Aleksandra Janiszewska

The Construction of Places of Collective Memory: Jan van der Heyden and Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde's Views of Amsterdam and Haarlem[1]

"A place – in its traditional understanding – gave meaning to the people who lived there. Its identity was fed by the history that had passed through it. Places consisted of a closed system of signs, actions and images to which only its inhabitants had the key; strangers could only be visitors" – writes Hans Belting in *Anthropology of the Image*.[2] The construction of collective memory, mediated by the realism – variously understood – of representation, was a significant objective of Dutch cityscape paintings.

The inspiration behind considering the multitude of ways of presenting specific places was a set of eight etchings by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), found in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw. They were created as a result of the artist's journey across Europe in 1636, when he accompanied Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel. These small marinescapes[3] characterize in a very austere manner the landscape of the Netherlands – numerous boats sailing on rough seas, dunes along the coast and faint silhouettes of towns on the horizon. And there are those profiles, created with a few strokes, which draw the viewer's attention with their precision and suggestiveness of the depiction. In some of them, the artist specified the names of the towns above the buildings, i.e., in *View of Haarlem from the Sea* (NMW, **fig. 1**) or *Weesp, Muiden, Amsterdam Seen from the Sea* (NMW, **fig. 2**). However, he left one profile without any inscription. Our gaze is directed towards one of the travelers visible in the foreground who is pointing with his cane to the harbour. Thanks to the outlines of the buildings, the viewer can identify the view as the areas surrounding Haarlem and Amsterdam (*View of Haarlem and Amsterdam from the Sea*, NMW, **fig. 3**) – one of the major ports in Europe, to which the ships on the right-hand side of the composition are sailing. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the aforesaid cities would become the main subject of interest of the cityscape masters Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712) and Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde (1638–1698). They decided to use their own interpretation of the depicted space, and went further than Hollar, who was still rooted in the cartographic tradition.

1 The essay is an abridged version of the thesis entitled *The Dutch Cityscape Paintings of the Seventeenth Century. Categories of Realism in Works Depicting Amsterdam and Haarlem by Jan van der Heyden and Gerrit Berckheyde*, written under the guidance of Dr Antoni Ziemba, defended in the Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw in 2008.

2 Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), pp. 61–2 [quotation translated by A.-M. Fabianowska].

3 Rectangles: dim. 3.9 ×12 cm; 3.9 × 13 cm.

The category of genre, proto-photographic realism, which since the end of the 18th century constituted the key to understanding Dutch painting, was replaced in the second half of the 20th century with recognizing the ultra-realistic creation. Jan de Bisschop (1628–1671) claimed that the highest objective of art was to place before our eyes what we would like to see in reality, even though it is impossible in actual fact.[4] Such an approach can be detected in the strategies of depiction which the two aforementioned artists adopted in their cityscapes, even though they did not leave behind any theoretical statements.

Both artists often painted views of Amsterdam – the informal capital of the United Provinces, the main port of Europe at that time, at which goods from the entire world arrived, contributing to the wealth of the city. In addition, Van der Heyden was an Amsterdamer and Berckheyde came from the nearby Haarlem, which had an impact on their different approaches to the image of Amsterdam in their works. Each of the artists had a different perception of the cityscape genre. Their perception of space resulted from both their personal attitude to the place depicted and the general topographical knowledge prevailing at that time – for example, the descriptions of both cities by Samuel Ampzing, Melchior Fokkens, Olfert Dappert and Tobias van Domselaer, or the epic poem by Joost van den Vondel, which glorified Amsterdam and its newly constructed town hall.[5] With their paintings-portraits of Amsterdam and Haarlem, both artists co-created the stereotype of a specific place in the collective memory of Dutch society. According to Maurice Halbwachs, the individual develops this kind of memory along with his process of socialization, as it is society that shapes the memory of its members, formed by what others deemed worth relating, passing on or showing.[6] Van der Heyden and Berckheyde took part in the creation of the identity of those places of memory. Their paintings were to impose on the viewer the permanent motifs of the cityscape, focussing on the topographical points (buildings, squares, frontages), and perspectives considered to be those worth remembering, in testimony to the uniqueness of a given place and its permanence in time.

The blossoming of the cityscape genre in the 1660s was due to urban development and political stabilization in the United Provinces after the Peace of Münster in 1648. Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leiden had been in the process of finalizing large-scale expansion projects. In Amsterdam, a new town hall was constructed in the form of a monumental, grandiose city palace, while new canals and fortifications were designed to encompass new districts. The codification of Dutch national and civic awareness increased the need for artistic representations of the cities from which the buyers hailed. As Boudewijn Bakker notes, cityscapes were used to ornament both houses and offices (*kantoren*), and were

[4] After: Boudewijn Bakker, "Schilderachtig: discussion of a seventeenth-century term and concept," *Simiolus*, vol. 23, no. 2/3 (1995), p. 157.

