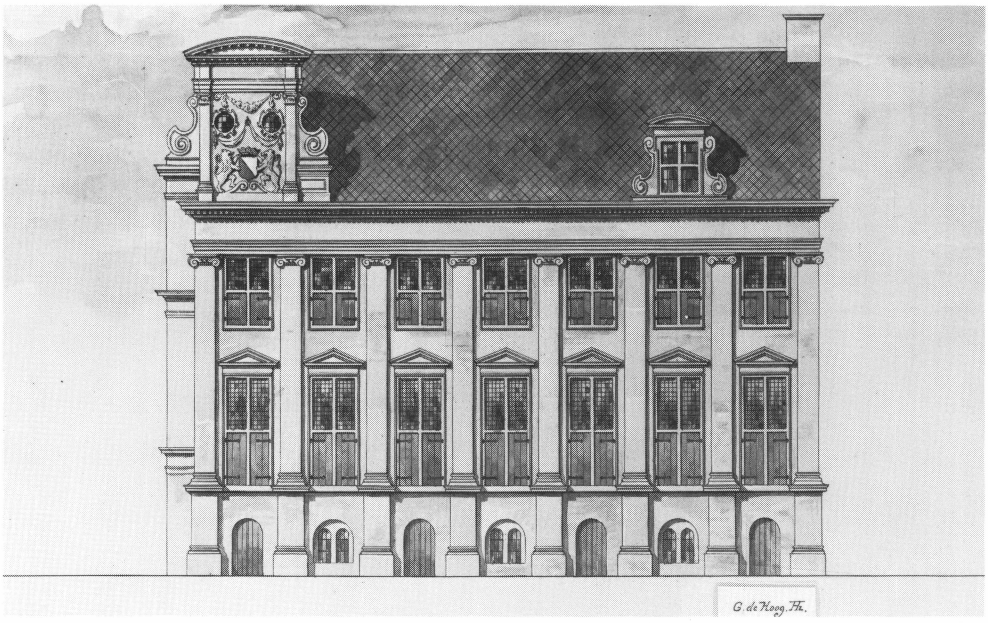
2. Hendrick de Keyser or Nicholas Stone: entrance to graveyard of Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam, c. 1613.



3. Broome Park, Kent, 1635–8 (Copyright Country Life).



4. Grimburgwal, Amsterdam. On the right: St. Pieter warehouse, 1623. Centre: warehouse of 1636. On the left: Oudezijds Heerenlogement after conversion of 1647.



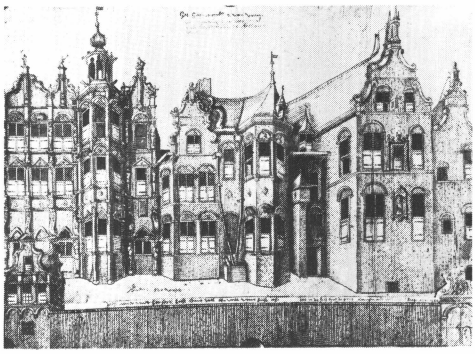
5. Town Hall, Utrecht. Side elevation of 1645.



6. Lieven de Key: Town Hall, Leyden. Frontispiece, 1597. Eight bays on the right: addition of 1604. Tower 1599. Pseudo-Gothic tripartite window on the left by Willem van der Helm in 1662.



7. Orphanage, Gouda, 1642.



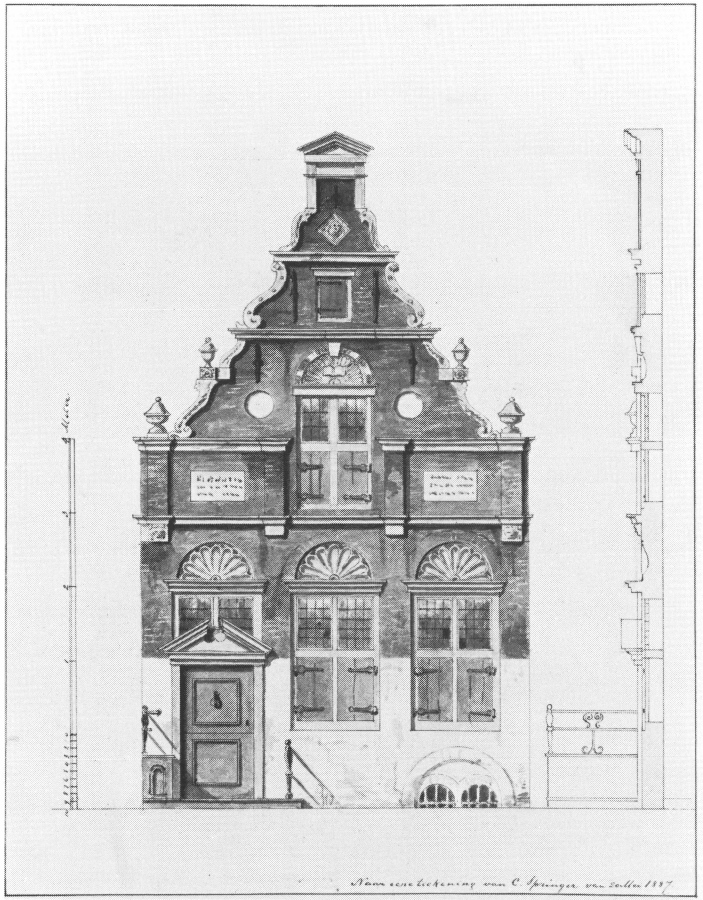
8. Jan van Rossem's House, Zaltbommel, c. 1550.



9. House Markt 11, Culemborg, 1549.



10. Jan Adriaanszoon Leeghwater: Town Hall, De Rijp, 1630.



11. House at Haarlem? About 1600.



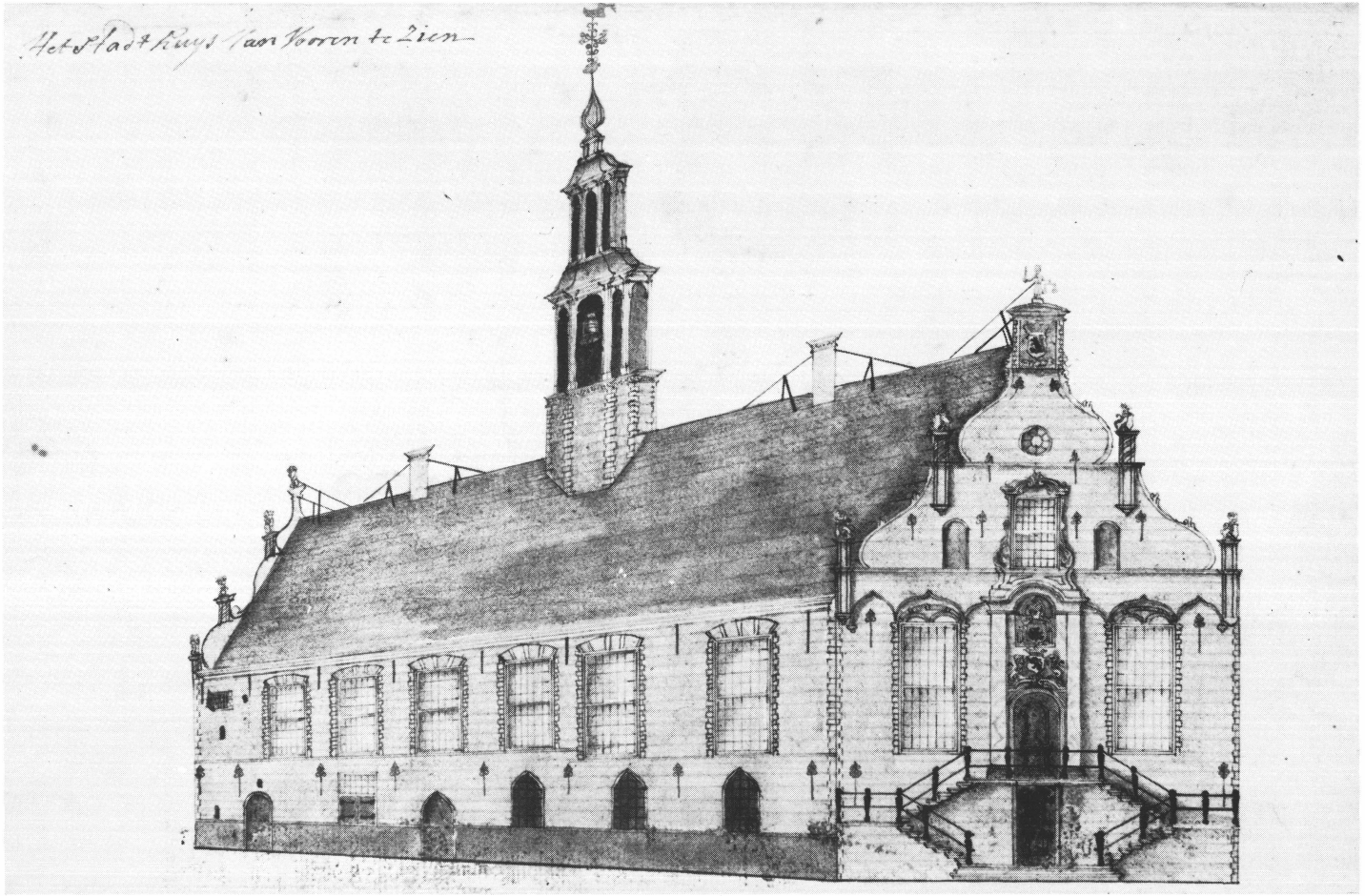
12. Town Hall, Bergen op Zoom. Front with gable of 1611.



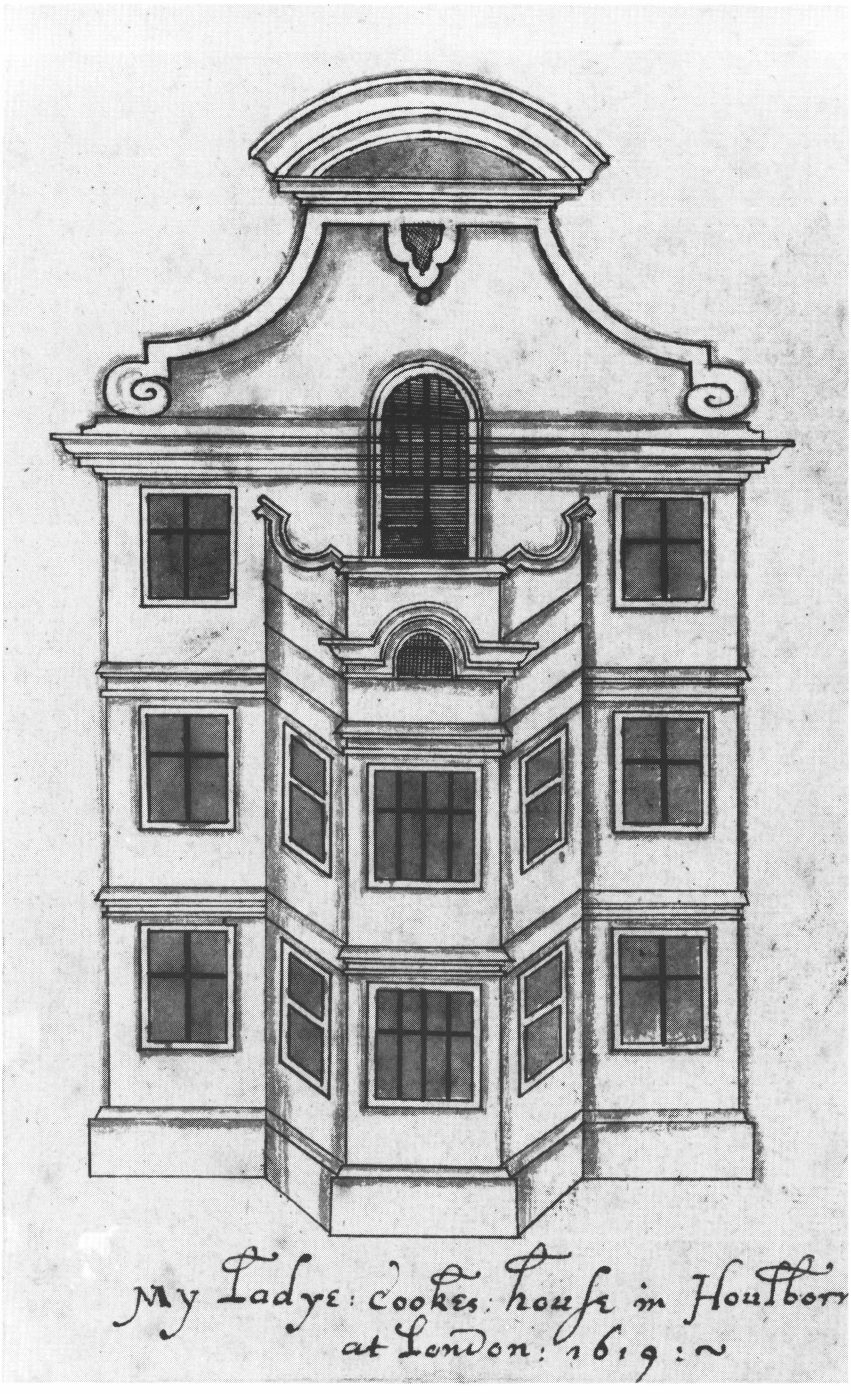
13. Town Hall, Franeker, 1591–4.



14. Town Hall, Schiedam. Front after 18th century reshaping, turret from 1843.



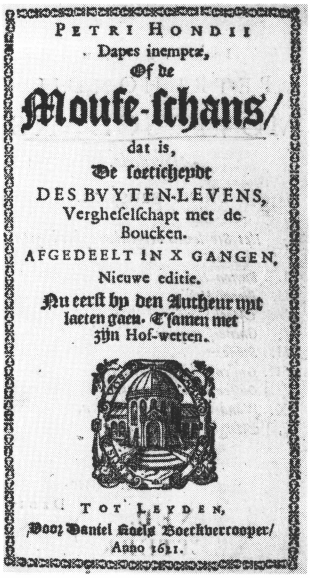
15. *Town Hall, Schiedam. The Late Gothic front already with 18th century windows and entrance.*



16. Lady Cooke's House, Holborn, drawn by John Smythson, 1619.



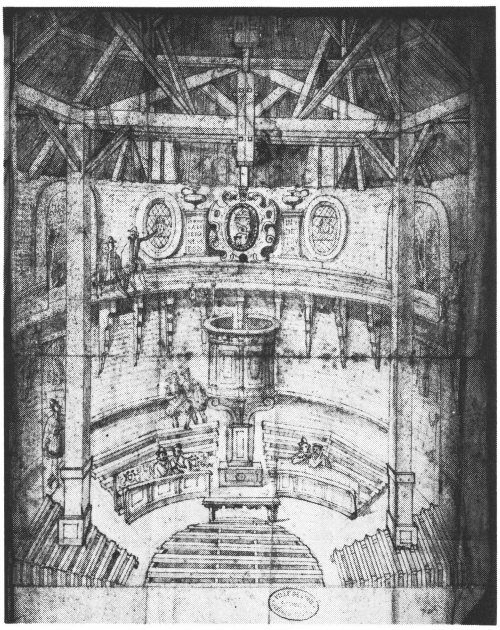
17. House Kruisbroedershof 2, Bois le Duc, Brabant, 1619.



PETRI HONDII
Dapes inemptæ,
Of de
Mouſe-ſchans/
dat is,
De ſoetſchepde
DES BVYTEN-LEVENS,
Vergheſelſchapt met de
Boucken.
AFGEDEELT IN X GANGEN,
Nieuwe editie.
Nu eerſt by den Autheur upt
laeten gaen. Eſamen met
zyn Hof-wetten.

TOT LEYDEN,
Voor Daniel Roels Boeckverrooper/
Anno 1621.

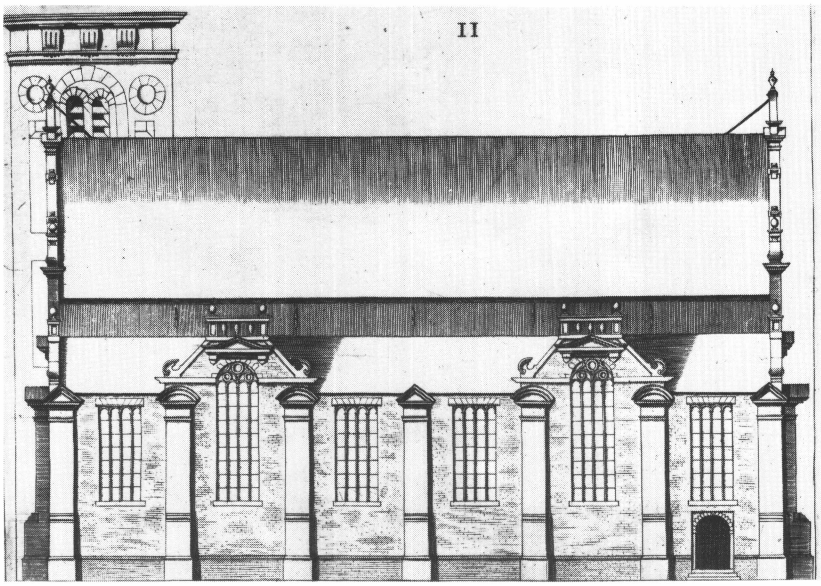
18. Title-page of Hondius' country house poem Dapes Inemptae *with vignette showing the Christian Temple.*



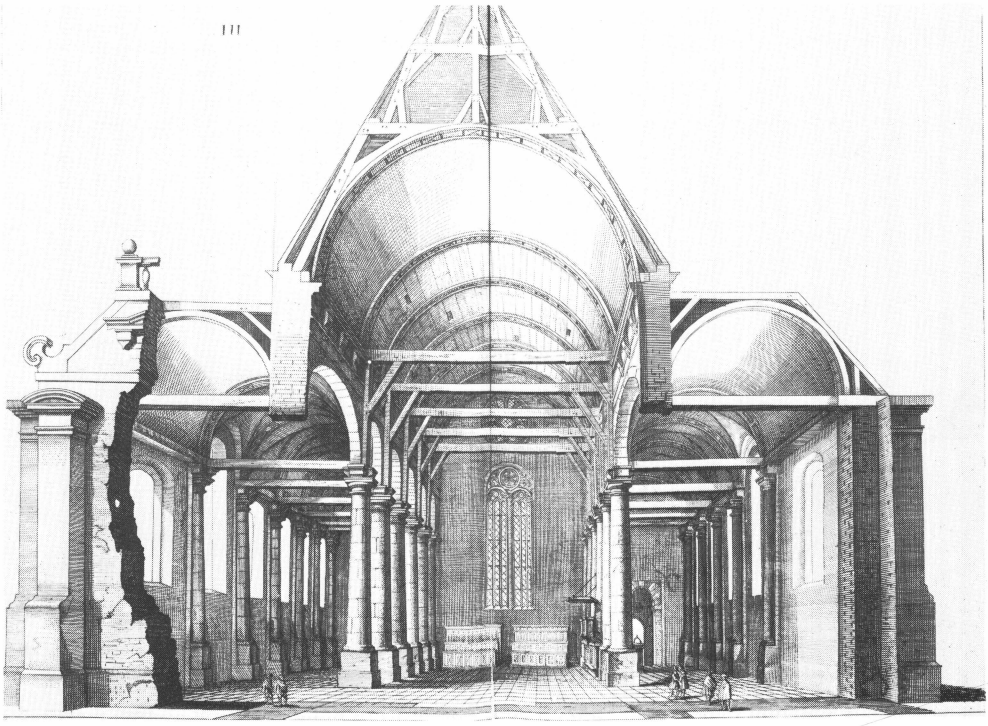
19. Protestant Temple, Lyons, c. 1566.



20. Hendrick de Keyser: Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam, Tower, 1614.



21. Hendrick de Keyser: Zuiderkerk, c. 1611.



22. Hendrick de Keyser: Zuiderkerk.



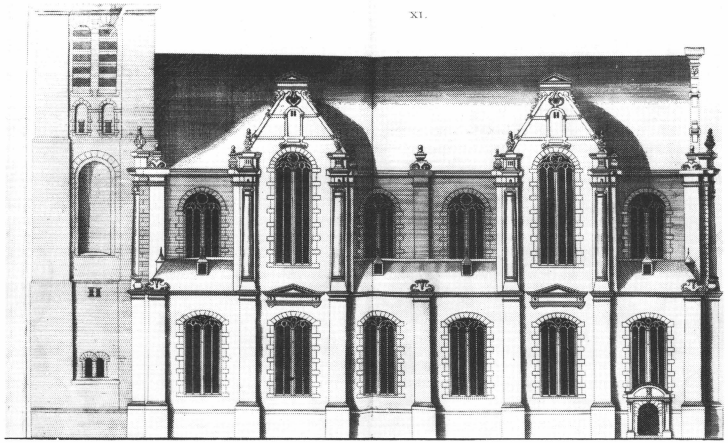
23. St. Katherine Cree, London, 1631.



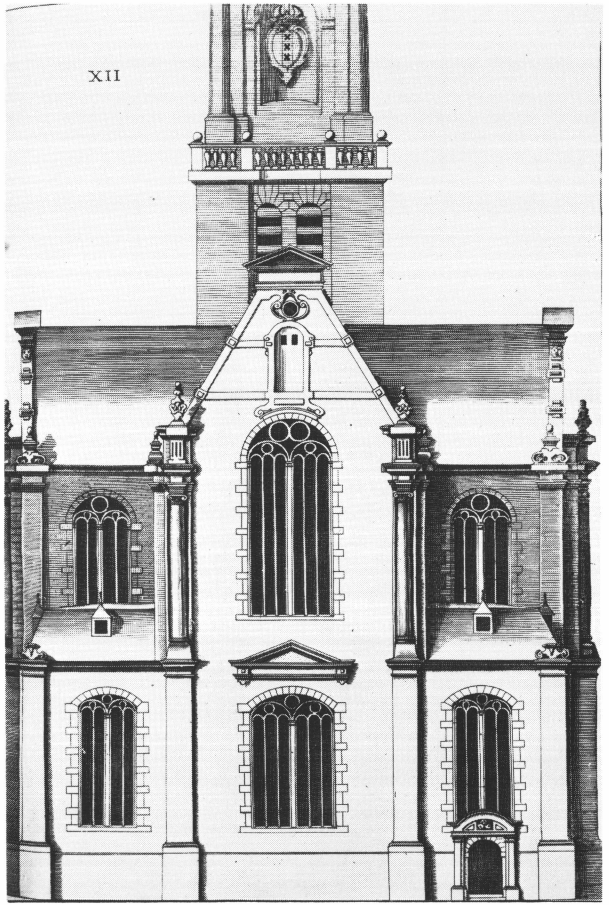
24. Hendrick de Keyser: Westerkerk, Amsterdam, 1631.



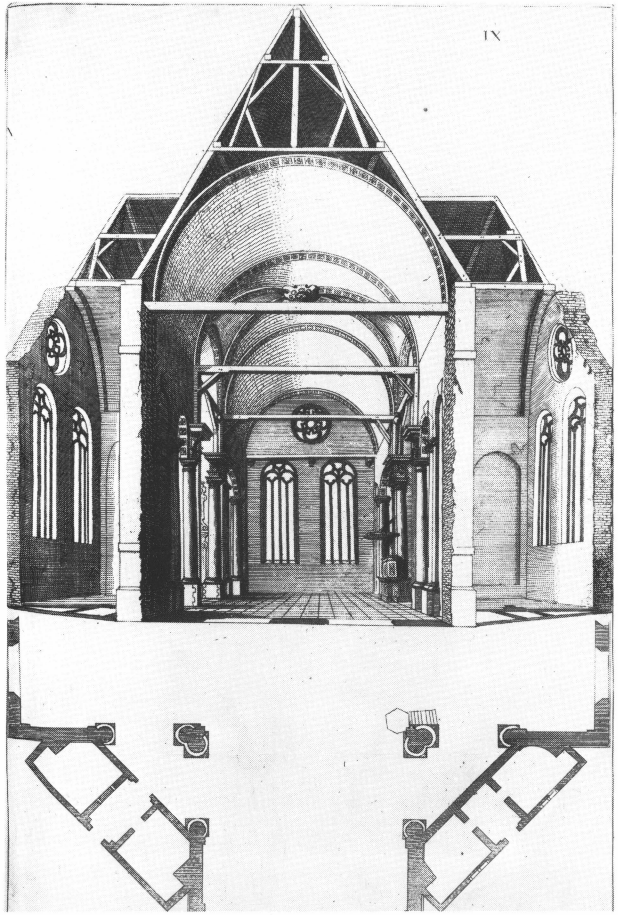
25. Hendrick de Keyser: Westerkerk.



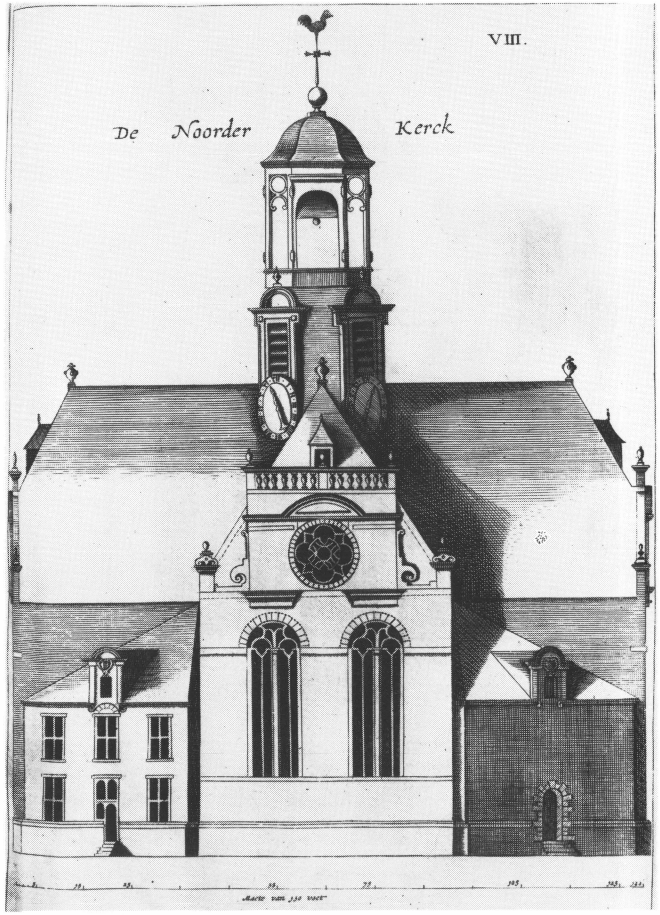
26. Hendrick de Keyser: Westerkerk.



27. Hendrick de Keyser: Westerkerk. East Front.



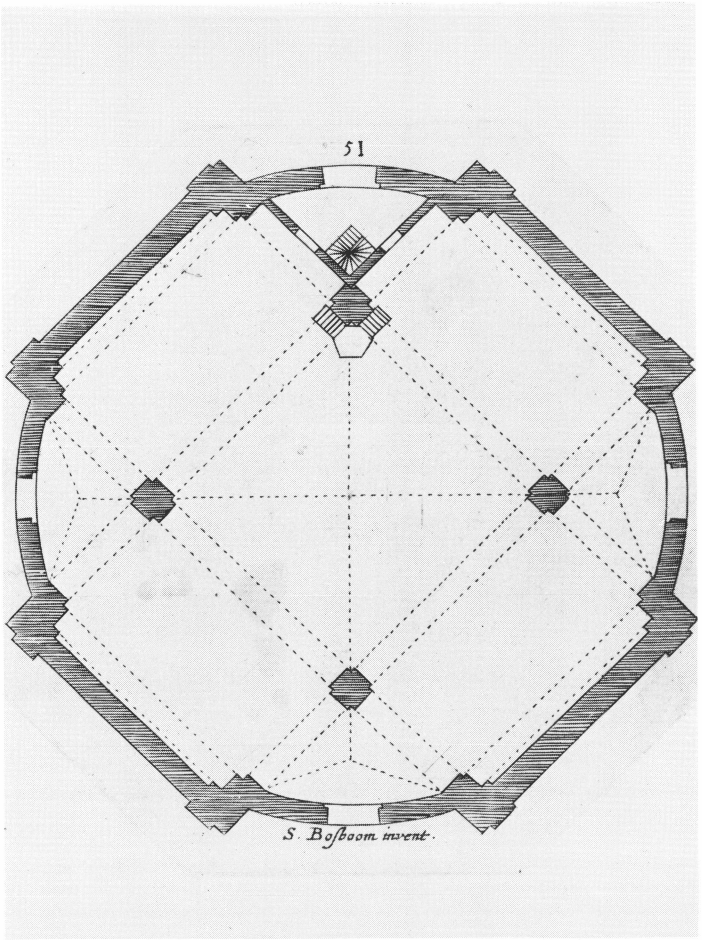
28. *Hendrick de Keyser: Noorderkerk, Amsterdam, 1620–22.*



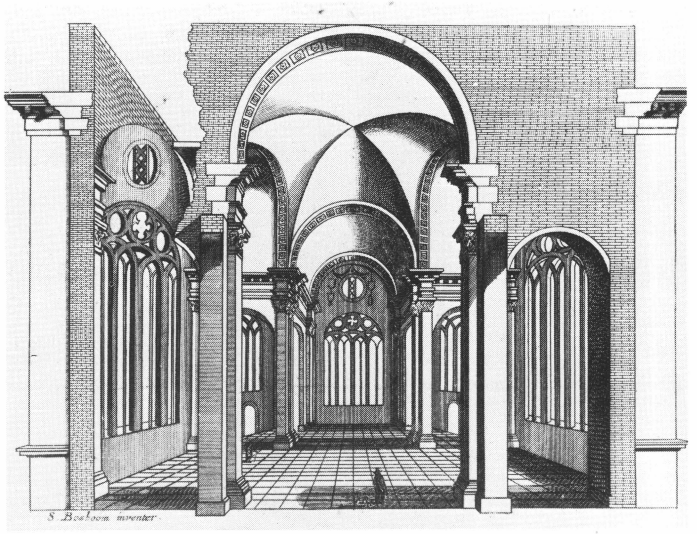
29. *Hendrick de Keyser: Noorderkerk. Cupola more Classicist in execution.*



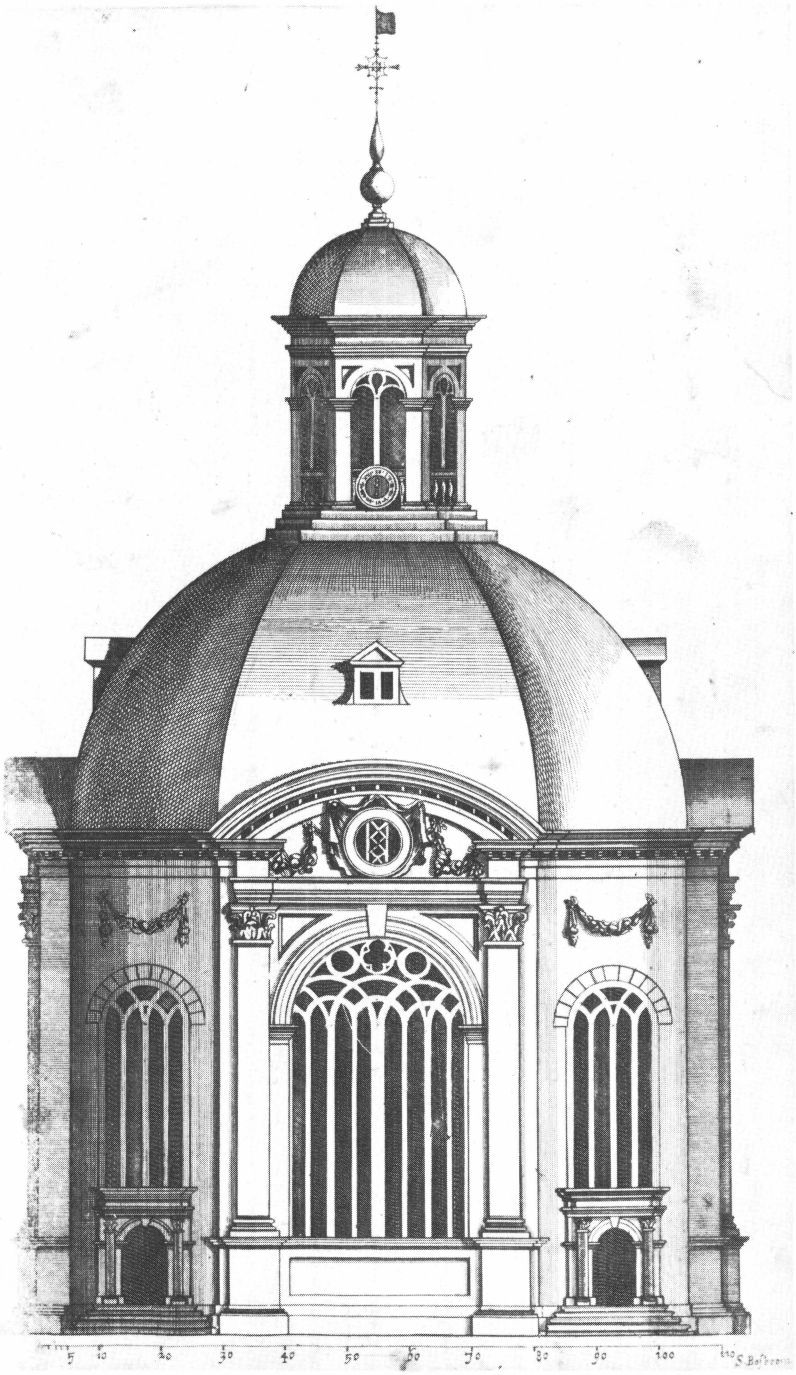
30. Hendrick de Keyser: Noorderkerk.



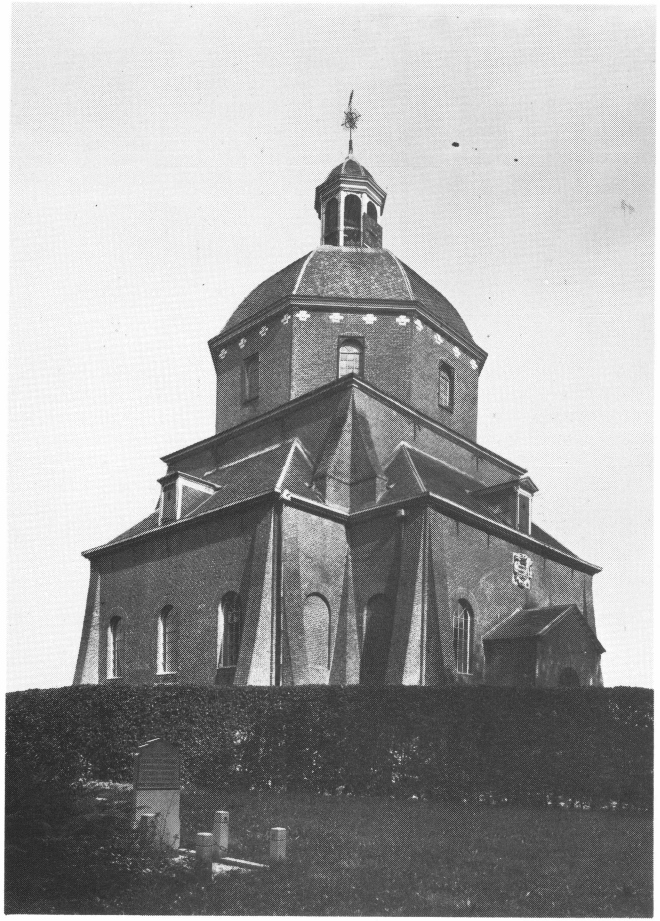
31. Symon Bosboom: church design, 1657. Plan.



32. Symon Bosboom: church design. Section.



33. Symon Bosboom: church design. Front.



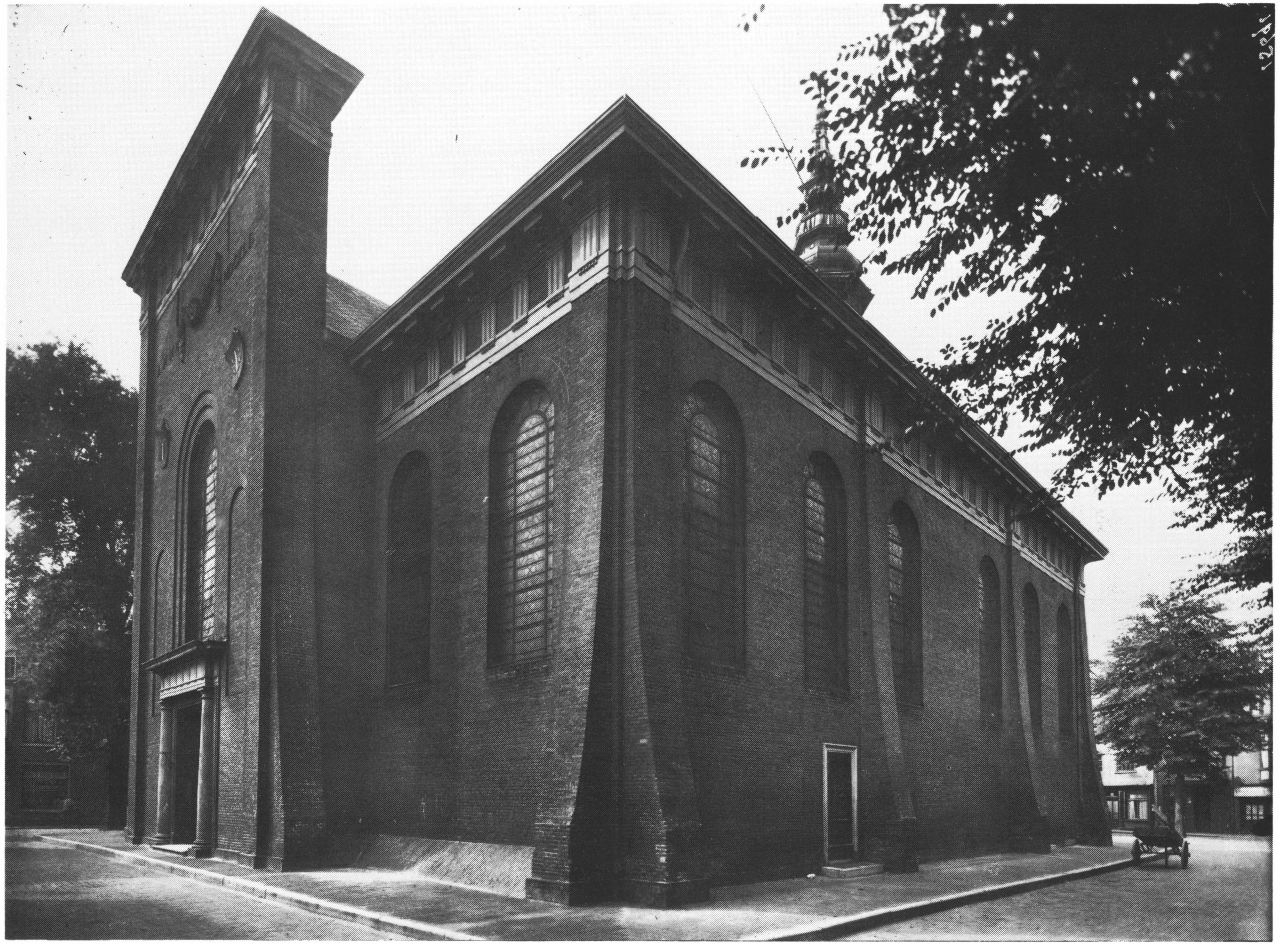
34. Jacob van Campen (attribution): Renswoude Church, 1641.



35. Jacob van Campen (attribution): Hooge Zwaluwe Church, 1641.



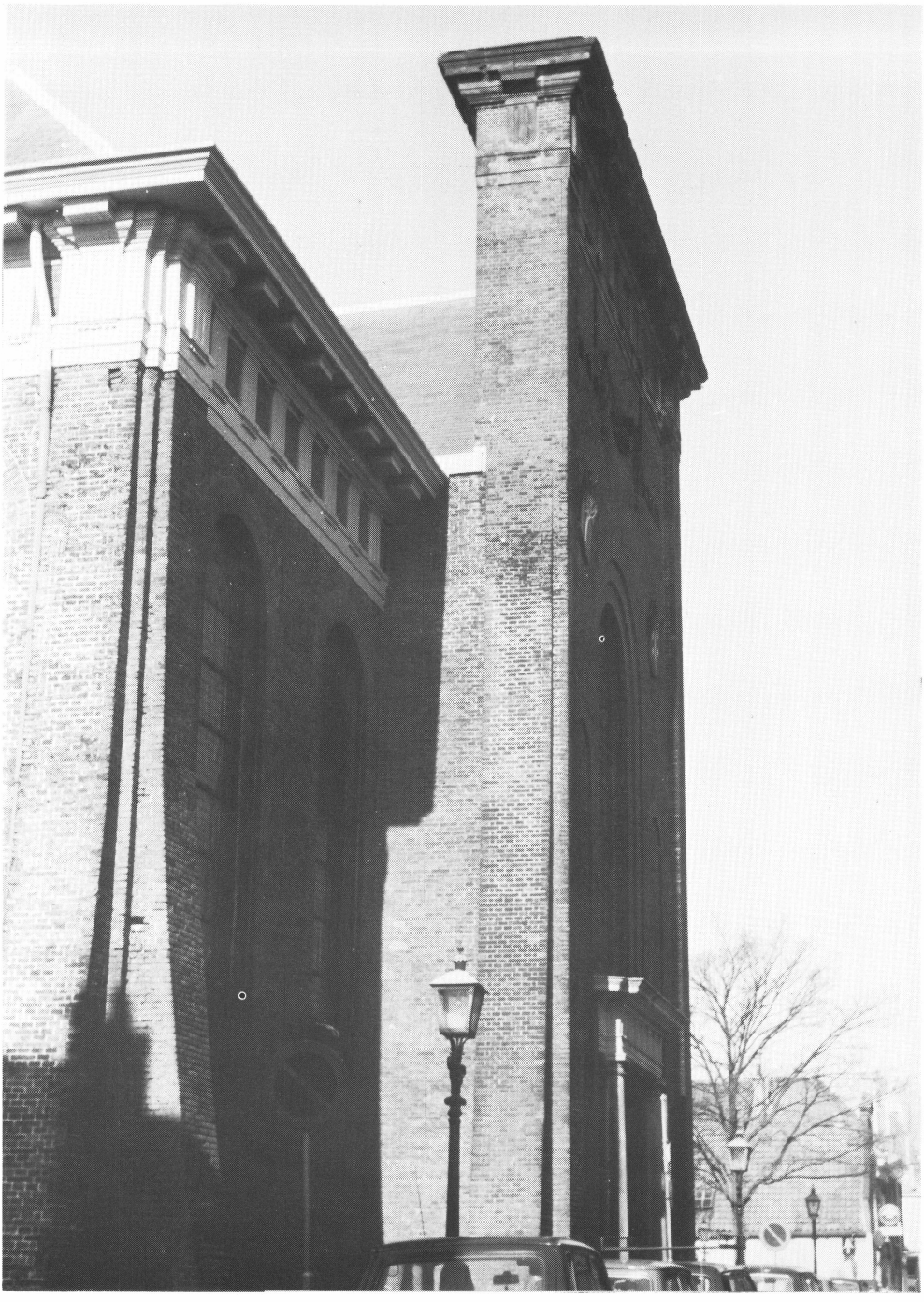
36. Jacob van Campen: Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, 1649. Painting by Pieter Saenredam, 1652.



37. Jacob van Campen: Nieuwe Kerk from the North-east.



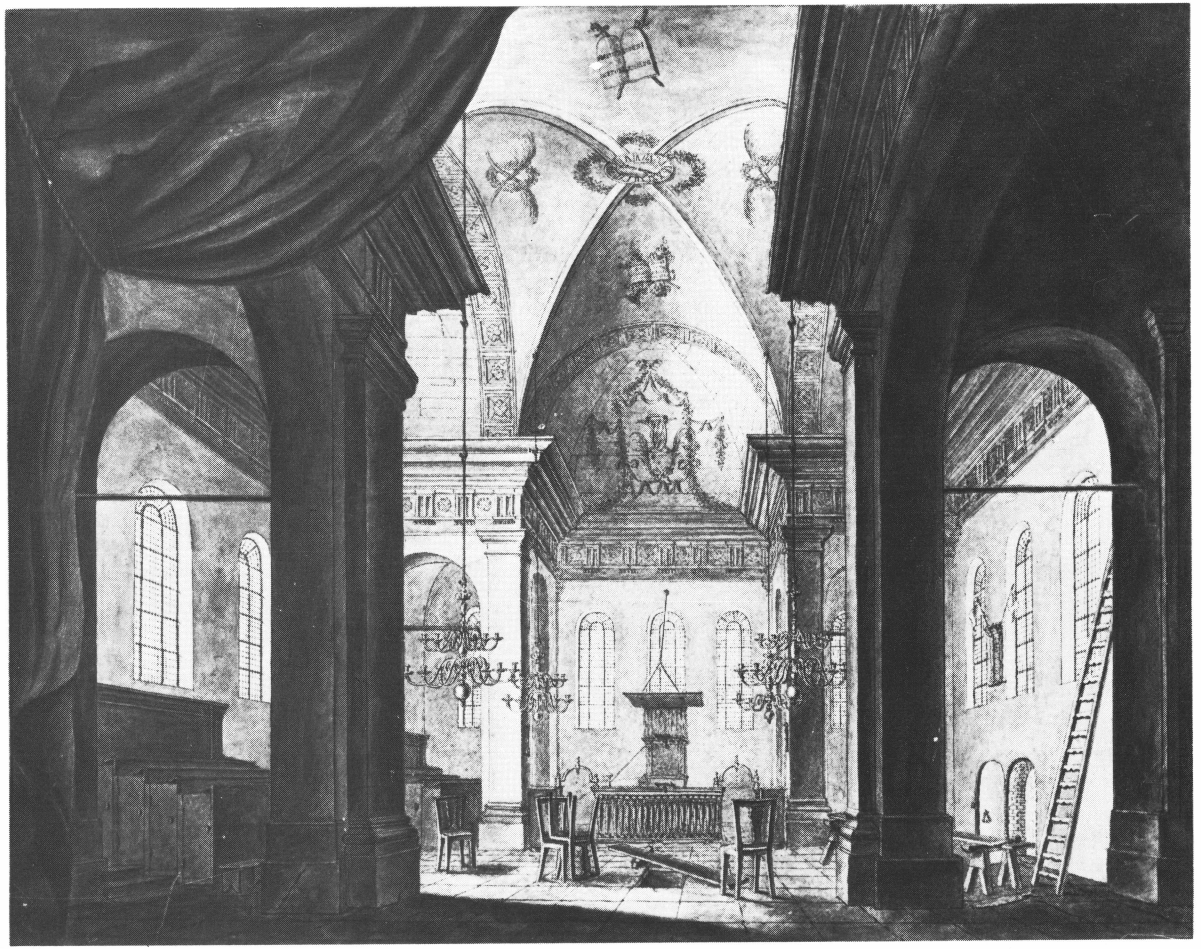
38. Jacob van Campen: detail of Nieuwe Kerk. Lieven de Key: spire of Nieuwe Kerk, 1613.



39. Jacob van Campen: East Façade of Nieuwe Kerk from the South.



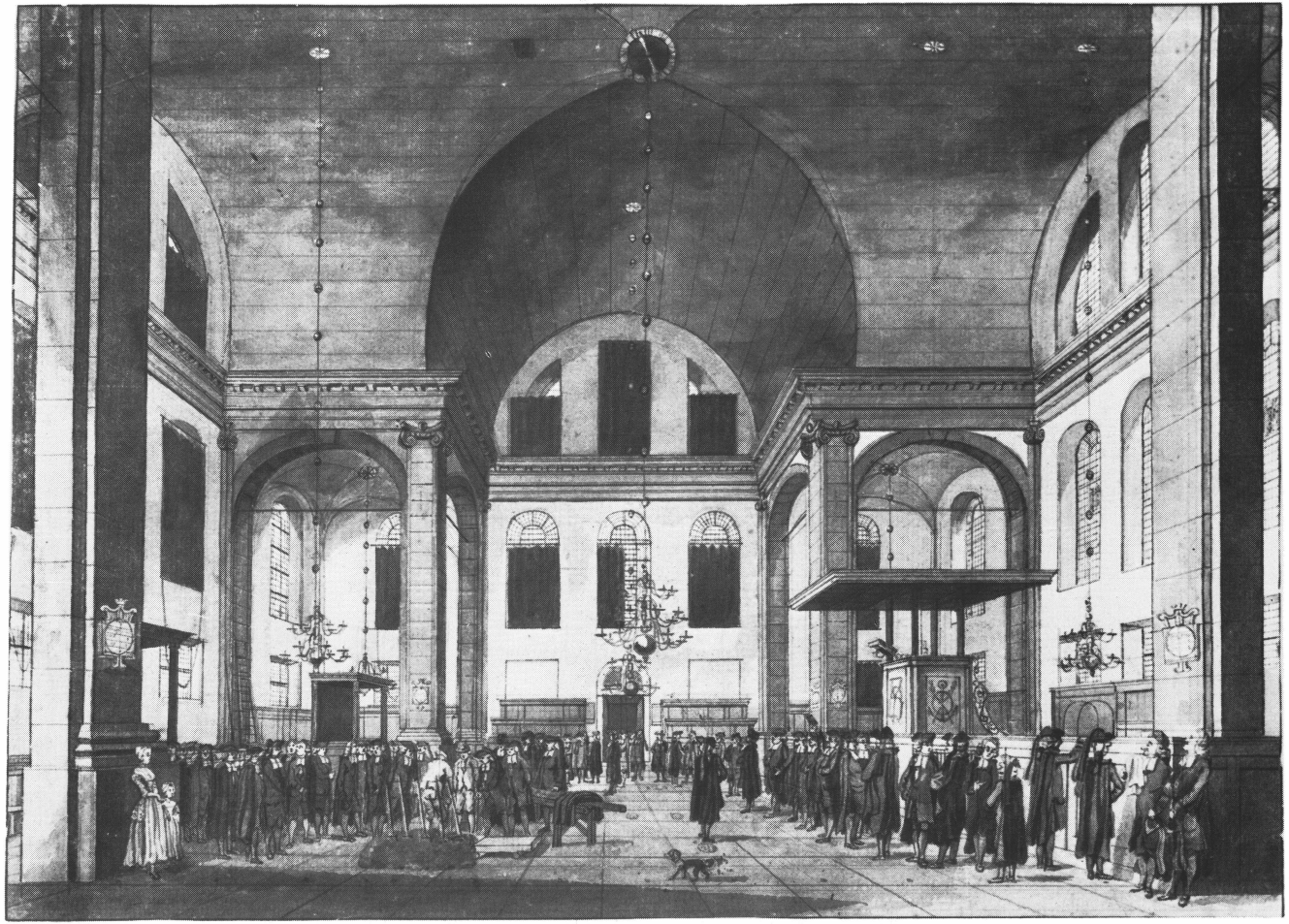
40. Jacob van Campen: East Front of Nieuwe Kerk.



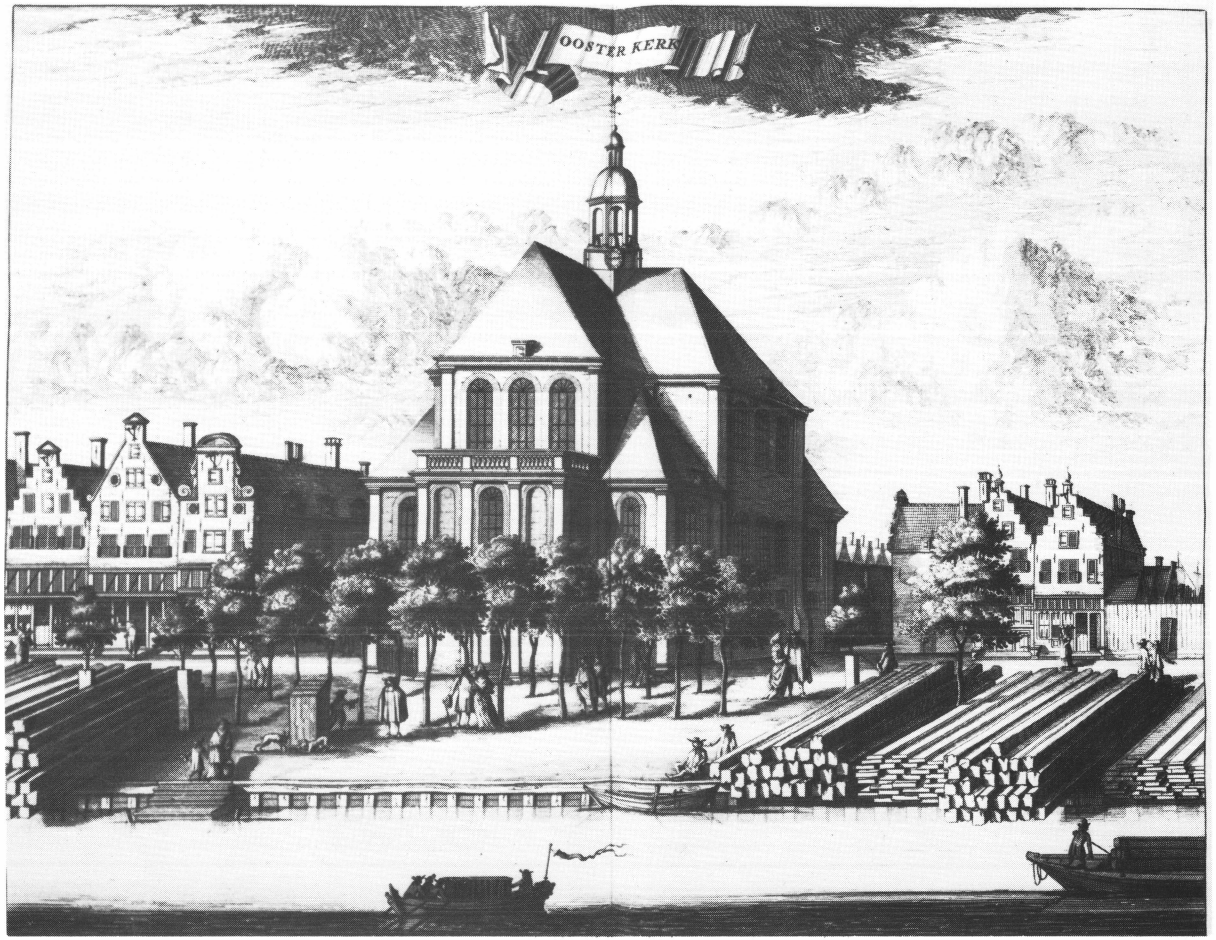
41. Daniel Stalpaert (attribution): Oudshoorn Church, 1665. 19th century drawing.



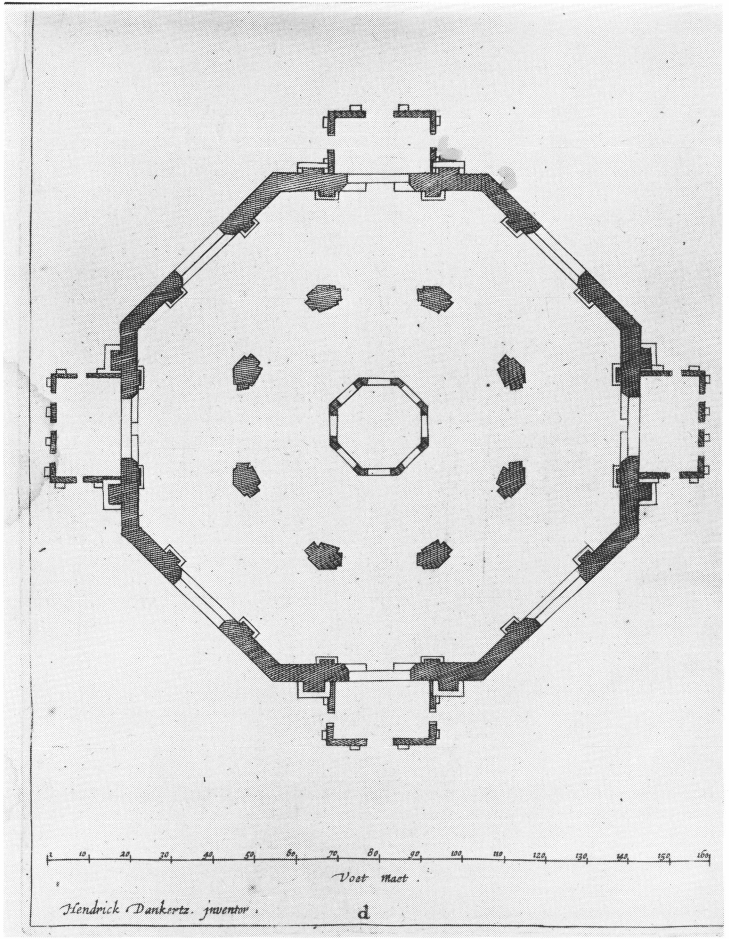
42. Daniel Stalpaert (attribution): Oudshoorn Church.



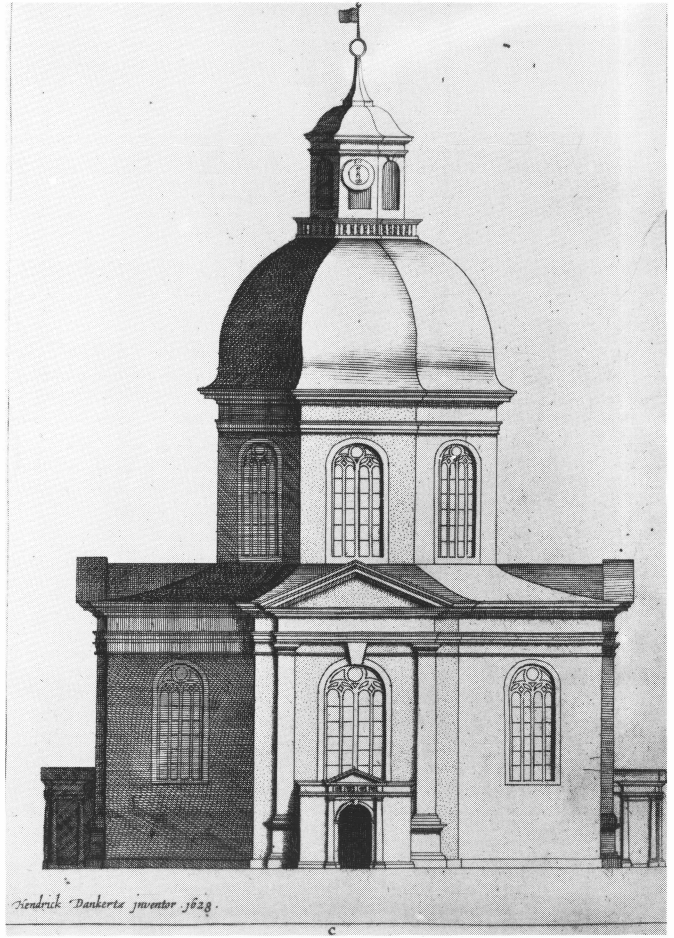
43. Adriaan Dortsman: Oosterkerk, Amsterdam, 1671. 18th century drawing.



44. Adriaan Dortsman: Oosterkerk, Amsterdam. Engraving c. 1693.



45. Hendrick Danckerts: church design. Plan.



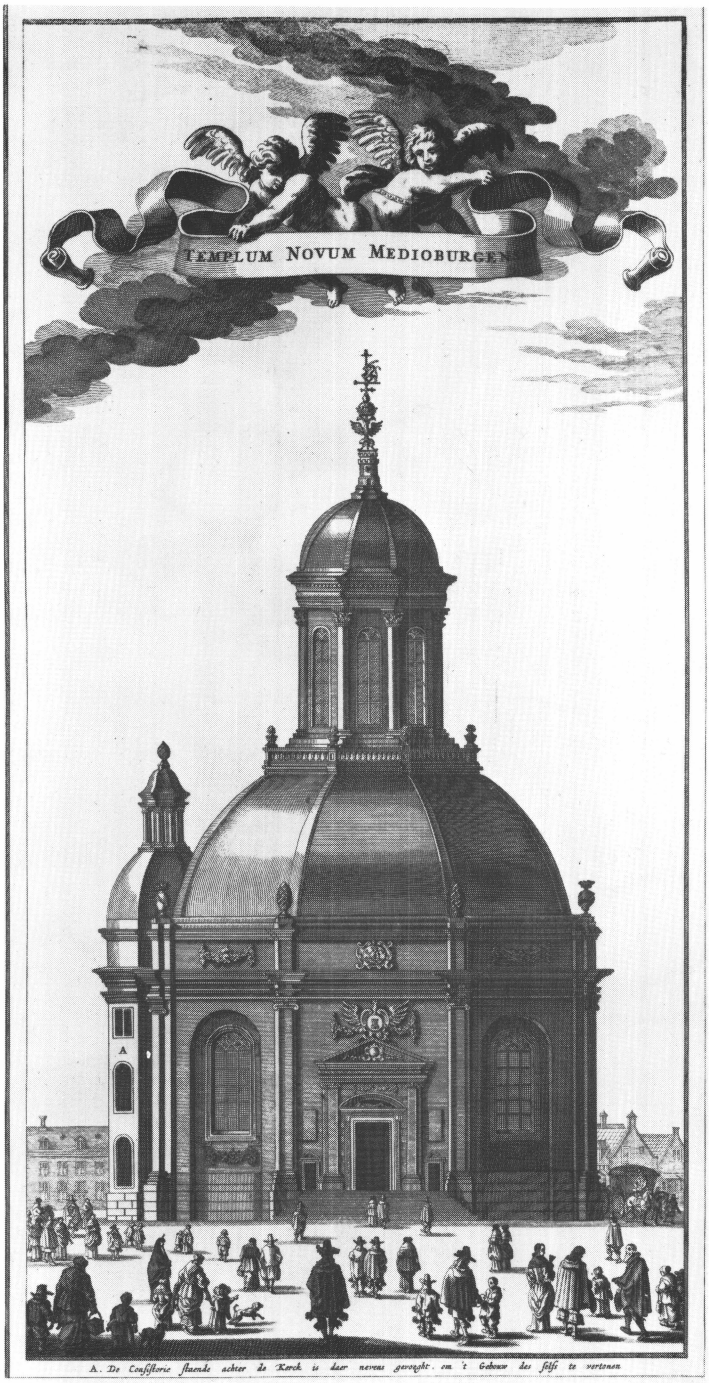
46. Hendrick Danckerts: church design. Façade.



47. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Marekerk, Leyden, 1649.



48. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Marekerk.



49. Oostkerk, Middelburg. Design for completion, c. 1657, presumably by 's-Gravesande.



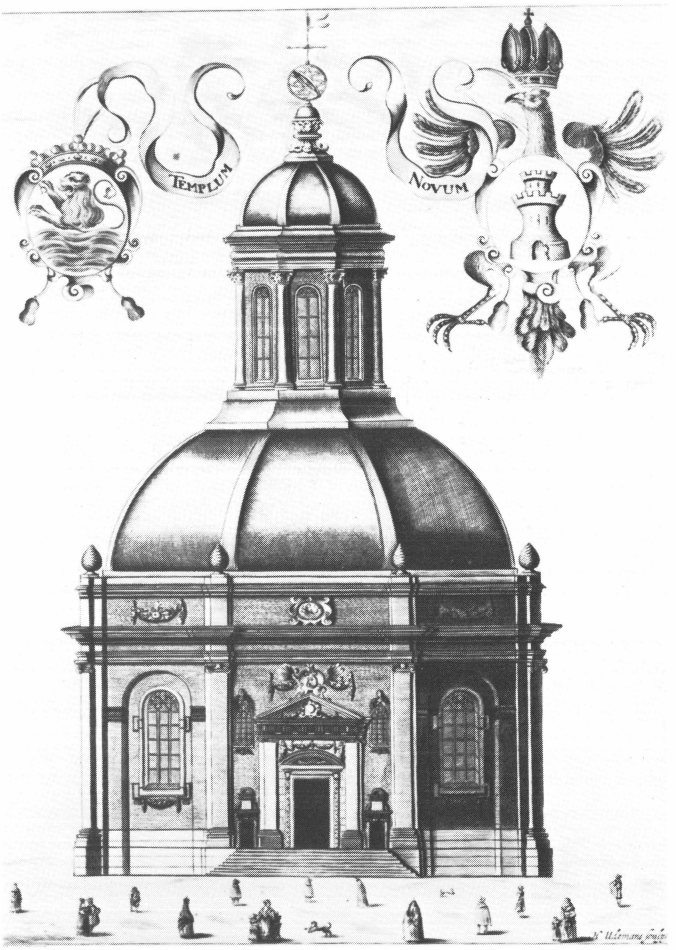
50. Oostkerk, 1647–67. Frontispiece. (Obelisk of later date).



51. Oostkerk. Baroque window with intricate detailing.



52. *Oostkerk, from the North, with staircase-turret.*



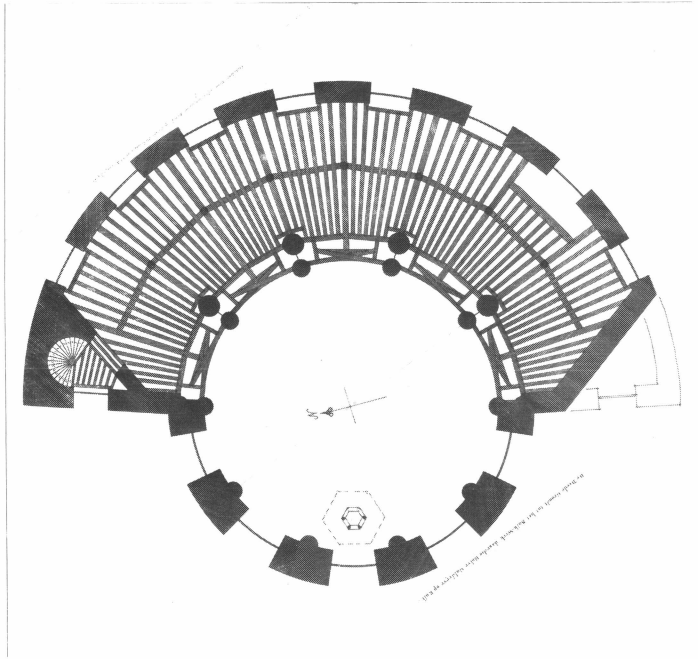
53. *Oostkerk. Presumable first design for front and cupola.*



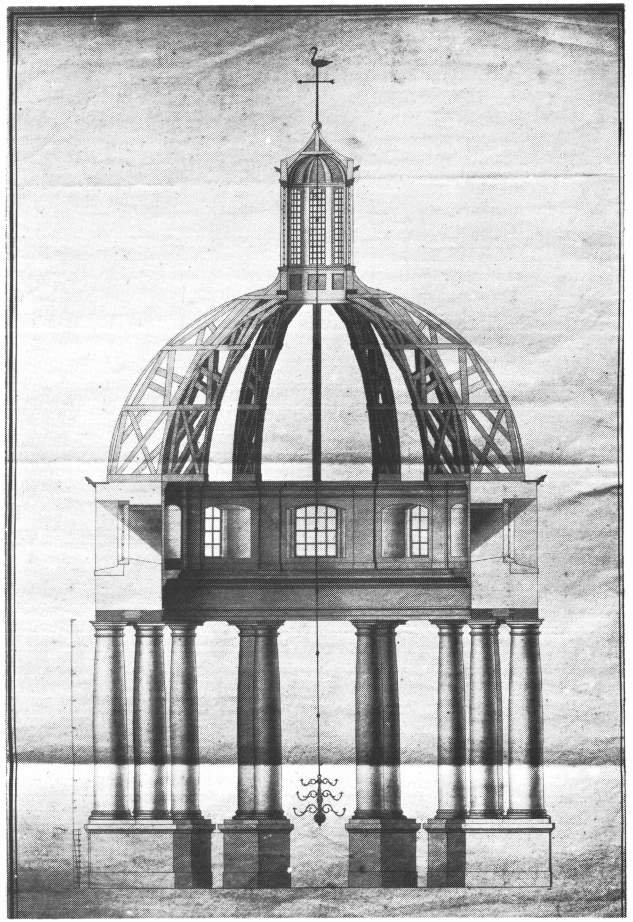
54. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Leidschendam Church, 1653.



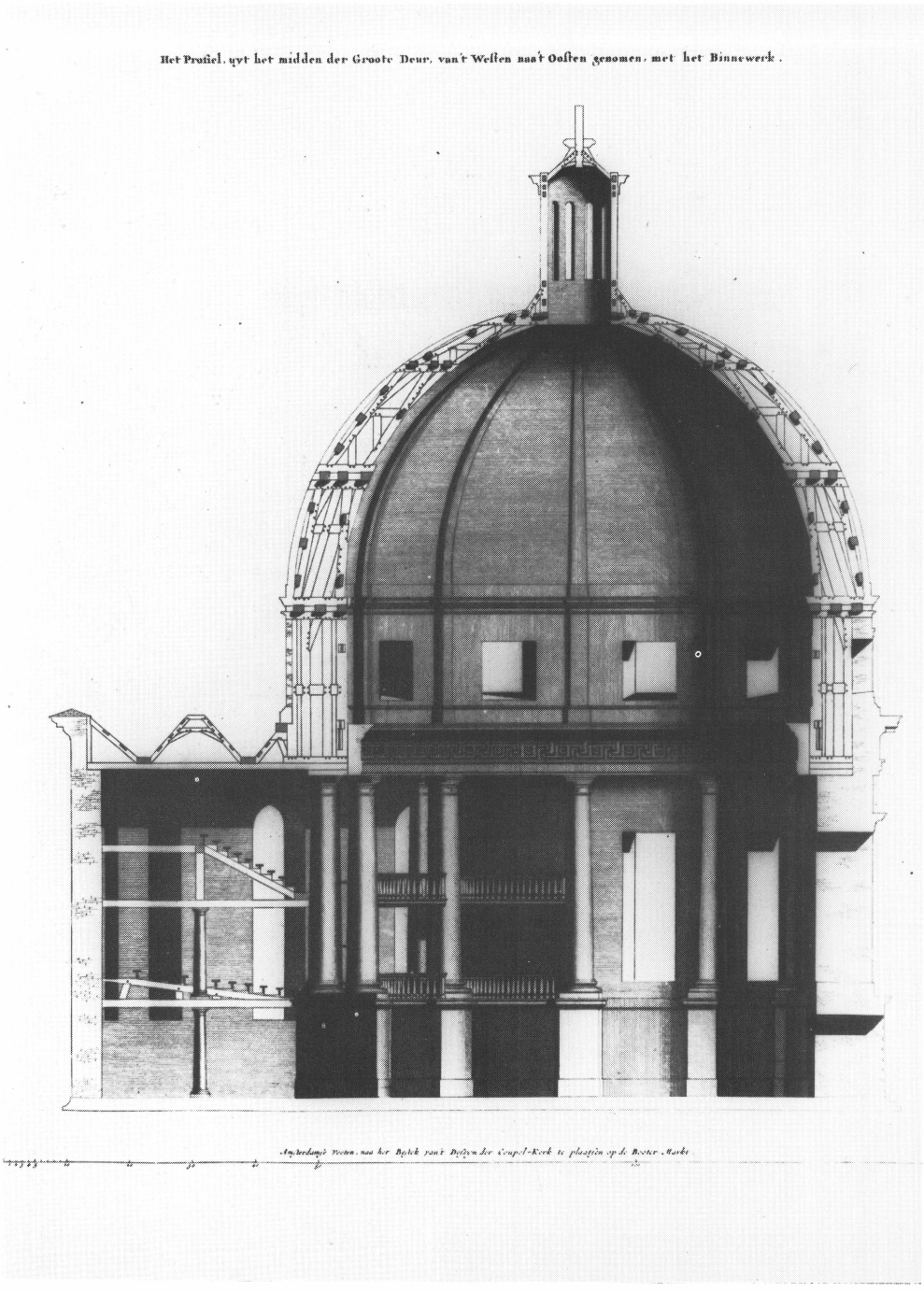
55. Leidschendam Church. Interior.



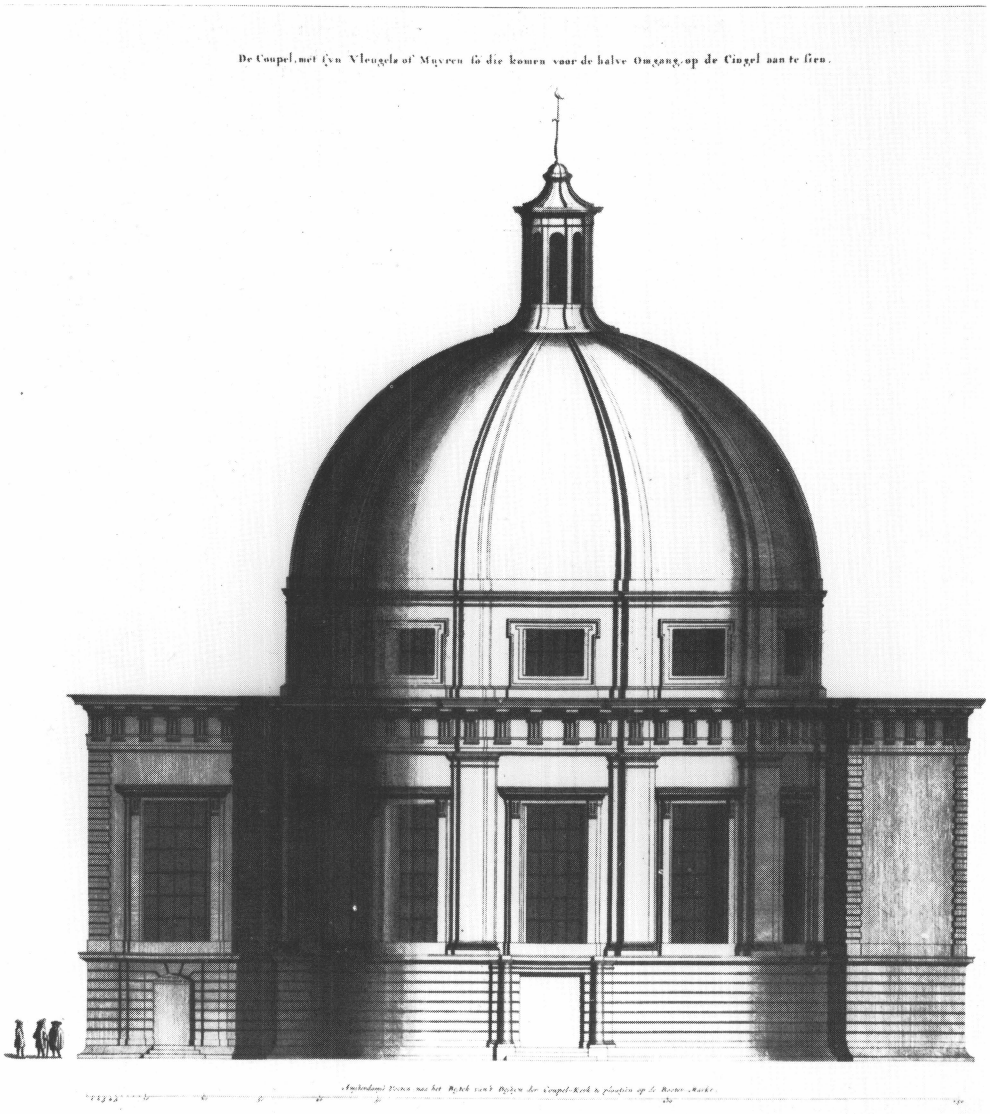
56. Adriaan Dortsman: Round Lutheran Church, Amsterdam, 1671. Plan.



57. Adriaan Dortsman: Round Lutheran Church. Preliminary drawing.



58. Adriaan Dortsman: Round Lutheran Church. Section.



59. Adriaan Dortsman: Round Lutheran Church. Front.



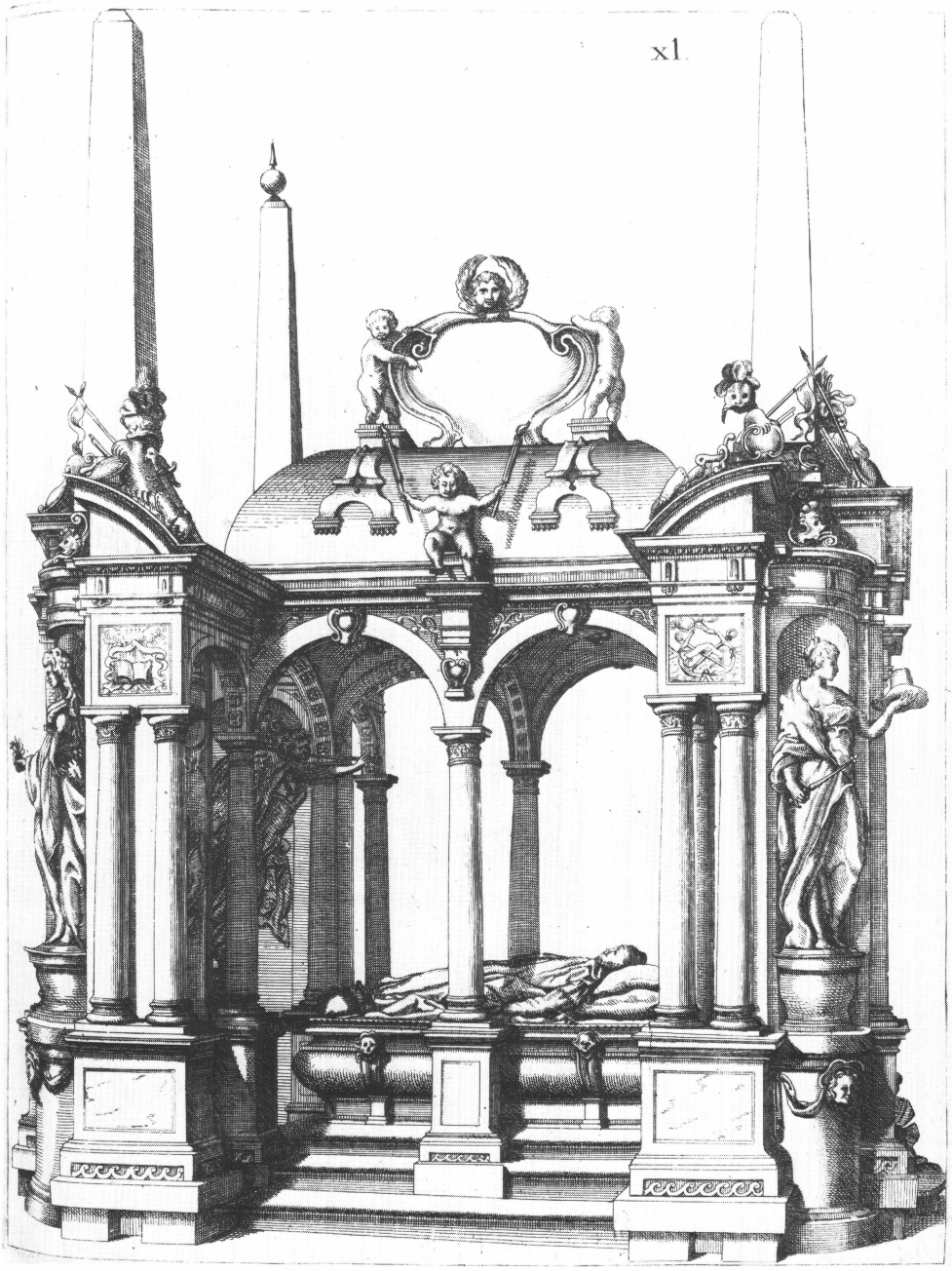
60. Noorwits and Van Bassen: Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague, 1656. Ceiling.
366



61. St. Jacob, the Hague. Painting by G. Houckgeest, 1651.



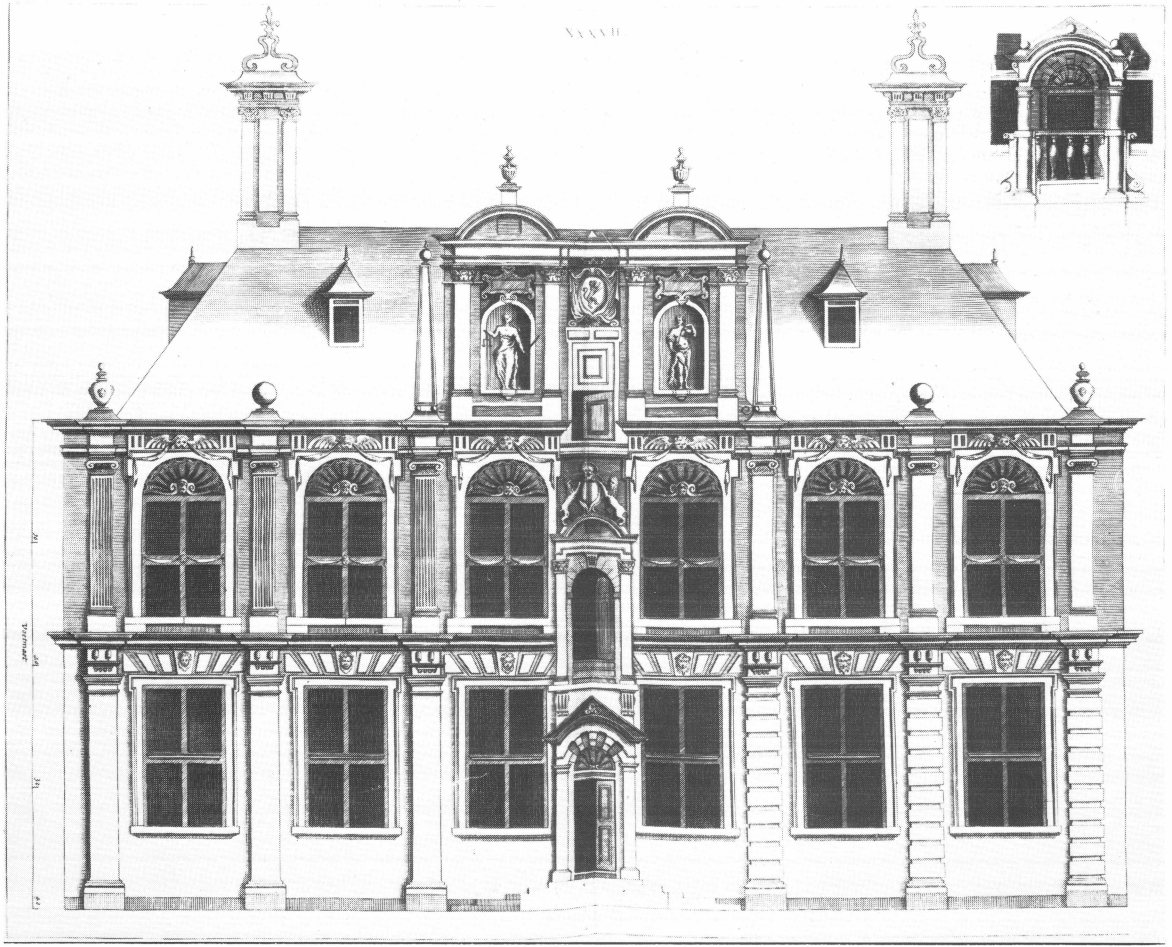
62. Noorwits and Van Bassen: Nieuwe Kerk.
368



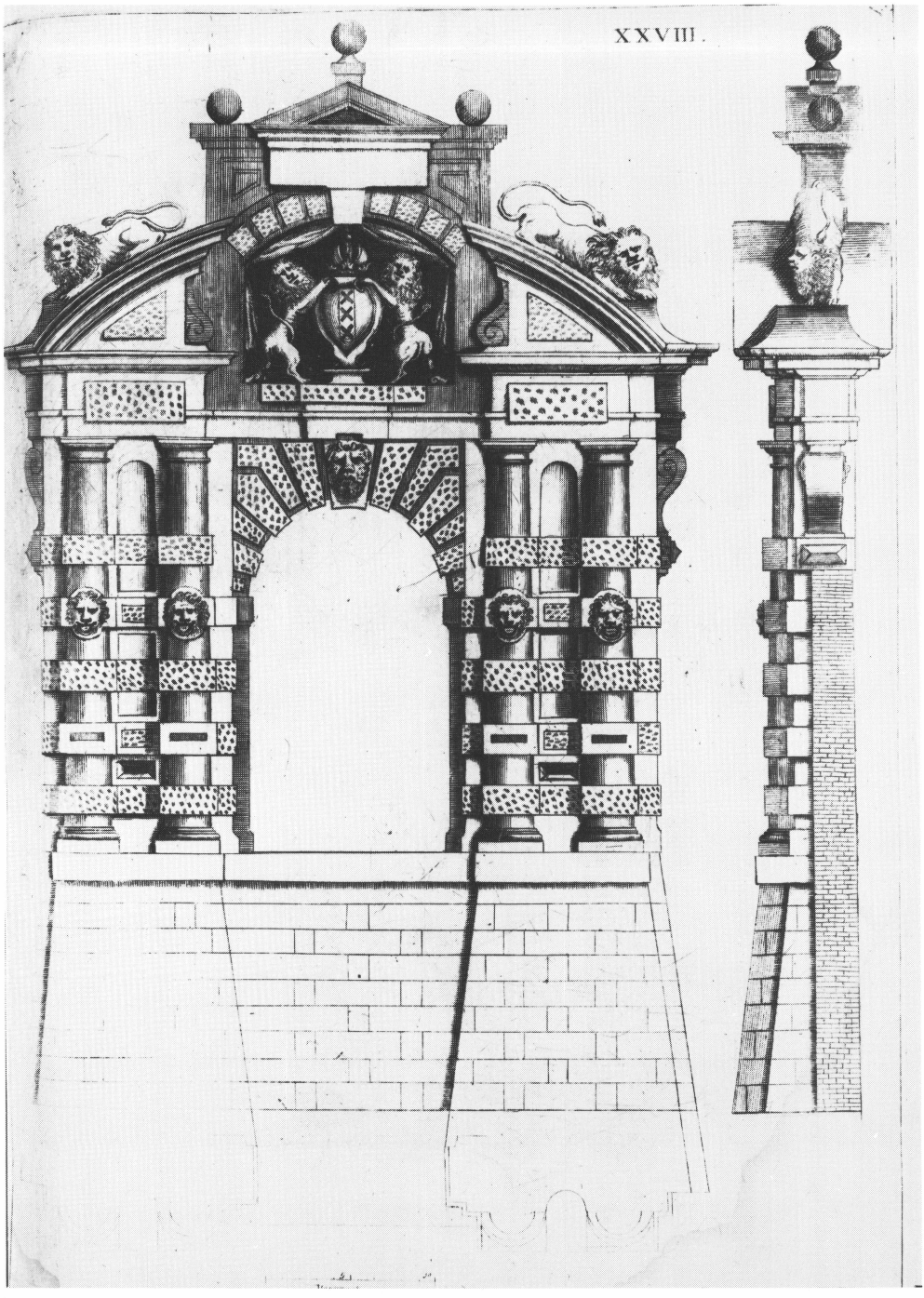
63. Hendrick de Keyser: Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, tomb of William the Silent, 1614–21.



