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The English Landscapes in the Seventeenth Century

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Abstract

Relatively few critical studies have been written concerning the English landscape genre in the seventeenth century, not due to a lack of production or interest in the genre, but rather as a result of an anachronistic definition that is the product of eighteenth century artistic discourse. In contrast, I explore landscape as it was defined in contemporaneous seventeenth-century works and literature. Rather than a singular definition, I propose that the genre in the seventeenth century was marked by multiple iterations, each of which corresponded to shifting perceptions concerning the role of land in the culture, economy and politics of England. As such, the iterations explored herein range from the highly symbolic to the topographic, the ideal and combinations of the three, each representing different aspects of the discursive relationship to the English land over the century. Much like the English language, the landscapes of this period incorporated not only native traditions and values but also translated established variations of the genre from Northern and Southern European artistic discourses into the English context. Given the iterability of the genre, I explore landscape within a pre-determined set of limits: temporal (late sixteenth to late seventeenth century), geographic (England), thematic (symbolic, topographic, ideal and estate landscapes) and formal (painting, drawing and printmaking). Unlike other explorations of the English landscape that apply strict, often anachronistic definitions of the genre, I explore landscape from a broad perspective, one that not only seeks out the aesthetic frameworks that shaped it, but the economic, social and political discourses that gave the genre significance in the period.

Keywords

Acknowledgments

I would like to begin by thanking Professor Madeline Lennon whose enthusiasm and support drew me from contemporary art and critical theory back though time to the seventeenth century. It was while taking her graduate seminar on the Baroque that I first began to explore seventeenth-century English art. Her feedback on my initial research was an invaluable inspiration for this dissertation.

I would also like to acknowledge the good humor, patience and support of Professor John Hatch who helped guide me through this arduous process with a smile. He provided invaluable advice at all stages of development and his help in the final editing process has been indispensable.

On a personal note, many thanks go out to my family and friends who have been incredibly supportive of this academic marathon, especially my parents, Valerie and Keith Parkinson and my husband David Brown.

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Introduction: The English Landscape (s) in the Seventeenth Century: Perspectives on the Iterability of the Genre

From the late sixteenth to the close of the seventeenth century, myriad iterations of a new genre, landscape, began to appear in England, reflecting a changing relationship to art in general and the environment in particular. Such images ranged from the highly symbolic to the topographical, the ideal, and combinations of the three visual tropes, each representing different aspects of the discursive relationship to the English land over the century. The growth of this genre was influenced by both the institutional context of art in the period (written treatises, collectors, etc.), in addition to contemporaneous cultural, social, political and environmental changes. In this dissertation I will explore three basic landscape tropes: the symbolic, the topographic, the ideal and then examine their application in the subgenre of the estate landscape. Each chapter will chart their development within artistic as well as social and political contexts.[1]

The methodology employed, which could be broadly called post-structuralist, will be used to examine these iterations within a pre-determined set of limits: temporal (late sixteenth to late seventeenth century), geographic (England), thematic (the four general groups listed above) and formal (paintings, drawings and prints). While the field of study will be artificially enclosed by these elements, breadth will be introduced in terms of what contexts are brought to bear upon the subject. Ostensibly this is a primarily art

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[1] As will be emphasized throughout this dissertation, these categories are conceptual only, rarely do they occur in a pure form, i.e. most landscapes produced are more accurately combinations of these forms.

historical endeavour, but to elucidate upon the emergence of these landscapes properly, it is most effective to reference related discourses from the fields of history, geography, and sociology. Landscape will thus be read not as an isolated aesthetically pure genre, but rather I will position it as a discursive practice that extends beyond institutional boundaries.

Defining the Territory

In much critical discourse, the English landscape tradition has been positioned as a product of the late seventeenth century. However, there are a few works that point to the volume of landscapes produced earlier in the century. For example, there are a number of essays, catalogues and dissertations that explore early seventeenth-century topographical and estate landscapes, most notably John Harris' two catalogues on the subject of *The Artist and the Country House*.[2] However, in terms of scope and influence, the most notable work on this period is Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden's 1955

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[2] John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870*, Rev. Ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper and Row Publications Inc., 1985) and John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Sotheby's Institute, 1995). In addition to Harris' texts, there are a variety of other productions covering similar works, including: Katharine Gibson, "Jan Wyck c. 1645 – 1700: A Painter with 'a grate deal of fire'," *The British Art Journal*, 2. 1 (Autumn 2000): 3 – 13, Jstor, http://jstor.org.stable/41615006; Nick Grindle, "The Wise Surveyor: Surveying and Representation in British House and Estate Portraiture, c. 1650 – 1715" (PhD. Diss, University College of London, 1999); Richard Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns, 1575 – 1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin*, 76. 1 (March 1994): 105 – 128, Jstor, http://jstor.org/stable/3046005; Sarah Trevisan, "The Impact of the Netherlandish Landscape Tradition on Poetry and Painting in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66. 3 (Fall 2013): 866 – 903, Jstor, http://jstor.org/stable/10.1086/673585.

English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century.[3] This comprehensive text

provides an excellent survey of the taste for landscape in the seventeenth century across

the visual arts. Through extensive research into art treatises, inventories, catalogues and

collections, the authors demonstrate the existence of a significant taste and market for

landscape in seventeenth-century England. However, as the Ogdens observe, little

critical thought has been turned to seventeenth-century works, a dearth which they

believe reflects not only limited surviving examples and evidence, but also anachronistic

assumptions within the discipline of art history. Despite the great wealth of information

provided in the Ogden's work, especially in terms of institutional influences, their work

does not go far enough to address the broader discursive construction of the genre over

the seventeenth century. Furthermore, despite being composed over sixty years ago little

has been written to follow up on their research, something which this dissertation seeks to

redress.

Traditionally histories of the English landscape have been carefully circumscribed

by a set definition of both "Englishness" and "landscape," which have in turn marked the

temporal and academic scope of subsequent studies. With respect to the former,

"Englishness" implies that both the subject and the producer of a given work are

recognizably English. However, there is little evidence to suggest that the nationality of

the artist or the land depicted was of much concern in the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries. As Ian Pears observes, "Not only was there no 'English School' of

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[3] Henry V. S. and Margaret S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Centruy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955).

painting, there was little sign that anyone particularly wanted one."[4] In treatises from the

early seventeenth century the artists praised are largely foreign, including Dutch, Flemish

and Italian artists, among others. While in the wake of the Republican Commonwealth of

1649 a tentative interest in fostering a native practice emerged, echoing the related

interest in English unity, it was not to the exclusion of foreign practitioners. In 1658

William Sanderson, for example, notes the value of English artists: "These now in

England are not less worthy of fame than any forraigner; and although some of them be

strangers born, yet for their affection to our *Nation* we may mix them together. Our

Modern Masters comparable with any now beyond Seas." [5] Even in the Restoration

period, concern with an artist's "Englishness" was far from paramount; the continentally

educated Charles II and James II continued to support foreign artists and representational

styles in addition to native born artists.

In contrast to many other texts on the English landscape, in this dissertation I

emphasize that the concern over nationality belongs to a specific historical context.   In

the late seventeenth, early eighteenth centuries, there was a growing concern over the

nationality of the artists practicing in England. In the wake of the Glorious Revolution,

perhaps in response to the Stuart kings' support of foreign artists, there was an increasing

desire to promote native talent. In 1706, for instance, Bainbridge Buckeridge called for

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[4] Ian Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680 – 1768* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 11.

[5] William Sanderson, *Graphice. The Use of the Pen and Pensil.: Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting : In Two Parts*, (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), 26, Early English Books Online, http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com.

the formation of a British Art Academy.[6] As Michael Foss notes, the patriotism that

emerged in this period induced suspicion and contempt for foreign artists, a view which

influenced subsequent studies of seventeenth-century art.[7]

Due to the perceived value of the "Englishness" of the landscape many studies

have ignored the earlier period in favour of the late seventeenth century and beyond.

Scholars, such as Andrew Wilton, for example, set the start of the English landscape

tradition with the Restoration period when a British school, or a group of predominantly

English artists, began to depict the English landscape.[8] Robert Burden, for similar

reasons, unequivocally equates eighteenth-century landscapes with Englishness in his

2006 "Introduction: Englishness and Spatial Practices."[9] However, as Craig Ashley

Hanson notes in his 2009 *The English Virtuoso:*

> To fault the Restoration and early decades of the Georgian period for not
> developing a significant 'native' tradition of the arts is to fall into the trap of
> anachronism, since the nationalist expectations that such a judgement presupposes
> emerge only in the eighteenth century. In short, such expectations belong to the
> reception history of the very works that we credit with instigating a 'native' school
> in the first place.[10]

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[6] Bainbridgge Buckeridge, "An Essay Towards an English-School, with the Lives and Characters of Above 100 Painters," in Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters Containing a Compleat Treatise of Painting, Defiguring, and the Use of Several School of Europe, as well Ancient as Modern* (London: J. Nutt Near Stationers-Hall, 1706), Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[7] Michael Foss, *The Age of Patronage: The Arts in Society 1660 – 1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1971), 200.

[8] Andrew Wilton, *Five Centuries of British Painting: From Holbein to Hodgkin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 42 – 43.

[9] Robert Burden, "Introduction: Englishness and Spatial Practices," in *Landscape and Englishness*, eds. Robert Burden and Stephen Kohl (New York and Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B. U., 2006), 23.

[10] Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 16.

Thus, in this dissertation I position the desire for the "Englishness" of the landscape within the context of its emergence at the close of the century, rather than conceiving of it as an essential part of the genre's definition. Furthermore, I explores the English landscape genre as it was practiced in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a genre that was created through the blending of foreign examples and expressions with native interests in the land and its representation. English landscapes in early modern England are thus conceived as the ones produced for an English audience, regardless of the nationality of the artist or subject.

Beyond limiting the temporal scope of the study of landscape, the emphasis on "Englishness" has also led to an abundance of writing upon landscape and nationalism, which, while critical, also perpetuates through repetition the ideology it proposes to challenge. Elizabeth K. Helsinger, for example, discusses at length "the power of landscapes to create national consciousness."[11] Often, this nationalistic narrative is based in part on a faulty assumption that the genre emerged only in the late seventeenth century, specifically after the Glorious Revolution. However, the connection between nationalism and the landscape has a specific history, tied to a cultural moment that begins temporally where this dissertation ends, in the late seventeenth century. This complicated history is debated in a number of texts, including Helsinger's, in addition to Nigel Everett's *The Tory View of Landscape*.[12] Without denying the importance of proto-nationalistic

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[11] Elizabeth K. Helsinger, "Land and National Representation in Britain," in *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750 – 1880*, eds. Michael Rosenthal, Christina Payne and Scott Wilcox (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 17.

[12] Nigel Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). Everett links the rise of the a "Whig" landscape with a more aesthetic iteration of the genre after the

discourses in later landscape iterations, in this dissertation I displace the primacy of the

ideology by exploring earlier versions of the genre in their specific context. Instead of

focusing upon the landscape as a symptom of a nationalist ideology, I explore the

multiple and diverse views that have been projected and negotiated through various

iterations of the genre over the century.

Even more theoretically fraught than the concept of "Englishness" is the definition

of "landscape" as a genre. As I will explore, since the incorporation of the term into the

English language in the late sixteenth century, a multitude of definitions have accrued to

the word. In modernist art history, however, the genre's definition narrowed to one that

values representation of the land "for its own sake;" a definition that has a very particular

history that will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

In art historical writing, "landscape" is most frequently identified with an

anachronistic definition that emphasizes the genre's aesthetic purity. As W. J. T. Mitchell

describes,

Glorious Revolution of 1688. As Everett notes, a common element in the history of landscape is the emergence after 1688 of a Whig landscape that reflected, in its rough, proto-picturesque style, the liberty of the nation bought with the restrictions of the powers of the monarch as well as the relative freedoms of the democratic United Kingdom compared to absolutist France. Not coincidentally, as will be discussed in chapter four of this dissertation, the emergence of an aesthetically 'pure' landscape is strongly tied to the politically ascendant classes who, as Nick Grindle explores in his 2006 "Virgil's Prospects," use the representation of their lands as mirrors and projections of their political acumen. Everett, 38; Nick Grindle, "Virgil's Prospects: The Gentry and the Representation of Landscape in Addison's Theory of the Imagination," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, 2 (2006): 193 – 195. The Whig landscape is also noted in: Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740 - 1860* (Berkely, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986) 17; Helsinger, "Land and National Representation in Britain," 18; Wilton 52 – 59.

In art-historical terms, pure landscape is a painting in which natural
scenery is depicted with no adulteration of narrative, allegory, drama, or
other external elements; ideally, in its purest form, pure landscape is even
free of any human figures that might suggest an interpretable situation, a
readable scenario beyond the pure display of natural forms for their own
sake.[13]

The landscape is further located along a sliding scale between descriptive and ideal forms

of representation, with some scholars, particularly modernist ones, showing a preference

for the latter. Like the importance of "Englishness," the ideal of aesthetic purity emerged

within a specific historical context. As will be discussed in greater length in Chapter

Three, the ideal English landscape was the product of changing social values combined

with an influx of French and Italian art theory in the late seventeenth century.

The preference for an aesthetically ideal landscape has long dominated accounts

of the genre. Kenneth Clark's 1976 *Landscape into Art,* in addition to the more recent

scholarship of Michael Rosenthal and Wilton, often downplays the importance of the

"minor" topographical works of the seventeenth century compared to the "great"

landscapes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[14] The most enduring source of this

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[13] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600 – 1800, Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 104.

[14] Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (London: John Murray, 1976). Michael Rosenthal, *British Landscape Painting* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1982), 20 – 21; Wilton, 45. A similar binary is also evident in: Charles Hemming, *British Landscape Painters: A History and Gazetteer* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1989), 34.

elision between the landscape genre and aesthetic purity, however, is found within Ernst

Gombrich's 1950 "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape."[15]

      The influence of Gombrich's work runs deep in art history and with respect to the

landscape genre helped to codify not only the aesthetic purity of the genre, but also the

role of the Southern Renaissance in its development. According to Gombrich, the genre

of the "pure" landscape, the display of natural forms for their own sake, did not slowly

emerge from the background of other genres of painting, but rather found its

revolutionary beginnings within the growing "aesthetic consciousness" of Southern

Renaissance writers such as Leon Batista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci.[16] Written in

response to the dominance of stylistic histories of art, Gombrich proposes an institutional

history that places the development of the genre within the context of Southern

Renaissance theorizing around art, the artist, and the representation of nature. Such

theories helped to prime patrons, collectors and artists for the emergence of landscape as

a *unique* genre. According to Gombrich, Renaissance art theory "provided the syntax of

a language without which the expression would have been impossible."[17]

      Beyond the importance of the aesthetic purity of the genre, Gombrich's essay also

supports a hierarchical binary between Southern and Northern Renaissance values. For

scholars such as Svetlana Alpers the opposition of the theoretical Southern Renaissance

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[15] E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," 1950, in *Gombrich on the Renaissance. Volume 1: Norm and Form*, 4th Ed. (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 2014), 107 – 121.

[16] Mitchell, "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," 104.

[17] Gombrich, 121.

and the practical Northern Renaissance has long limited the study of Northern art practices. As Alpers notes, "To a remarkable extent the study of art and its history has been determined by the art of Italy and its study."[18] While Gombrich acknowledges the prior existence of landscapes in the art of the Northern Renaissance, he rejects such depictions for not conforming to the definition of "pure" landscape. In contrast to the world landscapes, seasonals, and topographical works produced in the North, which Gombrich describes as mere adjuncts to other genre works, the landscapes of Italy were created for their own sake and defined by a sophisticated theoretical system elaborated on in written treatises.[19] This hierarchical opposition has effected subsequent definitions of the English landscape; many of the earlier, more Northern forms of the genre have frequently been marginalized in favour of the "aesthetic" works of the later seventeenth century. The bias in favour of the Southern-style landscape is echoed in works such as Charles Hemming's 1989 *British Landscape Painters* and Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring's 1965 *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*; the latter work goes so far as to define the English landscape by its Italianate influence.[20]

However, as I shall explore in more depth, the English landscape, especially in the early seventeenth century, was predominantly influenced by the arts and artists of Northern Europe; as is evident in Henry Peacham's often repeated description:

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[18] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), xix.