[5] Samuel Ampzing, Claes Jansz. Visscher, Pieter Schrijver, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem: Adrien Rooman, 1628); Melchior Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge der Wijdt-Vermaerde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam* (Amsterdam: Doornick, 1664); Olfert Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob von Meurs, 1663); Tobias van Domselaer et al., *Beschryving der Stat Amsterdam van haar eerste beginselen oudtheydt vergrotingen en gebouwen en geschiedenis tot op den jare 1666* (Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1665 [sic!]); Joost van den Vondel, "Inwijdinge van t'Stadhuis t'Amsterdam," in *Volledige dichtwerken en oorspronkelijk proza*, Albert Verwey, Mieke B. Smits-Velt, Marijke Spies, eds (Amsterdam: H. J. W. Becht, 1986), pp. 754–64.

[6] Jan Assmann, "Kultura pamięci," in *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska, ed. (Krakow: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych UNIVERSITAS, 2009), pp. 66–7; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row Colophon Books, 1980).

also given as gifts to domestic and international business partners.[7] Portraits of public buildings important for the functioning of a town – such as a town hall or church, as well as significant buildings in the context of economic development – such as the Amsterdam Stock Exchange – were popular. Some older buildings were also depicted as evidence of the permanence of the city through the ages. In addition, the owners of modern, classical tenement buildings constructed beside the newly built canals, expected "portraits" of their properties, as a showpiece illustration of their social and economic success. The "picturesque" working-class districts, on the other hand, were beyond the focus of domestic art. In Bakker's opinion, the ordering parties accepted depictions of poverty, as long as they were placed far away from their home country, for example Rome as painted by the *Bamboccianti*.[8]

The cityscapes by Van der Heyden and Berckheyde were based on a specifically modified concept of realism. Such concept could not be understood within the framework of either the 19th-century stereotypes of Dutch painting – "the mirror of society" of the republican / townsman (Étienne Théophile Thoré, *alias* William Bürger),[9] the topographical, geographical-social "mirror of life and nature" (Adolphe-Hippolyte Taine),[10] the "purely painterly realism" (Eugène Fromentin),[11] or the 20th-century category of conventionalized, para-emblematic "hidden symbolism" – *schijnrealism* – apparent realism, within which genre scenes, portraits and some landscapes conveyed a didactic and moralizing message in accordance with the spirit of Protestant piety (Eddy de Jongh, Josua Bruyn and others).[12] Other researchers (Svetlana Alpers, Eric Jan Sluijter)[13] emphasize the aspect of visually taming the Dutch local world, constructing an "image of knowledge" about reality, reshaping realism into an illusion of clarity – often

[7] Boudewijn Bakker, "'Portraits' and 'Perspectives.' Townscape Paintings in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, Ariane van Suchtelen, Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., eds, essays by Boudewijn Bakker, contrib. by Henriette de Bruyn Kops, exh. cat., Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague, 11 October 2008 – 11 January 2009; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1 February – 3 March 2009 (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2008), p. 52.

[8] Ibid., p. 53.

[9] Théophile Thoré, *Musées de la Hollande*, vol. 1: *Amsterdam et la Haye* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1858); Thoré, *Musées de la Hollande*, vol. 2: *Musée van der Hoop à Amsterdam et Musée de Rotterdam* (Paris–Brussels–Ostende: J. Renouard, 1860).

[10] Adolphe-Hippolyte Taine, *Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays-Bas* (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1869).

[11] Eugène Fromentin, *Les maîtres d'autrefois : Belgique-Hollande* (Paris: Plon, 1876).

[12] E.g., Eddy de Jongh in: *Tot lering en vermaak. Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 16 September – 5 December 1976 (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976). For the symbolical and emblematic interpretation of Dutch landscapes paintings see Josua Bruyn, "Towards a scriptural reading of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting," in *Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting*, Peter C. Sutton, ed., with contributions by Albert Blankert et al., exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2 October 1987 – 3 January 1988; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 3 February – 1 May 1988; Philadelphia Museum of Art, 5 June – 31 July 1988 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987); Sutton, "Le paysage hollandais du XVIIe siècle comme métaphore religieuse," in *Le paysage en Europe du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (conference papers, Musée du Louvre, 27–29 January 1990), Catherine Legrand et al., eds (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1994), pp. 67–88. For a review of interpretations of Dutch Painting in the 17th century, see, i.a., Jan Białostocki, "Mere Imitation of Nature or Symbolic Image of the World? Problems in the Interpretation of Dutch Painting of the XVIIth [sic!] Century," in *The message of images. Studies in the history of art* (Vienna: IRSA, 1988), pp. 166–80; Justus Müller Hofstede, "'Wort und Bild': Fragen zur Signifikanz und Realität in der holländischen Malarei des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Herman Vekeman, Justus Müller Hofstede, eds (Erftstadt: Lukassen, 1984), pp. 9–23.