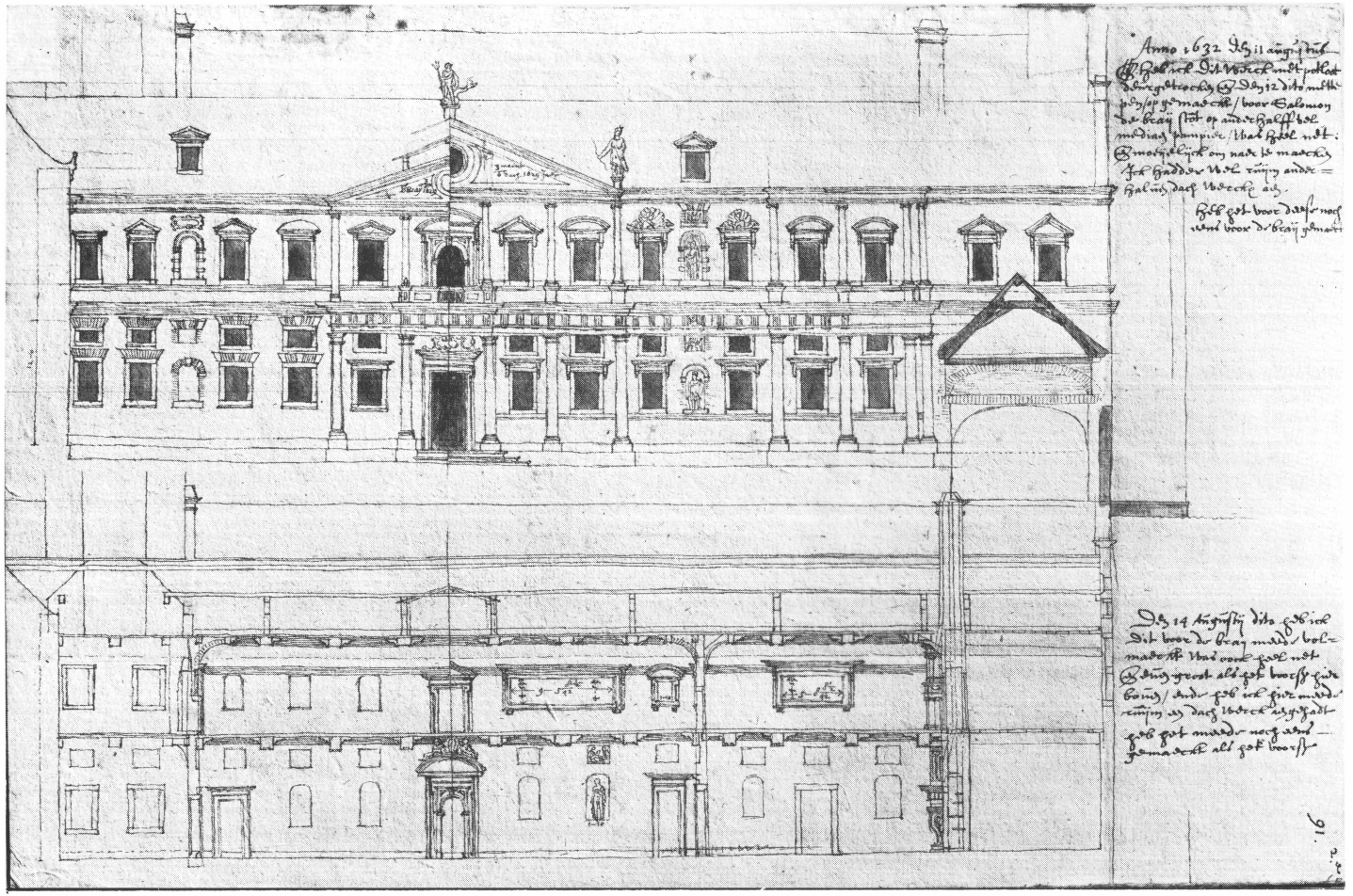
64. Hendrick de Keyser: Town Hall, Delft, 1620.



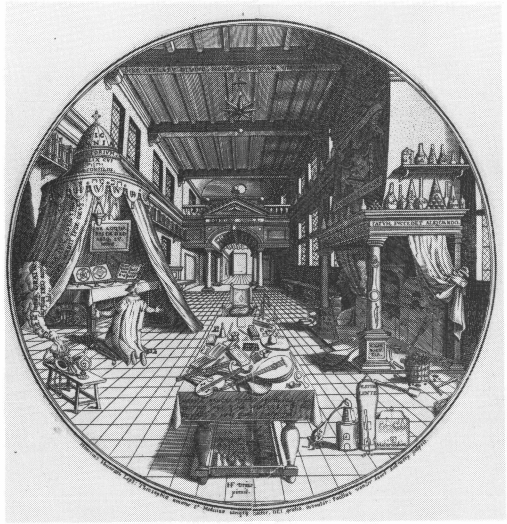
65. Hendrick de Keyser: Town Hall. Design in Architectura Moderna.



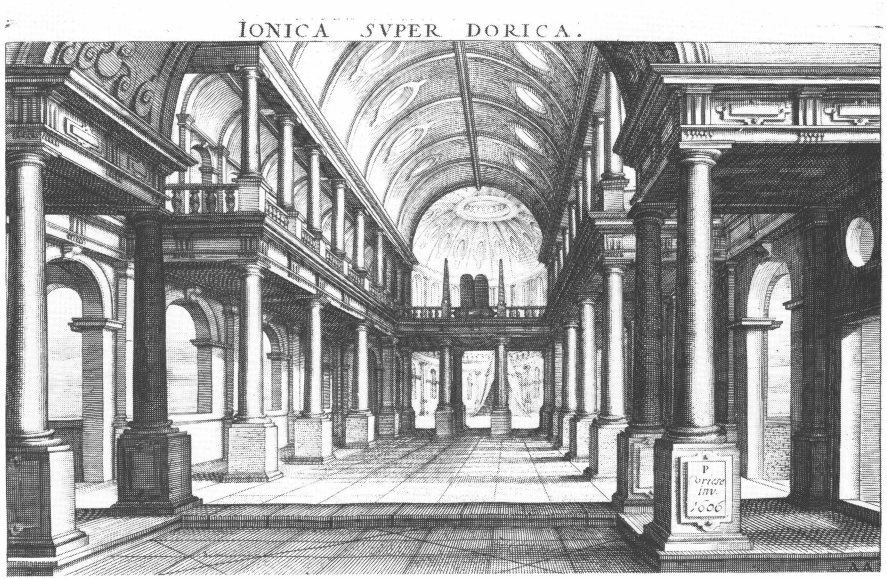
66. Hendrick de Keyser: Haarlemmerpoort, Amsterdam. Begun 1615.



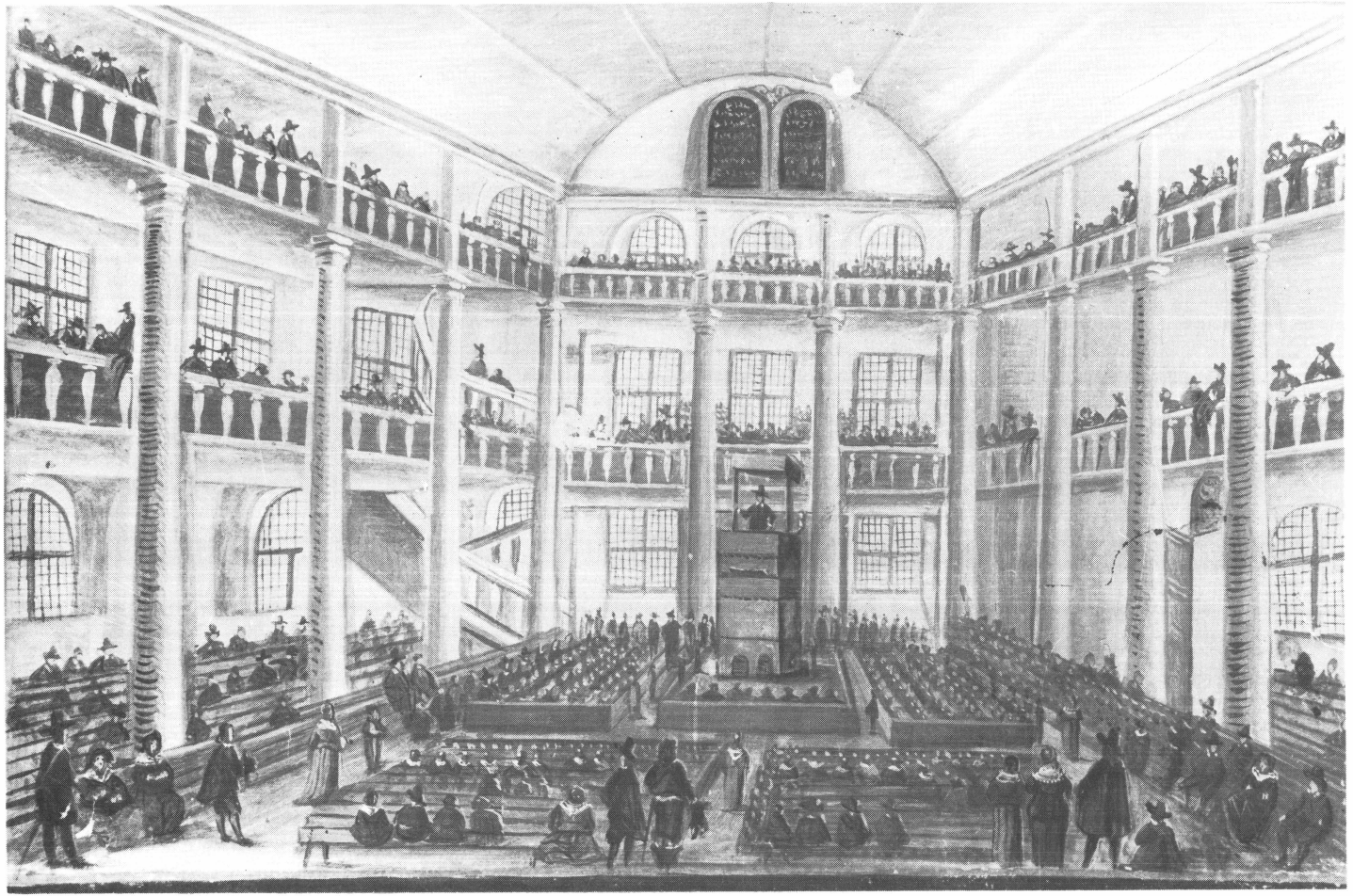
67. Salomon de Bray: Warmond Castle Gallery, designs, 1629.



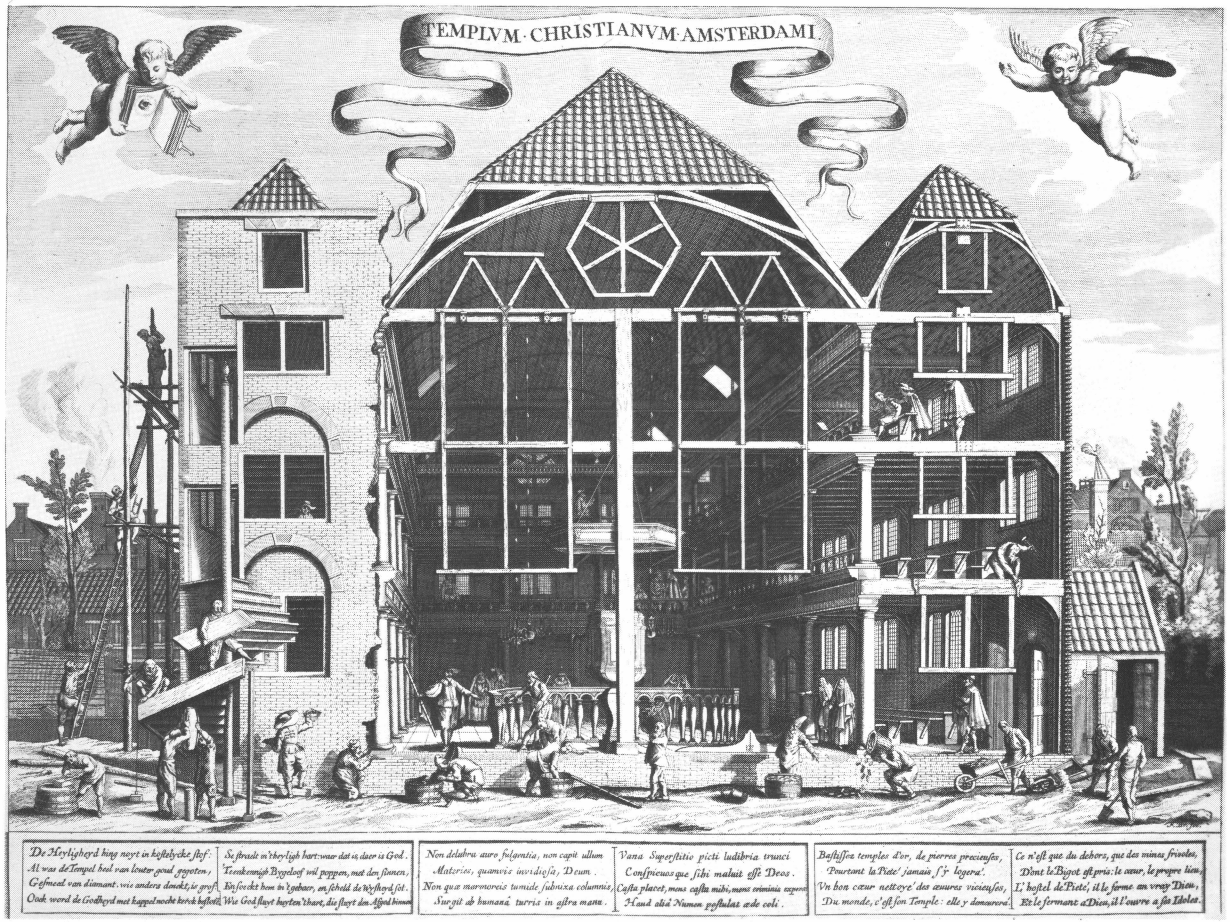
68. Henricus Khunrath: the Alchemist between Oratorium and Laboratorium. Engraving, 1602.



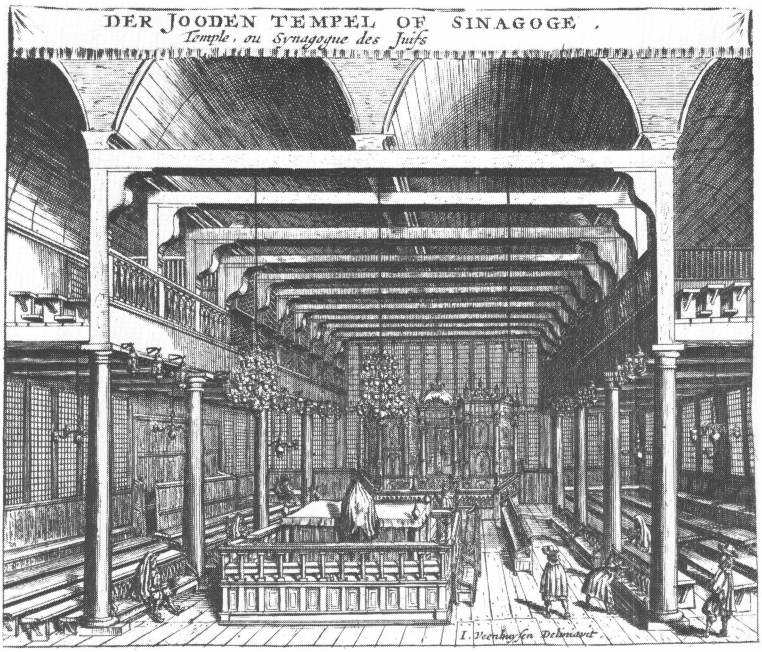
69. Paul Vredeman de Vriese: Ionica super Dorica, *1606.*



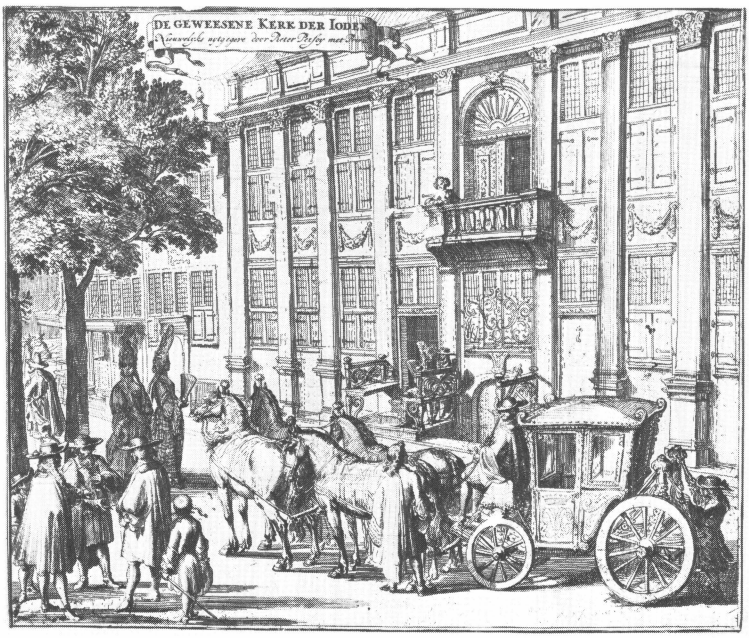
70. Salomon de Brosse: Protestant Temple at Charenton, 1623. Drawing.



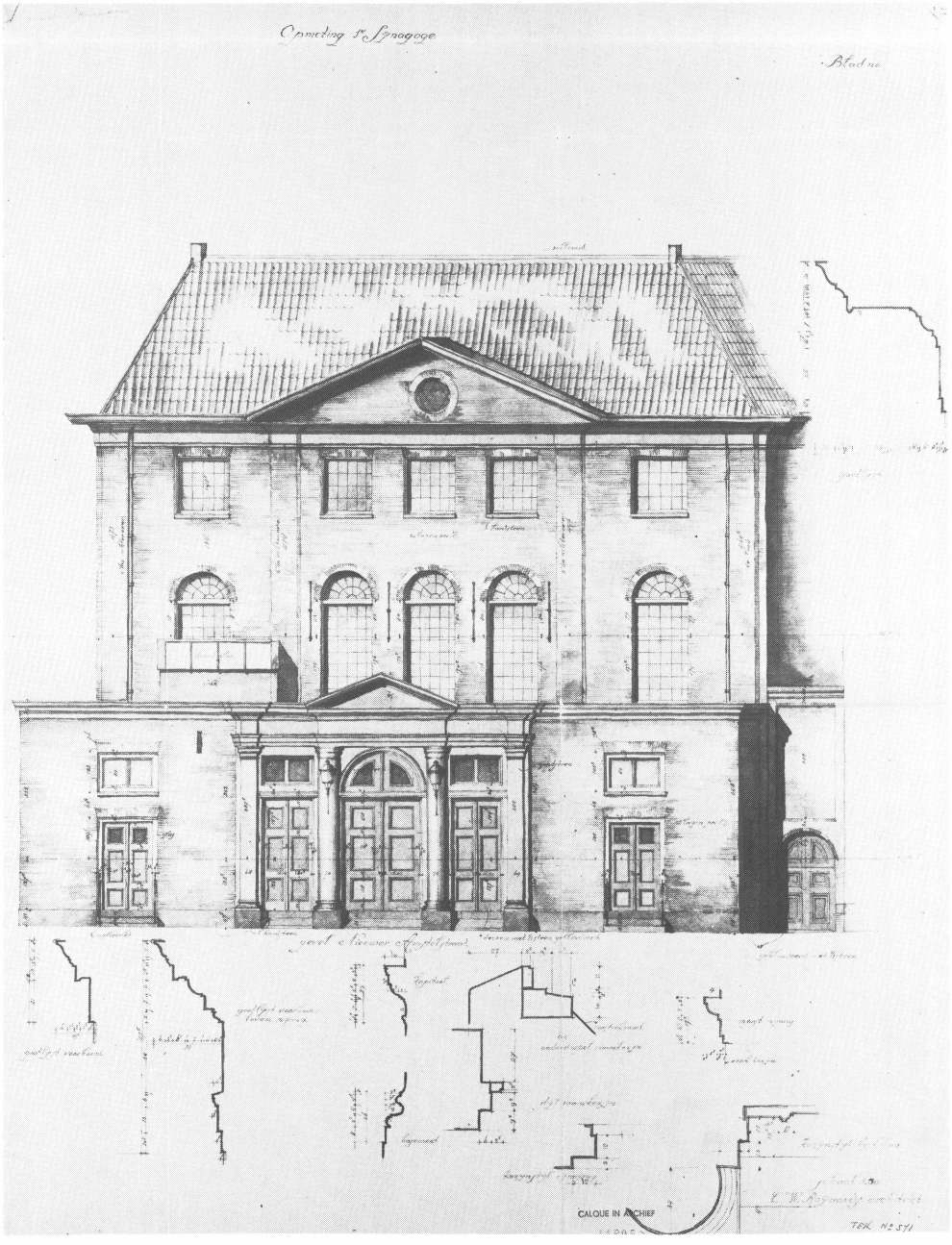
71. Remonstrant Church, Amsterdam, 1629, as example of the *Christian Temple.*



72. United Portuguese Synagogue, Amsterdam, 1639. Engraving 1664.



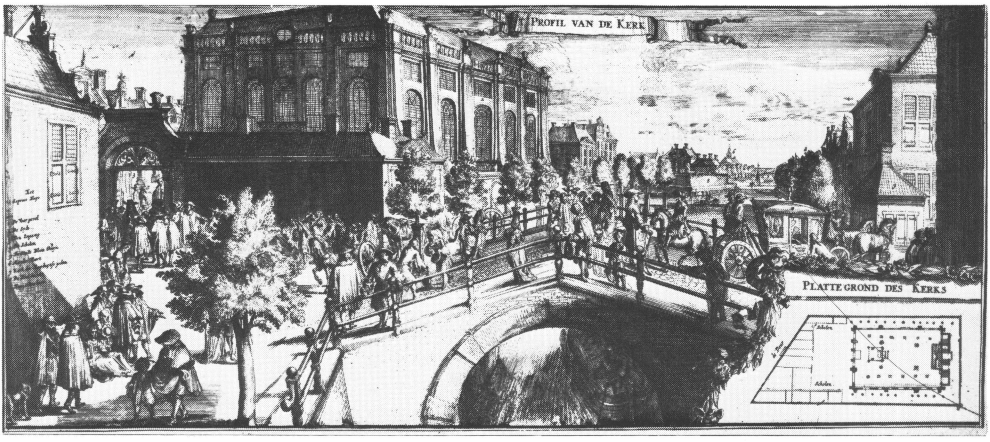
73. United Portuguese Synagogue after conversion into private house in 1675.



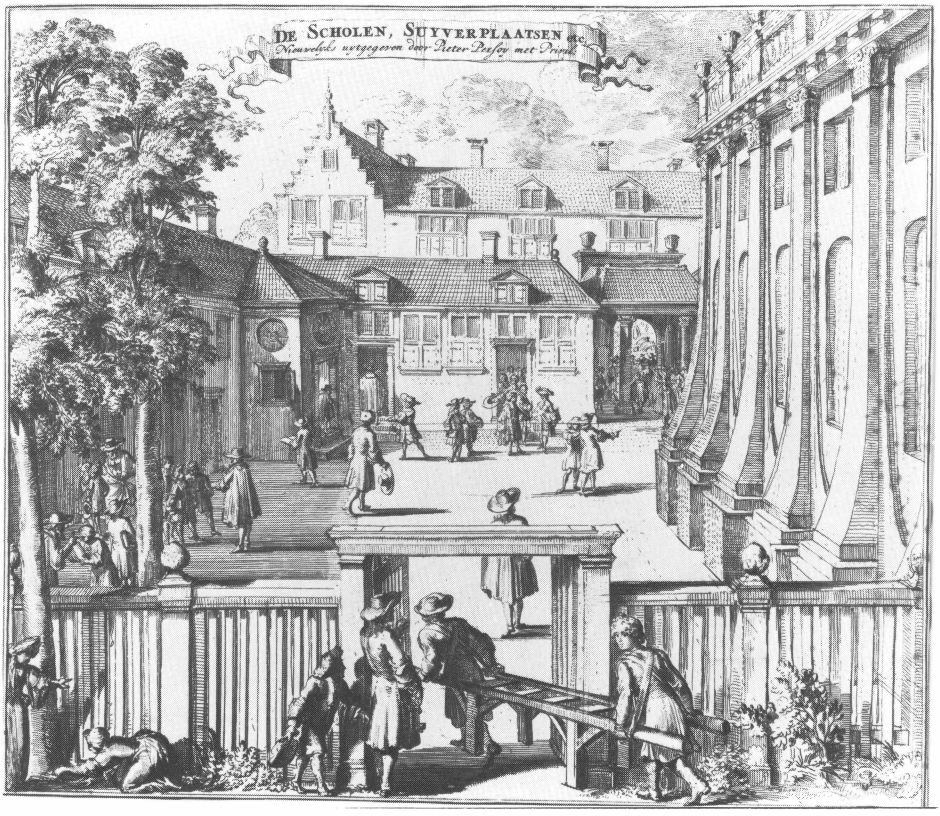
74. Elias Bouman (?): German or Great Synagogue, Amsterdam, 1671.



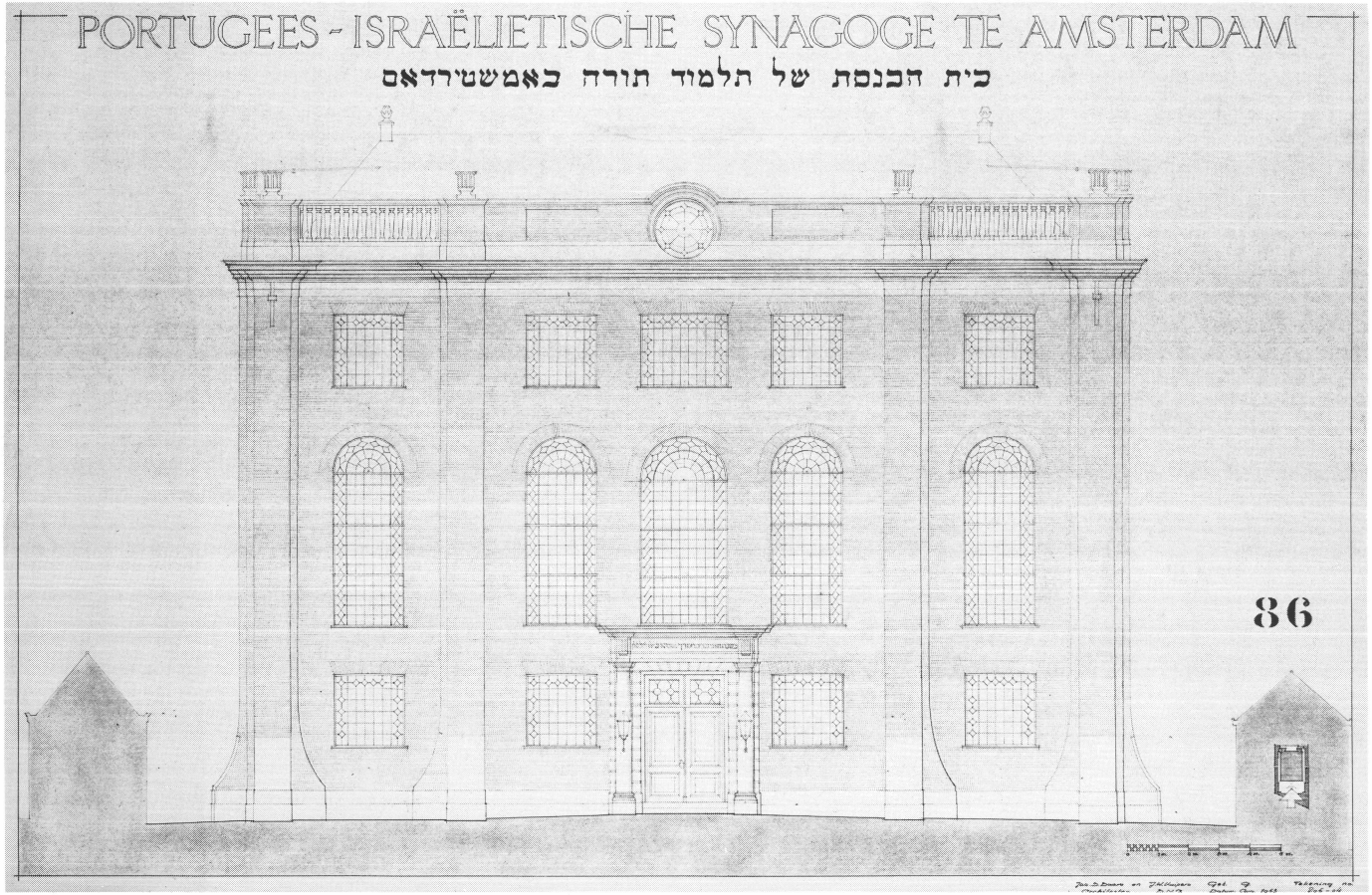
76. Elias Bouman: Portuguese Synagogue, 1675.



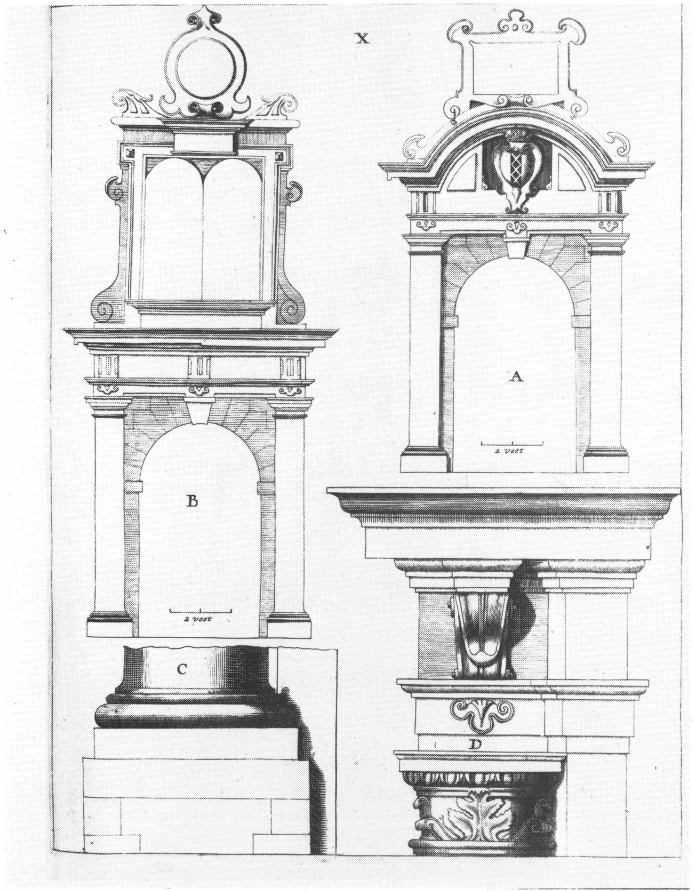
75. Elias Bouman: Portuguese Synagogue, Amsterdam. Preliminary design on square plan, c. 1671.



77. Elias Bouman: Portuguese Synagogue. Side elevation, preliminary design, c. 1671.



78. Elias Bouman: Portuguese Synagogue. Principal Façade.



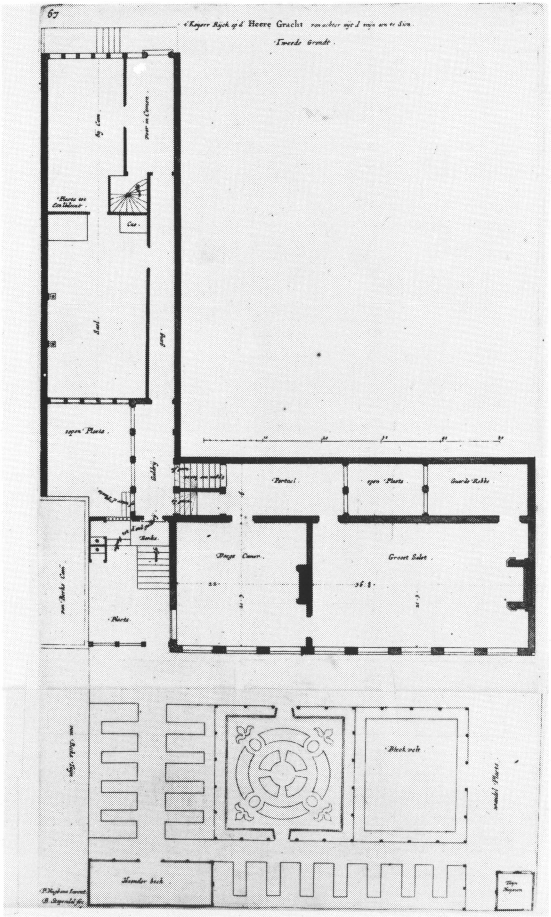
79. Hendrick de Keyser: Noorderkerk: Doric Order and Archways with Tablets of the Law as Sopraporta. About 1620.



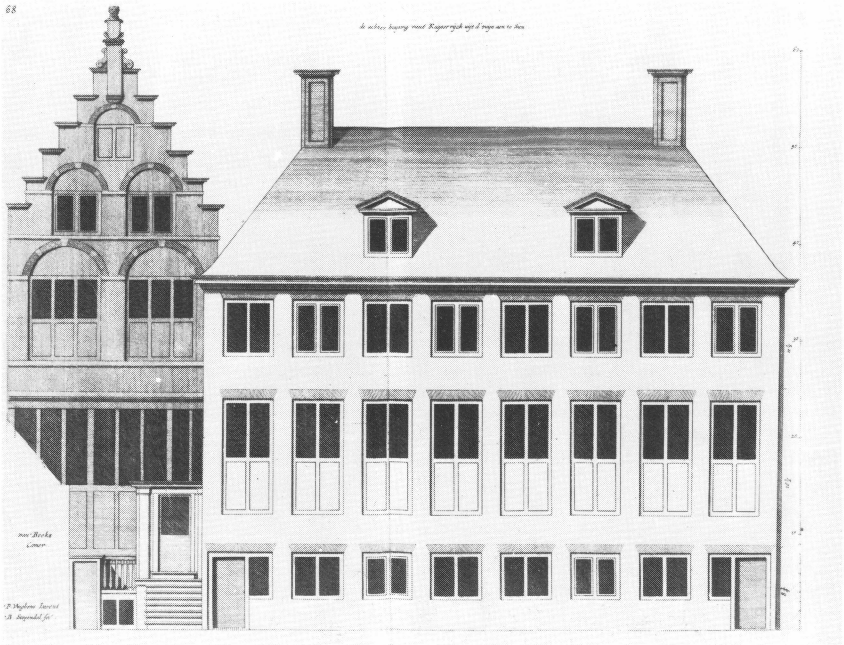
80. Portuguese Synagogue. The Ark.



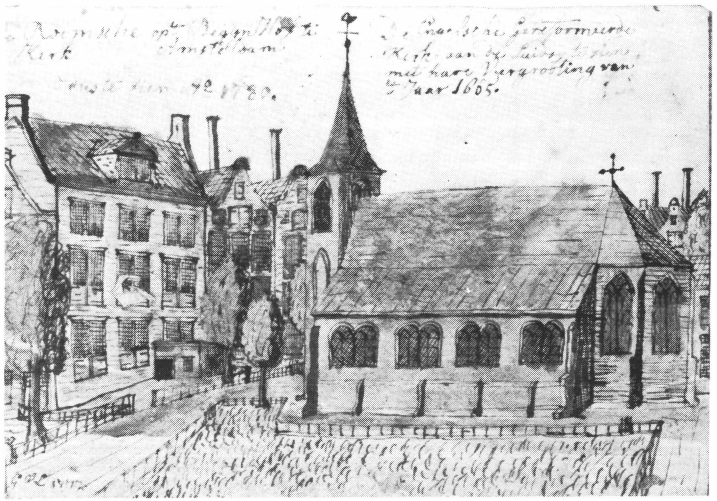
81. Roman Catholic Conventicle 'Our Lord in the Attic', Amsterdam, 1663.



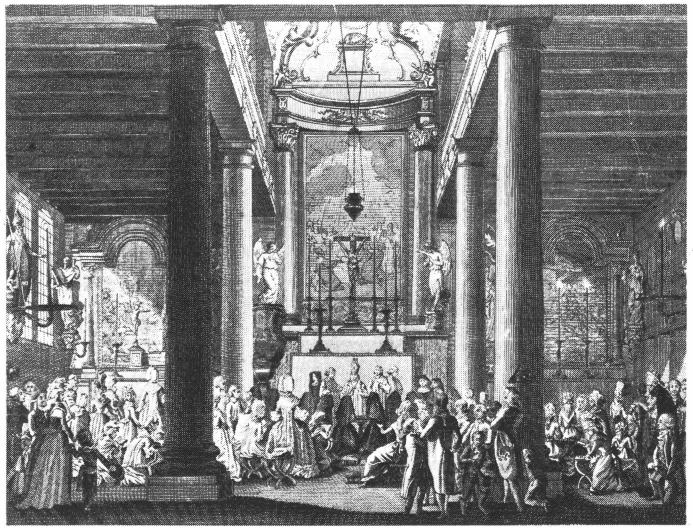
82. *Philips Vingboons: Addition to Ornia House, c. 1662, presumably a* schuilkerk.



83. *Garden elevation of c. 1615 (left) and extension for Gerbrand Ornia by Vingboons, c. 1662.*



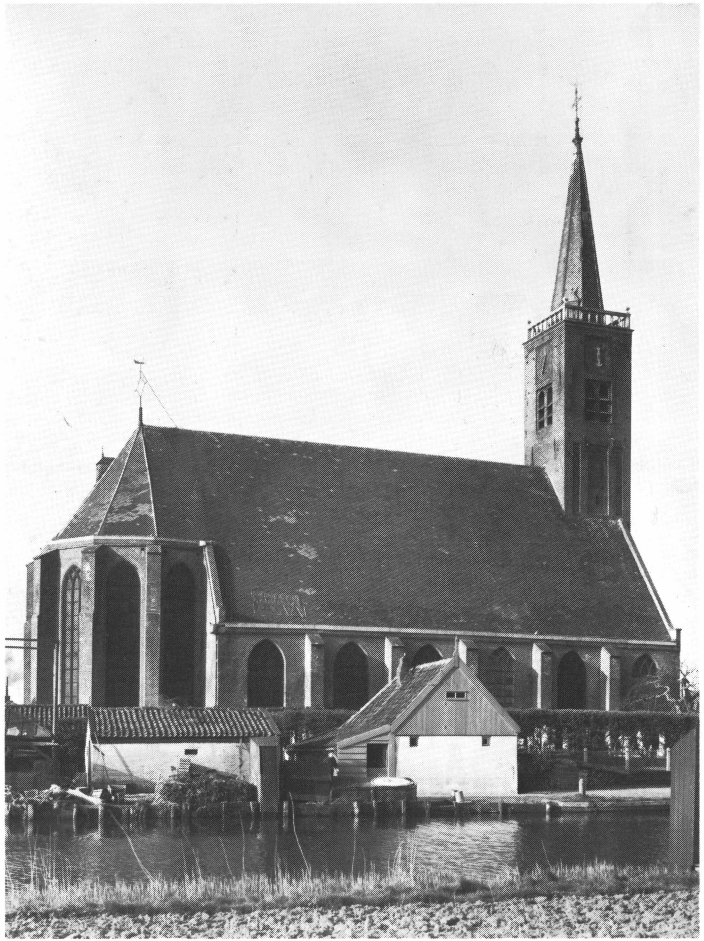
84. Philips Vingboons: R.C. Conventicle SS. Joannes and Ursula, 1671 (on the left). English Reformed Church in Gothic chapel with aisle of 1665 (on the right). Begijnhof, Amsterdam.



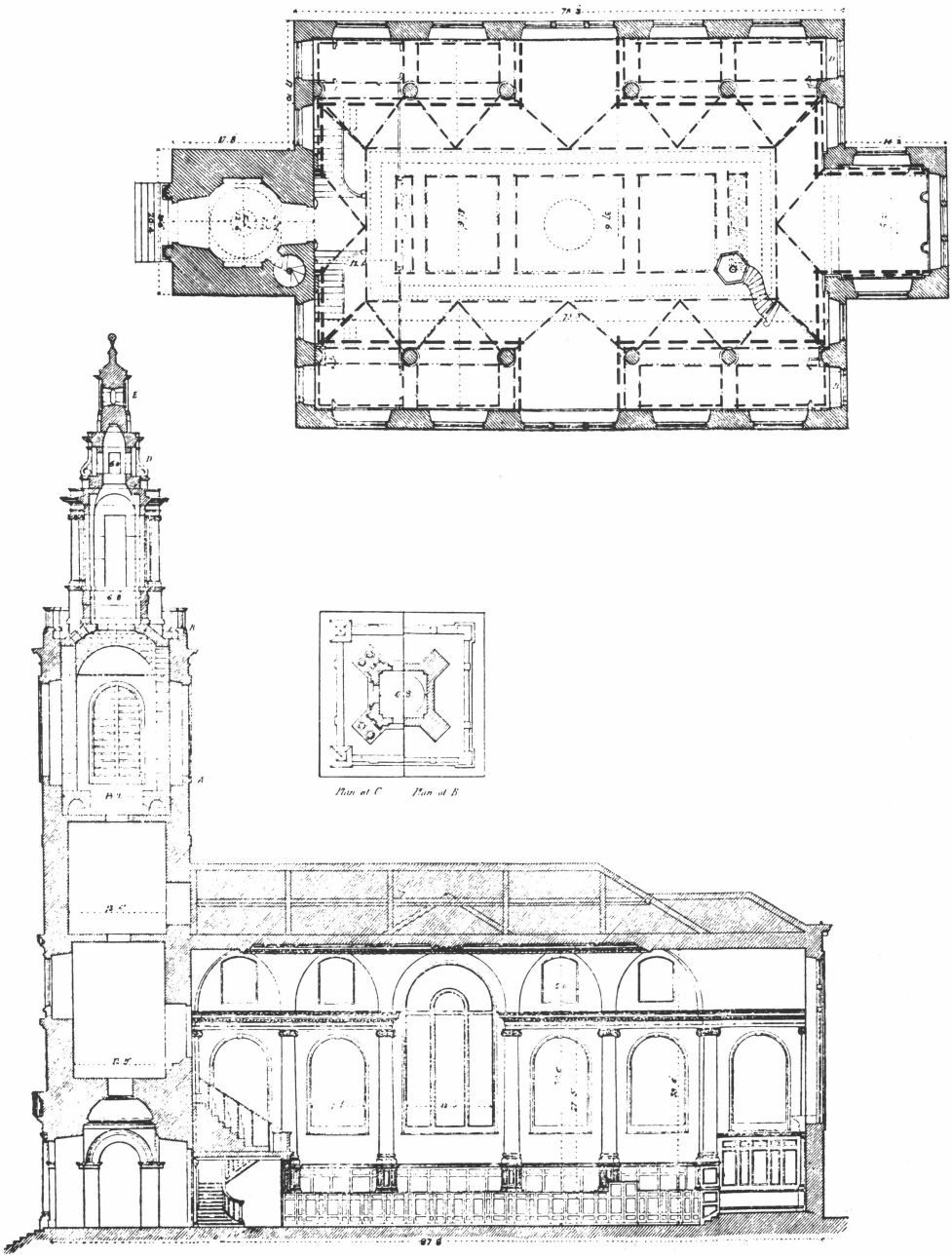
85. Philips Vingboons: SS. Joannes and Ursula. Interior.



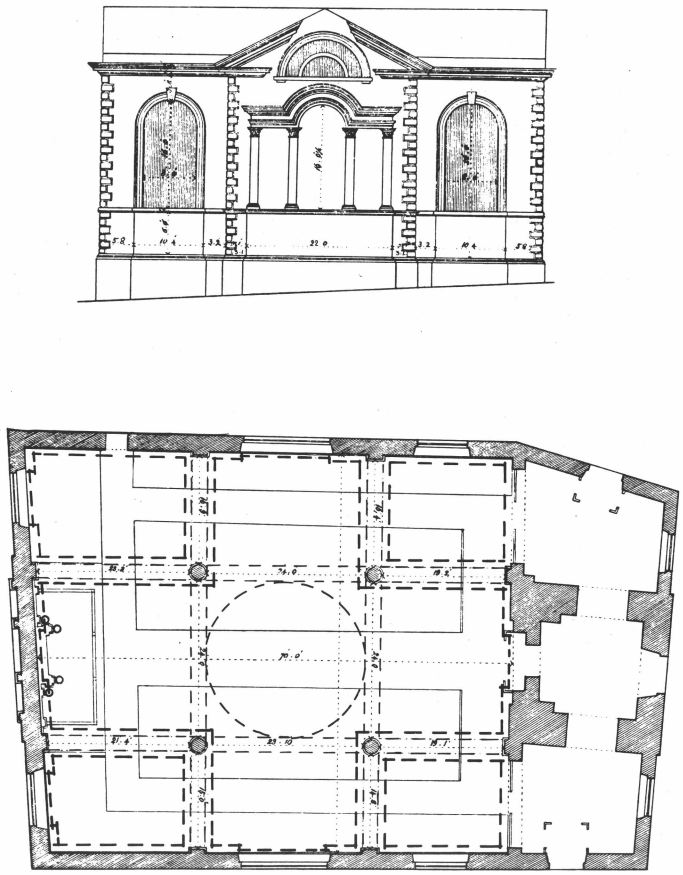
86. Schermerhorn Church, 1636.



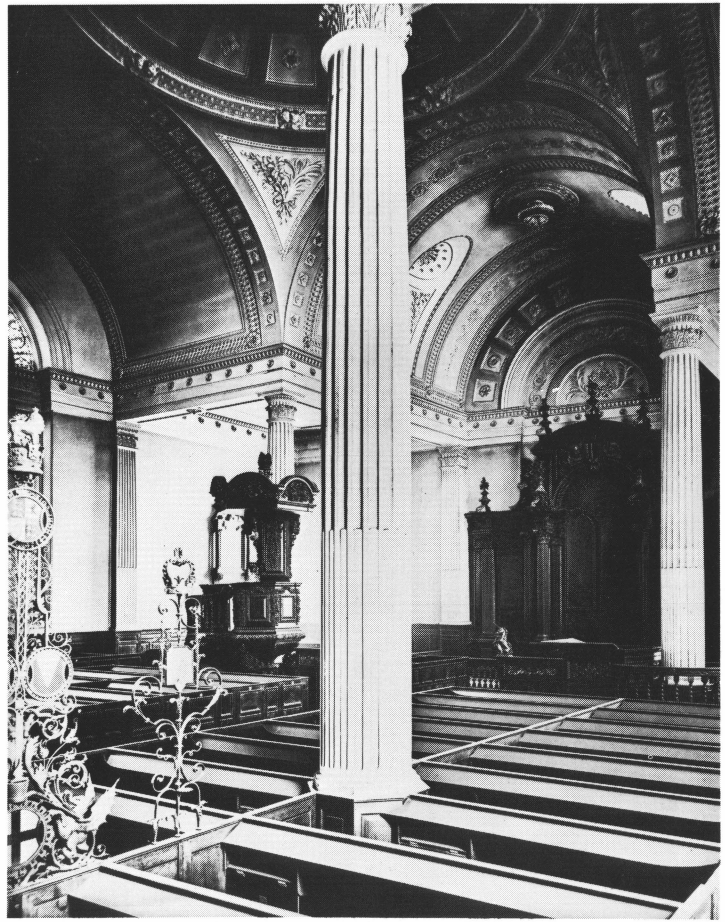
87. Schermerhorn Church.



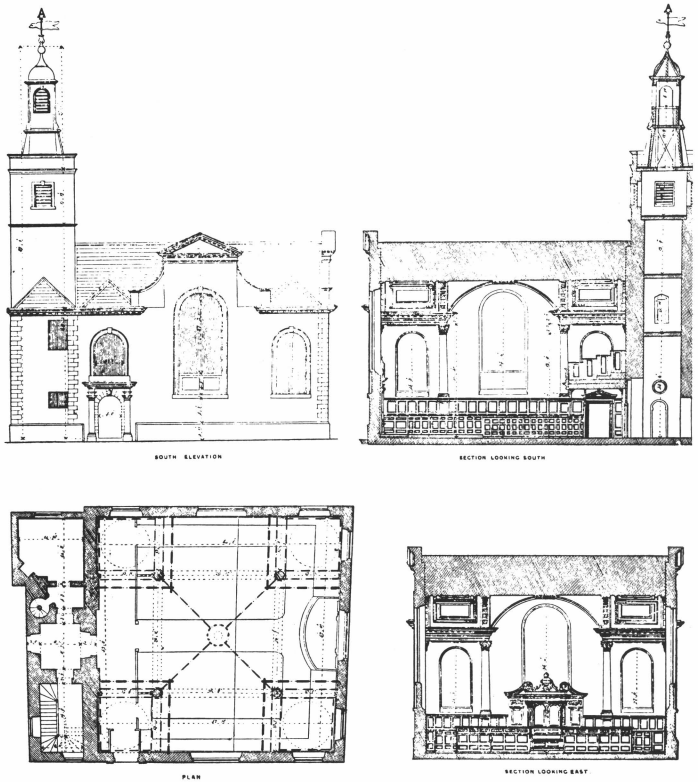
88–9. Sir Christopher Wren: St. James, Garlickhythe, London, 1676–83.



90. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Mary-at-Hill, London, 1670–76. East Façade (rebuilt 1828 or 1849 by James Savage) and Plan.



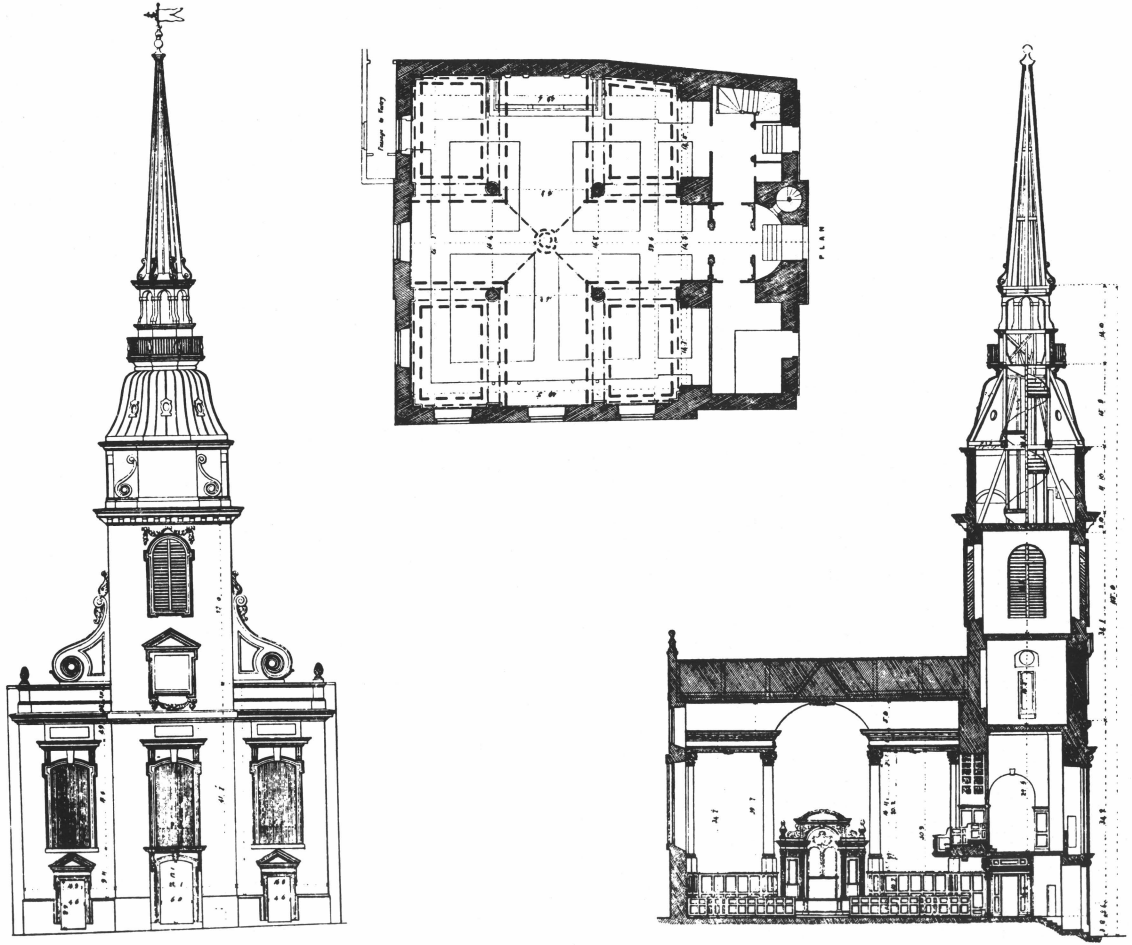
91. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Mary-at-Hill. Interior as refitted by James Savage in 1849.



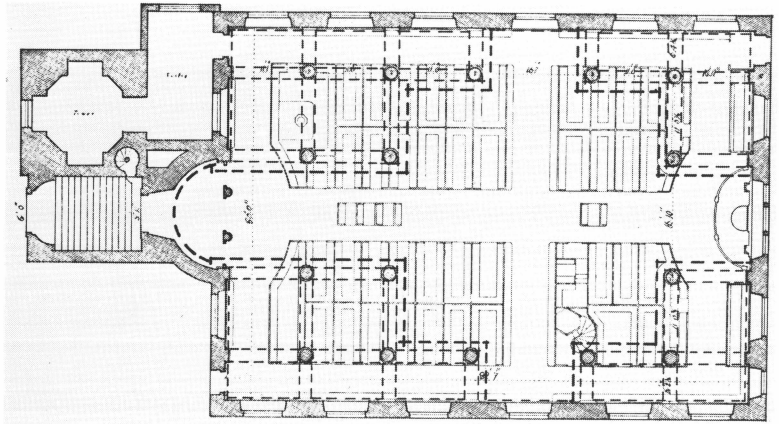
92. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Anne and St. Agnes, London, 1677–80, steeple c. 1714.



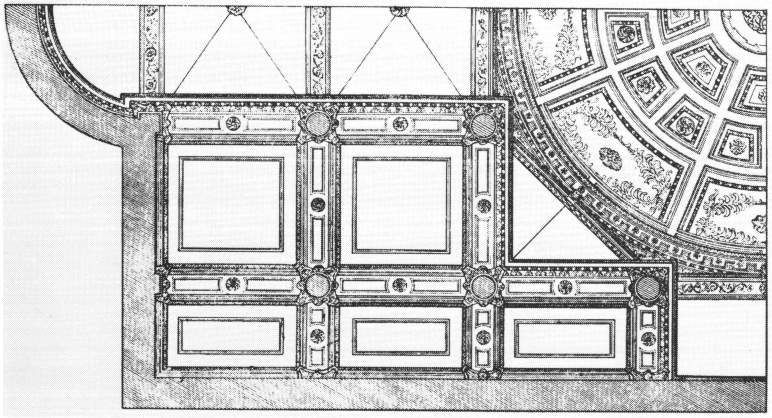
93. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Anne and St. Agnes. Interior.

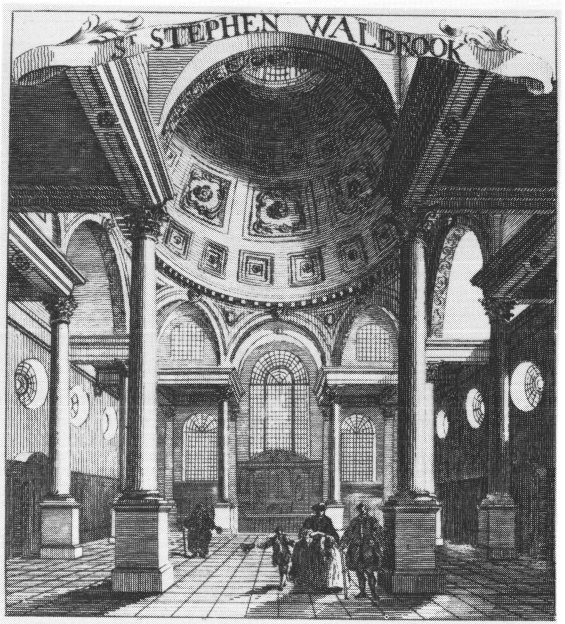


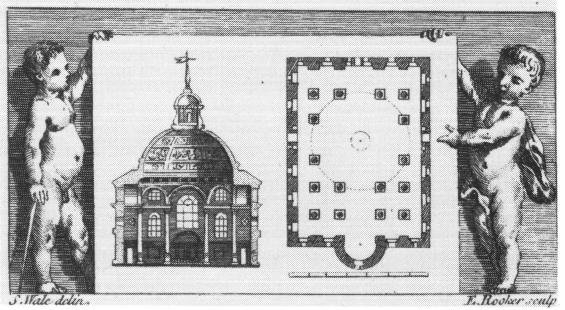
94–5. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Martin, Ludgate Hill, London, 1677–84.



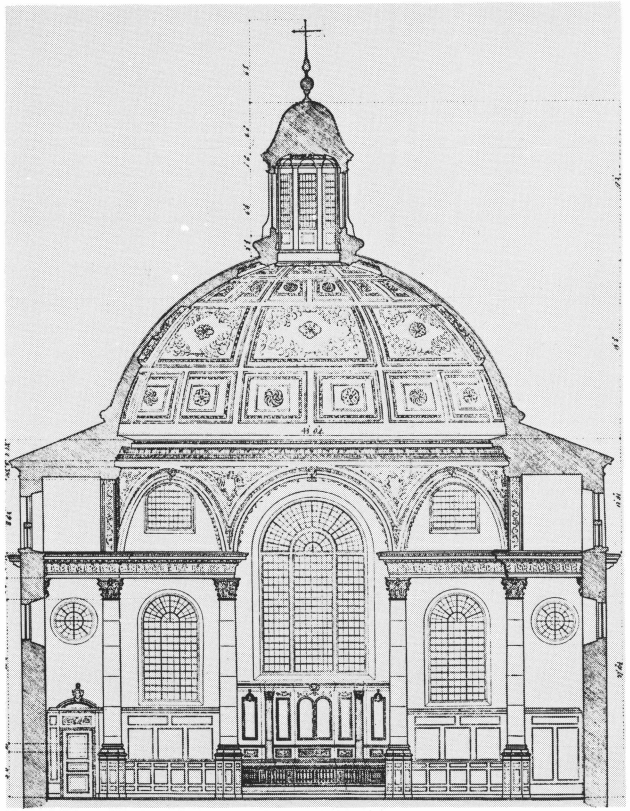
Ground Plan



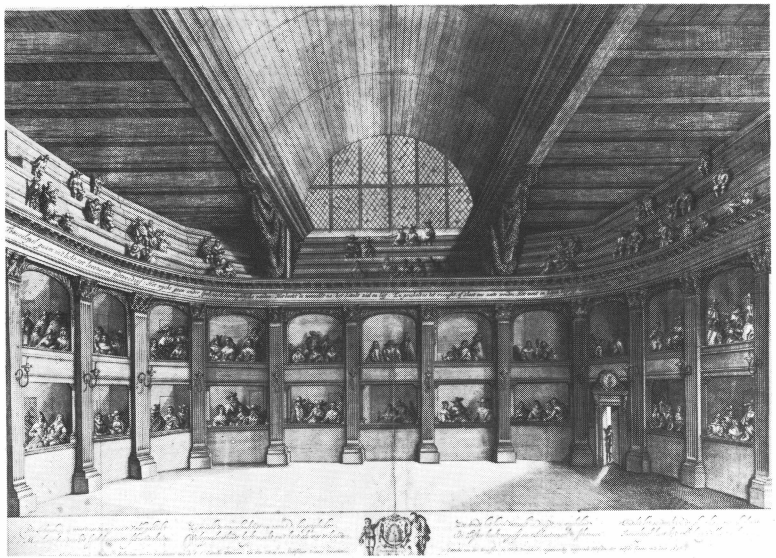




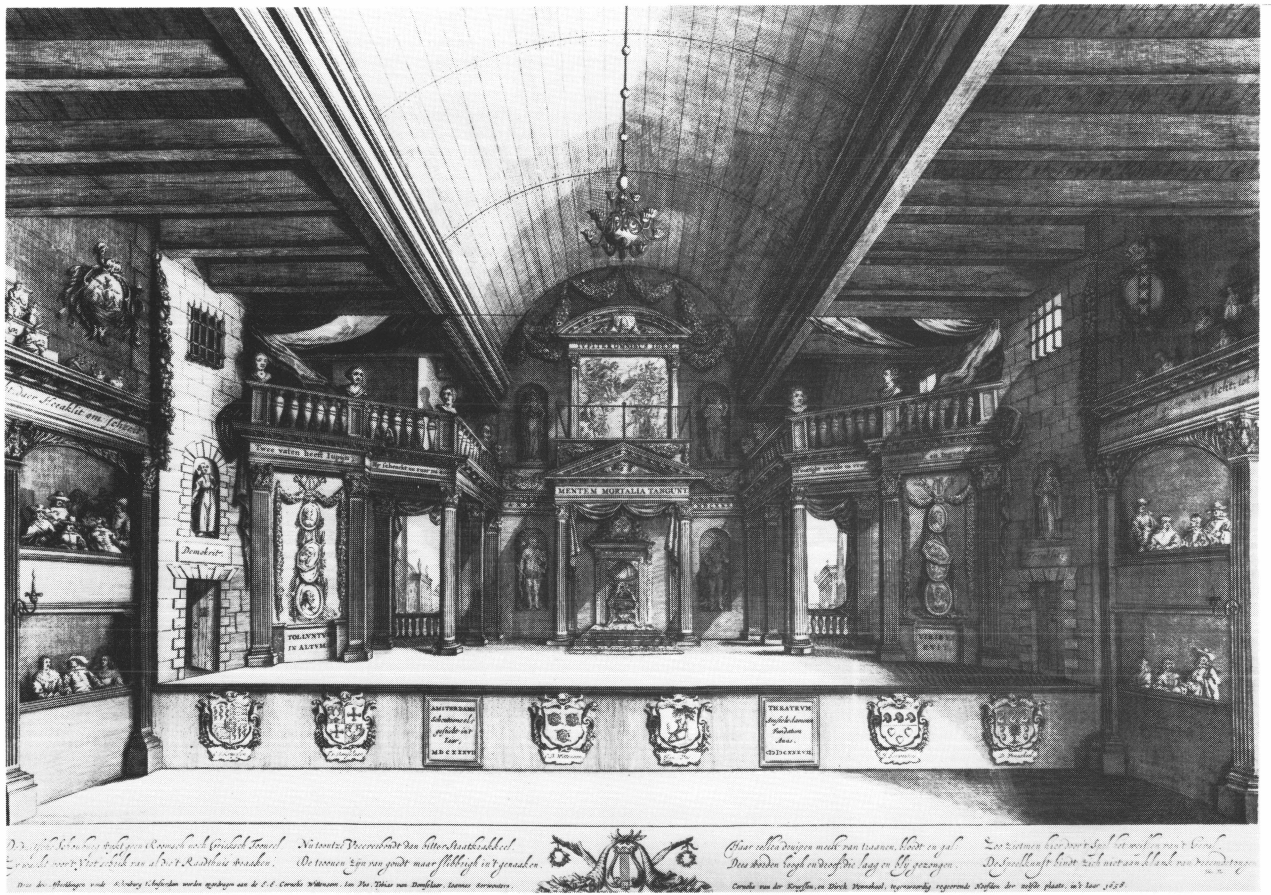
96. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Stephen, Walbrook, London, begun 1672.



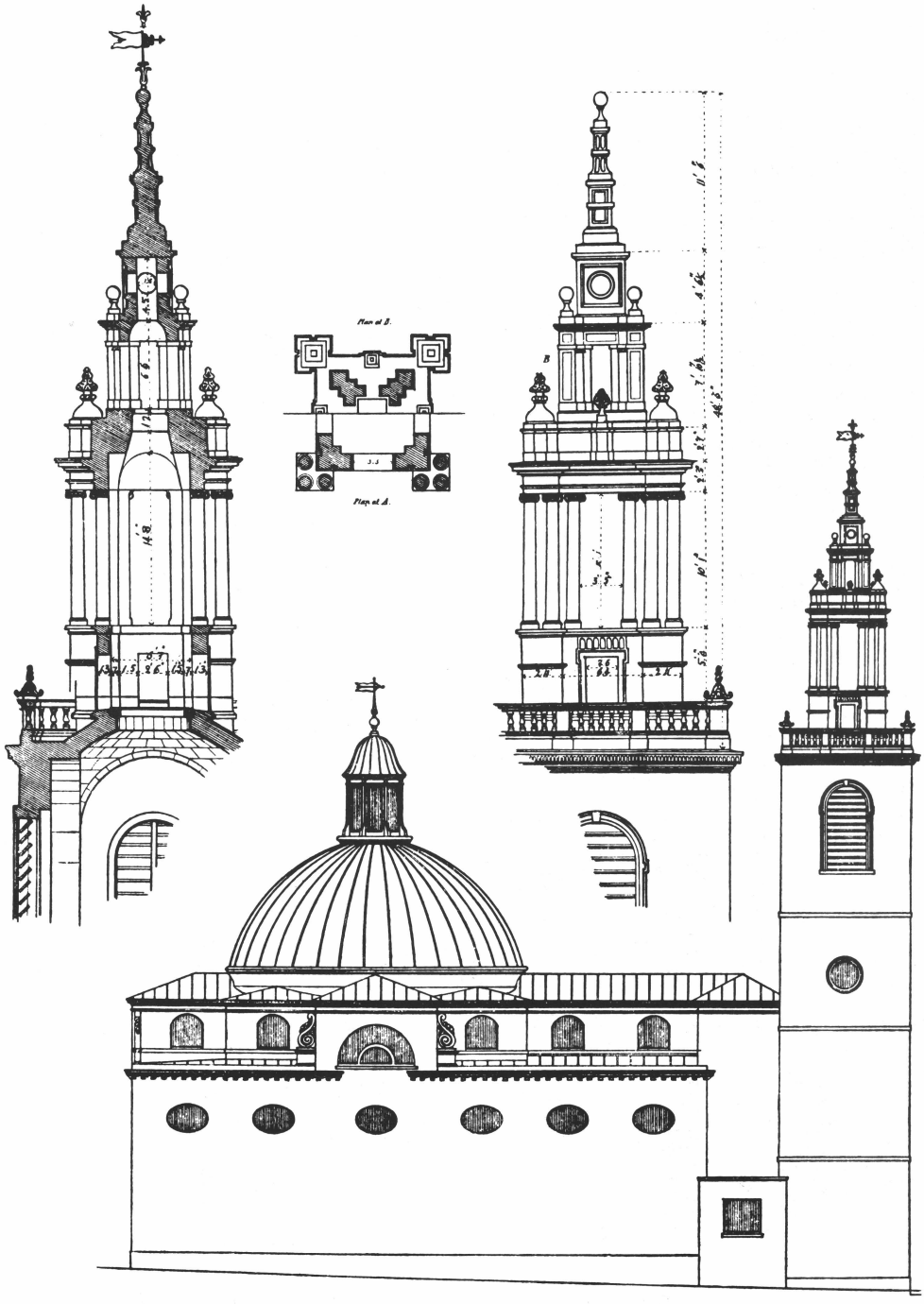
97. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Stephen, Walbrook.



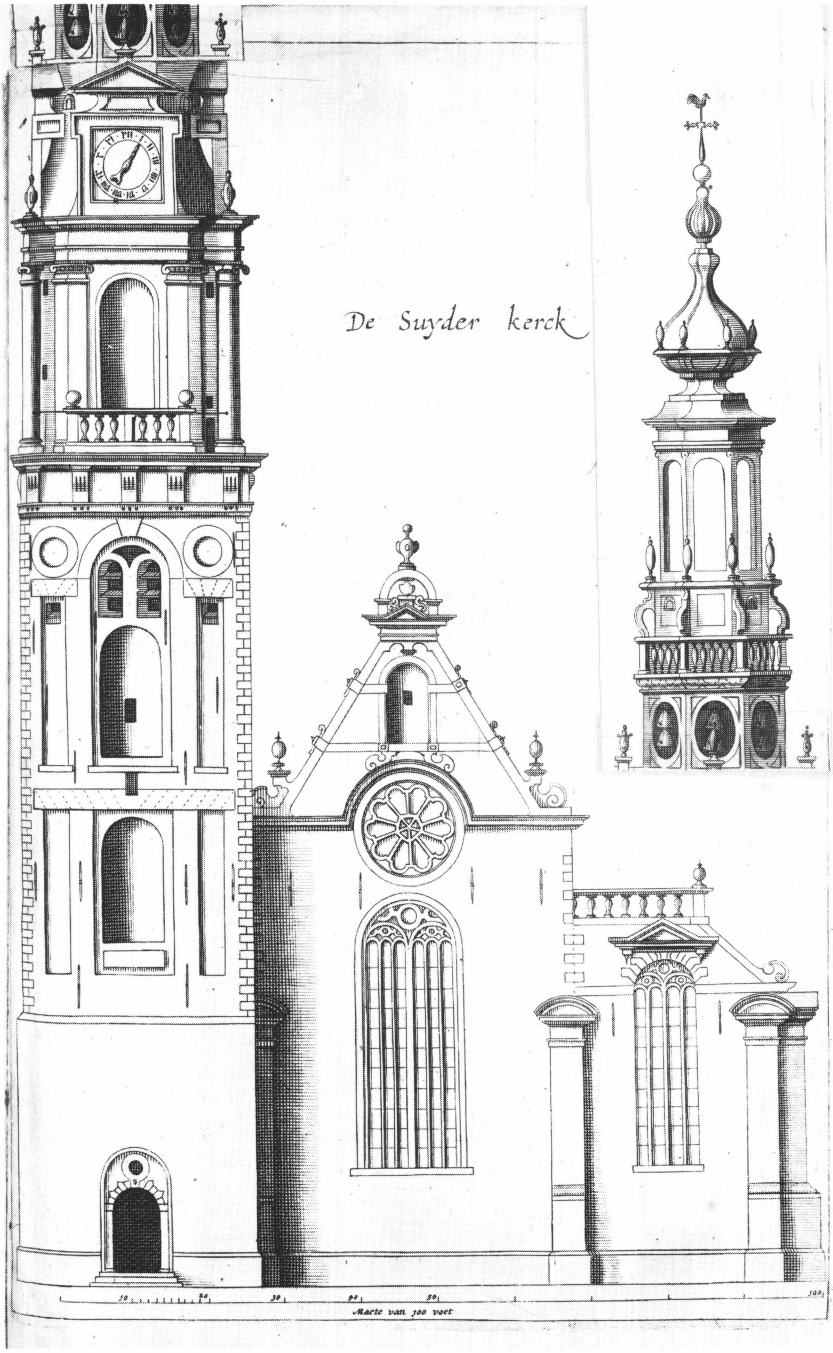
98. Jacob van Campen: Schouwburg, *Amsterdam, 1637. Auditorium.*



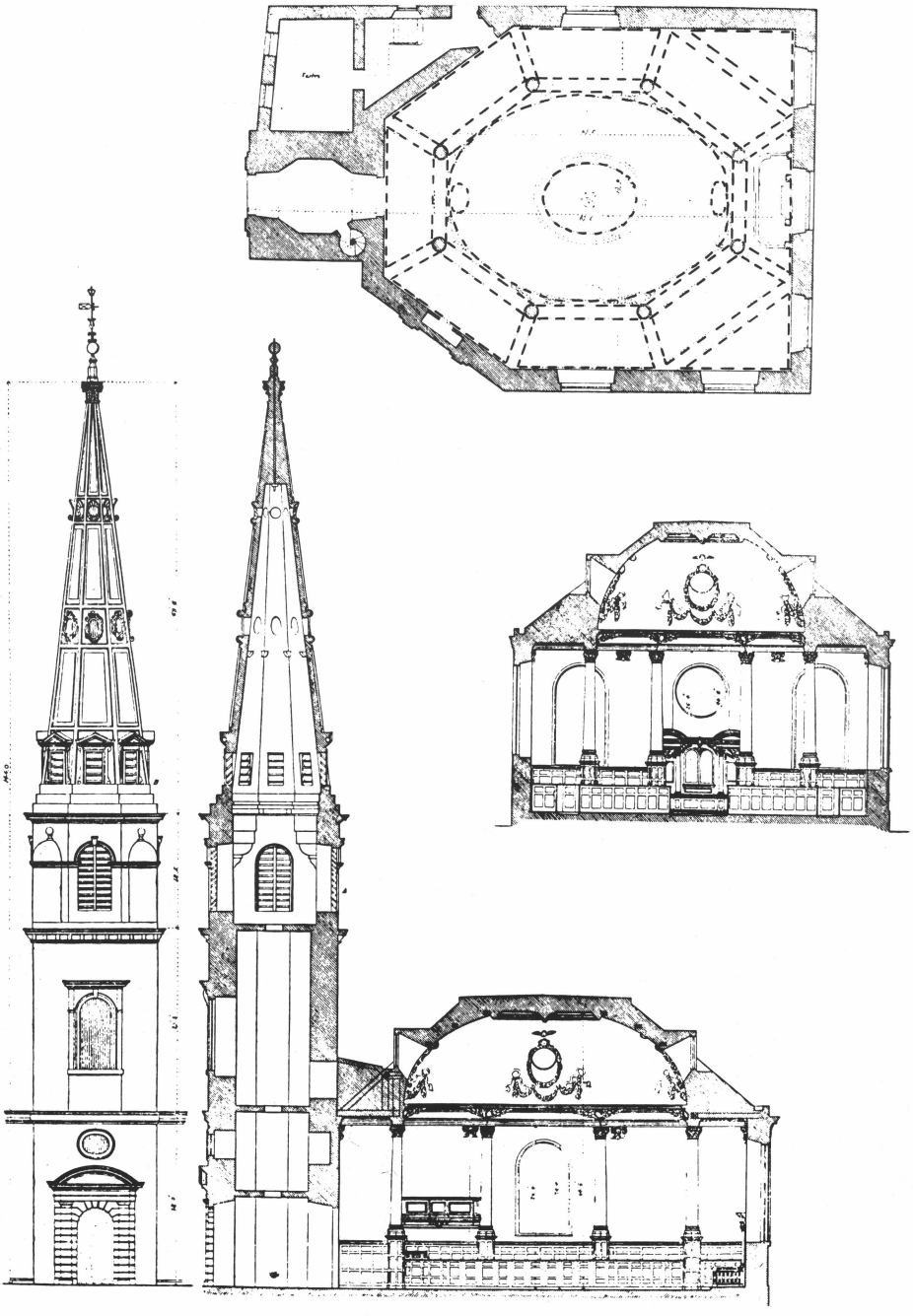
99. Jacob van Campen: Schouwburg. *The Stage. (In the centre the Throne, on the sides busts of Roman Emperors over the tempietti).*



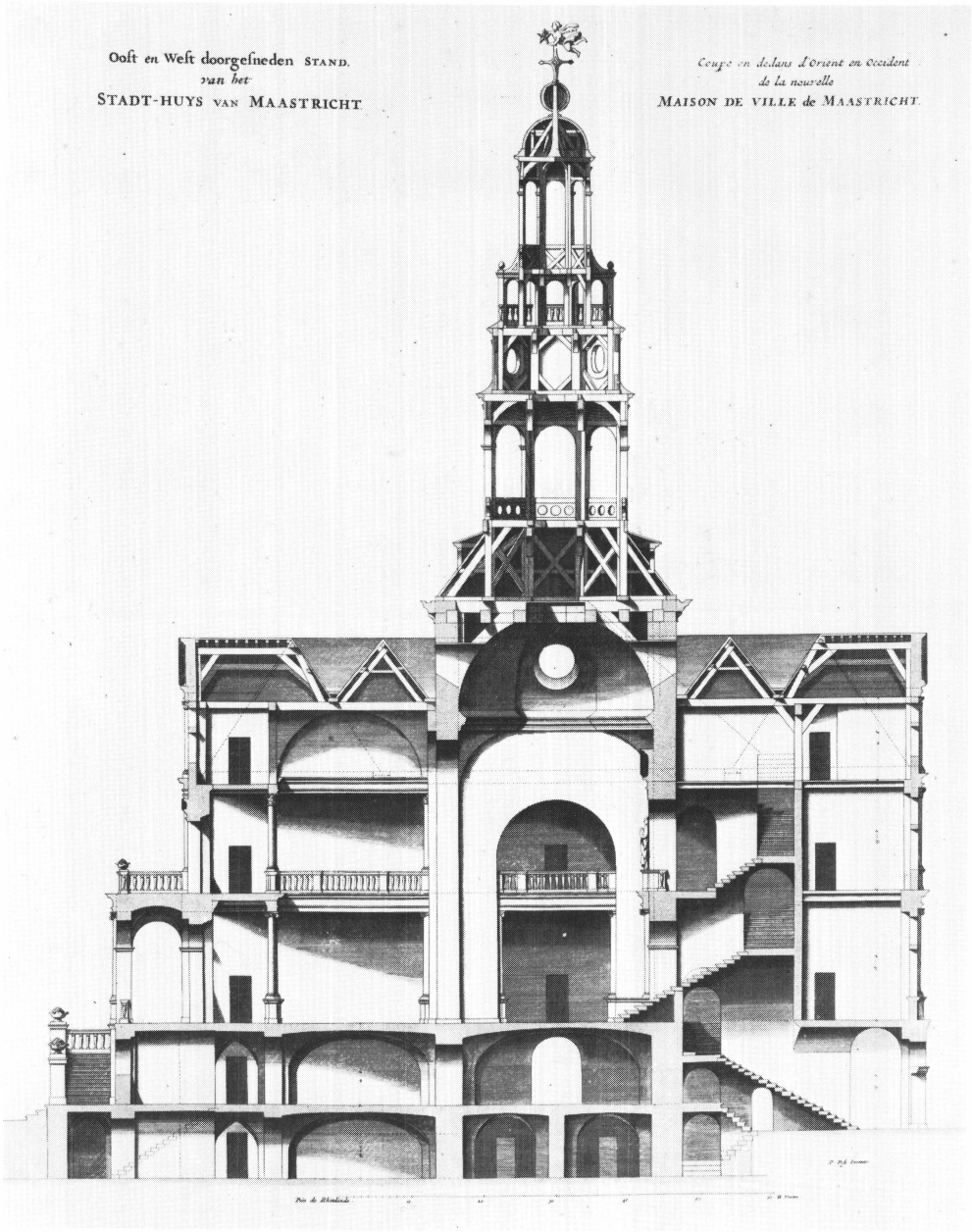
100. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Stephen Walbrook.



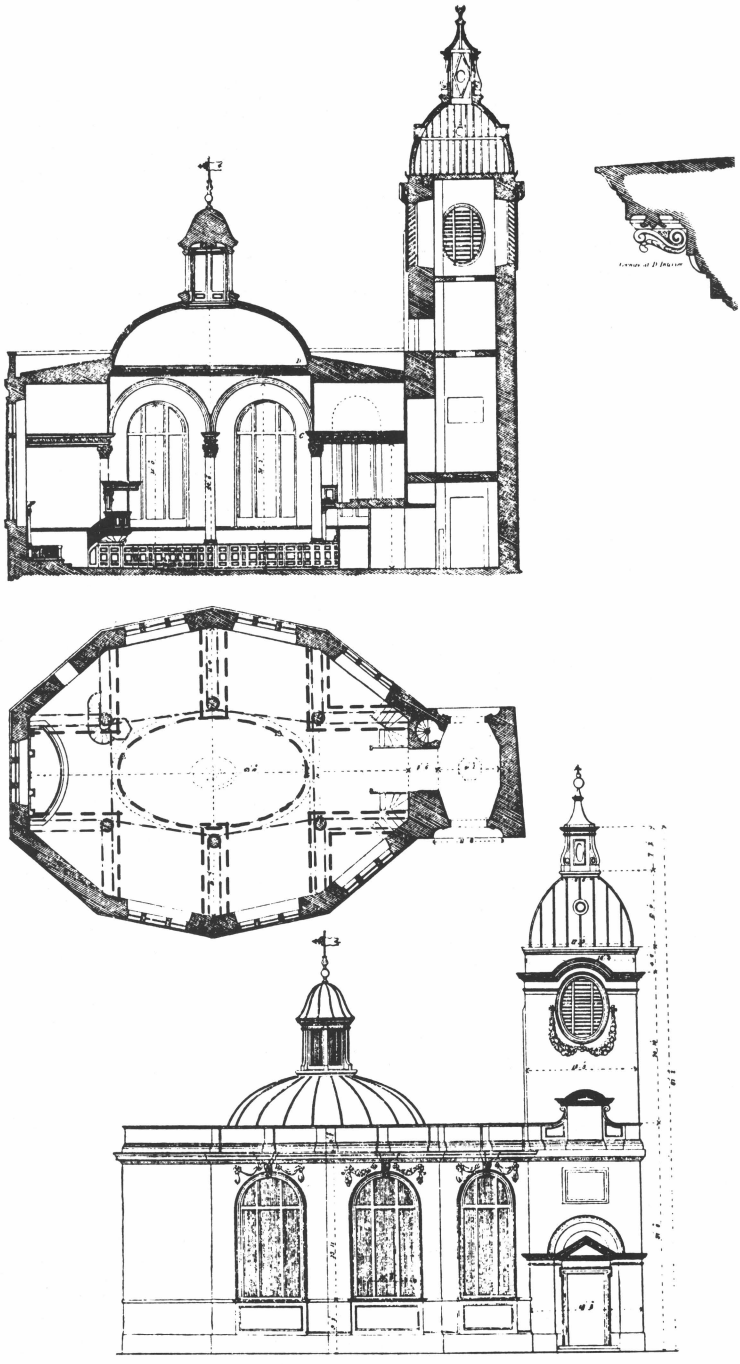
101. Hendrick de Keyser: Tower of the Zuiderkerk, completed 1614, and South Façade, 1611.