[19] Gombrich, 108-109.

[20] Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, *Italian Landscapes in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700 – 1800*, 2nd Ed. (London: Frank Coss & Co, Ltd., 1965), iii – 14.

"Landtskip is a Dutch word, & it is as much as wee shoulde say in English landship, or expressing of the land by hills, woodes, castles, seas, valleys, ruines, hanging rocks, Citties, Townes &c. As farre as may been shewed within our Horizon."[21]

As shall be explored further in Chapters One and Two, Southern Renaissance theory, which for Gombrich formed the syntax for the genre, was difficult to access in early seventeenth-century England. In contrast, artists, writers and patrons were much more influenced by the availability of artworks, artists and treatises from their Northern neighbours. This does not suggest that the ideas of the Southern Renaissance had no effect upon the development of the genre in England, after the Restoration such theories became increasingly available within England, but rather that iterations of the genre in England were strongly influenced by styles from across Europe. Furthermore, the definition of the genre was determined not solely by its institutional framework, but also by the native social and political discourses that shaped the English translation and assimilation of continental art theory from both Northern and Southern sources.

In recent years, a number of scholars have sought to balance the history of the English landscape by reincorporating more descriptive and topographical iterations into the canon. While many such scholars have approached the field from the context of cultural geography, such as Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, others, including John

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[21] Henry Peacham, *The Art of Dravving Vvith the Pen, and Limming in Water Colours: More Exactlie Then Heretofore Taught and Enlarged with the True Manner of Painting Vpon Glasse, the Order of Making Your Furnace, Annealing, &C. Published, for the Behoofe of All Young Gentlemen, or Any Els That Are Desirous for to Become Practicioners in This Excellent, and Most Ingenious Art* (London: Printed by Richard Braddock for Willion Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606), 28, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

Harris and Nick Grindle, have given deeper consideration to the creation of related sub-genres such as the estate landscape.[22] While the writing of Grindle and Harris has greatly improved the academic prospects for the study of "descriptive" iterations of the landscape, and provided excellent foundations for my own work, they fail to set a broad enough scope to explain the interrelation of the ideal and descriptive, thereby reinforcing the separation of the two extremes. One of the unique elements in this dissertation is that it unites the study of both ideal and topographical varieties of landscape within a single discourse.

The definition of landscape thus employed herein is not one that adheres to an anachronistic and narrow definition of the genre as ideal or descriptive, but rather one that seeks out landscape in a broader discursive field. As such I draw much influence from recent criticisms of Gombrich, most notably W. J. T. Mitchell's 1995 "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," and Larry Silver's 2006 *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes:*

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[22] Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984); Denis Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10, 1. (1985): 45 – 62; Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Stephen Daniels, "Godly Prospects: English Estate Portraiture, 1670 – 1730," in *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography*, N. Alfrey and S. Daniels, eds (Nottingham: University Art Gallery Castle Museum, 1990), 9 – 12; Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), Nick Grindle, "Virgil's Prospects: The Gentry and the Representation of Landscape in Addison's Theory of the Imagination," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, 2 (2006): 185 – 95; Nick Grindle, *"The Wise Surveyor": Surveying and Representaton in British House ad Estate Portraiture, c. 1650 – 1715* (PhD Dissertation. London: University Collge of London, no date); Nick Grindle, "New Ways of Seeing: Landscape Painting and Visual Culture c. 1620 – c. 1870," in David Bindam, ed., *The History of British Art 1600 – 1700* (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2008), 121 – 152; John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Sotheby's Institute, 1995); John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870,* Rev. Ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper and Row Publications Inc., 1985).

The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market.[23]   One of the key flaws that

Mitchell locates in Gombrich's essay is that of its simplicity: Gombrich, in confining

landscape to the realm of aesthetic purity, isolates the landscape from the changing power

relations in religion and politics, elements that in the same period shaped the broader

definition of the word in addition to the reception of the genre. In contrast, Mitchell

proposes to decentre the ideal of "pure landscape" in favour of exploring alternate

definitions of landscape and the cultural occurrences that have shaped the changing

conception of the genre.[24]

Methodology

In some ways, this dissertation can be understood as a response to Mitchell's

critique of Gombrich. In "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape" Mitchell contrasts

Gombrich's narrative of an institutional creation of the genre with a more dialectical

approach that includes changing social, political and cultural relations. As he notes,

> The idea is to challenge the whole discourse of origins and progress driven by a
> unilinear sequence of causes and effects. In its place, I suggest, we need to
> construct a set of dialectical histories produced by multiple determinations, critical
> histories that attend to the sort of narratives Gombrich offers us, but continually
> deconstruct their claims to origin and progress.[25]

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[23] Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2006).

[24] Mitchell, "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," 111.

[25] Ibid., 110.

Following Mitchell's example, I have organized this dissertation not as a progressive history of landscapes, but rather as four related iterations of the genre, explored within the contexts that gave them shape, both within and without the institutional boundaries of art history. One key assumption at the centre of this endeavour is the rejection of a stable or universal definition of the genre. Like Mitchell, I wish to demolish "the notion of 'pure landscape,' devoid of textuality, history, allegory, or readability of any sort."[26]

While Mitchell's essay sets the theoretical stage, he does not provide an example of how to put such an approach into practice – for inspiration I have turned to a number of prominent scholars from the fields of art history, cultural geography and literary studies. The approach undertaken can most broadly be called post-structuralist, with an emphasis on the kind of discursive analysis popularised in the writings of scholars such as Michel Foucault and Raymond Williams. While there are a number of authors who exemplify this approach, including Chris Fitter, Kenneth Robert Olwig, Brian Short, John R. Gold and George Revill, and to a lesser extent James Turner and Denis Cosgrove, the most influential in the context of this work have been Mitchell's "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," Andrew McRae's *God Speed the Plough*, Kari McBride's 2001 *Country House Discourse,* and Silver's *Peasant Scenes*.[27] These works feature approaches that

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[26] Ibid., 115.

[27] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*; Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); John R. Gold and George Revill, *Representing the Environment* (New York: Routledge Press, 2004); Kari Boyd McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2001); Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500 – 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kenneth Robert Olwig, *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From*

balance breadth of discourse with the particularity of content in order to avoid the pitfalls of generality and particularity alike.

In order to contain their discourse many authors have chosen to emphasize the imposed boundaries within which they work. McBride's work, for example, is enclosed within a specific time period (sixteenth to seventeenth century) and a restricted subject (the country house). Similarly, McRae's study of the literary representation of the rural is narrowed temporally (1500 – 1600), by subject (rural representation) and form (literary iterations). Like McBride and McRae, Silver takes on a broad subject area (the development of genre works in the sixteenth century), and then confines his discourse to a specific context (sixteenth century Antwerp), such that generalizing does not override particularity. In the case of the present study the work is enclosed by the study of objects of visual art (painting, drawings and prints), a specific genre (landscape), a historical time period (seventeenth century) and a country of origin (England).

Boundaries such as these help to confine the subject of the discourse while freeing the author to explore its broader dissemination, translation and iteration across contexts. McBride, for example, explores the changing role and image of the country house from the sixteenth to seventeenth century, focusing on the interactions of the literary discourse with broader social and political changes, including the transition from feudalism to

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Britain's Renaissance to America's New World (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Brian Short, "Images and Realities in the English Rural Community: An Introduction," in *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis*, ed. Brian Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630 – 1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., 1979).

capitalism and the rising political significance of landowners in contrast to the monarchy. McBride explicitly proposes to explore the subject across a broad range of contexts, including a diverse array of written works, treatises and visual works as well as geographical and statistical data. Through this approach she is able to balance indeterminacy, change and negotiation with general conclusions without it becoming too simplistic, although at times it does come close to alternatively dissolving into diversity or solidifying into doctrine.

Silver engages in a similar project, describing his approach as one of viewing "art works as collaborative creations, conditioned by social and cultural conventions and constraints, not to mention a constellation of materials, markets, and other elements of production that condition any manufacture and distribution."[28] In place of teleological art histories, Silver focuses on innovation, iteration and variation, stressing that neither one ideal genre-type nor a predictable development is to be seen, except through hindsight. His individual chapters analyze the different genre-types in the context of their production and dissemination.

Like McBride and Silver, in this dissertation I will include chapters that explore the three general tropes of landscape evident in seventeenth-century England, in addition to the variety which these forms assume in the context of their iteration. These tropes will be examined in isolation in Chapters One to Three, and as they occur in combination in the estate landscape in Chapter Four. In form and content I seek to push the boundaries of the study of the English landscape. The episodic nature of the chapters,

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[28] Silver, 10.

each focusing upon a particular context and related iteration, challenge the stability of a singular monolithic English landscape, simultaneously promoting diversity and discursivity while undermining one's ability to hold onto a unified ideological prospect.

Furthermore, the content included within the following pages adds unique insight into specific works as well as general forms of landscapes produced over this neglected period in English art history. By delving into both art institutional in addition to economic, social and political contexts, I offer new perspectives on the multiple styles of landscapes produced in this period.

The challenges faced herein can best be described as attempting to strike a balance between the general and the particular. Silver compares this tension to Ferdinand de Saussure's use of "langue" and "parole," whereby the named genre "landscape" cannot in practice be wholly separated from the contextually determined iterations within the historical moment.[29] Yet, in order to conceive of a genre at all one must still be able to refer to some generalities. One solution to this problem, proposed by Chris Fitter, is to linguistically differentiate between the general and particular.   Whereas for Fitter "landscape" refers to the broader genre that structures a "nature sensibility," "Landskip derives … from the particular complex of values by which a highly advanced commercial civilization, of secular and materialist tendencies, engages and construes the natural world."[30] In this dissertation "landscape" will similarly be used to emphasize breadth, a

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[29] Silver, xiii.

[30] Fitter, 10.

general interest in representing the land, whereas specific iterations, such as *kermis* or *estate landscape*, will be used to emphasize particularity and difference.[31]

To further suggest the iterability of landscape as a genre I shall refer to Raymond Williams' concept of dominant, residual and emergent, in order to emphasize the interrelationship between the varieties of landscapes produced over the seventeenth century. For Williams there exists in society "a central system of practices, meanings and values, which we can properly call dominant and effective…"[32] This dominant culture is produced through processes of incorporation, such as take place in family or educational institutions, on a continuing basis. Within dominant culture alternative and oppositional forces continue to work, the former often being accommodated by the dominant culture.[33] Such forces, Williams describes, may be either residual or emergent. Residual implies "experiences, meanings and values, which cannot be verified or cannot be expressed in terms of the dominant culture … practiced on the basis of the residue – cultural as well as social – of some previous social formation."[34] In contrast to residual, emergent refers to "new meanings and values, new practices, new significances … continually being created."[35] As will be noted in Chapter Two, while the landscape predominantly appeared as a symbolic background in royal portraits of the Elizabethan era – signifying

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[31] The choice to use a variety of terms rather than a pair of stable ones has been made to emphasize the tension between the general and the iterable.

[32] Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory"in *Culture and Materialism* (New York and London: Verso, 2005), 38.

[33]Ibid. 38 – 40.

[34] Ibid. 40.

[35] Ibid.41.

the extent to which the Crown served as the uniting force in the land - as antiquarian interest in local history grew one began to see the emergence of landscapes in which the topography took precedence over the symbolic representation of the monarch. Similarly, in Chapter Four while topographic accuracy was the dominant form deployed in estate landscapes, residual symbolic tropes and emergent idealistic concerns blend seamlessly into the final product, creating an elision between connotative and denotative elements. Williams' framework of dominant, residual and emergent allows this dissertation to reintroduce the complexity of cultural production into the history of landscape.

More than simply a genre, the landscape is a social practice. As Williams observes, "we cannot separate literature and art from other kinds of social practice, in such a way as to make them subject to quite special and distinct laws. They may have quite specific features as practices, but they cannot be separated from the general social process."[36] Thus, in this dissertation I incorporate scholarship from a number of disciplines beyond the purview of art in order to provide a fuller context for the production of landscape over the seventeenth century. Among the most predominant disciplines brought to bear are: art history, social and cultural history, human geography, cartographic, economic and political history. I explore each context is as a mode to reveal the complexity at work within the production of landscapes over the seventeenth century.

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[36] Ibid., 44.

Chapter Overview

      This dissertation is artificially framed by a temporal moment, the seventeenth-century, a location, England, and a genre, the landscape. However, the definition of this genre is wider than past histories have accommodated. Rather than use an anachronistic definition of the genre as aesthetically "pure" and "English," landscape is here defined by how it was first conceived in seventeenth-century England, as a depiction of the natural world. Throughout this work landscape is viewed in its variety. As Garrett A. Sullivan notes with respect to dramatic iterations, just as there are multiple relations to land, so there are multiple landscapes.[37] The chapters of this dissertation, therefore, explore the genre from four different perspectives (symbolic, topographic, ideal and estate landscape) and within each a variety of iterations are examined. It should be noted that the first three categories are purely conceptual, based upon general forms and influences rather than any predetermined rules. Indeed, many of the particular iterations explored under this rubric exceed the possibility of singular categories, while many others fail to conform to any formal classification at all. Rather than impose new limits, these divisions are used to expose the contexts that shaped some of the more prevalent forms deployed within landscapes of the seventeenth century. To add clarity to this endeavor, each of the first three chapters focuses upon one particular formal perspective and the contexts that shaped that viewpoint while the final chapter explores their combination in the estate landscape. The chapters can thus be understood as independent studies in their own right, or taken together to express a panoramic view of seventeenth-century landscapes.

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[37] Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 5.

Chapter One, "The Symbolic Landscapes of Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," examines early representations that reflect a residual medieval relationship to the land. Visually, many of the works produced subscribe to a symbolic program that has its roots within medieval art and culture. These early expressions are highly didactic in nature, often using emblems and allegory to represent the land as a natural extension of the traditional feudal hierarchy. Even while socially the structure of feudalism was being undermined by land and title sales in addition to agricultural innovations such as crop rotation, pasture farming and enclosure, these early landscapes often use tropes imported from Dutch genres to celebrate the imagined ease of the past. In a number of landscapes, for example, the layout of the figures and landmarks in a given environment serve as reminders of the happy reciprocity of the feudal hierarchy. Whereas in other works the use of pastoral emblems serves to naturalise contemporaneous environmental changes, such as enclosure, that might otherwise threaten that feudal order. Many of the iterations explored in this first chapter express attempts to represent the land not as it is viewed, but rather as a parerga to the feudal discourse that was fading in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Whereas the symbolic landscapes of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries express a residual attachment to medieval social and artistic forms, the contemporaneous topographically inclined works reflect an emergent interest in new developments within natural philosophy, often favoured by a new generation of parvenu landowners. Chapter Two, "Drawn from Life: Empiricism and Civic Landscapes in the Seventeenth Century," explores the growth of naturalistic representation from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth century. While the symbolic landscapes captivated the

elite's passion for allegory and mystery, the more descriptive civic landscapes appealed to a growing interest in an empirical view of the world: one in which sight and truth were equivalent. In these works the land was exposed as a visual fact, open to scopic colonization and exploitation. However, despite an emphasis on naturalistic visual tropes, many of these landscapes, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, often incorporate residual symbolic elements into ostensibly accurate records of the English land.