[13] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Eric Jan Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age*, trans. by Jennifer Kilian, Katy Kist (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000).

for the purpose of constructing a national or group socio-political identity (Simon Schama, Walter S. Gibson, Martin Warnke and others).[14]

Bakker, analyzing the opinions expressed by 17th-century theoreticians, considers the notion of *schilderachtig* – "picturesque / painterly" as key in Dutch landscape painting.[15] The meaning of the term would change, depending on the prevailing principles of art. It was understood by Karel van Mander (1548–1606) as an impressive complexity of forms in nature, appearing in the landscape itself or depicted in a painting as a representation of what is interesting, significant, unusual or peculiar in nature. On the other hand, Jan de Bisschop gave a new concept to the term in the 1660s and 1670s.[16] He rejected generic realism, which uncritically accepted the ugliness of the world, converting it into picturesque images. The role of art was "modified realism": the depiction of the world as *we would like to see it*. In fact, *Schilderachtigheid* becomes identical to the classical canon of beauty – the (idealistic) painterliness (i.e., worth being painted), not picturesqueness. De Bisschop was not concerned with landscape, although he proposed the contemporary classical architecture as a model not only for architects but also for painters. For that reason, it is no wonder that he was particularly interested in Alberti's perspective, based on rational rules that art was supposed to adhere to.[17] The new term *Schilderachtigheid*, meaning the modification of an image of actual reality in order to give it a higher idealistic and ideal order, includes the category of the Dutch "cityscape" – freely inspired by an actual motif, but shaped by the artist's *ingenium* – a category that Rolf Fritz (1932) distinguished from veduta – a topographically faithful depiction of reality to the last detail.[18] From then on, the motif of the integration of art with the reality it depicted became one of the problems debated while discussing the genre of cityscape.[19]

A cityscape painter had to face "the place of collective memory," a popular stereotype – the topos of a city and its fragment. He had to modify an actual view and adapt it to the general notion of the given *locus*, because the popularity of his paintings in the free market or the satisfaction of individual buyers depended on it. Van der Heyden and Berckheyde modified the "actual truth" of a view in distinct ways. While the former emphasized the creation of atmosphere, "picturesqueness," understood in Van Mander's tradition as *curiositas* or *terribilitas* (e.g., a dilapidated bridge attracting the eye), the latter attempted to capture the regularity, stillness, harmony – the classical "painterliness." For that reason, classical architecture became the main subject of Berckheyde's works.

14 Simon Schama, "Dutch Landscapes: Culture as Foreground," in *Masters...*, op. cit., pp. 64–83. See also: Walter S. Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Martin Warnke, *Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994); Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft. Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) and Nils Büttner, Russell Stockman, *Landscape Painting: a History* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2006).

15 Bakker, *Schilderachtig...*, op. cit., pp. 147–62.

16 Jan de Bisschop, *Signorum veterum Icones* ([s.l.; s.n.], 1668–1669); de Bisschop, *Paradigmata Graphices* ([s.l.; s.n.], 1671).

17 Bakker, *Schilderachtig...*, op. cit., p. 157.

18 Rolf Fritz, *Das Stadt- und Straßenbild in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: E. Hardt, 1932).

19 E.g., *Opkomst en bloei van het Noordnederlands Stadsgezicht in de 17de eeuw / The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources*, exh. cat., Amsterdam Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, 17 June – 28 August 1977, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 27 September – 13 November 1977 (Toronto: Landshoff, 1977); Helga Wagner, *Jan van der Heyden: 1637–1712* (Amsterdam–Haarlem: Scheltema & Holkema, 1971); Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., C. J. (Kees) Kaldenbach, "Vermeer's View of Delft and his Vision of Reality," *Artibus et Historiae*, 3, no. 6 (1982), pp. 9–35; Cynthia Lawrence, *Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde (1638–1698). Haarlem Cityscape Painter* (Doornspijk: The Netherlands Davaco, 1991) – in this essay the English titles of works by Gerrit Berckheyde are given according to this publication.

Jan van der Heyden

Jan van der Heyden was associated with Amsterdam throughout his life – he lived and worked there. Even though the history of art remembers him as a painter, he made his living as an inventor. His designs served as the basis for perfecting the system of street lighting in Amsterdam, as well as in other European cities.[20] In 1671, together with his brother Nicolas, he patented the water turbine and extinguisher pump, allowing the preservation of a constant water pressure, for which they received a joint award and an annual salary of 315 florins. Most of the profits came from sales of extinguishing equipment. According to an entry from a notarial deed dating from 1712, the painter had gathered an estate of 83,942 florins (making him one of the richest Dutch artists of the 17th century).[21] The financial success from his extra-artistic activities allowed him to follow his own painterly pursuits, which could be independent of market needs or individual patronage.[22] Van der Heyden explored new possibilities for cityscapes. In ca. 1660, he painted adaptations of depictions of Cologne and other towns along the Rhine which he had visited on a family expedition.[23] Those works are characterized by full freedom in compiling the depictions of well-known buildings which did not correspond to the actual views. They are more reminiscent of contemporary postcards, where all of the tourist attractions are crammed into one space, form a *pars pro toto*.