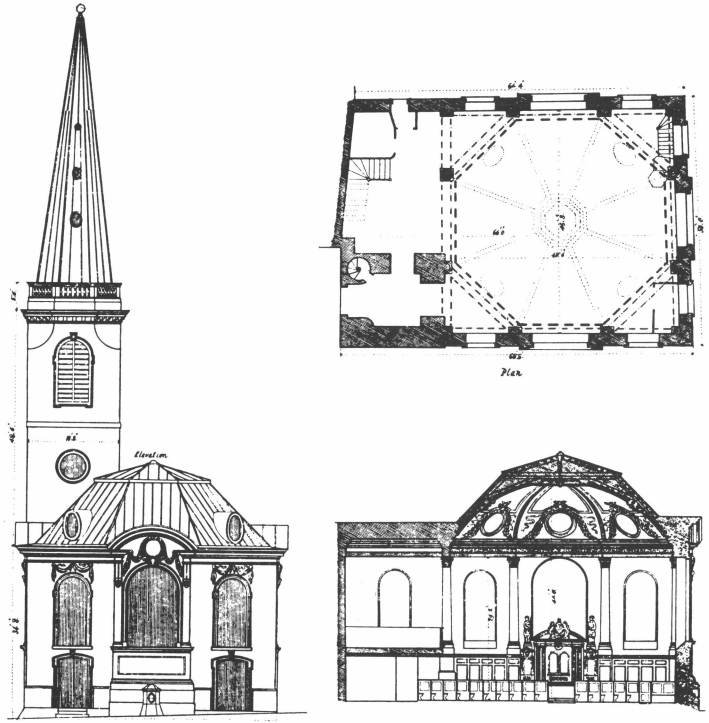
102–3. Dr. Robert Hooke or Sir Christopher Wren: St. Antholin, London, begun 1678 (demolished 1875).



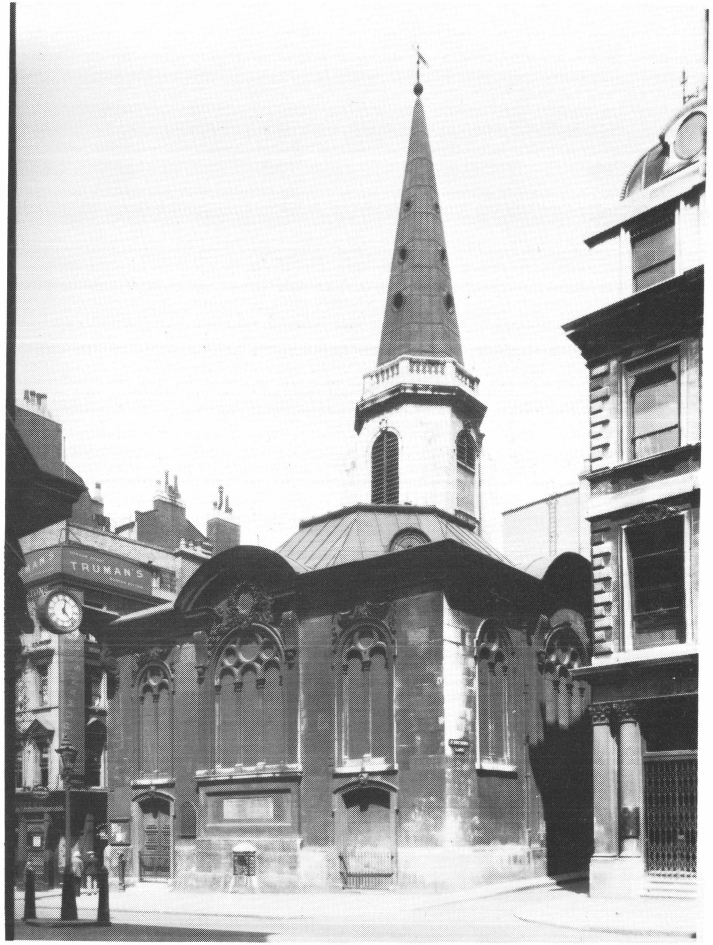
104. Pieter Post: Town Hall, Maastricht, 1659–65, spire completed 1684 in more depressed form. Longitudinal section over Great Hall.



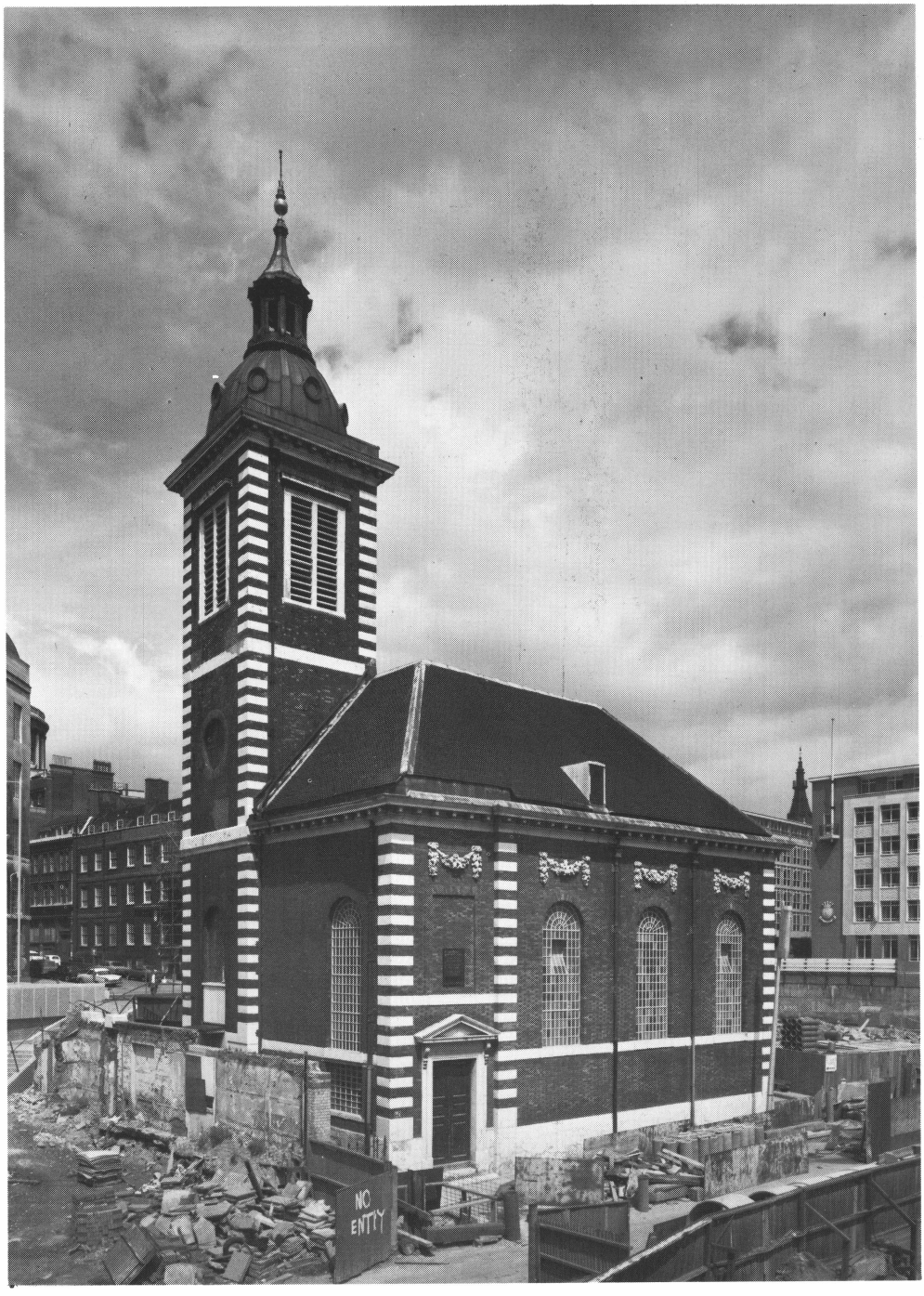
105–6. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Benet Fink, London, 1670–73 (demolished 1842–4).



107. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Swithin, London, 1677–85.



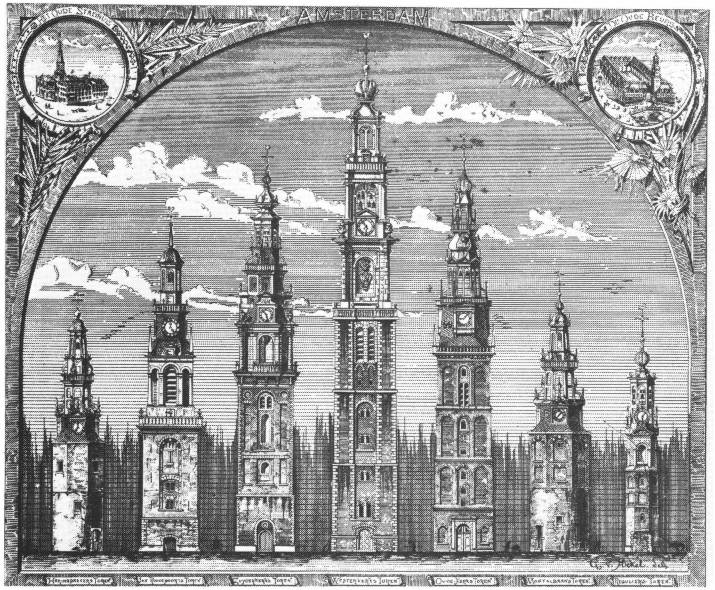
108. St. Swithin. Windows with tracery of 1869.



109. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London, 1677–83.



110. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Bride, Fleet Street, London, 1671–8. Interior before 1940.



111. G. van Arkel: Drawing of seven Amsterdam Towers. Spire of the Oudekerkstoren by Bilhamer, 1565. The other spires by De Keyser, between 1606 and his death in 1621; top of the Westerkerkstoren completed by others in 1638.



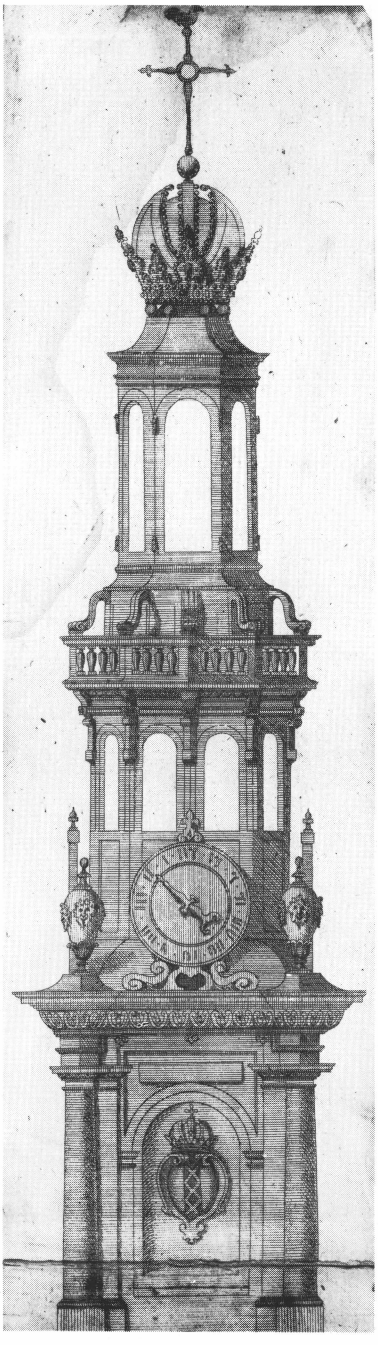
112. Joost Bilhamer: Spire of Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, 1565.



113. Hendrick de Keyser(?): Oosterkerk, Hoorn. Front, 1616.



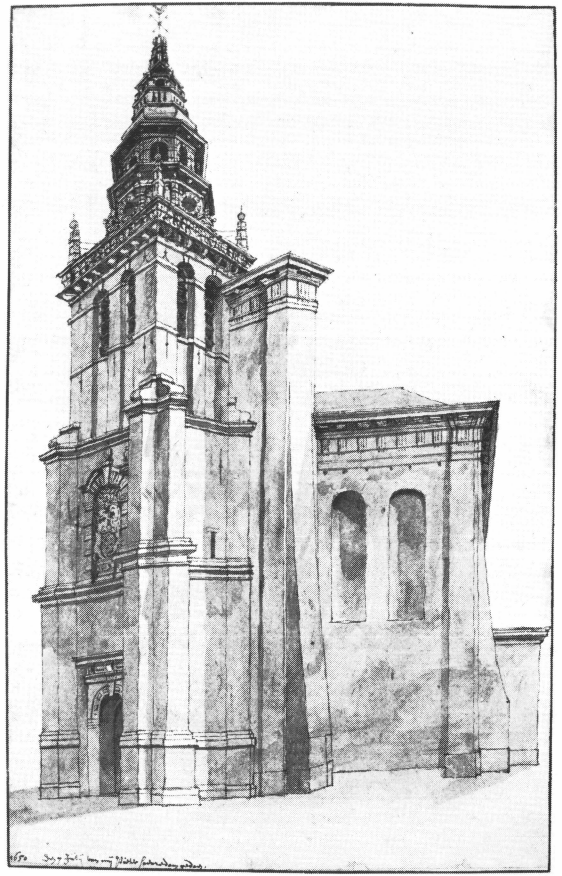
114. Pieter Anthoniszoon: Spire of Lodewijkskapel, Leyden, 1588.



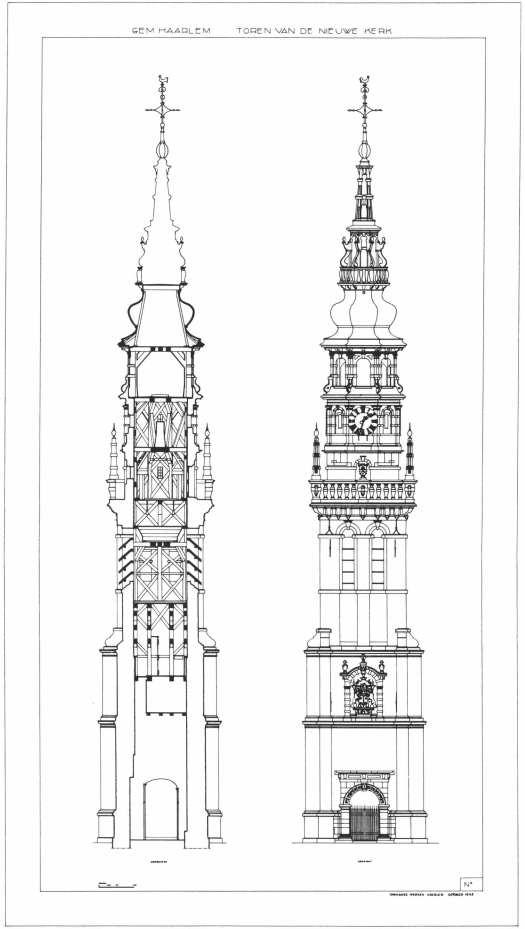
115. Hendrick de Keyser: Westerkerk. Design for Spire.



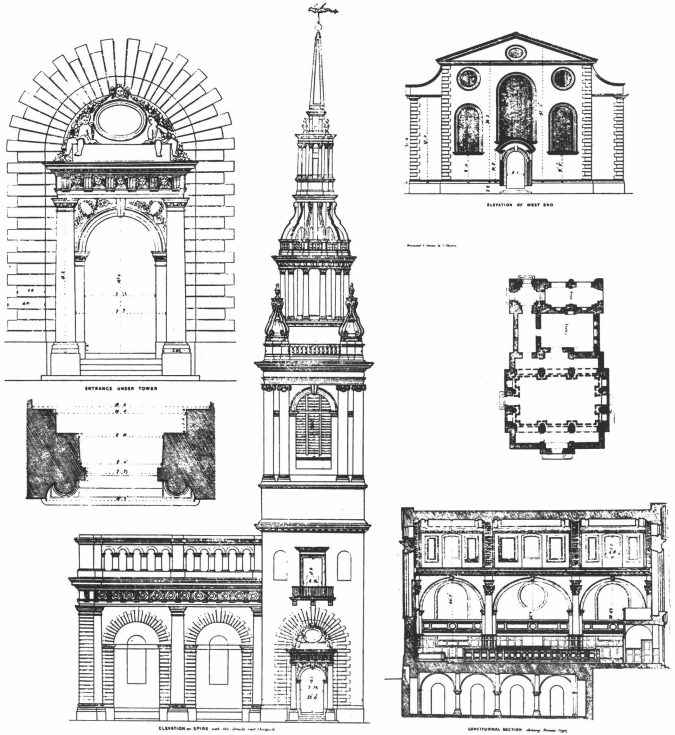
116. Hendrick de Keyser: Montalbaanstoren. Spire, 1606.



117. Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem. Tower (Lieven de Key, 1613) and Church (Jacob van Campen, 1649) as drawn by Pieter Saenredam.



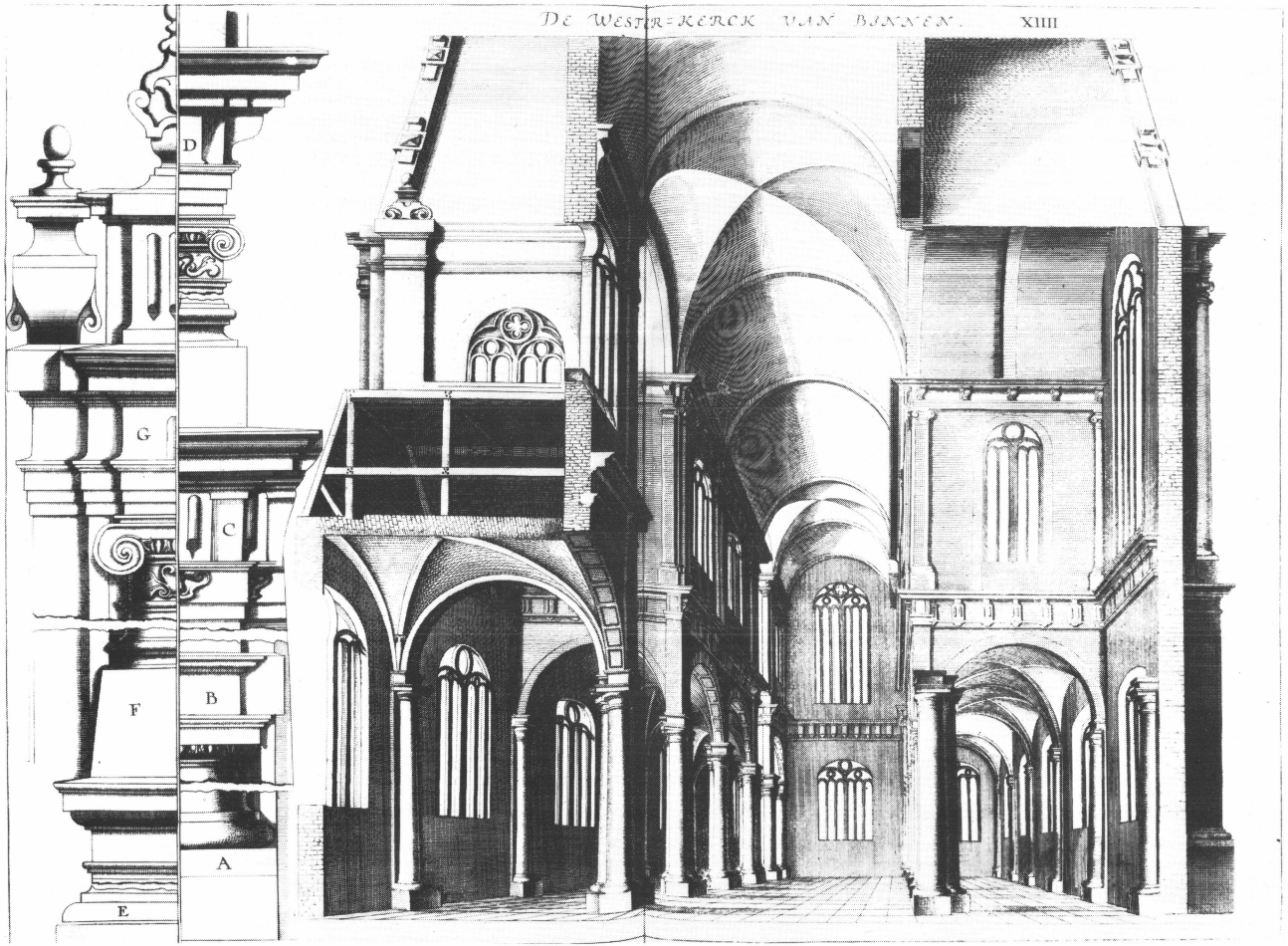
118. Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem. Tower. Measured drawing.



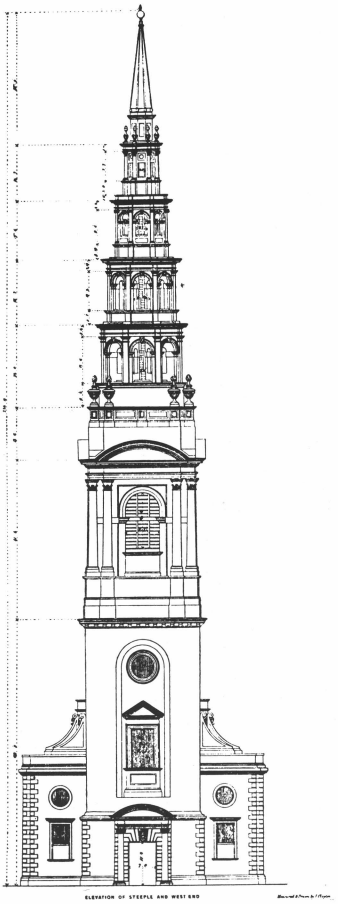
119. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Mary-le-Bow, London, 1670–73, steeple completed 1680.



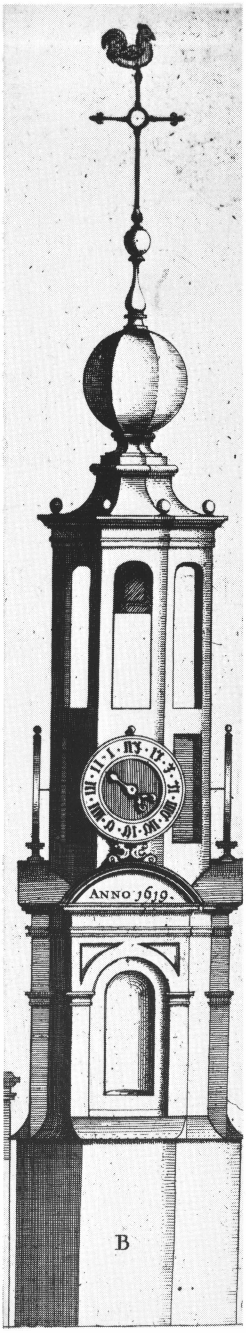
120. St. Mary-le-Bow. Spire.



121. Hendrick de Keyser: Westerkerk. Section and details.



122. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Bride, Fleet Street, London. Tower, 1701–03.



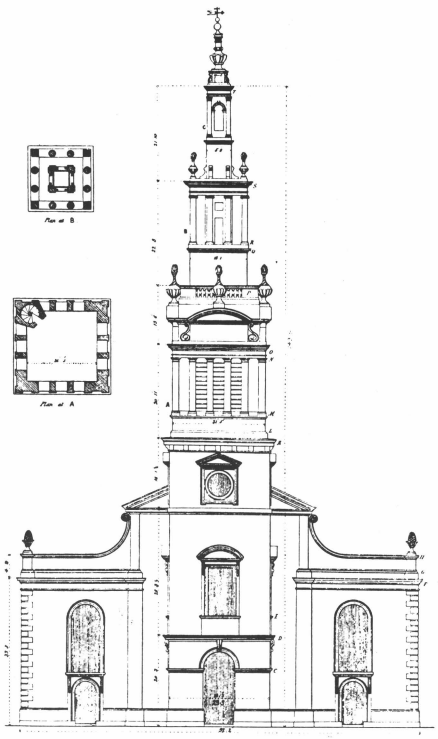
123. Hendrick de Keyser: Munttoren, Amsterdam, 1619.



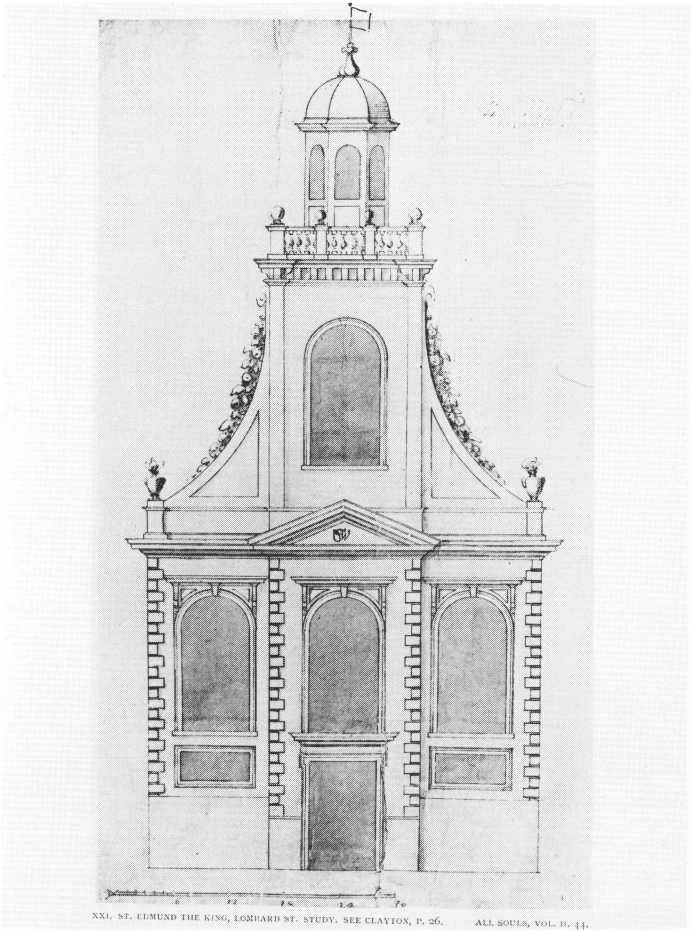
124A. Hendrick de Keyser: Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam. Tower, 1614.



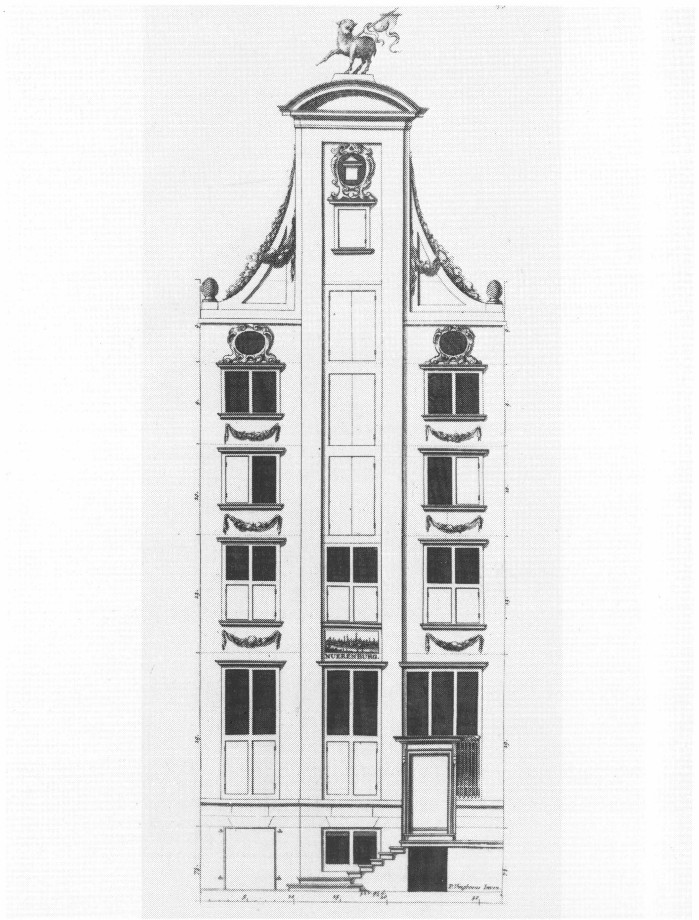
124B. Sir Christopher Wren: Chelsea Hospital. Turret, 1689.



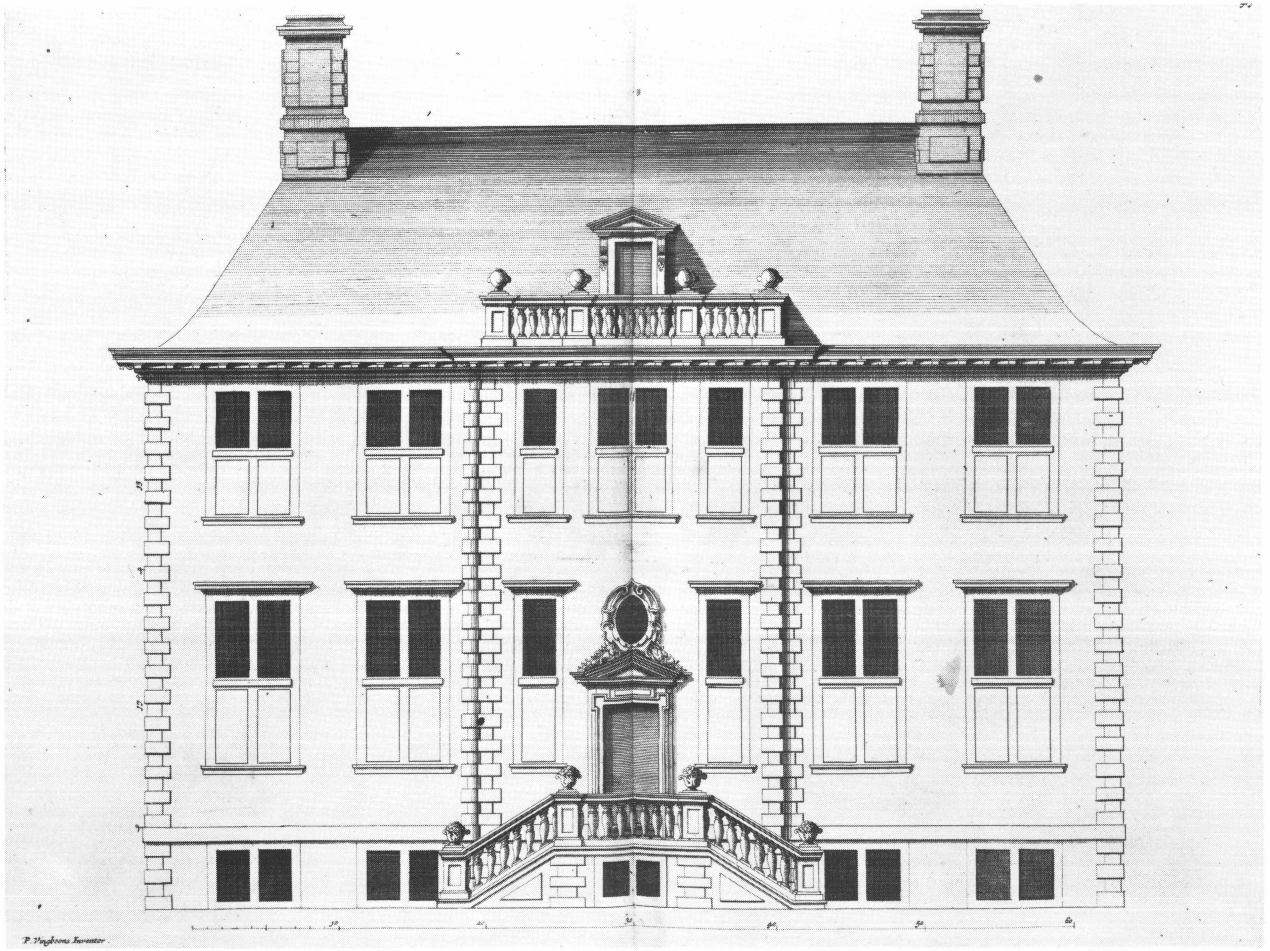
125. Sir Christopher Wren: Christ Church, Newgate Street, London, 1677–87, steeple completed 1704.



126. Dr. Robert Hooke: St. Edmund the King, design.



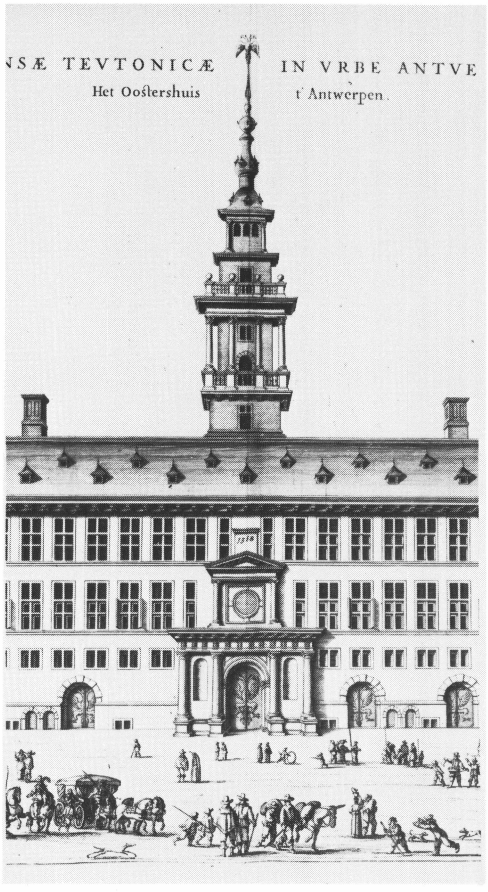
127. Philips Vingboons: House Nuerenburg, Amsterdam, 1662.



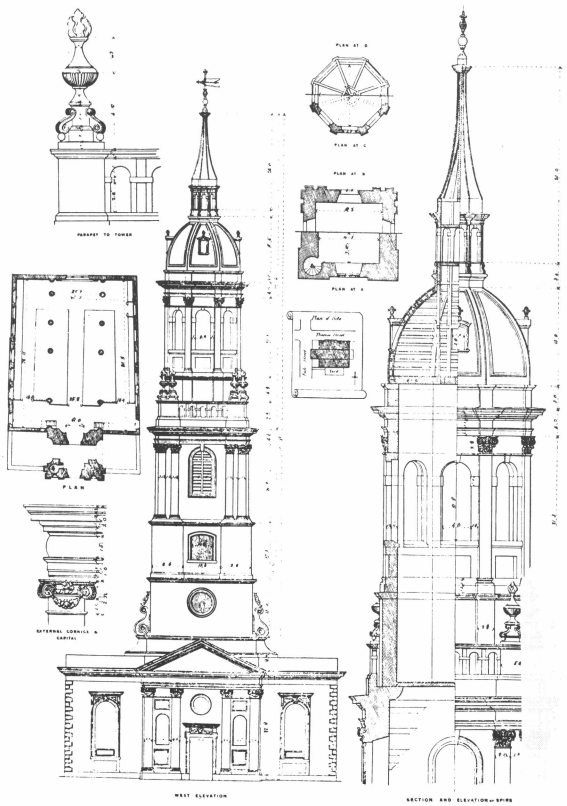
128. Philips Vingboons: Alewijns House, design.



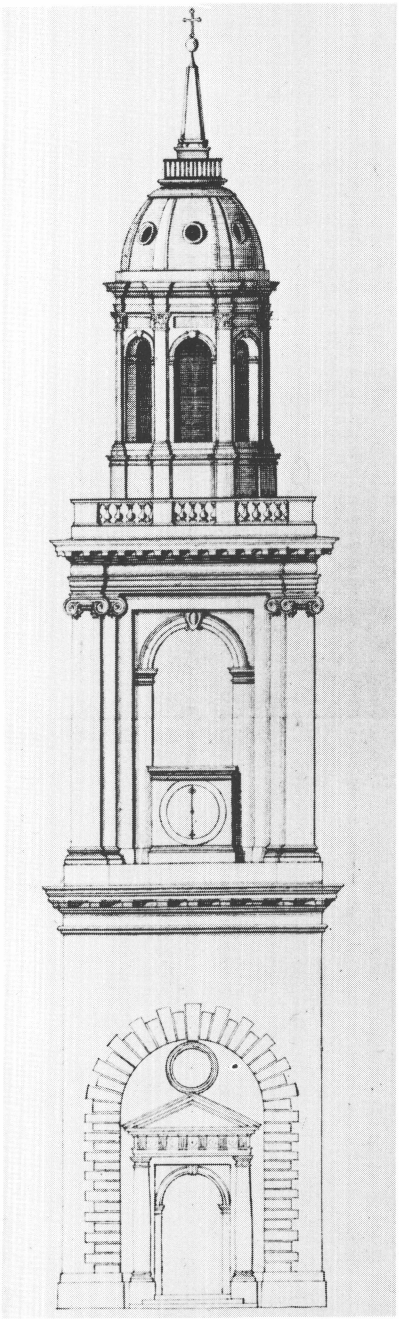
129. St. Charles Borromeo, Antwerp. Tower.



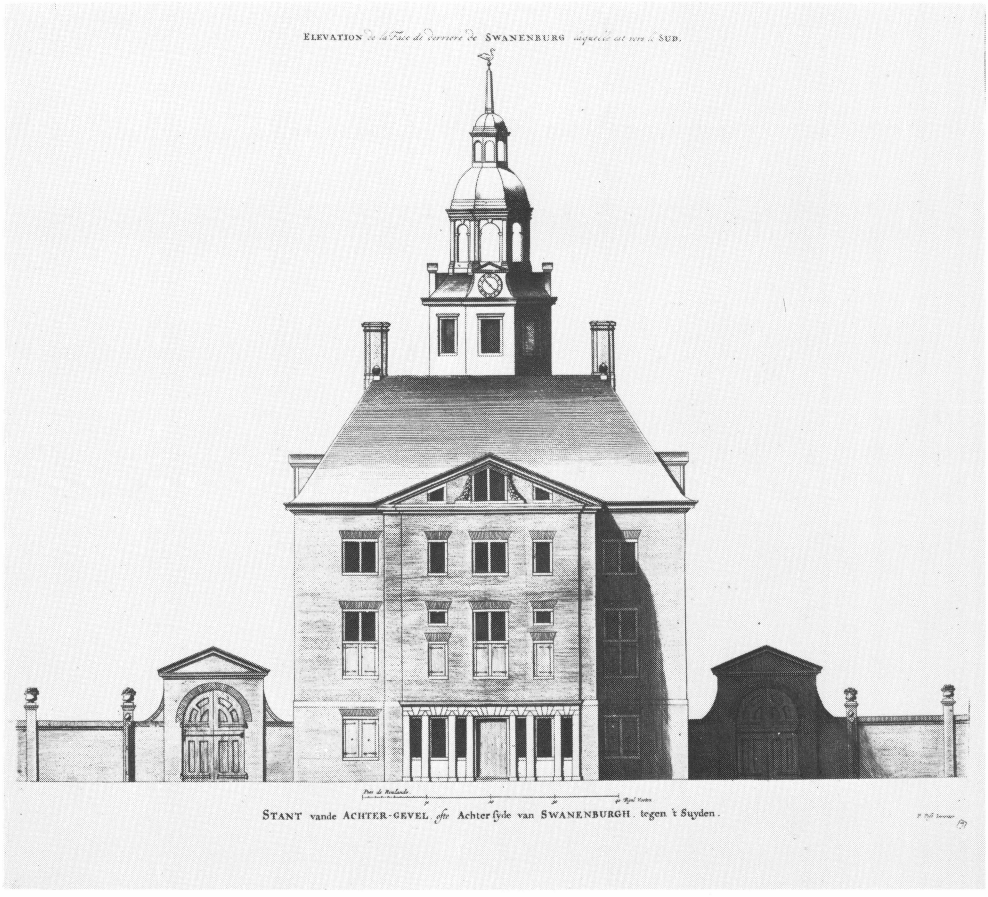
130. Hanse Building, Antwerp, 1568. Tower before 1600.



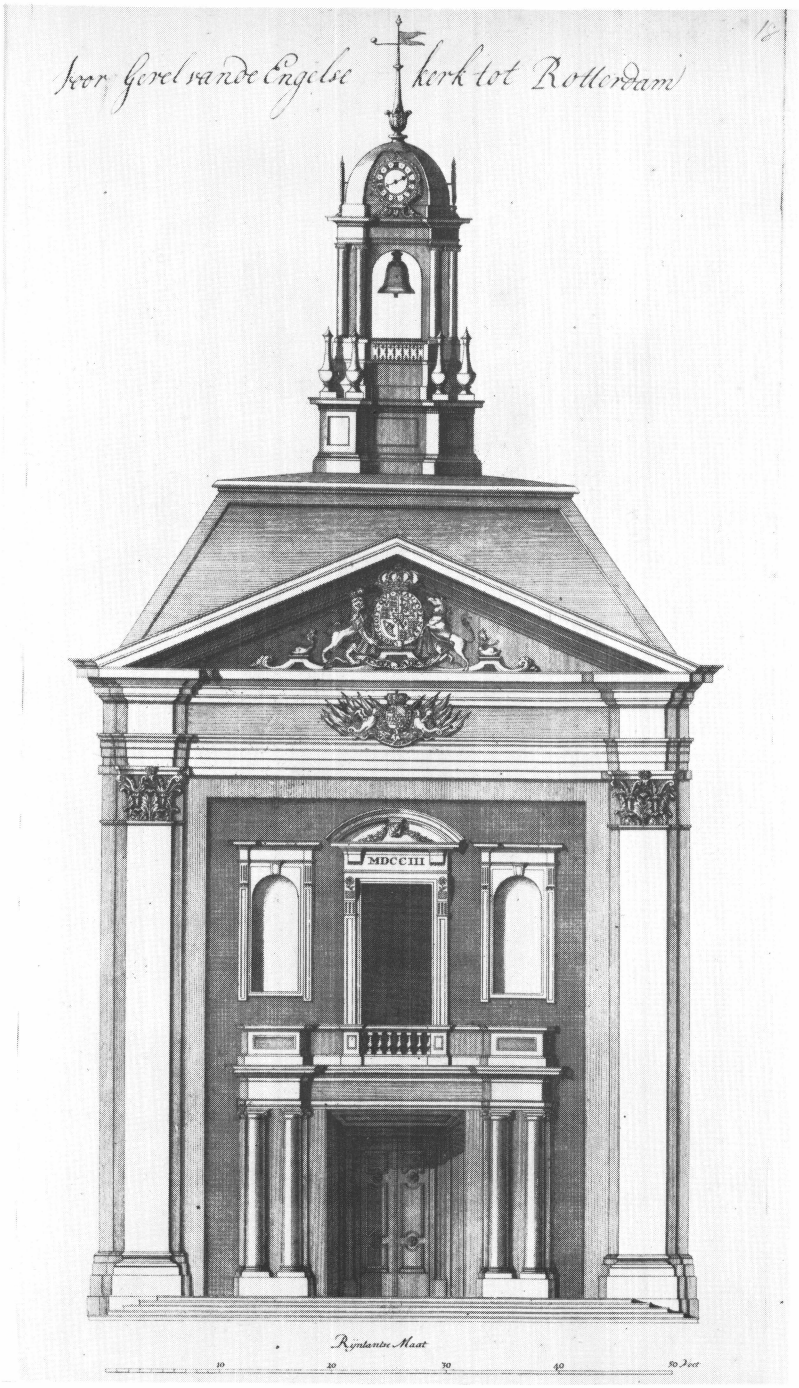
131. *Sir Christopher Wren: St. Magnus the Martyr, London, 1671–6, steeple completed 1705.*



132. *Sir Christopher Wren: St. Mary-le-Bow, design.*



133. Pieter Post: Swanenburgh, begun 1645. Rear Elevation.



134. English Episcopal Church, Rotterdam. Front.



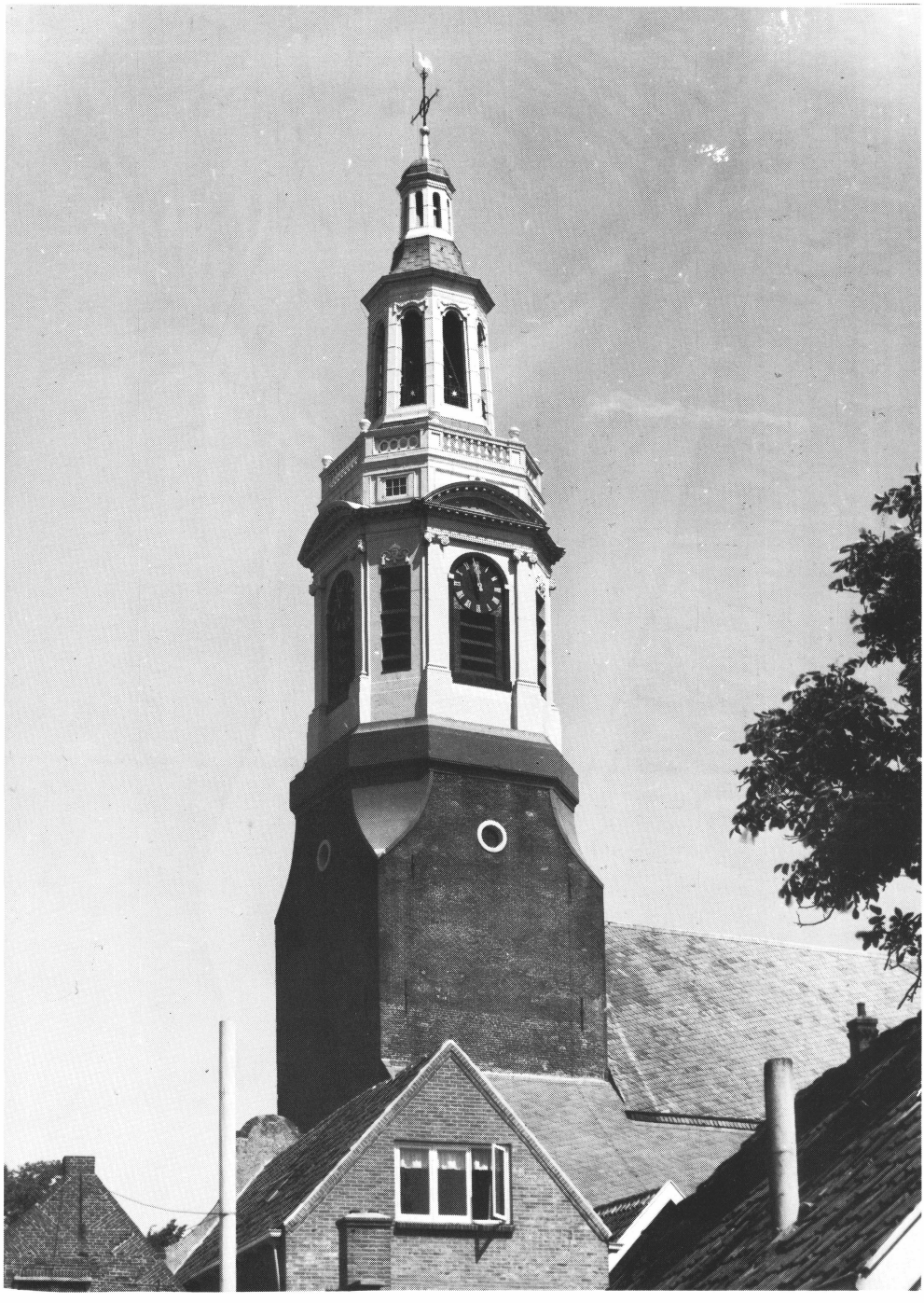


135–6. English Episcopal Church, Rotterdam, 1704–08, demolished 1913.

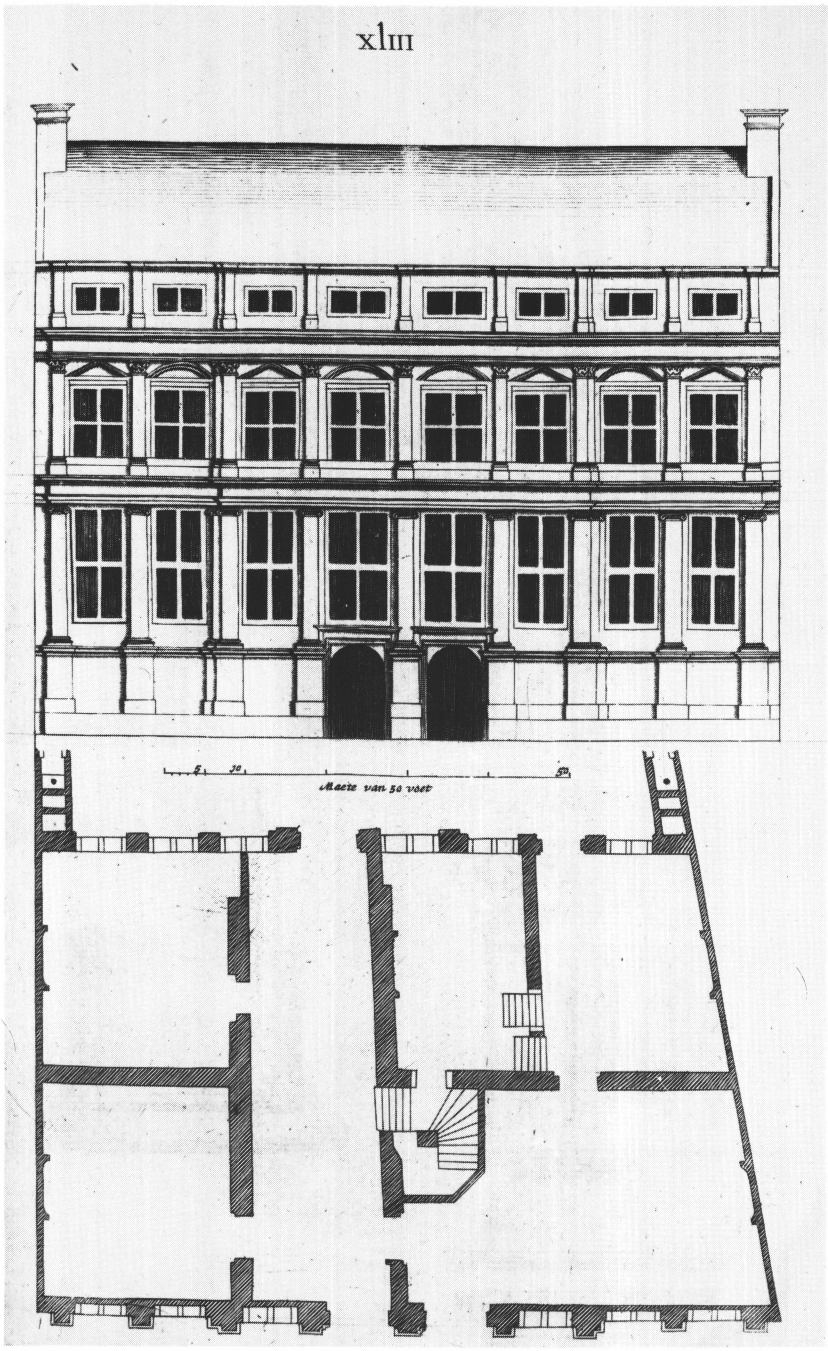




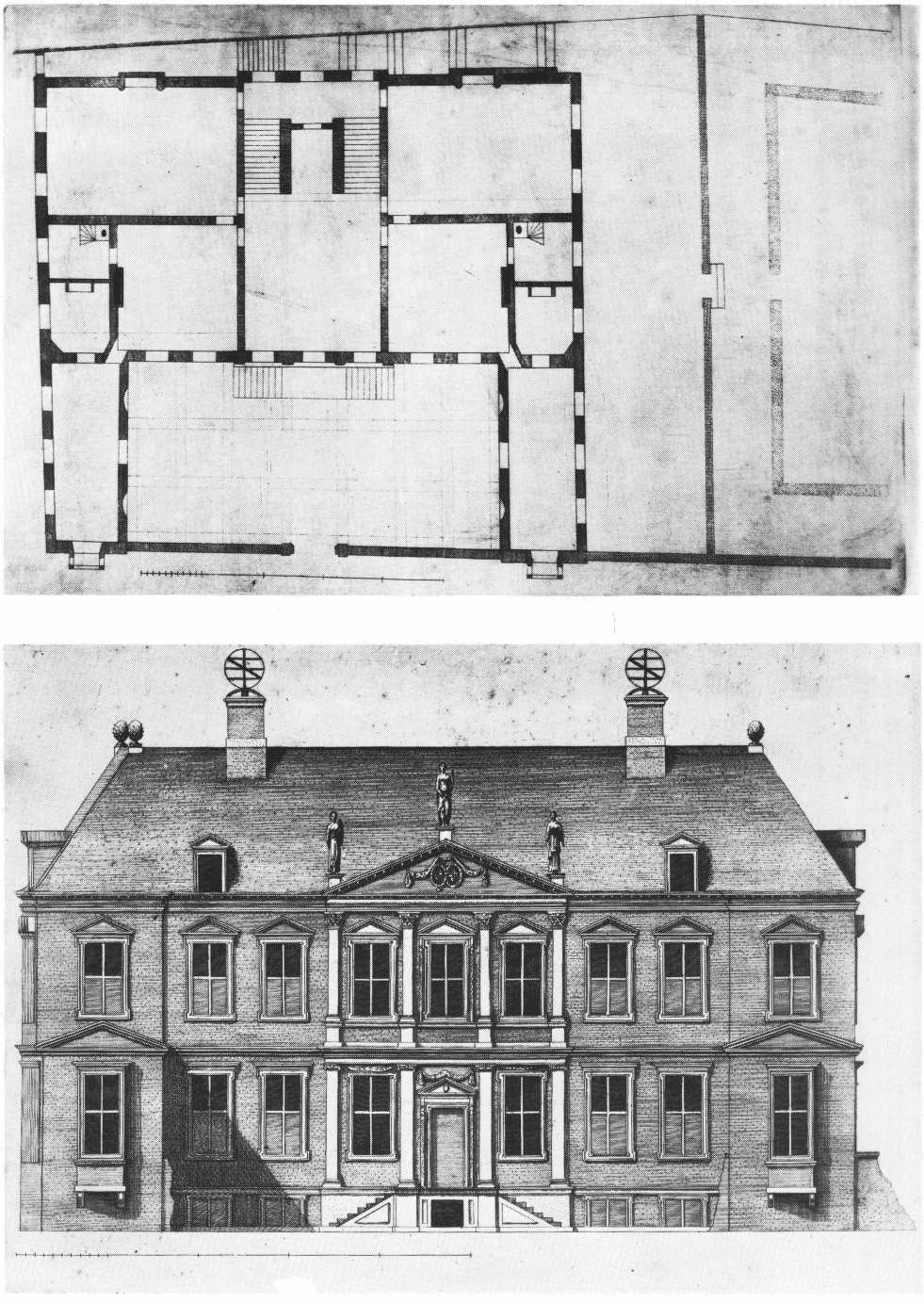
137–8. Jan Giudici: Zegwaard Church, Zoetermeer, 1785–7. Interior and Exterior. (Tower 1642).



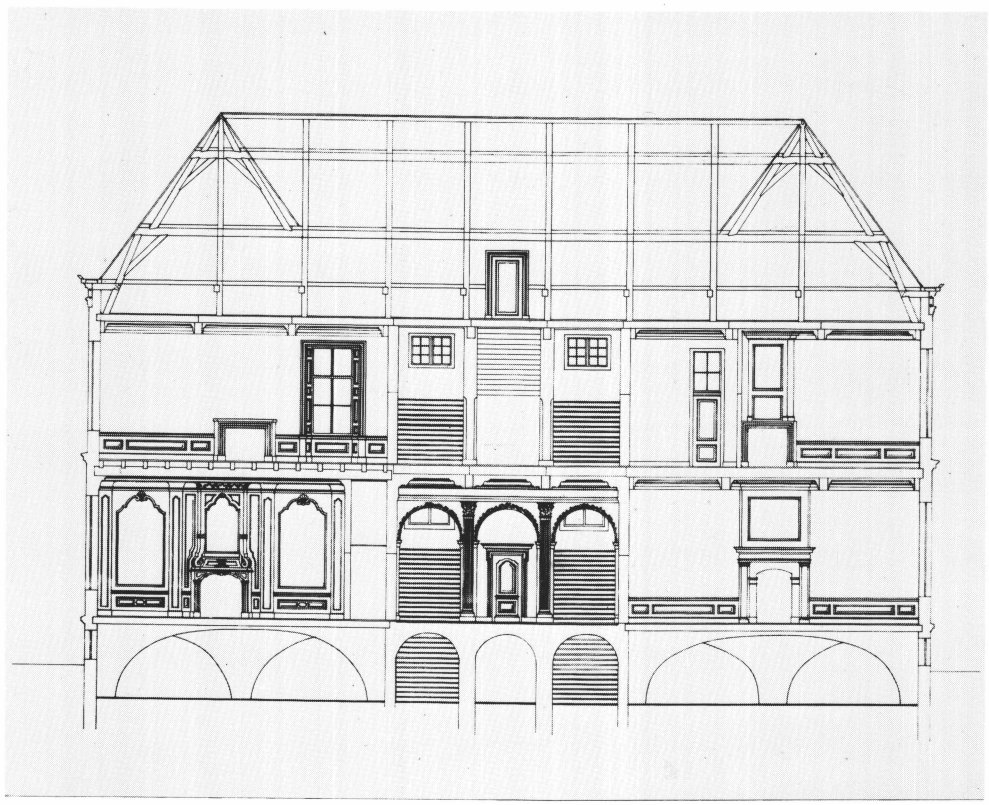
139. Nijkerk Church. Tower, 1774–6.



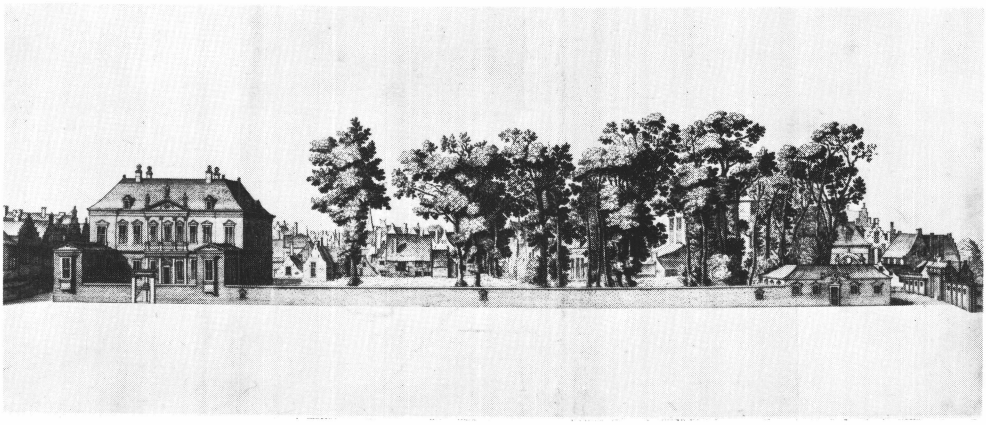
140. Jacob van Campen: Coymans House, Amsterdam, 1625. (Elevation. Plan perhaps by Pieter de Keyser).



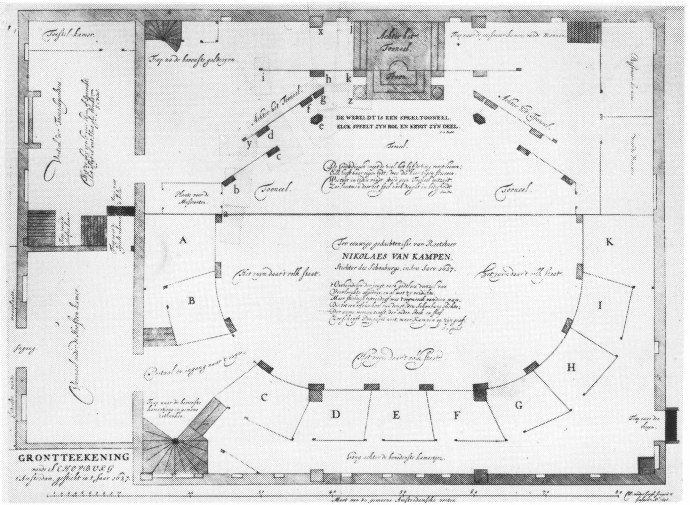
141–2. Huygens and Van Campen: Huygens House, the Hague, 1634–7. Plan and Front.



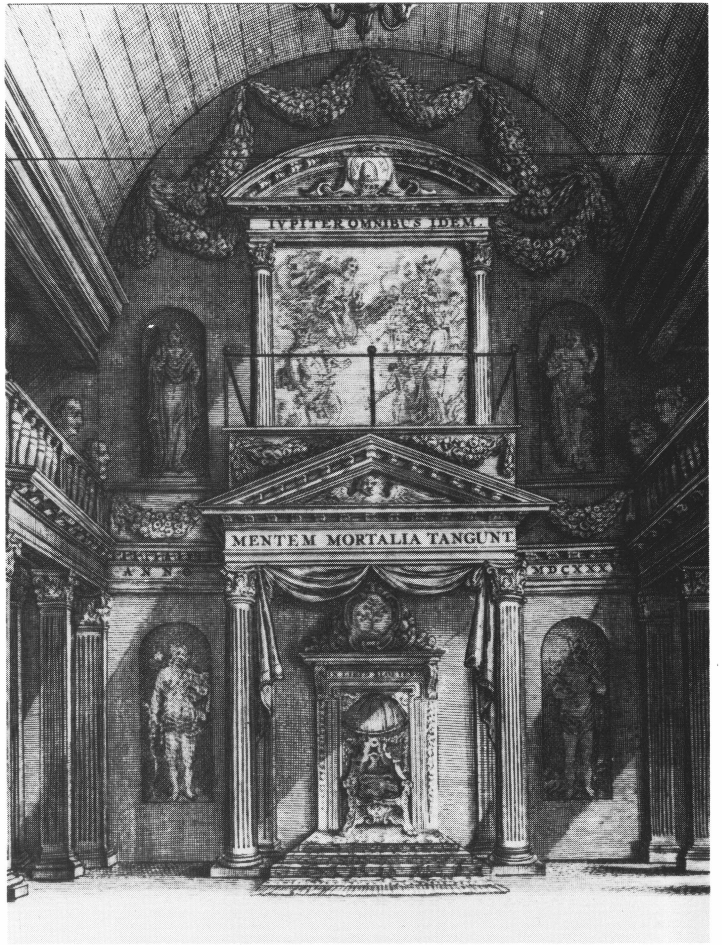
143. Huygens House. Section. (Shortly before demolition in 1876).



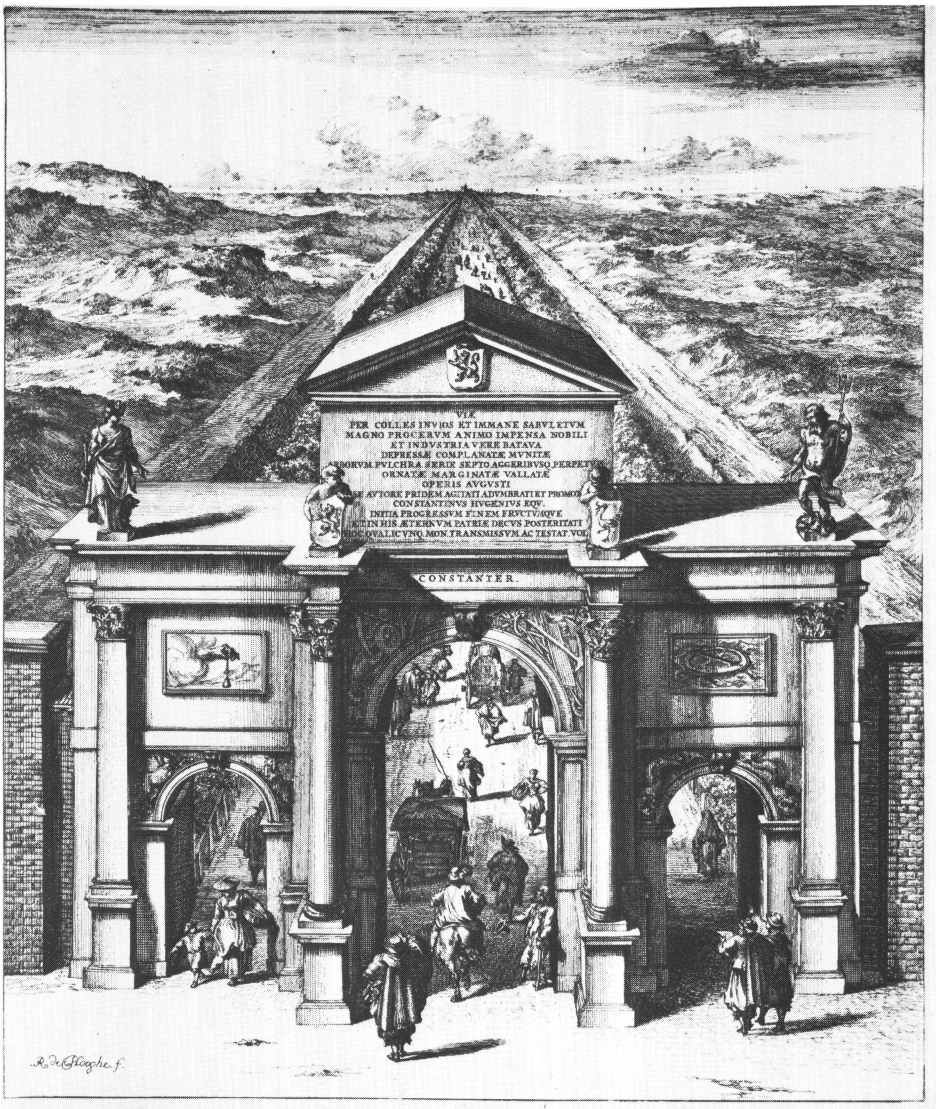
144. Huygens House and the Trees in the Akerland. On the extreme right the Entrance-gate of the Mauritshuis.



145. Jacob van Campen: Schouwburg, Amsterdam, 1637. Plan.



146. Schouwburg. The Throne.

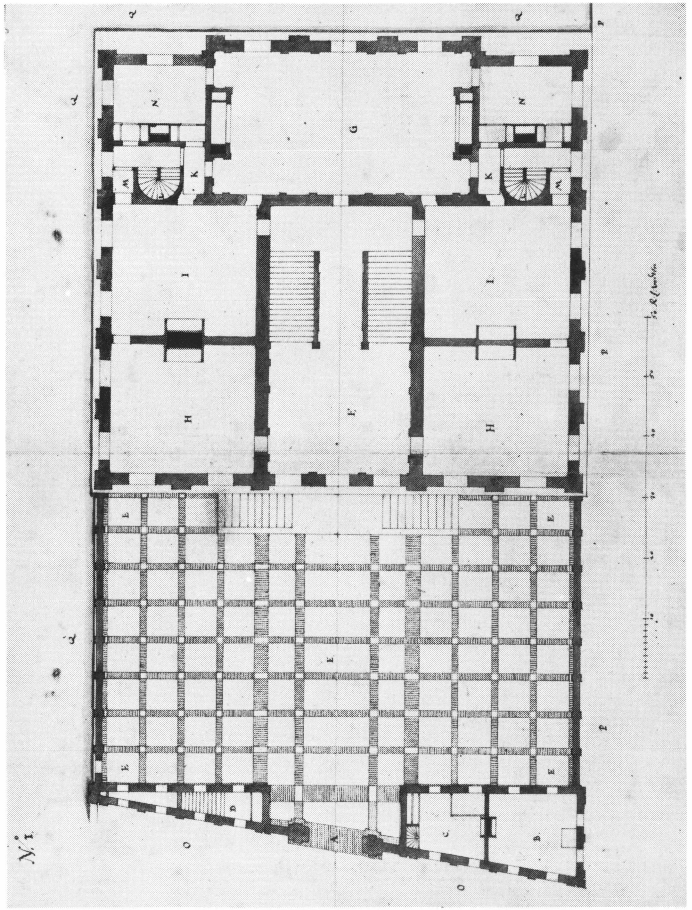


Hic ubi tota ſtupens de ſe Natura triumphum
Ducier audaci victa labore videt,
Hic ubi ſe Batavis tumidus ſubmittere Collis
Cogitur, & Laterem ſubter Arena latet,
Hic ubi de ſterili ſabulo frondeſcere juſſa
Populus umbroſam ſpondet adulta viam,

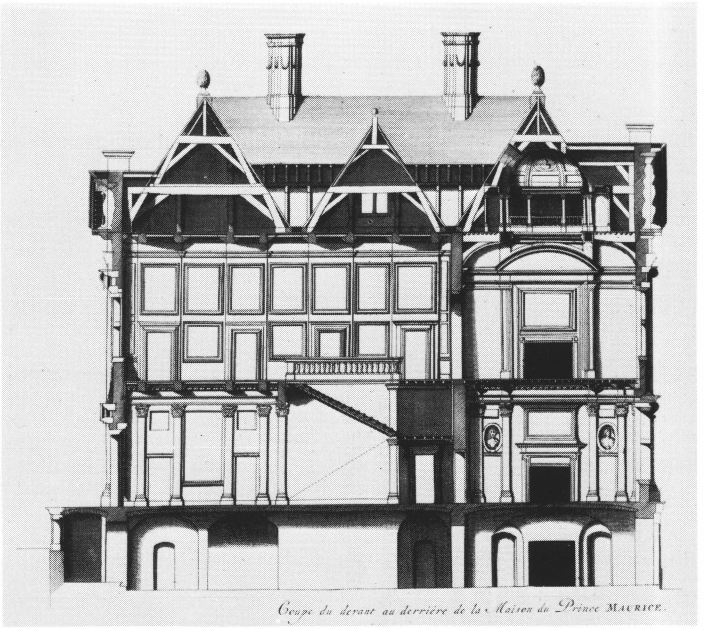
Judice me, vili ſuſpenſis cardine clathris
Lignea magnificum Janua fœdat opus.
Eia, Viri proceres, ſolido de Marmore Portam
Addite; pro modulo noſtra papyrus erit:
Ecce, Patres, opera tantum pars altera reſtat,
Dimidium facti fecit Epiſcopius.

CONSTANTER.

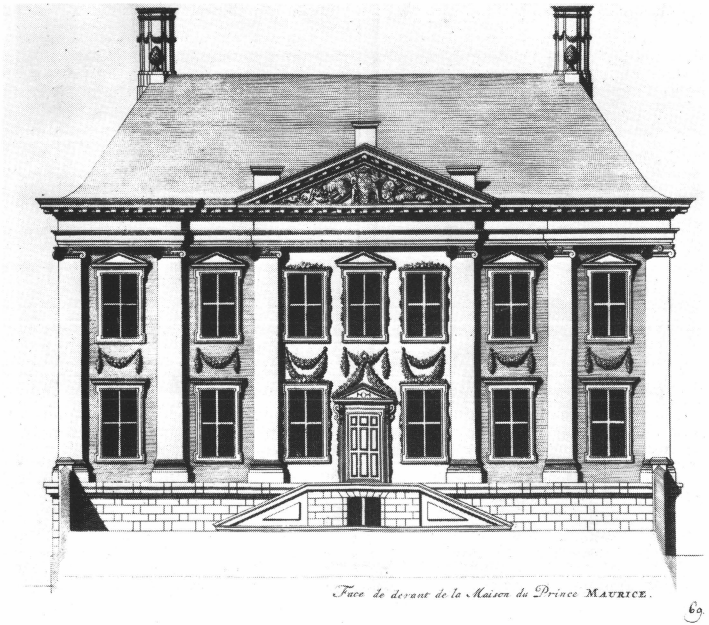
147. Sir Constantine Huygens: design for Triumphal Arch, c. 1666.



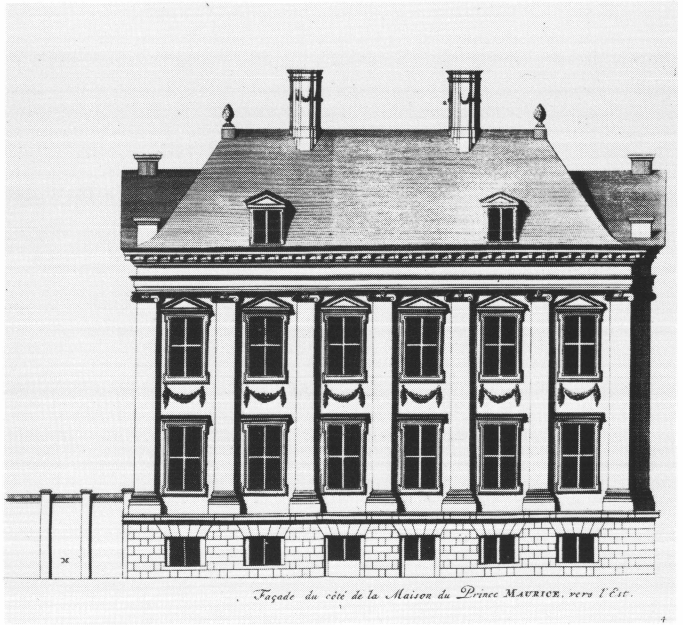
148. Jacob van Campen: Mauritshuis, the Hague, begun 1633. Plan with forecourt and entrance-gate.



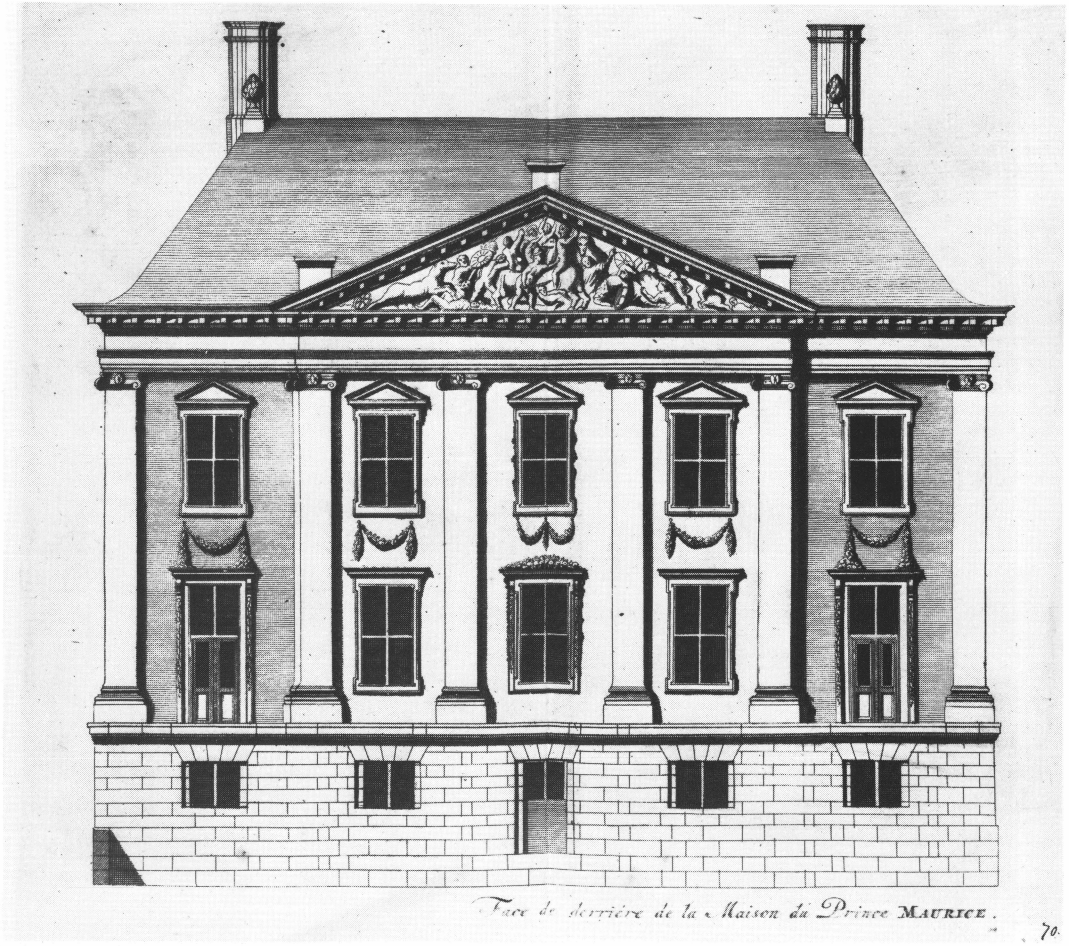
149. Mauritshuis. Section.



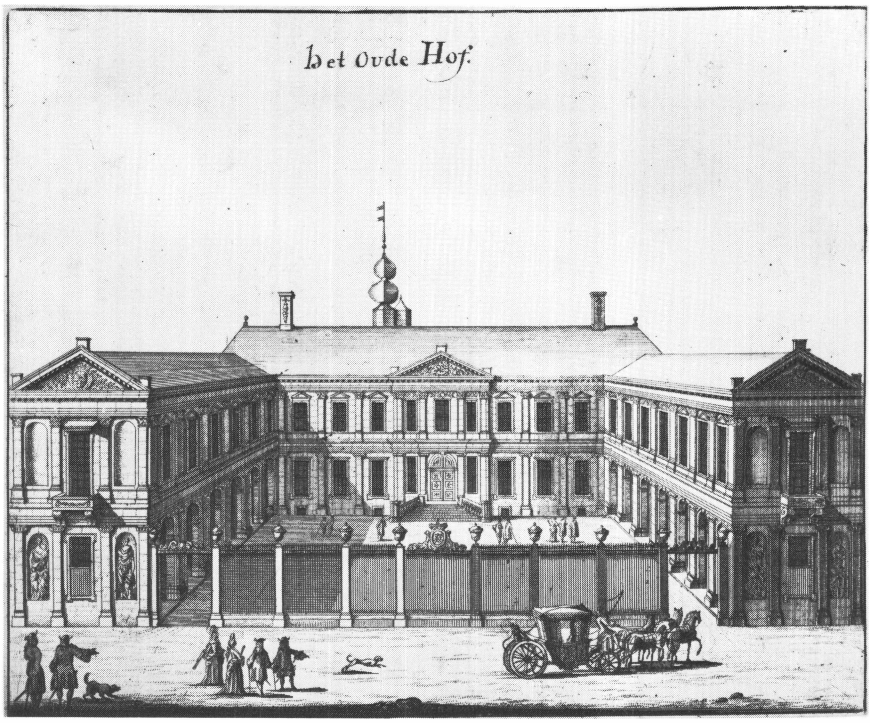
150. Mauritshuis. Principal Façade.



151. Mauritshuis. Side Elevation.



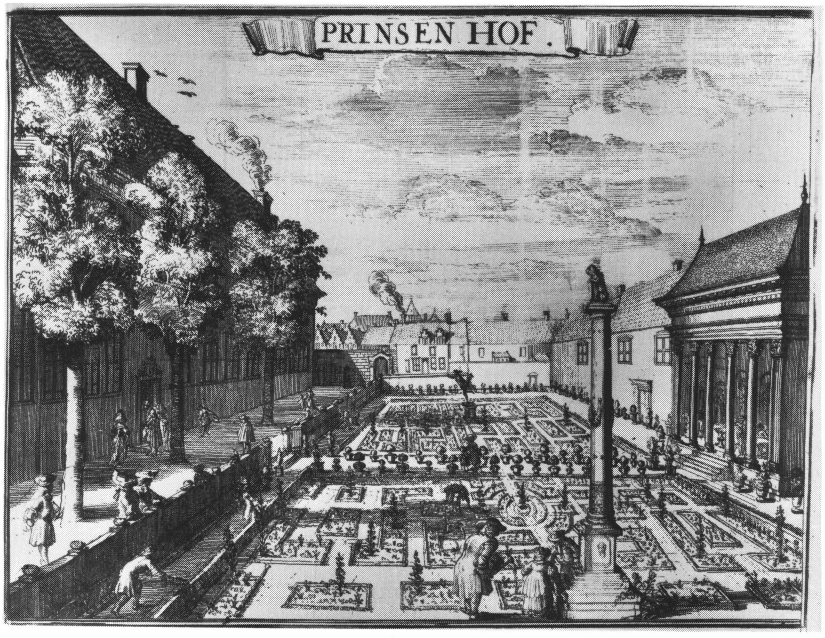
152. Mauritshuis. North Elevation on the water of the Vijver.



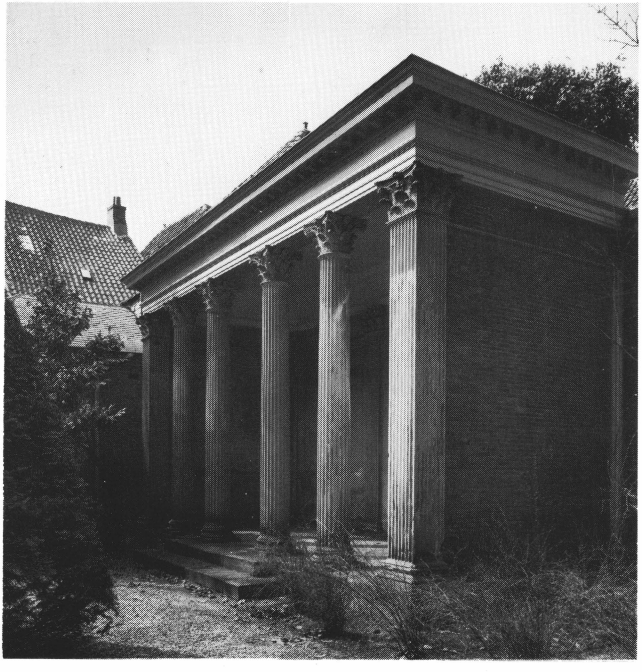
153. Jacob van Campen: Noordeinde Palace, the Hague. Print of c. 1704 with sashes and a new fence.



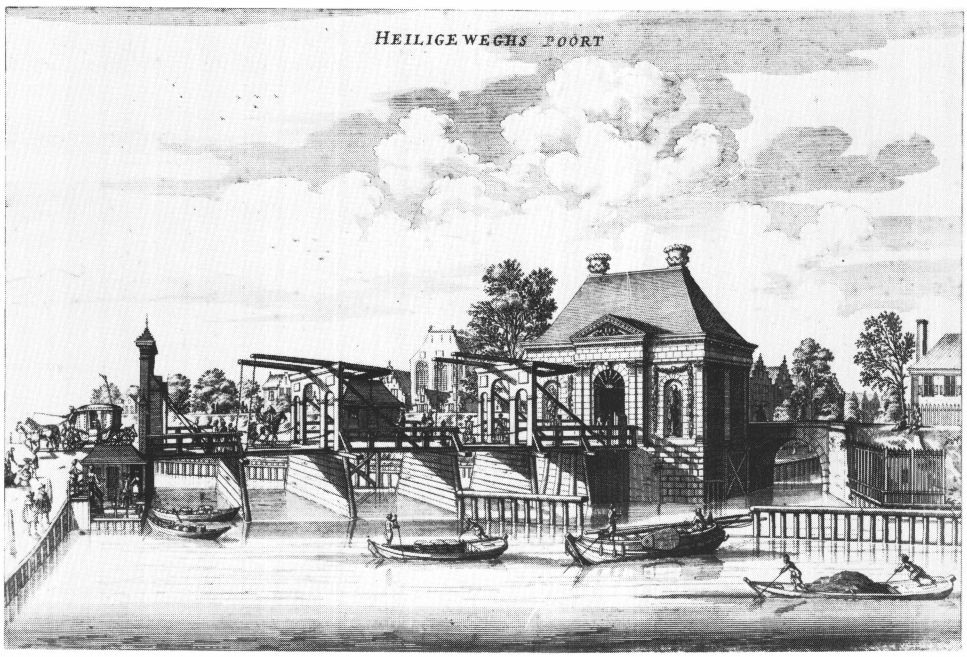
154. Front of Noordeinde Palace, c. 1639–45, after recent restoration.