While, as will be discussed in Chapters One and Two, religious constraints and trade restrictions limited the incorporation of Southern Renaissance forms to a select audience in the early seventeenth century, by the mid century the increasing availability of Humanist discourses and Italianate works sparked a fashion for poetic, classical and ideal landscape forms. Chapter Three, "*Ut Pictura Poésis* and the Ideal Landscape of the Seventeenth Century*," examines the influence of the Horatian ideal on the landscape genre, exploring the impact of the redefinition of the artisan as artist in the closing decades of the century. In the early part of the century the Whitehall circle of collectors had promoted Italianate fashions at court; the crown in particular deployed classical tropes, such as the pastoral, in many of its visual expressions. However, in this early period, the use of classical forms often served superficial decorative or didactic ends. With the further spread of Humanist discourse after the Restoration the dominance of the decorative accoutrements of classical art receded as theories such as *ut picture poésis* gained traction. Of particular importance was the idea that painting, like poetry, required an artist to go beyond imitation and employ his imagination and grace to create a representation of the land at its *best*. The intellectualization of the artistic process in this period mirrored a similar shift in societal values; as status was increasingly defined by

one's participation in elite, and often intellectual and leisurely pursuits, collectors came to favour artistic expressions that reflected their distance from common physical labour.

The symbolic, topographic and ideal landscape forms emerge within specific contexts, their expressions were shaped by both available artistic discourses and broader economic, social and political concerns, as explored in detail in Chapters One to Three. However, these traopes rarely occur in isolation and nowhere is this blending more readily observable than in the popular sub-genre of the estate landscape. Chapter Four, "A Prospect Befitting a Gentleman: Estate Landscapes in the Seventeenth Century," explores these landscapes as projections of the possessions and interests of the politically ascendant country gentleman. While much has been written on this sub-genre since the 1980s, what is unique in this chapter is its re-contextualisation within the existing artistic discourses discussed in previous chapters in addition to the specific interrogation of the economic, social and political contexts that led to the predominance of this sub-genre by the close of the century. Moreover, unlike other studies that focus upon singular narratives, such as the rise of a Whig history, this chapter exposes the diversity of political views (Royalist, Tory, Whig, etc.) projected in estate landscapes of the late seventeenth century. Chapter Four not only provides a unique perspective on the political and ideological role of the estate landscape in this period, but also gives an example of how the re-examination of earlier landscape forms impacts the study of established fields.

Conclusions

The landscape genre is a product of two interrelated discourses: one based in the artistic institutions of the period and the other grounded in the changing economic, social and political significance of the land. Exploration of the genre in the seventeenth century

poses an academic challenge largely due to the rate of change within both of these fields. Artistically, England was subject to varying waves of continental influence, including Northern and Southern Renaissance concepts. On a social level, the transition from a feudal to a capitalist model of land management, a major civil war followed by successive periods of unrest and Restoration fostered many diverse views of the native land. The early modern English landscape is thus a genre defined by its variety and iterability.

While each chapter of this dissertation focuses on one group of iterations and the social or artistic contexts that shaped them, it should be noted that these iterations often occur contemporaneously and frequently overlap within a single work. For example, Jan Sieberecht's c. 1690 *Landscape with Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames* (Figure 16) deploys symbolic, topographic and ideal elements within a single work. Unlike other explorations of the English landscape that apply strict, often anachronistic definitions to the genre, in this dissertation I explore landscape from a broad perspective, one that not only seeks out the aesthetic frameworks that shaped it, but the economic, social and political discourses that gave the genre significance in the period. In taking such a broad approach and viewing the landscape in dialogue with broader social tensions, I question the foundations of the definition of the genre itself.

Chapter One: The Symbolic Landscapes of Elizabethan and Early Stuart England

"Landskip" was introduced into the English language with Richard Haydocke's 1598 *Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Painting*, a translation of Giovanni Lomazzo's 1584 *Tratto Della Arte Della Pittura*.[38] The use of the term in this translation, however, provides little insight into the genre, beyond implying that it is loosely concerned with the representation of nature. This ambiguity is not unusual, however, since much Elizabethan art discourse is marked by similar linguistic imprecision. Rather than define a specific genre, "landskip" in the Elizabethan era was used to refer to a wide variety of representations of nature. This first chapter explores three iterations of landscape from this period: landscape as *parerga, seasonal, and kermis*. While many histories of the genre gloss over these forms, I contend that given their inclusion in contemporaneous definitions of landscape it is as important to interrogate the symbolic tropes as any other iterations. Despite their visual differences, each iteration reflects the enduring influence of Northern European landscape forms, an interest in symbolic modes of representation and a persistent faith in a feudal relationship to the land and society of England.

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[38] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Painting, Book 1 – 5*, trans. Richard Haydocke (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598), 94, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

1.1   The Particularity of the Art World in Early Modern England

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the definition of landscape, like that of painting or art more generally, encompassed a broad variety of expressions. In Elizabethan England, the visual arts served a practical and largely decorative purpose that was reflected in treatises, such as the Anonymous 1573 *A Very Proper Treatise,* that, unlike contemporaneous Italian works, focused almost exclusively on practical instructions for the artist.[39] As Ian Pears reminds us, in the late sixteenth century, knowledge of art was defined by an ability to draw and paint rather than as an aesthetic or intellectual enterprise.[40] Artists were not endowed with any particular genius, instead well into the seventeenth century they were referred to as artisans, workmen, artificers or craftsmen.[41] Their instruction was based on apprenticeships and eventual membership in a guild, such as the Painters-Stainers Guild that was incorporated under Elizabeth I.[42] Furthermore, the scope of artistic practice was far from specialized. The Royal Serjeant

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[39] Anon., *A Very Proper Treatise, Wherein is Briefly Sett Forth the Arte of Limming* (London, 1573) Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[40] Ian Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680 – 1768* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 180.

[41] These are the terms most often used in written treatises, including: Nicholas Hilliard, *The Art of Limning. A New Edition of A Treatise Concerning the Art of Limning*, trans. Arthur F. Kinney (Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1983), 15 – 16; Sir Henry Wotton Knight, *The Elements of Architecture, Collected by Henry Wotton Knight, from the best authors and examples* (London: John Bill, 1624), 84 – 85, Early English Books Online http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[42] Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, 118.

Painter, for instance, was responsible for palace decoration, royal entertainments, banners, coaches, and so on, in addition to portraits and other genres.[43]

Such breadth was reflected in the language used to discuss the visual arts. As Lucy Gent notes in *Picture and Poetry 1560 – 1620*, "picture'' could mean either a visually represented image or a poetic description, whereas "painting" could be associated with anything to which paint had been applied.[44] This linguistic ambiguity is similarly evident, for example, in Henry Peacham's 1606 description: "*Pictura*, or painting in generall, is an art which either by draughte of bare lines, lively colours, cutting out or embossing, expresseth any thing." [45] To add clarity to the discourse surrounding art, by the late Elizabethan period some writers did begin to distinguish between painting in general and "artificial" or "curious" painting in particular. "Curious" or "artificial" painting in the period is defined as an "illusionistic representation of reality, using techniques of shadow and perspective."[46] It is within this latter category that the landscape genre was located.

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[43] Susan Foister, "Foreigners at Court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the Painter-Stainers Company," in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts. Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, ed. David Howarth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 36.

[44] Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560 – 1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamingston Spa, Warwickshire: James Hall Publishing Ltd., 1981), 6-8.

[45] Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing With the Pen, and Limming in Water Colours: More Exactlie Then Heretofore Taught and Enlarged with the True Manner of Painting Upon Glasse, the Order of Making Your Furnace, Annealing, &C. Published, for the Behoofe of All Young Gentlemen, or Any Els That Are Desirous for to Become Practicioners in This Excellent, and Most Ingenious Art* (London: Printed by Richard Braddock for Willion Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606), 1, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[46] Richard Williams, "Collecting and Religion in Late Sixteenth-Century England," in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 171.

The earliest definitions of landscape were ambiguous. While Haydocke's translation of Lomazzo introduces "landskip" into the English language, his use of the phrase does little to exemplify its use. "*Barnazano*, an excellent Landskip worker counterfeited Strawberries so livelie upon a wal in a Landskip, that the Peacockes (supposing them to bee natural) pecked at them."[47] When Haydocke translated Lomazzo's 1584 *Tratto Della Arte Della Pittura* he omitted the chapter that Lomazzo had originally devoted to the genre, leaving his English audience with a vague sense that landskip was connected with a general representation of nature.[48] Unlike sixteenth-century Italy, which E. H. Gombrich identifies with an "aesthetic consciousness" sparked by a growing body of literature that sought to elevate the status of art, the art world of England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries remained tied to a broader, medieval, conception of artistic practice.[49]

The difference between the two contexts can be attributed to the lingering effect of England's conversion to Protestantism under Henry VIII.[50] As John Peacock remarks, "Like other Protestant states, England had developed a culture wary of the visual arts."[51] The iconoclasm of the Tudor era left a lasting impact on the development of English art

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[47] Lomazzo, 94.

[48] I will discuss reasons for this omission below. Lomazzo, 94.

[49] E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in E. H. Gombrich, *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance. I*, 3rd Ed. (London and New York: Phaidon, 1978), 110.

[50] This is a simplification. A fuller explanation of the differences between the two contexts could well fill another dissertation entirely.

[51] Lindsay Stainton, "Drawing in Late Stuart England," in *Drawing in England: from Hilliard to Hogarth*, Lindsay Stainton and Christopher White, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13; John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 36.

leading to an intense suspicion not only of "popish" subjects but also of the role of painting in general.   In 1571, after Queen Elizabeth had been excommunicated by the Pope, a bill was passed banning the import of suspicious items, including all pictures from "the sea of Rome."[52] Travel to the continent, and to the Italian states in particular, was restricted for many Englishman; travellers were subject to threats from both the Inquisition and bandits, and south of Rome escorts of soldiers were needed to secure food, shelter and safety.[53]

In the seventeenth century it was still illegal to import paintings for sale or auction in London.[54] Those who wished to purchase foreign works, therefore, had to go abroad themselves or send an agent in their stead. Many prospective collectors relied on friends, family and acquaintances to purchase works on their behalf.[55] These restrictions meant that collectors were frequently forced to buy sight unseen, trusting in the taste and knowledge of their acquaintances.   In the face of strict import laws around artworks, many collectors chose instead to import the artist, but even this practice was fraught. The Painter-Stainers Guild required that foreign artists working in England first secure

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[52] Williams, "Collecting and Religion," 180.

[53] John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 11. This is not to say that there was no travel to Italy, but rather that it was often undertaken by those classes who could afford protection. Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel was one such scholar who was able to undertake travel to Italy in the early seventeenth century. James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala Publishers, 2012), 50.

[54] Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, 1.

[55] As noted by James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, foreign tradesmen and agents played a key role in securing continental art for English patrons. Stourton and Sebag-Montfiore, 12, 31, 54 – 58.

permission before setting up practice.[56] Indeed the guild often tried to initiate

proceedings against artists who attempted to work without their leave.[57]

The suspicion of "popish" subjects extended to the treatises that were being

translated and written in England during the sixteenth century.   Even when Italian texts

were available to English readers, discussions of recent Renaissance productions were

often overlooked due to suspicious religious content.[58] Haydocke notes, for example,

that he has omitted the original discussion of a number of works as they were not

appropriate subjects for the "reformed church."[59]

While studying "physic" at New College, Oxford, Haydocke worked on his

translation of Lomazzo's 1584 *Tratto della arte della Pittura* and the related 1590 *Idea*

del Tempio della Pittura, two treatises that fall within the late Renaissance tradition of

providing not only practical instructions for artists, but also philosophical guidance.[60]

Originally derived from a single body of material, over time these treatises were rewritten

and reorganized into two texts, the former dealing largely with rules and techniques and

the latter, *Idea*, with the theory.[61]

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[56] Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, 1, 68 – 70, 118.

[57] Denys Sutton, "Early Patrons and Collectors," *Apollo* (November 1981): 296.

[58] Gent, 76.

[59] Lomazzo 4.

[60] Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 39.

[61] Gerald M. Ackerman, "Lomazzo's Treatise of Painting." *The Art Bulletin* 49, no. 4 (December 1967): 318 – 319, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3048492.

When Haydocke translated Lomazzo his purpose was "to increase of the knowledge of the Artes," especially the practices current in Italy.[62] However, those theories put forth in Lomazzo were edited by Haydocke for the benefit of his English audience. As Lomazzo remarks in his "Translators Note to the Reader," "Some feawe things I have purposely omitted touching the Matter, and some I have altered upon what reason both kinds of readers will easily conjecture; wherof the one (I am sure) will commend my doing in his secret judgement, and the other (I know) not openly condemne it."[63] Those elements eliminated include overt references to religious subjects, a sixth book on landscape and the translation of the second, more theoretical text, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*. In other words, he translated only what would be understood and accepted by the English public at that time.[64] Indeed, before 1600, as Gent observes, knowledge of such artistic subjects was itself deemed inherently disreputable.[65] Thus early treatises more frequently drew upon "religiously neutral" classical texts such as Pliny and Quintillian.[66]

Generally speaking, artistic treatises, particularly from the continent, were rare additions to English libraries in the sixteenth century. In part, this absence was due to religious tensions, but it was also an effect of the rarity of such printed materials.

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[62] Lomazzo, "Translator's Note to the Reader."

[63] Ibid., "Translator's Note to the Reader."

[64] Ackerman, 318.

[65] Gent, 76.

[66] Albrecht Dürer's work, however, was quite popular in England, perhaps as Gent notes, because Erasmus frames his work within a classical rather than modern context. Moreover, Dürer's *Geometria* and *Symmetria* were well known and widely distributed. The influence of Dürer on the visual arts in England during this period could form the basis of further study. Gent, *Picture and Poetry*, 74 – 77.

Haydocke, in wishing to translate Lomazzo, struggled to find an adequate copy; the first one he obtained was in poor condition after being recovered from a ship wreck and it took some time before he was gifted a second. As Gent points out, it was not until the 1630s that the subject of "art" became widely accepted as part of a collection and even then such works were only available to those with access to a library.[67]

While access to Italian art and treatises was restricted within England, Northern European art forms were more available. Over the course of the sixteenth century, England maintained close ties with its neighbours across the sea. Indeed, under Henry VIII a flourishing trade route was maintained between Antwerp and East Anglia.[68] Subsequently, as Andrew W. Moore notes, in *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk*, whilst trade with the Spanish-Catholic Antwerp was suspended in the 1560s under Queen Elizabeth, trade with the Northern Dutch Republic continued, leading Elizabeth to proclaim in 1585 that the Dutch were England's "most ancient and familiar neighbours."[69] Furthermore, as a result of religious and political tensions in the Spanish Netherlands, England saw a dramatic increase in immigration; by the late sixteenth century one third of the population of Norwich was made up of Netherlanders and Flemish.[70] These immigrants brought with them not only a passion for genres such as landscape that had

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[67] Gent, 70 - 73.

[68] Antwerp was also a source of English government loans, as well as a prominent centre of banking, insurance and credit for the English monarchy until the mid sixteenth century. Andrew W. Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk: A History of Taste and Influence, Fashion, and Collecting* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1988), xii.

[69] Moore, xi-xiii.

[70] Moore, xi – xiii.

been popular in their homeland, but also the artists and craftsmen capable of continuing those traditions on English soil, including artists such as Marcus Gheeraerts and Joris Hoefnagel.[71]

Further fueling the interest in Northern Renaissance art was the growing influence of the print trade.[72] Prints came direct from the Northern Provinces and Spanish Antwerp to port cities, such as Chester, or indirectly from publishers, such as the Antwerp-based Hieronymous Cock, whose works were widely available in London towards the end of the sixteenth century.[73] Moreover, Dutch émigrés, such as Hans Woutneel, set up their own thriving print publishing businesses in London in the 1570s, helping to establish a fashion for works by Dutch and Flemish landscapists including Hans Bol and Jan Bruegel the Elder.[74]

Finally, it was through Dutch writers, such as Karel van Mander, that many English writers and patrons became acquainted with the theories of Southern Renaissance authors like Georgio Vasari, albeit in a particularly Dutch form. Henry Peacham, for example, was only able to access Vasari via a translation by Karel van Mander, which differed significantly from the original.[75] While there was an awareness of Southern

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[71] Sara Trevisan, "The Impact of the Netherlandish Landscape Tradition on Poetry and Painting in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 872.