Some of the first "portraits" of Amsterdam by Van der Heyden depicting Dam Square are housed in the Galleria degli Uffizi (*The Town Hall of Amsterdam with the Dam*, 1667) and the Louvre (*View of the Dam with the Town Hall in Amsterdam*, 1668). The façade of the town hall is shown foreshortened, as seen from the southern corner of Dam, where it joins with Kalverstraat. The left-hand side of the painting presents the northern fragment of De Vergulde Ploeg House, with an ornamented façade, where Van der Heyden's family ran a mirror shop from 1656.[24] The transept of Nieuwe Kerk is visible in the background, and the shadow of the Weigh House building casts its shadow on the right-hand side (in the Louvre version, only a small fragment of the corner of the building is seen). The empty space is occupied by groups of pedestrians.[25] Both paintings, by juxtaposing the massive structure of the town hall with the city's main church and the suggested absence of the Weigh House,

[20] In 1669 Jan van der Heyden became "superintendent of the lamps that shone at nighttime," and from 1670 to the end of his life this post earned him two thousand florins a year, after: Peter C. Sutton, "A Life in Full: Artistry, Invention, and Patronage," in *Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712)*, Peter C. Sutton, ed., with contributions by Jonathan Bikker et al., exh. cat., Bruce Museum, Greenwich, Connecticut, 16 September 2006 – 10 January 2007 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 22–3 – in this essay the English titles of works by Jan van der Heyden are given according to this publication.

[21] Ibid., p. 26.

[22] One exception could be cooperation with a patrician family, the Huydecopers, which gave rise to views in the vicinity of Maarssereen. Its independence from the art market can be seen in the fact that towards the end of Van der Heyden's life, there were at east 73 of his paintings in his atelier that remained unsold. After: Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 40.

[24] Ibid., p. 19.

[25] Until recently the prototype for such a view of Dam was considered to be Gerrit Berckheyde's painting dating from 1665 (*View of Dam and the Town Hall in Amsterdam*, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin). However, in accordance with Norbert Middelkoop's observations, the roof of Nieuwe Kerk from the south entrance shows signs of the repairs completed in 1673–1674, which would suggest that the work was executed after that time; after: Ibid., p. 44.

possibly reflect the general perception of the topos of the city of Amsterdam: Dam as the centre of municipal, provincial and national power exercised over the *polis*, its *negotium* and the Church by the regents (*regenten*).

Both compositions, however, are principally concerned with the issue of perspective. In the Florence version, the cupola of the town hall has been foreshortened, giving the effect of an ellipse. Some researchers regard that distortion of proportion as a compositional error.[26] In the opinion of Peter C. Sutton, however, it was a completely intentional effect, showing the artist's mastery in solving a specific problem with perspective – namely, the view of a circle seen from an angle, which had been studied since the times of Leon Battista Alberti. This is confirmed by the fact that, originally, a circle was attached to the frame showing the observation point from which the dome would regain its appropriate proportions. For that reason, Van der Heyden could be described as continuing the Delft school's studies in perspective (Carel Fabritius, Gerrit Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, Daniel Vosmaer, Pieter de Hooch).[27] It also coincided with the birth of perspective boxes and *trompe l'œil*. Leonore Stapel points out that the perspective in the painting from the Uffizi brings to mind the perspective models from the treatises of Sebastian Serli and Hans Vredeman de Vries.[28] Both of Van der Heyden's paintings were created during the time when there was a heated debate about the superiority of geometric perspective over a more complex one, which took into account the diversity of optical adjustment aimed at obtaining a more illusory effect.[29] As Martin Kemp points out, with the cityscapes of Dam from the Uffizi and the Louvre, the painter seemed to be proving that both systems of perspective under consideration had their own independent type of reality.[30] Van der Heyden decided to depict the structure of the town hall from two different angles in order to obtain the effect closest to a subjective perception of space. This is even more evident when contrasted against the frontal depictions of Dam by Berckheyde, aimed at obtaining a classical order and harmony (e.g., *Town Hall in Amsterdam*, 1673, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

In Van der Heyden's paintings from Amsterdam (*The Dam Square in Amsterdam*, ca. 1668, Amsterdam Museum, **fig. 4**) and Basel (*The Dam in Amsterdam with the Town Hall and Nieuwe Kerk*, Kunstmuseum, Basel), the town hall – visible from an angle different from the two aforementioned paintings, from an observation point situated to the right of Kalverstraat – is depicted fragmentarily, so that only its northern break is visible from the side. In this depiction, the town hall was marginalized. Further, the existence of the Weigh House building is only suggested by the shadow it casts (or at the most, by showing only the edge of the building – in the version from Basel). In both paintings, the composition is created by the structure of Nieuwe Kerk and the fictitiously expanded space between the church and the town hall, giving an impression of the expansiveness of the square. By marginalizing the presence of the town hall and the Weigh House, while accentuating the church, the artist minimized the political

26 Wagner, op. cit.

27 Also Gerrit Berckheyde makes reference to these solutions – *Grote Markt in Haarlem*, 1674, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

28 Leonore Stapel, *Perspectieven van de stad: over bronnen, populariteit en functie van het zeventiende-eeuwse stadsgezicht* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2000), pp. 33–4 and fig. 25.