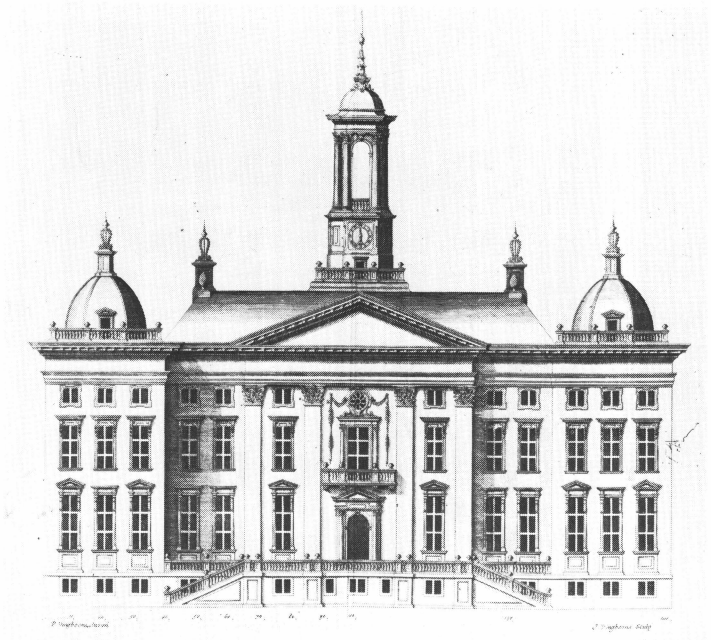
155. Prinsenhof, *Haarlem. Garden with Van Campen's Temple of Peace on the right.*



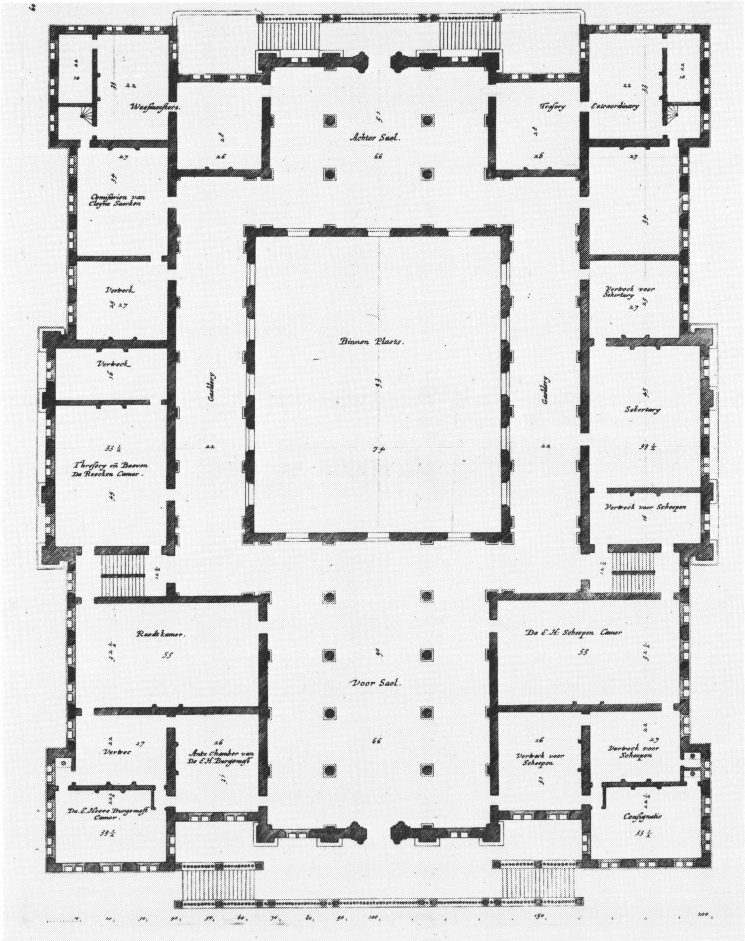
156. Temple of Peace, Haarlem, 1648.



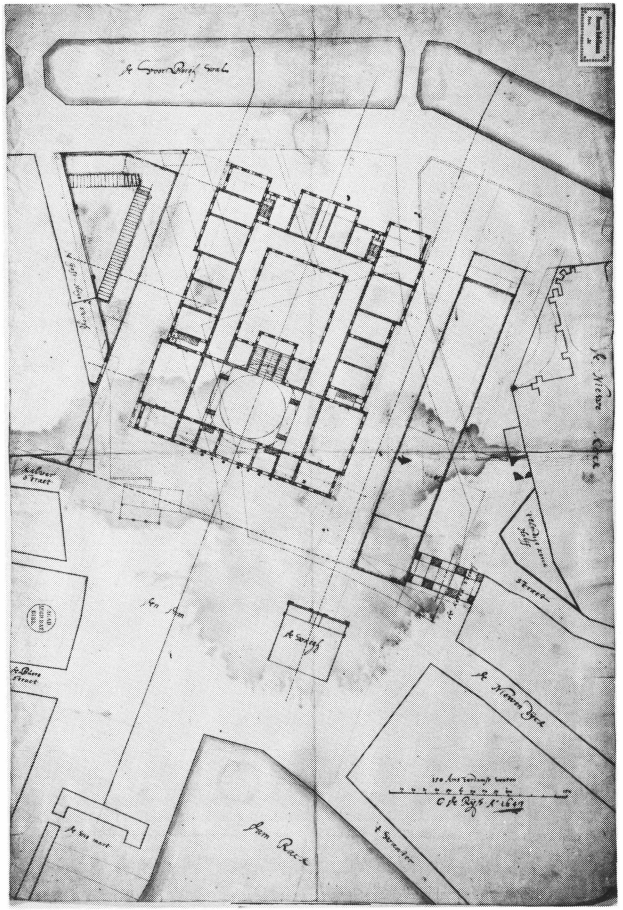
157. Jacob van Campen: Heiligewegspoort, Amsterdam, 1636.



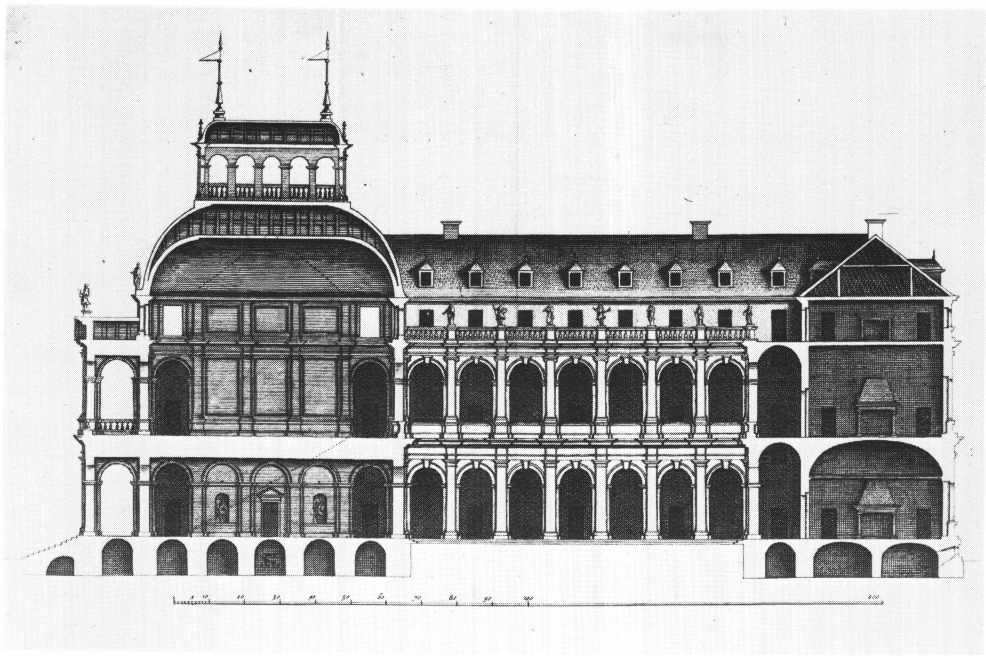
158. Philips Vingboons: Town Hall, Amsterdam, final design.

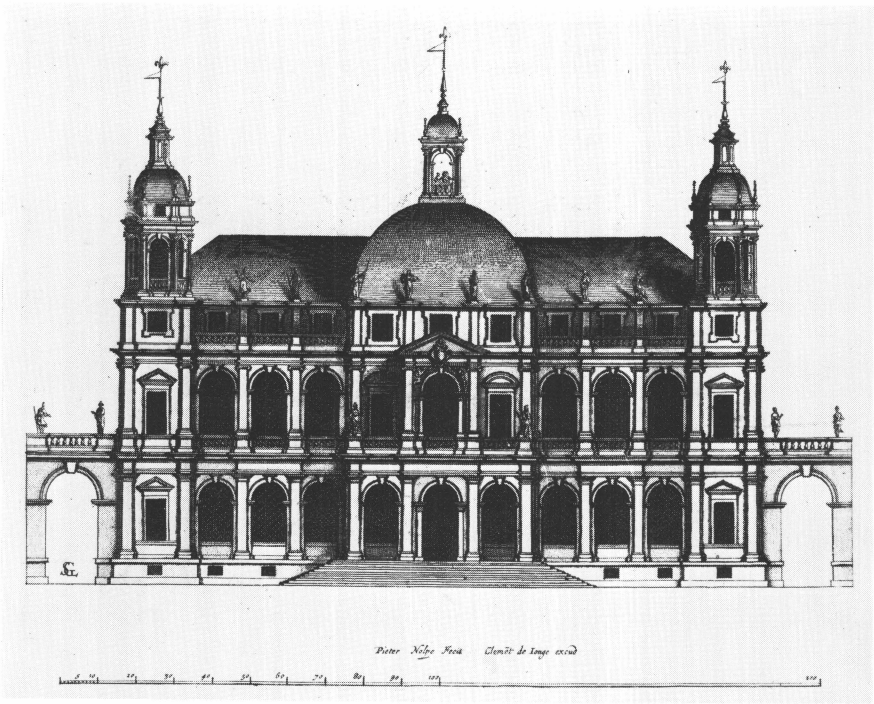


159. Philips Vingboons: Town Hall, Amsterdam, final design.

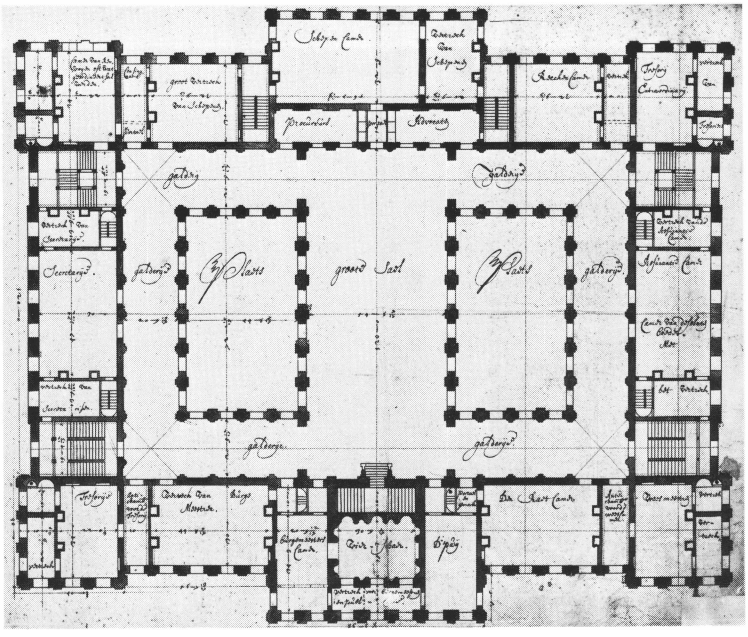


160. Pieter Post(?): Town Hall, Amsterdam, design. Drawing on surveyor's map of Dam Square.

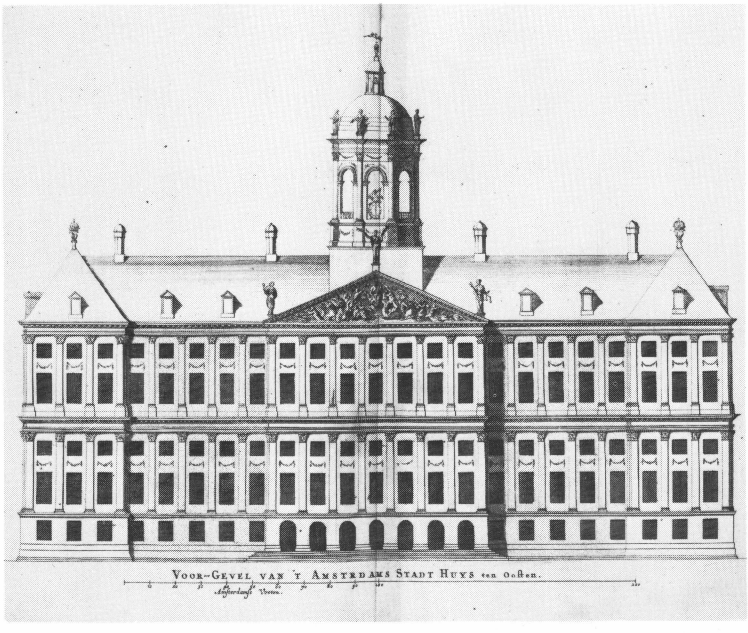




161–2. Sir Constantine Huygens(?): Town Hall, Amsterdam, design.



163. Jacob van Campen: Town Hall, Amsterdam. Piano nobile c. 1648.



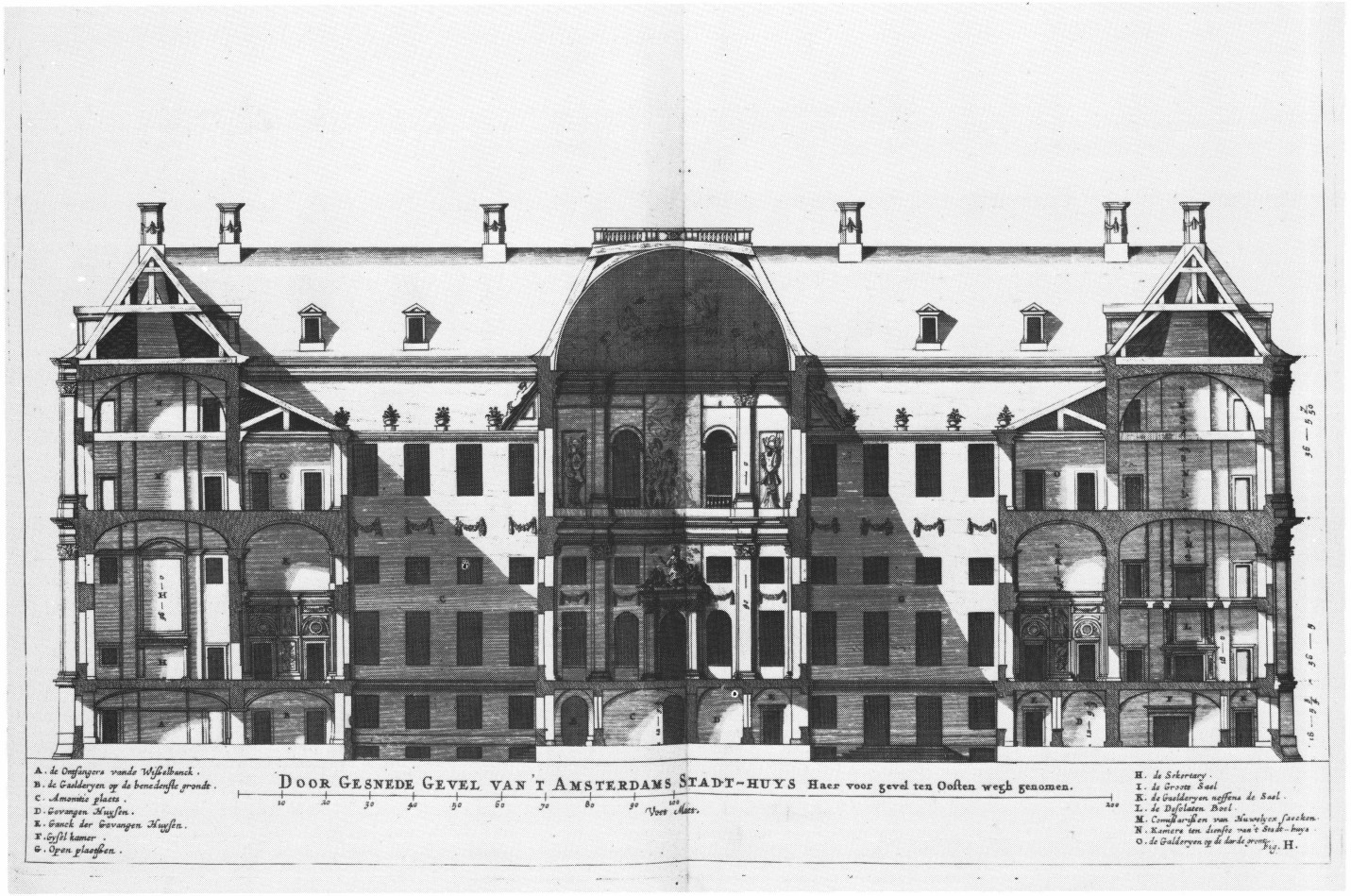
164. Jacob van Campen: Town Hall. Front, begun 1648. Cupola 1665.



165. Jacob van Campen: Town Hall. Vierschaar. *Sculpture executed by Artus Quellien.*



166. Town Hall. Great Hall (Burgerzaal).



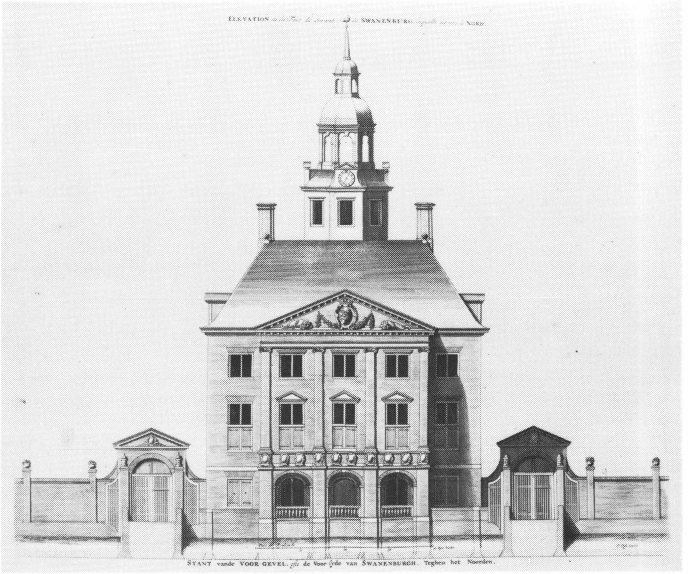
167. Town Hall. Section, looking West.



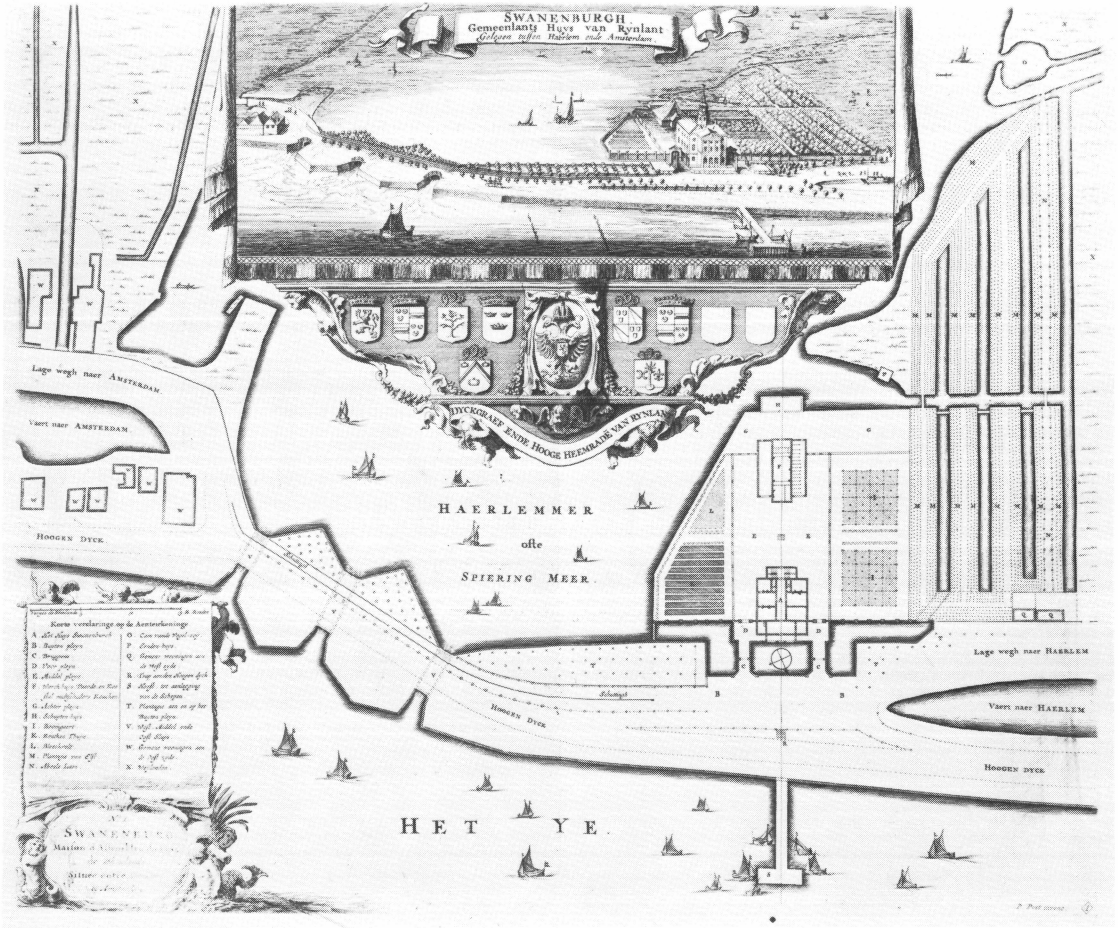
168. Pieter Post: Assembly Hall of the States of Holland, the Hague, 1652–70. Ceiling and chimney-piece original and restored, gallery added.



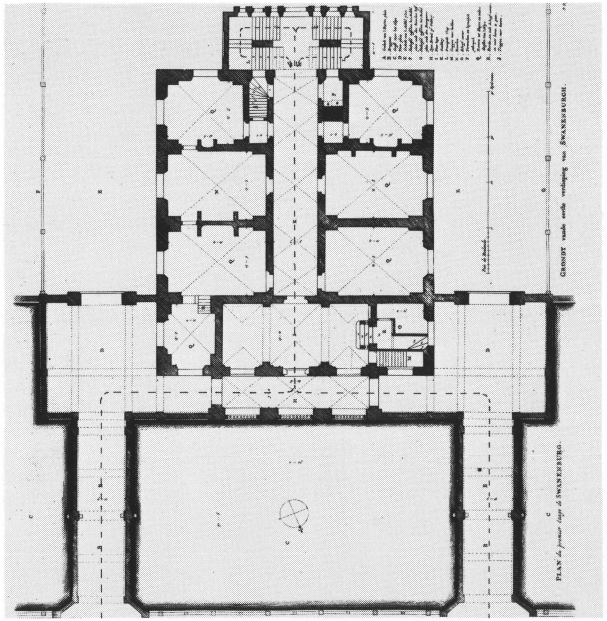
169. Andries de Haan and Nicolaas Wielingh: Asia amazed at the States' Proceedings. *Ceiling of Assembly Hall, c. 1665.*



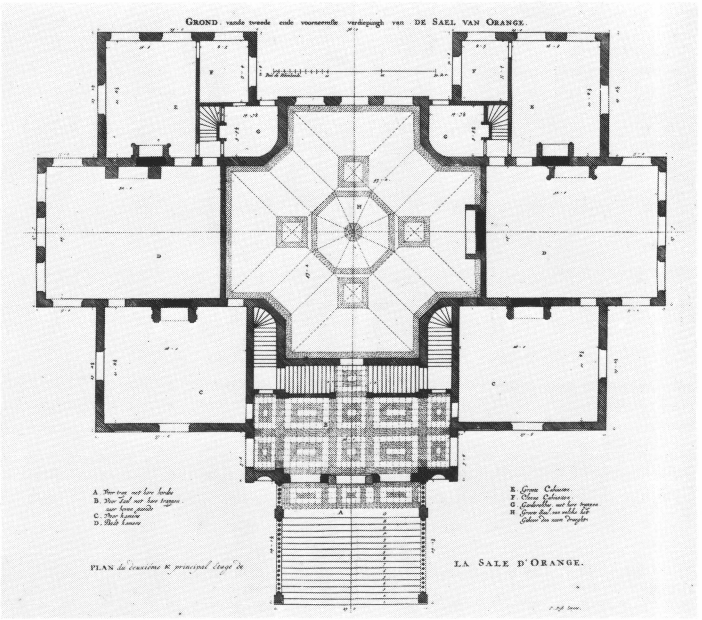
170. Pieter Post: Swanenburgh, begun 1645. Front.



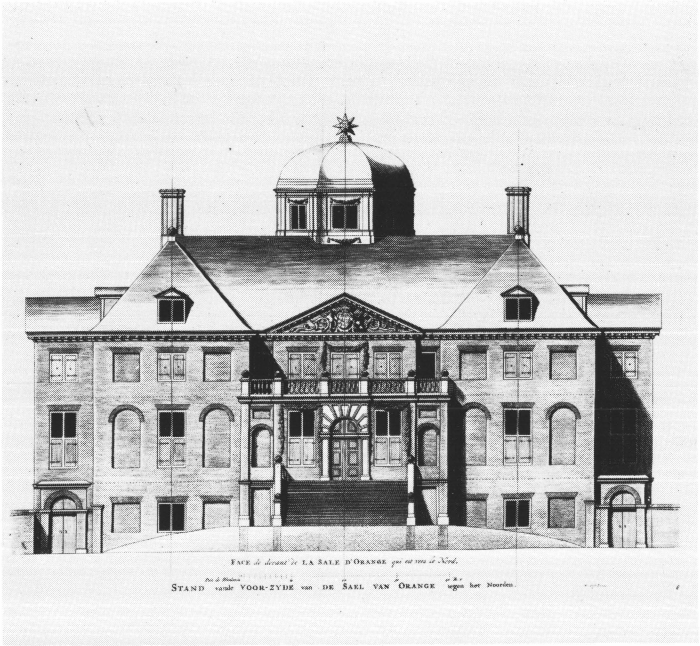
171. Pieter Post: Swanenburgh.



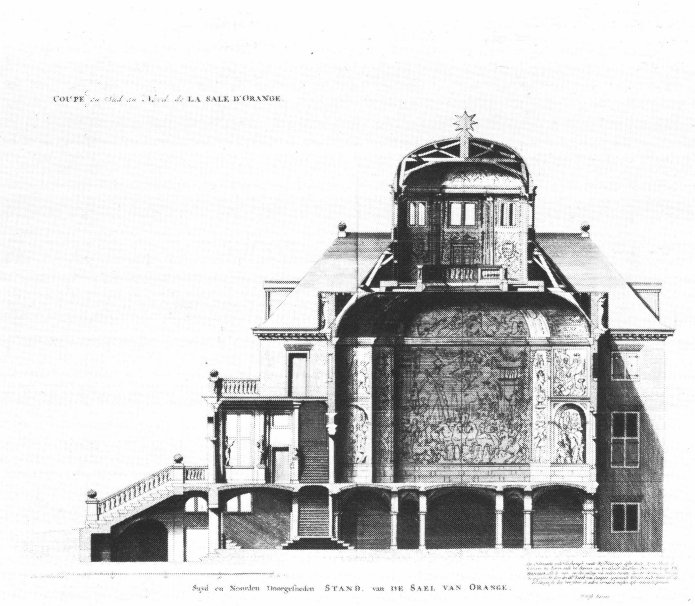
172. Pieter Post: Swanenburgh. Ground or Entrance Storey.



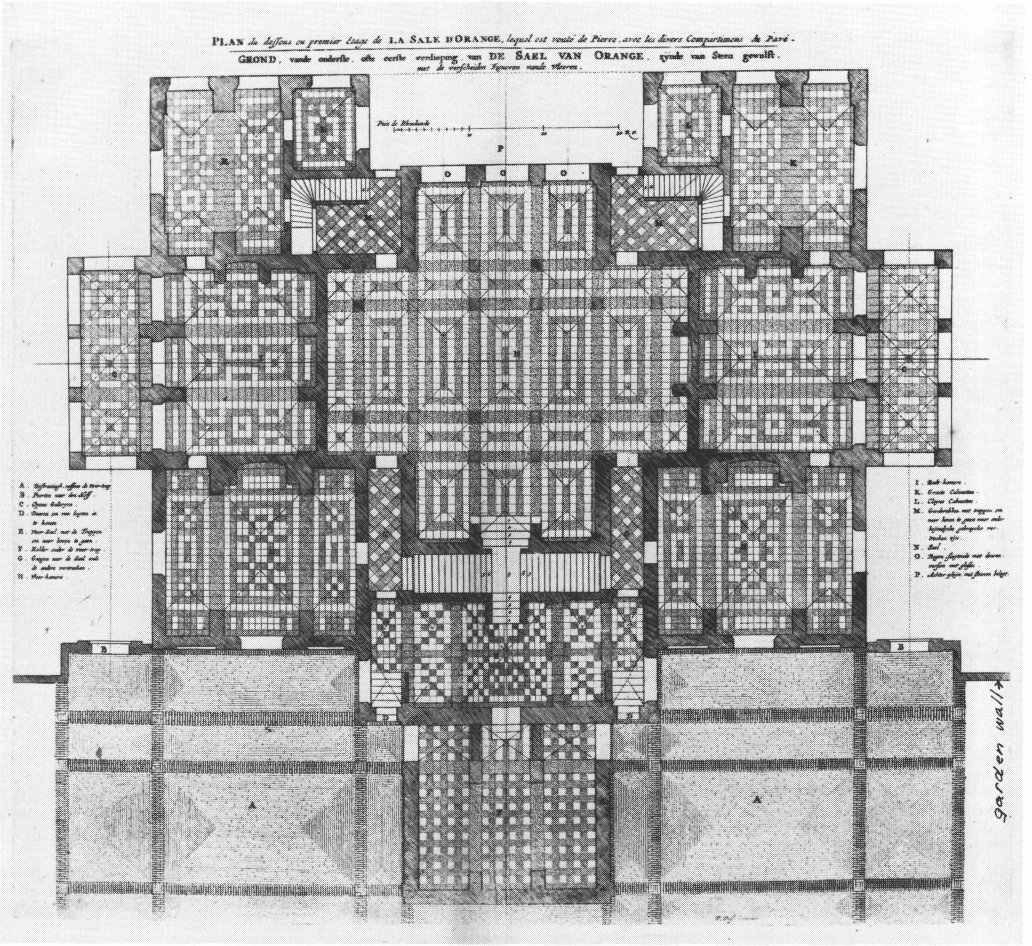
173. Pieter Post: Huis ten Bosch, the Hague, begun 1645. Main Storey.



174. Pieter Post: Huis ten Bosch. Front.



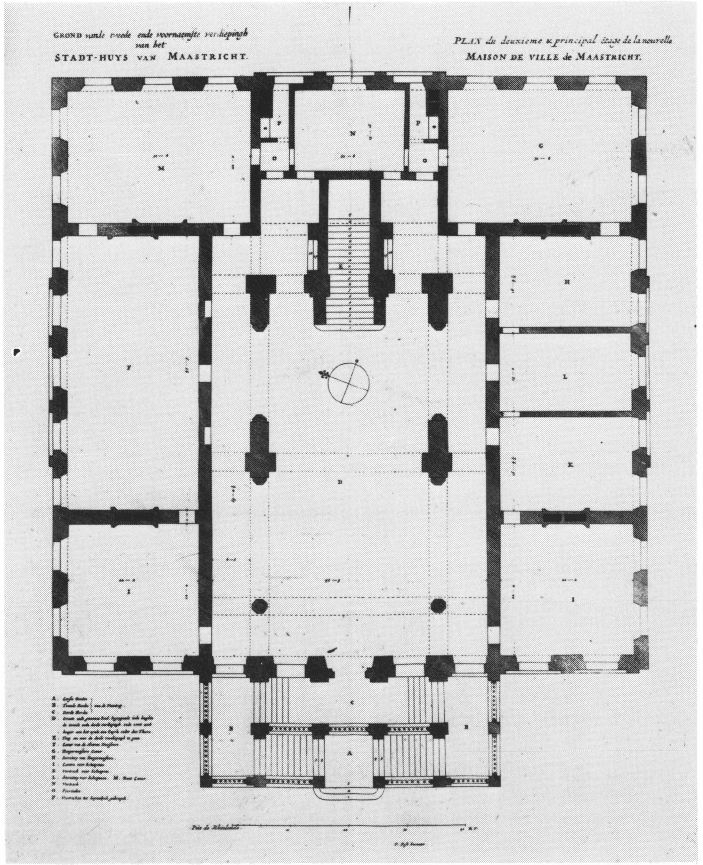
175. Pieter Post: Huis ten Bosch. Section.



176. Pieter Post: Huis ten Bosch. Basement.



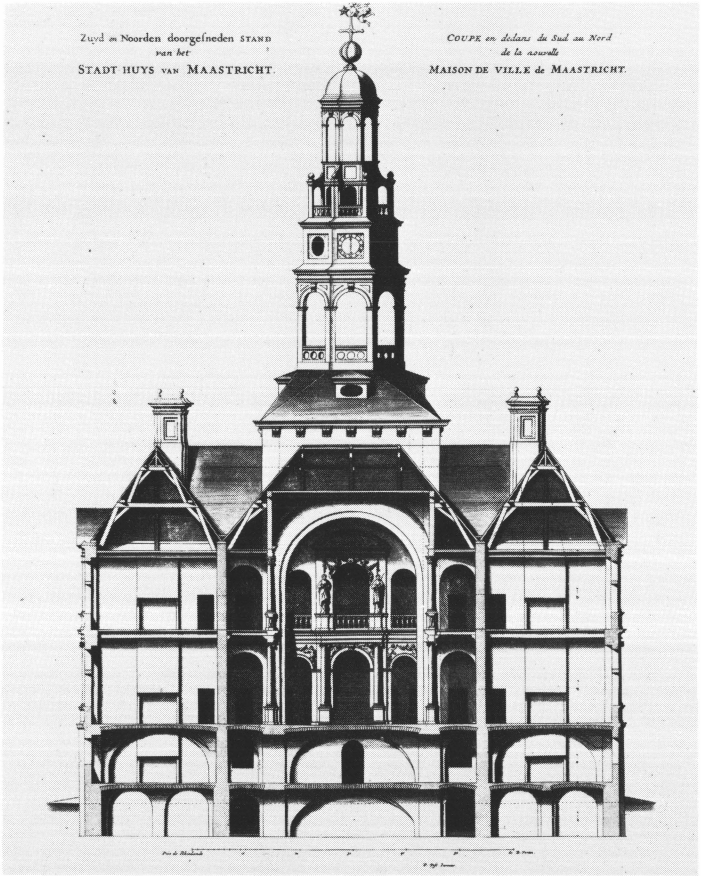
177. Daniel Marot: A Ball in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch, *1686.*



178. Pieter Post: Town Hall, Maastricht, 1659–64. Main floor with Great Hall.



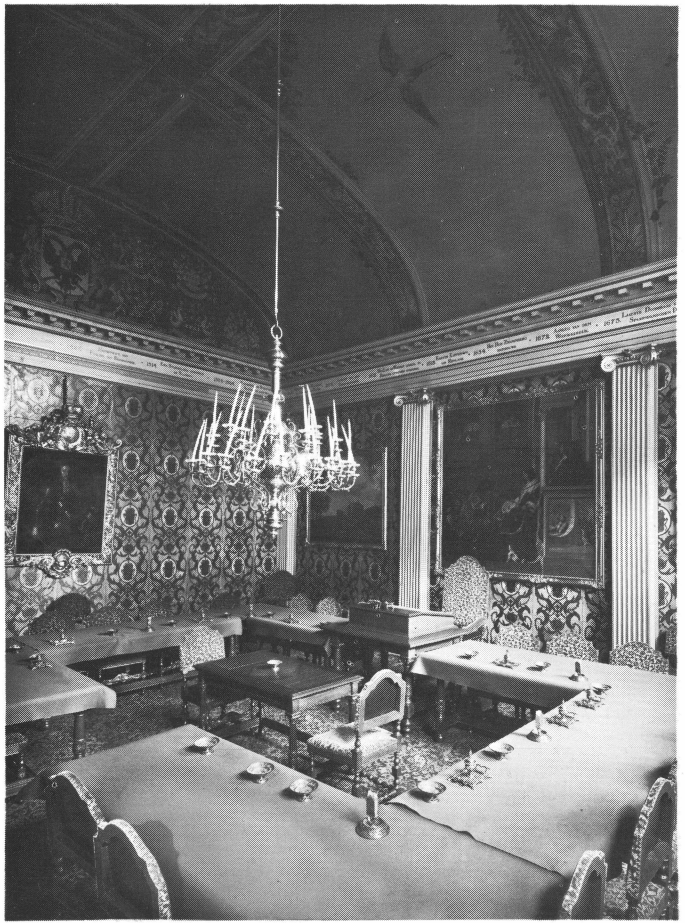
179. Town Hall, Maastricht. Front.



180. Town Hall, Maastricht. Section with view of Vierschaar. *Spire more depressed in execution 1684. Compare Plate 104.*



181. Pieter Post: Gemeenlandshuis, Leyden. Voorhuis, *c. 1675.*



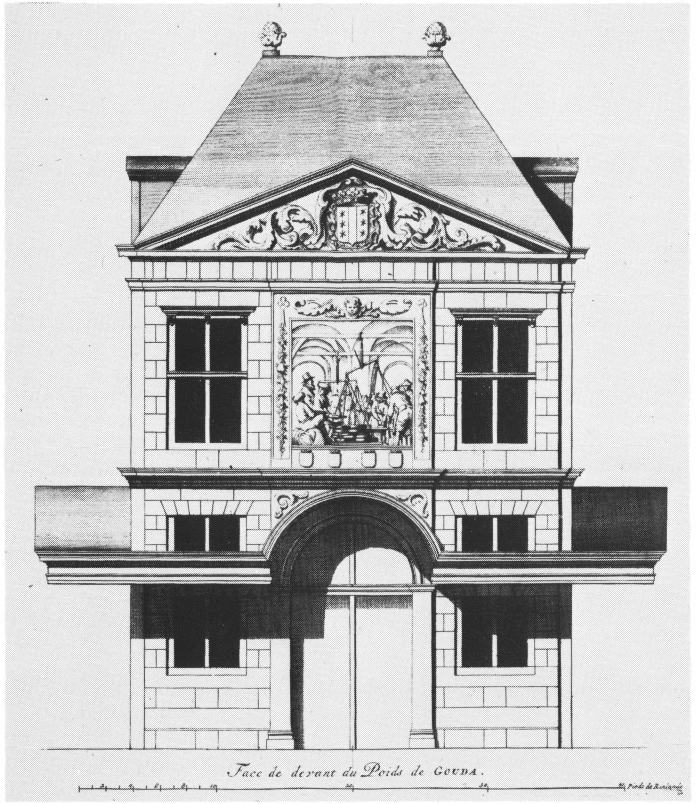
182. Pieter Post: Gemeenlandshuis, Leyden. Assembly Hall, c. 1660–70.



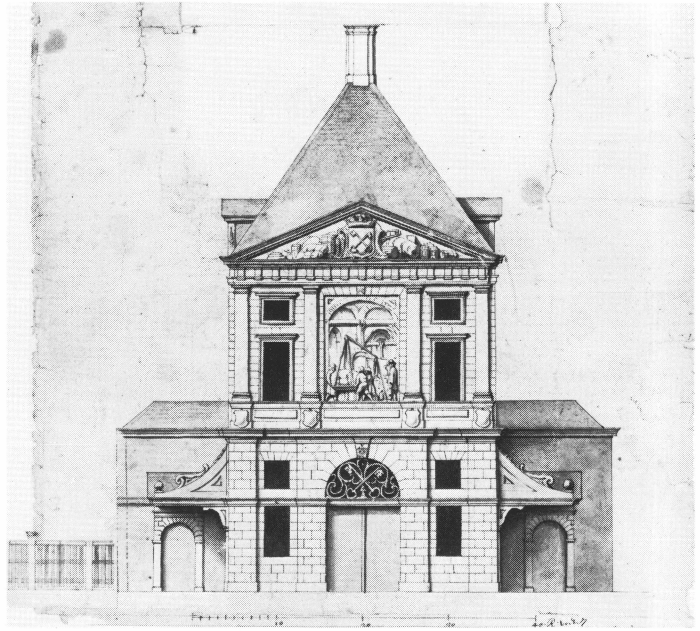
183. Pieter Post: Rapenburg 8, Leyden, 1668.



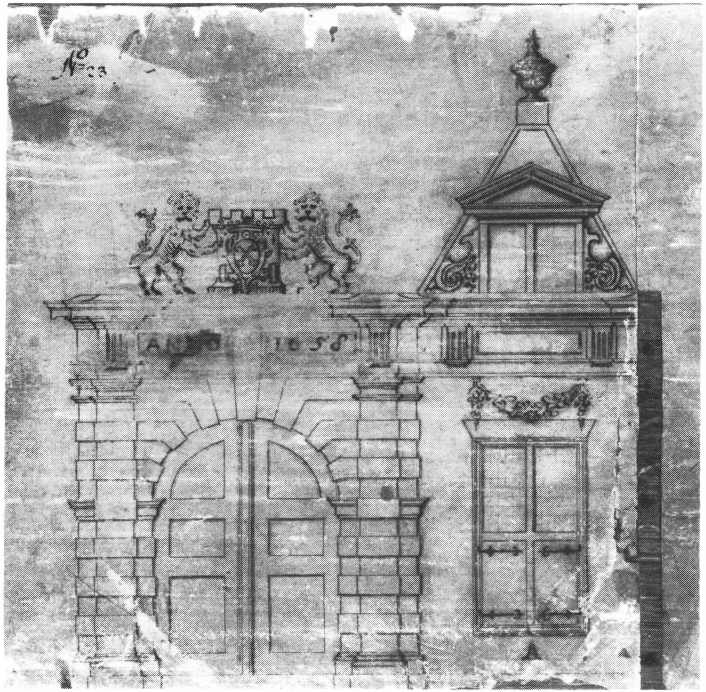
184. Pieter Post: Weigh-house, Leyden, 1658.



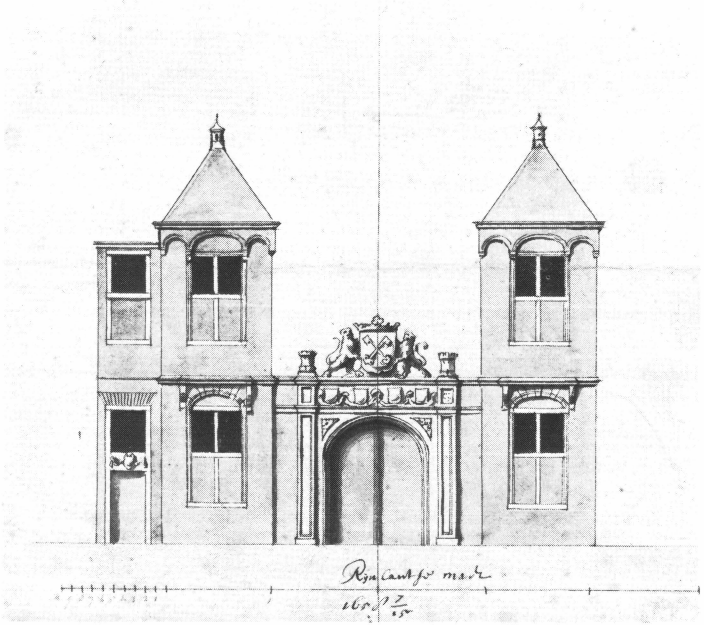
185. Pieter Post: Weigh-house, Gouda, begun 1668.



186. Pieter Post: Weigh-house, Leyden. Design with originally intended roof, 1657.



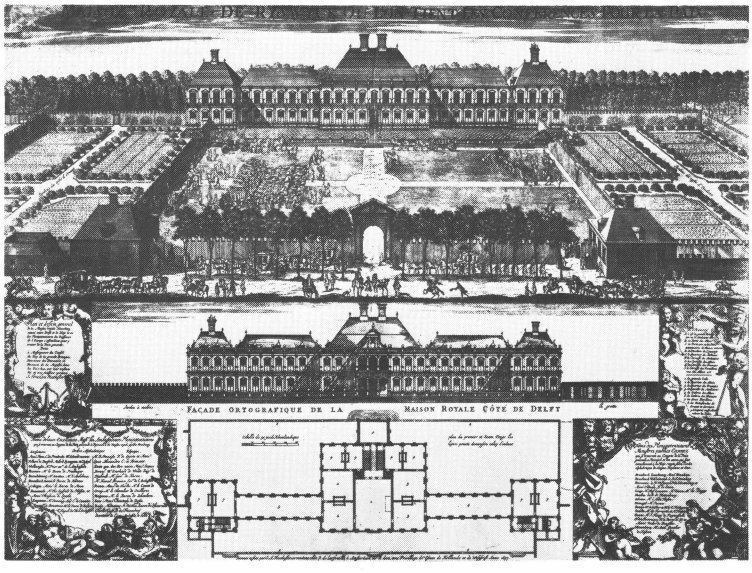
187. Pieter Post(?): Entrance to Burcht. Leyden. Design, 1658.



188. Willem van der Helm: Entrance to Burcht, Leyden. Design, 1658.



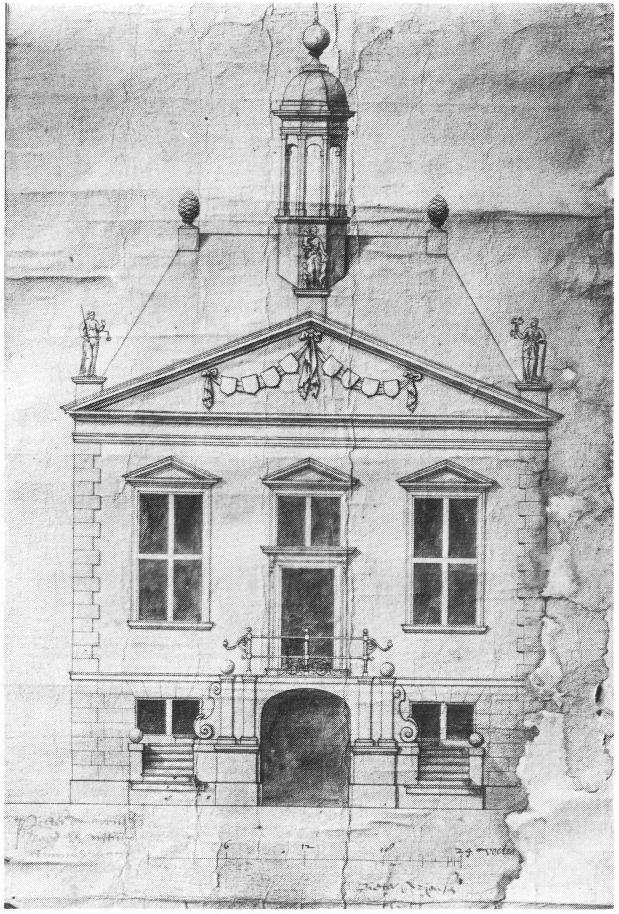
189. Arent van 's-Gravesande (attributed): Rapenburg 48, Leyden, 1640.



190. Ter Nieuwburgh (Rijswijk). The Palace with forecourt and enclosed gardens (tuinen) in front. Centre: Garden Front. Below: Plan. Entrance-gate and balustrade in forecourt by Van 's-Gravesande, 1632.



191. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Sebastiaansdoelen, the Hague, 1636.



192. Van 's-Gravesande: Town Hall, Middelharnis, 1639.



193. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Korenbrug, Leyden, 1642. (Covered corn-market by Van der Paauw, 1825). On the left the Town Hall's tower (burnt in 1929).



194. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Lakenhal (Cloth Hall), Leyden, 1640.



195. Lakenhal. Frontispiece.



196. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Hoffje van Brouchoven, Leyden, 1640.



197. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Hofje van Brouckhoven. Frontispiece.



198. Arent van 's-Gravesande, Pieter 't Hooft and others: Doelenpoort, Leyden, 1645.



199. Arent van 's-Gravesande: Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leyden, 1655.



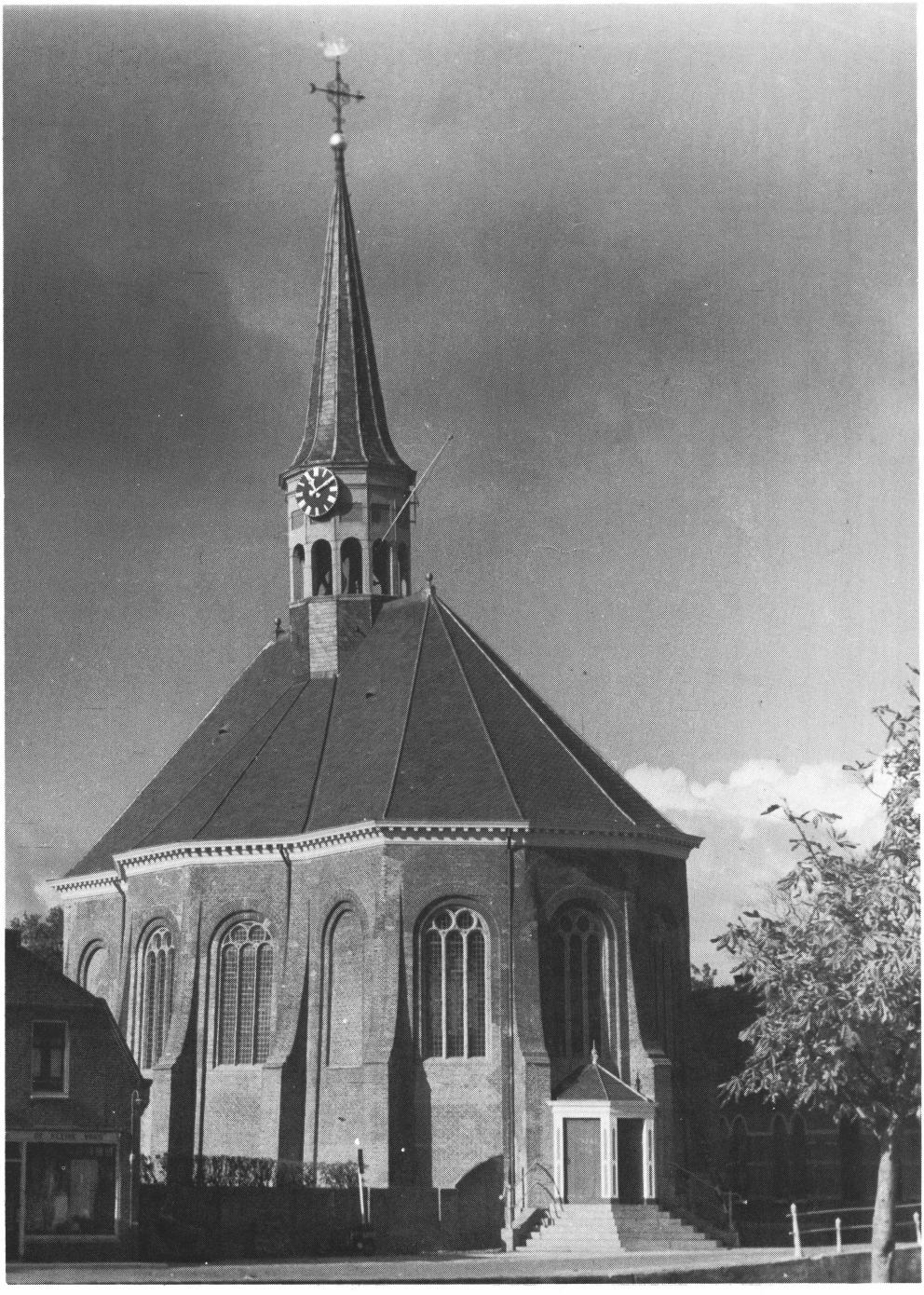
200. Arent van 's-Gravesande: 1655 extension of Gravensteen, Leyden.



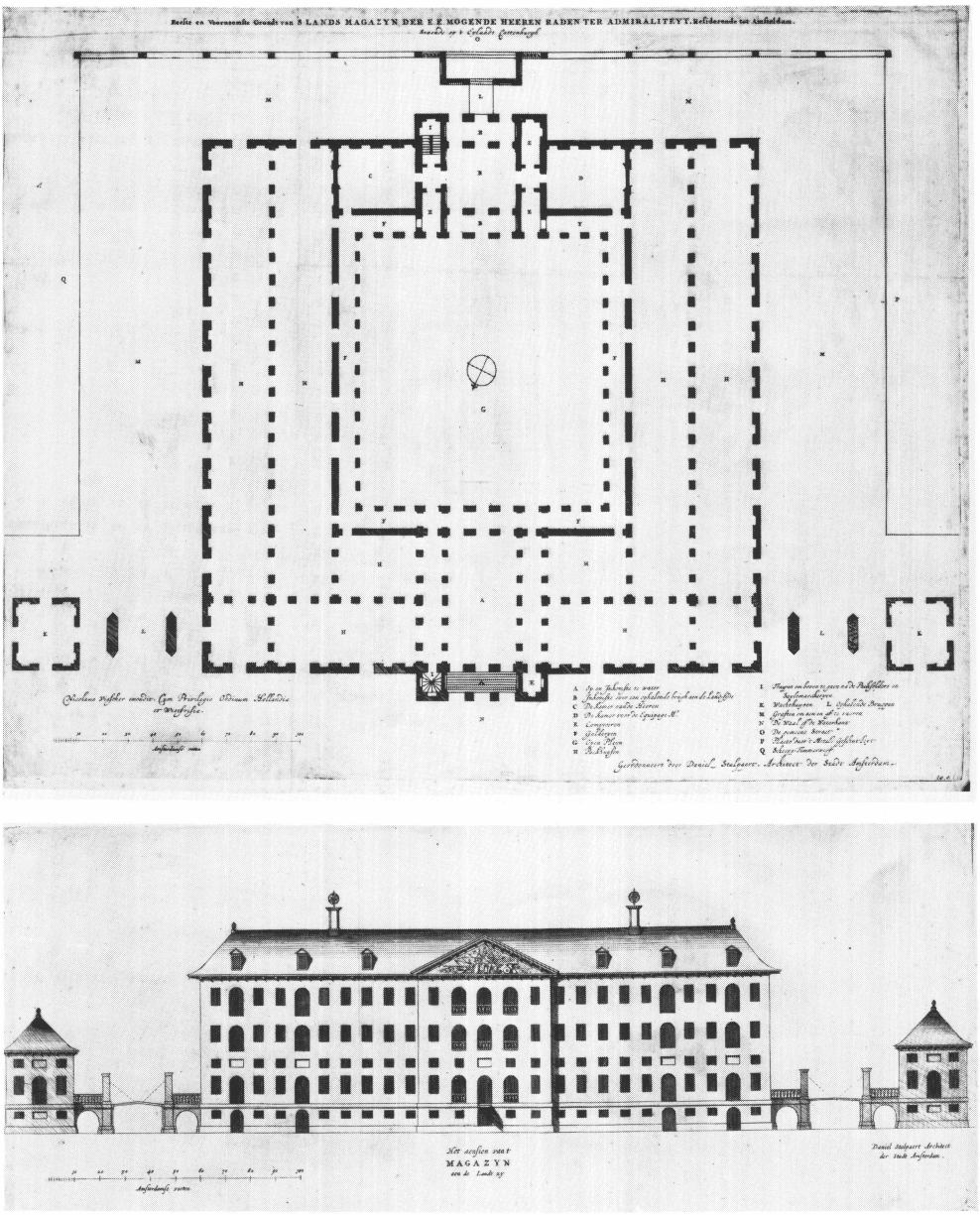
201. Arent van 's-Gravesande(?): Rapenburg 2, Leyden, c. 1640.



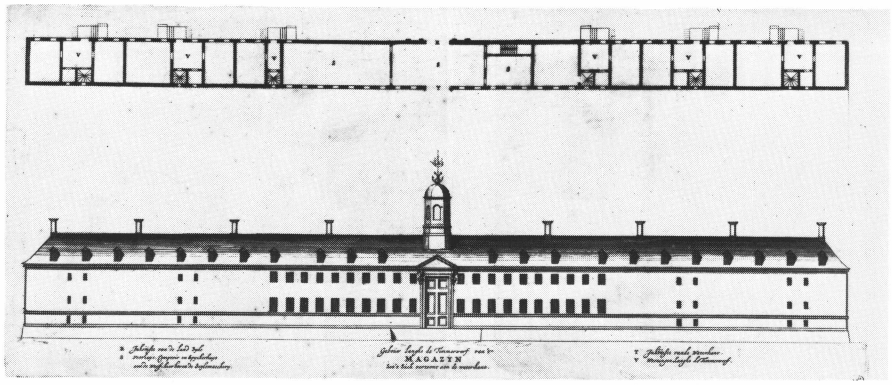
202. Arent van 's-Gravensande(?): Noordeinde 50, Leyden, 1653.



203. Arent van 's-Gravesande (attributed): Woubrugge Church, 1653.



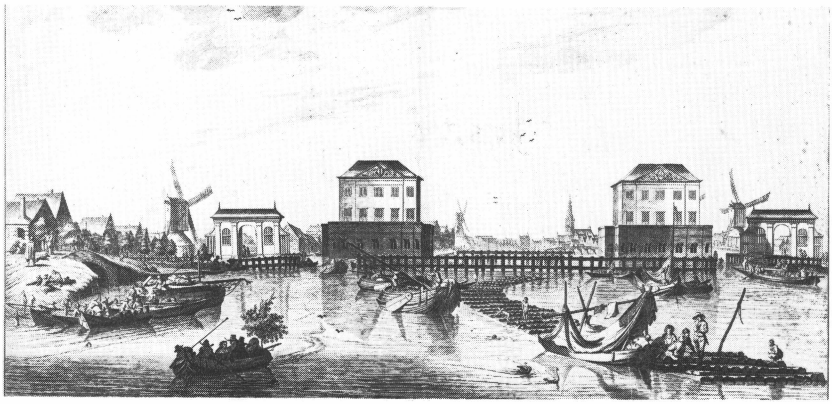
204A–B. Daniel Stalpaert: Admiralty Storehouse, Amsterdam, 1656. Guard-houses on left and right not executed.



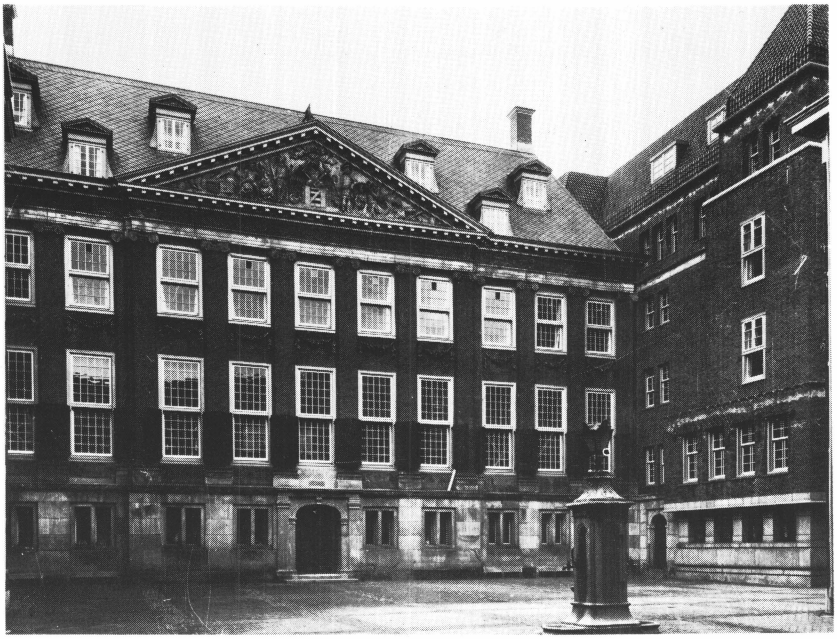
205. Daniel Stalpaert: Admiralty Storehouse. Ancillary Building. Plan and Water-front.



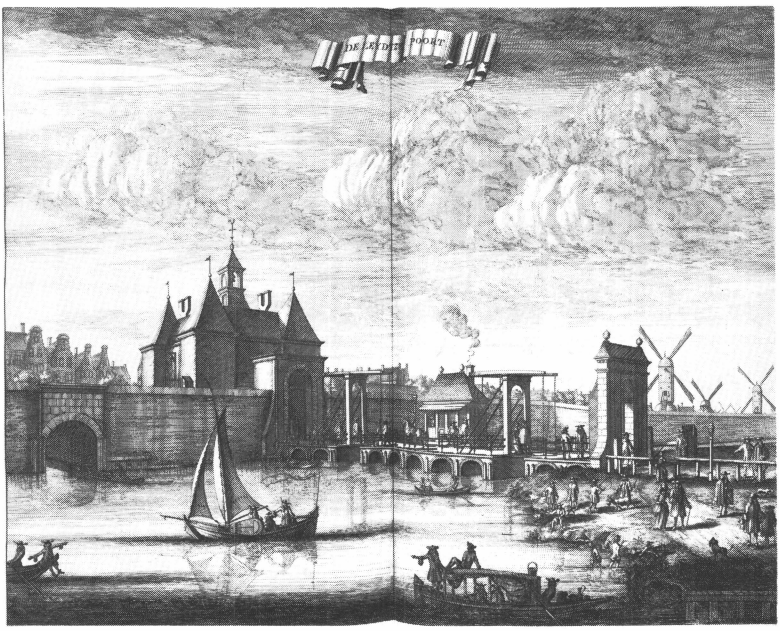
206. Daniel Stalpaert: East Indian Company Storehouse, Amsterdam, 1661. Print by Mulder, 1693.



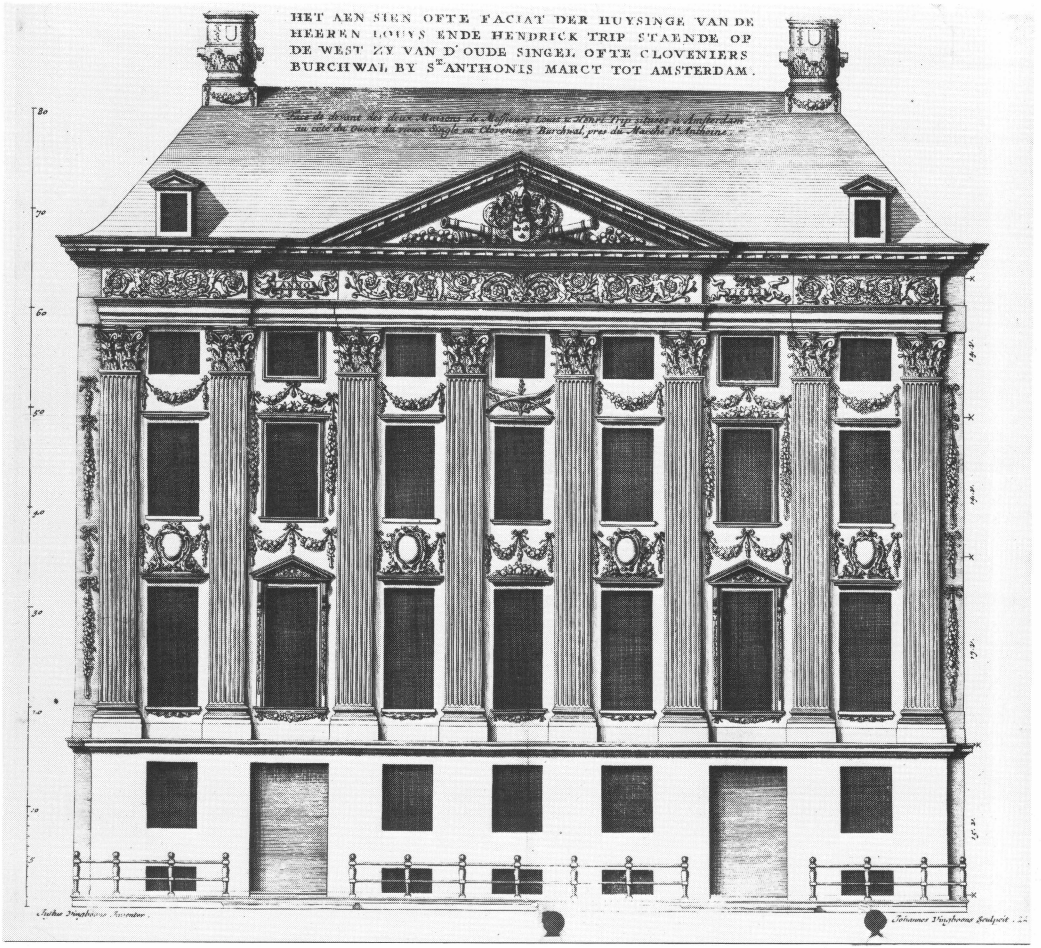
207. Daniel Stalpaert: Block-houses in the Amstel, Amsterdam, 1650.



208. Daniel Stalpaert (attributed): Admiralty Office (Prinsenhof), Amsterdam, 1661.



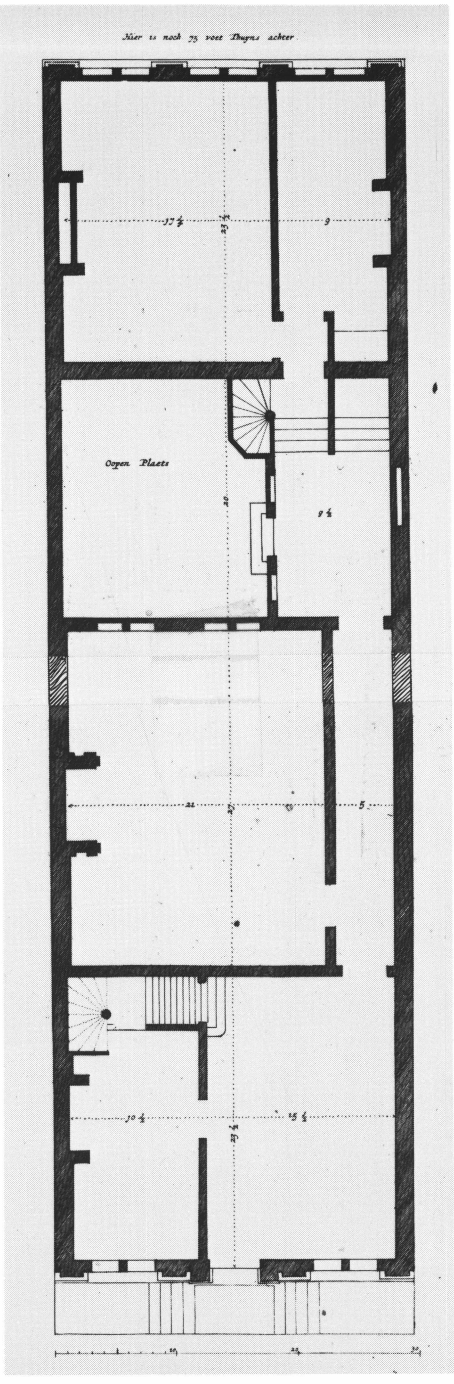
209. Daniel Stalpaert: Leidsche Poort, Amsterdam, c. 1662.

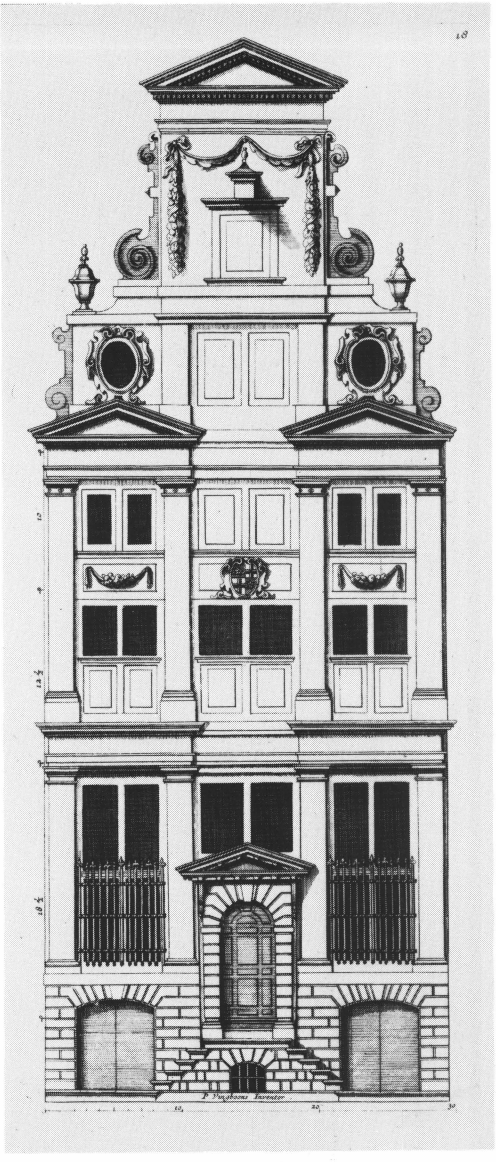


210. Justus Vingboons: Trippenhuis, Amsterdam, 1662.

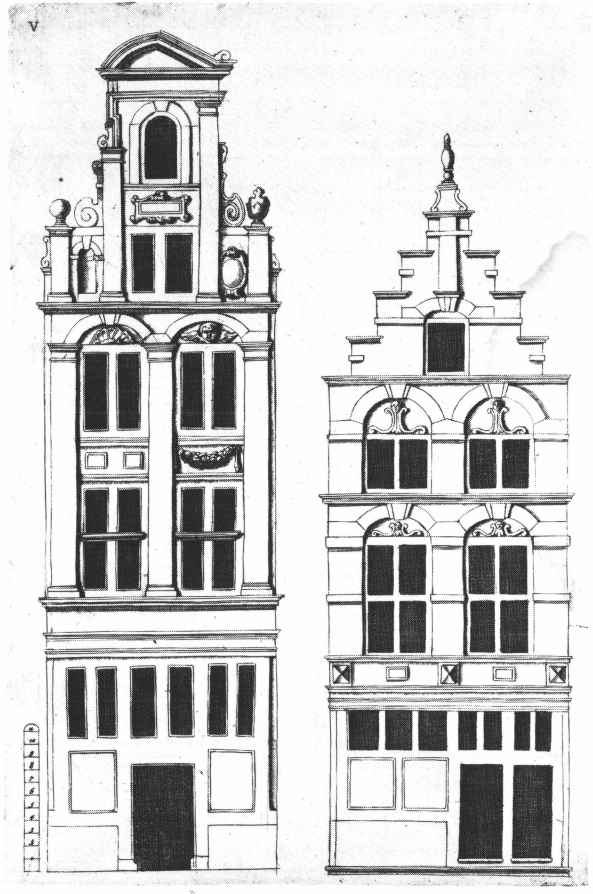


211. Philips Vingboons: Hendrick de Keyser's Exchange. *Painting, 1634.*

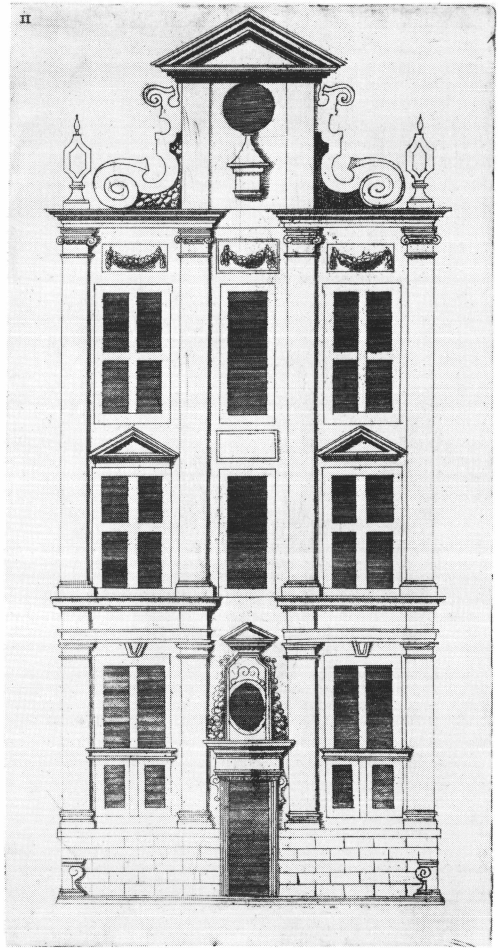




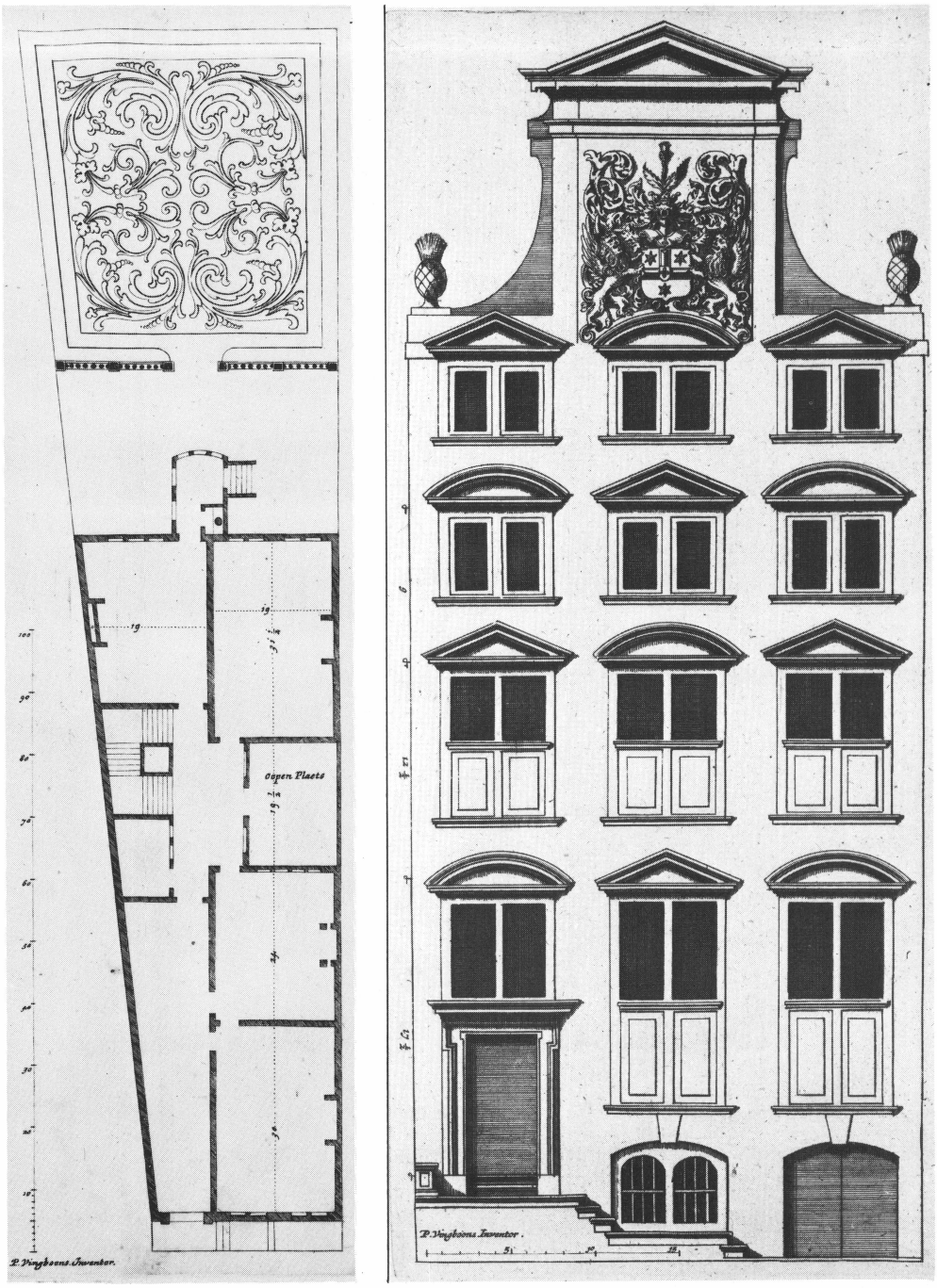
212. Philips Vingboons: Daniel Soyhier House, Amsterdam, 1639.
462



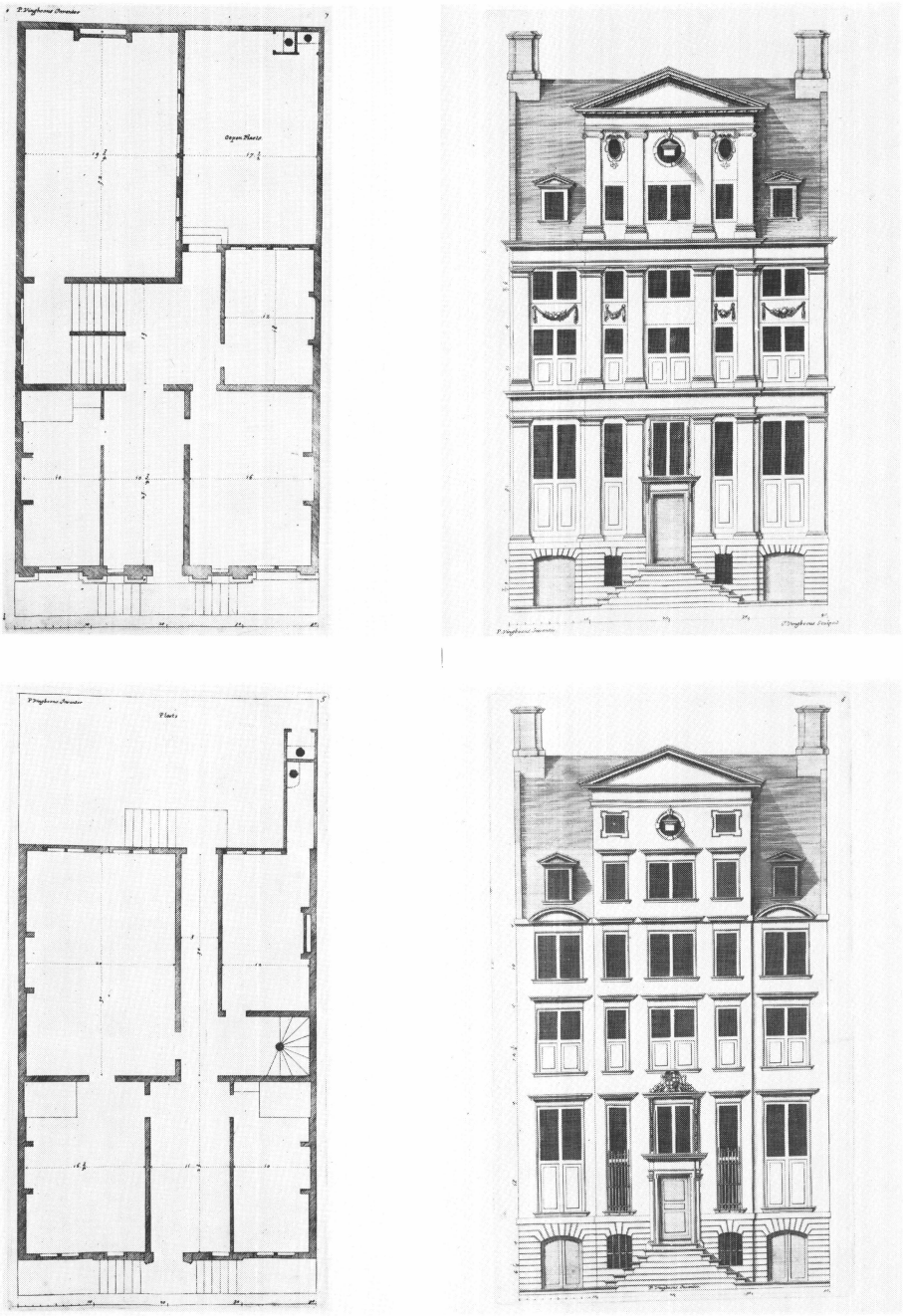
213. Philips Vingboons: Projects for Façades. On the left two variants in the developing new style, on the right an exercise in the current idiom.



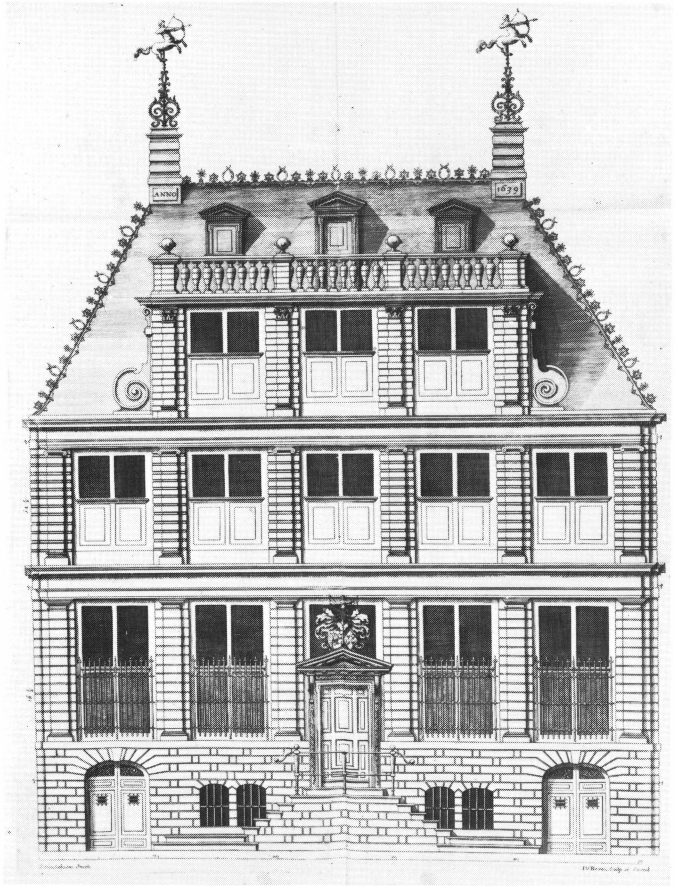
214. Philips Vingboons (attributed): Design for Façade.



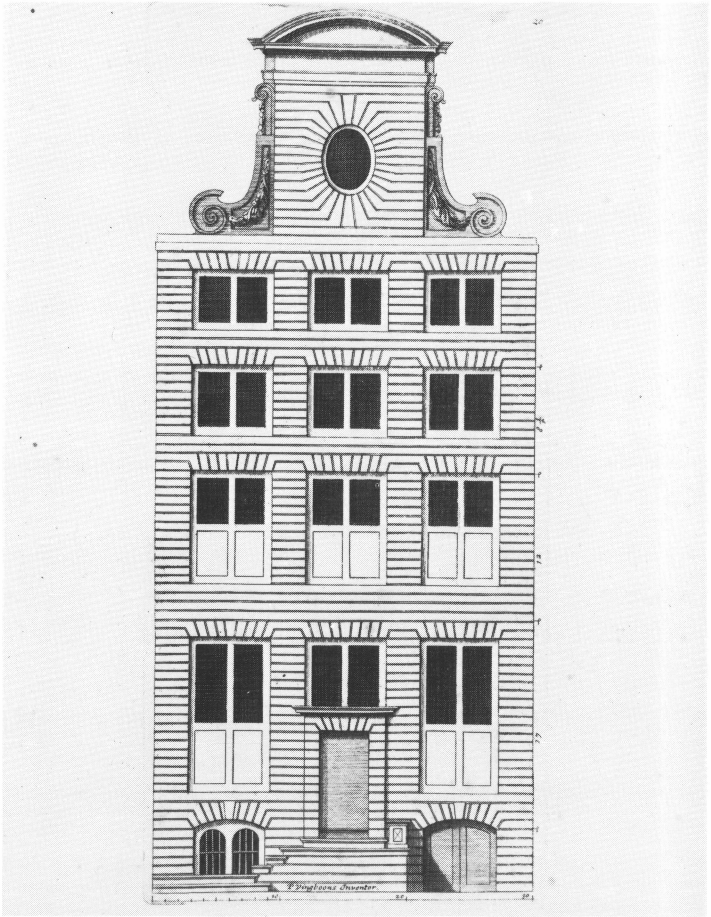
215. Philips Vingboons: Michael Paeuw House, Amsterdam, 1638.