[72] Trevisan, 872.

[73] Gent, 100; Robert Tattler and Anne Thackray, "Print Collecting in Provincial England Prior to 1650: The Randle Holme Album," *The British Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 2008): 4.

[74] Trevisan 874 – 875.

[75] The impact of van Mander's translation, and the changes he made to the original text, are well documented in Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's* Schilderboeck

Renaissance ideas in late sixteenth-century England, the role of art and suspicion of "popish" imagery often led to a preference for the more available and co-religious work of Northern Europe.

1.2   Landscape as Parerga

The limited access to Italian art theory and the appeal of art from co-religious Northern European countries resulted in the production of landscapes within England that had more in common with Northern forms than those iterations celebrated by E. H. Gombrich. In contrast to the "pure" landscape Gombrich observes in Italy, the English landscape began life as a parerga. As Peacham notes of landscape in 1606, "Seldome it is drawne by itselfe, but in respect & for the sake of some thing else wherefore it falleth among those things which we call Parega, which are additions or adjuncts rather of ornsment."[76] As a parerga the landscape often served broader symbolic, narrative and didactic purposes.

In many early representations, the landscape was a particularly useful parerga to the popular emblem tradition. Like their Northern neighbours many English artists and patrons of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries continued to favour a more didactic approach to representation. During the early Renaissance, emblem books, such

(Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991). A full analysis of the translation of Vasari from its original form through Van Mander and into Peacham would be an excellent study in itself.

[76] Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, 29.

as Geoffrey Whitney's 1586 *A Choice of Emblems and other Devices*, proliferated as a

way to fix a symbolic order in easy to read signs. As Stephen Hannaford describes, "An

emblem points to a readily identifiable social or intellectual convention, one with an

independent existence outside the confines of the dramatic [or visual] work."[77]

Traditionally the emblem was accompanied by a short written passage or title that helped

to secure the meaning of the visual representation.[78] Henry Peacham's 1612 *Minerva*

Britannia, which draws heavily on Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, contains numerous pairings

of stock visual images with prose explanations.[79] As Rosemary Freeman explains in

English Emblem Books, the emblematic symbol was often easily recognizable, and

frequently tied to a set of stock figures and personifications, such as the nine worthies,

the four seasons and the five senses.[80] Unlike allegorical expressions, emblematic

devices were readily identifiable conventions, whose meanings were independent of a

larger narrative scheme.[81]

This interest in symbolic representation was evident throughout Elizabethan

culture. Beyond the pages of the emblem book, the imagery gained wide popularity in

literature, visual arts and theatre. Peacham, for instance, heartily recommends the use of

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[77] Stephen Hannaford, "Symbols, Emblems, Tokens," *Theatre Journal* 33, no. 4 (December 1981):470, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3206771.

[78] Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 14.

[79] Henry Peacham, *Minerua Britanna or A Garden of Heroical Deuises Furnished, and Adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of Sundry Natures, Newly Devised, Moralized, and Published, By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Artes* (London: Printed in Shoe=lane at the Signe of the Faulcon by Wa: Dight, 1612), Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[80] Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948), 91.

[81] Hannaford, 470.

emblems and anagrams in both drawing and painting.[82] Poets and playwrights also drew

upon popular emblematic images in their creations. Cesare Ripa's emblems, as presented

through Peacham, frequently found their way into the entertainments of the Elizabethan

and Early Stuart courts. In masques by Ben Johnson and Inigo Jones, for example, well

known emblems were employed in set design, poetic dialog and in the costumes worn by

participants and masque players alike.[83] Through these masques and their attendant

emblems, the mythology of the court was constructed and disseminated.

The language of the emblem in Renaissance England was extremely popular with

the upper classes - reflecting and structuring their expectations of their social

environment. Emblem writing and reading was considered a gentlemanly occupation,

one that for Peacham, was an essential part of developing the rhetorical skills of the

courtier.[84] The myths, fables and histories referenced in popular emblems were thus most

familiar to the elite educated classes who gained pleasure from identifying these details

and the accompanying moral doctrines.[85] However, as Margaret J. M. Ezell notes, while

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[82] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning Him Absolute in the Most Necessary & Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Bodie That May be Required in a Noble Gentleman* (London: Imprinted by John Legat for Francis Constable, 1622), 10, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[83] Freeman, 79.

[84] Freeman, 3 – 5, 88; Henry Peacham, *Graphice. The Gentleman's Exercise: Or an Exquisite Practise, as Well for Drawing All Manner of Beasts in Their True Portraitures: As Also the Making of All Kinds of Colours, to be Used in Lymming, Painting, Tricking, and Blason of Coates, and Armes, with Divers Others Most Delightfull and Pleasurable Observations, for All Young Gentleman and Others. As Also Serving for the Necessarie Use and Generall Benefite of Diverse Trades-Men and Artificers, as Namly Painters, Joyners, Free-Masons, Cutters and Carvers & C. For the Farther Gracing, Beautifying, and Garnishing of All Their Absolute and Worthie Peeces, Either for Borders, Architecks, or Columnes, & C* (London: Printed for John Browne, 1612), Chap. 2, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, Chap. 13.

[85] Freeman, 19.

textual literacy was limited in the seventeenth century, a broad cross section of society

had a sophisticated enough understanding of common visual signs to read the largely

pictorial broadsheets publicly displayed in taverns and inns.[86]

While emblems were especially popular in Elizabethan society, artistic treatises

continued to expound their benefits into the latter half of the seventeenth century.[87] The

power of emblematic representation lay in the clarity of its denotative capacity. Like

heraldic devices, the emblematic content of paintings was often reinforced by a

preference for flat images, largely defined by colour, line and pattern.[88] The flattened,

light-filled space had two effects: the light-filled space was equated with truth, whereas

the use of shadows and perspective to create illusion was often equated with falsehoods.[89]

Moreover, the flattened decorative space, commonly used in portraits like Hilliard's 1590

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[86] Margaret J. M. Eskell, "The Times Displayed: Late Seventeenth-Century English Commemorative Broadsheets and Media Hybridity," *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 45 (2015), 23, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5699/yearenglstud.45.2015.0012. A comparison of the visual tropes deployed in populist works verses images destined for an upper class audience deserves further study in the future.

[87] Both Henry Peacham and William Salmon recommend the use of emblems. Peacham *The Gentlemen's Exercise* and William Salmon, *Polygraphice, or, the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring, and Dying: In Three Books : I, Shews the Drawing of Men and Other Animal Creatures, Landskips, Countries, and Figures of Various Forms, Ii, the Way of Engraving Etching and Limning with All Their Requisits and Ornaments, Iii, the Way of Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring and Dying According to the Method of the Best Authors Now Extant, Exemplified in the Painting of the Antients, Washing of Maps, Globes or Pictures, Dying of Cloth, Silks, Bones, Wood, Glass, Stones, and Metals, Together with the Way of Varnishing Thereof According to Any Purpose or Intent : The Like Never yet Extant* (London: Printed by E.T. and R.H. for Richard Jones, 1672), Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[88] Gent, 17; John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 44. Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1979), 70.

[89] Hilliard, 29; Gent, 25.

George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland (Plate 1) called upon the viewer to focus upon *meaning* rather than *illusion*.

    George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland functions predominantly as a portrait of the Earl of Cumberland, showing his tournament armour with the glove of the Queen affixed to his plumed bonnet. As with much Tudor portraiture, the focus is on the Earl and his costume; the flatness of the representation suggesting the importance of meaning over naturalism. In this painting, the meaning echoes and reinforces the symbolic program of the Ascension Day Tilts it commemorates. Furthermore, as Freeman observes, many of the important court events dramatized during the Elizabethan period were carefully staged tableaux intended to celebrate the Queen.[90]

    In the case of the Tilts, the symbolic program revolved around a re-presentation of Arthurian romance for the Elizabethan age. The Earl, who made his first appearance as the Queen's champion on Ascension Day, is depicted in the guise of a Knight of Pendragon Castle,[91] reinforcing the mythological link between the Tudor monarchs and Arthur. The Arthurian Romance, a popular element in Tudor culture since the reign of Henry VIII, stressed the desire for "a just, personal monarchy ... who wants a social order dislocated by rogues and parvenus to be set right in its proper ranks, stations, and proportions."[92] The Tudor support for the tale therefore reinforces the justness of their claim to the throne, and also their legitimacy as inheritors of the myths of England.

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[90] Freeman, 49.

[91] "F6479-001" in *National Maritime Museum – Collections Online*, http://www.nmm.ac.uk/collections.

[92] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 150.

Plate 1. Nicholas Hilliard, *George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland*. **1590. Watercolour, gold and silver leaf; on vellum, laid on fruitwood panel. 258 x 176 mm. National Maritime Museum, F6479-001**

This work, however, also includes a yawning vista behind the Earl, a notable departure from earlier portrait traditions.[93] I would argue that the landscape here acts as a conceptual bridge between myth and reality, naturalizing the link between the crown and court, and the values of the past. Furthermore, this work reflects not only an early interest in depicting landscape, but one which, like much Elizabethan art, emphasizes the symbolic role of nature over its naturalistic depiction. The natural world does not appear as a believable or inhabitable space; instead its appearance is akin to a heraldic emblem, a decorative accoutrement to the gentleman depicted.

The popularity of emblems was symptomatic of a broader interest in symbolism in late medieval and early modern English culture. As Chris Fitter observes, "the coexistence of symbolic and material planes to the reality of the visible world maintains a duality in which either may predominate to the exclusion of the other."[94] The centrality of symbolic modes of understanding were reflected in the faith in the natural hierarchical organization of realms, or "the Great Chain of Being," in which not only were the celestial realms ordered from highest to lowest, but so too were the terrestrial realms, including the social strata of man.[95]

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[93] John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: a History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870*, revised ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper Row Publications Inc., 1985), 9.

[94] Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 179.

[95] S. K. Heninger Jr., "Tudor Literature of the Physcial Sciences," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 32. 2 (Feb 1969): 106, Jstor, http://jstor.org/stable/3816682; S. F. Mason, "Science and Religion in 17th Century England," *Past & Present*. 3 (Feb 1953): 30, Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/650034.

This divine order also extended to the perceived harmonious functioning of the traditional feudal state.[96] While having absorbed many of the cultural influences of Renaissance Humanism, early modern England was still a fairly traditional feudal society. Despite the variation of feudal relations across the English counties,[97] one can generally observe, as Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy do, that: "[i]n medieval England land was part of the network of personal relationships and obligations which held people together into a complex hierarchy."[98] This complex hierarchy is documented in *Britannia*, William Camden's 1637 description of the states and degrees of England: "the division of our Commonwealth, it consisteth, of a King or Monarchy, Noblemen or Gentry, Citizens, Free-bourne, whom we call Yeomen, and Artisans and Handicraftsmen."[99]

Each division is defined not only by birth and title held, but also by their relationship to the land and consequent degree of political influence thereby ensured. The crown, the largest landowner in the sixteenth century, was conceived as the entity

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[96] Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: Representation in Agrarian England, 1500 – 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 268.

[97] The variety of feudal settlements is noted in: Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London and Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1985) 7 – 38; Brian Short, "The Evolution of Contrasting Communities within Rural England," in *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis*, ed. Brian Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19 – 43; Joan Thirsk, "English Rural Communities: Structures, Regularities, and Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis*, ed. Brian Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992),44 – 45.

[98] Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy, *Property and Landscape: A Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London: George Phillip, 1987), 29.

[99] William Camden, *Britain, or, A Chorographicall description of the Most flourishing kingdoms, England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Islands Adjoining, out of the depth of antiquitie: beautified with mappes of the severall shires of England*, trans. Philémon Holland (1637), 163, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

that united the land.[100] Nowhere is this more powerfully represented than in Marcus

Gheeraerts the Younger's c. 1592 portrait *Elizabeth I*, also known as the Ditchley Portrait

(Plate 2).

In this work Elizabeth straddles the map of England, uniting all the diverse

counties by her presence. Here the monarch is not only crowned ruler of England, but

also depicted as head of the natural order – a natural force towering over the land and

splitting storm clouds in her wake.   While her divine right to rule is suggested by the

three stands of elliptical unknotted pearls, representing the three rings of the celestial

sphere, and by the armillary sphere, a model of the celestial sphere, that she wears as an

earring on her left ear, her worldly role is signified by her firm stance upon the map of

England, and Ditchley, Oxfordshire in particular.[101] The painting reinforces the political

importance of the crown's status as primary landowner. As Katharine S. H. Wyndam

relates in her essay on crown land and royal patronage, the ability of the Tudor monarchs

to gift landownership in return for service helped to secure political stability, especially in

periods of potential unrest.[102]

Moreover, as Martin Elsky observes, the use of land in the symbolic programs of

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[100] Richard Hoyle, "'Vain Projects:' The Crown and its Copyholders in the Reign of James I," in *English Rural Society, 1500 – 1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, eds. John Chartes and David Hey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 73.

[101] Albert C. Labriola, "Painting and Poetry of the Cult of Elizabeth I: The Ditchley Portrait and Donne's 'Elegie: Going to Bed'," *Studies in Philoology*, 93, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 44, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4174537. "Queen Elizabeth I ('The Ditchley Portrait')," *The National Portrait Gallery*, http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02079/Queen-Elizabeth-I-The-Ditchley-portrait.

[102] Katharine S. H. Wyndham, "Crown Land and Royal Patronage in Mid-Sixteenth Century England," *Journal of British Studies*, 19, no. 2 (Spring 1980), 18 – 32, http://www.jstor.org/stable/175491.

Plate 2. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. *Elizabeth I*. c. 1592. Oil on canvas, 2413 mm x 1524 mm. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 2561.

the portraits of *Thomas Clifford* (Plate 1) and *Elizabeth I* (Plate 2) reinforce the

connection between noble identity and landholding and by extension the feudal system of

early modern England.[103]

1.3   Seasonals

Early definitions of landscape were fairly broad, Peacham's 1606 description, for

example, suggests that "landtskip" or "landship" is an expression of the features of the

land, including villages and cities, seen within the horizon.[104] In 1612 Peacham extends

this definition to include other representations of nature, recommending to the student

wishing to make landscapes that they first learn "to imitate the abstract or labour of every

month," focusing on the activities and natural settings appropriate to the season.[105] Many

historians of the landscape genre, especially those that focus upon an evolutionary and

stylistic approach, such as Nils Büttner in *Landscape Painting: A History*, suggest that

the roots of the genre can be found within illuminated "Books of Hours" and "Labours of

the Months."[106]   In works such as the Duc de Berry's c. 1415 *Très Riches Heures*, for

example, the manorial landscape appears as a backdrop to the leisurely pursuits of the

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[103] Martin Elsky, "Ben Jonson's Poems of Place and the Culture of Land: from the Military to the Domestic," *English Literary Renaissance*, 31, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), 395 – 398, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43447626.

[104] Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, 28.

[105] Peacham, *Graphice*, 45.

[106] Nils Büttner, *Landscape Painting: A History*, trans. R. Stockman (London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2006).

nobility and the seasonal labours of the peasants.[107] However, I would also argue that

much like the early definitions of the genre in England, landscape in such works, serve as

a parerga to the symbolic content; in the case of Books of Hours, or Labours of the

Months, these images were often connected to proverbs reinforcing the harmony between

the classes and the value of knowing one's place.[108] As the Labours of the Months grew

in popularity from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century they continued to represent the

aristocratic patrons' perception of agricultural labour.[109] It is important to note that

beyond the representation of the land, these images share with later landscapes the

centrality of an elite view of land and labour.[110]

    The seasonals produced in England in the late sixteenth century reflect the

influence of available Dutch examples, such as those of Pieter Bruegel the Elder,

mediated by a Renaissance interest in classical forms, exemplified by the popularity of

Virgil, and concurrent anxieties surrounding land use and the stability of the feudal order.