29 Sutton, op. cit., p. 126.

30 Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 206.

associations with the glorification of the power of the city and its authorities and their patronage over reformed religion and supervision over the Church. It is possible that he wanted to emphasize the church institutions' aspirations to gain autonomy in the city and the Republic, and their relative independence from the class of regents. The manipulation of the spatial proportions, serving to create the illusion of vastness and grandeur of a public, "social place" of the Amsterdam community, should be considered as the main theme of both paintings.[31]

The same approach can be seen in another view of Dam and Damrak (*View of the Dam and Damrak, Amsterdam*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University), presented from the south west, with Gasthuisweg (currently Paleisstraat) towards Vismarkt. In this painting, the spaciousness of the city square was gained by a panoramic depiction from a high observation point (rare in Dutch inner-city views), probably from the second floor of the then unfinished town hall. At the same time, this angle eliminated the town hall itself from the field of view. In the background, a row of houses converted into tavernas can be seen and on the right, a stone house called *De Engelse Bulldog* and a building with the signage *De Roode Leeuw*. The artist chose an observation point that excluded all of Dam's representative structures (the town hall, Nieuwe Kerk and the Weigh House) and, instead, he focussed on some older architectural elements, reminding the average citizen of the times before the rapid expansion of the city and at the same time suggesting the longevity, centuries' old historical character and "antiquity" of the place.

Van der Heyden was generally faithful to the topography when selecting fragments of Amsterdam that were important to the life of the city, such as St. Antonispoort[32] or Haarlemmer Tor.[33] However, some of his cityscapes were compilations of authentic buildings situated in a fictitious space. *Street with a Canal* (private collection, The Netherlands) depicts, contrary to the actual reality, an arcade from the loggia of the old town hall next to the entrance to the mediaeval St. Elisabeth-Gasthuis (known from, among others, the drawing by Lambert Doomer, Stadsarchiven, Amsterdam), while an antique sculpture, instead of a bay window, is visible in the corner of Gasthuis. In the painting *The Drawbridge* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, **fig. 5**), on the other hand, the same loggia is crowned with an imaginary herma. *The Stone Bridge* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, **fig. 6**), ornamented with a damaged antique herma, is supposed to resemble the Roman Ponte Rotto, a popular theme among Dutch Italianists.[34] The sunlit building of Trippenhuis, the city residence of the Trip family, is visible in the background. This imaginary combination of the Italianate ruins with Amsterdam scenery expresses the splendour and "antiquity" of the patrician family. The painting might have been ordered by the Trips, who were well-connected with Van der Heyden's protector, Joan Huydecoper II (1625–1704), the Mayor of Amsterdam, an entrepreneur and the owner of Goudestein an de Vecht estate in Maarssereen. Heyden was the only artist to paint the surburban areas, where the estates of Huydecoper's relatives and regents' families were situated.[35] Those estates were considered to be luxurious places for excursions outside the city – the counterpart of an Italian villeggiatura.

On those rare occasions when Van der Heyden received commissions, he had to give up such freedom of composition. The "portrait" of Westerkerk church (*View of Westerkerk,*

31 Sutton, op. cit., p. 44.

32 E.g., *View of St. Antonispoort, Amsterdam*, private collection, The Netherlands.

33 E.g., *Haarlemmer Tor, Amsterdam*, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

34 *Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712)*, op. cit., p. 152, cat. no. 19 (Taco Dibbits).

35 Sutton, op. cit., p. 24.

Amsterdam, ca. 1660, The National Gallery, London) was most probably ordered as an official image by the council (*kerkgemeente*) of that church, since it remained in its possession until 1790. The painting shows Westermarkt Square behind the church on the left, and Westerhal behind the trees in the background; the building on the right, with a stepped gable, is No. 198 Keizersgracht – the house of the famous collector and merchant Lucas von Uffelen. Westerkerk was one of four main churches in the metropolis, and as a parish church, it focussed the social life of the western part of the city after the expansions of Amsterdam both at the beginning of the 1650s and in the 1660s. In the painting, the frontal view of the church building, visible from the opposite side of the Keizersgracht, suggests the official character of the image, being a record of the communal place, emphasizing the role of the church; the remaining buildings are hidden behind trees. The communality of this *locus* of the collective memory is emphasized in both the London paintings, the one from the National Gallery and its variant from the Wallace Collection, by genre motifs, introducing a freer, more informal tone to the street life: a boy playing with a dog and tatty advertisements on posts in the former, and figures of elegant and ordinary pedestrians in the latter.[36]

In contrast, in the painting *View of the Keizersgracht and Westerkerk in Amsterdam* (private collection), the church was depicted from the south east, from the opposite side of the canal. The foreshortened perspective and fragmented view of the façade give the effect of full informality, which is a typical device for the mature style of Van der Heyden, creating an impressionistic image of a fragment of the city painted from memory. Here the emphasis falls on the buildings in Westermarkt (discussed above), as well as on the ordinary daily activities of the inhabitants (attending to an ox, washing, cleaning) – namely the backdrop of the citizens' ordinary daily life.

The views of Dam and Westerkerk show that representation of the status of hieratic power through frontal depictions of the building was rare in Van der Heyden's work. If it did appear, it was offset by the informality of the staffage (figures of pedestrians in the street) or detail (tattered advertisements).

Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde

The financial position of Berckheyde, who lived in Haarlem since ca. 1600 with his brother Job, also a painter, and his sister Aechje, was quite different from that of the financially secure Van der Heyden. Berckheyde specialized in the narrow genre of cityscapes in response to the growing demand of the free market and individual clients. His views of Haarlem, Amsterdam and the Hague mainly focussed on depicting the official image of the city, with particular emphasis on modern architectural solutions, in particular of Amsterdam, which was undergoing dynamic development. In the case of Haarlem, he most often depicted Grote Markt, the heart of the city, which gathered the city's main buildings: the town hall, the main church of St Bavon and the impressive hall of the butchers' guild – Vleeshal. His selection of themes was inspired by *Beschrijvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem* – a description of the city by Samuel Ampzing dating from 1628,[37] both in terms of the selection of sites and the illustrations by Jan van de Veld, based on the drawings by Pieter Saenredam;

[36] Sutton, op. cit., pp. 37–8, writes about the informality of the view, although his assumptions are not altogether correct.

[37] For Ampzing and the connections between texts and the illustration in 16th- and 17th-century Dutch descriptions of towns, see Eddy Vebaan, "Jan Janszoon schetst Leiden: illustraties in de vroege stadsbeschrijvingen,"

also, the staffage and the figural groups tended to be borrowed from the illustrations from that publication.[38] Arthur K. Wheelock points out, however, that by the time Berckheyde's paintings were created, the social and political reality of Haarlem had already changed in comparison to Ampzing's time. The city's inhabitants still remembered the rapid development of the city in the 1660s, the period when the office of the governor was abolished (the so-called *eerste stadhouderloze tijdperk* 1650–1675), when Wilhelm II took over power in the face of the French invasion of 1672.[39] Those changes were reflected in Berckheyde's paintings of Haarlem.

The artist developed his own convention of depicting Grote Markt, so that one frame would show the town hall, the Church of St. Bavon and the hall of the butchers' guild, the only modification of the view being the change in the observation point, usually the town hall.[40] In the small format painting from the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (*The Grote Markt, Haarlem*, 1674), the view opens up onto the square, with the majestic church building, through the loggia of the town hall. The columns create an illusionary frame of perspective, drawing the viewer's attention to the front of the church, while at the same time emphasizing the emptiness of the market square in the foreground. This device is a reference to the *View of Delft* by Daniel Vosmaer (1663, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft), suggesting the possible influence of the Delft circle on Berckheyde's composition.[41] In the painting from 1671 (*The Grote Markt with the Town Hall of Haarlem*, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem), on the other hand, the viewer's gaze is directed from the central point of the market square onto the town hall, depicted from the front in a representative manner, just like Amsterdam's Old Town Hall in Pieter Saenredam's painting (1657, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). This focuses the viewer's attention on the seat of the City Council. The light, casting long shadows of the buildings and people, was introduced in the market square from the side, from a street on the left-hand side, which enhances the illusion of depth and suggests space outside the frame of the painting.[42] On this brightly lit foreground, Berckheyde places the figures so as to emphasize the architectural elements; the figures of the townsfolk are reduced to silhouettes subordinated to the main architectural theme – the town hall.[43] As in the previous composition, the crowd occupying the market square outside the town hall building constitutes a depiction of Haarlem's inhabitants. Judging by their clothes, they are clearly representatives of the upper and middle class of regents, predominantly men, and are thus the executors of power. This then is a communal public space within a system of a well-managed community in which all the citizens contribute to its welfare, working harmoniously to exercise the electable, non-hierarchical, republican, municipal power, albeit structured patriarchally.

in "*Tweelinge eener dragt": woord en beeld in de Nederlanden (1500–1700)* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2001), pp. 133–68.

38 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 29.

39 *Dutch Cityscapes...*, op. cit., p. 80, cat. no. 8 (Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.).

40 E.g., *The Grote Markt, Haarlem*, 1674, The National Gallery, London; *The Grote Markt, Haarlem*, 1675, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.

41 A similar solution can be found in a few other views of Grote Markt in Haarlem and, to a lesser degree, in views of Dam Square in Amsterdam; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 38.

42 Pieter Saenredam and Jan van der Heyden also made use of the same treatment.

43 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 33.