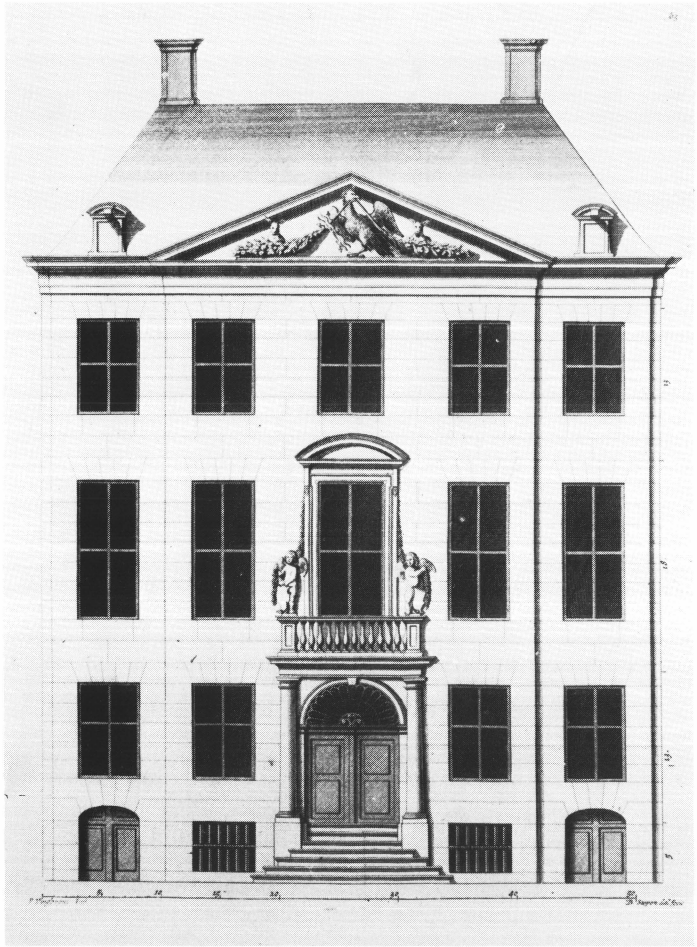
216–17. Philips Vingboons: Nicolaes Soyhier House, Amsterdam, 1640. First design (above) and executed design (below; demolished).



218. Pieter or Philips Vingboons: Ioan Huydecoper House, Amsterdam, 1639. Elevation damaged in the second World War and since in storage.



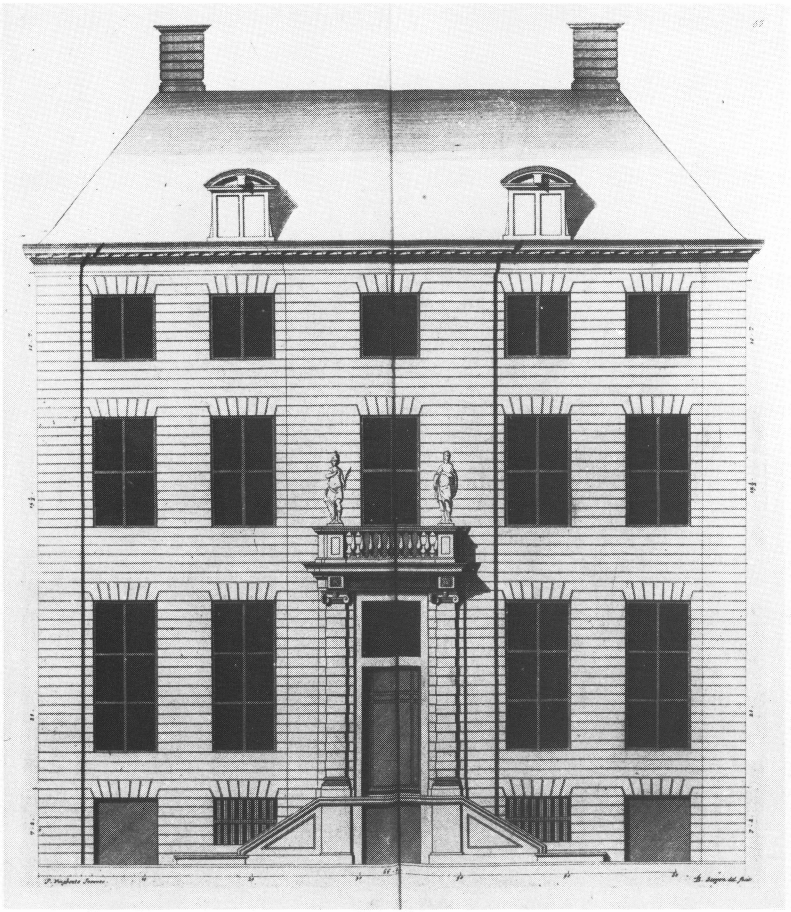
219. Philips Vingboons: Project for Channelled Elevation, before 1648.



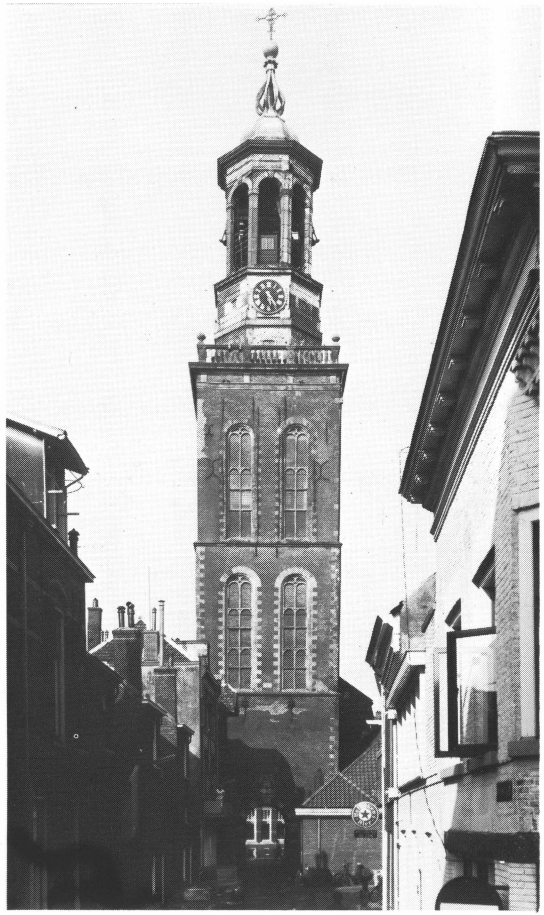
220. Philips Vingboons: De Haase House, Amsterdam, 1671.



221. De Haase House. Present state.



222. Philips Vingboons: Joseph Deutz House, Amsterdam, 1672.



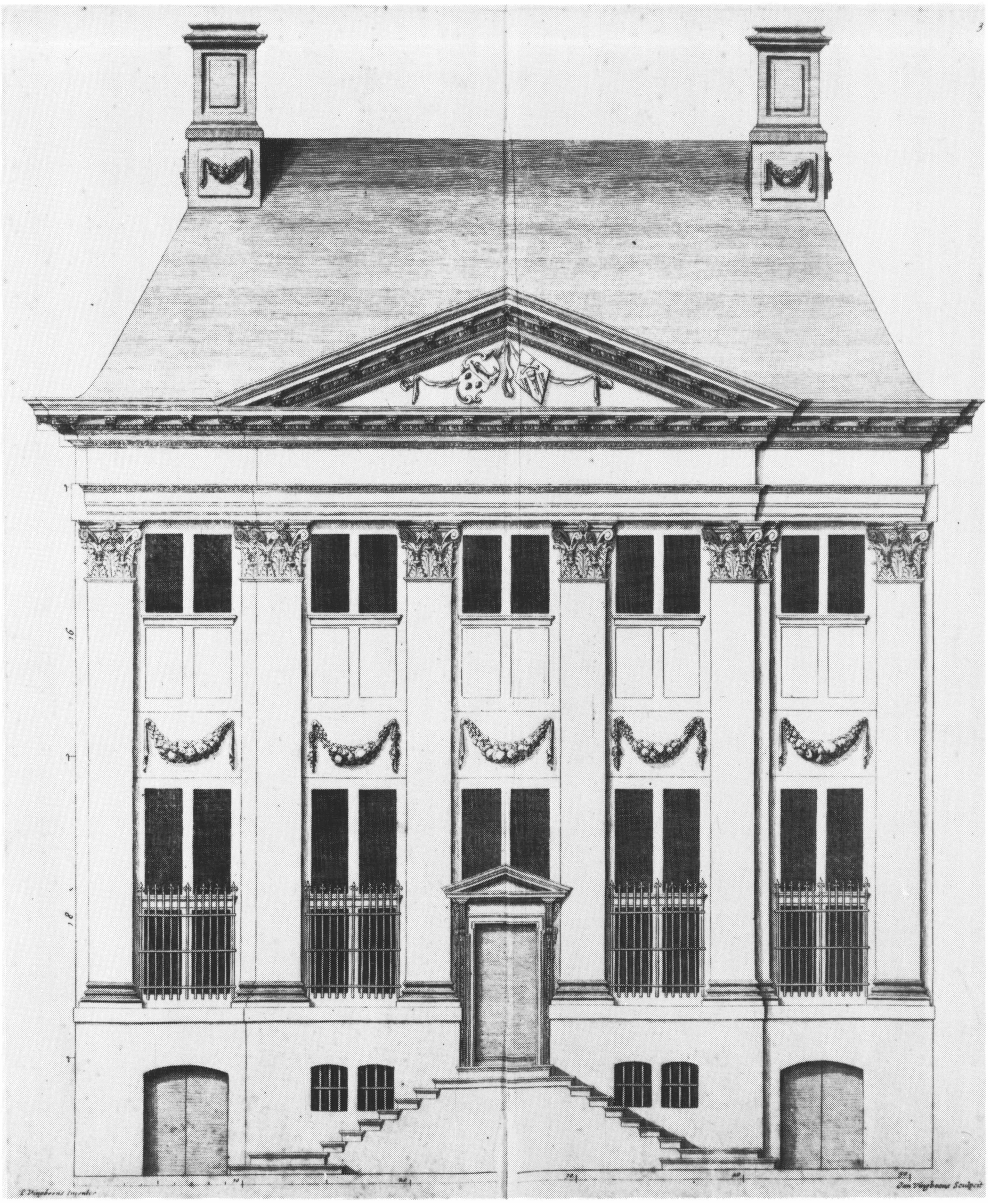
223. Philips Vingboons: Tower, Kampen: Cupola-turret, c. 1661.



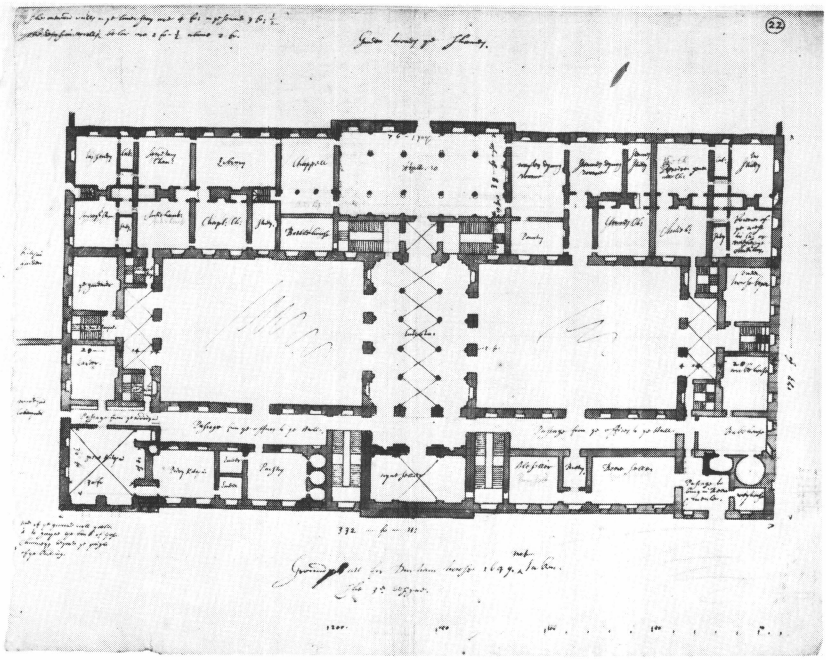
224. Willem van der Helm(?): Rapenburg 31–29, Leyden, 1664.



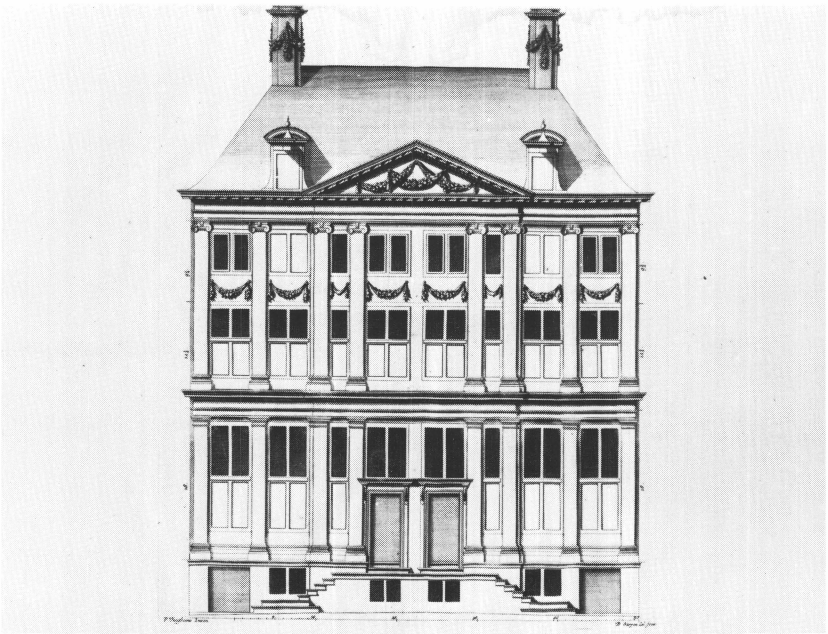
225. Jacob van Campen: Mauritshuis, Great Upper Hall.



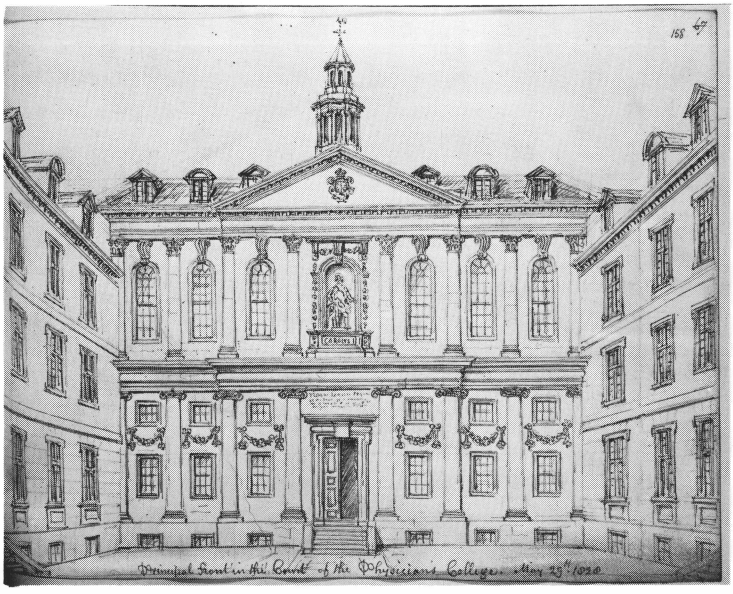
226. Philips Vingboons: Ioan Poppen House, Amsterdam, 1642.



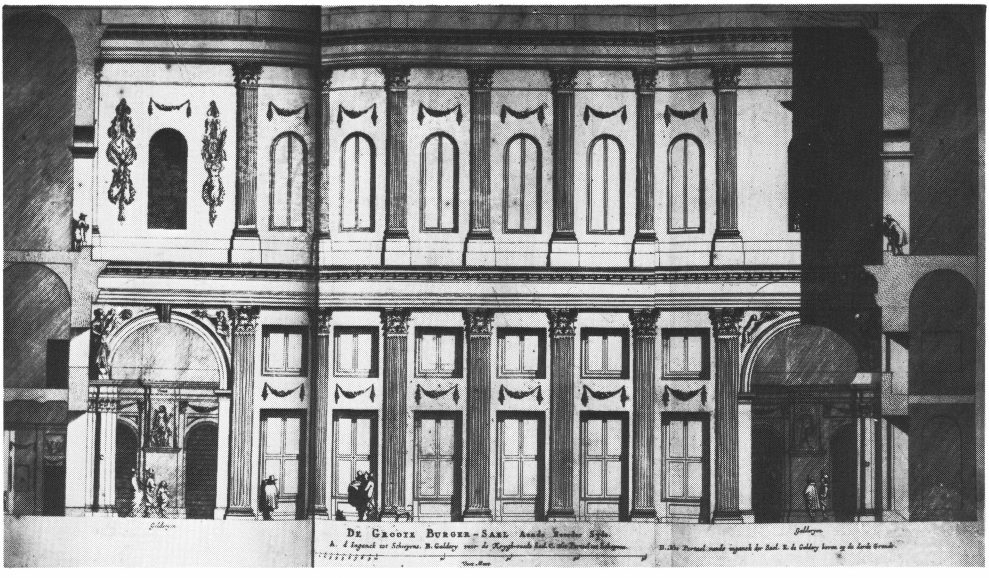
227. John Webb: Durham House. Third Design, 1649.



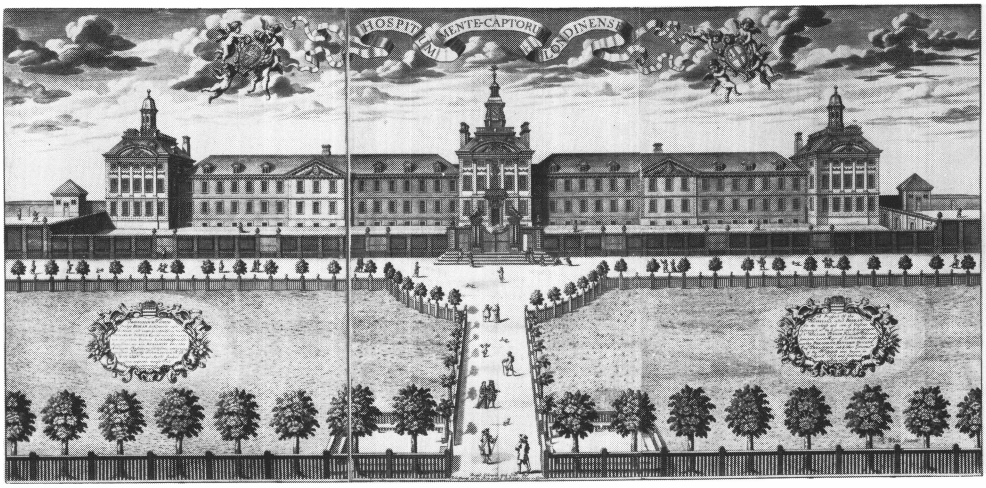
228. Philips Vingboons: Schuyt House, Amsterdam, 1650 (demolished c. 1923).



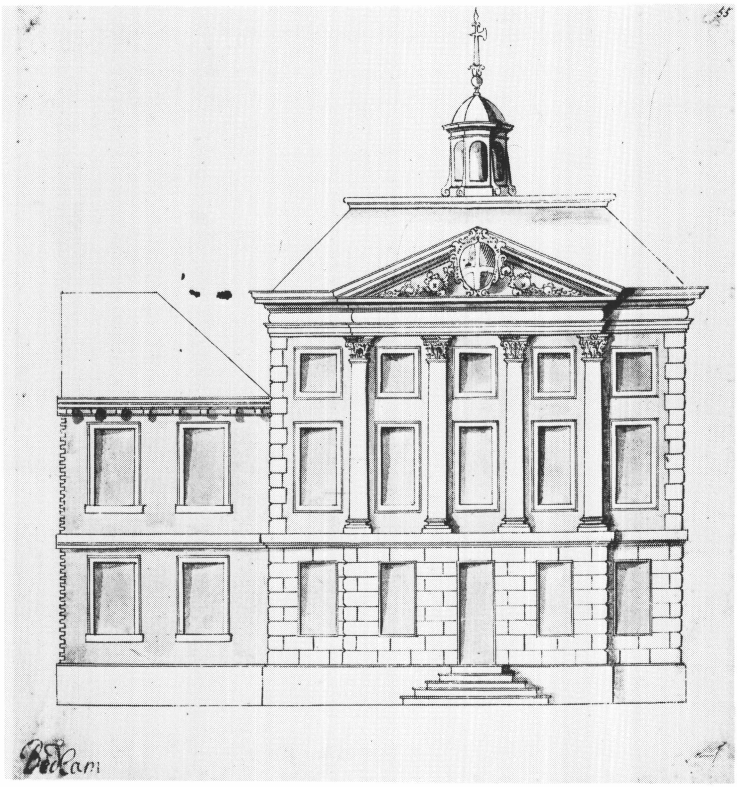
229. Robert Hooke: Royal College of Physicians, London, 1672–8 (destroyed 1879). Principal Front.



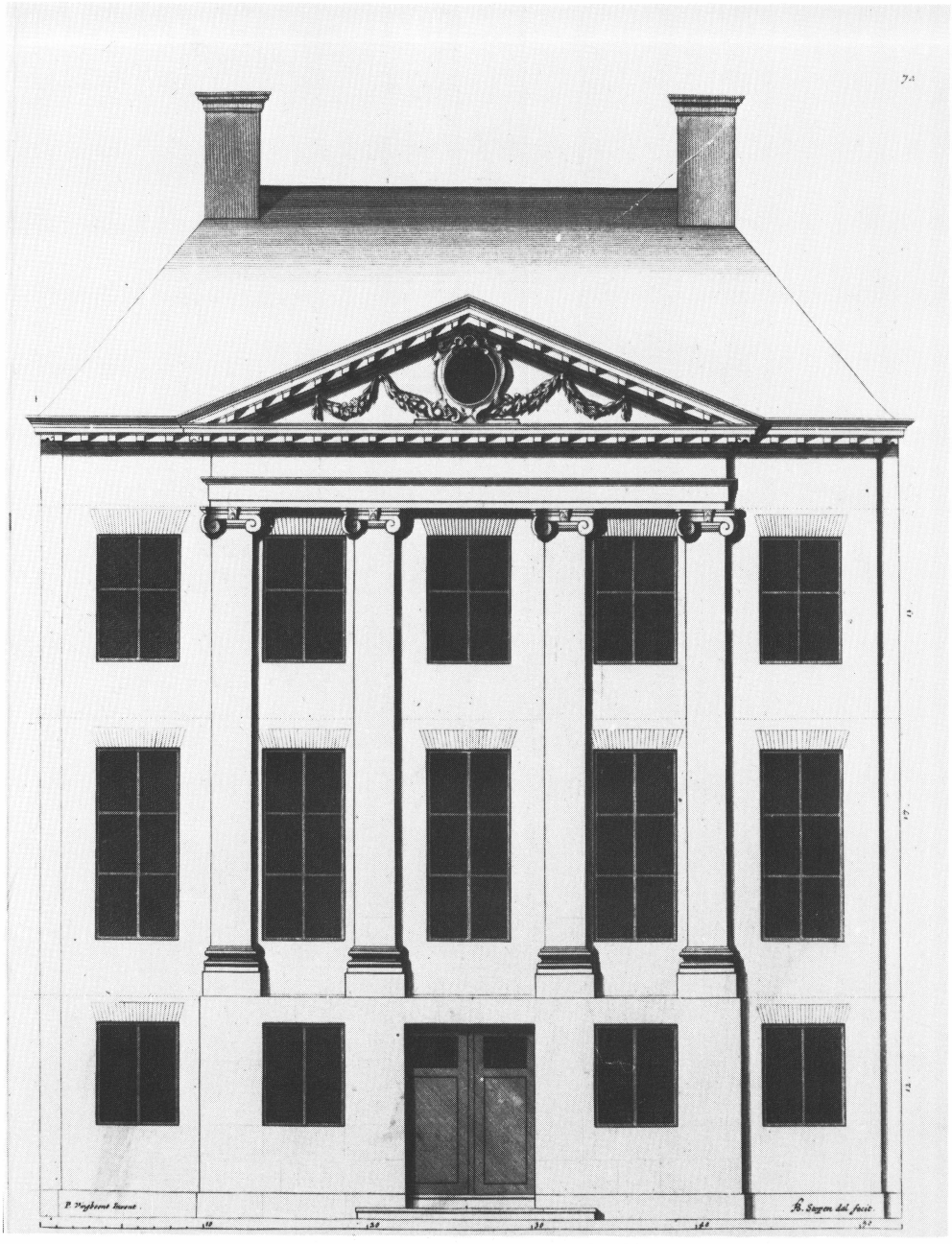
230. Jacob van Campen: Town Hall, Amsterdam. Great Hall (Burgerzaal), longitudinal section.



231. Robert Hooke: Bedlam Hospital, London, 1674–6 (demolished 1817–18).



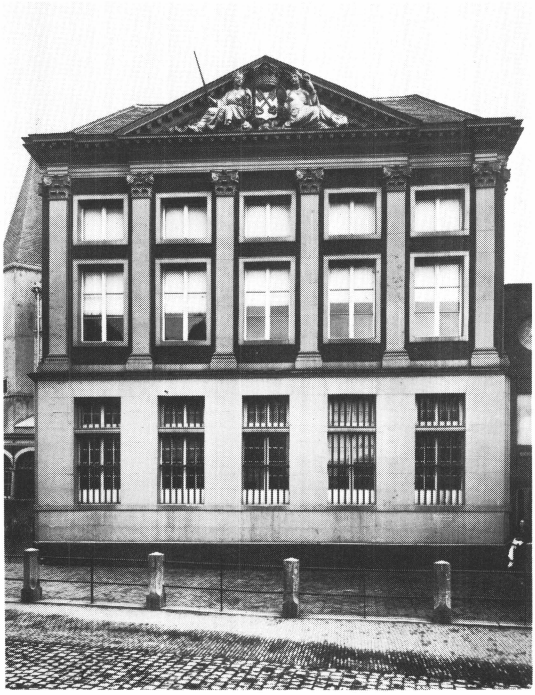
232. Bedlam Hospital. End Pavilion, Preliminary Design.



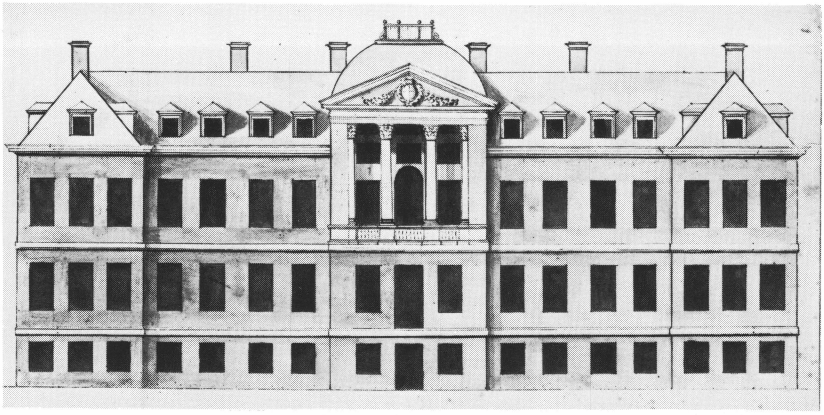
233. Philips Vingboons: Design for a house. Published 1674.



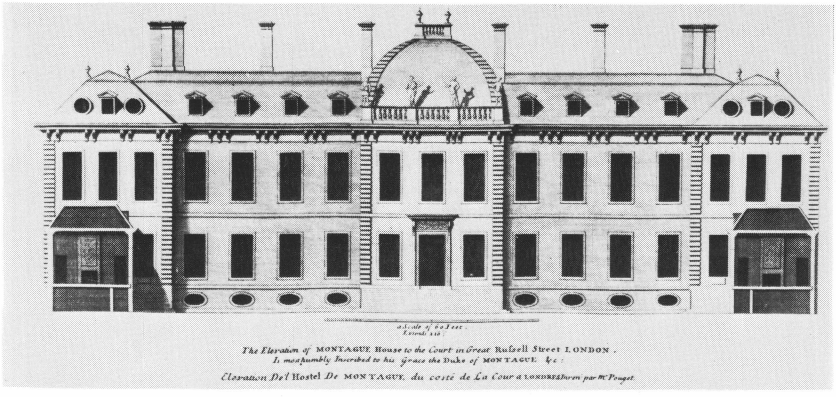
234. Willem van der Helm (attributed): Rapenburg 6, Leyden, c. 1667.



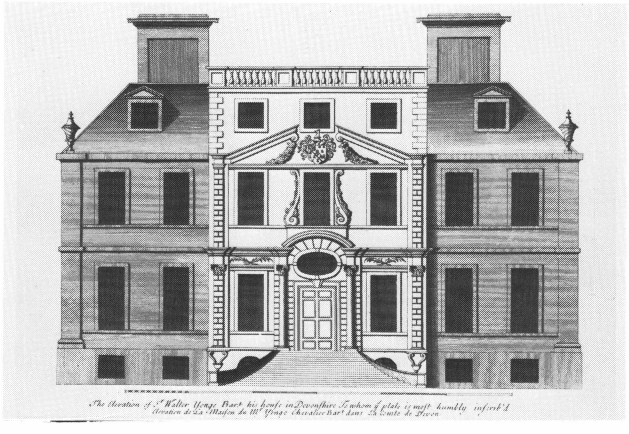
235. Willem van der Helm: Gravensteen, Leyden. Vierschaar, 1672.



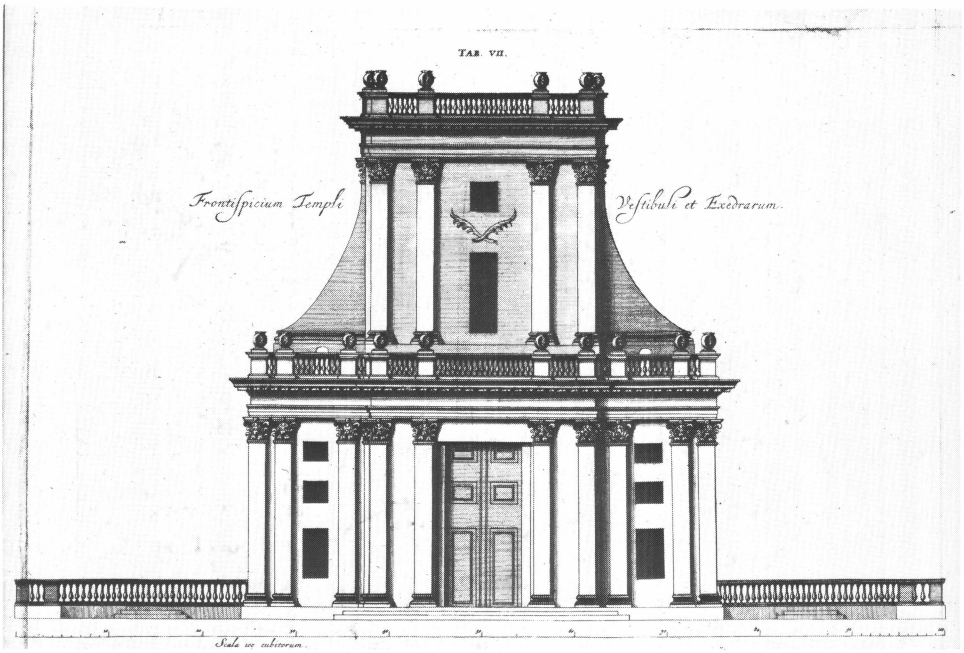
236A. Robert Hooke: Montagu House, London, 1674–80. Design.



236B. Pouget: Montagu House. Rebuilding after fire in 1686.



237. Robert Hooke: Escot House, Devonshire, 1677–88.



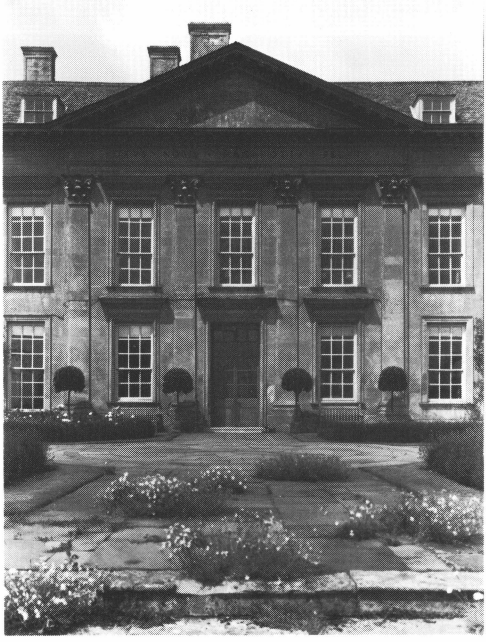
238. Philips Vingboons(?): Solomon's Temple, c. 1669. Front.



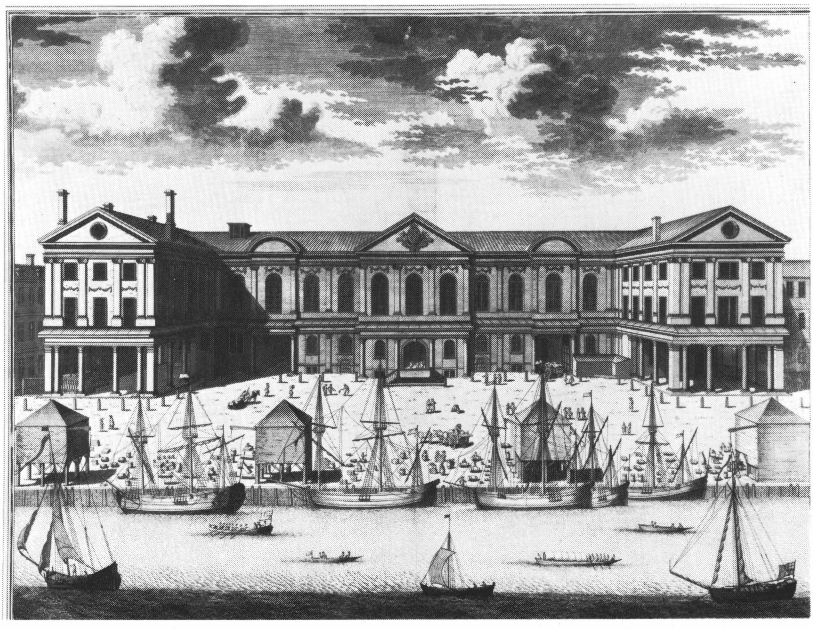
239. Hugh May: Eltham Lodge, Kent, 1663–5.



240. Hugh May: Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire. Stable Building, 1663 (Copyright Country Life).



241. Hugh May: Cornbury Park, Frontispiece on the East (Copyright Country Life).



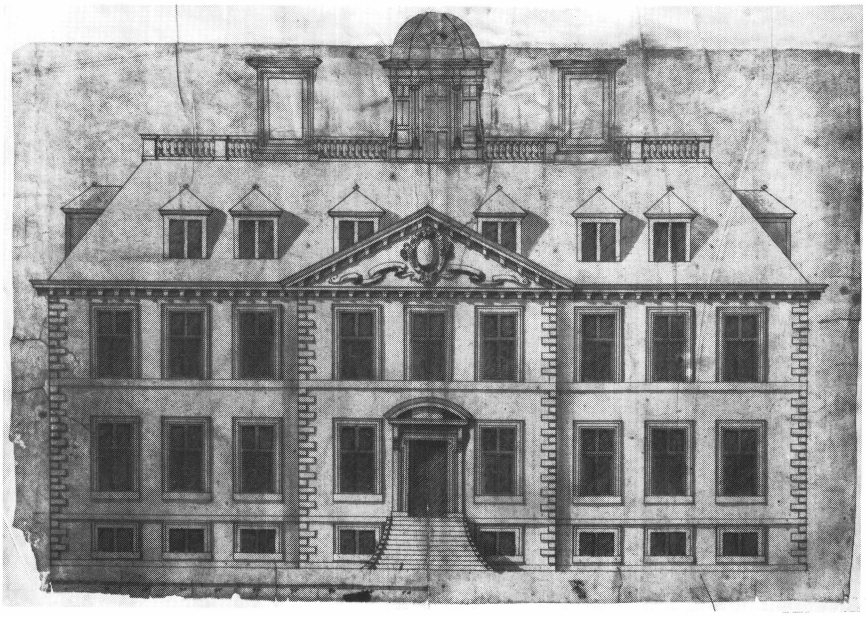
242. Hugh May(?): The Customs House, London, 1669.



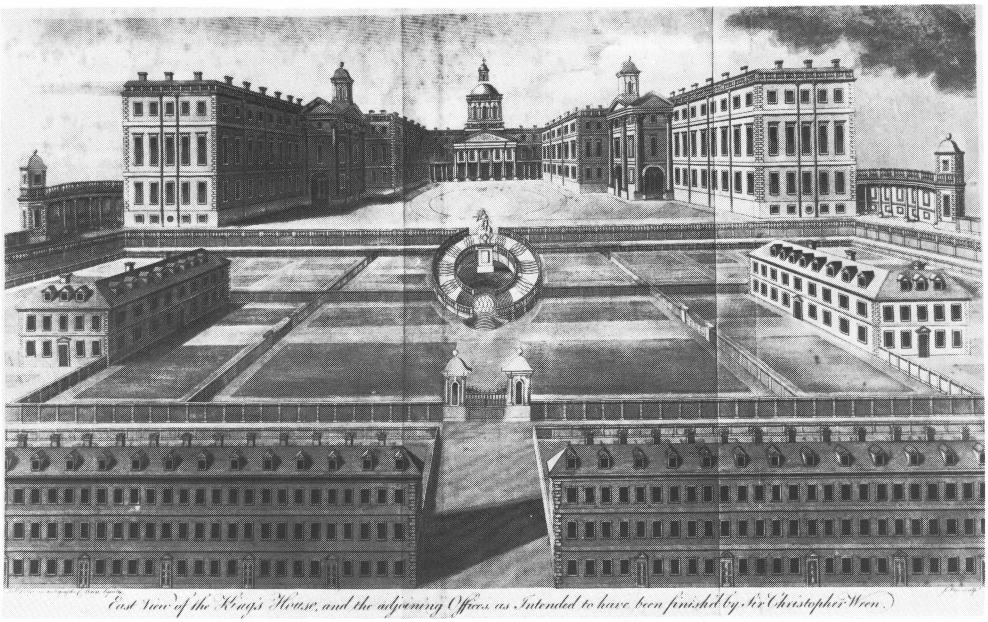
243. Roger Pratt: Coleshill House, Berkshire, 1650–62 (gutted by fire 1952) (Copyright Country Life).



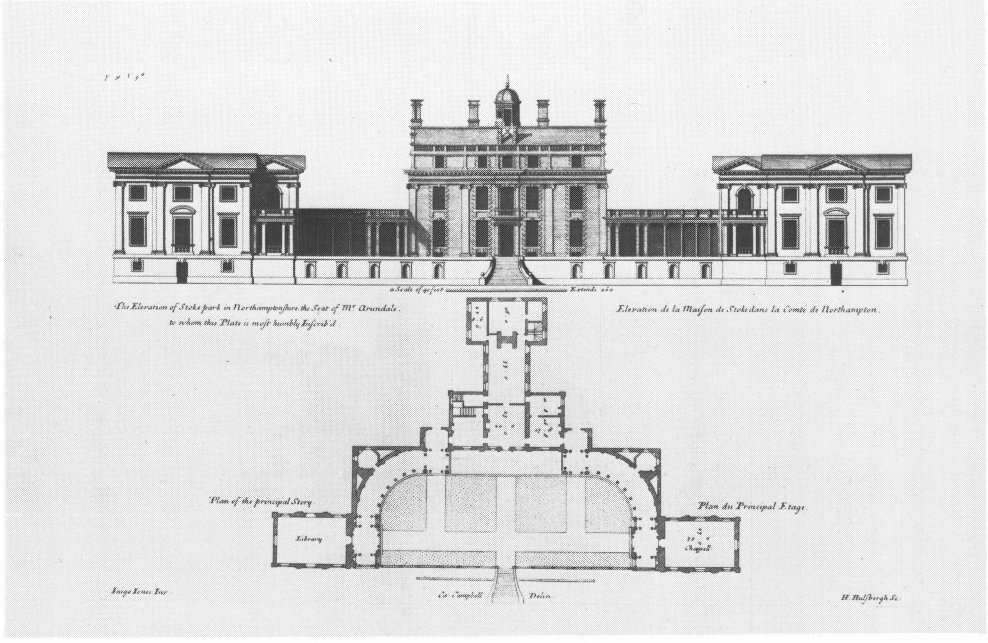
244. Coleshill House, the Cupola (Copyright Country Life).



245. Roger Pratt: Kingston Lacy, Dorset, 1663–5. Drawing for the Elevation (Copyright Country Life).



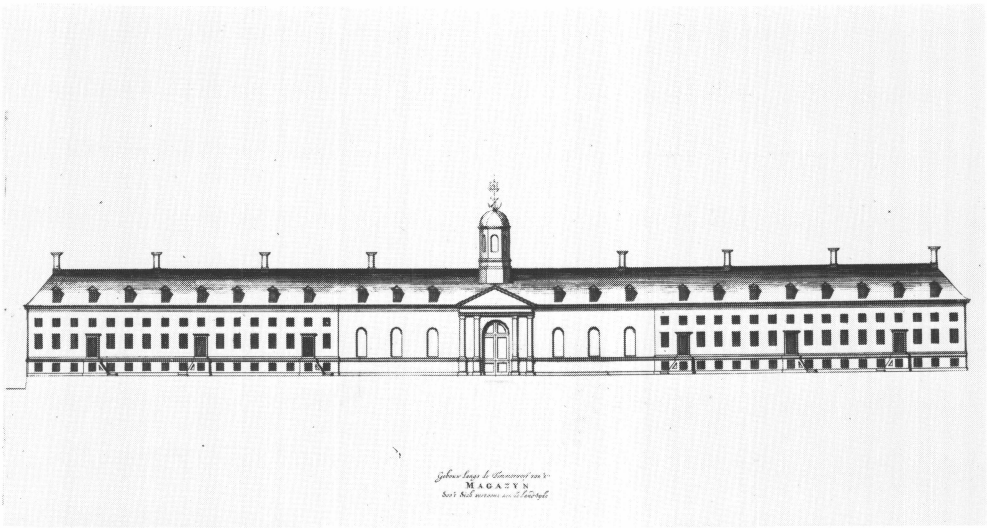
246. Sir Christopher Wren: Winchester Palace, begun 1683.



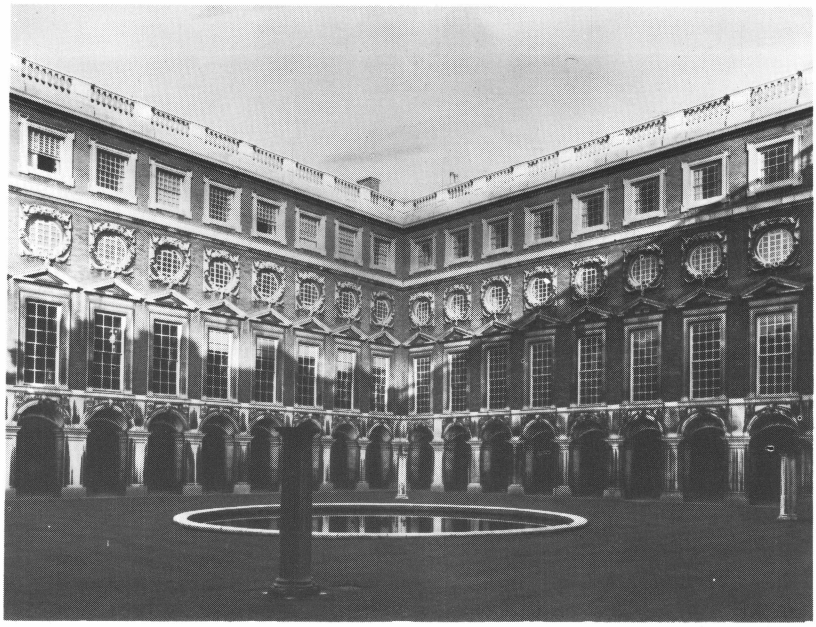
247. Stoke Bruerne Park, Northamptonshire. Colonnades and Pavilions by Inigo Jones? (1629–35).



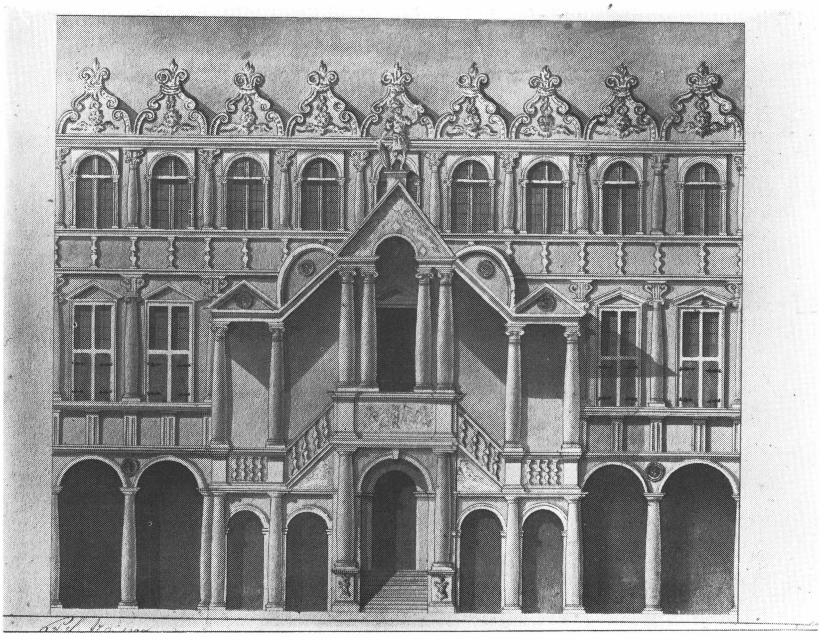
248. Sir Christopher Wren: Chelsea Hospital, 1682–91.



249. Daniel Stalpaert: Admiralty Storehouse, Amsterdam, 1656. Ancillary Building.



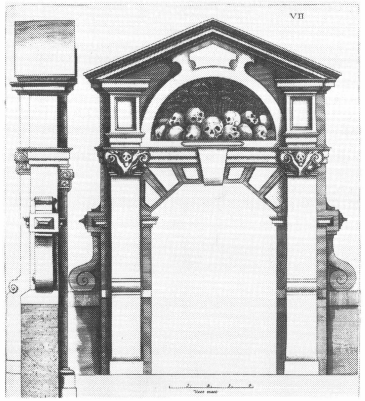
250. Sir Christopher Wren and perhaps Jacob Roman: Hampton Court Palace. Fountain Court, 1689–1702.



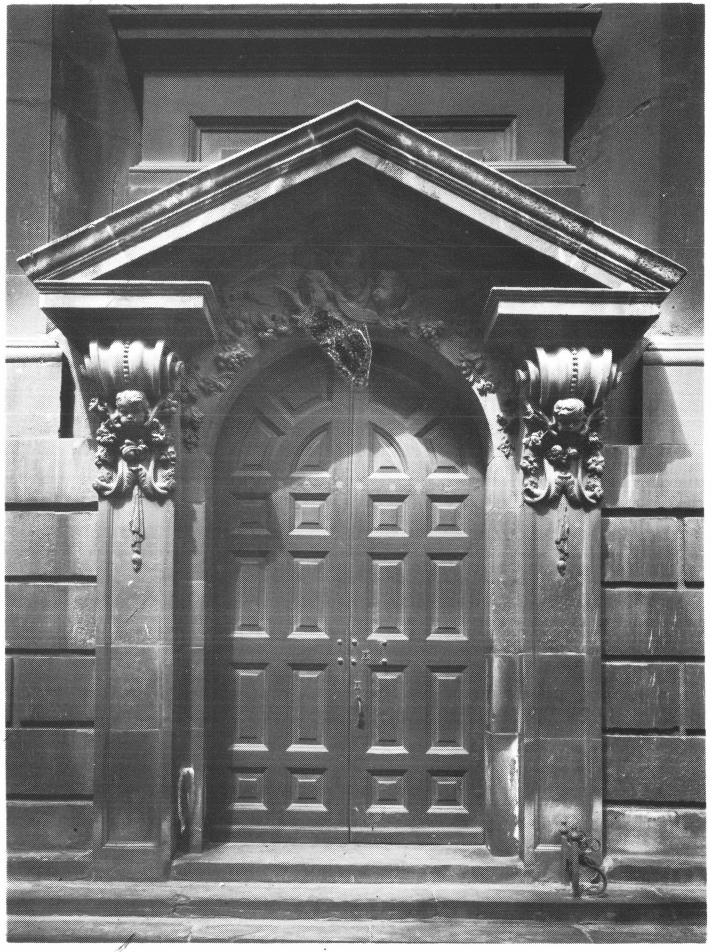
251. Thomas Vincidor: Breda Castle, 1536–8. Court Façade and Main Staircase.



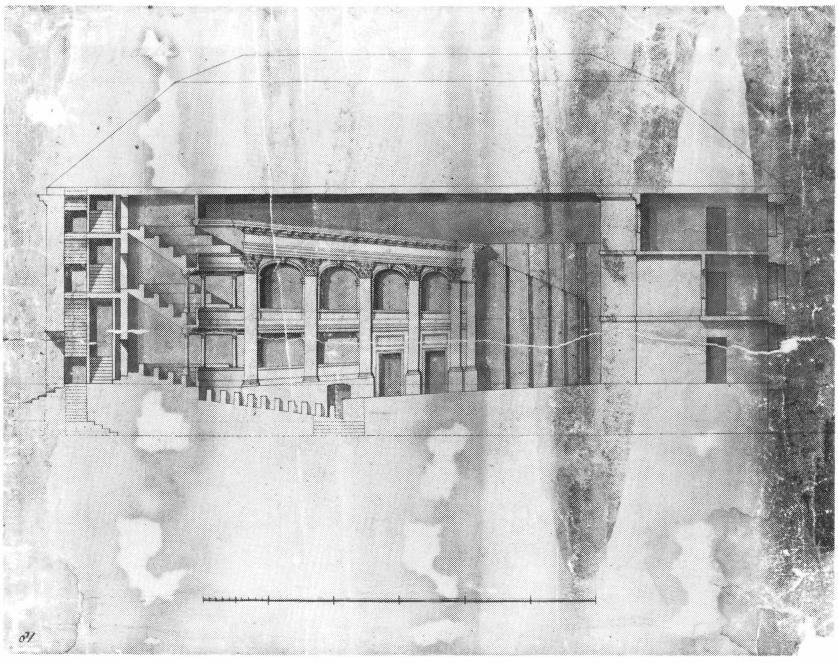
252. Noorwits and Van Bassen: Nieuwe Kerk, the Hague, 1656.



253. Hendrick de Keyser: entrance to graveyard of Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam, c. 1615.



254. Sir Christopher Wren: St. Paul's. Dean's Door.



255. Sir Christopher Wren: Drury Lane Theatre, 1672–4.



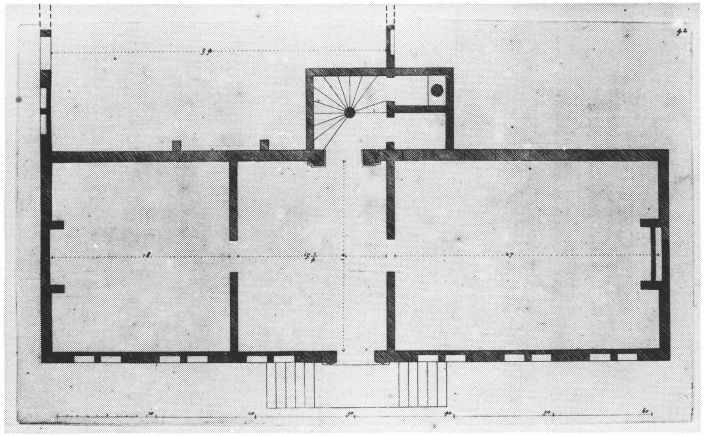
256. Jacob Roman(?): Kensington Palace, the King's Gallery, 1695–6.

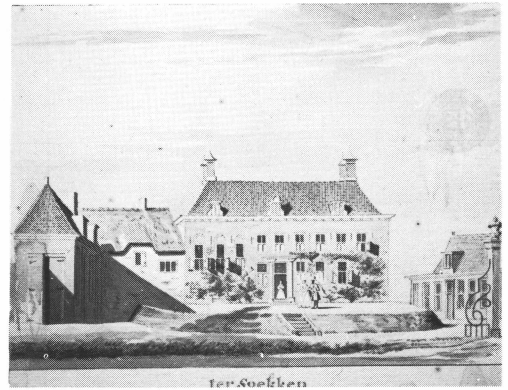


257A. *Jacob Roman and Daniel Marot: Zeist, Staircase, c. 1686.*

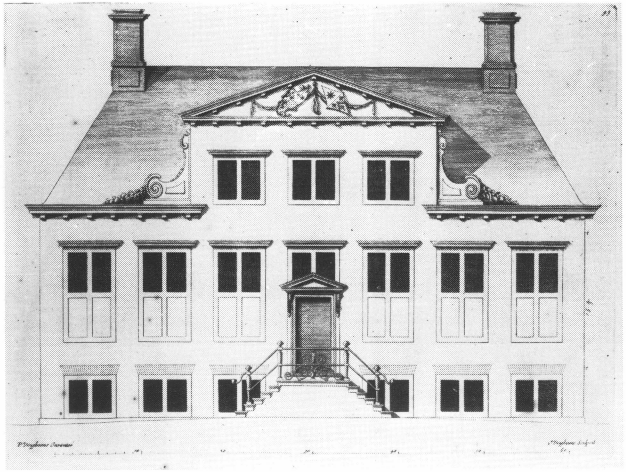


257B. *Hampton Court Palace, King's Staircase. Painting by Antonio Verrio, 1700–02.*





259. Ter Spekken, Lisse, House c. 1640(?), demolished c. 1740.



258. Philips Vingboons: Groenhoven, 1643.



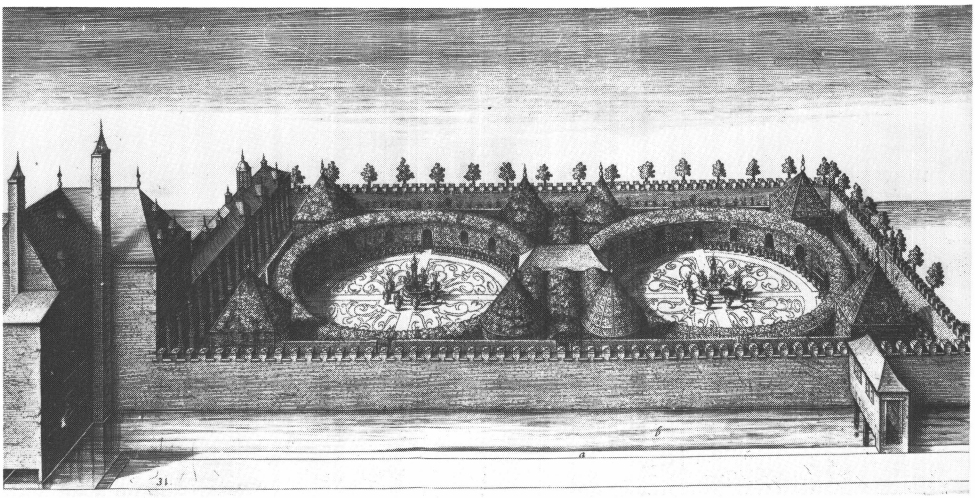
*260. Meerzicht, Zoetermeer, 1677 (*stoep *removed).*



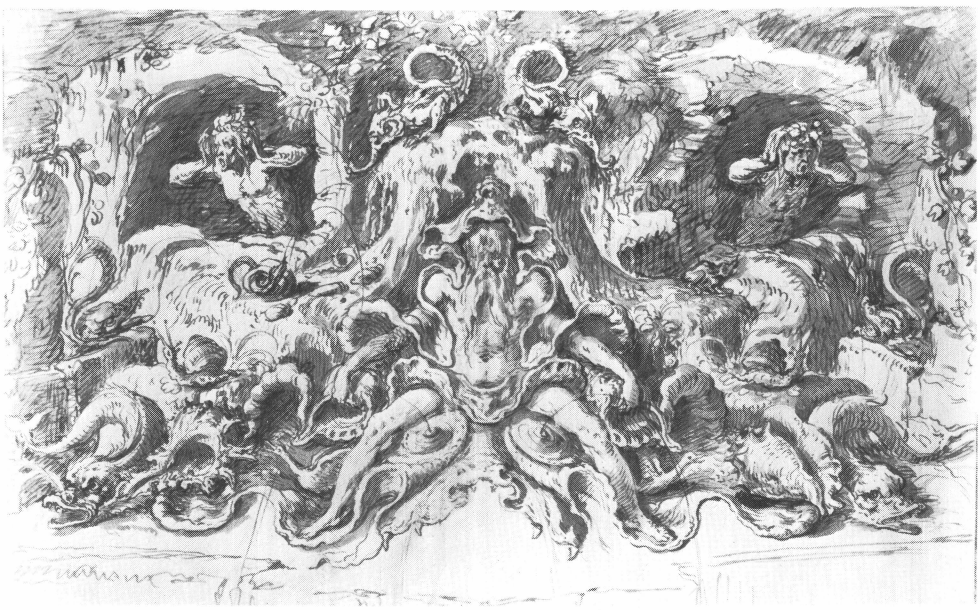
261. Jan van der Heyden: Goudestein near Maarssen, *1674. House, entrance-gate and garden-pavilion c. 1625–30. The house's cupola c. 1640, its balustrade changed into a pediment c. 1660.*



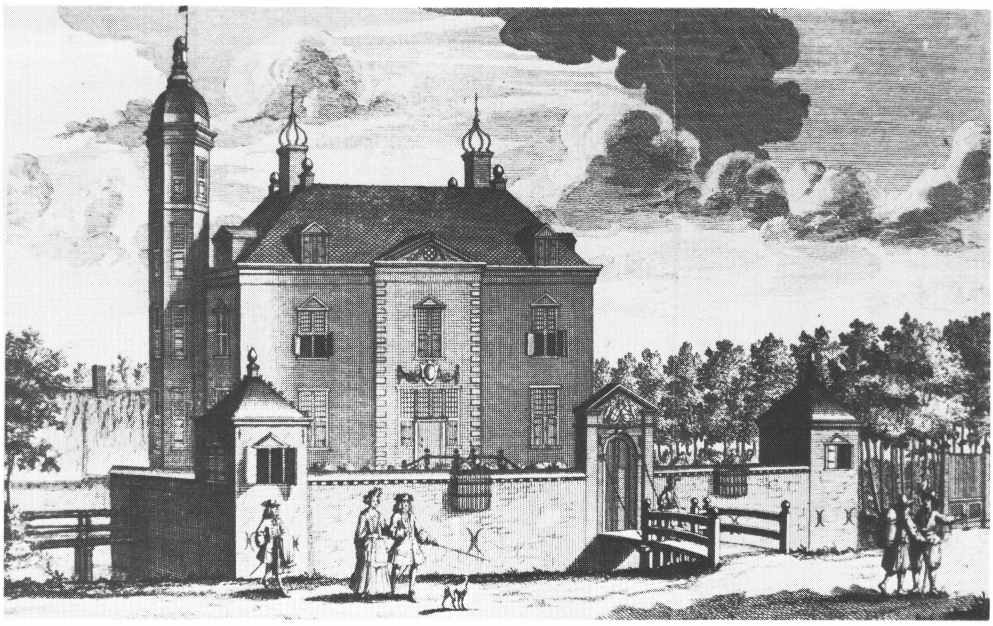
262. The Naiads of the river Amstel. In the distance the City of Amsterdam. From left to right: Noorderkerk, Haringpakkerstoren, Jan Rodenpoortstoren, Nieuwe Kerk, English Reformed Church, Exchange, unidentified tower, Oude Kerk, Zuiderkerk, Montalbaanstoren.



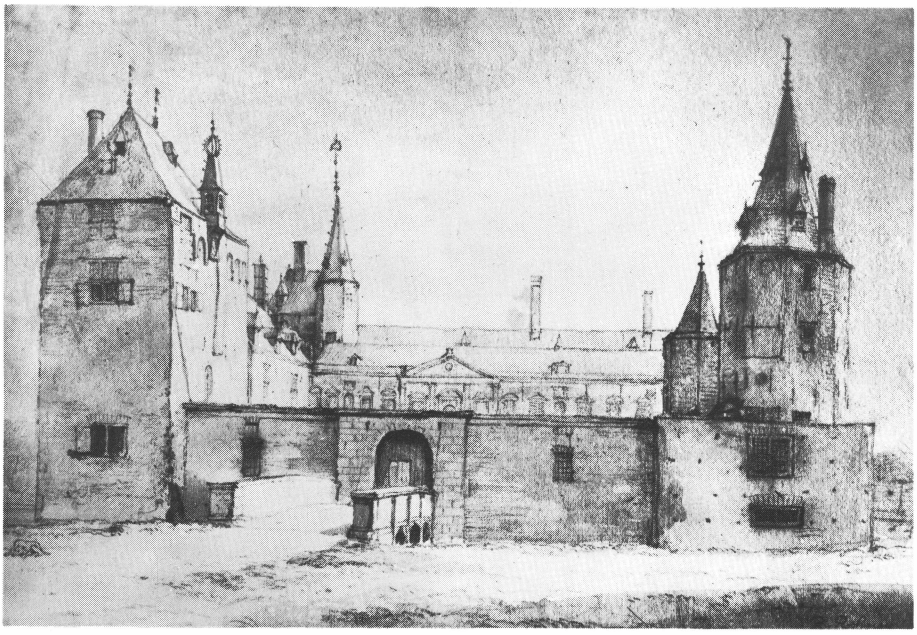
263. Jacob de Gheyn (attributed): Maurice's Garden, the Hague, c. 1620.



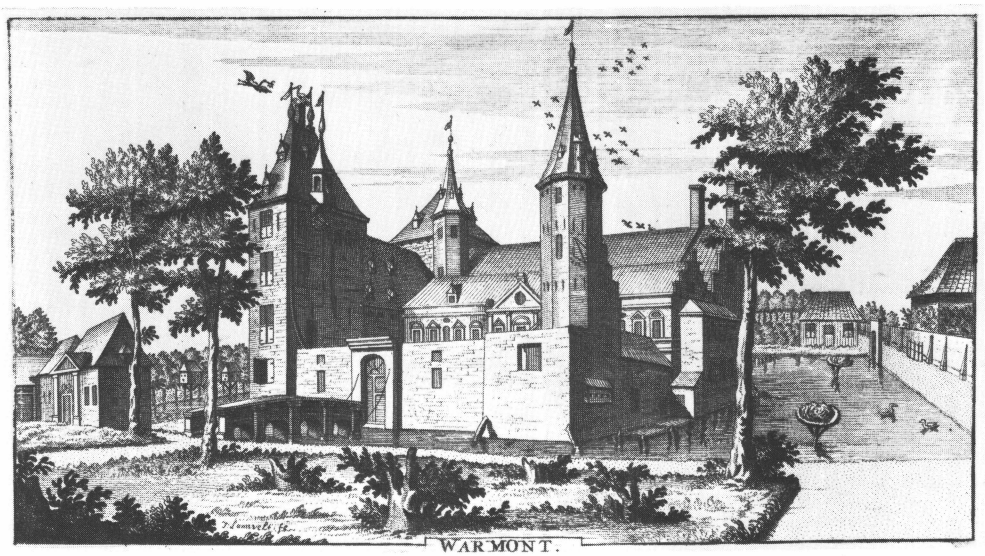
264. Jacob de Gheyn: Grotto design for Maurice's Garden, c. 1620.



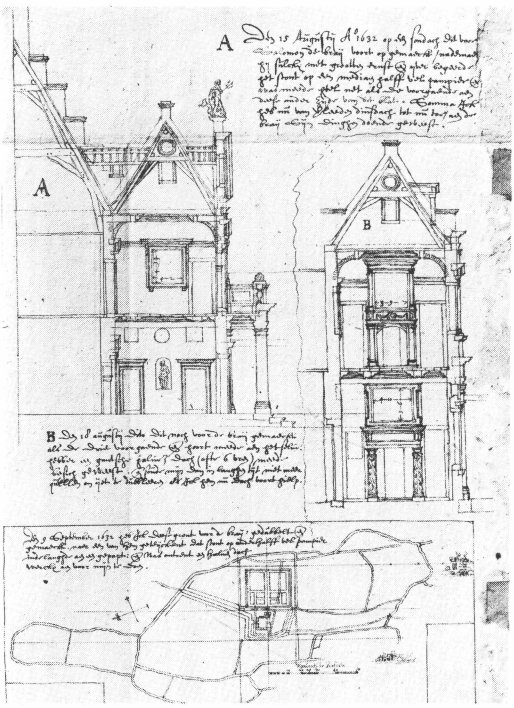
265. Berendrecht, 1646. On the left a farmhouse.



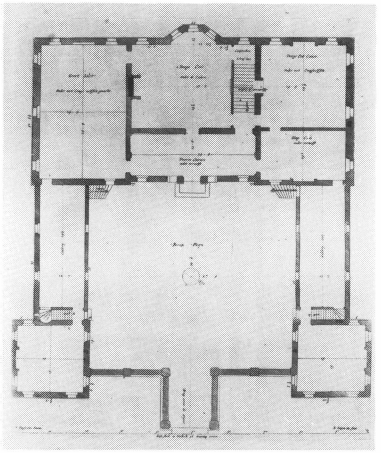
266. Warmond Castle, c. 1646.

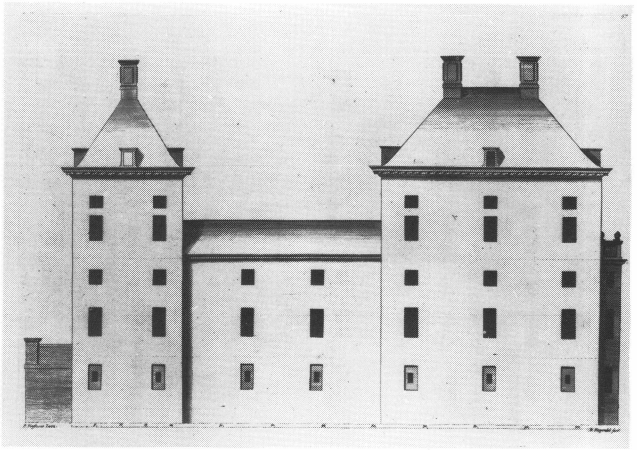


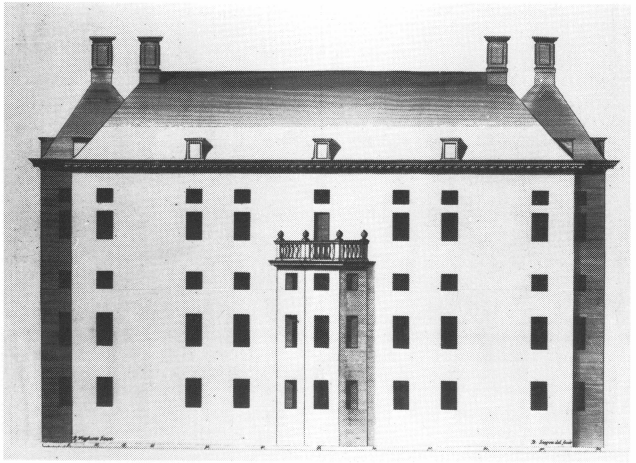
267. Warmond Castle, c. 1712.

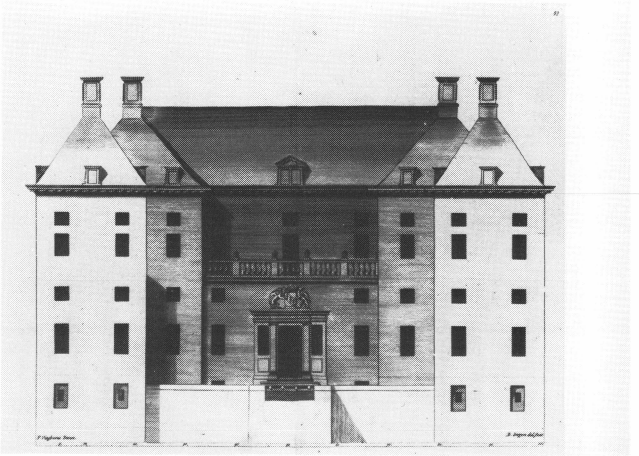


268. Salomon de Bray: Warmond Castle Gallery, designs, 1629.

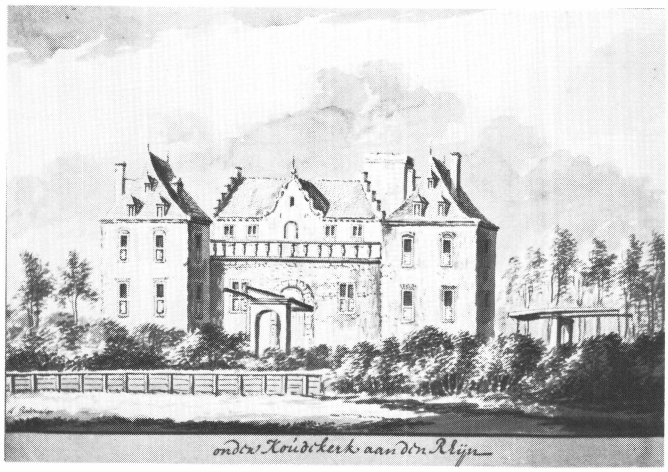




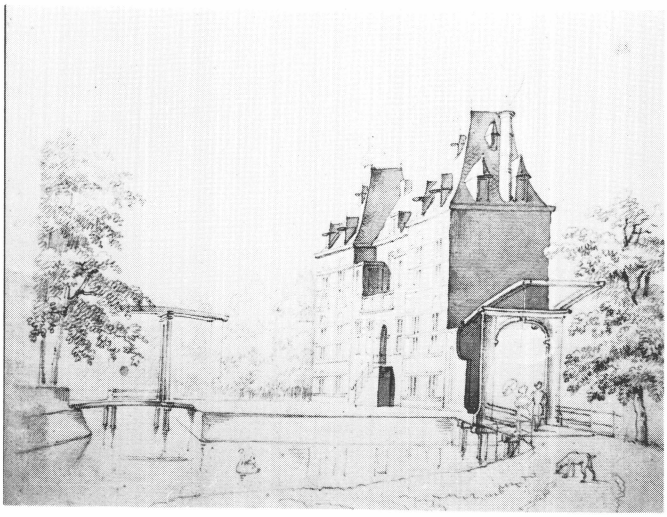




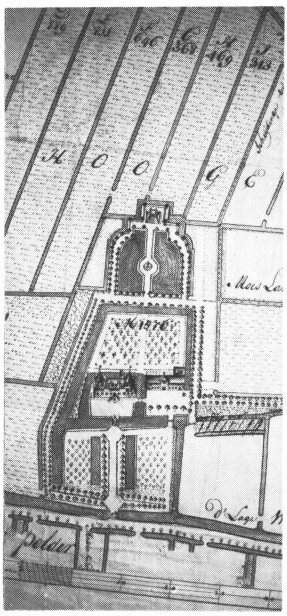
269–72. Philips Vingboons: Castle Clant, Groningen, 1669.



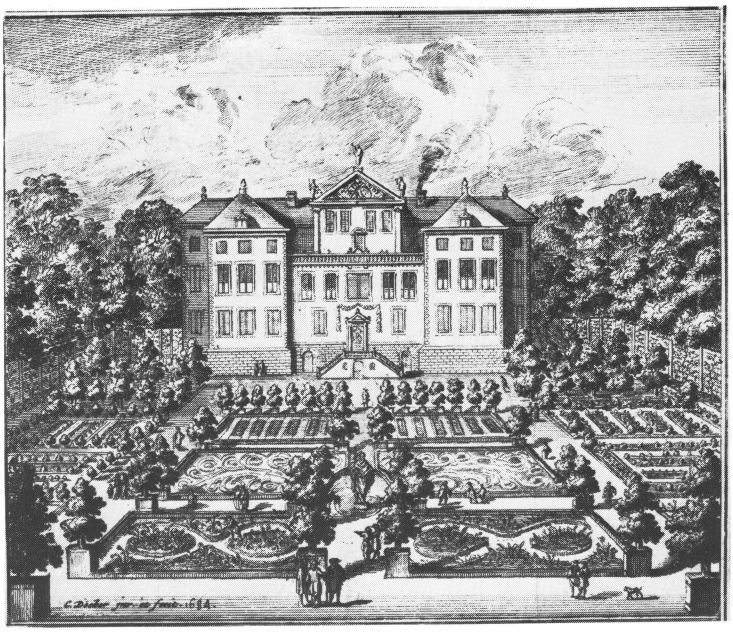
273. Klein Poelgeest, Koudekerk, c. 1640.



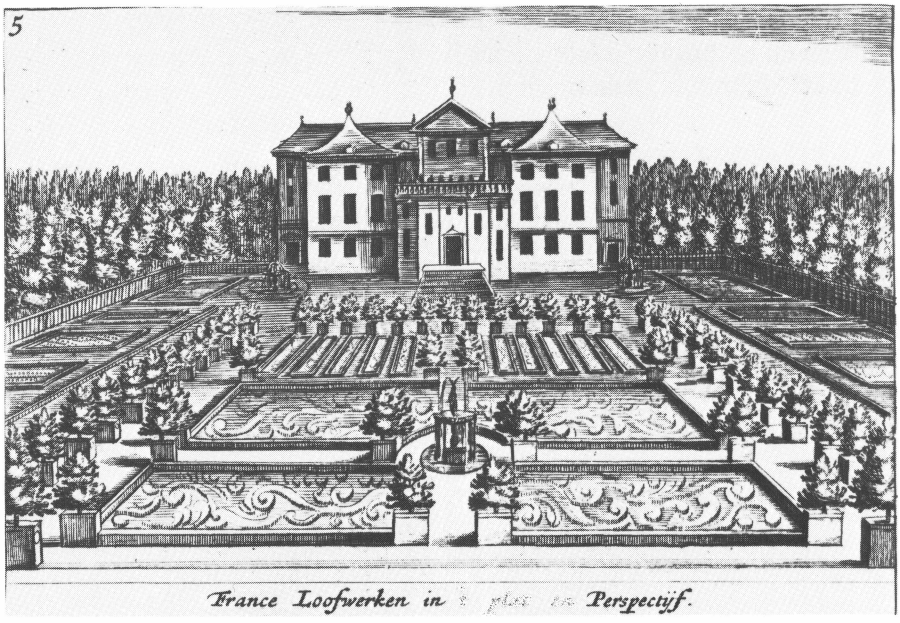
274. Klein Poelgeest, Koudekerk, c. 1730.



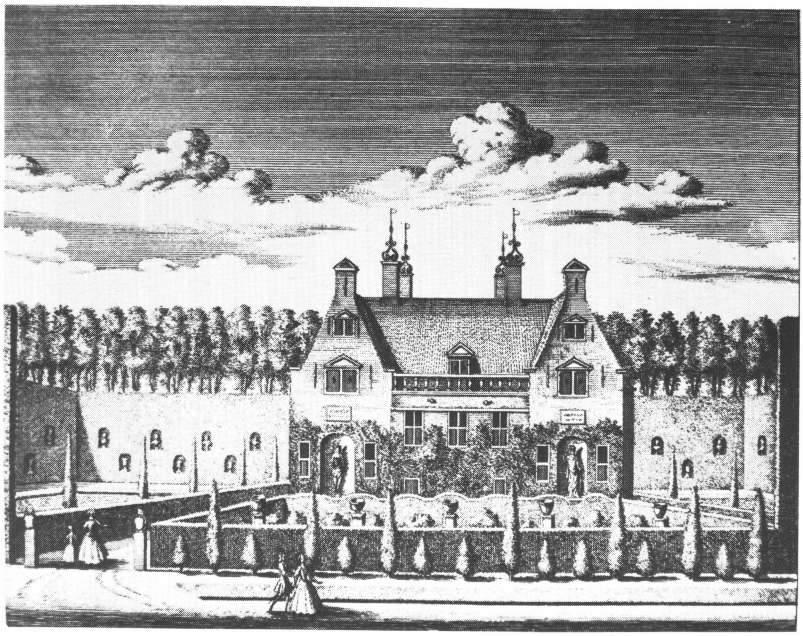
274a. Klein Poelgeest. 18th century survey conforming De Haen's drawing. Note the clumsy garden layout.



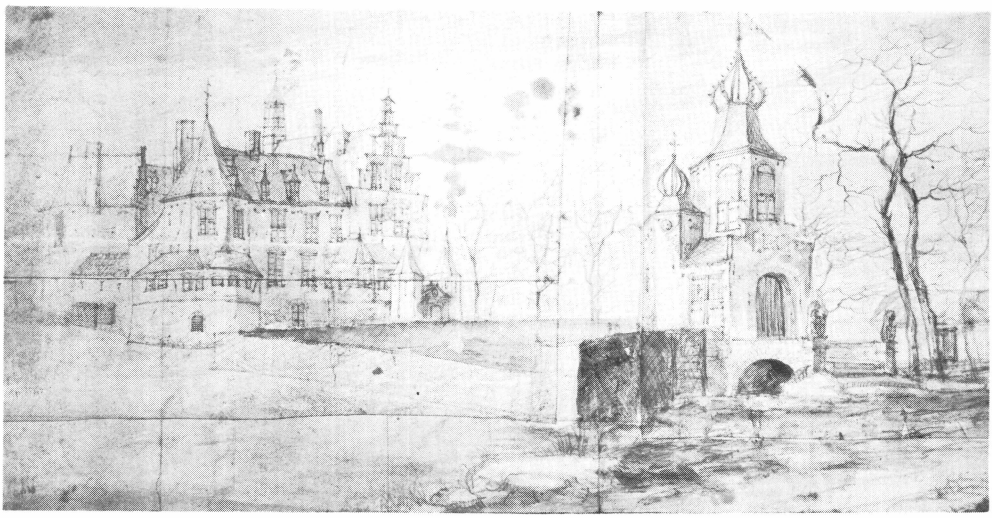
275. De Kruidberg, probably in its mid 17th century state.



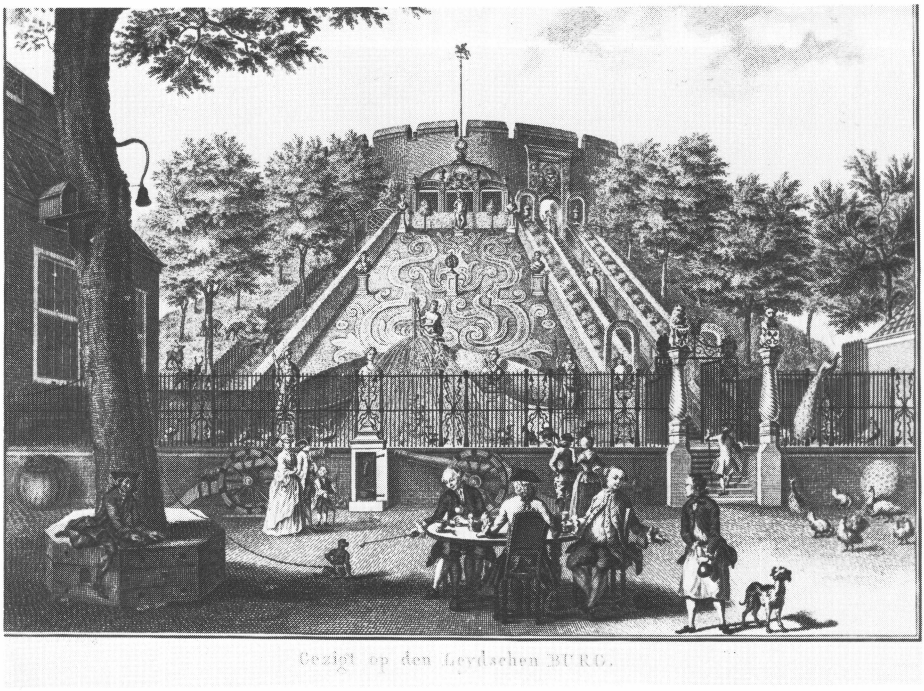
276. De Kruidberg as an example of French parterres.



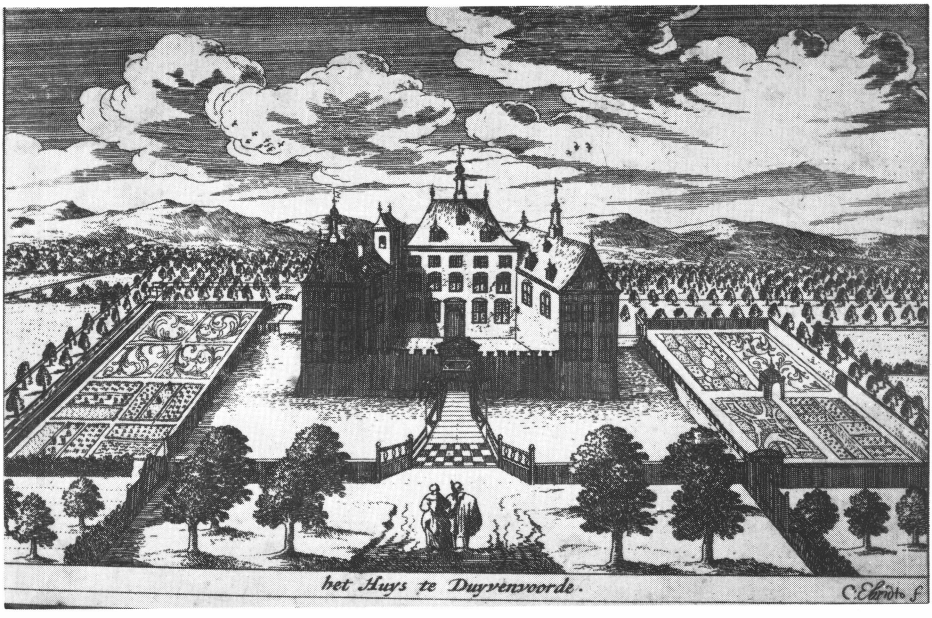
277. De Koningshof, Katwijk. The 17th century house in 1732.



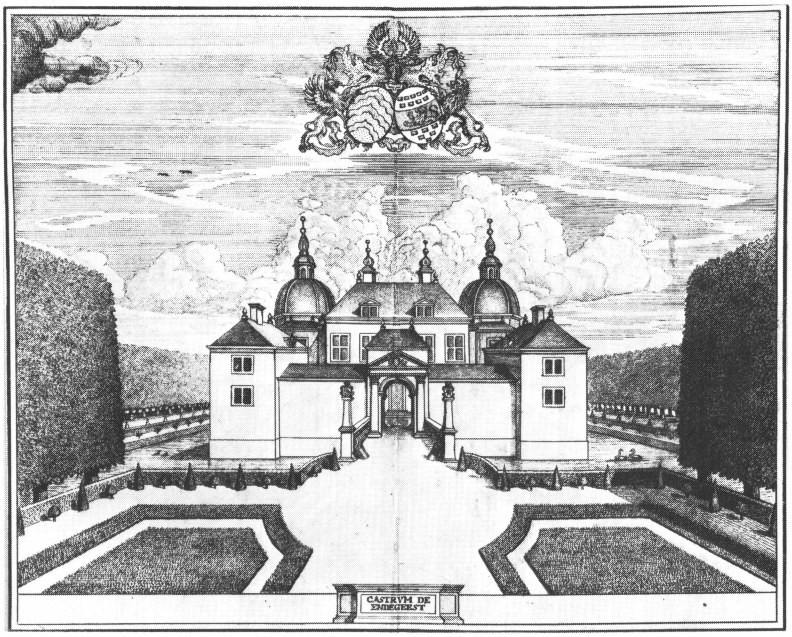
278. Groot Poelgeest, Koudekerk. Drawing, c. 1665.