While it is difficult to chart the exact impact of Bruegel's work upon the artists and

collectors within England, it is known that prints based on his *The Four Seasons* were

highly influential in terms of later landscape productions.[111] Bruegel's work drew upon a

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[107] Büttner 46; Walter S. Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkely, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000), 121 – 122.

[108] Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 125.

[109] Gibson 122; Silver, 123.

[110] When Gombrich chooses to dismiss these early expressions (Gombrich 108), he effectively eliminates early evidence of the link between the development of the genre and the 'views' of the ruling elite.

[111] Trevisan, 875.

medieval tradition of calendars and Books of Hours that depicted common seasonal

activities, such as tilling, planting, and harvesting, that were often implicitly tied to the

production of bread and wine, "the twin symbols of the Mass," according to Liana

Vardi.[112] In contrast to medieval work, however, Bruegel's more dynamic panels,

canvases and prints, "turned the peasants' daily routines into moral exempla."[113] In

Bruegel's *Aestas – Summer* from *The Four Seasons* (Plate 3), the peasants are depicted

hard at work harvesting the wheat from the field. The field extends back to a high

horizon punctuated by the church and the village. The middle ground is littered with

faceless labourers, some actively cutting down the wheat, others gathering, and some,

such as the figure in the right foreground, taking a well-deserved break. The workers are

industrious and seem at one with their environment. Breugel's work exemplifies the

continued popularity of seasonals into the seventeenth century, however, his peasants are

often more vigorous than those in prints by his contemporaries who continued to depict a

"passive" labour force contrasted with an implied or visible leisured class.[114]

A secondary source of inspiration for English seasonal representations were the

recently translated works of Virgil, especially the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*. Over the

late sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, vernacular translations of Virgil's

Eclogues, *Georgics*, and *The Aenead* found favour among Humanists, courtiers and the

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[112] Liana Vardi, "Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe," *The American History Review*, 101, no. 5 (December 1996),1361, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2170176.

[113] Vardi, 1364.

[114] Gibson, 122.

Plate 3. Pieter van der Heyden, after Bieter Bruegel the Elder. *Aestas – Summer* from *The Four Seasons*. 1570. Engraving, published by Hieronymus Cock. The British Museum. F.1.24

general public alike.[115] Virgil's *Georgics* were translated into English in 1589, 1628 and 1649, whereas the *Eclogues* began appearing in English in 1620 and throughout the seventeenth century (although Latin versions were also available).[116] Whereas the georgic tended to celebrate the active work of the peasants, such as envisioned in Bruegel's *Summer*, English versions tended to favour the pastoral modes which often displaced vigorous peasantry in favour of rural peace and harmony.[117]

The pastoral entered English consciousness not only through Latin copies of *The Eclogues*, but more particularly in native eclogues, such as those written by Edmund Spencer for his 1579 *The Shepeardes Calendar*. Unlike the active peasants in Bruegel's *Summer* (Plate 3), the ones depicted in *The Shepeardes Calendar* (Plates 4 and 11) are more passive. In *June*, for more passive. In *June*, for example, while the peasants continue to tend to the harvest, as they do in Bruegel's work, they are now shown happily stacking the hay rather than vigorously cutting it down. Moreover, the laboring figures are much less numerous and share the fields with quiet flocks of sheep and two idle shepherds in the foreground.

I argue that the substitution of a pastoral idyll in Spencer's prints over a more active representation reflects the growing fears of peasant revolts held by landowners in

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[115] Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 120; Vardi, 1364.

[116] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 200.

[117] Patterson, 138. While Patterson discusses the impact of pastoral and georgic modes in contemporaneous literature, there are few visual examples of the georgic in comparison to the pastoral in painted landscapes. The reason for the preference for the pastoral, like the passivity of the workers, is likely a result of fears concerning agricultural change in the period.

Plate 4. English School. *June* **from** *The Shepheardes Calendar* **by Edmund Spencer, 1579. Woodcut. Private Collection.**

the late sixteenth century.[118] By mid-century increasing food prices, enclosure and specialized farming practices including more intensive livestock farming had led to a rise of landless labourers and, in some cases, provoked peasant revolts.   Understandably this turmoil caused anxiety in the landowning classes, such that depictions of muscular peasants swinging sharp scythes were not as favourably received as they had once been.[119] In such circumstances the language of the pastoral, the language of Virgil's *Eclogues,* acted as a defense mechanism for the landowning classes.[120] As Denis Cosgrove notes, "From

Horace and Virgil came ideas of a Golden Age of Harmony between a leisured human life and a willingly productive nature, of pastoral youth and innocence in a bucolic woodland and glade, and of the smiling landscape of holy agriculture as an emblem of a morally and socially well-ordered estate."[121] In *June*, the presence of the sheep naturalizes a growing objection among some areas of the populace to the substitution of common and arable land for hedged-in pasture lands.[122] Furthermore, rather than set in a village emphasizing the cooperation of the community the work occurs in a field overseen by a prominent manor house in the upper left corner.

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[118] A study contrasting the depiction of labour in broadsheets destined for a general cross section of the public verses those intended for an upper class audience would be worthy of further research.

[119] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 51 – 59; Thirsk, ""English Rural Communities," 51; Williamson and Bellamy, 93.

[120] Patterson, 139.

[121] Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984), 142.

[122] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 43; Williamson and Bellamy, 105.

Plate 5. Francis Wouters. *Landscape with a Rainbow*. **c. 1634. Oil on Panel. 35.9 x 50.7cm. Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace, RCIN 404735.**

Similarly reflecting the pastoral side of labour is Francis Wouter's c. 1634 *Landscape with a Rainbow* (Plate 5). In contrast to Breugel's and Spencer's prints, Wouter's painting departs from the didactic clarity of the seasonal emblem, with its relatively static representational form, and invokes instead a more complex agricultural allegory. Unlike the clearly demarcated emblem, the allegory derives its meaning from the broader narrative structure and as such opens itself to polysemic interpretation, as is evident in the possibility of numerous readings of Wouter's work.[123]

In *Landscape with a Rainbow* the foreground is hued in muddy greens, depicting a field surrounded by trees atop a hill. From the hilltop, one is afforded a view of the flood plains that extend to the distant horizon. Much of the sky is dark and moody, broken by a rainbow to the left and a golden sunset to the right.   In the foreground, a group of sheep graze next to a man and his team of oxen ploughing the field. One interpretation of this painting, provided in the catalogue entry of the Royal Collection reads:

> Such a moody landscape seems to suggest a subject. The receding storm to the left and the glimpse of rainbow suggests that, like so many Rubens landscapes, this is a (premature) celebration of the passing of the storm of war and the arrival of peace, with its benefits of commerce (a sailing ship is passing down a canal in the middle distance) and agriculture (sheep, goats and pigs browse in the foreground). One of the most famous images of the blessings of peace comes from Isaiah 2:4: 'and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nations, neither shall they learn war any more.' The farmer here ploughs into the sunset.[124]

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[123] Freeman, 2; Hannaford, 472; Jeffrey B. Spencer, *Heroic Nature: Ideal Landscape in English Poetry from Marvell to Thompson* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 52.

[124] http://www,royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/3/collection/404735/landscape-with-a-rainbow

In contrast, however, I suggest that the work represents a blending of the existing seasonal tradition with more naturalised symbolic content. As such, the ploughman stands as an exemplar of moral duty and perseverance as he continues to work into the sunset. The retreating clouds and the rainbow, common emblems in the period, signify, respectively, receding troubles and God's mercy after tribulations.[125] In the face of rural strife exacerbated by the process of enclosure in the English countryside, Wouters offers a hopeful image that suggests that those with faith and perseverance will succeed in the end. Of course, since the work was most likely purchased by Charles I, the message was directed not at the struggling yeoman farmer, but rather at the King and his ministers, for whom the disgruntled labourer was an object of fear, much better represented in such a peaceful and pastoral guise.

While the fashion for the emblem continued into the mid-seventeenth century, it was increasingly blended into broader symbolic and allegorical programs, like Wouter's *Landscape with a Rainbow* (Plate 5). In such representations, naturalistic depictions of the land often served to enhance the perceived veracity of the rhetorical meaning. The landscape ceased to function merely as parerga, and became instead an implicit part of the intended message, subtly reinforcing the natural harmony of the feudal order within seventeenth-century England.

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[125] Peacham, *Minerva Britannia*, 42, 77.

1.4   Kermis

Having suggested that the student first master seasonal depictions, Peacham continues to describe other forms the landscape might take, including the depiction of cities, forests, stately homes, gardens and the like.[126] Peacham further suggests that "landskips" did not necessarily have to be devoid of people, as he notes, "I ever tooke delight in those peeces that shewed to the like a country village, faire or market, *Bergamaseas*, Cookeries, *Morrice* dancing, peasants together by the eares, and the like."[127]

The form Peacham alludes to in the above quote is a variation of the Flemish world landscape that focuses on village festivities and church day masses (*kermis*). The world landscape, a style popularized by Joachim Patinir and Peter Bruegel the Elder, gained popularity in the later sixteenth century throughout Northern Europe and England, likely imported to England through the print trade. The world landscape employed landscape representation to reinforce narrative content. The works often consist of landscapes with high horizons that contain numerous vignettes, or pockets of action, that lead the viewer's eye through the composition as an aid to the narrative depicted, which in Patinir's case is often religious in content. As Larry Silver observes, the works often have a composite, assembled feel with little continuous recession or consistent perspectival rules: "out of a cluster of well-observed natural phenomena emerges a highly

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[126] Peacham, *Graphice*, 45.

[127] Ibid., 45.

artificial spatial and pictorial composite."[128] Much like the use of flattened space in

Hilliard's painting and in Spencer's woodcuts, the strange perspective of the world

landscape reflects the supremacy of narrative meaning over topographic accuracy.[129]

In the *kermis, kerk-mass,* or church day mass genre the format of the world

landscape, particularly its management of space and discrete pockets of narrative is

married with the seasonal's interest in peasant life.   *Kermis* works, like Pieter Bruegel

the Elder's 1566 *Wedding Dance* (Plate 6), focus upon the village festivities of the peasantry,

often watched over by an amused city gentleman or manorial lord.[130] Like world

landscapes, Bruegel's *Peasant Wedding Dance* (Figure 6) uses a high horizon line and

pockets of activity to convey narrative content, but unlike world landscapes, the narrative

is not necessarily of religious or historical import. Rather, much like the seasonals,

Bruegel's *kermis* depicts the world of the peasants (as the landowners wished to see

them). As Silver notes, "Giving such concentrated attention to dancers and drinkers is

standard fare for kermis scenes by the time of Bruegel and reinforces the characterization

of country peasants, whose very nature is taken to be vital and energetic yet at the same

time more primal and earthy in indulging both their bodies and their passions."[131] Much

like the seasonals discussed earlier, *kermis* and wedding feasts served to reinforce the

belief in the natural harmony of the feudal social order. Furthermore, the peasants often

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[128] Silver, *Peasant Scenes*, 30.

[129] One early example of the use of this world landscape form in England is the c. 1545 *The Field of Cloth of Gold*.

[130] Silver, *Peasant Scenes*, 107.

[131] Ibid., 116.

Plate 6. Pieter Bruegel the Elder. *The Wedding Dance.* c. 1566. Oil on Wood Panel. 119.4 x 157.5cm. Detroit Institute of Arts. City of Detroit Purchase. 30.374.

functioned more like emblematic personifications than actual people. Like the seasonals, they often represented the view of the landowner rather than the tenant. As Silver remarks, "social distinction and hierarchy lay at the foundations of all peasant depictions, making most peasant representations in art as objects of social distance."[132]

Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder's c. 1570 *A Fête at Bermondsey* (Plate 7) draws inspiration from works like Bruegel's *Wedding Dance* which was not only posthumously engraved and made widely available by Hieronymous Cock's widow after 1570, but also copied by Pieter Bruegel the Younger and Jan Bruegel.[133] In all likelihood Gheeraerts would have been familiar with Bruegel's version or one of the many copies thereof.   Gheeraerts' *A Fête at Bermondsey*, formerly known as *Marriage at Bermondsey*, places the Dutch and Flemish *kermis* tradition within the English context.

The work depicts what could be interpreted as a wedding at the village of Horsleydown near the Bermondsey manor house, owned by Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex.[134] The handling of space in the mid and foreground echoes the tradition of world landscape with its use of discrete pockets of action united by a procession of figures. In the left rear one can pick out villagers at work and play around their small homes and farms, their poses in many ways reflecting similar depictions in seasonal works. Two lines of figures enter the composition from the left and from the right. On

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[132] Ibid., 108.

[133] Ibid., 118.

[134] Maurice Harold Grant, *A Chronological history of Old Landscape painters in Oil from the XVIth Century to the XIX Century* (Leigh-on-sea: F. Lewis, 1957), 33; Elis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790* (London: Penguin, 1953), 29.

Plate 7. Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, previously attributed to Joris Hoefnagel. *A Fête at Bermondsey.* **c. 1570. Oil on Panel. 74 x 99cm. Hatfeild House, Hertfordshire, UK.**

the left, to the rear, riders on horseback pass travellers and goods destined for the market, their path winds into the village joining a procession of brightly dressed gentry and nobility who stroll hand-in-hand into the central square. The second group enters from the right, as if coming from the church, dressed in fine black clothes. The two processions come to a halt in the square, framing a circle of celebrants.

The focus of the canvas is on the preparations for the unknown festivities. The square is contained by a large manor house in which servants make their preparations; a large dining table is dressed with a white table cloth, kitchen staff lean out of windows and doors to watch the gathering guests, four figures bring in large circular cakes and one man holds aloft a cup filled with greenery and streamers. In front of the activities of the manor, and between the two processions, a small group of figures, reminiscent of those in Bruegel's work, dance to the music played in the lower right-hand corner.

While the basic form mirrors Bruegel's work there are some key distinguishing features. Firstly, unlike Bruegel's work there is no clearly represented bride. However, figures are proceeding from the church and, as Erna Auerback and C. Kinsley Adams note, some elements such as the group of men and women carrying round cakes wrapped in white handkerchiefs and the gentlemen with a cup of bay or rosemary with coloured streamers may suggest a wedding scene.[135] Further distinguishing this work from Bruegel's largely peasant celebration, the majority of figures in the foreground, judging by the splendor of their costumes, appear to be gentry and nobility. This suggests, as

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[135] Erna Auerbach and C. Kingsley Adams, *Paintings and Sculptures at Hatfeild House* (London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1971), 53 – 54.

Auerbach and Adams hypothesize, that the image may depict festivities mounted to celebrate one of the Queen's progresses or visits to the Earl of Sussex at Bermondsey.[136]

An additional distinguishing feature is the management of spatial recession and almost topographical attention to local detail. While the space in the fore and mid-ground do not always appear to share the same perspectival plan, the recession to the horizon appears both logical and consistent. Furthermore, the accuracy of the view allows for contemporary recognition of key landmarks, such as the tower of London in the left rear, and the church of St. Mary Magdalene on the right.[137] Moreover, to the extreme right, beneath a tree, the artist sits enjoying the scene.[138]

The inclusion of the artist forces a reconsideration of the symbolic role of the figures in the painting. In contemporaneous topographical works, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, the inclusion of the artist often serves as a visual signifier that the work is "drawn from life." If one agrees with Auerbach and Adams that the painting records one of Queen Elizabeth's progresses, then the presence of the artist legitimizes the painting as a record of actual events. As such, the figures taking part can no longer be considered two-dimensional personifications, as they might be in one of Bruegel's *kermis* paintings. This does not, however, preclude all symbolic readings of this piece. The ordering of the

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[136] Ibid., 54.

[137] Grant, 33; Harris 1985, 19; F. M. Kelly, "A Horsleydown Wedding," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 31, no. 174 (September 1917),91, http://www.jstor.org/stable/860486; Waterhouse, 29.