Grote Markt was a differently constructed "place of [the] collective memory" of Haarlem, since another public building situated within it was accentuated, namely the main Church of St Bavo – named after the patron saint of the city and of the historic Netherlands. The outline of the church with its imposing spire, which Ampzig praised as the citizens' pride, was a motif of identity in the Dutch iconosphere, a sign of the city and its autonomy, political self-governance and economic prosperity (for example, the numerous haarlempjes – *View of Haarlem with the Bleaching Fields* by Jacob van Ruisdael[44] and other landscape painters). Berckheyde paid special attention to the structure of the church in all of the views of St Bavo, as well as in the depictions of Jansstraat and the Weigh House on the Spaarne. On one hand, the church building symbolized the moral principles and ethical values that a properly functioning society should adhere to (as evidenced by the figures of rich townspeople depicted amongst prospering shops and stalls in the painting from Washington, D.C.).[45] On the other hand, as a Catholic church converted into a Calvinist one, in the collective consciousness it referred to the former struggle against Spanish domination, to the famous siege of Haarlem in 1572–1573, constituting the historiographical founding myth of the Republic's civic society, and to the gaining of religious freedom. Lawrence claims that whenever Berckheyde juxtaposes the town hall with the nearby church in the cityscapes of Amsterdam and Haarlem, the artist may have been motivated by a need to emphasize the dialogue between the Reformed Church and the States-General in the ruling of the country, thus making a clear distinction between the earthly and the heavenly orders.[46] Berckheyde typically depicted the church from the western side, at such an angle as to show its northern façade (e.g., *The Grote Markt with St Bavo's, Haarlem*, 1696, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem). A rarer, frontal depiction of the building, with a foreshortened façade in late afternoon light, is reminiscent of works by Saenredam (e.g., *St Mary's Square and St Mary Church, Utrecht*, 1662, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam). In addition, the views of Grote Markt offer a historical perspective of the story of Haarlem because they present buildings that were constructed in different periods (mediaeval, "ancient" – church, town hall from the era of the Republic's development, old and contemporary houses). Berckheyde, as Saenredam had done previously, evoked a nostalgic mood amongst his compatriots, bringing out the symbolic potential of the historic, architectural elements.[47]

Berckheyde made a similar attempt to create an official image of the city in the "portraits" of Amsterdam, especially its main square – Dam. The painting *The Dam, Amsterdam* in Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp, signed and dated: "Gerrit Berck Heijde f. Haarlem 1668,"[48] is a very interesting example. The artist emphasized the fact that the scene had been painted in an atelier in Haarlem, and not in Amsterdam; in no other work did he specify where the work had been created. This highlighted the rarity of a painter from outside the local guild being officially commissioned by the city council to immortalize the pride of Amsterdam.[49]

The official commission called for an official, formalized portrayal. The town hall, shown from the front, is slightly eclipsed by the Weigh House building. The row of tenement buildings

44 Ca. 1670, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

45 *Dutch Cityscapes...*, op. cit., p. 66, cat. no. 3 (Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.).

46 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 35.

47 Ibid., p. 30.

48 Ibid., p. 55.

49 Maarten Jan Bok, Gary Schwartz, *Pieter Saenredam: The Painter and His Time* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1990), p. 242.

on the right-hand side reveals Nieuwe Kerk dominating over them. On the left-hand side the square is enclosed by the shaded façades of buildings, with the sunlit De Vergulde Ploeg house at the junction with Kalverstraat. The space is filled with groups of pedestrians busy conversing or shopping at the stalls set up around the Weigh House. The heightened perspective suggests that the viewer is watching the scene from on board one of the ships anchored in an invisible port. Berckheyde thus highlighted the city's symbolic and actual political, religious and trading centres that guaranteed its efficient functioning. The strolling patricians, townspeople, vendors and their customers, constitute a representative group of Amsterdam society.[50] For that reason, the painting is a paean to the efficient social and economic organization of the metropolis, being the reflection of the order prevailing in the entire Republic. The official character of the depiction is emphasized by the frontal view of the city's town hall – constituting a symbol of the regents' power – as well as by the perspective adopted, allowing the artist to present all of the significant components of the place (town hall, church, weigh house, houses, as well as the suggested port behind the viewer's back) – which presents the entire square in the most recognizable way, in the fashion of a contemporary postcard. This also symbolizes the power of the town hall (i.e., the council and the regents) over the functioning of city life.

Berckheyde also used a foreshortened, "informal" perspective from the side of Kalverstraat, from the same observation point as Van der Heyden, with the exception that he omitted the façade of the De Vergulde Ploeg building; instead, he accentuated and monumentalized the Weigh House building (which was, in reality, rather modest in scale), for example in the above-mentioned painting in the Amsterdam Museum.[51] In spite of its informal representation, the portrait format of the painting from Cambridge (*The Town Hall and Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam*, ca. 1674, Fitzwilliam Museum) creates a monumental impression. The frontal depiction of Nieuwekerk, with its transept situated in the centre of the composition and whose structure constitutes a visual and symbolic counterpoint to the town hall building, becomes an optical blockade, closing the view.

Berckheyde used a rather informal depiction of the town hall in those works in which he chose Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal as the observation point, allowing the classical structure to become part of the city's varied architecture. Such works, created between the late 1660s and mid-1680s, document the urban development of the area, including the appearance of new tenement buildings.[52] At the same time, they formulate the *locus* of the city as an area of ordinary daily life in the shadow of the town hall (such as, for example, the preparations for the opening of the trade fair in the painting *Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Stadhuis and Flower Market, Amsterdam*, Amsterdam Museum, **fig. 7**).[53] Here the town hall is defined as a structure giving sense to its surroundings because, firstly, it constitutes a model of classical regularity, fulfilling the *Schilderachtigheid* principle cited in de Bisschop's depiction (presenting the ideal, even impossible, state of things in nature, its model order) and, secondly, because it is an identity symbol of social *ordo*, order in the system of the urban community, as well as in the basic trading activities.

[50] According to Lawrence the staffage was executed by Berckheyde's collaborator because, as opposed to his other works, its function is independent of the architectural composition; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 56.

[51] Sutton, op. cit., p. 44.