279. The Burcht, Leyden, with 18th century broderie.



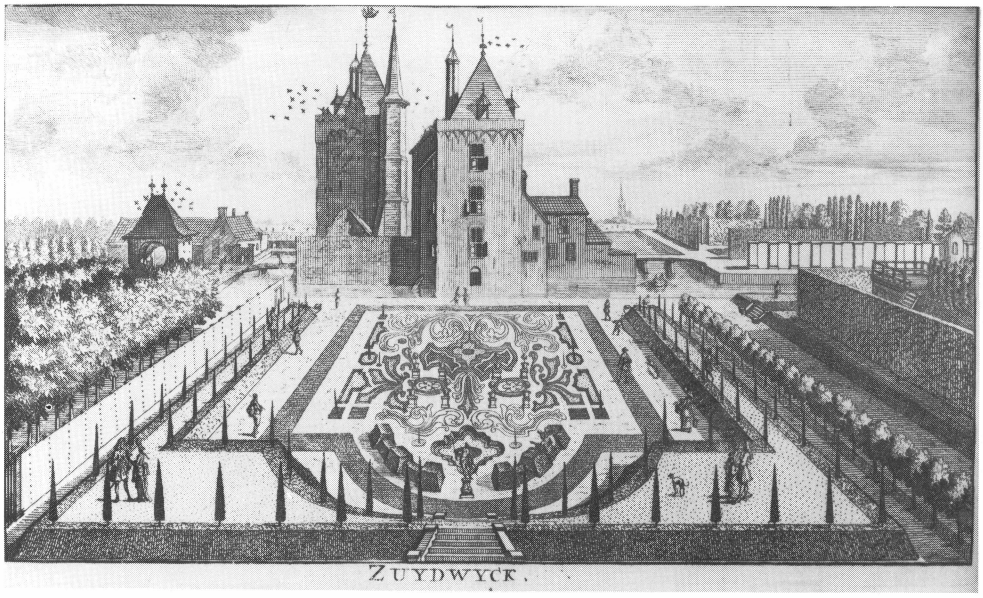
280. Duyvenvoorde about 1680.



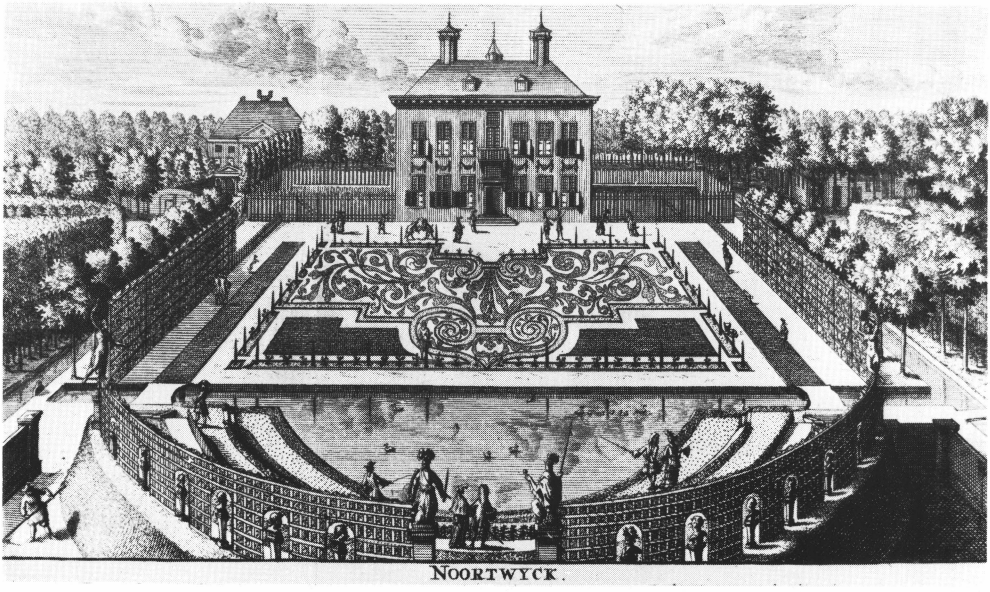
281. Endegeest, rebuilt c. 1650.



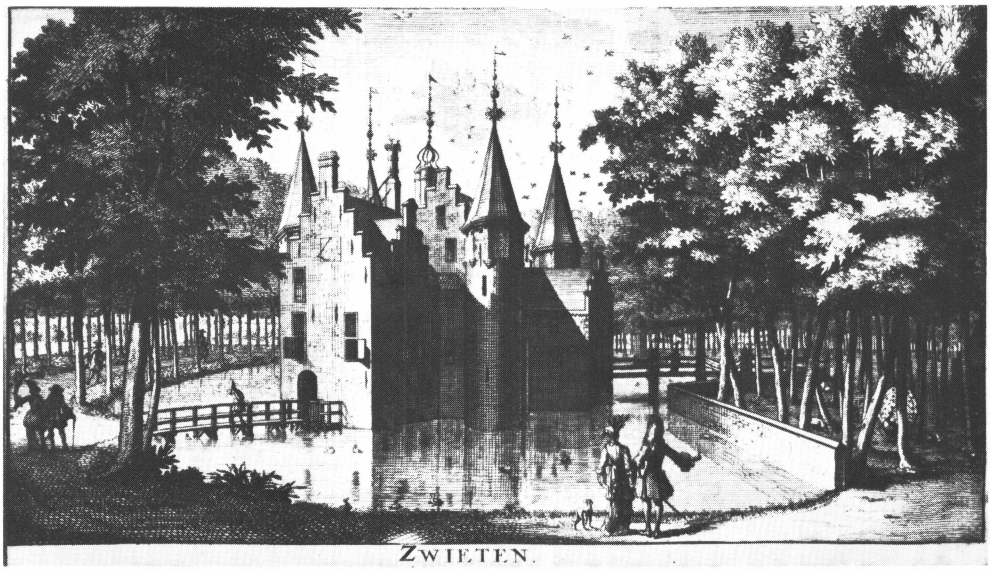
282. Philips Vingboons(?): Poelgeest, 1662. Roof-line 19th century.



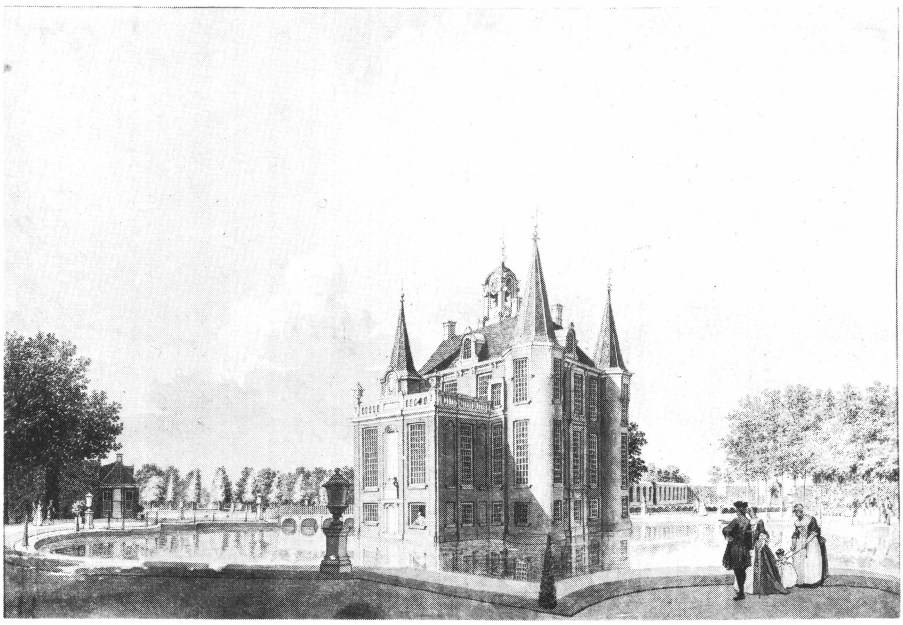
283. Daniel Marot: broderie in front of Zuidwijk, c. 1711.



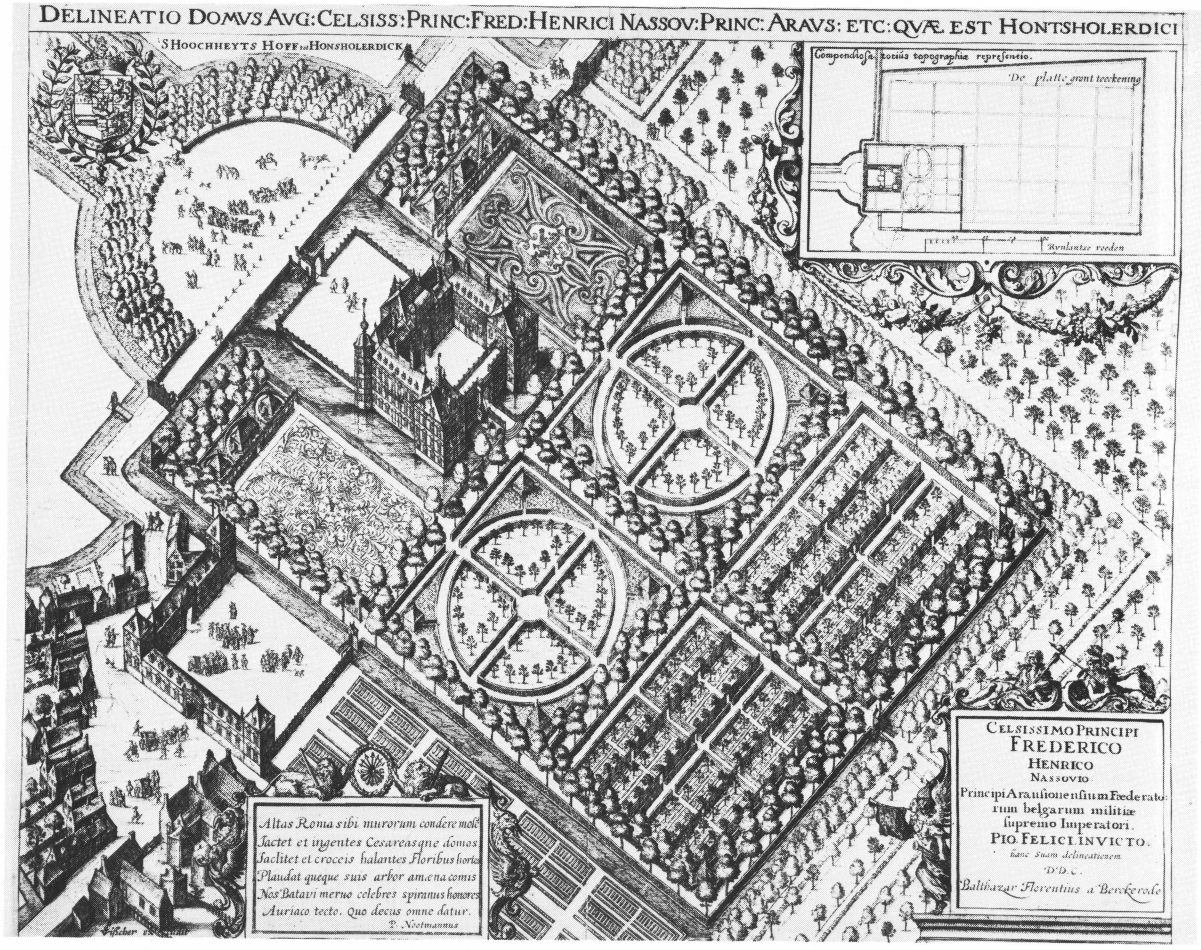
284. Offem in 1712.



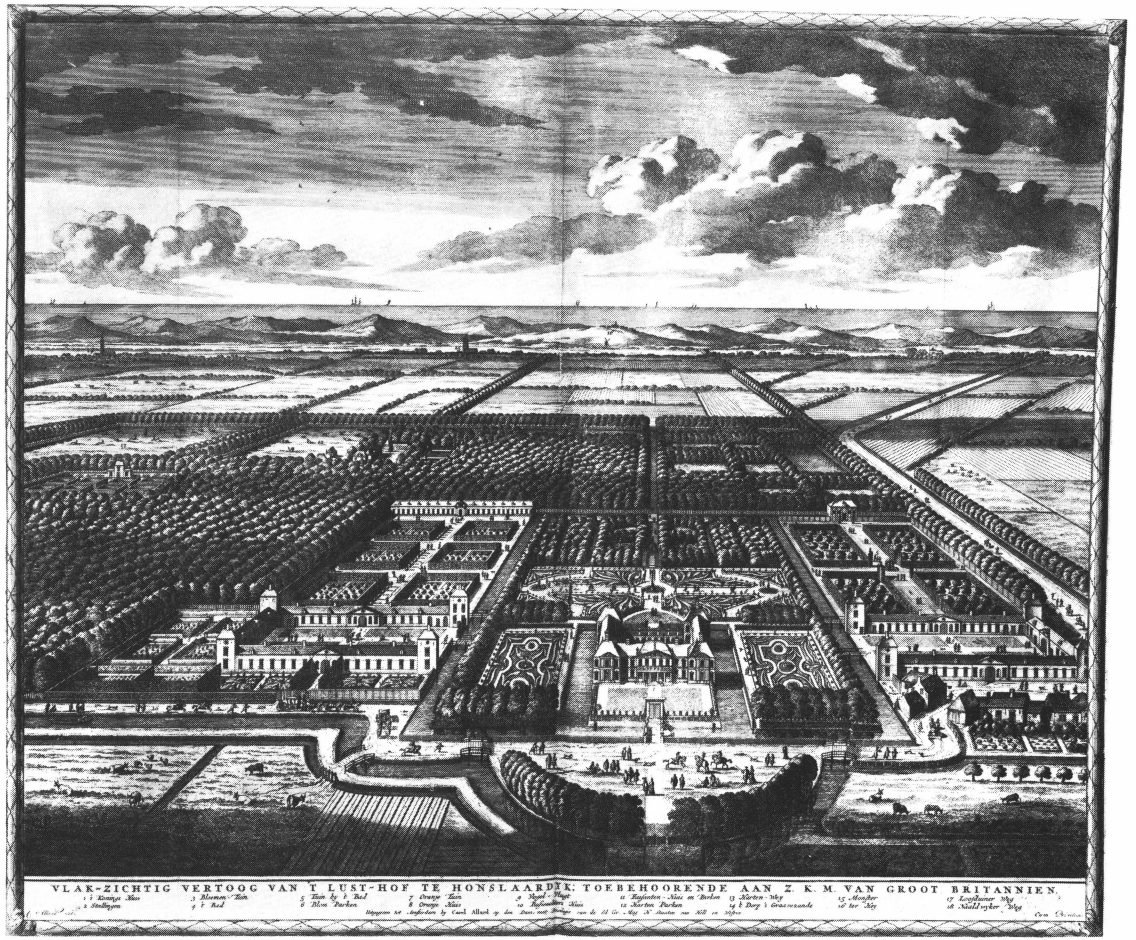
285. Zwieten in 1712.



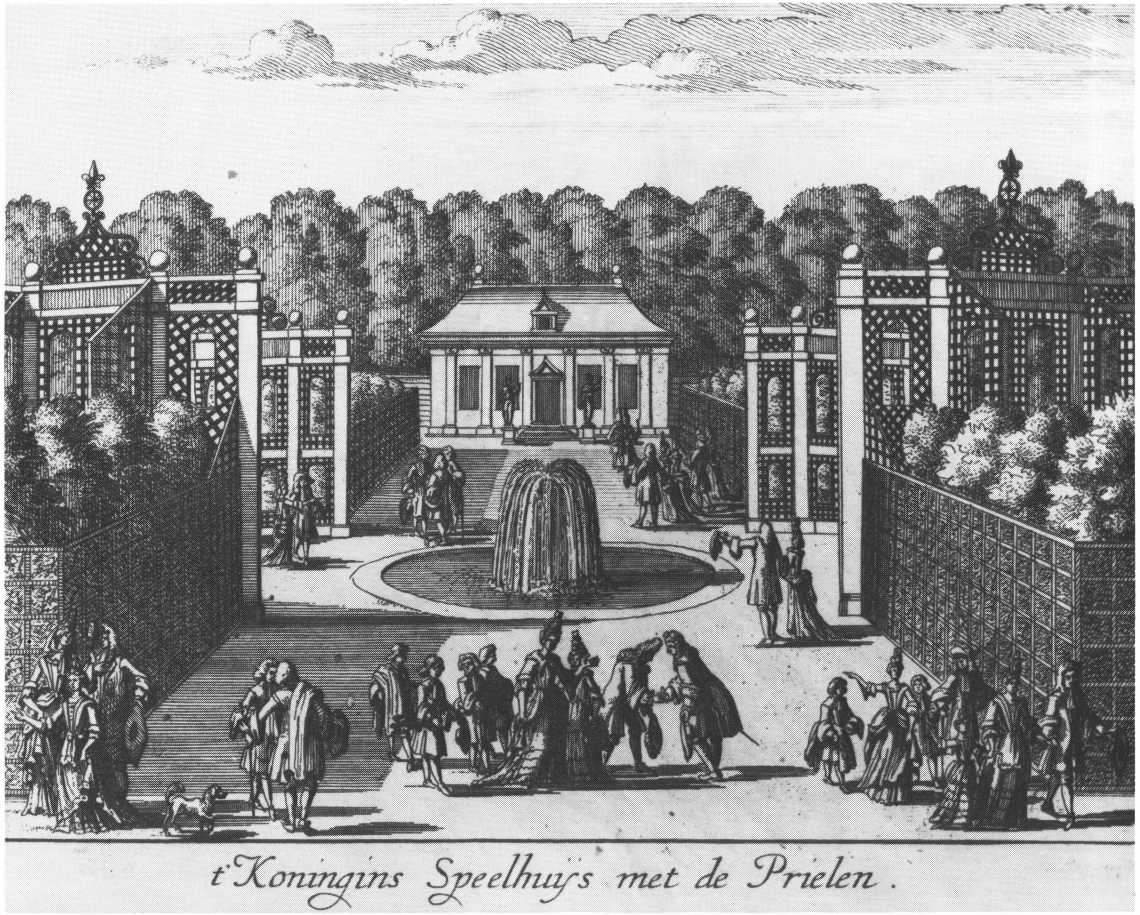
286. Zwieten, c. 1730.



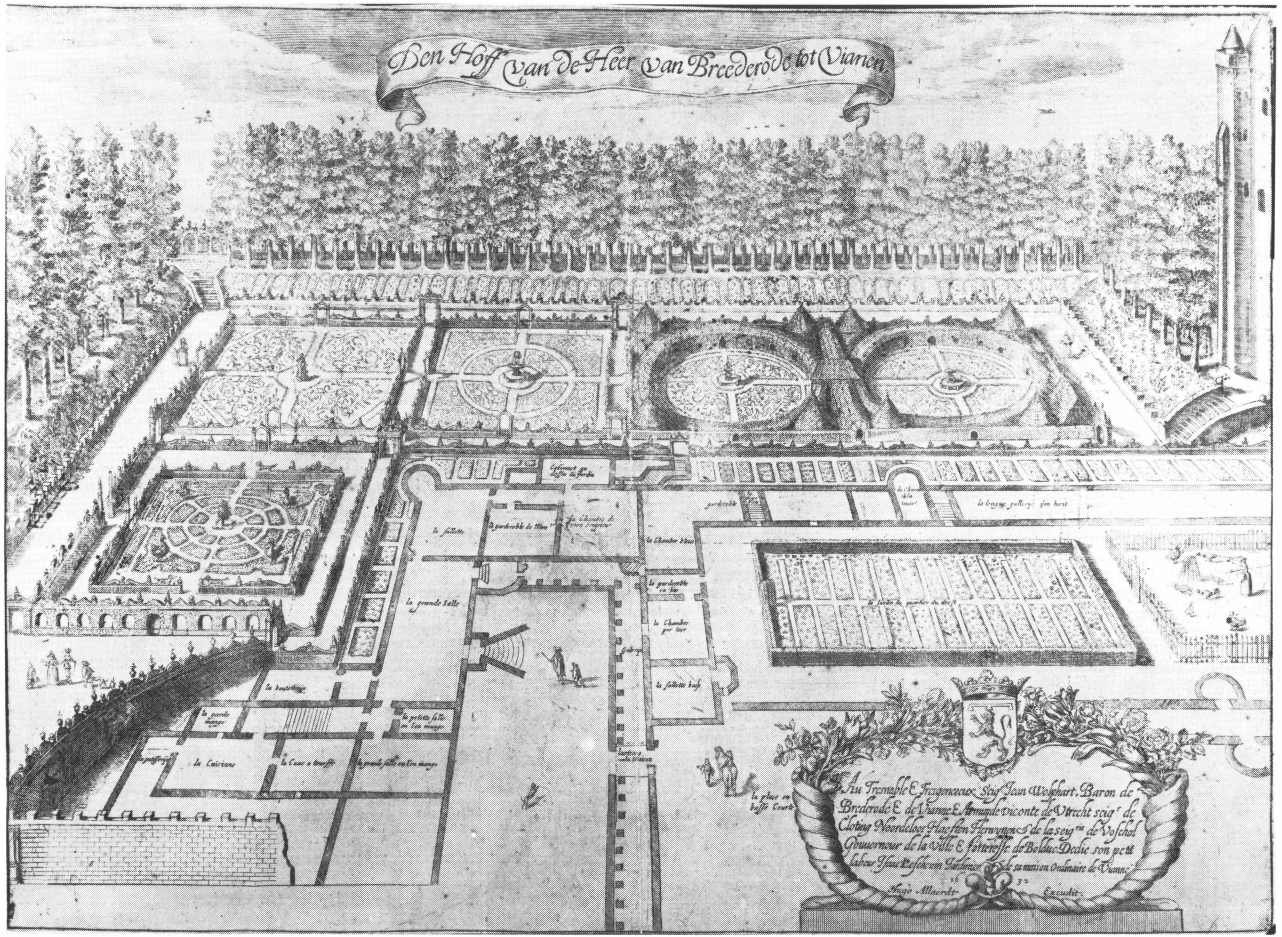
287. Honselaarsdijk, c. 1640. Around the dedication Fama, Hercules and Pallas.



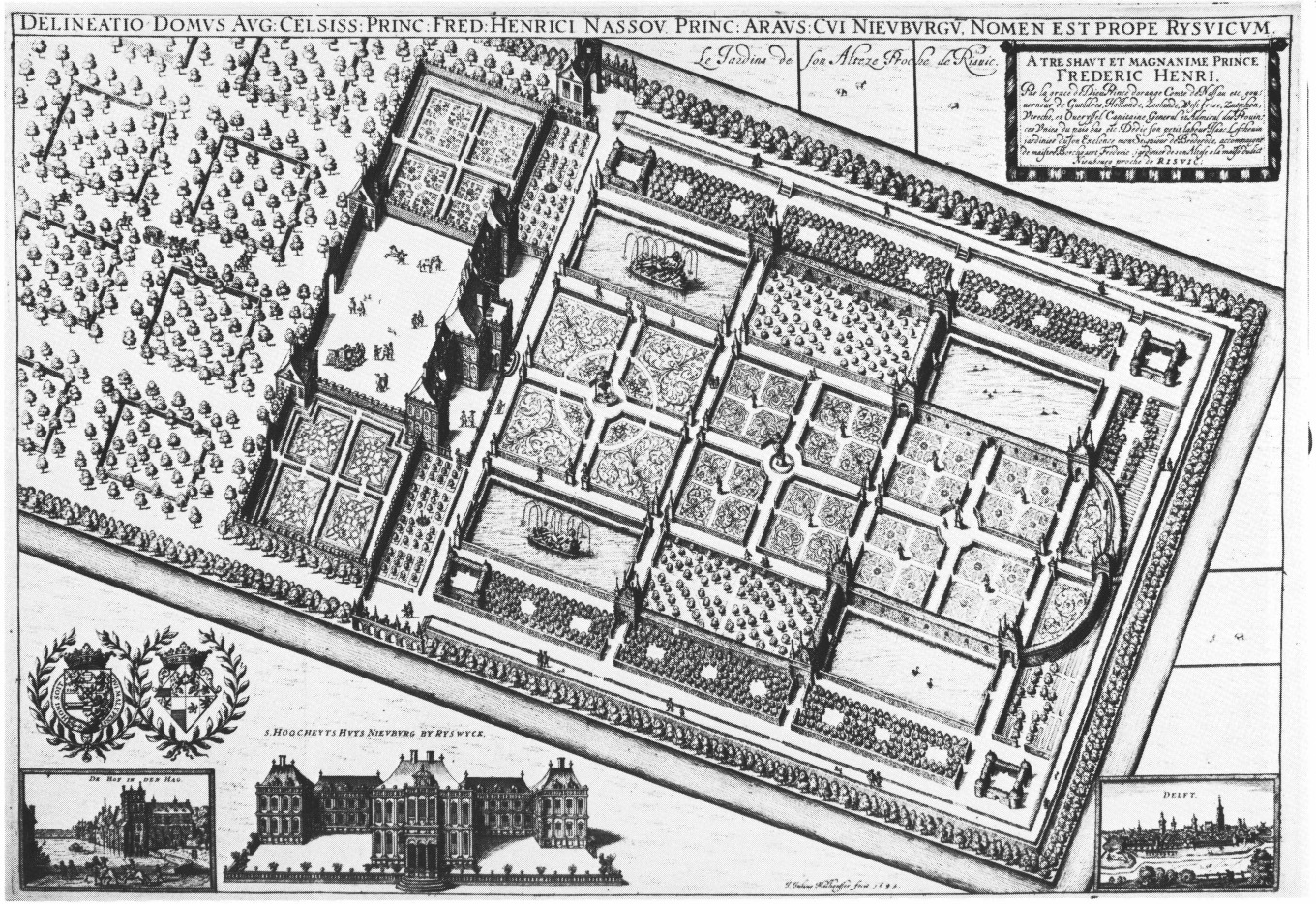
288. Honselaarsdijk, c. 1700. The stables on the left and right by Pieter Post.



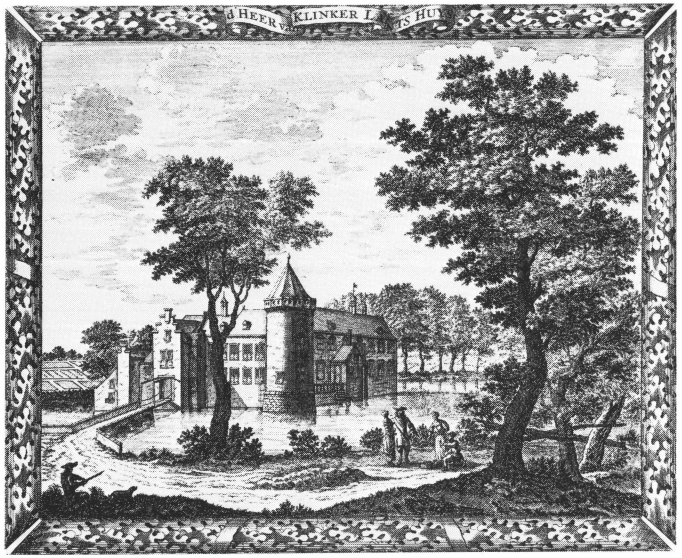
288A. Jacob van Campen(?): Honselaarsdijk, Pleasure-house, c. 1640. The garden in front changed by William III.



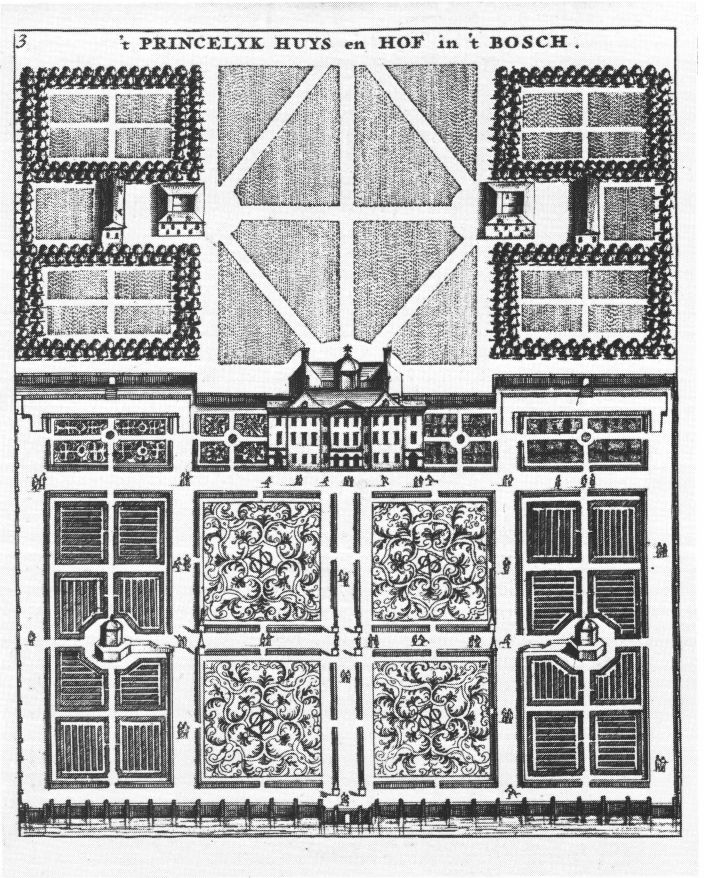
289. Vianen. Plan of house and view of garden, 1632. An intermediary between Maurice's garden and Rijswijk.



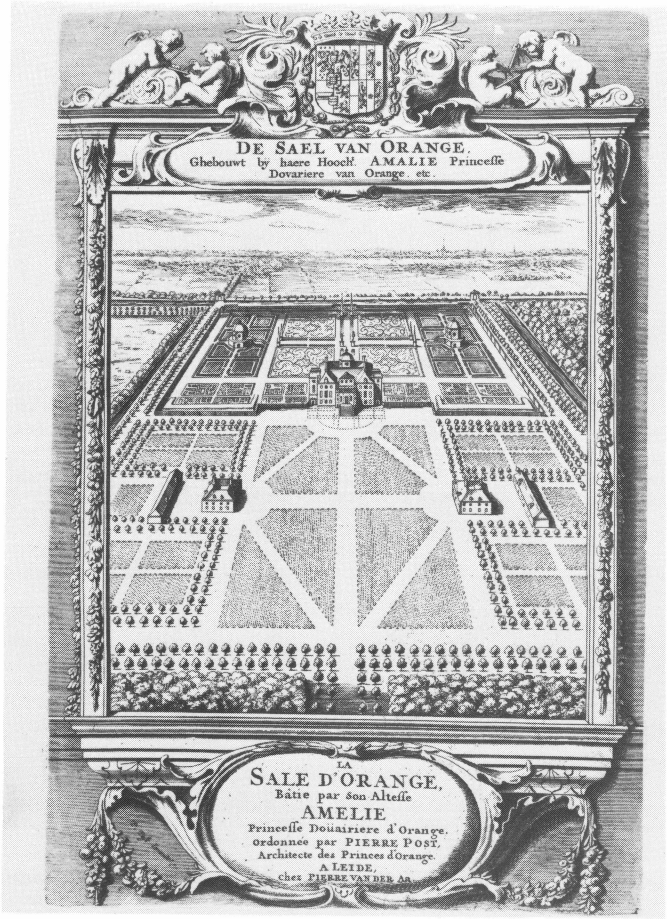
290. Ter Nieuwburgh, c. 1644. The inset on the left: the Binnenhof at the Hague; on the right: Delft.



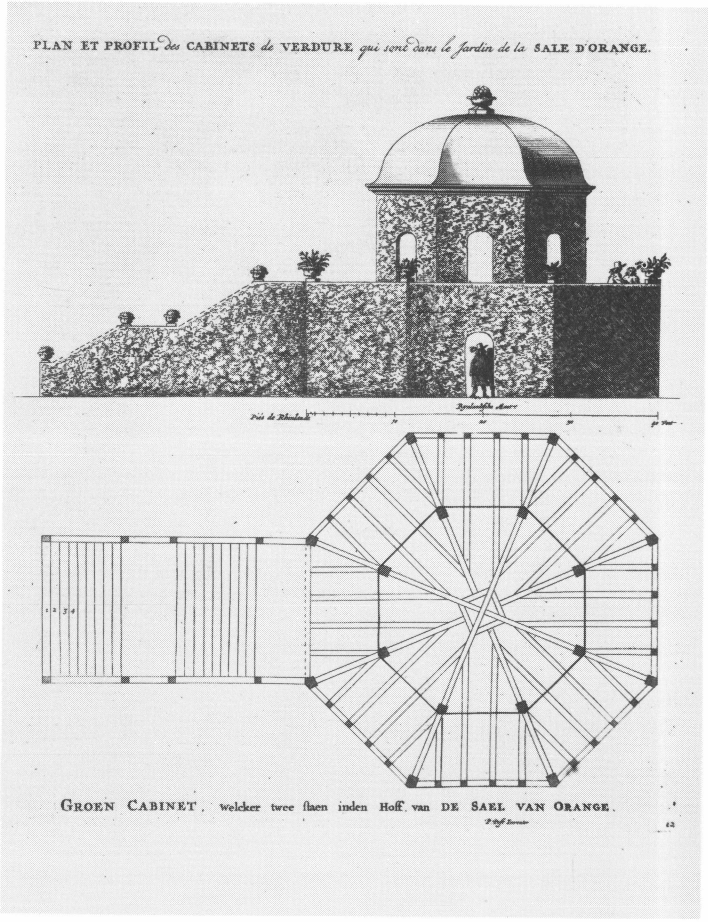
291. Blotinge, c. 1681.



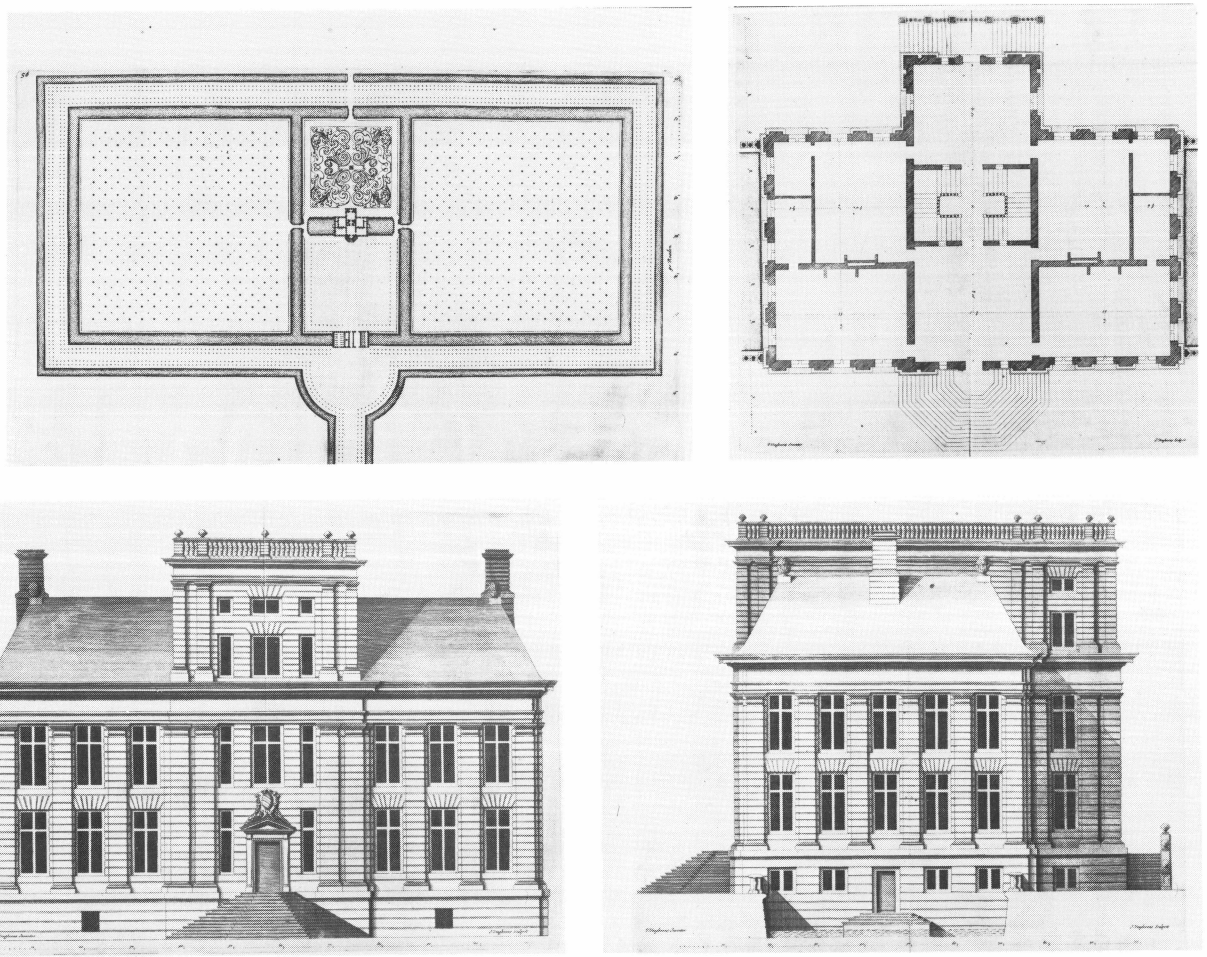
292. Huis ten Bosch. View from the South-east. The estate was enclosed by a ditch, but the design shows no decorative water.



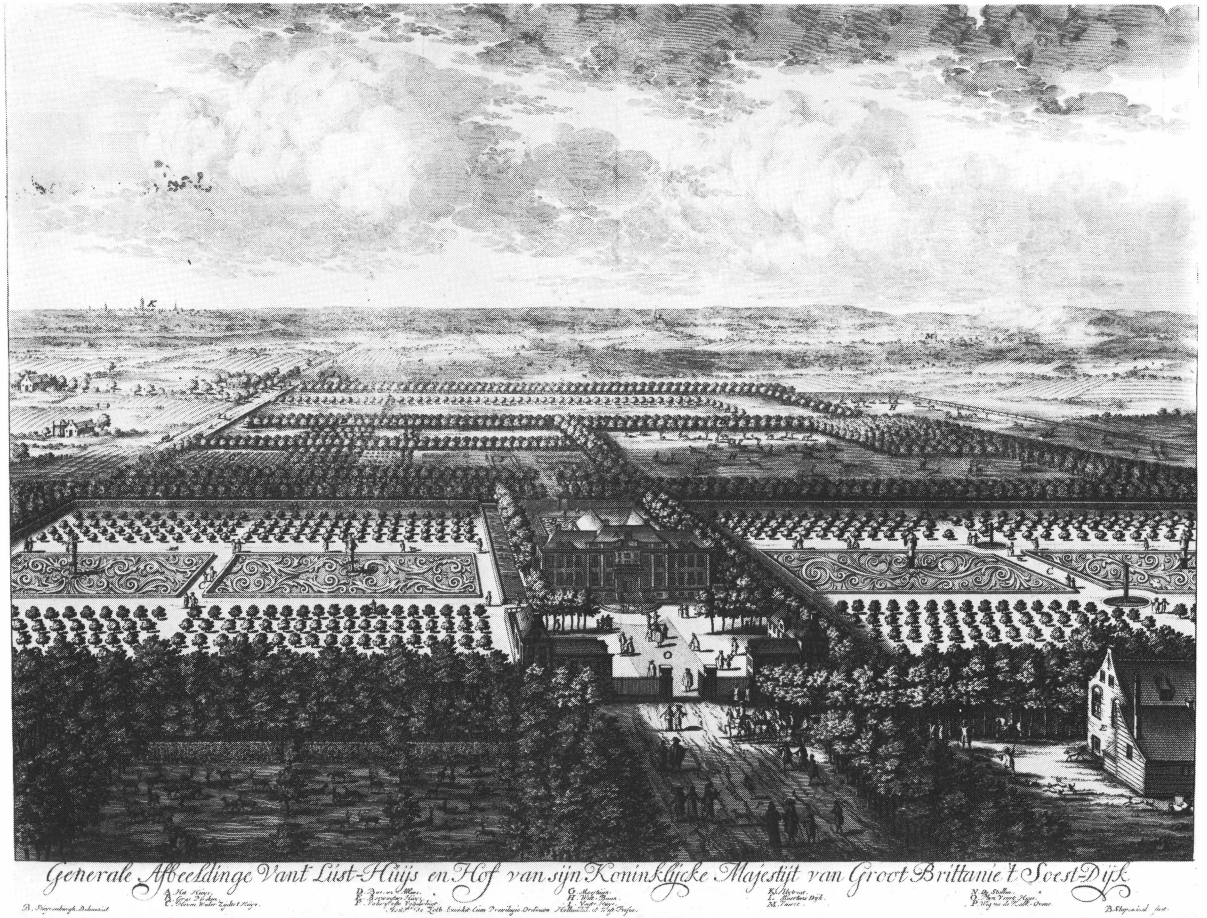
294. Pieter Post: Huis ten Bosch, begun 1645. View from the North-west. Delft's towers in the background on the right.



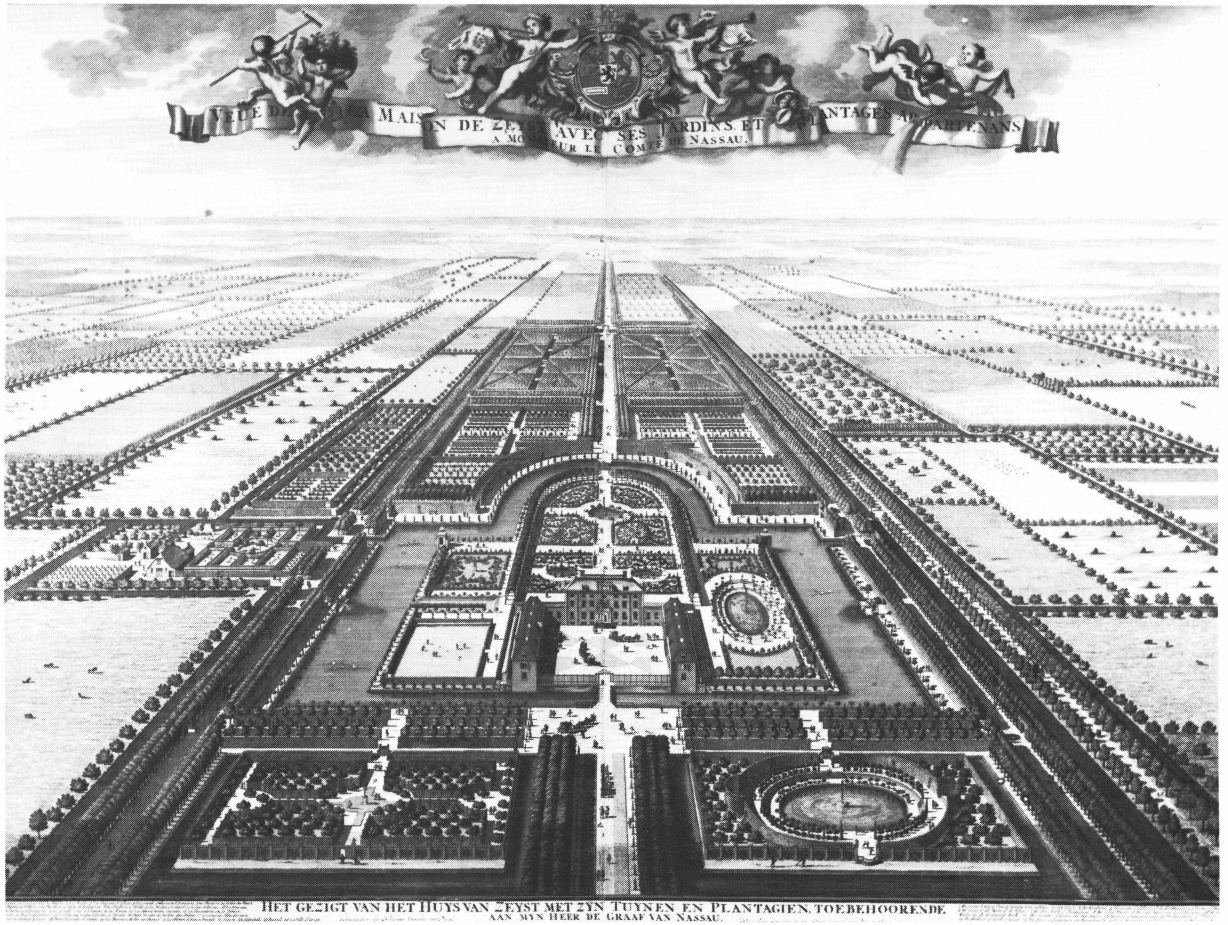
293. Pieter Post: Huis ten Bosch. Green pavilion, c. 1650.



295–8. Philips Vingboons: Design for Country House. Before 1648.



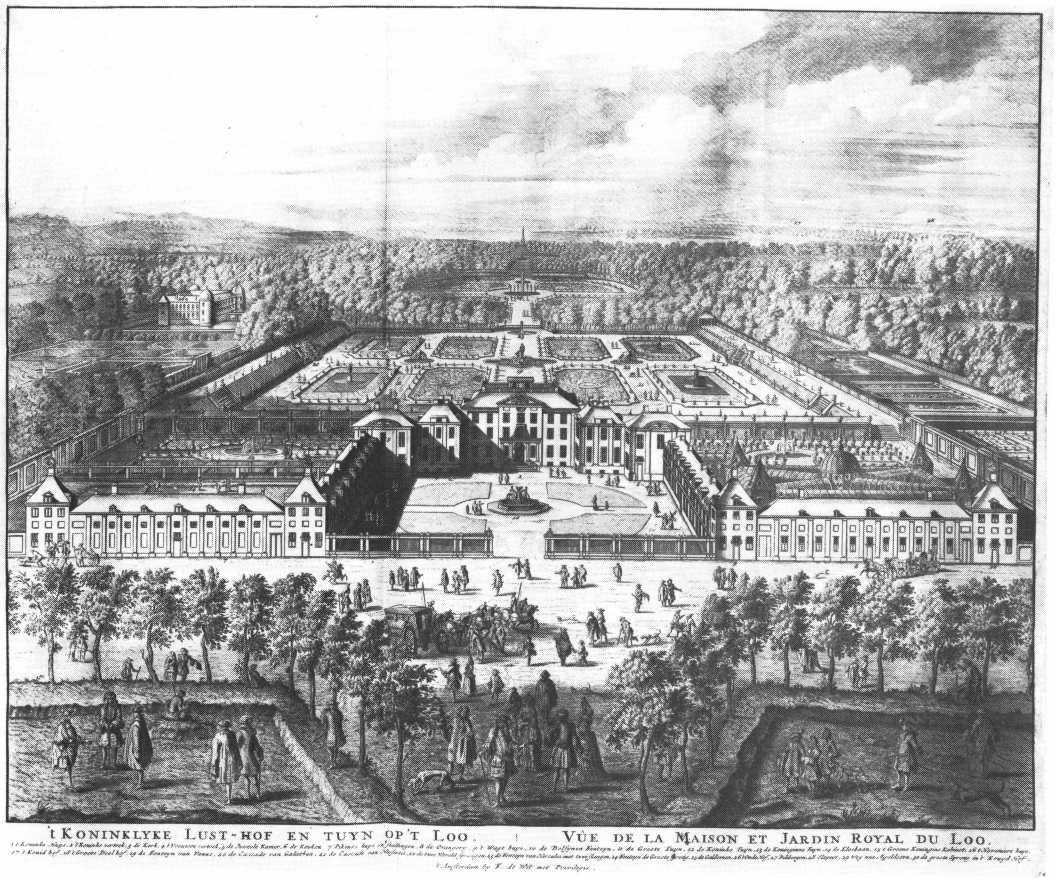
299. Soestdijk. General View.



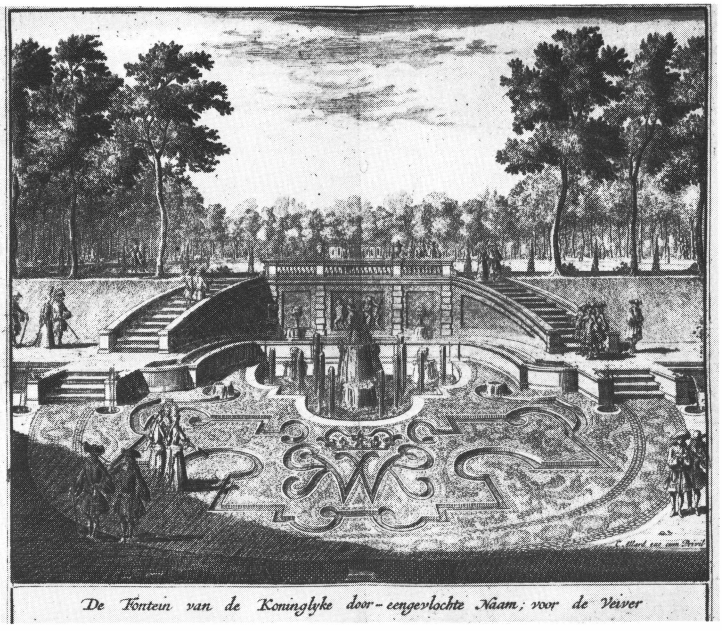
300. Zeist. General view.



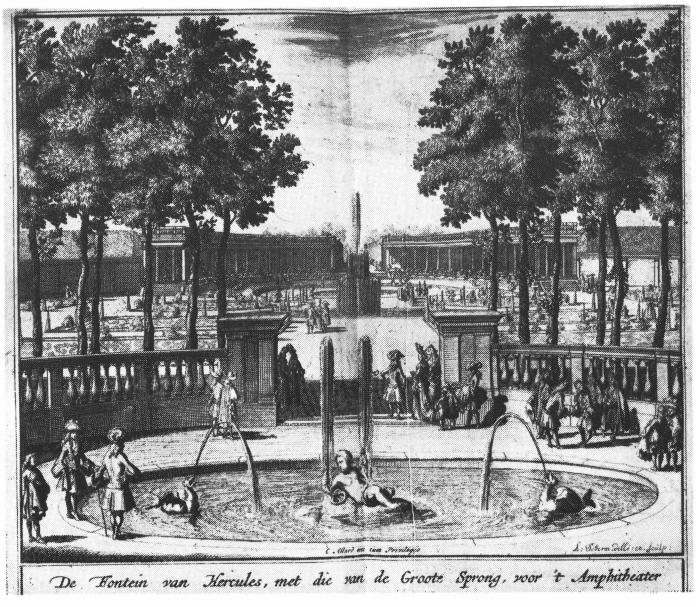
301. Het Loo. Entrance gate with pillars of Hercules. In the metopes the joint monogram of William and Mary.



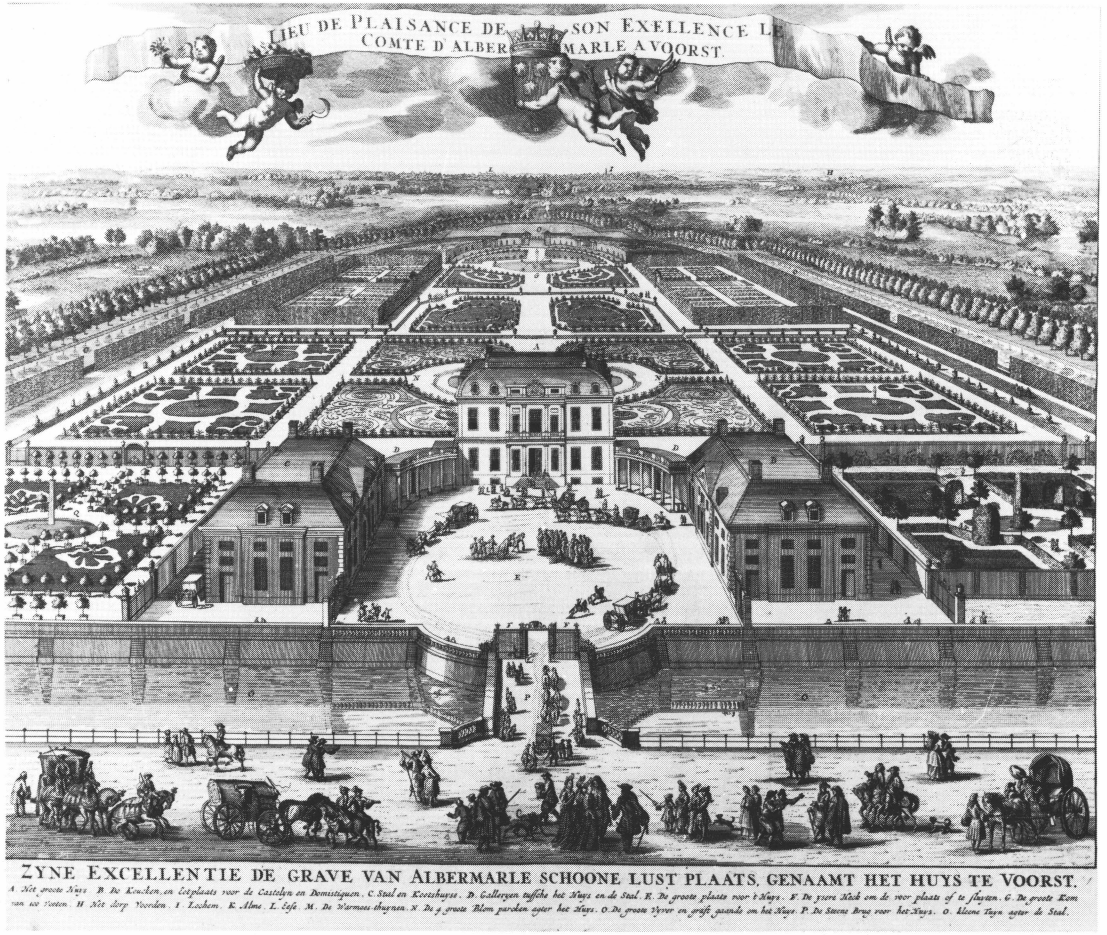
302. Het Loo and the Oude Loo. General view. The Princess' Garden on the right not yet reshaped as Queen's Garden. The replaced colonnade in the distance is scarcely visible, the aviary is not shown at all. In front of the gate a war-invalid among the crowd.



303. Het Loo. Fountain of the interwoven names in front of the great pond.



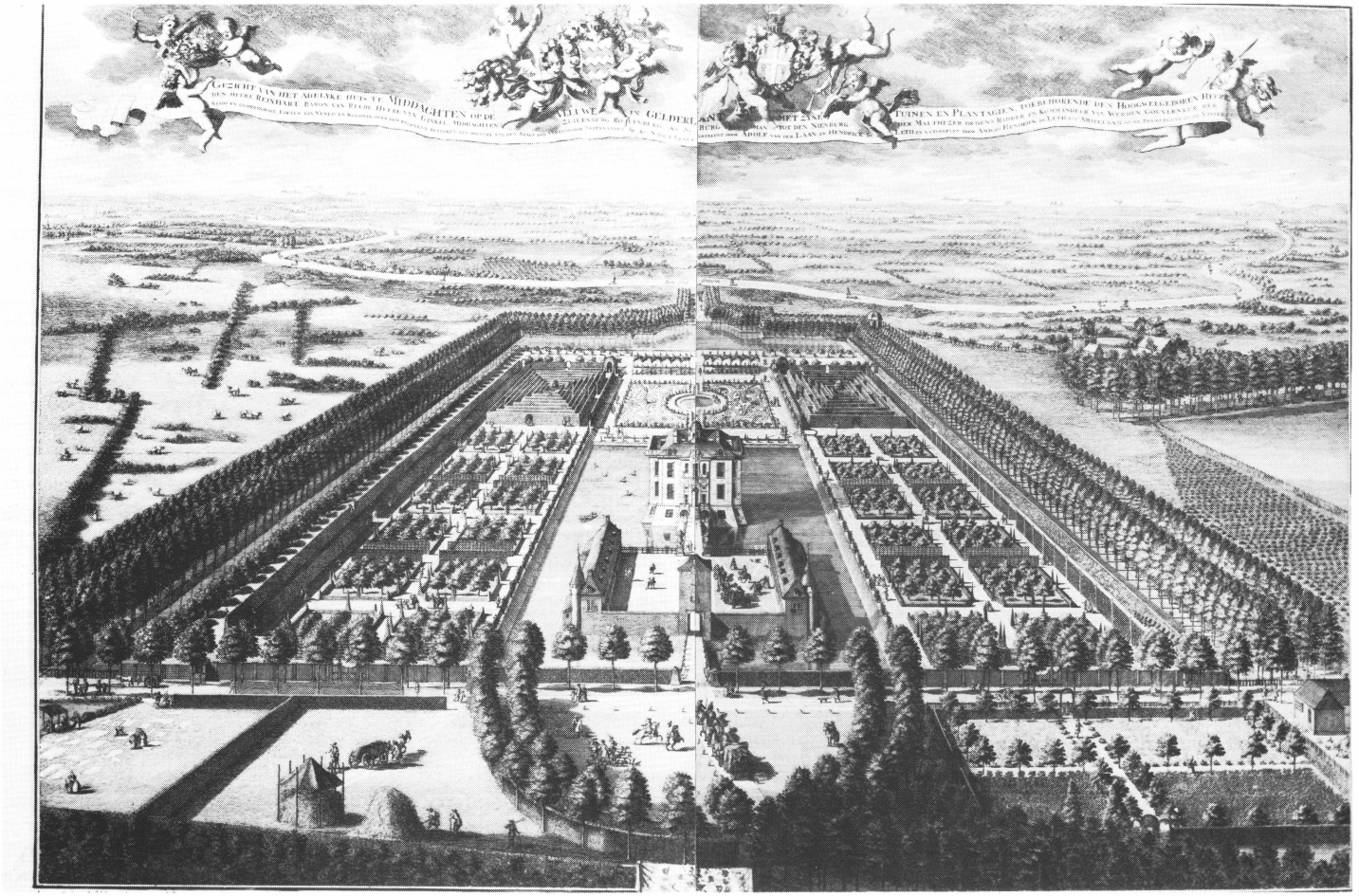
304. Het Loo. Fountain of the Child Hercules with the Snakes. In the distance the replaced colonnade.



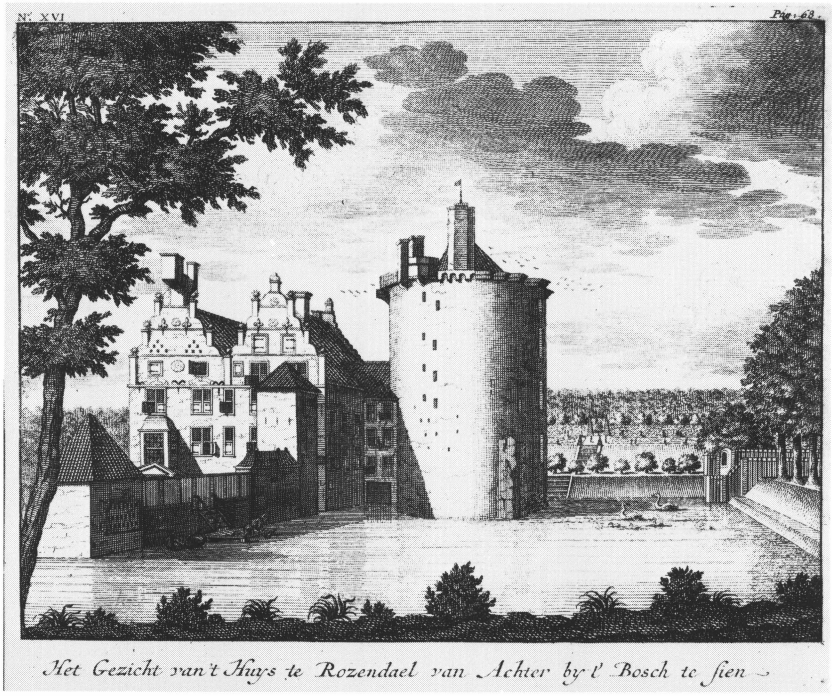
305. De Voorst. General view from the West, Lochem's tower in the far distance.



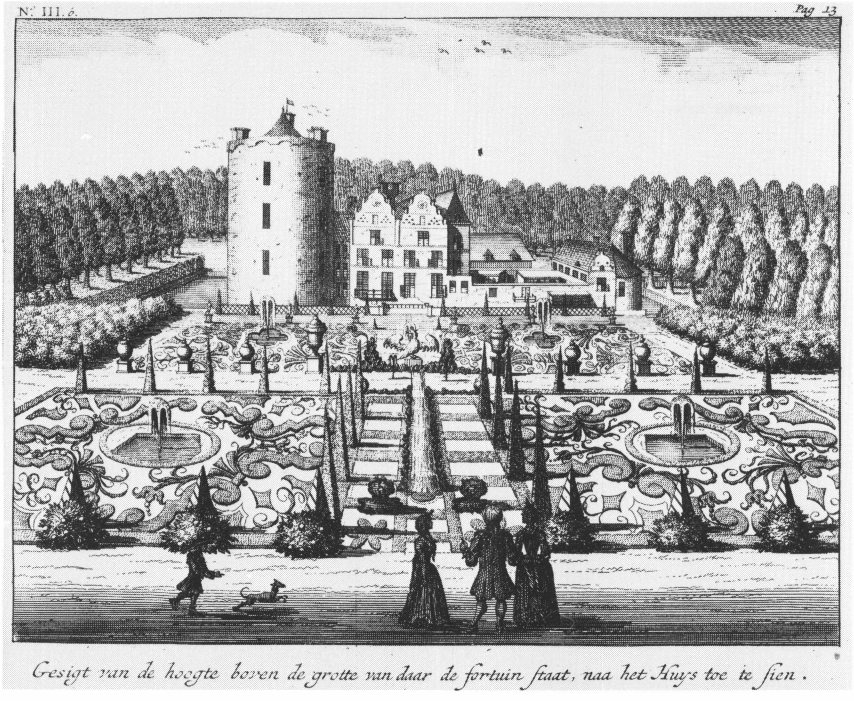
306. Steven Vennecool: Middachten, the Staircase, c. 1698 (later print).



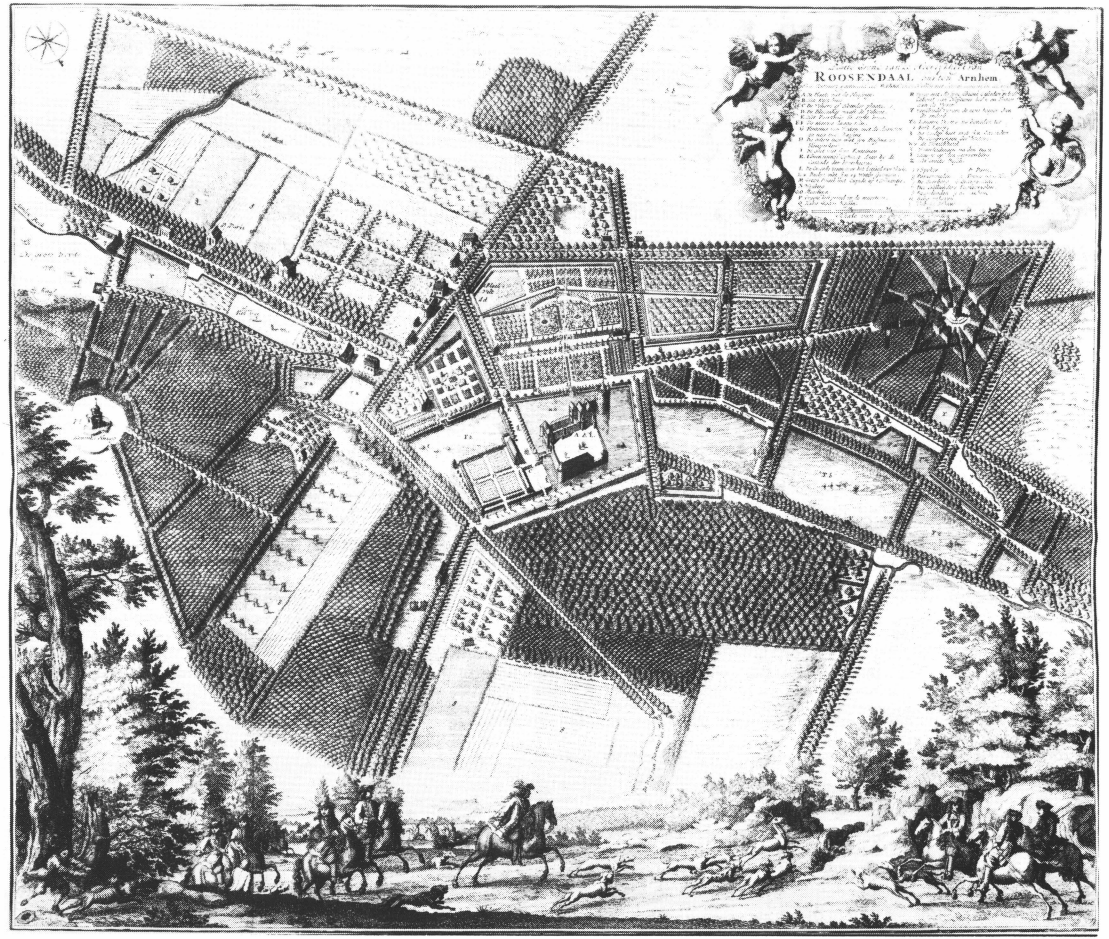
307. Middachten. General View.



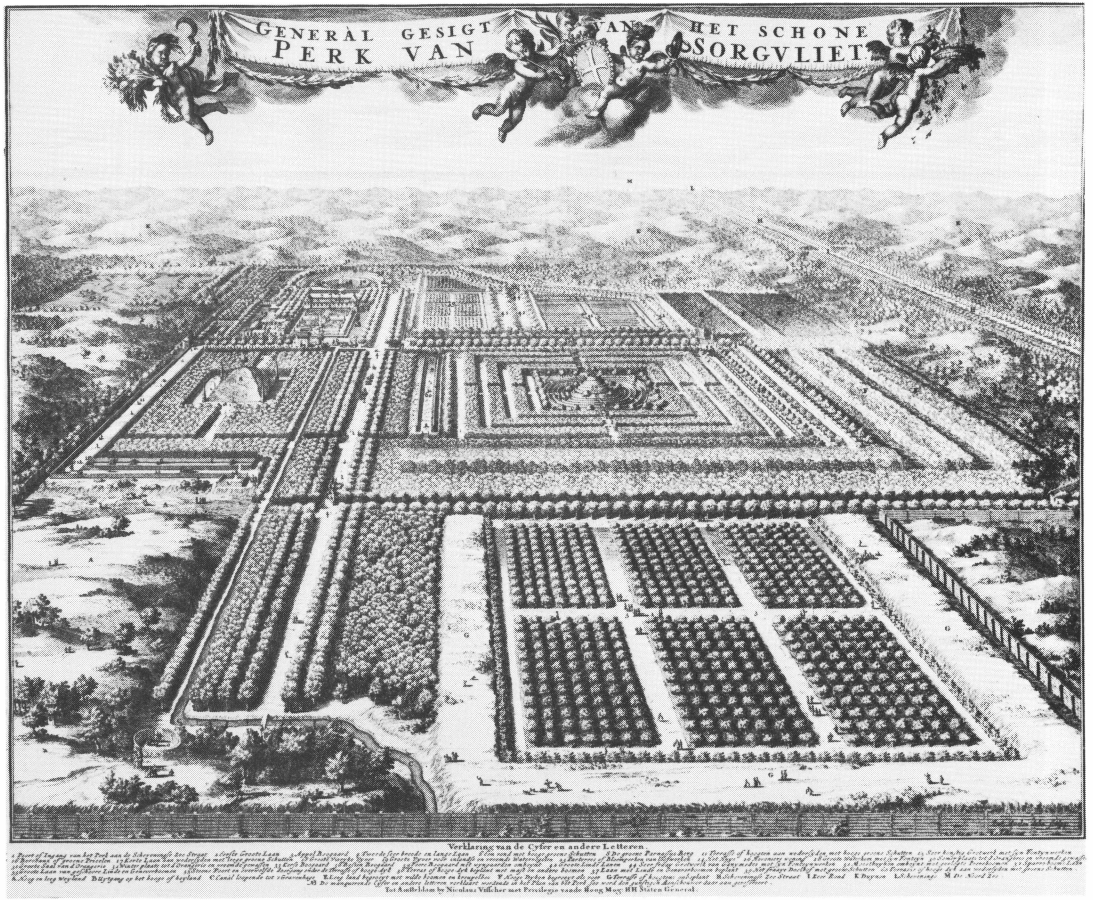
308. Rosendael. The old-fashioned Mannerist gables next to the mediaeval tower.



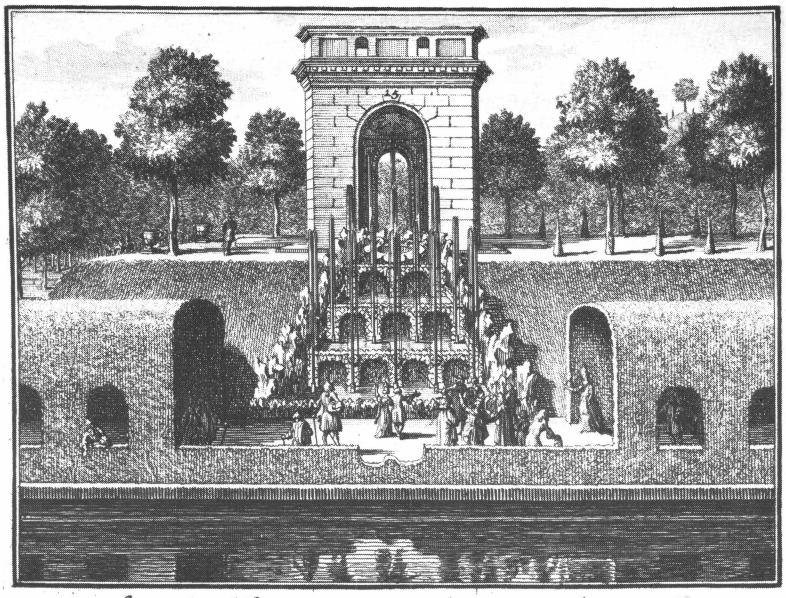
309. Rosendael. The House and the Parterres from the South.



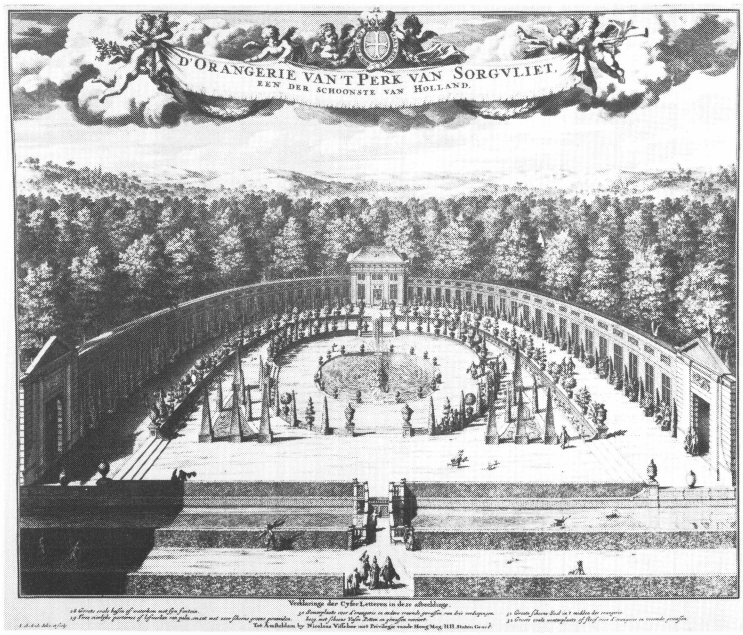
310. Rosendael. General View, c. 1700.



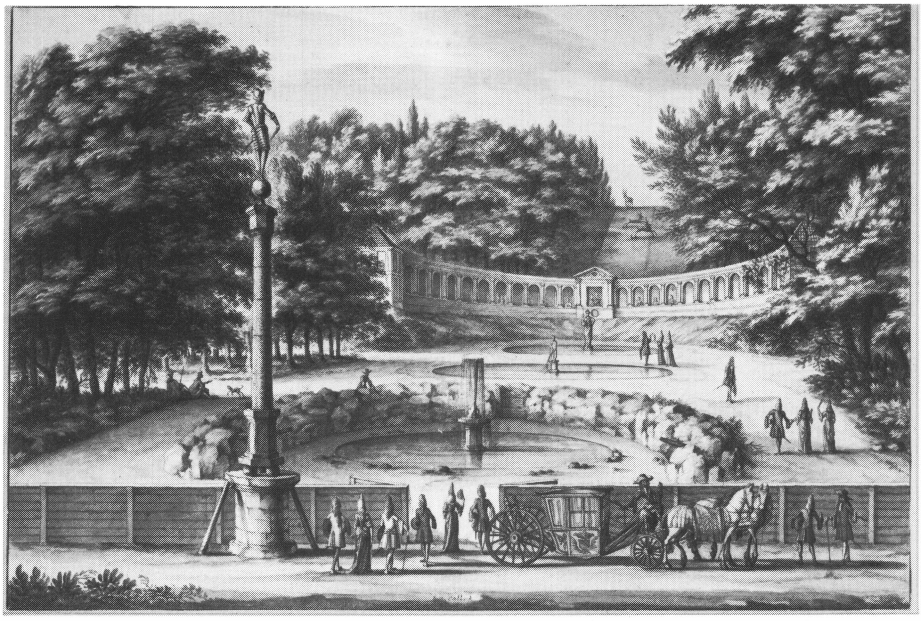
311. Sorghvliet. General view, c. 1690. In the far distance on the left the house and the orangery. In the middle distance the two mounds. In the foreground on the left the wild nature.



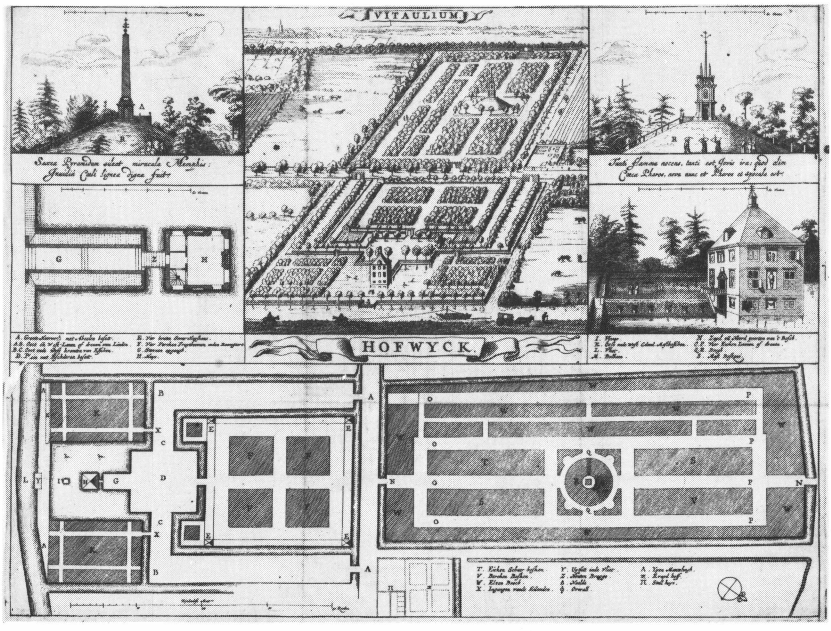
312. Sorghvliet. The grotto-cum-cascade facing the parterres in front of the house.



313. Sorghvliet. Portland's Great Orangery, c. 1690.



313A. The Springenberg, Cleves. The Amphitheatre, c. 1680 (later drawing).



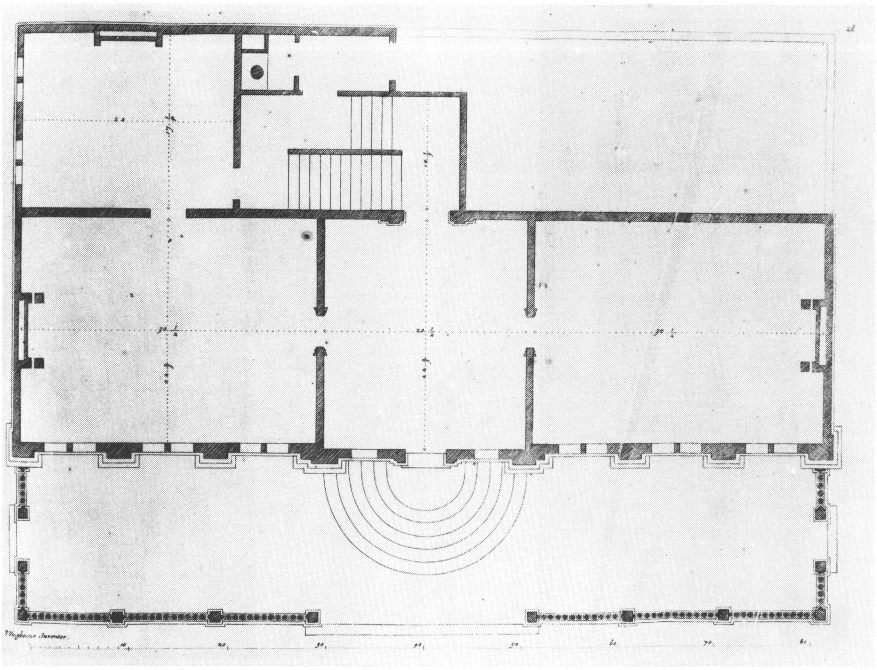
314. Hofwijck, c. 1640.

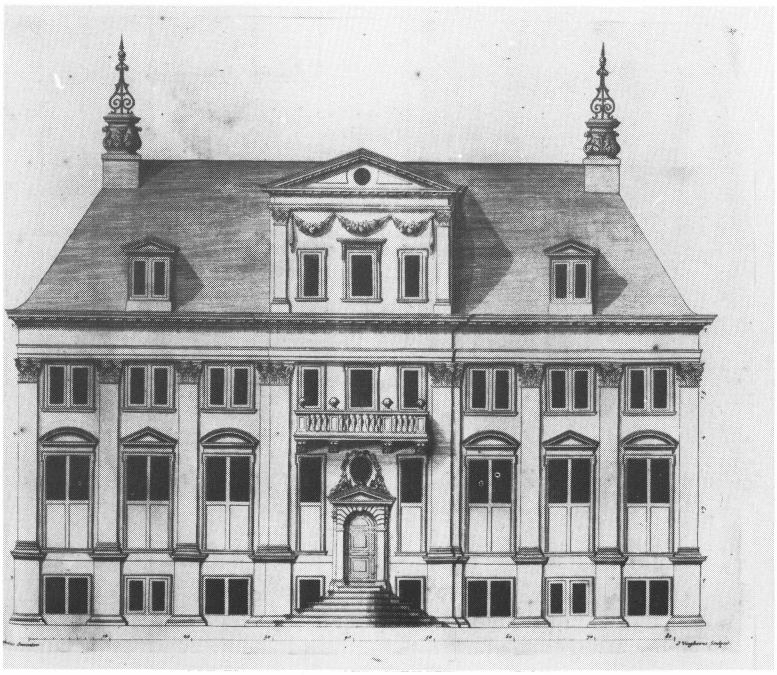


316. Philips Vingboons: Westwijck, 1637. Painting by Holsteyn.

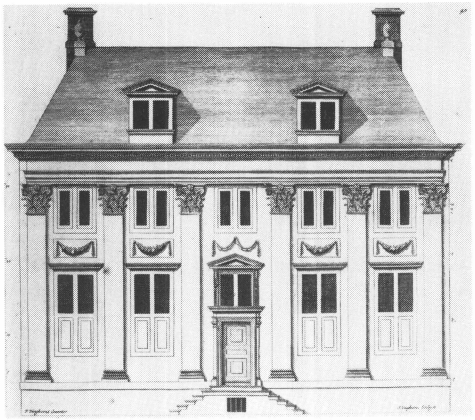


315. Jacob van Campen: Huis ten Bosch, Maarssen, 1628.

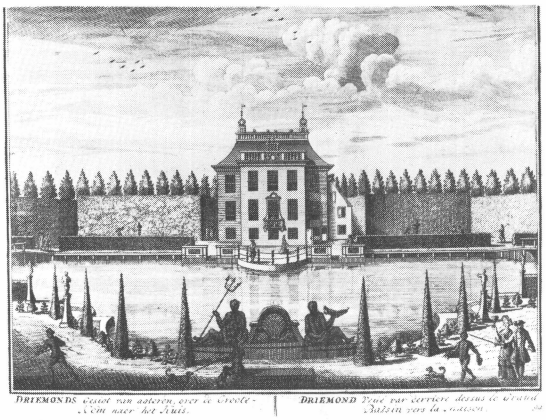




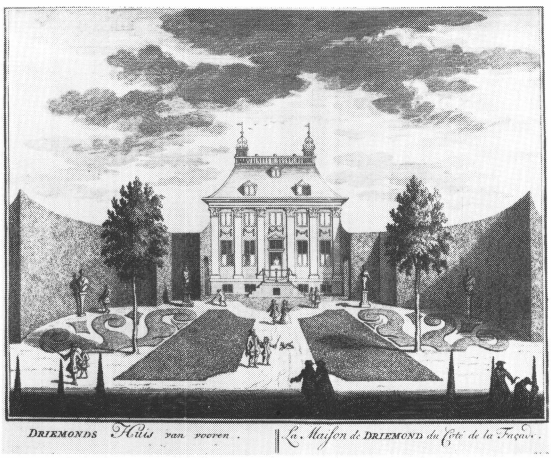
317. Philips Vingboons: Westwijck, 1637. Plan and Elevation.



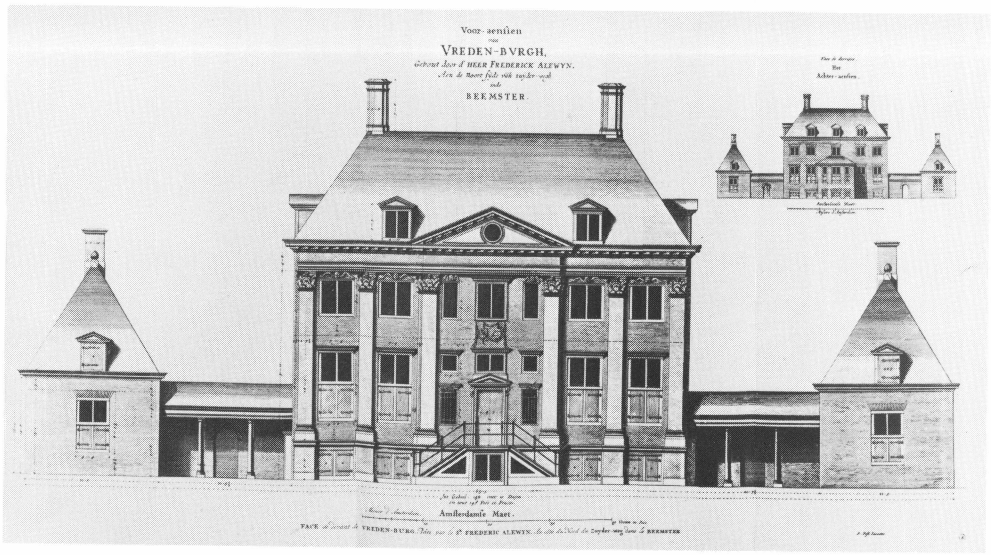
318. Philips Vingboons: Driemond, 1642. Front.



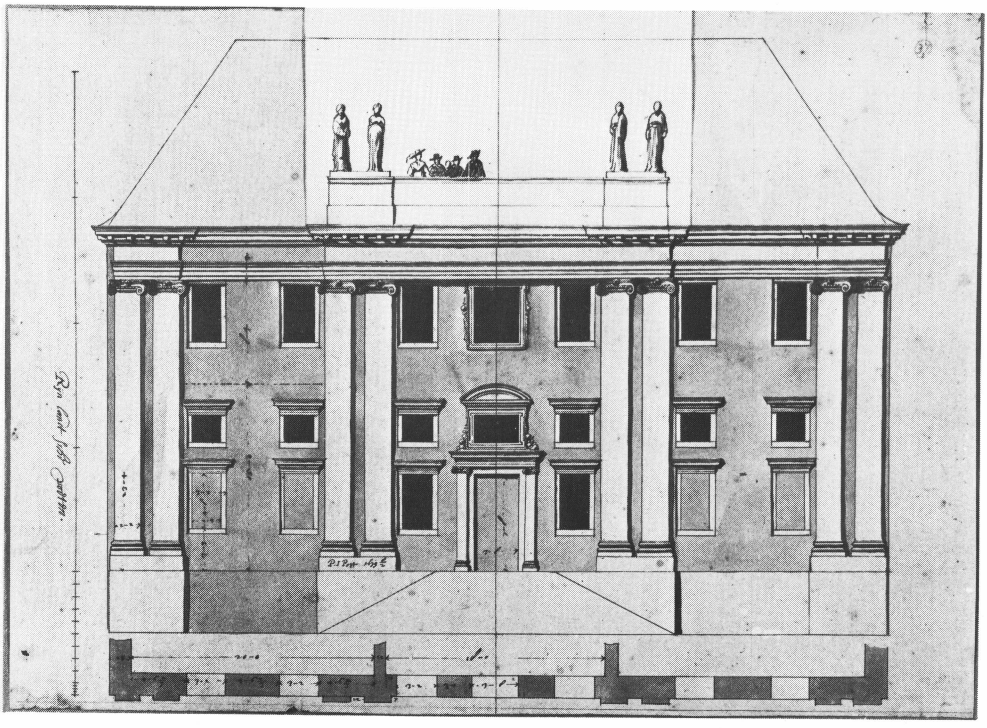
319. Philips Vingboons: Driemond. Garden elevation with later sash-windows and balcony.