[138] Kelly, 91. While this chapter has focused on the use of landscape as parerga to other concerns, it should be noted that the sixteenth century also saw increasing development within topographical-styled landscapes, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

figures within the work, I suggest, mirrors contemporary fantasies concerning the peace of feudal existence.

Beyond the topographical elements and the occasion for the fête, I argue that this work can be read as a representation of the stability of the feudal order against changing social circumstances.   The view of the land, its inhabitants and its architectural features all reflect the feudal structure of late medieval England. Here the crown, represented by the tower of London, oversees the social order, balanced on the right by the house of God that guarantees the rights of the monarch over the land. Situated within the crown's land one finds the manor house of the Earl of Sussex, who dwells literally and figuratively at the centre of the community.[139]   While the Earl and his Countess occupy the central position in the foreground, the other social orders of the community encircle them. To the centre-rear one finds a yeoman and a guard in his livery cassock, while the lower orders, the migrant labourers, merchants and others who work for a living are pictured in the extreme rear of the grouping. The *kermis* reflects the unity of the feudal social order, visually mimicking the great chain of being, which, as Barry Coward notes, "bound everyone in a relationship of inferiority to the person above him in the chain, and of superiority to the person immediately below him. Everyone owed obedience to his superior and protection to his inferior."[140] The *Fête at Bermondsey* (Plate 7), therefore,

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[139] Grant, 33; Waterhouse, 29.

[140] Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603 – 1714*, 4th ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2012), 75.

depicts not only a common local festivity, but also the happy reciprocity of the feudal order.[141]

However, the work could also be read in a more cynical light as an attempt to assuage contemporaneous concerns regarding changes to the traditional social order. Elizabeth I, like her father, continued the tradition of selling estates, titles and governmental positions to raise funds and to win allies.[142] Indeed the legacy of the Tudor sale of church lands lurks in the background of Gheeraerts' work. The manor house depicted was that built by Sir Thomas Pope on the lands of the late Bermondsey Abbey, which was dissolved in 1537 by Henry VIII and subsequently purchased by Pope.[143] Pope was the eldest son of yeoman William Pope of Oxfordshire, who, having been educated at Eton quickly rose through the ranks of the Tudor Civil Service and was knighted in 1536 shortly before purchasing Bermondsey Abbey. The Abbey was torn down and the manor house was built on its remains. When Pope died in 1559 the house became the property of Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex and Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth.[144]

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[141] Another interpretation of this work is found in Auerbach and Adams, 53 – 54.

[142] Christopher Trent, *The Changing Face of England: The Story of the Landscape through the Ages* (London, New York, Sydney and Toronto: White Lion Publishers, 1956), 116.

[143] Auerbach and Adams, 53.

[144] Edward Walford, "Bermondsey: The Abbey" in *Old and New London,* 6 (London 1878), British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol6/pp117-133; Wallace T MacCaffrey, "Radcliffe, Thomas, Third Earl of Sussex (1526/7 – 1583), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Courtier," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/; Clare Hopkins, "Pope, Sir Thomas (c. 1507 – 1559) founder Trinity College, Oxford," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/.

The story of the rise of Thomas Pope and Bermondsey is a common one in the Tudor period; those granted the title of esquire, for example, grew over the Elizabethan period from 1,000 to 16,000, creating a new generation of parvenu nobility.[145] As Krishan Kumar observes, these new aristocrats did not replace, but rather mixed with the established upper classes, "Those who had successfully advanced out of their class were only too eager to embrace the customs and outlook of the class that had unchallenged claim to power and prestige, the landed aristocracy."[146] These new nobles gained access to government seats and offices, both expanding the size of parliament and shifting the balance of power in favour of the parvenu nobility.[147] While the majority of parvenu nobles upheld traditional aristocratic values, some were less invested in the ideals of feudal obligation, often leading to the declining role of the manor house as a centre for community celebrations.[148] In contrast, *Fête* stands as a statement of continuity, that Sussex would continue to honour the traditions of feudal reciprocity, despite the history of the estate. In this, the painting performs a comparable role to the country house poems of Ben Johnson, reinforcing the role of hospitality in the continuation of feudal ideals.[149] *Fête* and similar iterations, drew upon landscape genre to visually reinforce and naturalize the stability of a precarious feudal order.

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[145] Dominic Baker-Smith, "Renaissance and Reformation," in *Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Boris Ford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 22.

[146] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 98*.*

[147] Baker-Smith, 36; Kenneth Mackenzie, *The English Parliament* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1962), 98-179.

[148] Alan B. Sprague, *Tides in English Taste (1619 – 1800): A Background for the Study of Literature*, vol.1 (New York: Pageant Books Inc., 1958), 97; Trent, 116.

[149] Elsky, 406.

1.5 Conclusions

The various landscape iterations produced in the late sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries often used symbolic methods of representation, both emblematic and allegorical, in support of a feudal view of the role of land in English culture and politics. These works, heavily influenced by imported Northern Renaissance art and artists as well as by a native love of symbolism, dressed the land as a parerga to broader cultural concerns. However, as we shall explore in the following chapter, such images were just one mode of depicting the land that emerged in this period. Landscapes, such as *Landscape with a Rainbow* (Plate 5) and A *Fête at Bermondsey* (Plate 7) while showing the lingering love for symbolism also produced naturalistic depictions of the land and, in the case of the latter, even a specific English locale. This fascination for the topographical and its connection to the rise of the parvenu aristocracy will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Drawn from Life: Empiricism and Civic Landscapes in the Seventeenth Century

Inspired by the spread of Renaissance Humanism and the accompanying challenges to medieval conceptions of natural philosophy, there emerged, in sixteenth-century England, a growing interest in descriptive representations of the land.[150] Formally these works were influenced by developments in cartography, geography and geometry that owed their growth to the rediscovery of classical texts such as those of Ptolemy and Euclid. On a conceptual level, however, the growth of descriptive forms, such as the *town plan*, were tied to the empirical revolution within natural philosophy and an increasing interest, especially on the part of the parvenu nobility, gentry and merchant classes, in a rational view of the land. While much of Europe was fascinated by similar philosophical and visual concerns, as I will discuss in their chapter, the English context remains unique. As in the previous chapter, imported artists and prints from the Netherlands and Northern Europe, particularly the popular *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, played a significant role in shaping English conventions and expectations; however, the growth of an English topographical school was also influenced by a domestic fascination with antiquarian history and natural philosophy.

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[150] The term "descriptive" is fairly loaded when it comes to the history of the landscape genre. Frequently it has been positioned as the lesser half of the hierarchical binary of Descriptive and Ideal. As this chapter will discuss, however, while the form may appear descriptive, idealistic and symbolic elements are often also included.

2.1   An Empirical Perspective

In medieval discourse, as discussed in the previous chapter, one's interpretation of the external world was often filtered through pre-existing belief systems. Medieval knowledge was often based upon received wisdom from external sources, including ancient philosophers and scripture, rather than direct observations of the natural world.[151] When early modern scholars began to explore the concept of observation-based knowledge production they ran into a long-standing debate regarding the nature of vision itself. As Thijs Weststeijn notes in "Seeing and the Transfer of Spirits in Early Modern Art Theory," theories of vision were divided between a Platonic Extramission model which held that the eye sent out rays that react to the objects in the world and an Aritotelan Intromission model that imagined the eye as a receptacle for rays sent from these objects.[152] For Weststeijn, both the Intromission and Extramission models leave room in vision for interpretation and spiritual meaning, leading to beliefs, such as those espoused by Agrippa von Nettlesheim in *De Occulta Philosophia* of 1531, that sensible objects emit spirits that are then able to enter the eye via these rays.[153] The implications of these interpretations of vision on the early modern understanding of sight, and by extension early experiments in representation and perspective, is that observation is inherently connected with deeper, often spiritual, meaning.

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[151] David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change," in *The History of Cartography*, Volume 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance: Part One*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 19.

[152] Thijs Weststeijn, "Seeing and the Transfer of Spirits in Early Modern Art Theory," in *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, edited by John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carman (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 151.

[153] Ibid., 151.

One of the earliest translations into English on the subject of vision and perspective was Richard Haydocke's translation of Giovanni Lomazzo's *Tratto Delle'arte*.[154] Basing his arguments on Saint Augstine, Lomazzo rehearses the extramission theory suggesting that sight is a sense that originates in the brain and the soul and sends forth beams to the object such that perception becomes possible. Significantly, this places the onus for sight and perception within the subjective realm of the mind and soul, reflecting a residual "medieval" conception of vision.[155] This extramission theory had a long-lasting influence upon English thought, repeated again in 1658 in William Sanderson's *Graphice.*[156] In his neo-platonic formulation, "Man could read the book of nature with the eyes of reason, but could not penetrate to ultimate wisdom except with eyes focused by faith upon the divine revelation through the church."[157] Such beliefs reinforced the predominance of a symbolic representation of the landscape; one that was concerned not with external reality but rather with a subjective interpretation of that world.

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[154] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la Pittura, scultura et architetture. Book 1 – 5.* trans. Richard Haydocke (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598), http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[155] As Martin Kemp observes, for Lomazzo vision is a spiritual agent of visual judgement. Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunellechi to Seurat* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 93.

[156] William Sanderson covers all the arguments of the ancients, including Plato, Aristotle, Galen etc., before agreeing with Augustine. William Sanderson, *Graphice. The Use of the Pen and Pensil.: Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting : In Two Parts* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), 45, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[157] S. K. Heninger Jr., "Tudor Literature of the Physcial Sciences," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (Feb 1969): 101, http://jstor.org/stable/3816682. A similar idea is discussed in Walter E. Houghton Jr., "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century: Part II." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 3. 2 (April 1942): 195.

However, with the spread of Renaissance Humanism and the rediscovery of the classical sciences through Euclid, Ptolemy, et. al., the importance of reason and observation seeped into the Elizabethan world. While many of these ancient texts had been known in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, their translation into Latin at the beginning of the fifteenth century hastened the spread of their influence.[158] In 1570 John Dee published an English translation of Euclid's *Elements of Geometrie* that exposed the value of first-hand, objective encounters with the world. As David N. Livingstone observes, the rediscovery of ancient scientific disciplines, "brought an immense cognitive and cultural challenge to tradition."[159] In contrast to the habit of viewing nature for its broader significance (religious, symbolic, etc.), there emerged an interest in viewing nature on its own terms.[160] Especially in protestant countries, including England and the Low Countries, natural philosophers and amateurs alike began to find the freedom to indulge in scientific investigation.[161] As S. K. Heninger observes, "For many men, especially in full swing of the Reformation, discovering the laws of physical nature

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[158] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* (end of the fourteen to the beginning of the sixteenth century)," in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance: Part One*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 325. Woodward, 7.

[159] David N. Livingstone, "Geography, Tradition and the Scientific Revolution: An Interpretive Essay," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 15, 3 (1990): 364, http://www.jstor.org/stable/622677.

[160] Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), 3.

[161] John R. Gold and George Revill, *Representing the Environment* (New York: Routledge Press, 2004) 110. Svetlana Alpers in her *The Art of Describing* notes the immense influence empirical science had upon the development of Dutch art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 7 – 13.

became a sufficient end unto itself, without recourse to final causes or a beneficent deity."[162]

In England, writers such as Francis Bacon spearheaded initiatives to explore the natural world through observation and experiment rather than metaphysical or religious programs.[163] As Andrew McRae notes, "… Bacon defined as a moral duty the goal of expanding the range of human knowledge over the natural world."[164] This was consistent with protestant theology that insisted that man was the interpreter of nature.[165] While Bacon's program for the advancement of learning did not have a wide appeal in the early part of the century, the interest it provoked in natural phenomena was reflected in the growing popularity, among the gentry and nobility, of pastimes including botany, antiquarianism, mapping and natural philosophy.[166] Most supporters of the new science were in favour of "an experimental, natural-historical, and broadly inductive approach to the natural sciences; the institutionalization of science and the means of gathering, collating, and communicating knowledge … rational 'utilitarian' and technological solutions to social problems."[167] While these ideas were not widely available to the

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[162] Heninger Jr., 102.

[163] Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 13.

[164] Andrew McCrae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500 – 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 159.

[165] Ibid. 159.

[166] Ibid. 157, Nick Grindle, "'The Wise Surveyor': Surveying and Representaton in British House and Estate Portraiture, c. 1650 – 1715," (PhD Dissertation. London: University Collge of London, n.d), 5.

[167] Graham Rees, "Reflections on the Reputation of Francis Bacon's Philosophy," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65, no. 3 / 4 (2002): 381, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3817980.

general public, they had, by the late sixteenth century, begun to penetrate the prominent

academies of England.

English academic circles at Oxford, Cambridge and the newly founded (1597)

Gresham College in London were becoming increasingly familiar with recent

developments within natural philosophy.[168] While new scientific ideas were rarely a

major part of the studies at Oxford or Cambridge, they were often disseminated in

lectures, tutorials, and library texts.[169] As Barbara Schapiro describes,

> … it was assumed as a matter of course that scientific knowledge was a
> normal and routine part of the universities' endeavours. The universities
> responded to the general interest in the new science, offering new
> opportunities as the educated public and donors seemed to desire them. This
> responsiveness remained relatively constant even as the political and religious
> winds of the seventeenth century shifted.[170]

The interest in the new science continued to grow over the first half of the seventeenth

century and its audience expanded significantly after the Restoration with the foundation

of the Royal Society in 1660 and the publication of the journal *Philosophical

Transactions*.[171] Particularly in this later period, there was an increased interest amongst

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[168] S. F. Mason, "Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 3 (Feb 1953):
29, http://www.jstor.org/stable/650034; Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England*, 23;
Barbara Schapiro, "The Universities and Science in Seventeenth Century England," *Journal of British
Studies* 10, no. 2 (May 1971): 48, http://www.jstor.org/stable/175349.

[169] By the 1640s, the Bodleian library held a number of current scientific volumes including works by
Johannes Kepler, Bacon, and John Dee, in addition it continued to publish new works. Schapiro, 55.

[170] Ibid., 75.

[171] Ibid. 47 – 82. Hunter, *Science and Society*, 51. Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows:
1660 – 1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientfic Institution*, British Society for the History of Science,
2nd Ed. (Oxford: The Alden Press, 1994), 11

gentlemen of means in the natural sciences, mathematics and empirical forms of knowledge.[172] As Chris Fitter observes, with the foundation of the Royal Exchange and the Royal Society the spirits of commerce and science together inspired an impulse towards more detailed knowledge of the world.[173] As such, one finds, especially in the latter half of the century, an increasing fashion for animal portraits and more naturalistic landscapes.[174]

While the audience for new developments in natural philosophy was largely drawn from the upper-classes, especially earlier in the seventeenth century, new scientific developments became increasingly important to wealthy merchants and businessmen for whom they were more than interesting pastimes, but central to increasing the ease and profitability of endeavours such as agriculture, mining, trade and industry.[175] Moreover, Ptolemy's idea of introducing uniform coordinates, proportion and scale to the production of visual maps helped to not only produce more accurate and useful records for merchants and businessmen, but reinforced a central assumption of natural philosophy that observational data was valuable unto itself.[176] As Heninger notes, much of the financial support for scientific investigation came from London merchants.[177] Moreover,

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[172] Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 13.

[173] Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 267.

[174] Katharine Gibson, "Jan Wyck c. 1645 – 1700: A Painter with 'a grate deal of fire'," *The British Art Journal* 2, 1 (Autumn 2000):12, http://jstor.org/stable/41615006.

[175] Rees, 381.

[176] Woodward, 12 – 23.

[177] Heninger, 102.

the discourse of science and the liberal arts enabled the middle classes to achieve a higher level of social distinction.