[52] John Walsh, Cynthia P. Schneider, *A Mirror of Nature – Dutch Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981), pp. 10–1.

[53] One of five versions of this theme; see Lawrence, op. cit., p. 59, note 54.

Berckheyde, in his depictions of Amsterdam, seemed to be more interested in the new views of the developing urbanization than Van der Heyden. He displayed a particular interest in newly expanded districts, such as the area around the Herengracht canal, created as a result of the expansion of the city between 1657 and 1663.[54] Particularly admired was the section between Nieuwe Spiegelstraat, known as the "The Golden Bend" (*De Gouden Bocht*). The prevailing architecture there was both modern and classical, the houses having generous, palatial façades, evidencing the wealth of their owners, hailing from the patriciate. They were not merely merchants but also bankers and lawyers (hence the lack of shops on the ground floors). The appearance of those houses and their symbolic message regarding the status of their owners was so important to Berckheyde that in the painting *The Bend in the Herengracht Near the Spiegelstaat from the Leidsestraat, Amsterdam* (1672, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, **fig. 8**) he omitted the existing row of trees, even though he had included it in his preparatory sketch (Stadsarchieven, Amsterdam). This fulfilled de Bisschop's *Schilderachtigheid* principle of an idealized modification of reality for the purpose of obtaining the perfect view, emphasizing the harmony of the classical architecture.

Summary: Strategies for Creating Places of Collective Memory in the Works of Van der Heyden and Berckheyde

The examples presented here give a picture of the strategies adopted by both artists when depicting known cities, in an attempt to shape the collective memory. At the same time, it was their paintings that gave birth to the stereotypical seventeenth-century view of a Dutch city. This is how Jan Assmann summarizes Halbwachs's proposition: "[The past] is a social construct shaped by the need for sense, and by the framework of references for [the purpose] of individual presences."[55] Such was the framework of perception of known spaces that Van der Heyden and Berckheyde created in their cityscapes for their contemporaries. With the aid of classical theory, they presented what they considered worthy of showing. Thus both artists' paintings represent, contrary to what nineteenth-century theoreticians wanted to see in them, the painters' own, instead of a photographic, perception of reality. However, each painter had different motivations and objectives for introducing the modifications in the actual topography. The intended effect in Van der Heyden's views of Amsterdam was to underline his personal, individual perception of a known *locus*. For that reason, the "informal" depictions dominate over the official "representation of power," which was achieved by compositional devices, such as: expanding the distance between buildings to create an illusion of space for the viewer; greatly foreshortening the modern buildings or offering fragmentary views thereof, as if they were included in the frame by chance; suggesting the presence of a building without its actual depiction (the shadow of a building or showing only a fragment thereof) or even completely omitting a new building and drawing attention to some older architectural elements. In some of his works, the artist took the modifications of reality one step further and compiled the compositions from both actual and fictitious elements. Nevertheless, Van der Heyden constructed his picturesque views of a place in accordance with the mannerist definition of *schilderachtig*. He treated the familiar buildings and places

[54] To the set of images of a new city also belonged views with Lutheran church (e.g., *Singel with Lutherse Kerk*, 1697, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco), Ashkenazi and Portuguese synagogues.

[55] Assmann, op. cit., p. 79 [quotation translated by A.-M. Fabianowska].

as fragments of still life, choosing individual fragments from his sketchbook and combining them on canvas at his own discretion.[56] Of crucial importance for Van der Heyden was the creation of *memoria*, the development of a model, a matrix for remembering and reminiscing about a given *locus*, as well as creating a characteristic souvenir.

As for Berckheyde, he took a dualistic approach to his work. In the representations of Haarlem, he focussed on the historical aspect of the city – Grote Markt, together with the structures important for the functioning of the community. In addition, he used effective compositional devices, thus proving his familiarity with the modern search for perspective, while preserving the actual view of the square. In the depictions of Amsterdam, on the other hand, he expressed interest in a more official image aiming to achieve a political representation of power and the social community. He also selected themes allowing him to trace the development of the fabric of the city, albeit in a different way to the case of Haarlem – focusing on the depiction of modern structures, such as the town hall (1655), the tenement buildings on the Golden Bend (from 1663) and the Portuguese synagogue (1671–1675). He used the tactic of juxtaposing structures from different eras, such as in *The Kloveniersburgwal with the Waag and Trippenhuis, Amsterdam* (1685, Johnny van Haeften, London), in which he set older architecture against contemporary elements – the Weigh House with Trippenhuis. Their coexistence develops an awareness of the history and tradition of a place, the continuity of the city's history, and creates a place of national pride – the *locus* of "patriotic topography." For that reason, Berckheyde was not merely capturing reality but constructing it. The sentence about Gerrit Berckheyde by Arnold Houbraken could also describe Jan van der Heyden's work: "In his canvasses, [he] shows live perspective; the more one looks at it, the more one can see."[57]

[56] Bakker, "'Portraits' and 'Perspectives.'...," pp. 53–5.

[57] Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 3 (The Hague: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, en M. Gaillard, 1753), p. 191; quoted after: Lawrence, op. cit., p. 8.