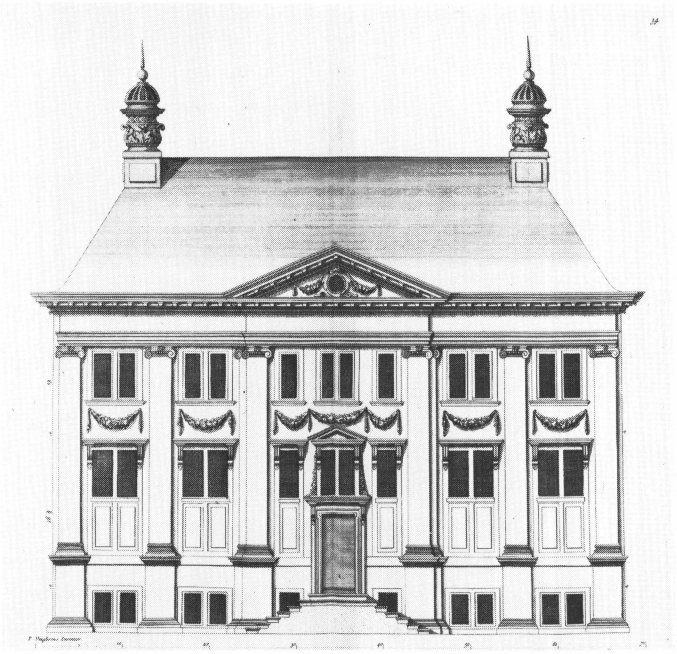
320. Philips Vingboons: Driemond. The forecourt in its 18th century form.



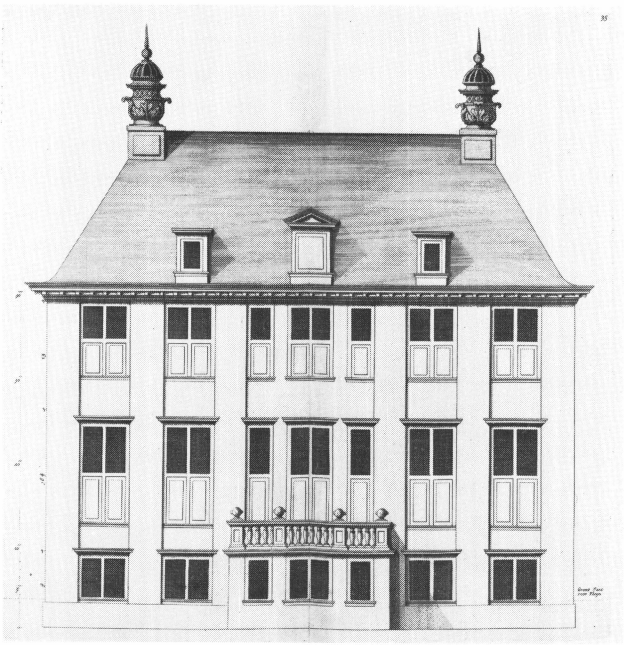
321. Pieter Post: Vredenburgh, 1637–52. The executed design. The front; the inset showing the rear façade.



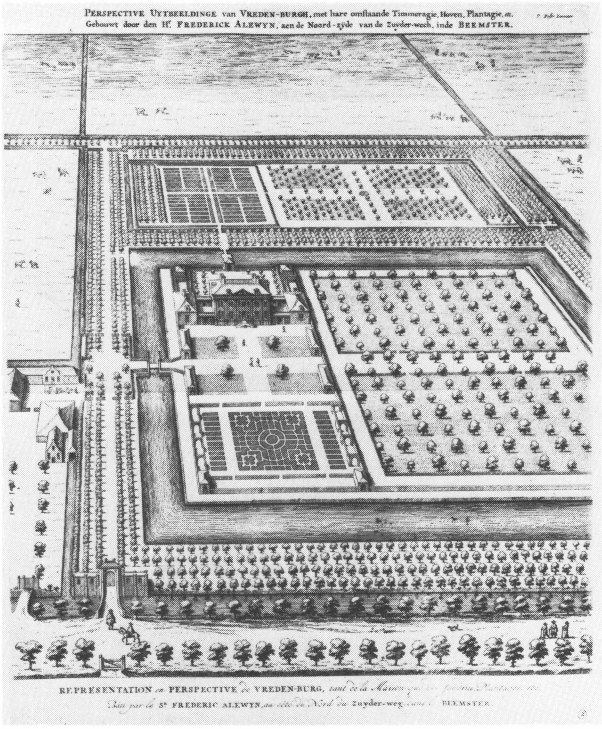
322. Pieter Post: Vredenburgh. Design, 1639. (The variant concealed by the flap is a triangular pediment).



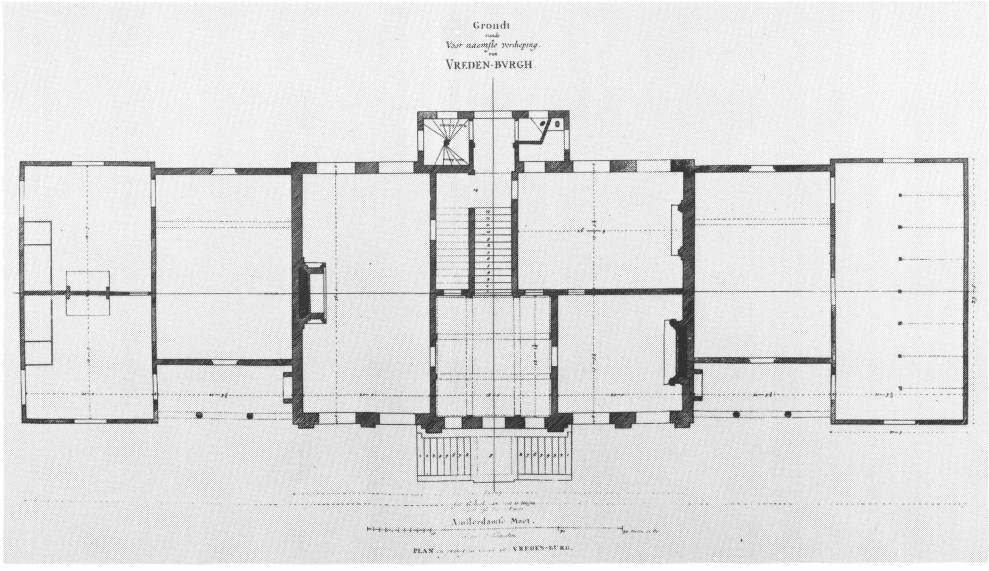
323. Philips Vingboons: Vredenburgh. Design, c. 1640. Front.



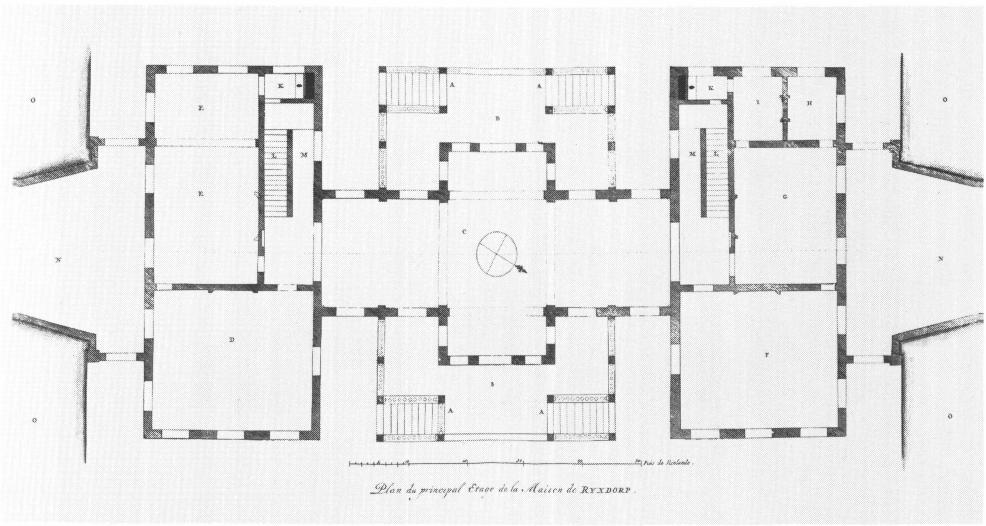
324. Philips Vingboons: Vredenburgh. Design, c. 1640. Rear Elevation.

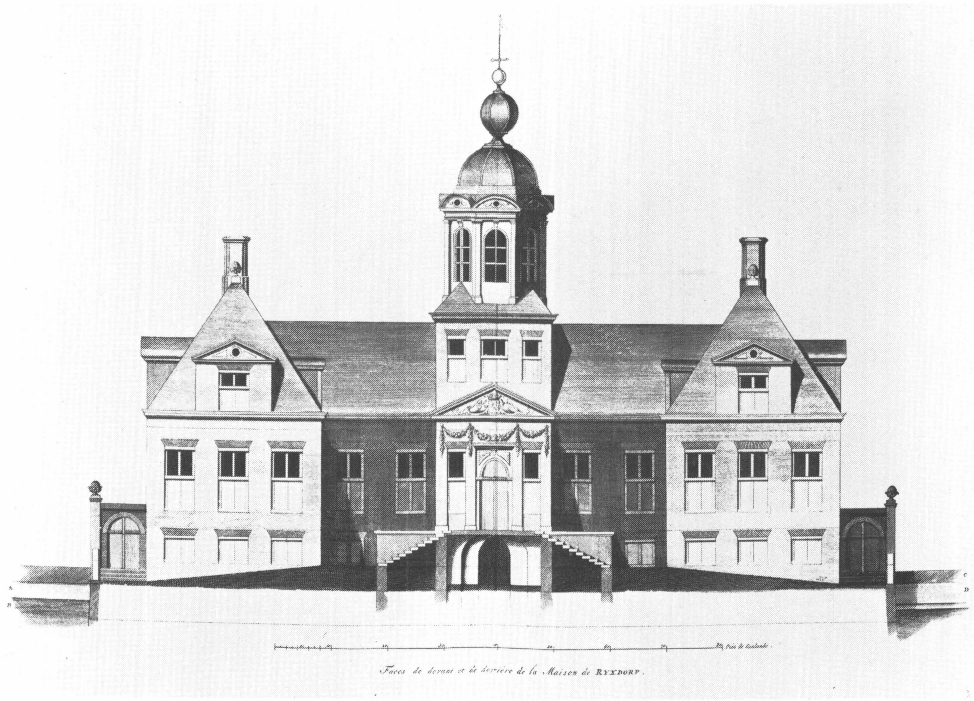


325. Pieter Post: Vredenburgh. General View.

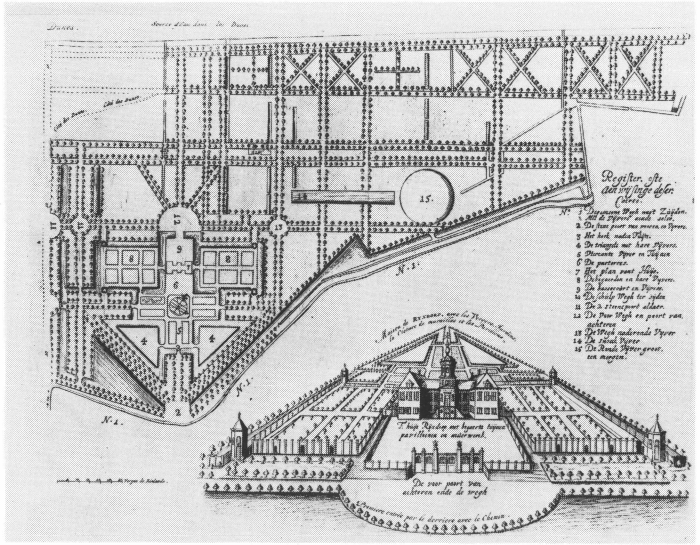


325A. Pieter Post: Vredenburgh. Plan.





326. Pieter Post: Rijxdorp, 1662–8. Plan and front elevation similar to rear elevation.



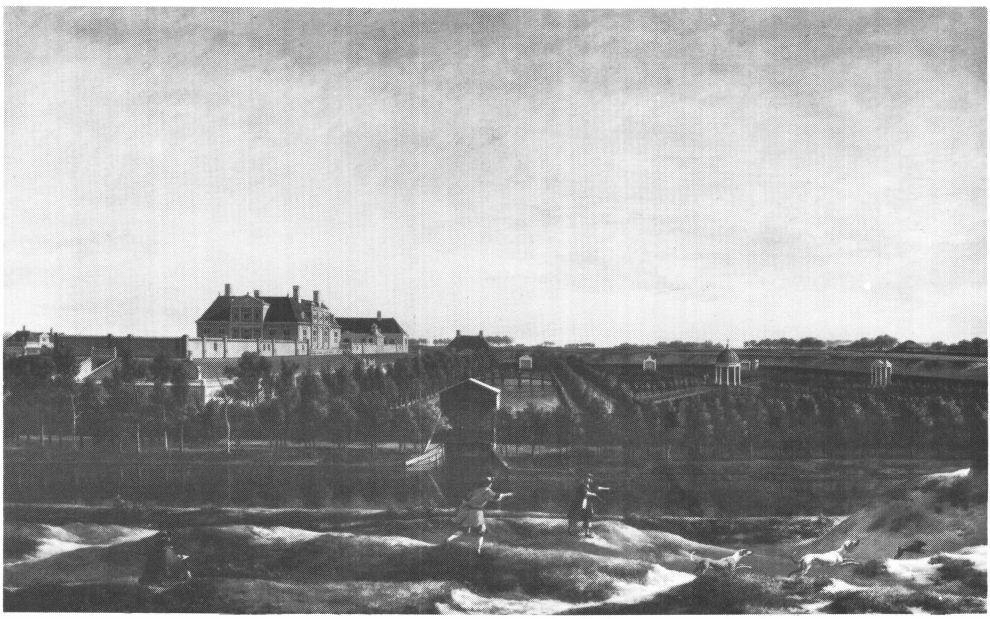
328. Rijxdorp. General Plan and Perspective (from the other side).



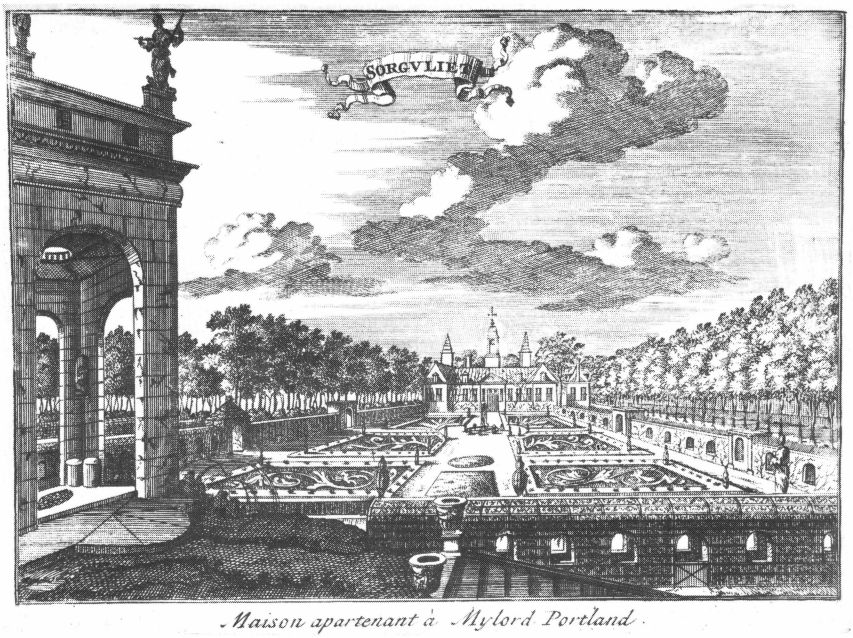
327. Pieter Post: Rijxdorp. Section.



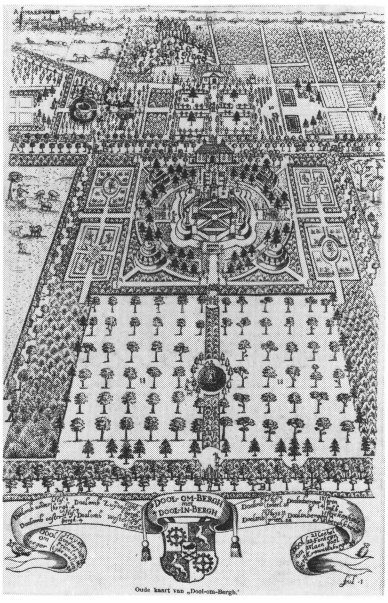
329. Elswout, c. 1660. Painting by Van der Heyden. View from the South, the Orangery hiding the forecourt.



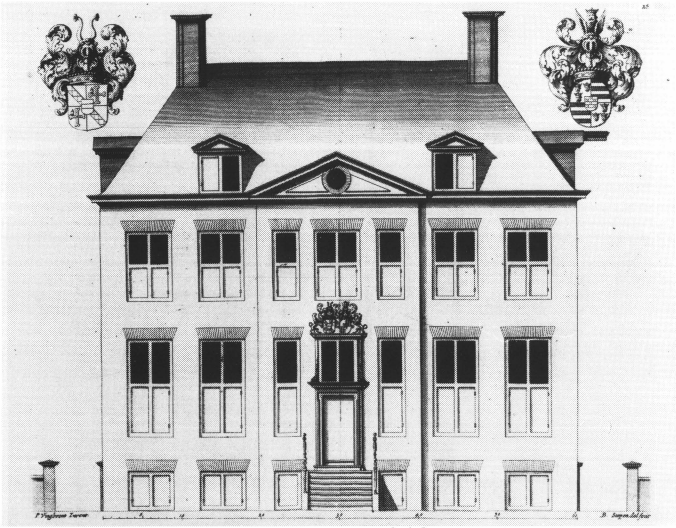
330. Elswout. Painting by Berckheyde. View from the North, in front the sunken garden like a kind of bastion.



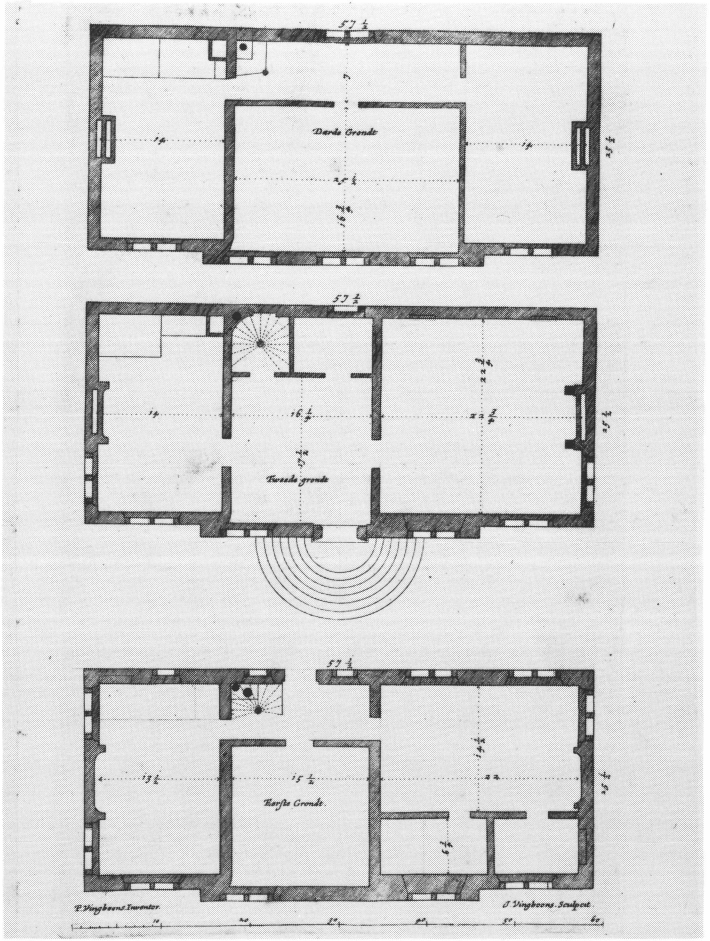
331. Pieter Post (attributed): Sorghvliet. The house (c. 1652) and the parterres in front.



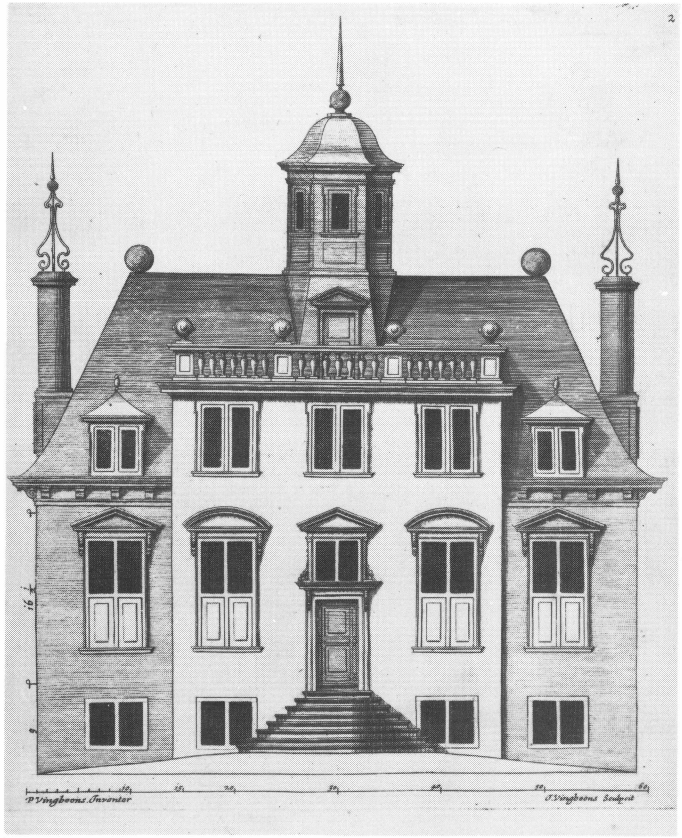
332. Everhard Meyster: Dool-om-Bergh and Dool-in-Bergh, c. 1669. In the distance, nr. 10, the garden-theatre.



333. *Philips Vingboons: Vanenburgh, 1664.*



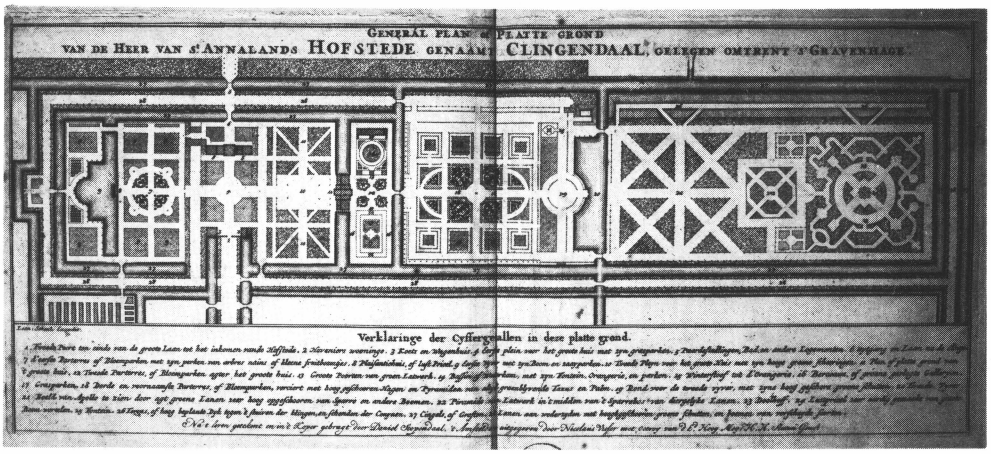
334. *Philips Vingboons: Elsenburgh, 1637. Plans.*



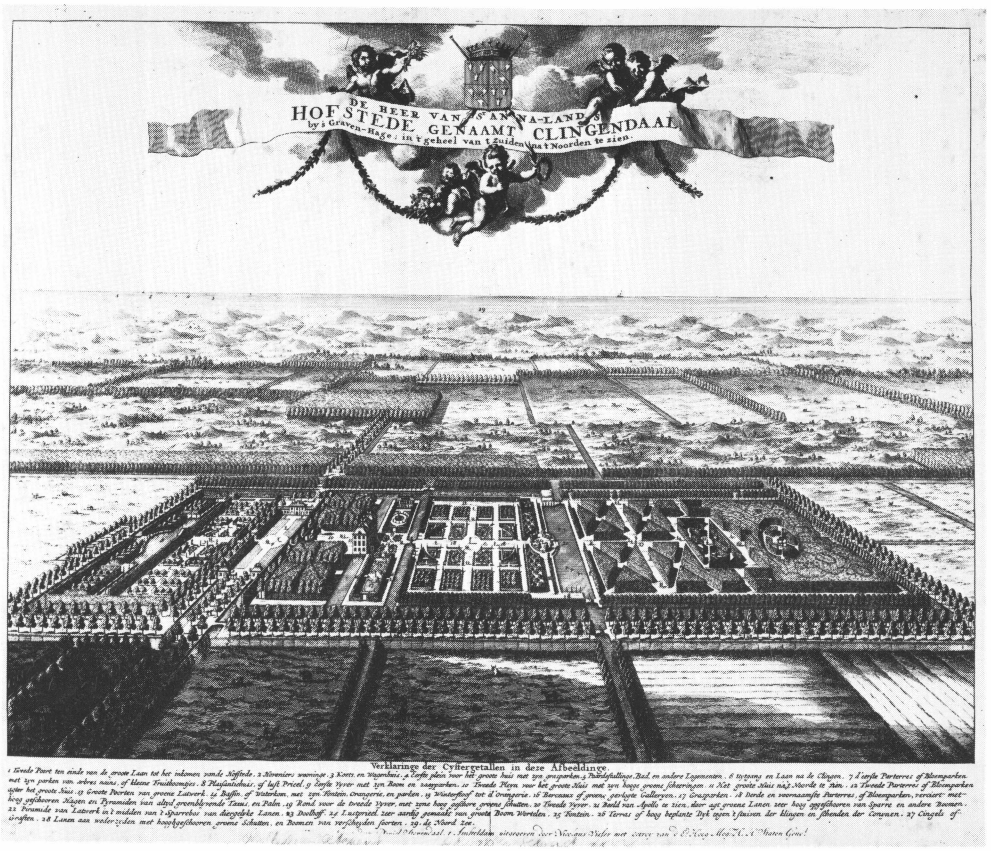
335. Philips Vingboons: Elsenburgh. The Façade (the Cupola was never built).



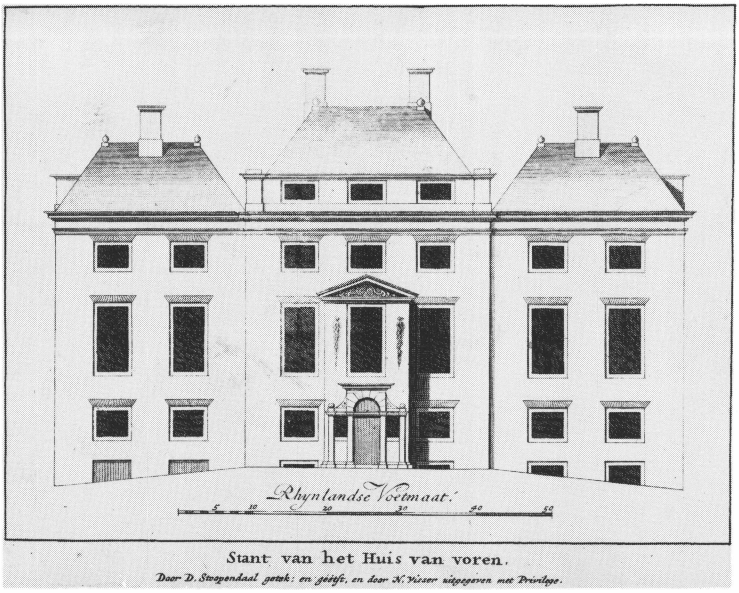
336. Elsenburgh as mutilated in the 18th century. On the sides 'green chambers'.



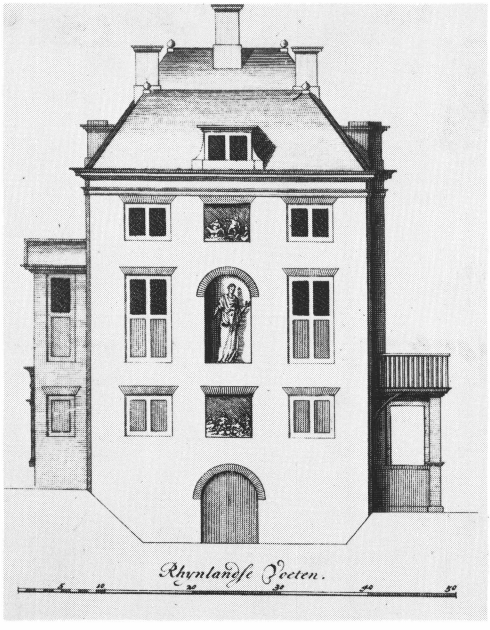
337. Clingendaal. General Plan, c. 1690.



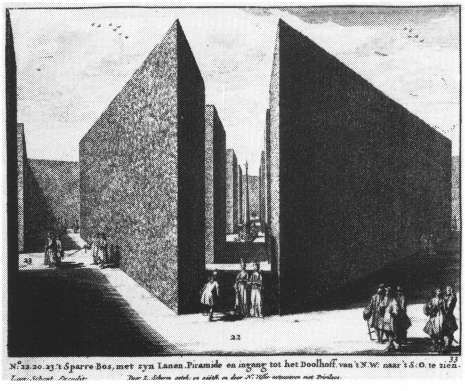
338. Clingendaal. General View, c. 1690.



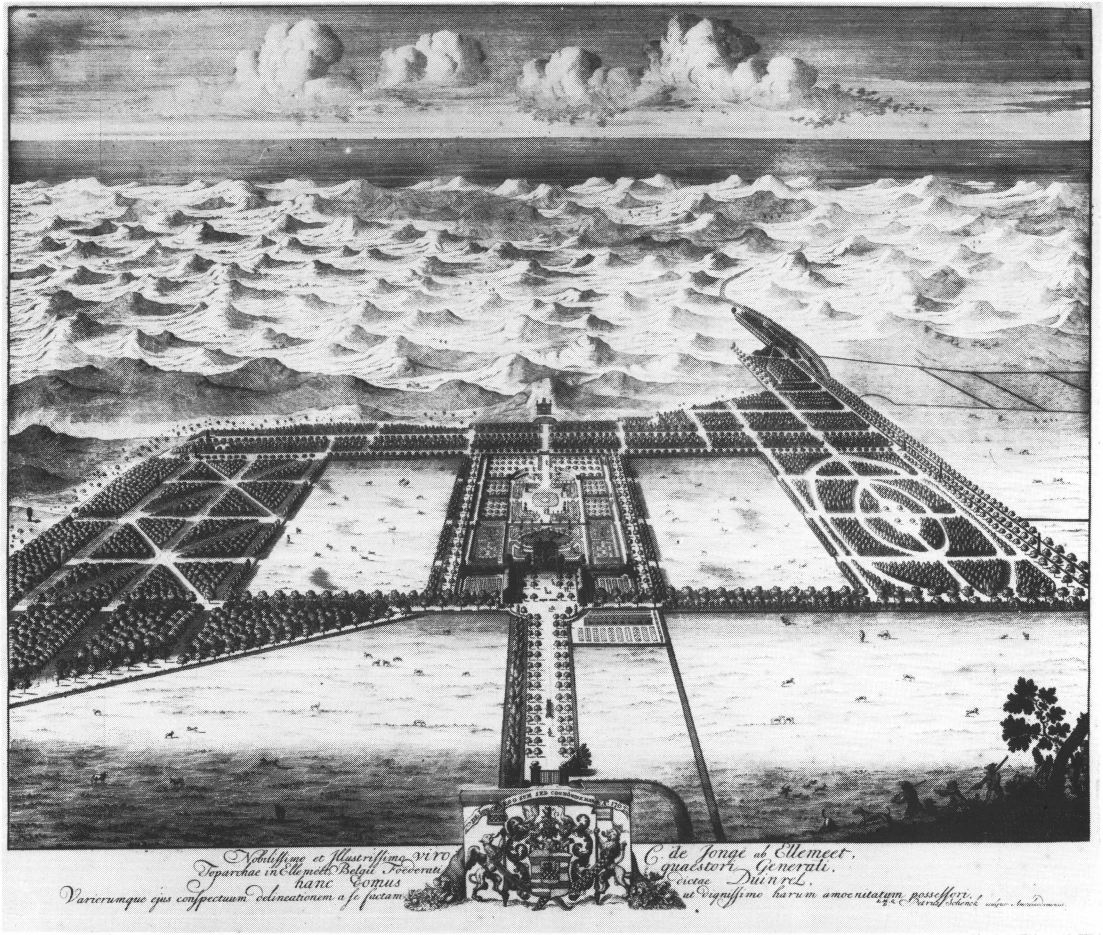
339. Philips Doublet(?): Clingendaal. Front, c. 1687. For the publication the transoms and mullions in the windows were erased.



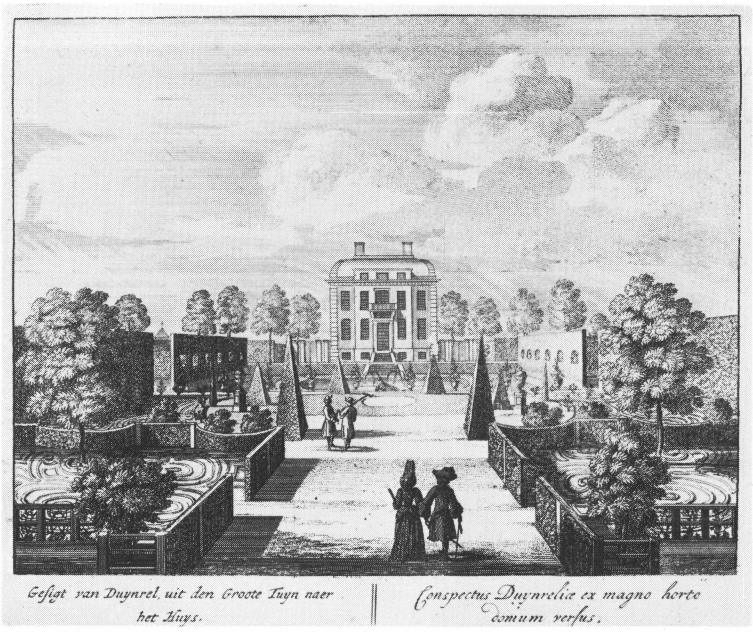
340. Clingendaal. Side Elevation. Compare Plate 314.



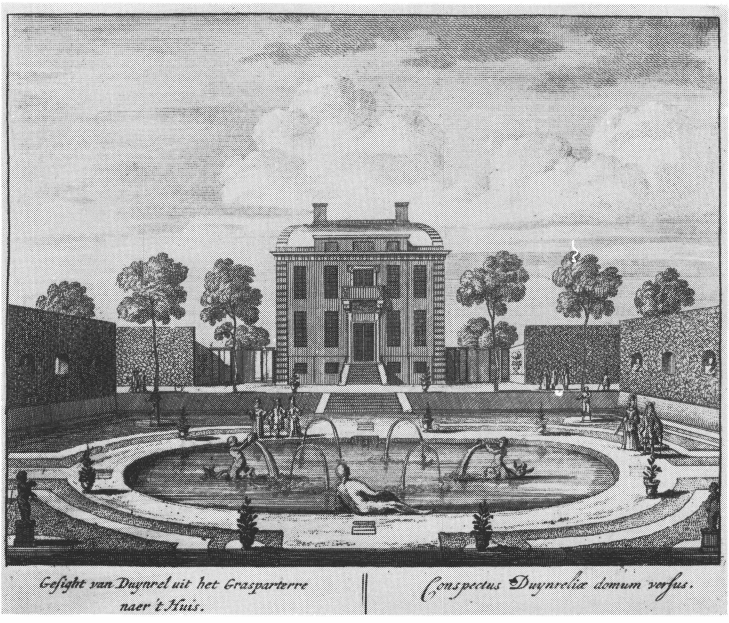
341. Philips Doublet(?): Clingendaal. The high clipped hedges looking towards the pyramid and the labyrinth.



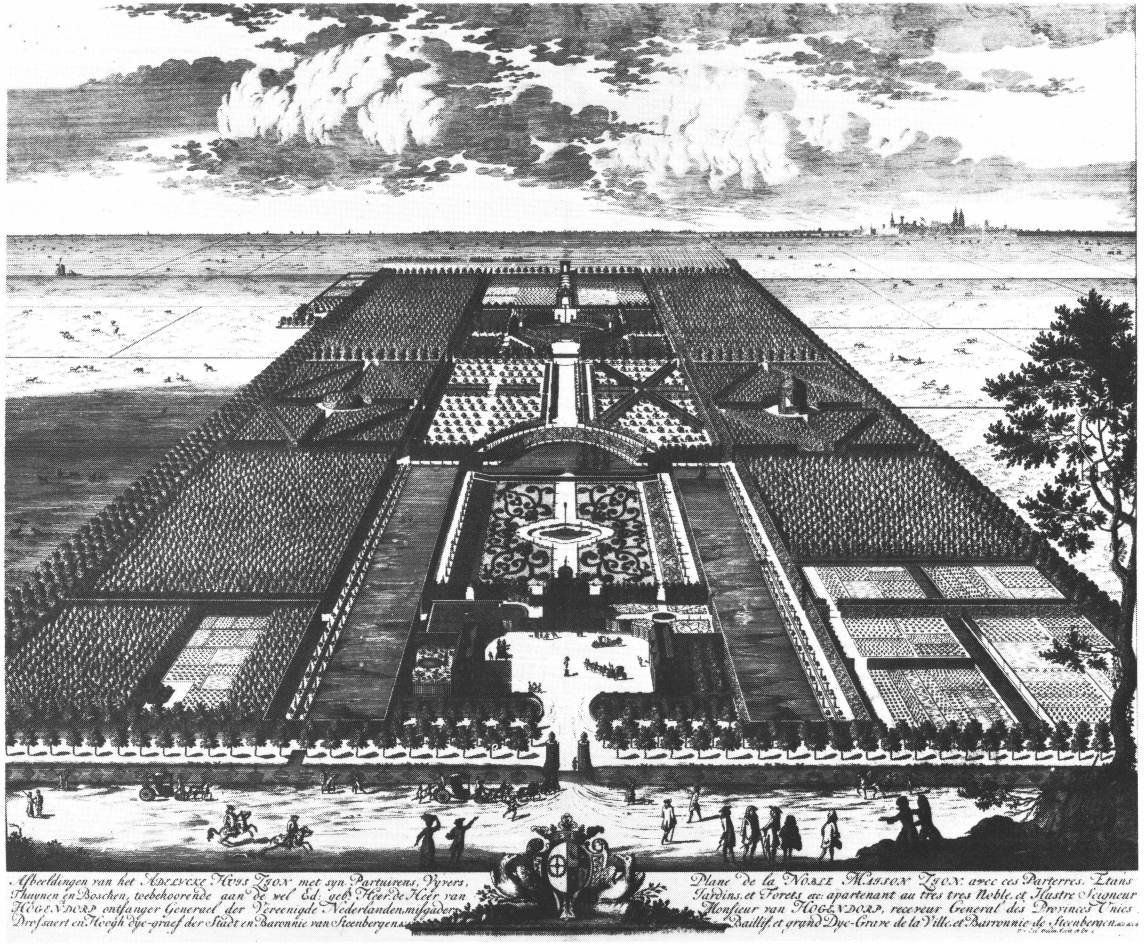
342. Duinrel. General View, 1707.



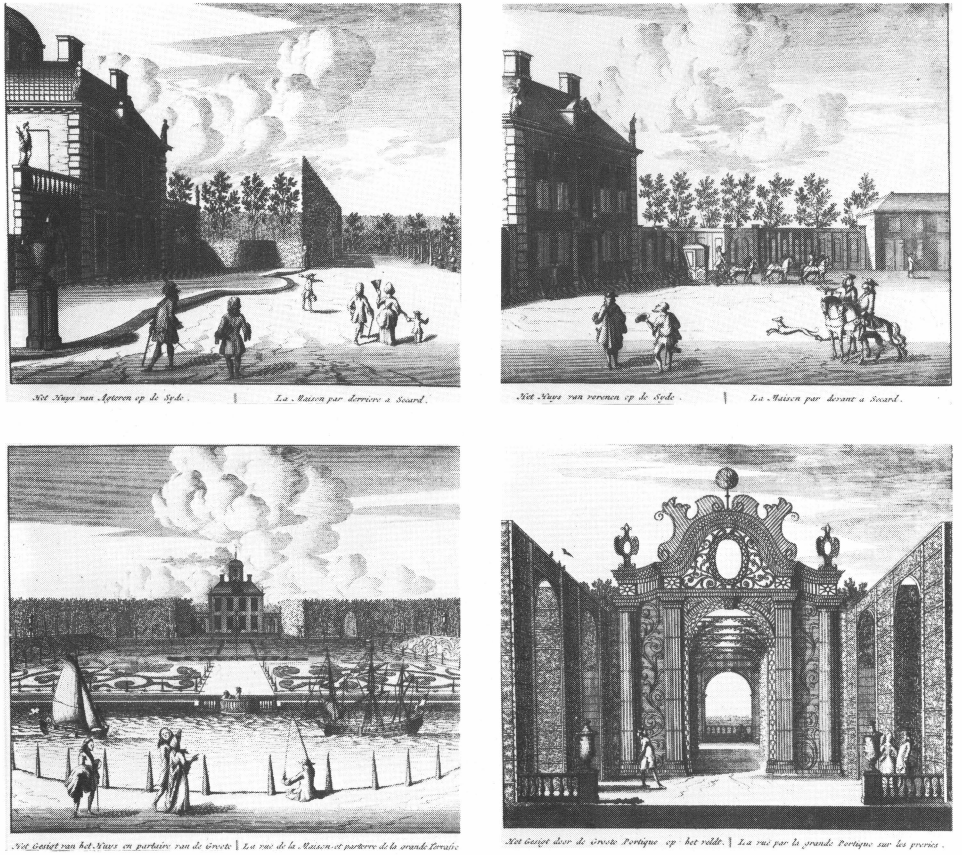
343. Duinrel. The Garden, c. 1700.



344. Duinrel. The Garden Front, c. 1700.



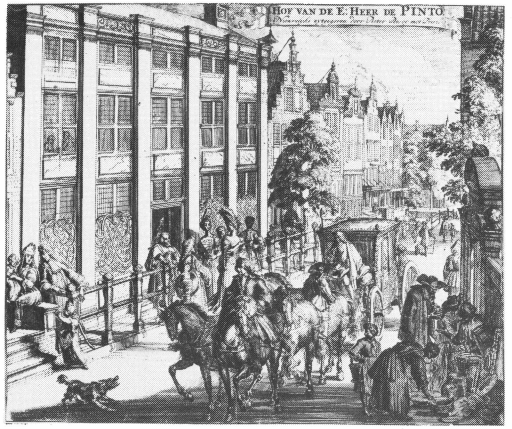
345. Sion, c. 1710. General View. Delft in the far distance to the right.



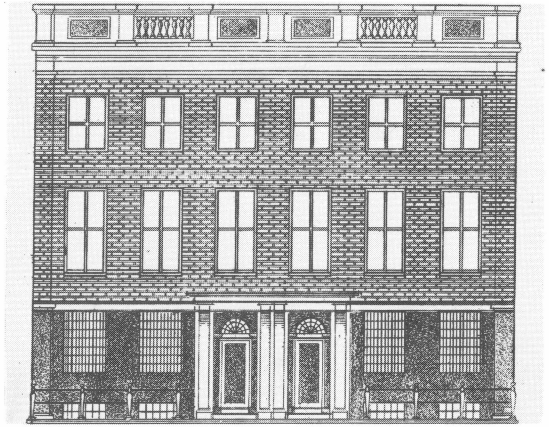
346–9. Sion, c. 1710. The new garden façade. – The forecourt, Alternately raised and sunken faces are added to the corners of the old house. A war-invalid in front of the house. – The Parterres. The pond in imitation of Fontainebleau. – The arbour at the end of the garden.



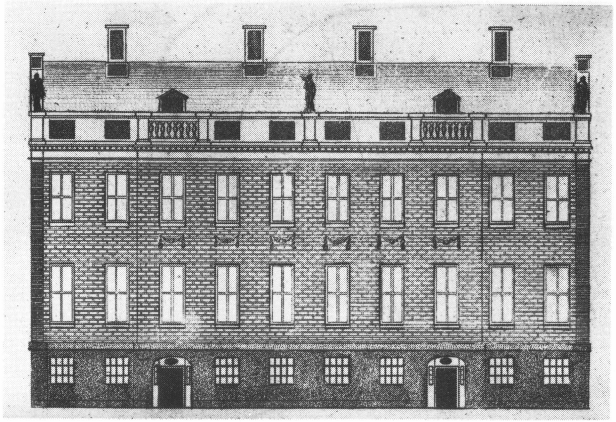
350. Cruquius: Map of Delfland, 1712. Parts showing Honselaarsdijk (centre), Huis ten Bosch (on the right) and Clingendaal (also on the right, more to the North).



351. Elias Bouman(?): De Pinto House, c. 1680.



352. Elias Bouman: Amstel 226–4, 1672.



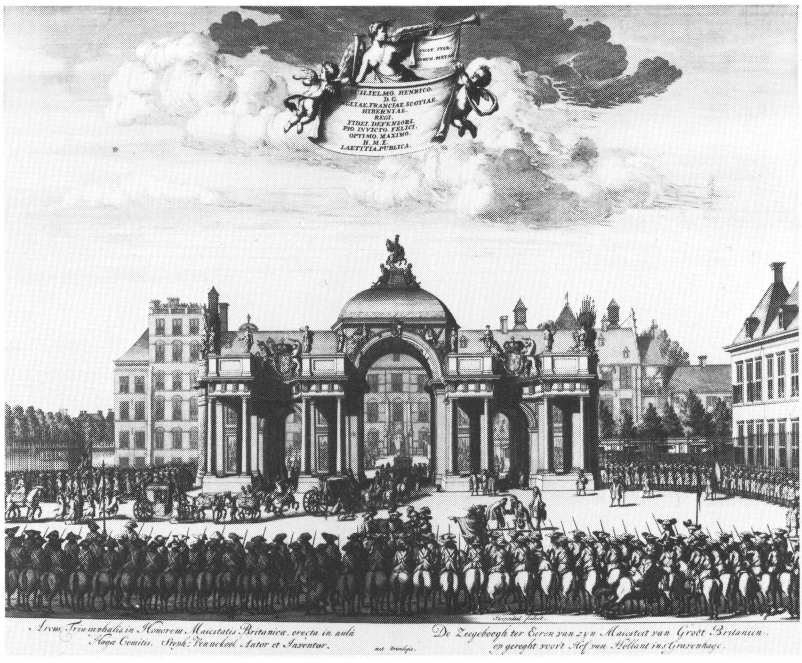
353. Elias Bouman(?): Heerengracht 470–68, 1669.



354. Romeyn de Hooghe: Heerengracht 586*(?).*

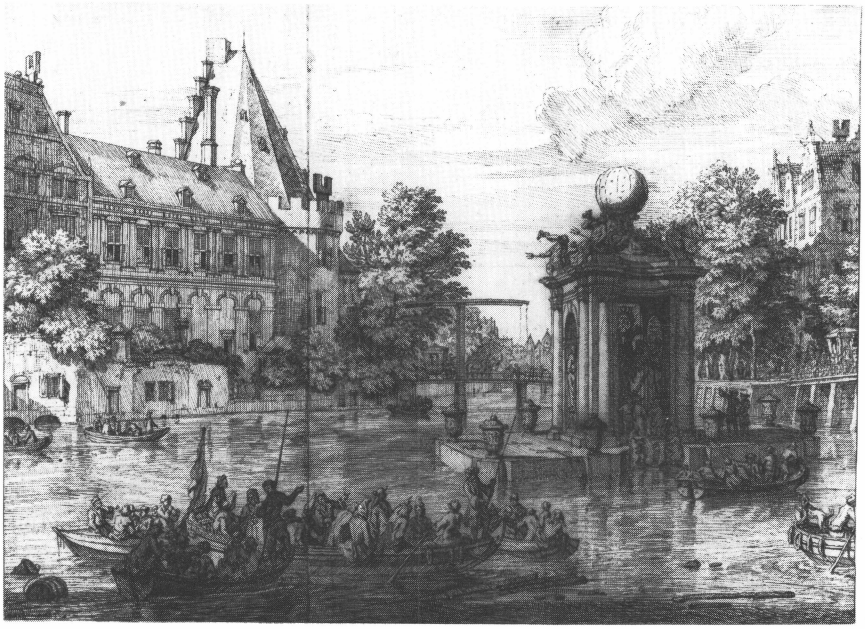


355. Steven Vennecool: Town Hall, Enkhuizen, 1686.

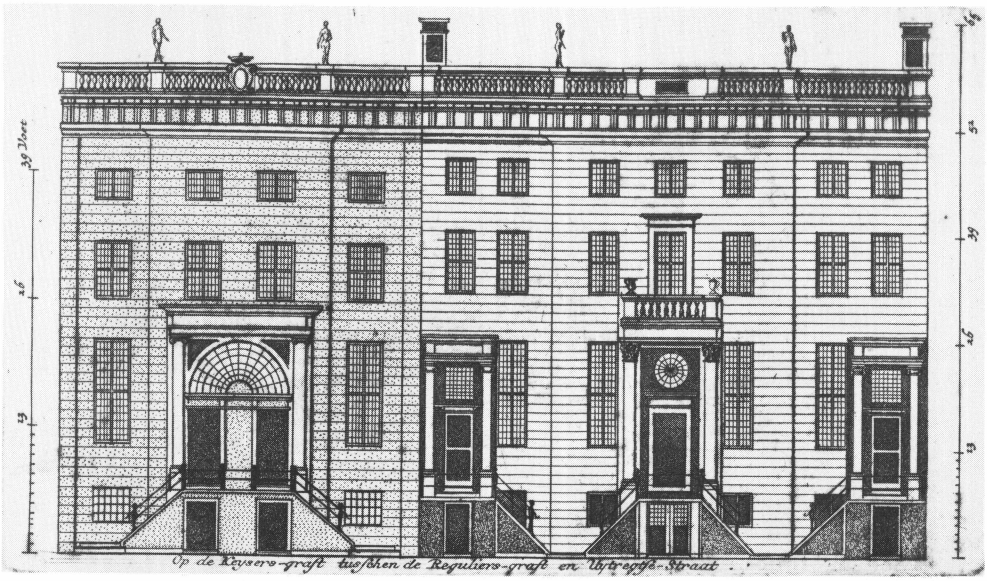




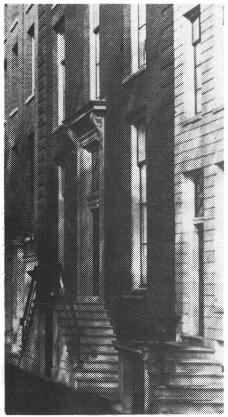
356A–B. Steven Vennecool: Triumphal Arch for William III, 1691.



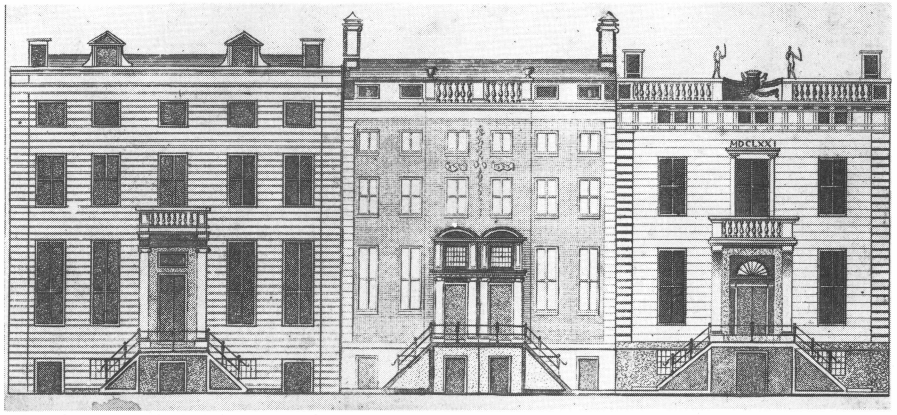
357. Steven Vennecool: Fireworks for the Muscovite entry at Amsterdam, 1697.



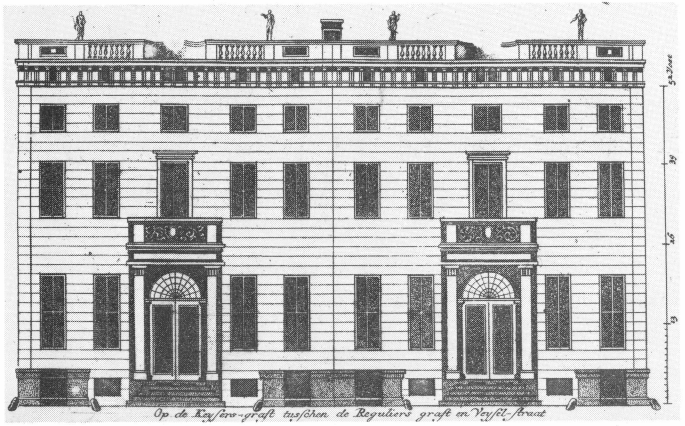
358. Adriaan Dortsman(?): Keizersgracht 738–730, 1671 (changed).



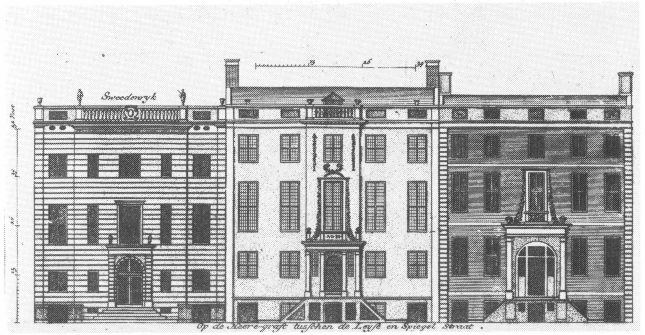
359. *Dortsman: Heerengracht 619, 1667 (changed).*



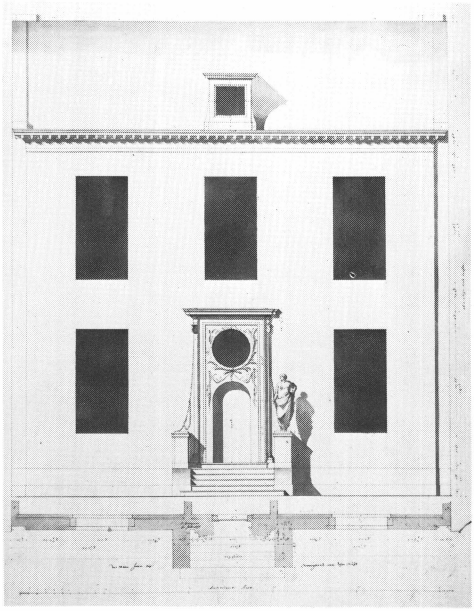
360. *On the right: Dortsman(?): Heerengracht 456, 1671 (dem.).*



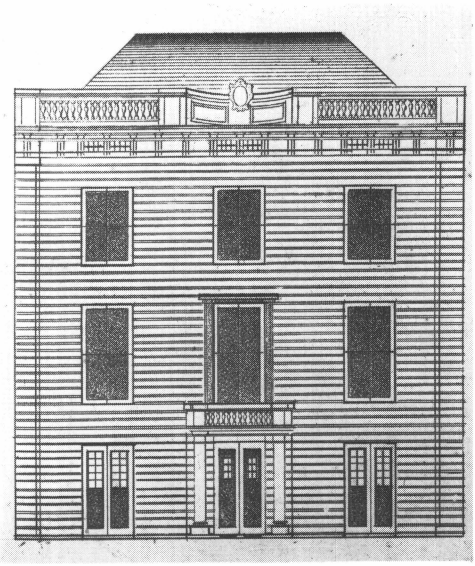
361. *Adriaan Dortsman: Keizersgracht 674–2, 1671.*



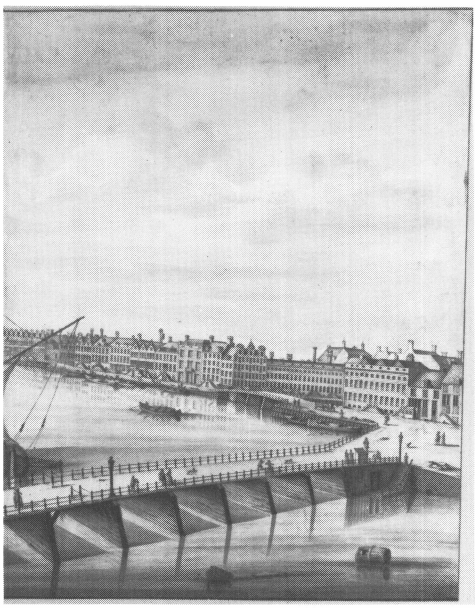
362. *Centre: Roman(?): Heerengracht 460, 1685 (changed).*



363. Adriaan Dortsman: Six House, design, 1666.



364. Adriaan Dortsman: Dommer House, 1672.



365. The Amstel and the last stretch of the Heerengracht.



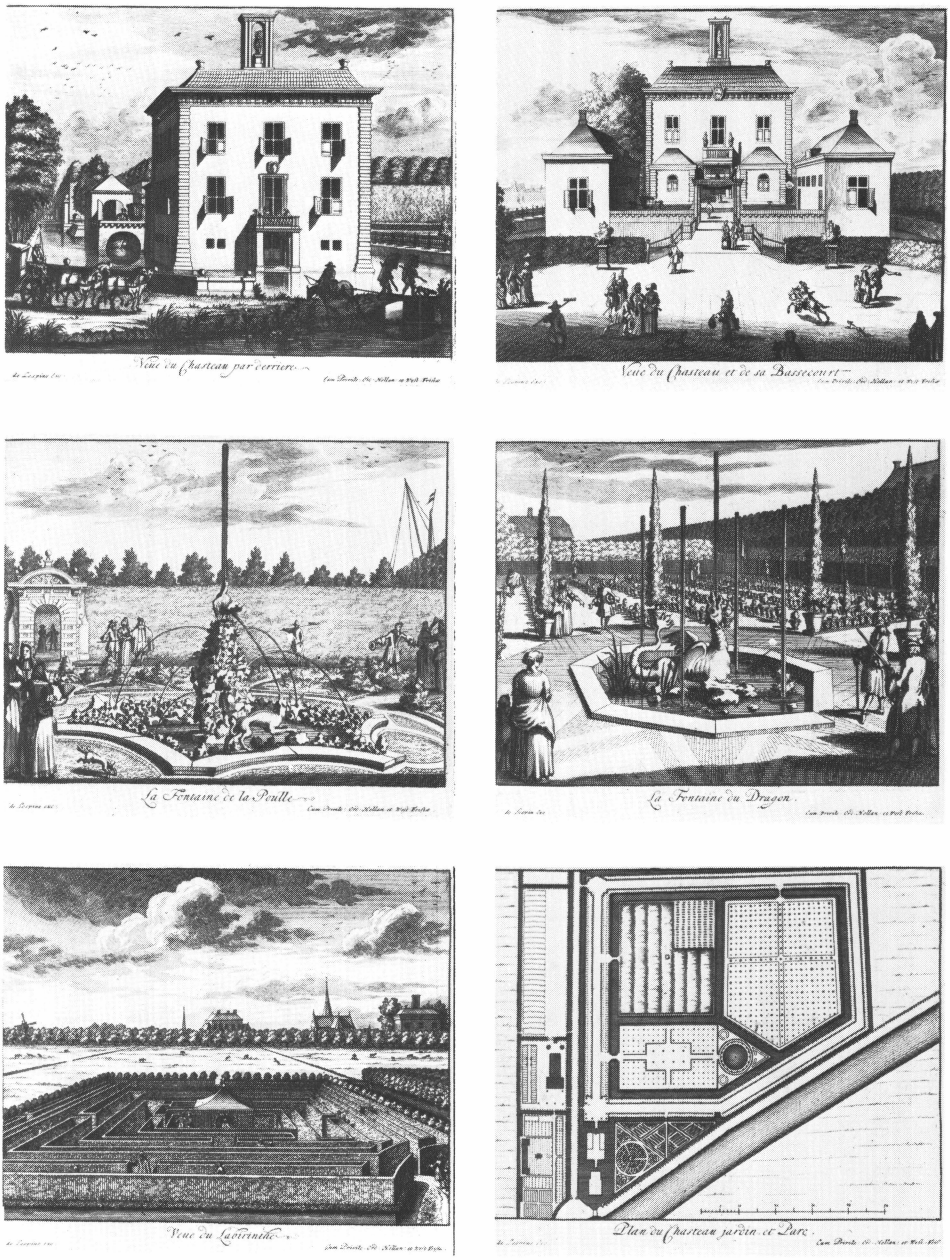
366. Adriaan Dortsman: Heerengracht 623, 1674.



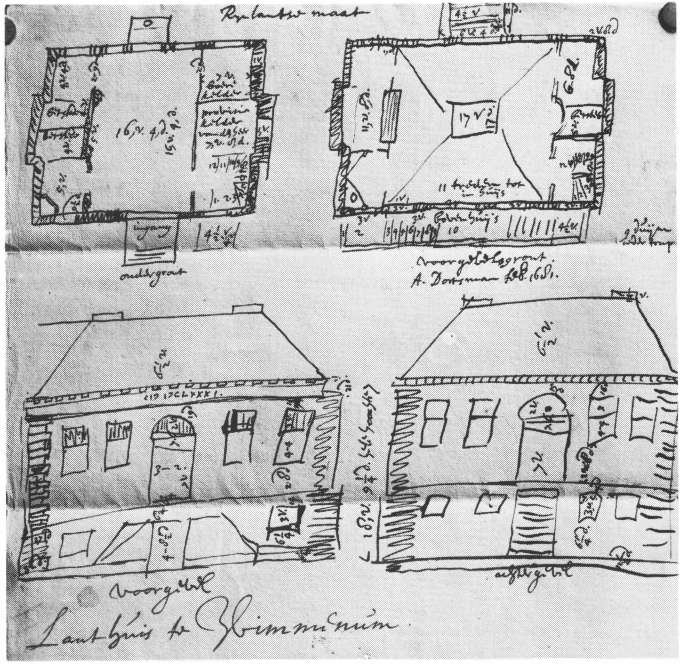
367. Adriaan Dortsman: Amsterdamse Poort, Naarden, 1683 (demolished 1915).



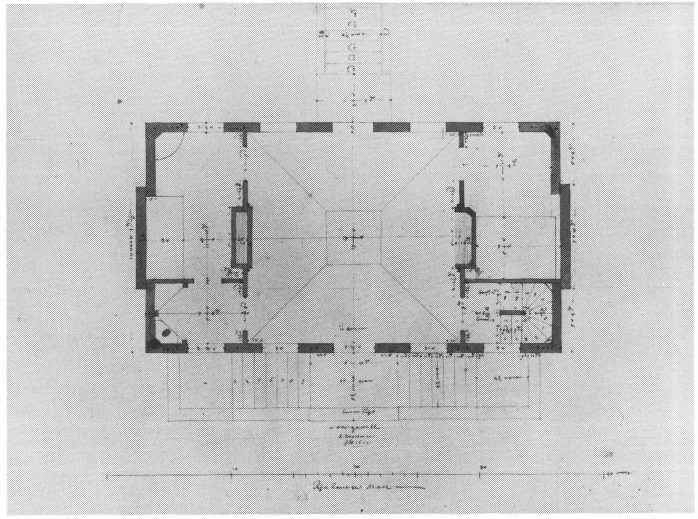
368. Adriaan Dortsman: Gunterstein, 1681. General View.

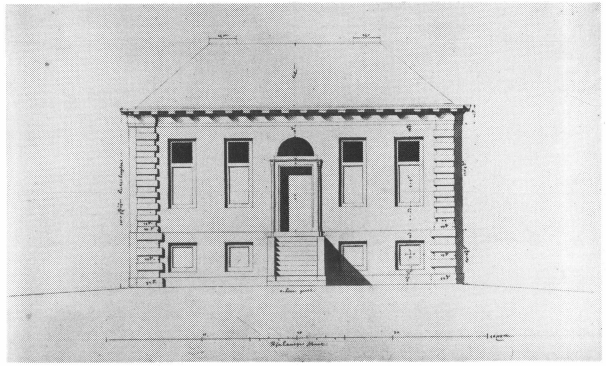


369A—F. Gunterstein. The Front and the Entrance Façade, la Fontaine de la Poulle and the Dragon Fountain, the Maze and General Plan.

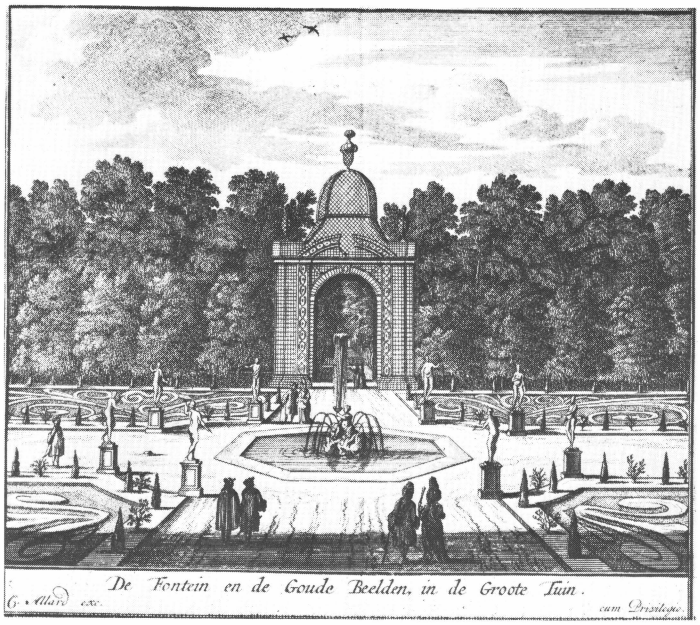


370. Adriaan Dortsman: Country House, Wimmenum. First design, 1681.





371. Adriaan Dortsman: Country House, Wimmenum. Design, 1681. Plan and Rear Elevation.



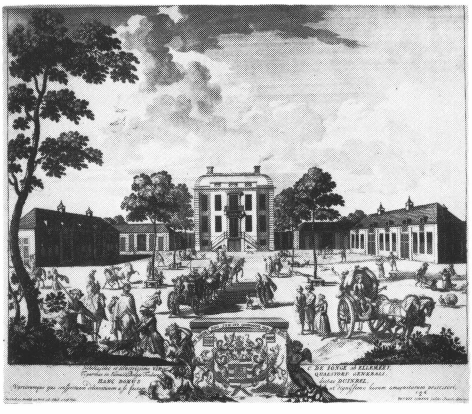
372. Jacob Roman(?): Honselaarsdijk. Gloriette, c. 1684.



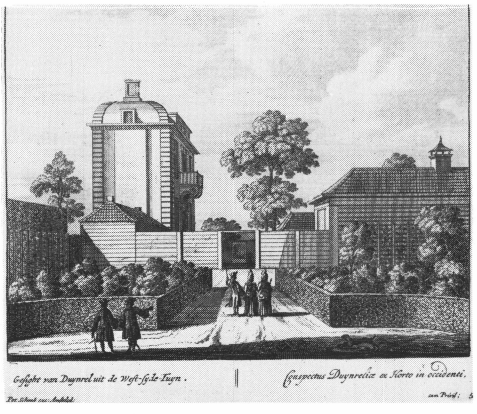
373. Jacob Roman: Meermansburg, Leyden, 1681.



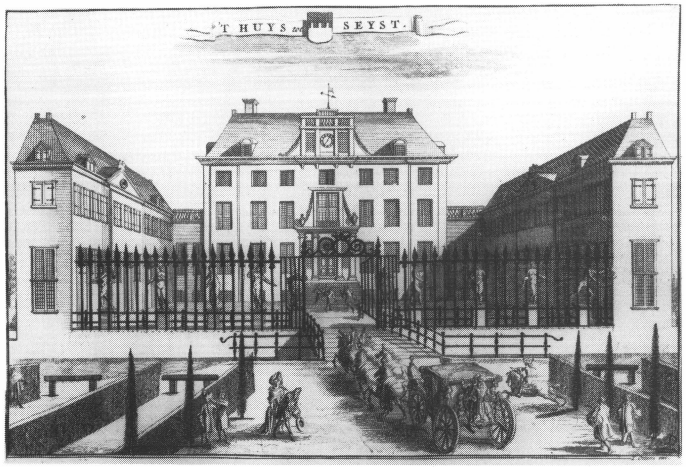
374. Jacob Roman: Butterhouse, the Hague. Extension of 1681.



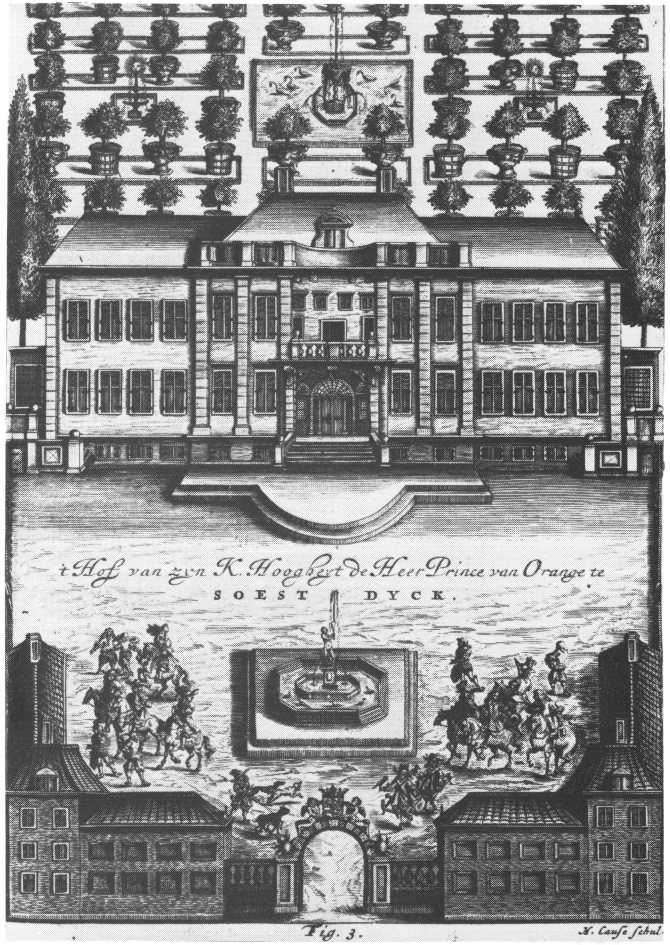
375. Jacob Roman: Duinrel, c. 1681.



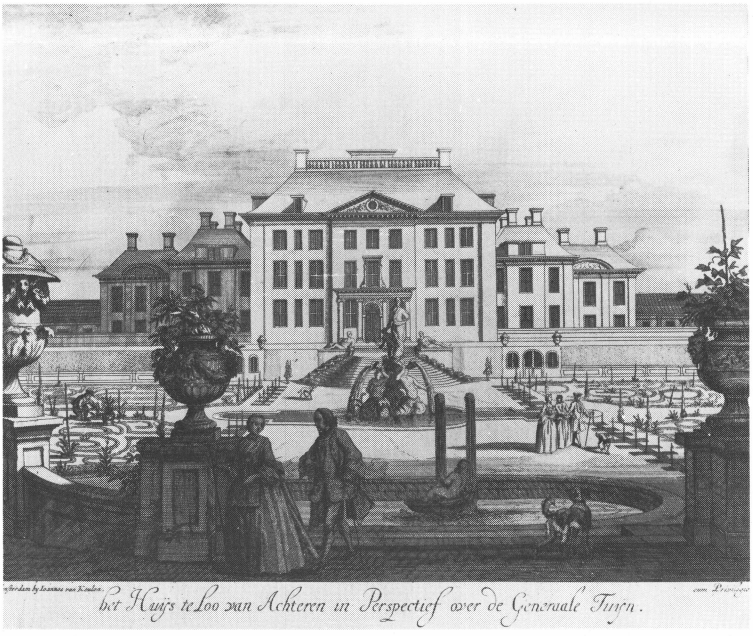
376. Duinrel from the side.



377. *Jacob Roman: Zeist, 1686.*



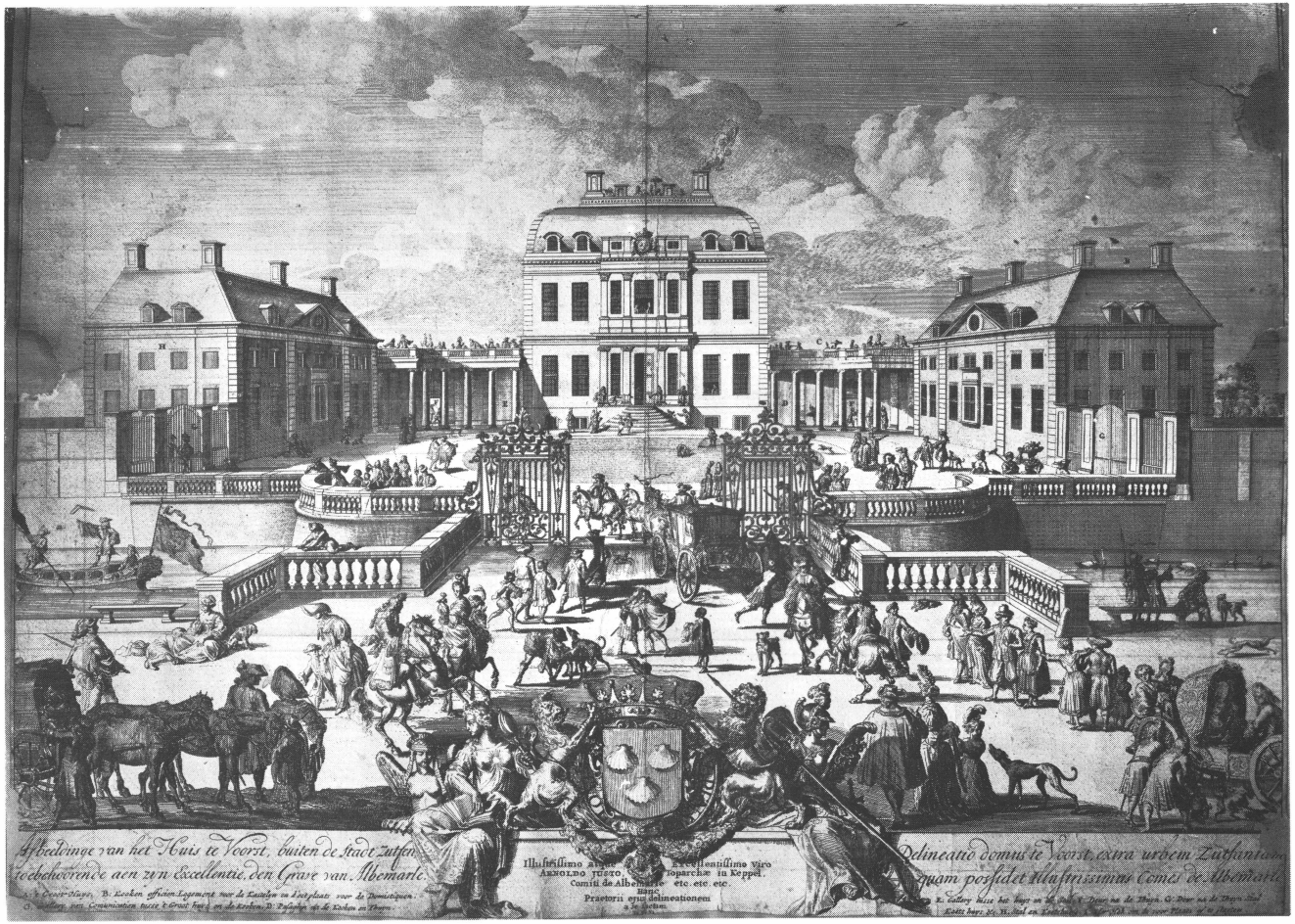
378. *Soestdijk as remodelled by Maurits Post, 1674–8.*



379. Het Loo. Garden Elevation and Fountains of Venus and the Child Hercules.



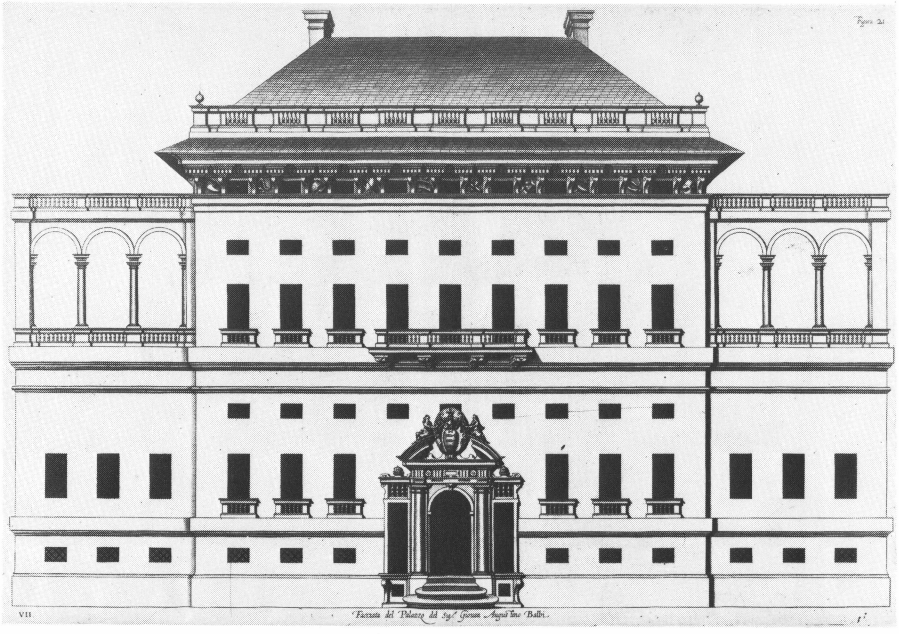
380. Jacob Roman: Zeist, 1686. Garden Façade.



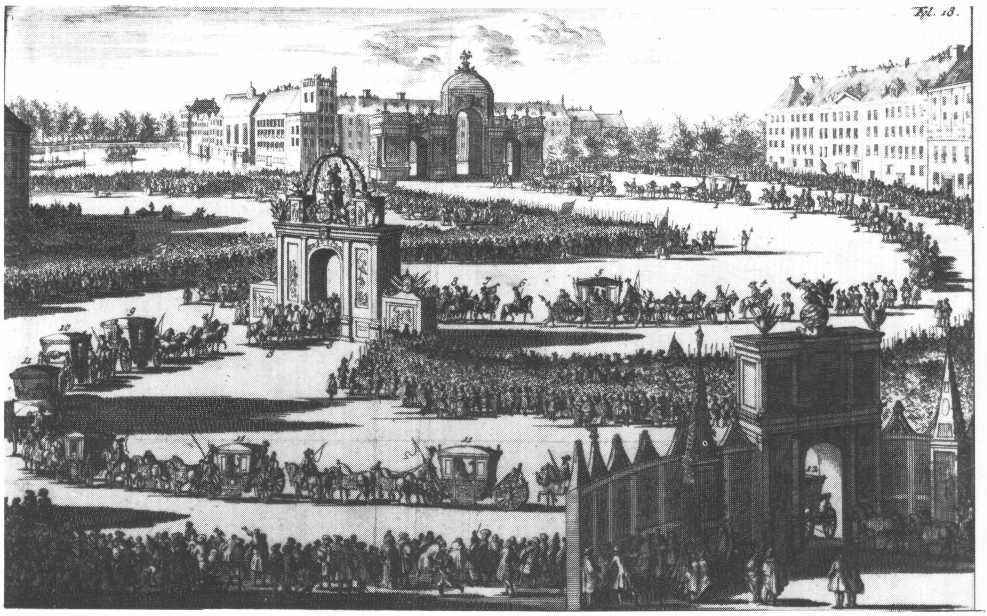
381. Jacob Roman: De Voorst, 1695–1700.



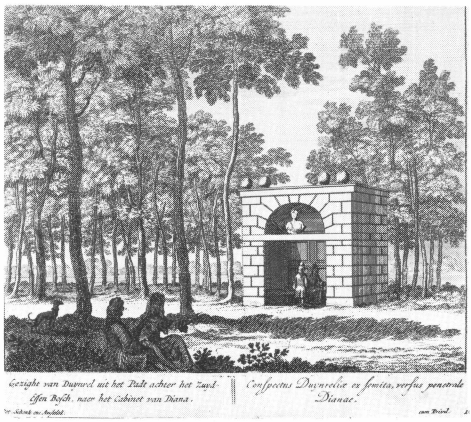
382. Jacob Roman: Town Hall, Deventer, 1693.



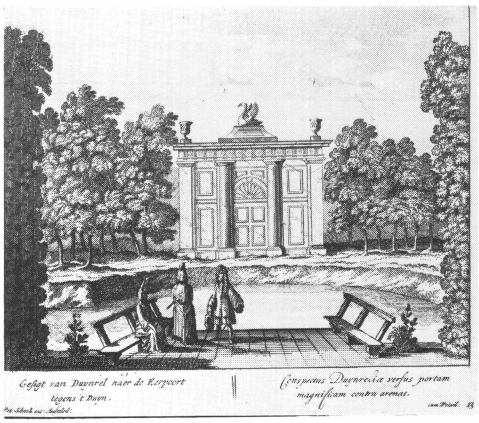
383. Bartolomeo Bianco: Palazzo Giovan Augustino Balbi, Genoa, begun 1619.



384. Triumphal Entry of William III, 1691. The arch in the centre may be Jacob Roman's.



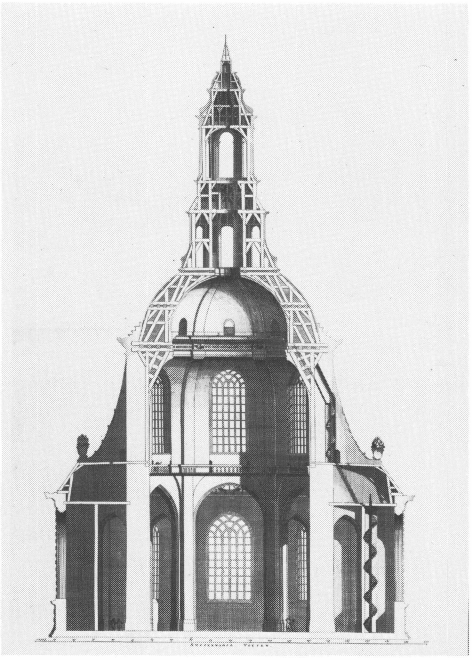
385. Jacob Roman(?): Diana's Temple at Duinrel.



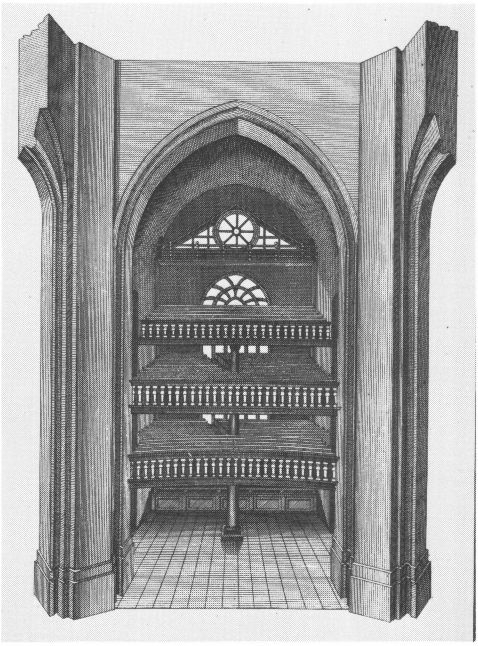
386. Jacob Roman(?): Triumphal Arch at Duinrel.