Despite its appeal to the "middling sort," the influence of innovations in natural philosophy largely reached the arts in the first half of the century through the social networks of the gentry and nobility. For instance, Sir Henry Wotton Knight, writer of the 1624 *The Elements of Architecture*, was privy to a number of early essays written by Sir Francis Bacon; Bacon even had an early copy of his *Novum Organum* sent to Wotton who in turn passed it on to Johannes Kepler.[178] Bacon was also a familiar figure around the households of the influential collector Lord Arundel who had contact with prominent authors, including Henry Peacham, Franciscus Junius, and Edward Norgate.[179] Furthermore, as Frederick Hard notes, William Salmon's 1658 *Graphice* borrows significantly from Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* both in his Preface and section on proportion.[180] It was through such webs of influence that new developments in natural philosophy reached artists and collectors.

One impact such discourses had was upon the definition of sight in seventeenth-century artistic treatises. Returning once more to period treatises one can observe a shift in the perception of vision, which in turn leads to the promotion of a more naturalistic view of the landscape in contemporary representation. Peacham, for example, rejects

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[178] Paula Henderson, "Sir Francis Bacon's Essay 'Of Gardens' in Context," *Garden History* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 63, http://jstor.org/stable/25472394.

[179] Bacon, for example, is known to have been at Arundel's Highgate residence shortly before his death. Henderson 63.

[180] Frederick Hard, "Ideas for Bacon and Wotton in William Sanderson's 'Graphice'," *Studies in Philology* 36, no. 2 (April 1939): 228, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4172440.

Lomazzo's explanation of sight and suggests instead that the eye receives beams from "the light or air" into the eye. [181] Technically, Peacham is rehearsing the Aristotelean Intromission theory, however, he omits the reliance on final causes or spiritual consequences and instead places his analysis of sight firmly within the realm of observable, empirical science. Later in the century Richard Blome reiterates Peacham's conclusion that rays are received from the object to the eye and adds that it is the role of the brain to form the image and correct any received fallacies of sight.[182] In these conceptions knowledge is not centered in the soul, but discovered in the rational observation of the external world.[183]

The redefinition of sight refocuses the construction of space within the landscape genre over the seventeenth century. Whereas early landscapes favoured the *world landscape* format in which the whole is separated into discrete pockets of interaction,

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[181] Henry Peacham, *Graphice. The Gentleman's Exercise: Or an Exquisite Practise, as Well for Drawing All Manner of Beasts in Their True Portraitures: As Also the Making of All Kinds of Colours, to be Used in Lymming, Painting, Tricking, and Blason of Coates, and Armes, with Divers Others Most Delightfull and Pleasurable Observations, for All Young Gentleman and Others. As Also Serving for the Necessarie Use and Generall Benefite of Diverse Trades-Men and Artificers, as Namly Painters, Joyners, Free-Masons, Cutters and Carvers & C. For the Farther Gracing, Beautifying, and Garnishing of All Their Absolute and Worthie Peeces, Either for Borders, Architecks, or Columnes, & C* (London: Printed for John Browne, 1612), 62 – 66, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[182] Richard Blome, *The Gentlemans Recreation: in two parts: the first being an encyclopedy of the arts and sciences ... The second part treats of horsemanship, hawking, hunting, fowling, fishing, and agriculture:with a short treatise of cock-fighting... All which are collected from the most authentick authors, and the many gross errors therein corrected, with great enlargements ... : and for the better explanation thereof, great variety of useful sculptures, as nets traps, engines, & c. Are added for the taking of beasts,fowl and fish: not hitherto published by any:the whole illustrated with about an hundred ornamental and useful sculptures engraven in copper,relating to the several subjects* (London: S. Roycroft for Richard Blome,1686), 211, Early English books online, http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com. It is significant that Blome gives such a prominent role to the mind, for as I will discuss in the next chapter, by the late seventeenth century many treatises give priority to the mind of the artist rather than their eye and hand which permits the skillful imitation of reality.

[183] Alpers made similar observations regarding effects of developments in optics on Dutch art in the seventeenth century. Alpers, 72 – 85.

mimicking a lived, peripatetic experience of the world, over the seventeenth century the

landscape was increasingly subordinated to an abstract viewpoint.   The idea that the

systematic recording of visual data was both possible and desirable forms, according to

Martin Kemp, one of the foundations of the development of a system of linear

perspective.[184] However, due to its complex connection to both knowledge systems and

broader social and historical factors, the concepts of linear perspective were not

assimilated in an uniform manner at the same time across Europe. As Kemp observes,

perspective systems adapted to unique circumstances in each country that absorbed them,

"its modes and manners will have developed in complex symbiosis with its formative

environment, giving it a special kind of natural integration."[185] Thus the English

development of linear perspective, like the genre of landscape, was heavily influenced by

available resources and examples and as such often reflected a stronger connection to

Dutch and Flemish interpretations.[186]

Unlike more aesthetic accounts of art, which as discussed in the previous chapter

were hard to come by, accounts of perspective were common additions to the libraries of

gentlemen starting in the late sixteenth century.[187] Explanations of perspective were

found in works fully devoted to the subject, such as Jean Cousin's 1560 *Livre de*

Perspective, Joseph Moxon's 1670 *Practical Perspective* and the Anonymous 1690 *The*

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[184] Kemp, 9.

[185] Ibid., 53.

[186] A broader and more in-depth history of perspective is found in Kemp.

[187] Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560 – 1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamingston Spa, Warwickshire: James Hall Publishing Ltd., 1981), 74 – 77.

Geometry of Landskips, in addition to general treatises such as those of Haydocke, Peacham, William Sanderson, John Bate and Blome.[188]

Despite ample examples in artistic treatises, which often used geometric shapes and city-scapes to demonstrate its construction, consistent linear perspective in a landscape proved a particular challenge to many artists, especially with respect to showing recession through the middle ground.[189] This is not surprising given their reliance on texts, such as those of Jean Cousin, who primarily associates the use of linear perspective with the representation of architecture.[190] With few artistic examples to draw upon many early landscapists turned to cartography, including military and naval maps, for inspiration.[191]

Naval maps often employed what Lucia Nuti calls the *profile view* which presents a ground-level view, reminiscent of what one would see if approaching a port city from the

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[188] The translation of systems of linear perspective into the English context could be an interesting study in itself, since much like the study of landscape there appears to be a perception, evident in Kemp for example, that the English did not develop a theory of perspective until the eighteenth century (Kemp 148). However, as I have noted above, perspective is discussed in many seventeenth century English treatises and was a popular subject in contemporary English libraries.

[189] John Hatch, email message to the author, 6 January 2017.

[190] Kemp, 66 – 67.

[191] This was particularly true of Northern artists. P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson Press Ltd., 1980), 81. While I focus on the influence of naval maps above, it should be noted that much early interest in mapping the land of England was inspired by military needs. As R. A. Skelton observes, with the reintroduction of mobility into warfare and threats of oversees invasions in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, numerous surveys were undertaken under the Tudor and Stuart monarchs. Many of these early maps and surveys can be found at the British Museum, particularly those collected by Sir Robert Cotton. R. A. Skelton, "The Military Surveyor's Contribution to British Cartography in the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi*, 24 (1970), 77 – 80, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1150460.

coast.[192] However, as Nuti notes, the pure profile view was limited; depicting only the

foreground objects in two dimensions upon a single plane.[193] Despite these restrictions,

the popularity of this form is evident in the following instructions for drawing London

from Peacham's 1606 *The Art of Drawing*:

> I would beside the City itselfe shew in vacant places (as far as my table or
> Horizon would give me leave) the Country round about, as Shooters Hill, and
> the high way winding up there between the woods, the Thames to grow lesse
> and lesse, & appearing as it were a dozen mile of, heer and there scattered
> with Shippes and boats; Greenwitch with the tower there and such like, which
> are beside my purpose, because I was tied to nothing but the city itself: this
> kind of all other is most pleasing, because it feedeth the eie with varietie.[194]

Peacham's description speaks not to the recession of space, but focuses instead on a view

of the city as if seen from the bank of the Thames. The drawback of such a construction

was that it did not relay much information about the landscape to the viewer. The major

flaw of the profile view was that it produced a two-dimensional representation that

provided little indication as to the layout of the city. To compensate, artists offered

various degrees of elevated viewpoints.

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[192] Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing With the Pen, and Limming in Water Colours: More Exactlie Then Heretofore Taught and Enlarged with the True Manner of Painting Upon Glasse, the Order of Making Your Furnace, Annealing, &C. Published, for the Behoofe of All Young Gentlemen, or Any Els That Are Desirous for to Become Practicioners in This Excellent, and Most Ingenious Art* (London: Printed by Richard Braddock for Willion Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606),29, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com. Henry Wotton Knight, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), 95, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[193] Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin*, 76, no. 1 (March 1994):110, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3046005.
[194] Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, 29.

The simplest elevation, often called the *Perspective* or *Oblique* view, offered a slight degree of elevation, as if taken from a hill or a ship's crows nest.[195] In some cases, this view was augmented by blending it with additional perspectives in order to create a broader panorama that reproduces the sensation of viewing the landmarks as one travels past.[196] An example of this form can be seen in Anthonis van den Wyngaerde's 1562 *Richmond Palace from Across the Thames* (Plate 8).

In Wyngaerde's drawing, Richmond Palace is situated in the centre of the panorama with the town of Richmond and its environs stretching out to either side. Like many period works, the artist has combined a number of profile views with a slightly oblique angle, so it appears as if the drawing were taken from atop a hill on the opposite bank of the river. While Wyngaerde often signed his works "fecit ad vivum" (made from life), it was common for him to improve his views by straightening streets, relocating towers, etc. Despite these alterations, the works remained true to the aim of evoking the city's appearance.[197]

In landscapes such as *Richmond Palace from Across the Thames* (Plate 8) where the aim is accurate depiction of the location, the end result often exceeds what the eye is able to see in one view, and sometimes surpasses what the artist is capable of representing without the help of specialized knowledge or apparatus. As Nuti notes, the

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[195] Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 2.

[196] Nuti, 113.

[197] Kagan, 14. While this dissertation discusses land-based imagery, it should be noted that similar visual tropes were also applied to the related sub-genre of sea-scapes, a sub-genre overdue for further exploration in the English context.

Plate 8. Anthonis van den Wyngaerde. *Richmond Palace from Across the Thames.* **1562, pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. AMO 150843.**

final product is frequently a view that is "…truer than truth itself."[198] More extreme

elevations, ranging from thirty to ninety degrees, required of the artist a more detailed

knowledge of mathematics, geometry, surveying and even optical devices. The benefit

ofthese complex views was that they offered a more accurate picture of the city based in

mathematical fact. In other words, they conformed to the growing desire to accumulate

objective knowledge of the external world based in facts reducible to a clear scientific

system.

The desire for an objective and rational view sparked an interest in

representational forms which elevated the possibilities of sight, literally setting the

viewpoint above the earth-bound perspective. Views taken from an extreme oblique

angle, such as the *bird's-eye view* (30 – 60 degree elevation), the *icnographic view* (90

degree elevation) and the *map view* (60 to 90 degree elevation), became increasingly

popular over the seventeenth century made possible by the advances in mathematics and

geometry introduced over the Renaissance.[199]

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[198] Nuti, 109.

[199] Anon. *A book of dravving, limning, vvashing or colouring of maps and prints: and the art of painting, with the names and mixtures of colours used by the picture-drawers. Or, The young-mans time well spent. In which, he hath the ground-work to make him fit for doing anything by hand, when he is able to draw well. By the use of this work, you may draw all parts of a man, leggs, armes, hands and feet, severally, and together. And directions for birds, beasts, landskips, ships, and the like. Moreover, you may learn by this tract, to make all sorts of colours; and to grinde and lay them: and to make colours out of colours: and to make gold and silver to write with. How also to diaper and shadow things, and to heighthen them, to stand off: to deepen them, and make them glitter. In this book you have the necessary instruments for drawing, and the use of them, and how to make artificiall pastels to draw withall. Very usefull for all handicrafts, and ingenuous gentlemen and youths. By hammer and hand all arts doe stand* (London: Printed by M. Simmons, for Thomas Jenner; and are to be sold at his shop, at the south entrance of the Royal Exchange, 1652),16, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com. Blome, 227. Sanderson, 70 – 71; Harvey, 75; Kagan, 2 – 5; Nuti, 126.

Initially, such forms were most popular in Italy; Leonardo da Vinci, for example, experimented with the icnographic view in his 1503 view of Imola.[200] However, despite its popularity in Italy as early as the fifteenth century, the view did not gain traction in Northern Europe until much later. One exception was Bristol in England, a port city with regular trade ties to Italy, which was an early adopter of the bird's-eye view.[201] Over the sixteenth century the popularity of these oblique views grew, partly because they offered a more detailed view of the landscape, but also because, as Nuti describes, they skip "sensorial input to use only the mathematical data collected by geographers and thus to display a superior level of knowledge…"[202]

By the middle of the seventeenth century, English treatises began to show a preference for elevated systems of perspective; Sanderson, for example, suggests that a land-skip shouldn't "rise high," as *world landscapes* did, but instead "lye low, and under the *eye*, which is most gracefull, and more Naturall, with a full *skie*."[203] Similarly, as Blome describes, "The best way of making *Land-skips*, is that way which hath been practiced of late days by our best work-men, which is to make them shoot away one part lower than another, and not as many do, in making the *Land-skip* to ascend higher and higher … the best and properest way … that the *Land-skip* may appear to be taken from

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[200] Harvey, 75; Kagan 2-3; Rees, 60.

[201] Harvey, 81. The differences between the landscape produced in cities with strong ties to Italy, such as Bristol, versus more Northerly cities, such as Norfolk, would make an interesting study in itself.

[202] Nuti, 126.

[203] Sanderson, 72.

the Top of a *Hill*."[204] Significantly, the bird's-eye view provides more detailed and

orderly information about the landscape depicted and offers a commanding perspective,

which as shall be discussed in Chapter Four, is well exploited in estate landscapes over

the seventeenth century.

Further assisting the creation of objective representations of the external world

were optical devices, such as screens, playne tables and camera obscuras that helped to

guide the artists hand.[205] The influence of such devices is evident in early English

treatises. In Peacham's 1606 instructions he suggests the necessity of artistic aids when

he notes that he would depict space "as far as *my table* or Horizon would give me

leave…"[206] In this passage he is likely referring to a *playne table*, a common aid for

topographical draftsmen, and one that was often used in the construction of *perspective

plans*.[207] Bate in his 1635 *The Mysteries of Nature and Art* similarly advises using a

frame with a grid to aid in one's observation and accurate recording of nature.[208] Another

popular perspectival aid in this period was the camera obscura; in 1621 after a visit to

Johannes Kepler, Knight wrote home to Bacon describing Kepler's use of a camera

obscura to construct a landscape more accurate than a painter could achieve.[209]

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[204] Blome, 227.

[205] Kemp provides an excelled history of these devices in his text. P 168.

[206] My italics. Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, 29.

[207] Nuti, 117.

[208] John Bate, *The Mysteries of Nature and Art: In Foure Severall parts. The First of Water Works, the second of Fire Works, the Third of Drawing, washing, Limning, Panting and Engraving. The Foyrth of Sundry Experiments* (London: Ralph Mabb, 1635), 156, Early English Books online, http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com.

[209] Alpers, 51.

Similarly, Sanderson, in his chapter "The Draught of a Landskip Mathmaticall" describes the use of a portable camera obscura to trace landscapes onto paper.[210] I argue that the significance of such apparatus is that they signal a desire on the part of the artist, and patron, to create an accurate representation of external reality, one divorced even from the subjectivity of the artist, this suggests a marked departure from earlier symbolic traditions of viewing and representing the world.[211]

The empirical turn in natural philosophy that was influenced by the rediscovery of classical scientific works inspired an emergent interest in knowledge based upon observable facts. Through the use of various systems of perspective artists strove to accurately depict a scene, sometimes even using various apparatus and perspectival systems to surpass what was achievable by human sight alone. In the landscape genre this fostered not only a fascination with accurate depictions of the external world, but as I suggest, a formal language that was designed to connote objective truth.

2.2 *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and its Influence upon the English Scene

While the empirical turn in natural philosophy encouraged an objective view of the external world, the rediscovery of geography via Ptolemy inspired an interest in exploring and documenting that world. This did not imply a sudden revolution in the

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[210] Sanderson 86.