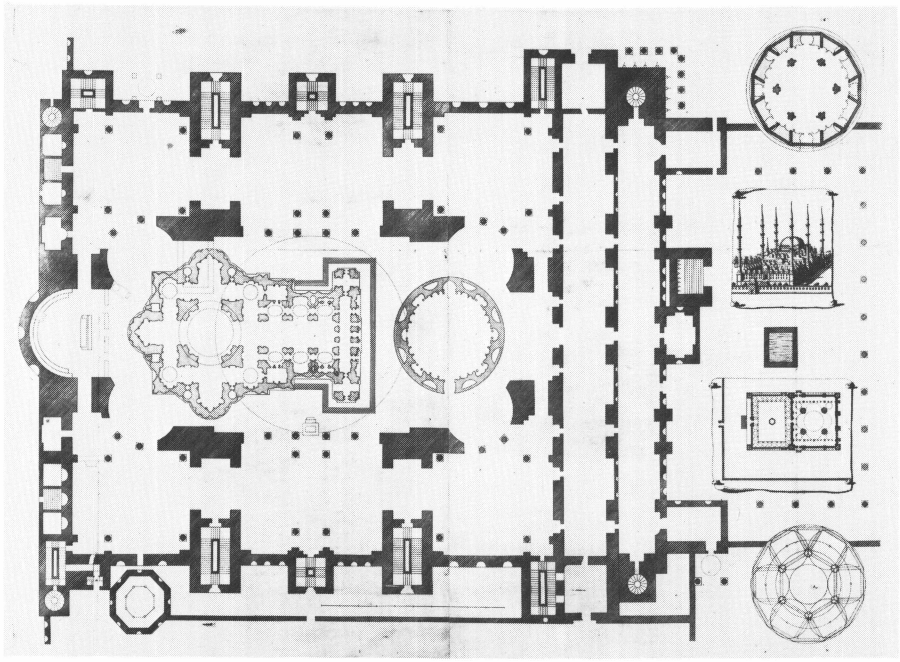
388. Nicolaas Listingh: Church Project, c. 1700.



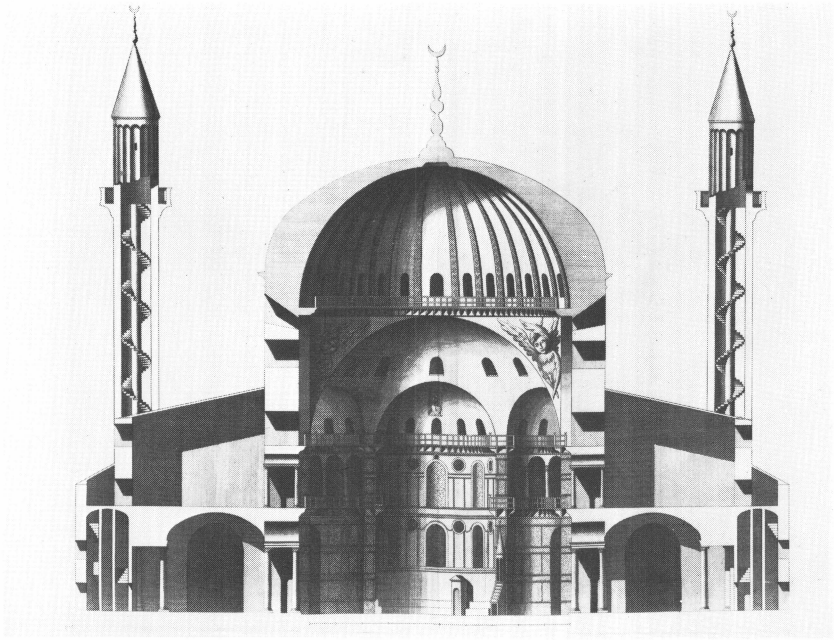
389. Listingh's Church. Section.



390. Listingh's Church. The Galleries.



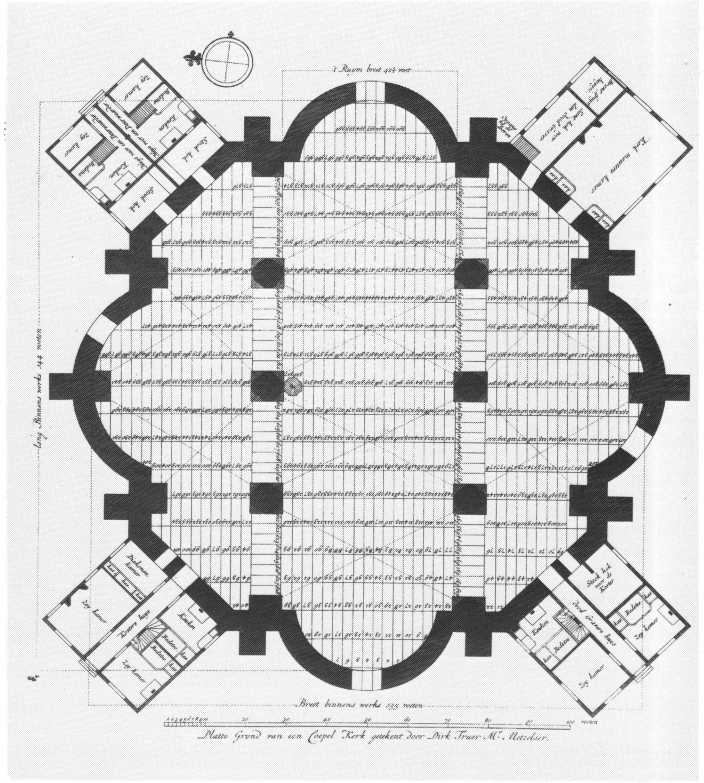
391. Listingh's Church compared to Hagia Sophia, St. Peter's and the Pantheon.



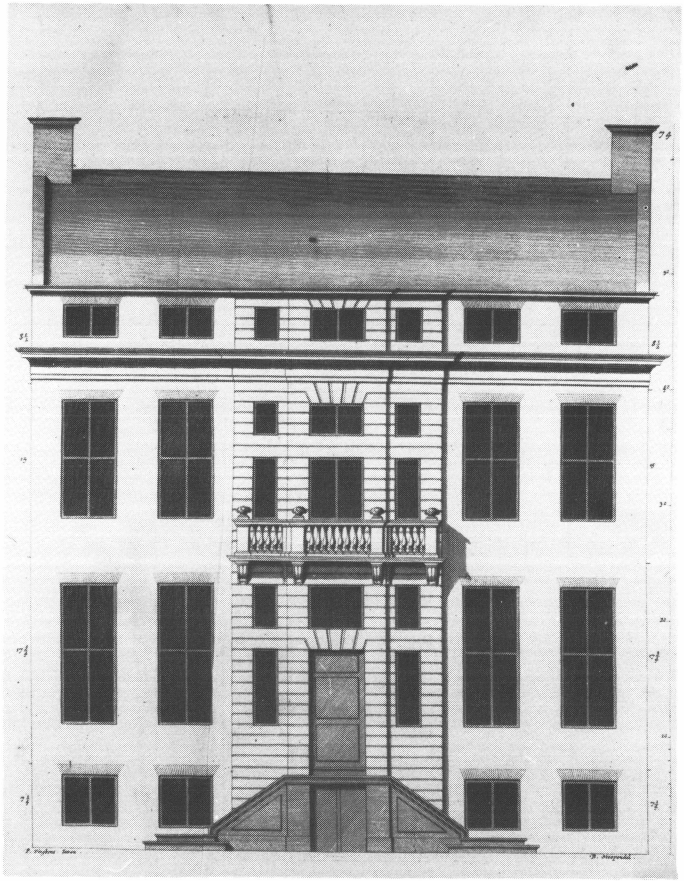
392. Hagia Sophia. Cross section from Listingh's series.



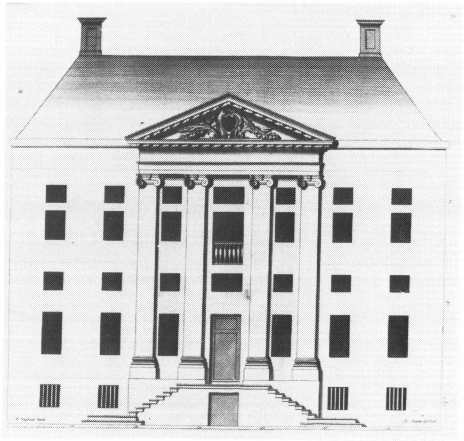
393. Dirk Truer: Church Project, 1736. The longer side.



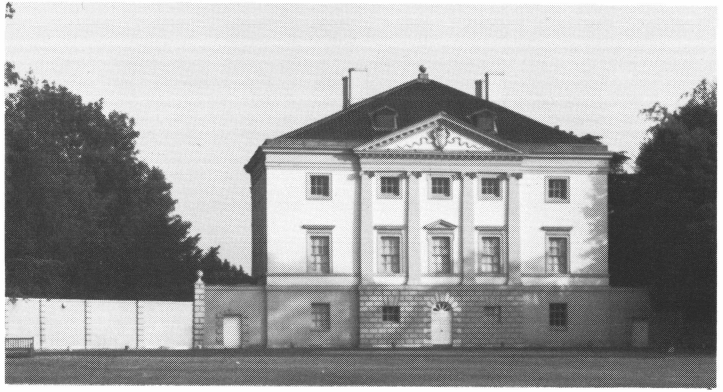
394. Dirk Truer: Church Project, 1736. The Plan.



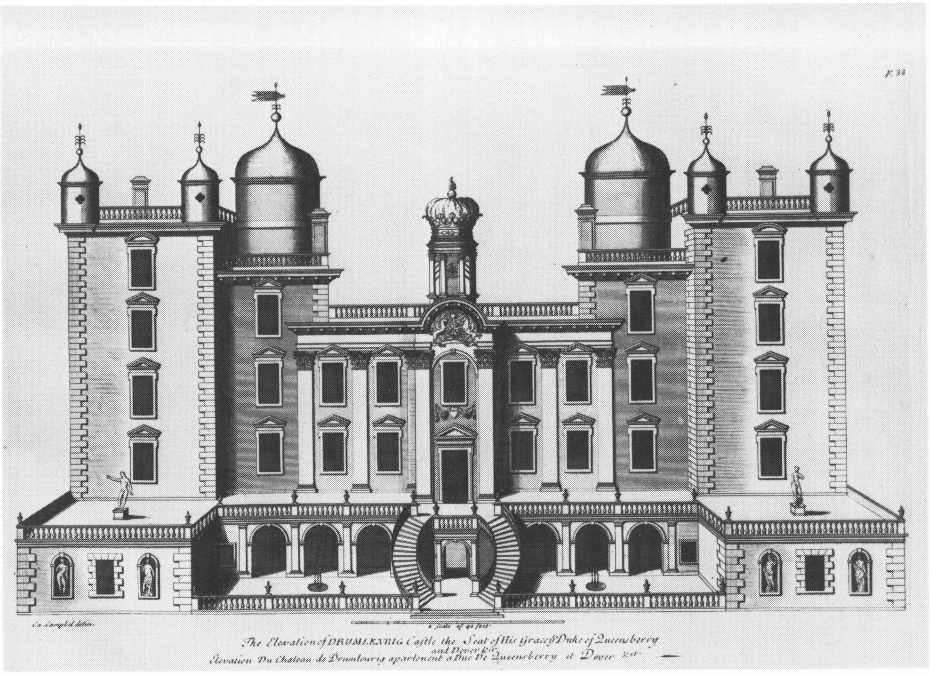
396. *Philips Vingboons: Design for a house. Published 1674.*



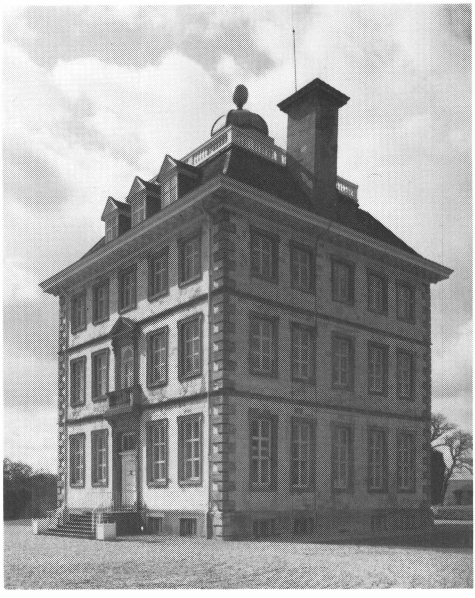
395. *Philips Vingboons: Design for a house. Published 1674.*



397. *Lord Pembroke and Roger Morris: Marble Hill, Twickenham, 1723–9.*



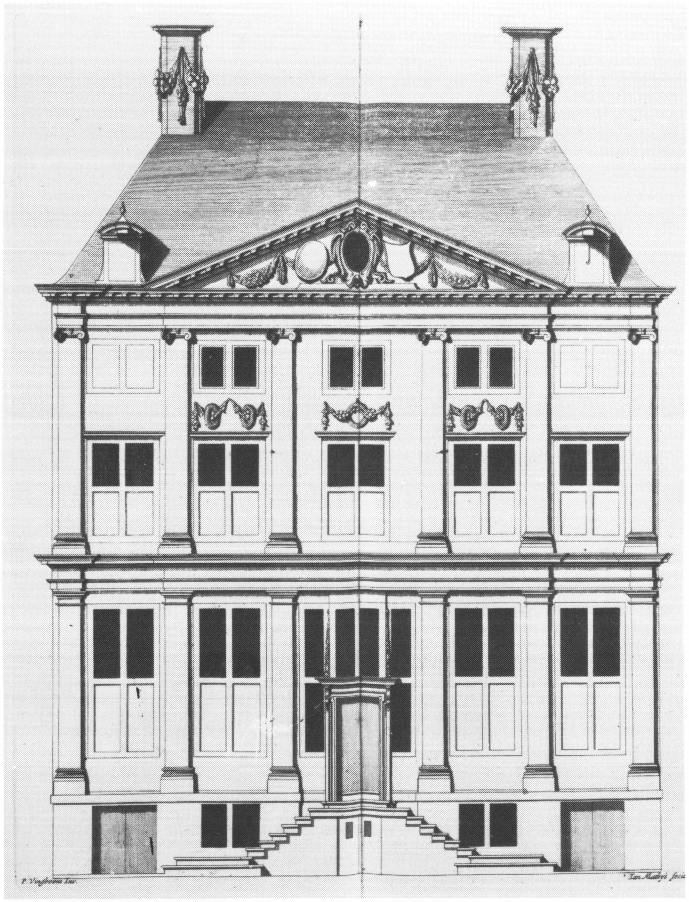
398. Robert Mylne (attributed): Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, 1675–89.



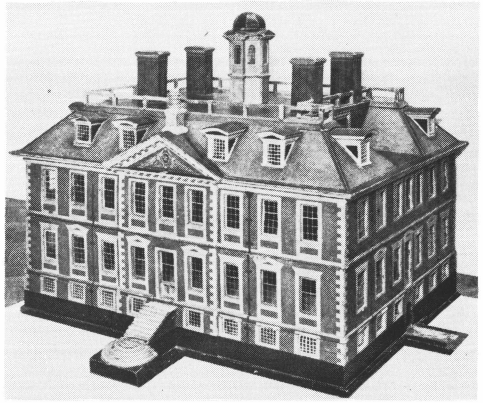
399. Ashdown, Berkshire, c. 1660 (Copyright Country Life).



400. Milton Manor, Berkshire, c. 1670 (Copyright Country Life).



401. Philips Vingboons: Gerards House, 1665.



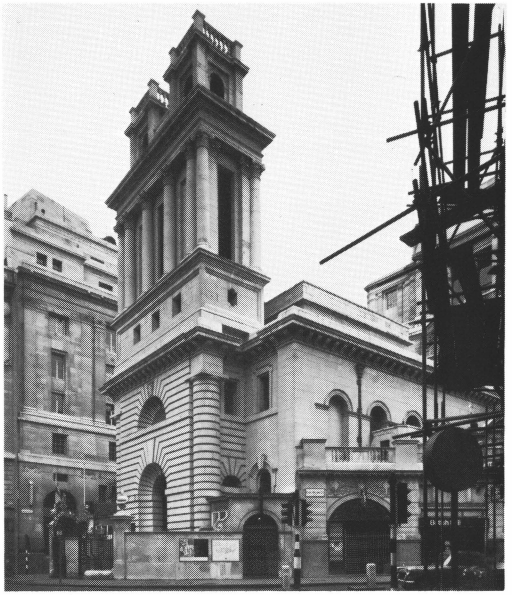
402. Jacob Astley: Melton Constable, Norfolk, c. 1665
(Copyright Country Life)



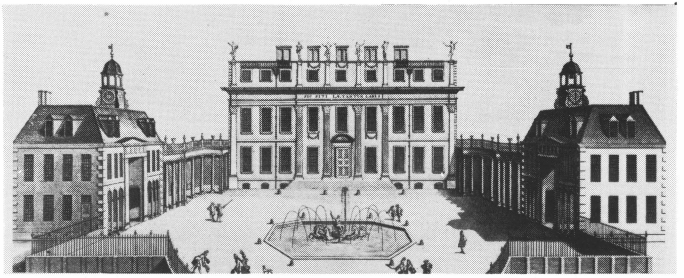
403. Henry Bell: Custom House, King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1683.



404. Jacob Roman(?): Petworth, Sussex, 1688–96, Central part of West front (Copyright Country Life).



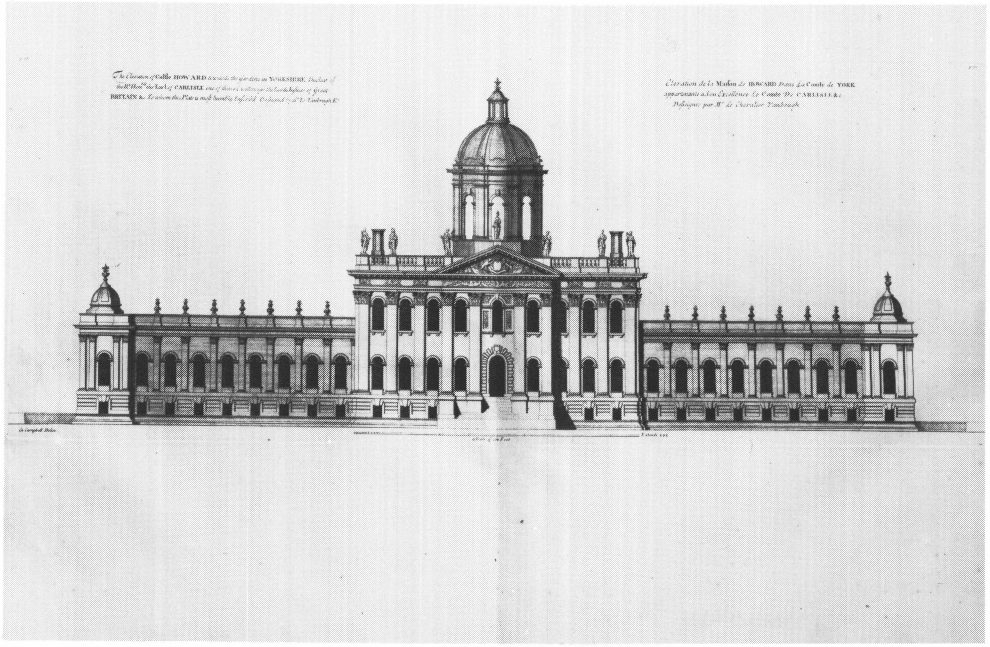
407. Nicholas Hawksmoor: St. Mary Woolnoth, 1716–27.



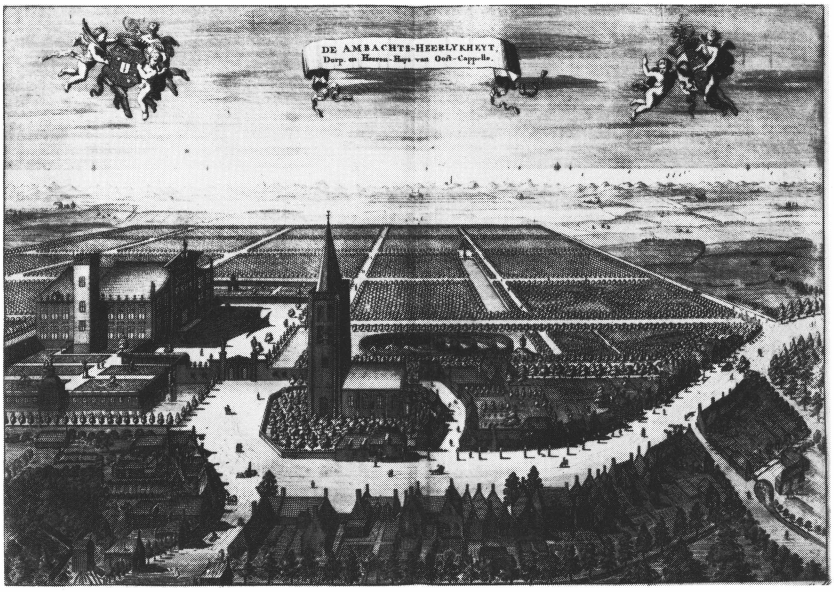
405. Talman and Winde: Buckingham House, 1703–5.



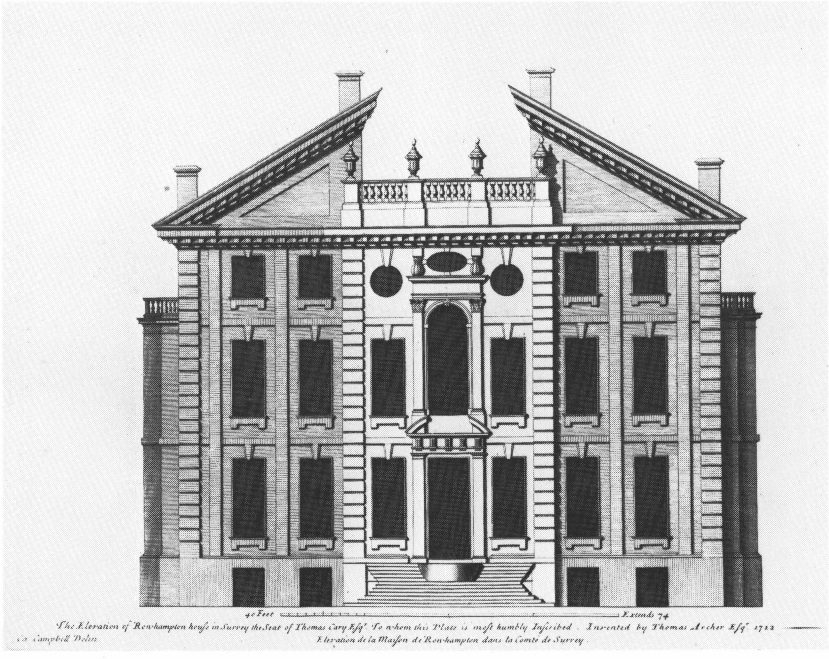
409. Kensington Palace. The Orangery, c. 1704 (design altered by Sir John Vanbrugh).



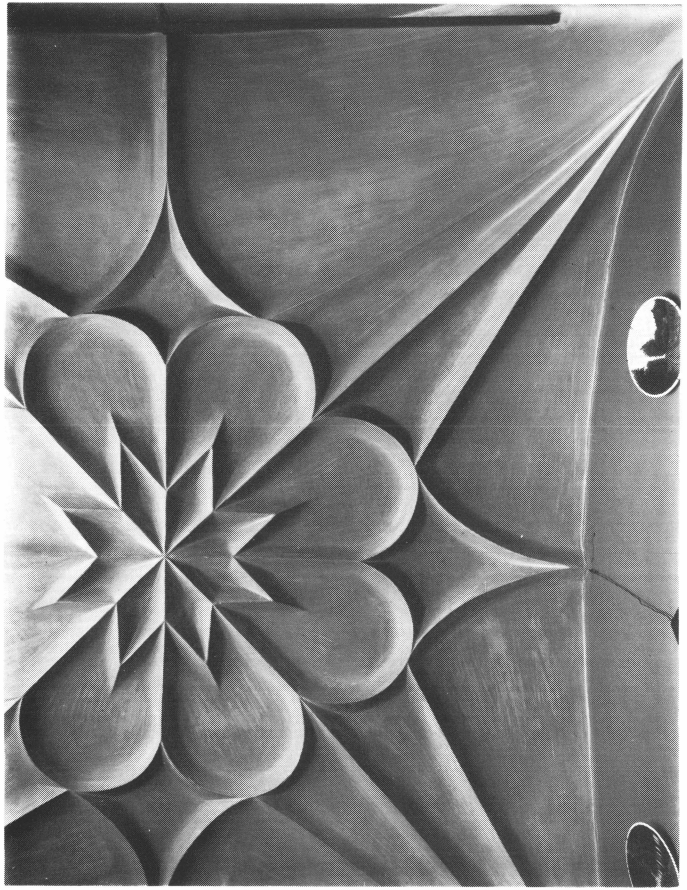
408. Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor: Castle Howard, Yorkshire, 1699–1712. South Front.



410. Oost-Kapelle Manor, Zeeland. The observation-tower beside the house overlooks both the garden's parterres and the river Scheldt in the distance.



411. Thomas Archer: Roehampton House, 1712.



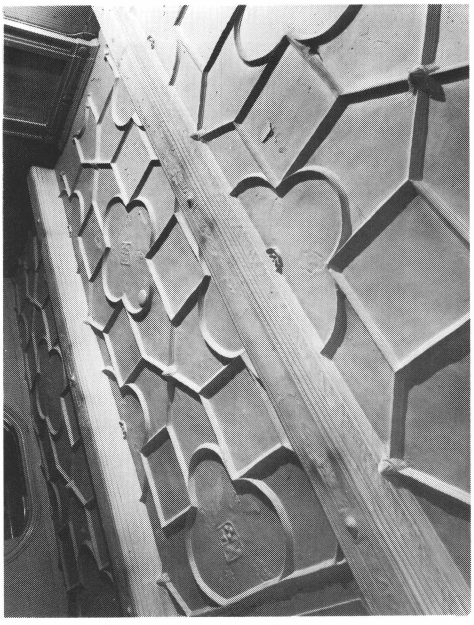
412. Nobelstraat 1, the Hague. Plaster Ceiling, c. 1600?



413. Rapenburg 65, Leyden. Plaster Ceiling, c. 1625.



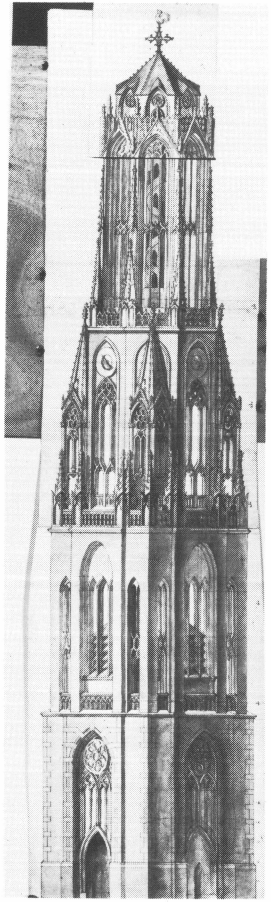
414. Schoenmakersstraat 16, Roermond. Plaster Ceiling, 17th century?



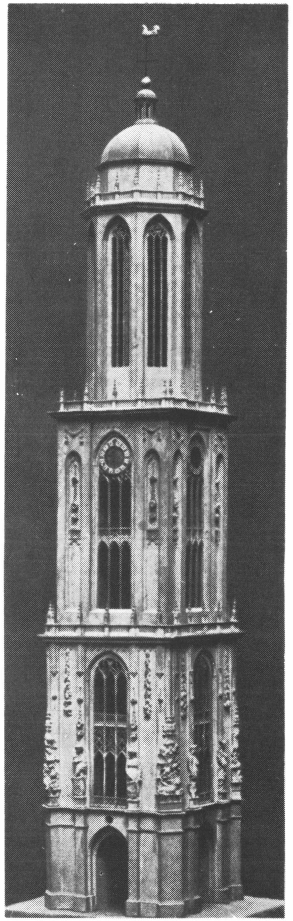
415. Voorstraat 31, the Brill. Plaster Ceiling, c. 1600.



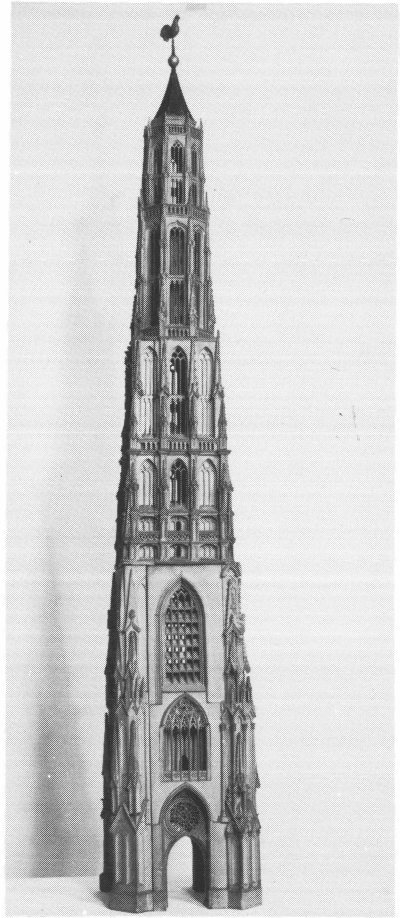
416. Castle Endegeest, Oegstgeest. Mock stucco ceiling, c. 1650.



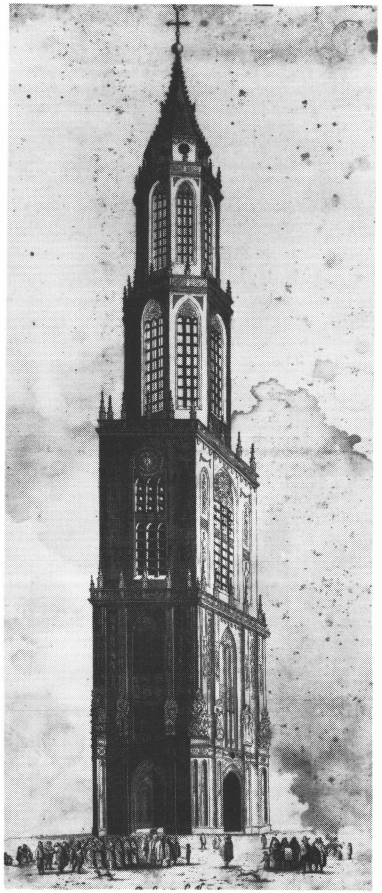
417. Nieuwekerkstoren. Design, c. 1645.



418A. Van Campen's Tower, c. 1645.



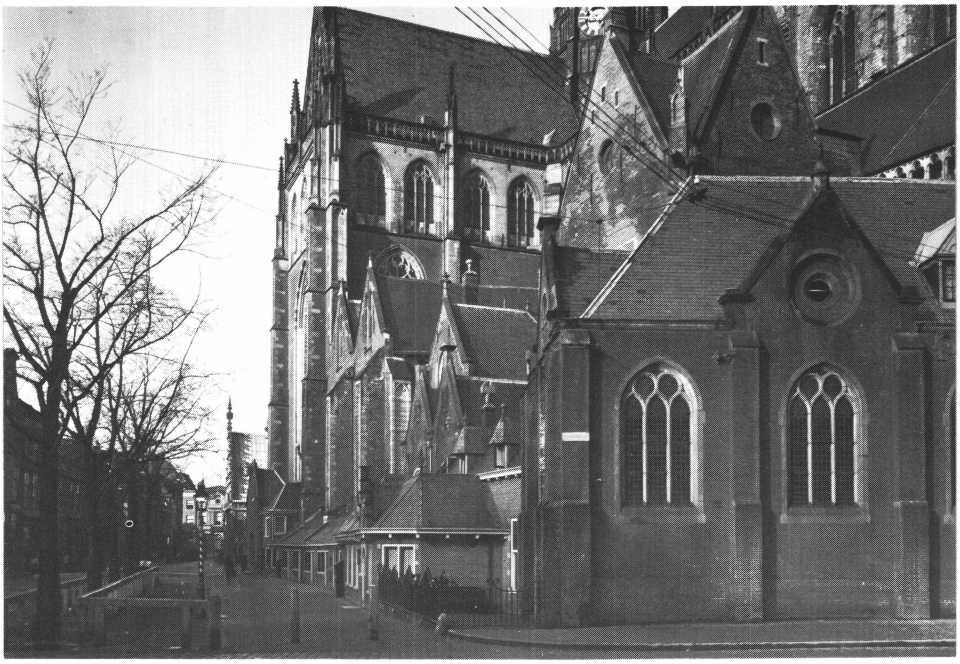
418B. Gothic Model, c. 1645.



419. Proposal for completion, c. 1655.



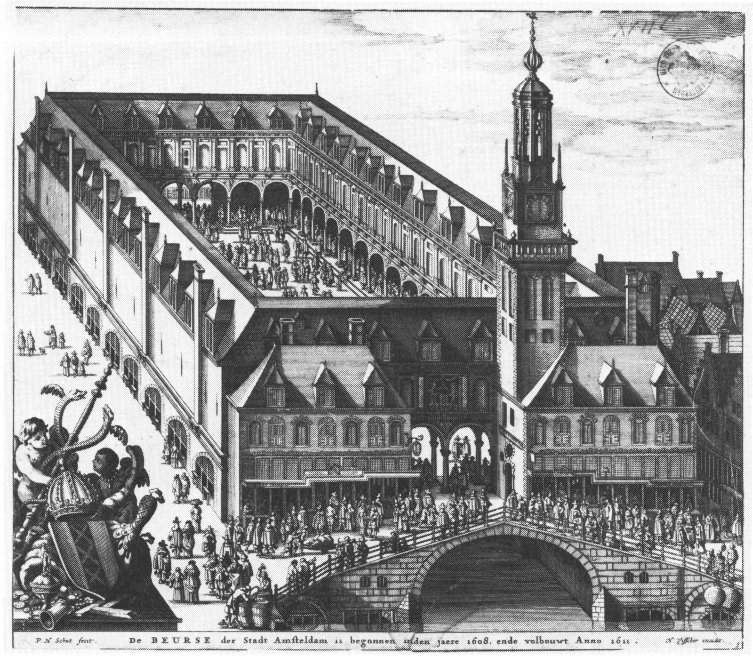
420. Jacob van der Ulft: The Dam Square, c. 1655. In the centre the Town Hall, more to the right the 1565 Weigh-house (dem.) over which appears a combination of tower designs. On the right of the Weigh-house the spire and choir of the Nieuwe Kerk. The Town Hall and the Weigh-house are drawn on parallel planes as originally intended.

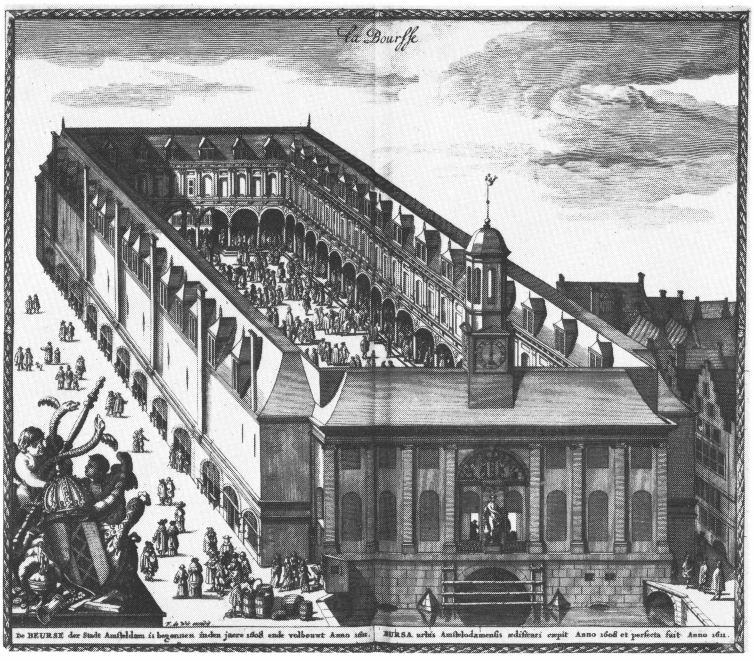


421. Salomon de Bray: St. Bavo, Haarlem, Consistory, 1658.

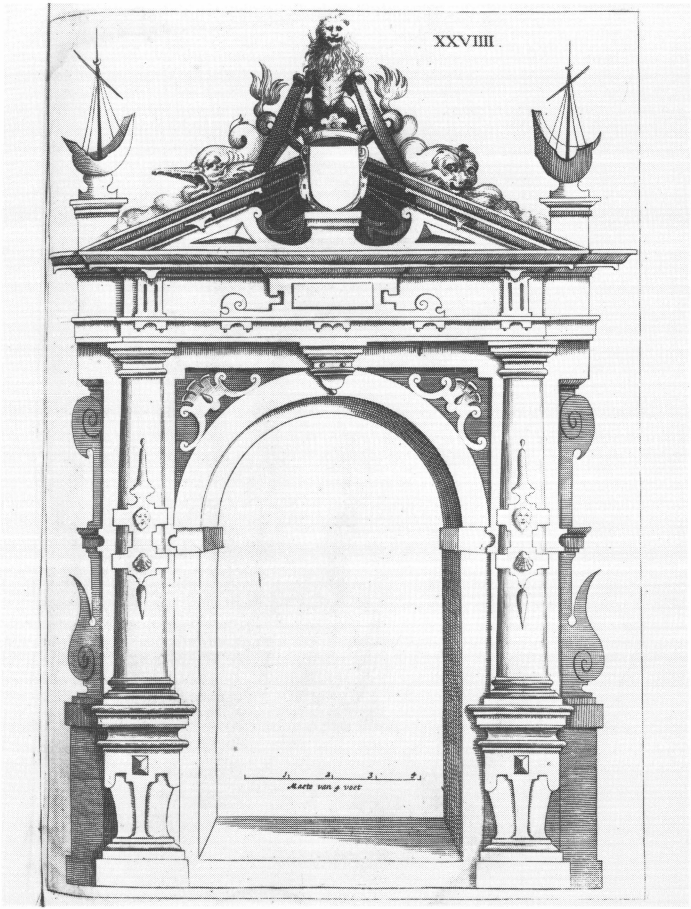


422. Gravensteen, Leyden. From left to right: part of Van 's-Gravesande's 1655 extension, his four arches of the arcade, 1656, and the original arcade, 1605, Van der Helm's Vierschaar of 1672.





423. Hendrick de Keyser's 1611 Exchange and Daniel Stalpaert's 1668 extension.



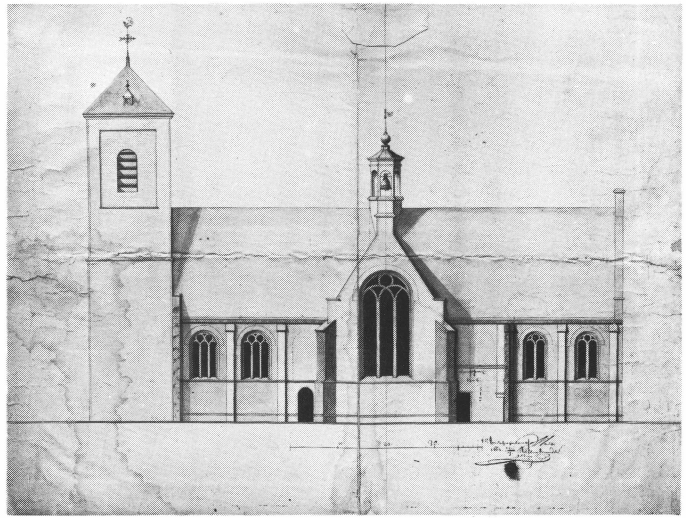
424. Hendrick de Keyser: Entrance to the Admiralty Office (Prinsenhof), Amsterdam, c. 1620(?).



425. Salomon de Bray (design) and Jan Gijselingh the Elder (sculptor): Emblems of the Admiralty, c. 1661.



426. Pieter Post: Buttermarket, Leyden. Vaulting, 1658.



427. Willem van der Helm: Restoration proposal for Groene Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1662.



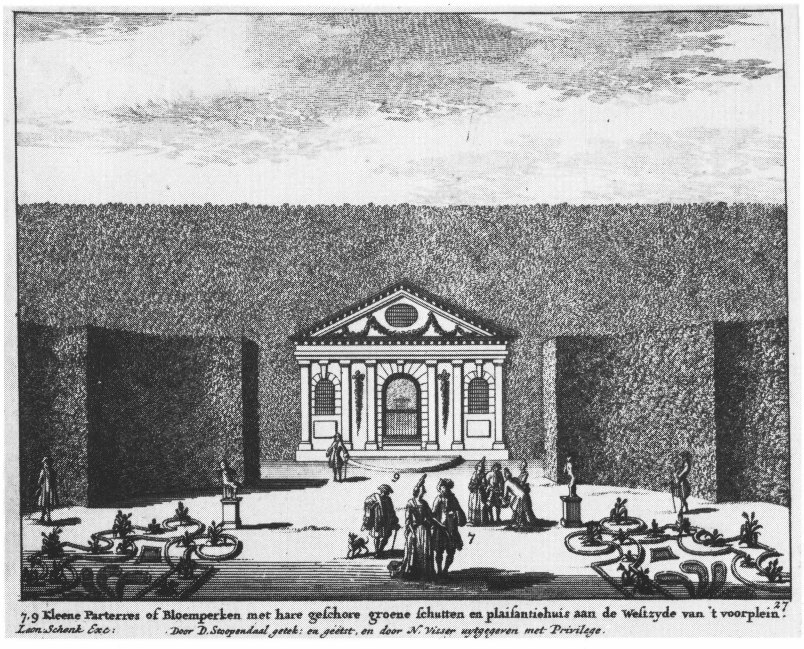
428. Willem van der Helm: St. Pancras, Leyden, West Portal, 1665.



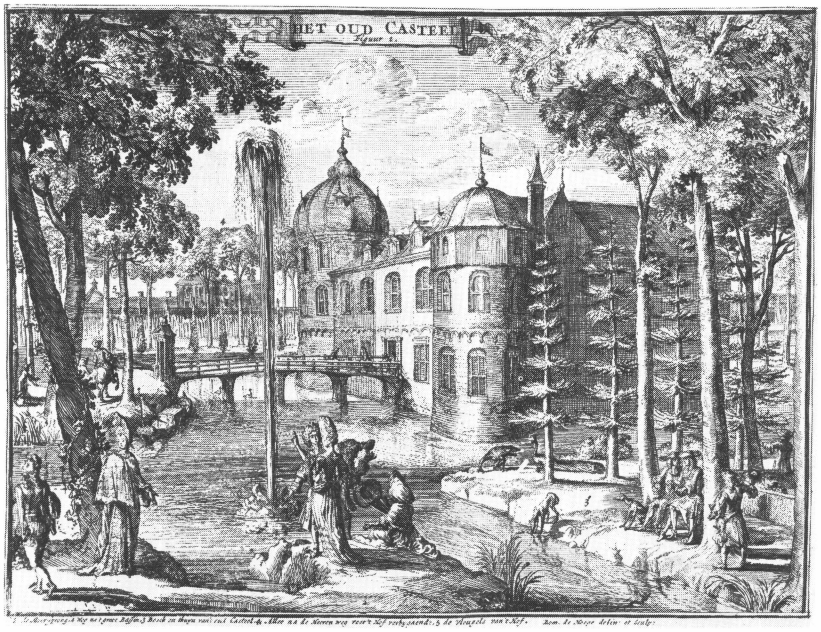
429. Willem van der Helm: Morschpoort, Leyden, 1669.



430. Town Hall, Leyden. On the extreme left Van der Helm's 1662 façade. Cf. Plate 6.



431. Clingendaal. Archway, c. 1690.



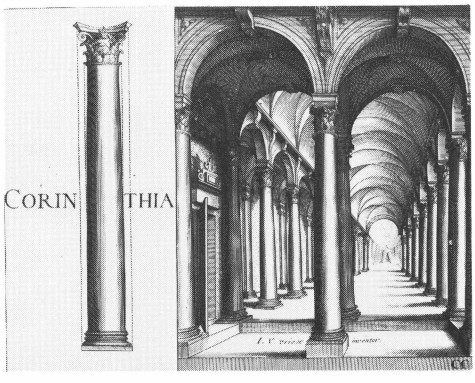
432. Oude Loo Castle as it appeared about 1695.



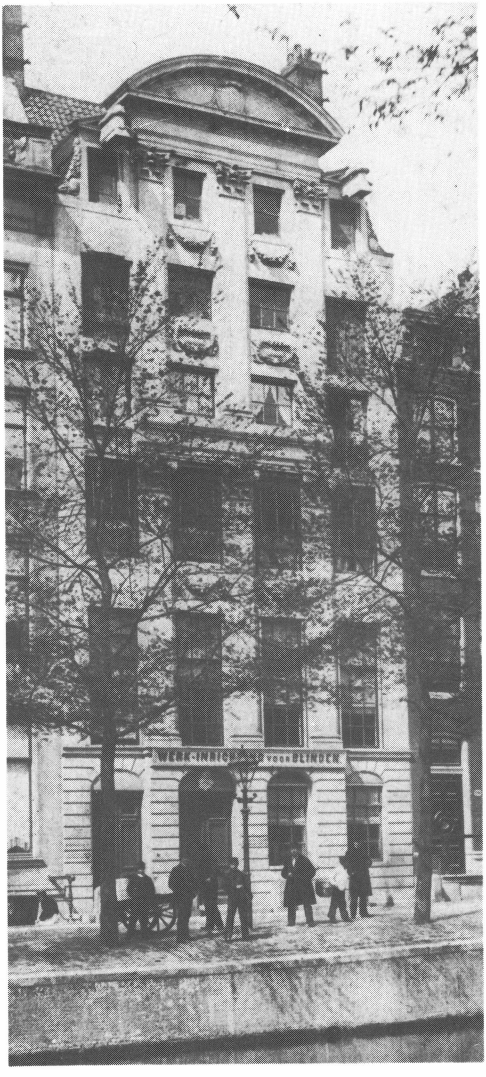
433. Zoeterwoude Church. Alteration to the chancel, 1654.



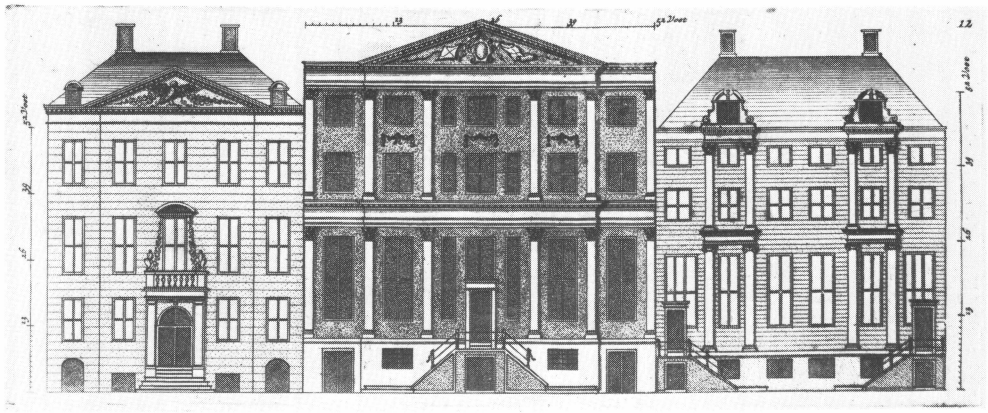
434. Maurice's Pleasure-house, 1620 (dem. 1824).



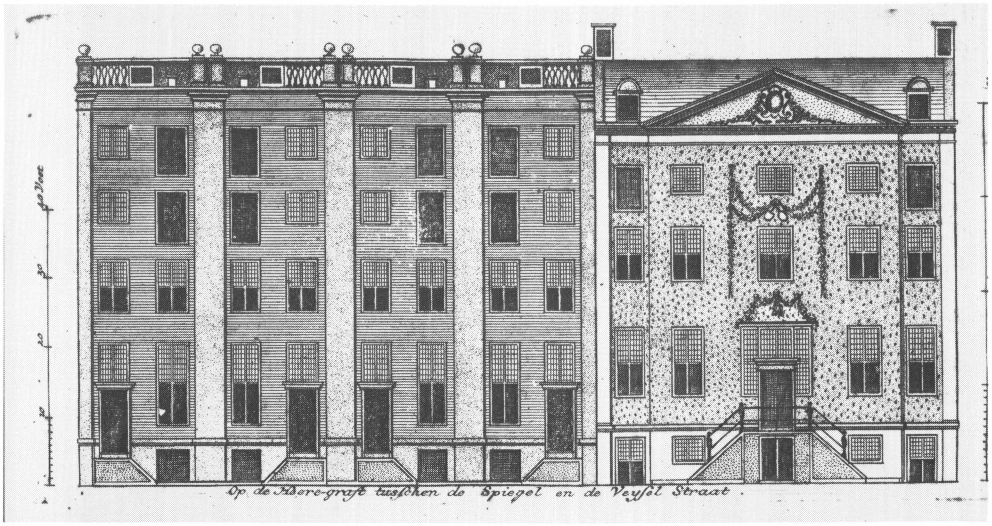
435. Johan Vredeman de Vriese: Corinthia.



436. 'The King of Poland', 1661.



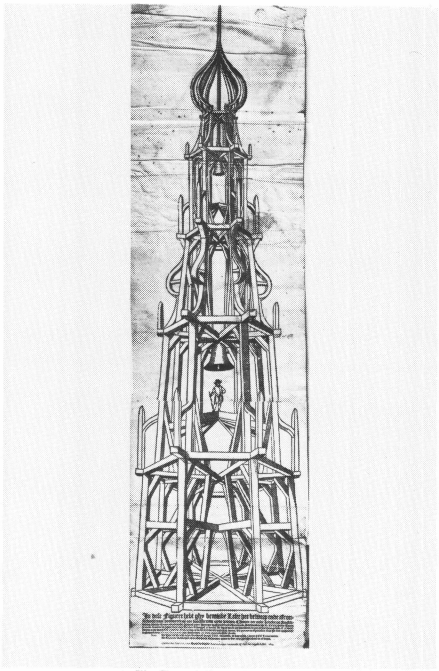
437. On tne right: Heerengracht 533–5, 1666 (demolished 1903–9).



438. On the left: Heerengracht 488–2, 1670 (demolished 1916).



439. Title-page of Hendrick de Keyser's Architectura Moderna, *1631.*



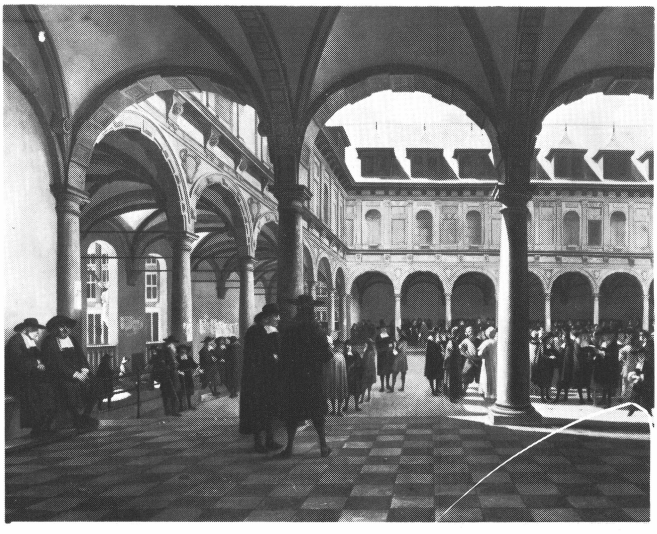




440A–C. Three representations of the Tower of the Oude Kerk. Woodcut, 1613, Photograph, c. 1930, and print by Schut, c. 1650.



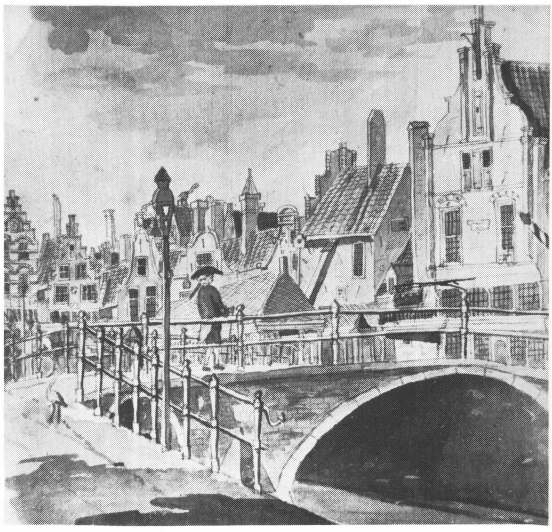
441A. Hendrick de Keyser: The Exchange, 1611. The Court, looking South.



441B. Daniel Stalpaert: Extension of the Exchange, 1668, looking South-west.



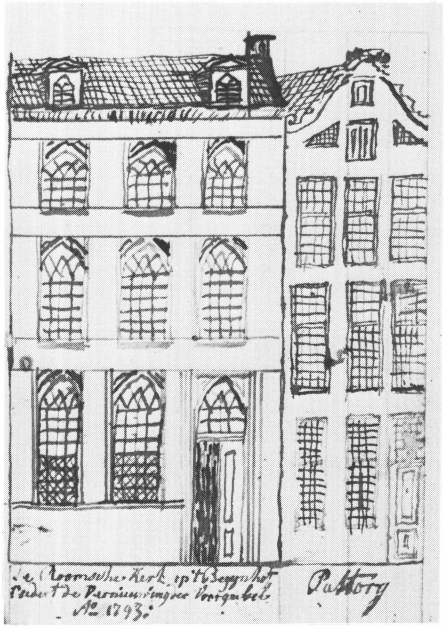
442A. *Entrance to Burcht, Leyden, in pseudo-Gothic.*



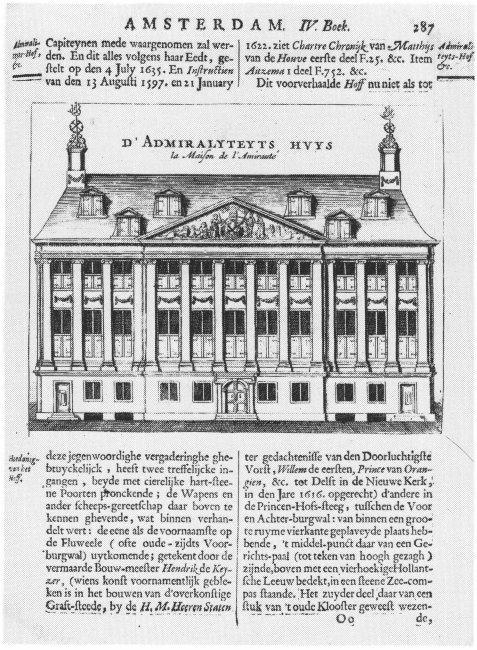
442B. *Fish-market with storks, Alkmaar. On the right typical 16th century gable.*



442C. *Vingboons SS. Joannes et Ursula as a conventicle.*



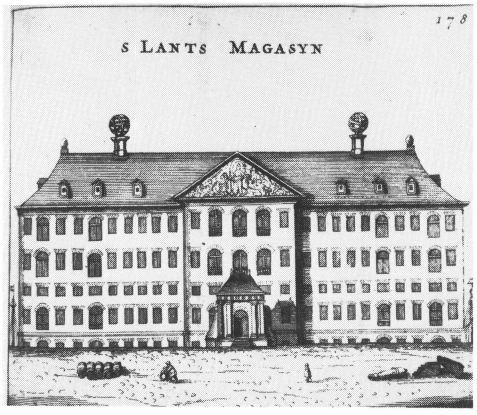
442D. *The church in Gothic, i.e. ecclesiastic dress after the French Revolution.*



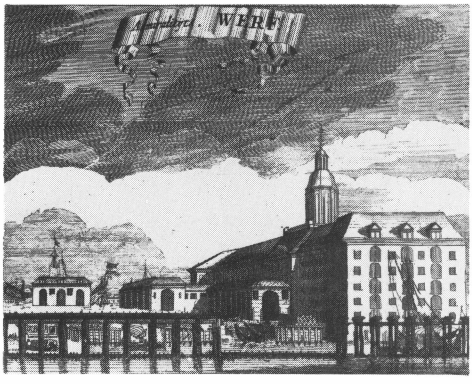
443A. The Admiralty Office.



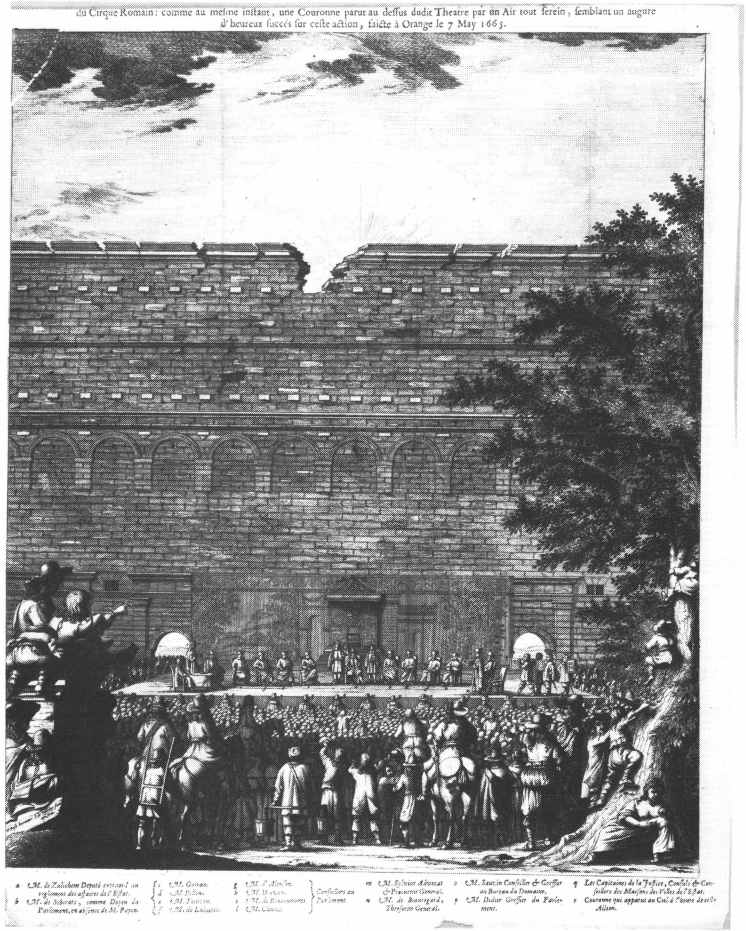
443B. The East India Company Storehouse.



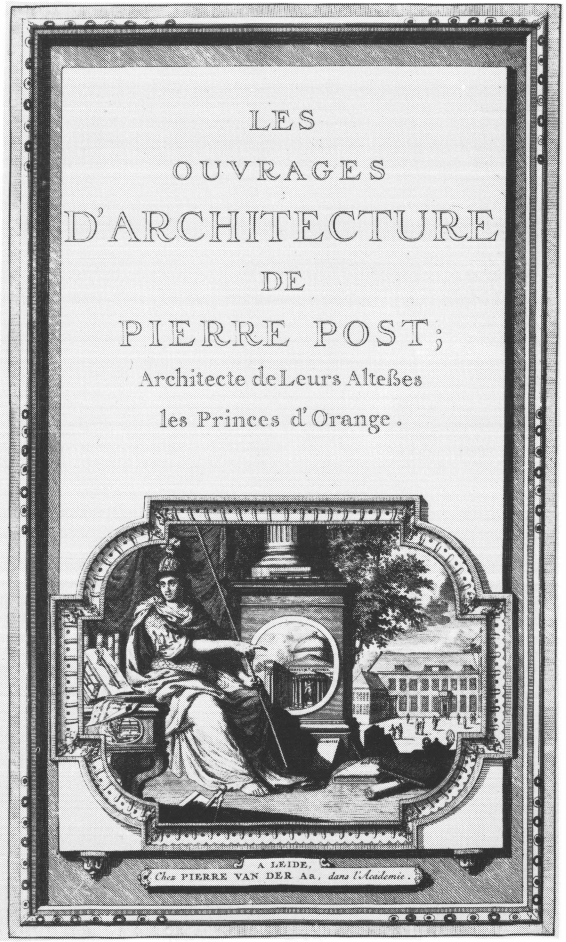
444A. The Admiralty Storehouse.



444B. The East India Company Storehouse.



445A. *The re-investiture of William III at Orange, 1665.*



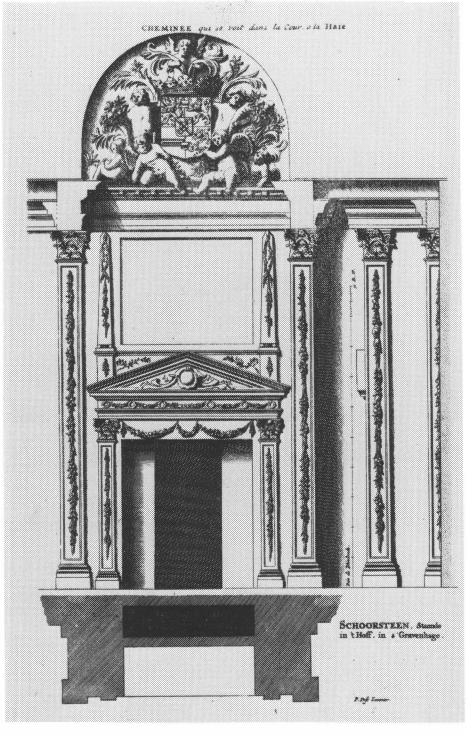
445B. *Title-page of Post's* Ouvrages, *1715.*



447A. Marekerk. Print by Hagen, c. 1670.



447C. Westerkerk. Print, c. 1650.



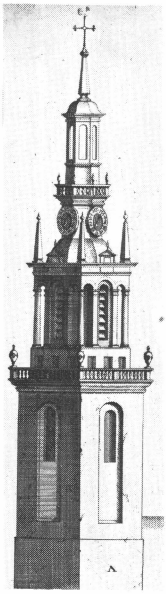
446. Post: Chimney-piece at the Binnenhof.



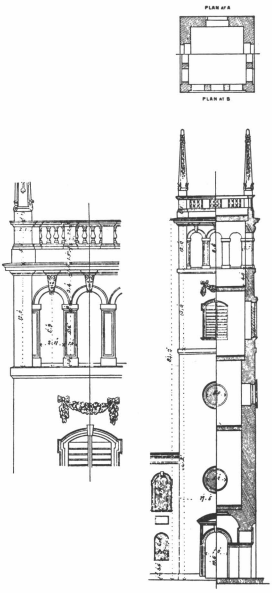
447B. Round Lutheran Church. Print by Danckerts, 1680.



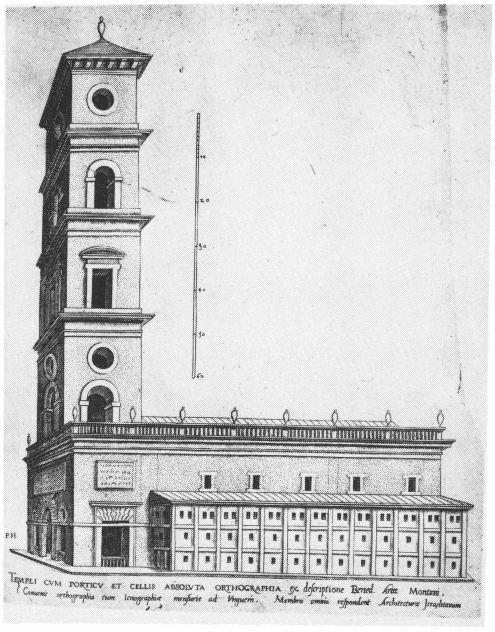
448A. Hendrick de Keyser: Spire of Haringpakkerstoren, 1606.

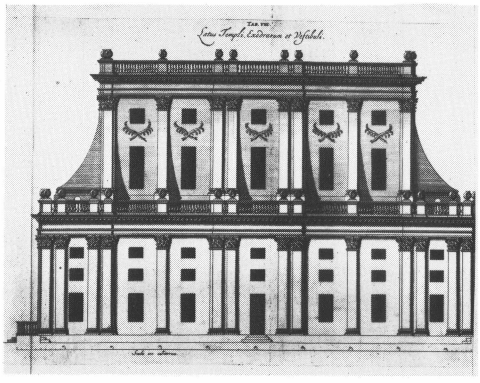


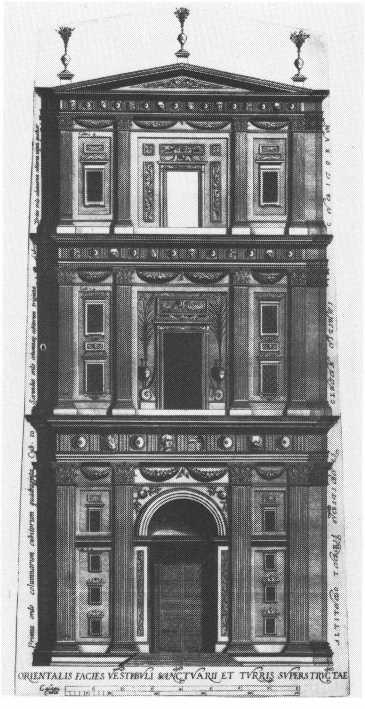
448B. De Keyser: Jan Rodenpoortstoren, 1616.

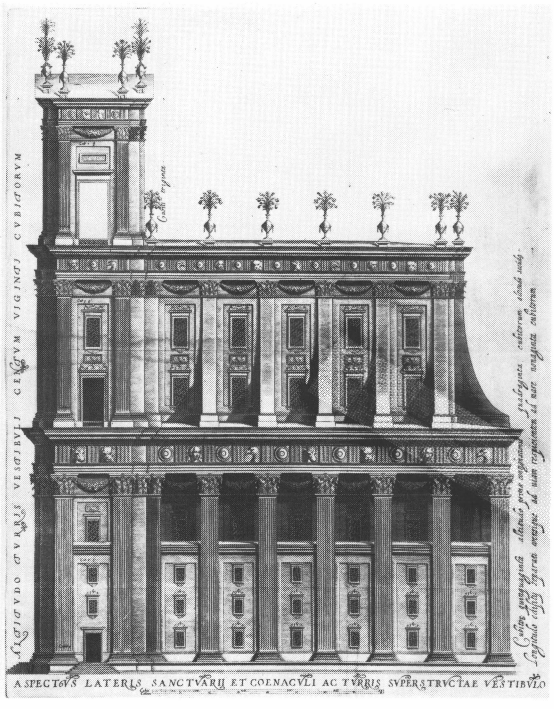


448C. Wren: All Hallows, 1677–97.

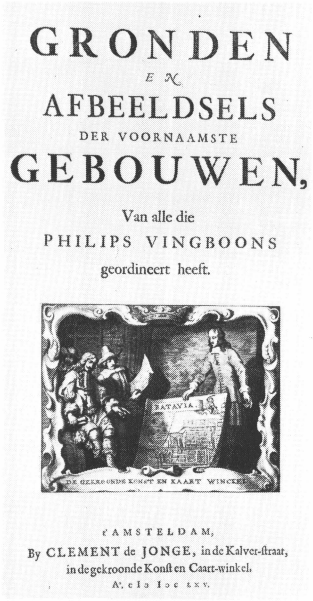




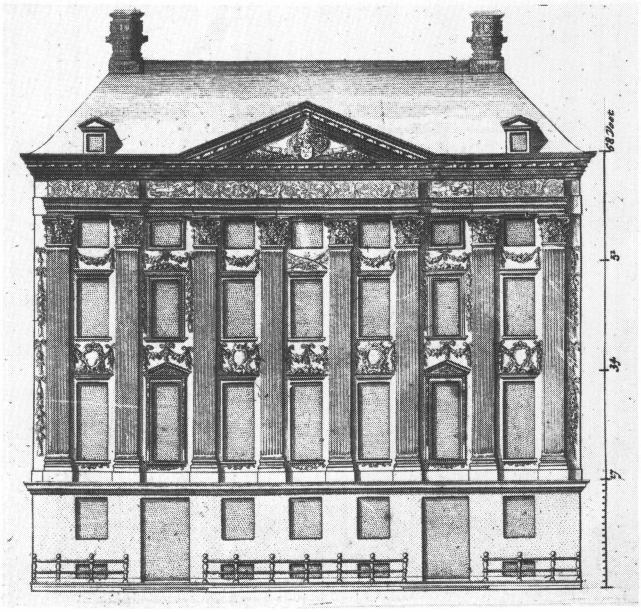




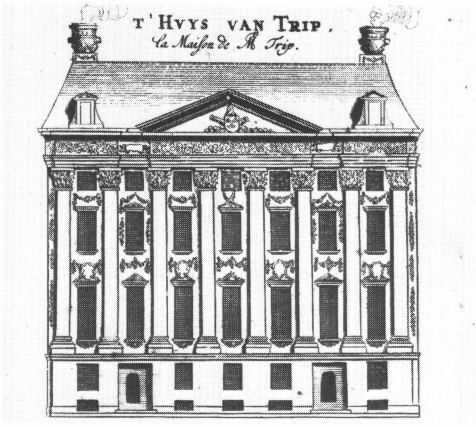
449A–D. Solomon's Temple. (A) After Montanus, (B) after Coccejus, (C–D) after Prado and Villalpando.

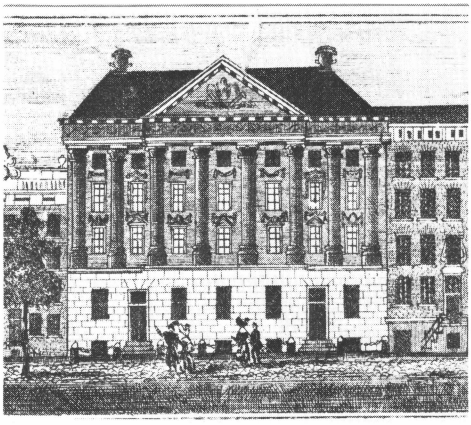

GRONDEN
EN
AFBEELDSELS
DER VOORNAAMSTE
GEBOUWEN,
Van alle die
PHILIPS VINGBOONS
geordineert heeft.
BATAVIA
DE GEEREGENDE KONST EN KAART WINCKEL
t'AMSTELDAM,
By CLEMENT de JONGE, in de Kalver-straat,
in de gekroonde Konst en Caart-winkel.
Anno 1665.

450. Title-page of Vingboons' first volume, 2nd edition, 1665.

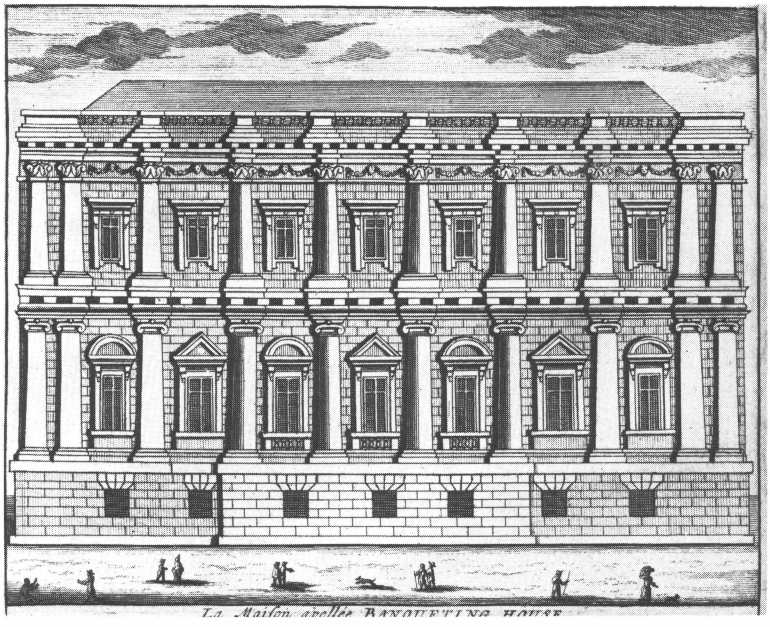


451A. Trippenhuis from Grachtenboekje.

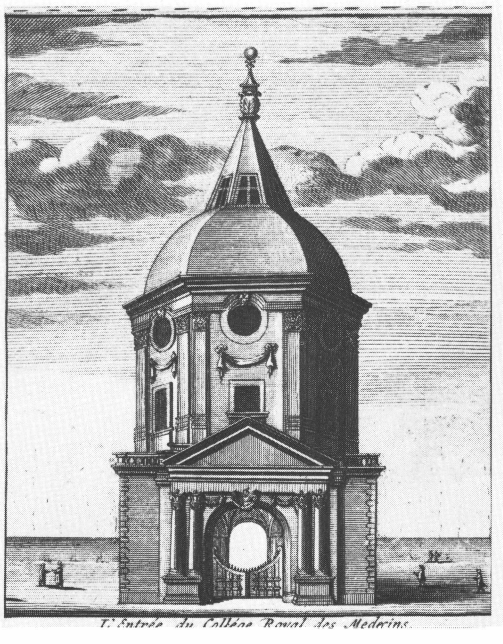

T'HVYS VAN TRIP.
La Maison de M. Trip.



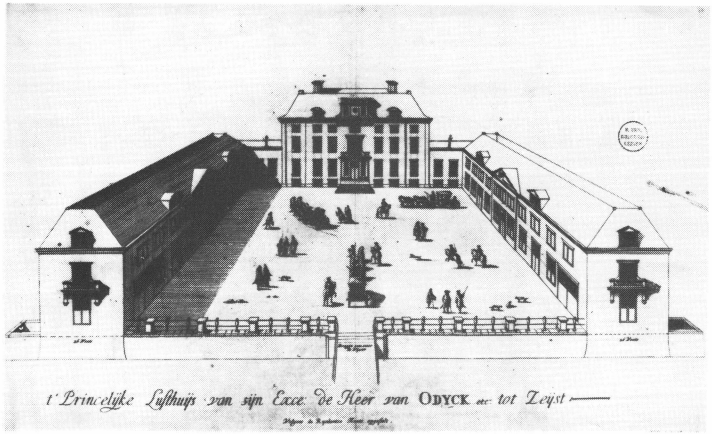
451B–C. Trippenhuis in cruder prints.



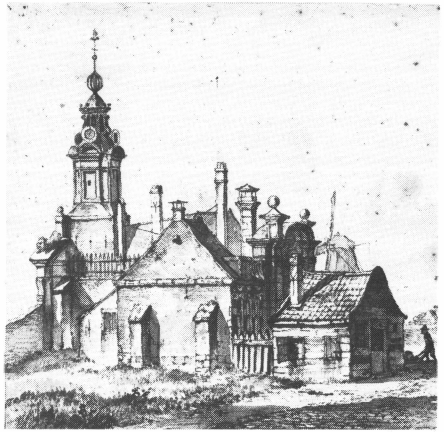
452A. The Banqueting House.



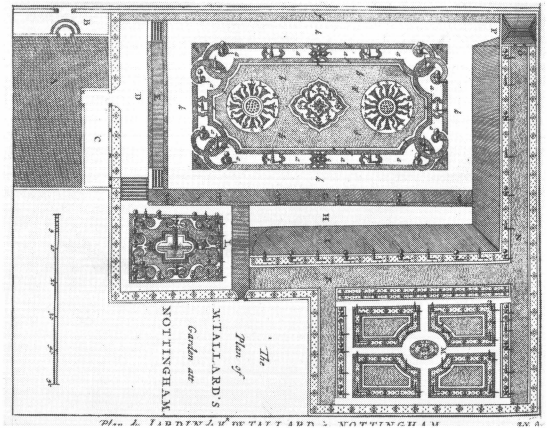
452B. Hooke's Anatomical Theatre.



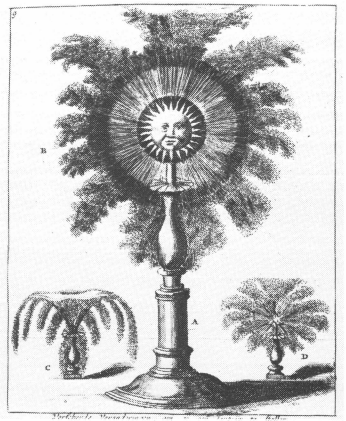
453A. Zeist. Print by Hulsbergh.



453B. Haarlemmerpoort.



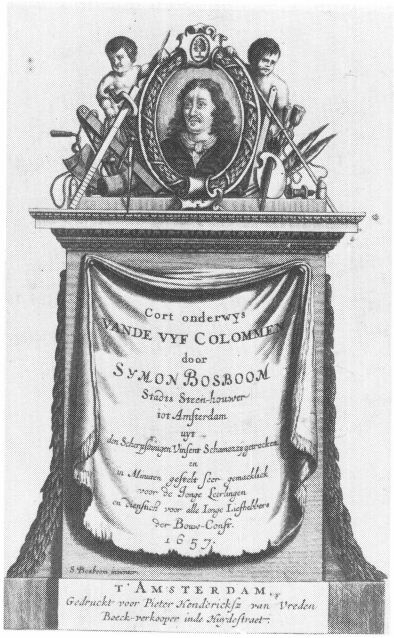
454A. Mr. Tallard's Garden.



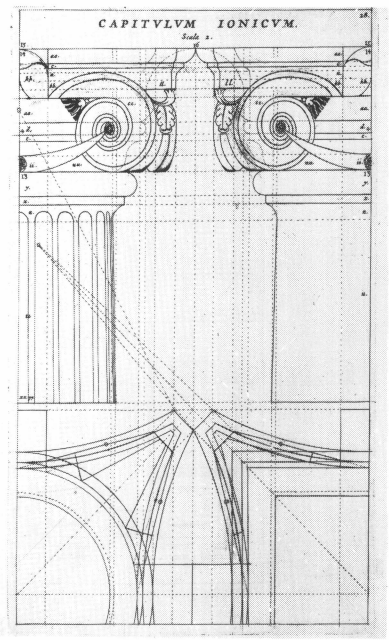
454B. A Fountain, c. 1676.



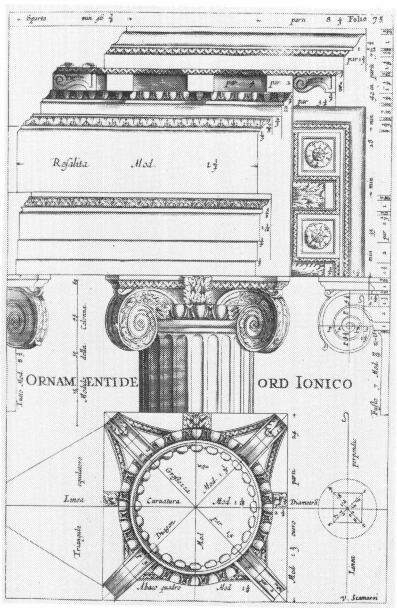
455. Title-page of Scamozzi's L'Idea della Architettura Universale, *1640.*



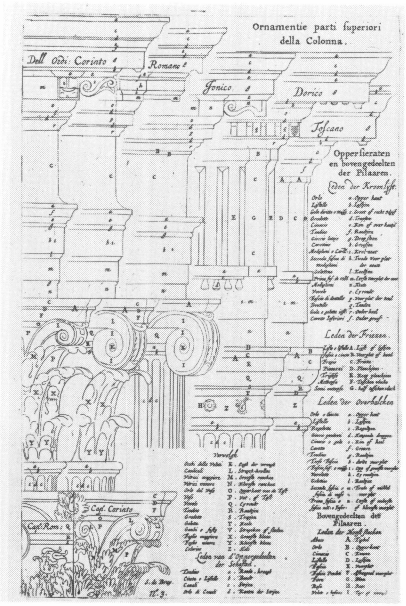
456. Bosboom's Five Columns.



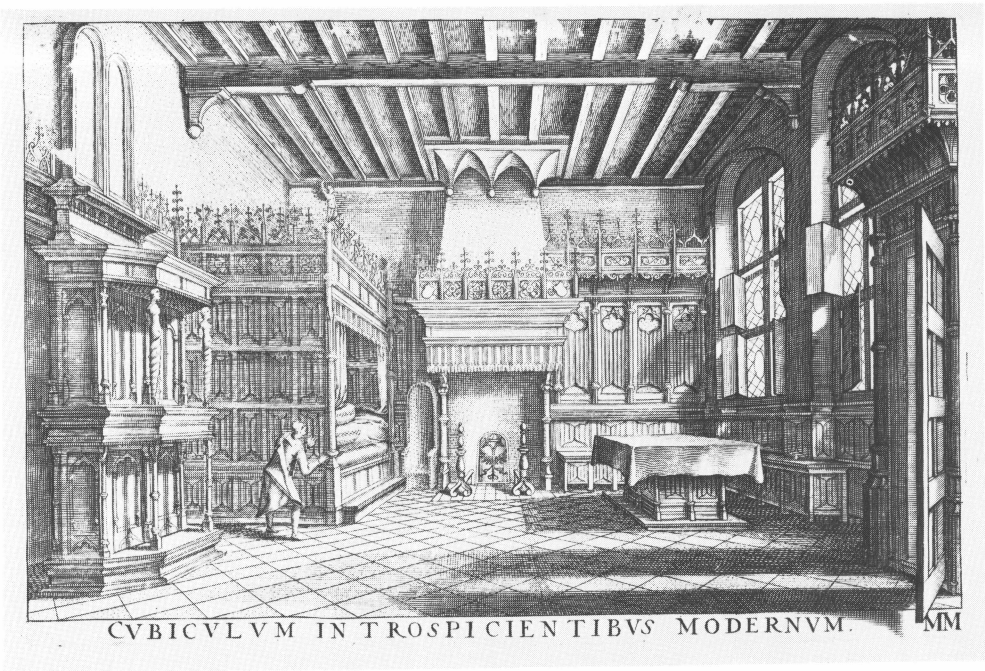
457A. Goldmann's Ionic Capital.



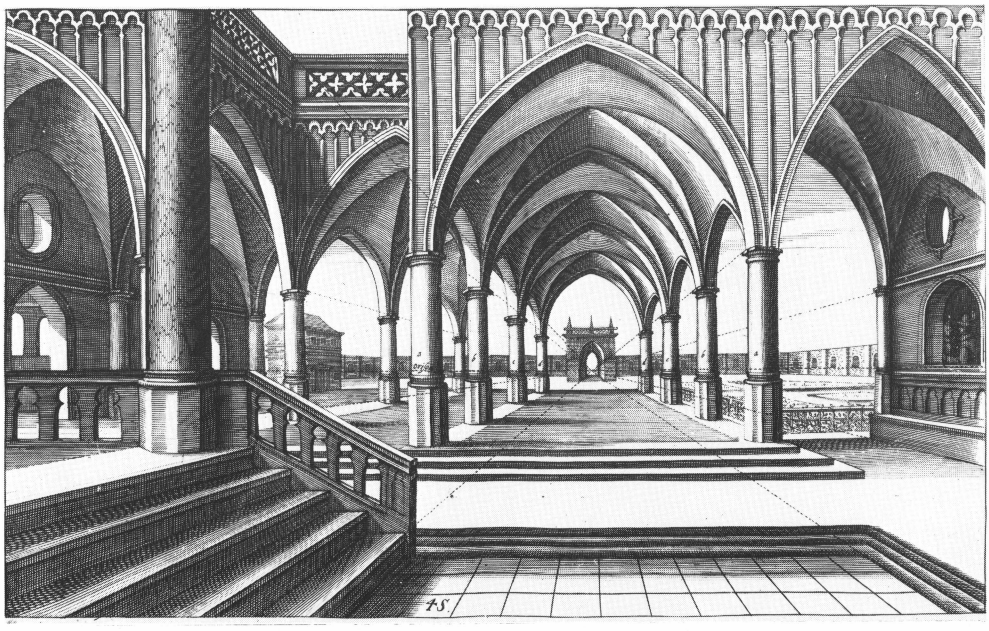
457B. Ionic Order from Dankerts' Scamozzi.



457C. Five Orders by De Bray.



458A. Vredeman de Vriese: Gothic as modern.



458B. Vredeman de Vriese: Gothic as fashionable.

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DUTCH CLASSICIST ARCHITECTURE