[211] An additional avenue for future study could be an in-depth analysis of the influence of such apparatus on English landscapes.

visual mapping of the world, indeed early Latin translations of Ptolemy rarely included

visual maps as they were not as highly valued or accurate as the written descriptions

previously produced.[212] As David Woodward notes, the visual map emerged alongside

text-based systems of representation.[213] In a similar manner to the spread of linear

perspective, the growth of "scientific" cartography depended upon a broader cultural

desire for secular and measured representations of the external world.

The growth of interest in geography, cartography and chorography inspired not

only new representational forms, but also a desire to create objective records of the

world. As John Hayes notes, "…knowledge of the world beyond the continent had

increased a thousand fold since the fifteenth century, and geography had become not only

a totally new science but an expression of the very limitlessness of human endeavour."[214]

Geography was added to the classical education system by Humanist scholars, including

Leon Battista Alberti and Erasmus.[215] The discipline was, as Jonathan M. Smith

observes, of particular interest to the new English gentry "who sought to secure their

status by offering, if not reinventing themselves as public servants, individuals uniquely

qualified to superintend this public sphere. High on their list of qualifications was

education of the modern, practical sort that included the new geography."[216] Maps and

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[212] Woodward, 8.

[213] Ibid., 7 – 8.

[214] John Hayes, "Claude de Jongh," *The Burlington Magazine*, 98, 634 (Jan 1956): 41,
http://www.jstor.org/stable/871774.

[215] Jonathan M. Smith, "State Formation, Geography and a Gentleman's Education," *Geographical Review*
86, 1 (Jan 1996): 92, http://www.jstor.org/stable/215143.

[216] Ibid., 92

charts were essential additions to the educated man's library in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. Although these texts were often filed with history rather than

mathematics or travel texts.[217] Not coincidentally, the centres of cartographic activity,

such as Venice and Antwerp, were also closely connected to land-based commerce,

including mining, trade, and commercial agriculture, in addition to early developments in

the landscape genre.[218] Maps were objects not just of instructions, but also social

prestige, indicating the owner's connection to high brow circles of scholarship as well as

objects of aesthetic pleasure, often decorating the walls of galleries, studies and libraries

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[219]

Up until the fifteenth century, city layouts and travel directions had tended toward

either visual ideograms, which lacked a regular system of coordinates, or detailed written

descriptions based on lived experiences of the world.[220] Such works reflected a medieval

mindset that emphasized a symbolic and experiential relationship to the land rather than

an abstract and empirical view.[221] However, by the 1470s maps and city plans that

strived for a measurable and objective depiction of space were produced in both Northern

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[217] George Tolias, "Maps in Renaissance Libraries and Collections," in *The History of Cartography,* Vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance: Part One*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 643 – 645.

[218] Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 6 – 7. Gold and Revill, 103 – 110.

[219] Ibid., 638 – 658.

[220] Harvey 72; Rees 66.

[221] Rees, 66; Woodward 6.

and Southern Europe alike.[222] By the close of the fifteenth century, Venice and Antwerp

had both established significant mapping practices, including the production of town

plans, bird's-eye views and atlases.[223] While Venetian developments had some impact

upon English mapping, particularly in Bristol, it was the work published in Northern

Europe that had the most apparent effect upon English works in the early seventeenth

century.

In 1570 Abraham Ortelius published the first atlas in Antwerp, the *Theatrum*

Orbis Terrarum, which included fifty-three mapsheets engraved by the Flemish Frans

Hogenberg.[224] The success of the atlas inspired the creation of an atlas of cities,

originally conceived as a companion piece to *Theatrum*, the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* of

1572.[225] The *Civitates* was published in Cologne but widely available across Europe in

multiple volumes and as individual prints published from 1572 to 1617.[226] Inspired by

Ptolemy, the massive work was a joint project of George Braun, a catholic scholar, and

Hogenburg, a protestant engraver.[227] The work consisted of three hundred and fifty-nine

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[222] Black, 6. Sarah Bendall and John Speed, "Draft Town Maps for John Speed's 'Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine'," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 30, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1151501.

[223] These traditions not just limited to these centres, but Venice and Antwerp were also major points of dissemination for these developments which is why I have highlighted these cities in particular. Harvey, 154.

[224] Johannes Keuning, "The 'Civitates' of Braun and Hogenberg," *Imago Mundi* 17 (1963): 41, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1150350.

[225] The 1571 *Theatrum* and 1572 *Civitates* were bound together. Keuning 42, Richard Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns 1575 - 1900* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1985), 38.

[226] Nuti, 105, Keuning, 42.

[227] Nuti, 105.

plans and views of towns world-wide, including thirteen English towns.[228] The texts and images were based on first-hand information, sometimes submitted by locals, and included geographical and antiquarian information concerning each town depicted.[229] Unlike the emblematic landscapes discussed in Chapter One, the town views of *Civitates* were predicated upon the assumption that the external world was itself a source of valuable information, i.e., the representation of the objective world was as valuable as the representation of the unseen realm. [230]

Innovations in print technology were particularly influential upon the development and dissemination of works such as *Civitates*. While maps and town plans had been produced in woodcuts in the fifteenth century, it was copper-plate engraving, used in Venice as early as 1500, that provided the clarity that matched the rational mapping impulse.[231] Moreover, the ease of reproduction and relative low cost of the prints appealed to a broad audience, including gentry and nobles, in addition to merchants and artists.[232]

Aside from their affordability, prints such as those produced for *Civitates* appealed to a growing fashion for travel, including arm-chair tourism. As John Murdoch

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[228] Richard Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography and Subversion in Renaissance England," *Representations* 16(Autumn 1986): 14.

[229] Nuti, 106.

[230] Incidentally, one effect of *Civitates* was to present a harmonized view of the world. Through the use of consistent visual tropes, regardless of city represented, the *Civitates* visually colonizes the world from a Norther European perspective.

[231] Bendall, 30; Keuning, 41.

[232] Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain* (London: British Museum Press, 1998) 20 - 29.

observes, "The need among the thoughtful members of the ruling elite to 'map' the country and establish a precise sense of its physical and economic geography, had manifestations in the cult of travel, of written accounts of travels and of illustrating such accounts with views of significant locations."[233] For the well-to-do English gentleman travel fulfilled this desire to know the world, and writers, such as Peacham, encouraged gentlemen to not only experience the best views of Europe first-hand, but also to record them for posterity. In his 1612 *Graphice* and his 1622 *The Compleat Gentleman* he lists several landscapes, both within England and abroad, that gentlemen would do well to experience.[234] He further goes on to suggest in 1622 that learning to record these landscapes would assist not only in military endeavours, but also bring the pleasures of travel home.[235]   While *Civitates* could act as a guidebook for would-be travellers, it also provided a virtual Grand Tour of Europe's prominent cities. As Nuti observes, the ideal reader was "the traveller in search of a guide for the place he is going to visit; the merchant keen to find out about the commercial sites and trading customs; the military man eager to become familiar with the defense system of his imminent objectives; the

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[233] John Murdoch, "Painting: From Astraea to Augustus." In *The Seventeenth Century*, Boris Ford, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 258.

[234] Peacham, *Graphice*, 42.

[235] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning Him Absolute in the Most Necessary & Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Bodie That May Be Required in a Noble Gentleman* (London: Imprinted by John Legat for Francis Constable and are to bee sold at his shop at the White Lion in Paules Churchyard, 1622), 105, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com. It should be noted that alongside the history of city landscapes, there was also a long tradition of military landscapes.

citizen hungry for a deeper knowledge of his own country; and finally the scholar wishing for a round-the-world trip…"[236]

Civitates blends visual forms from a variety of arts, including the *profile view* discussed above, in addition to the *map view* common in cartographic works as well as figural and symbolic elements more frequently employed in *artificial* painting of the sixteenth century. Such a blending of forms is not uncommon in the period given the loose definition of art and painting, as discussed in Chapter One, and the use of common artists for both tasks.[237] In the sixteenth century there was much cross over between cartography and *artificial* painting, not only were formal elements shared, but frequently the same artists were involved in both modes of representation.[238] Moreover, well-known landscape innovators, including Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer shared a fascination with cartography; Bruegel even befriended the Atlas creator Ortelis.[239] As Fitter observes, there was a strong affinity among painters and cartographers, "Each sought to objectify space: to conceptualize visual images in such a way as to co-ordinate separate forms into a whole unified extension."[240]

Unsurprisingly, given its roots within the cartographic traditions that spawned *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the most common format used in *Civitates* is an adaptation of

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[236] Nuti, 107.

[237] Rees, 60.

[238] Rees, 60. Sara Trevisan, "The Impact of the Netherlandish Landscape Tradition on Poetry and Painting in Early Modern England, " *Renaissance Quarterly,* 66. 3 (Fall 2013):873, http://jstor.org/stable/10.1086/673585.

[239] Alpers, 142. Rees, 62.

[240] Fitter, 189.

the *map view*.   The *map view*, popularly used in cartography, is a ground plan "enriched by delineations of detail in bird's-eye view. Map views had no vanishing point and therefore, strictly speaking, no perspective."[241] *Londinium Feracissimi Angliae Regni Metropolis* (Plate 9), for example, includes a full colour *map view* of London and its immediate environs, taken from an oblique angle, with clear demarcation of streets and major buildings. There is a banderole with the city's name on the top, framed either side by the royal and city coat of arms and at the bottom of the print, to the left and right, are found descriptive notes – all emphasizing the usefulness of this plate to the real or virtual traveller. At the bottom centre, in profile, are depicted two male and two female figures, in contemporary upper-class costume.

The depiction of figures before a map was not an uncommon practice; Joris Hoefnagel, for example, often portrayed himself and a friend to indicate that the work had been drawn from life.[242] The form employed is frequently reiterated in early English town plans, such as the map of Norwich in *The Cosmographical Glasse* of 1559. Moreover, as Johannes Keuning notes, the addition of figures in maps was a common prophylactic measure "to prevent the Turks from being able to use the pictures in their wars of conquest, since their religion prohibits the portrayal of human beings."[243] Furthermore, the figures acted as examples of the fashions of the city and on occasion served more narrative or symbolic aims, as in *Vindesorium (Windsor)* (Plate 10), discussed below.

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[241] Hyde, 11.

[242] Nuti 108.

[243] Keuning 42.

Plate 9. Joris Hoefnagel, *Map of London* from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenburg. c. 1572. Hand-coloured engraving. Glasgow University Library, Scotland.

Plate 10. Joris Hoefnagel. *Vindesorium (Windsor)* **from** *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* **by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenburg. 1575. Etching with hand-colour and letterpress on the verso. 182mm x 487mm. British Museum Y, 5.169, AN 440335001.**

The combination of multiple viewpoints reinforces the importance of sight as an organ for gathering truth about the world. Braun emphasizes that the pictures were drawn from direct observation, reflecting the importance of sight in the production of knowledge.[244] As Nuti suggests, "The meaning of the whole work leans on this assumption: towns presented in images to the sharpest sense of sight will give information about themselves much more immediately than if they are described only in words."[245] As in the previously discussed topographical drawing of Wyngaerde, such images presume that truth lies in sight rather than deeper metaphysical realms, and as such an effort is often made to connote apparent truth through visual devices such as figural placeholders and systems of perspective.

The emphasis on visual veracity, however, does not always preclude the inclusion of symbolic overtones. Hoefnagel's 1575 *Vindesorium (Windsor)* (Plate 10) depicts not only the palace, but also a common symbolic tradition – the royal progress, as discussed in the previous chapter. The Queen is depicted with her guards and hunting dogs, moving away from Windsor toward the left edge of the picture plane. While the size of the Queen is relatively small, she remains the central force within the landscape; her presence dwarfs the castle in the background. Despite the title, the print focuses upon the Queen's progress both literally depicting her travels, but also symbolically referencing the

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[244] Nuti, 107.

[245] Ibid. 106.

Plate 11. English School. *April* **from** *The Shepheardes Calendar* **by Edmund Spencer, 1579. Private Collection (available from Bridgeman images**

predominance of pastoral discourse in crown mythology. On the lower right-hand side a

shepherd rests with his flock, a traditional symbol of love and care.[246] The shepherd was

frequently connected to the Queen in period eclogues such as Edmund Spencer's 1579

celebration of her as the Queen of Shepherds in *April* from *The Shepheard's Calendar*

(Plate 11).

The presence of such a recognizable figure reflects the allegorical role of the

Queen's progresses, which promote a unified and highly mythologized image of the

"Virgin Queen."[247] Physically the Queen's movement through the land, from stately

manor to stately manor, aped the ritual perambulations of the Lord's estates on a grand

scale as the Queen walked the boundaries of her lands further reinforcing the crown's

ultimate ownership of the land of England.[248] These royal progresses undertaken by

Elizabeth form, according to Andrew McRae, a narrative of temporary retreat from the

business of government enacted in pastoral romance, conflating courtly and rural myth.[249]

Through her presence she transforms the rural into the pastoral.[250] However, I would also

argue that the presence of this shepherd also mirrors the growing economic, social and

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[246] John Horden, "The Connotation of Symbols," in eds. Michael Bath, John Manning and Alan R. Young, *The Art of the Emblem: Essays in Honor of Karl Josef Höltgen* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1993), 77.

[247] Roy Strong, "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1/2 (January – June 1958): 91, http://www.jstor.org/stable/750488.

[248] Perambulations traditionally involved the walking of the boundaries of the estate, often undertaken by a land agent, Grindle, "The Wise Surveyor," 50. Up until the end of the 16th century the surveyor who measured the lands defined those boundaries with an elaborate written description, Harvey,14.

[249] McRae, *God Speed the Plough,* 272.

[250] Ibid. 278. The symbolic role of the royal progress was reinforced by pageants, emblems and poems presented to the Queen at her destinations. For example, upon her entry into London she was greeted by numerous emblems and poems representing the qualities of good government, Freeman, 49.

political significance of the agricultural transformation of England over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In contrast to earlier symbolic depictions of the natural world, *Vindesorium* blends the symbolic with the naturalistic, creating an elision between the two, a common component of many subsequent landscapes. It is works such as these that bring to the fore the necessity for a study such as this that emphasizes the interrelation of symbolic and descriptive discourses in the creation of the English landscape.

The availability of *Civitates* in England coincided with an increased interest in naturalistic depictions of the landscape and helped to shape both the desire for and the form of subsequent topographical works over the seventeenth century. However, while *Civitates* reinforces a habit of rational observation of the external world, it also demonstrates that such objectivity did not necessarily exclude symbolic and allegorical elements, although it did work to naturalize such content within its representational form.

2.3   Antiquarian Interest

While developments in natural philosophy encouraged a new manner of viewing the land and the prints of *Civitates* offered potential visual examples, I argue that it was a contemporaneous interest in antiquarian studies which fuelled the popularity of English iterations. The visual map gathered the interests of antiquarians, history, nature, acestry, etc., into a readily interpretable visual object that signified, by its rarefied formal language, the owner's participation in pursuits common to the higher social classes.

In England, maps and antiquarian culture often reinforced social and political power structures based in the land. As Graham Parry relates, "The antiquarian movement

in England developed out of the convergence of Renaissance historical scholarship with

Reformation concerns about national identity and religious ancestry."[251] Early

antiquarians, such as those supported by Henry VIII and Elizabeth I were often engaged

in research into the history not just of the British Isles, but also more particularly of the

nobility and monarchy of England. John Leland, appointed King's antiquary in 1533,

included a description of the realm, set out evidence of Henry's nobility and provided a

history of Rome's defeat in Britain in his 1549 *The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of*

John Leylande, for England's Antiquities.[252] William Lombarde's 1576 *A Perambulation*

of Kent describes the history of Kent, including a description of its physical features, its

commodities and industries, a genealogy of its nobility and gentry, its famous writers and

concludes with customs, language and law.[253] Similarly Christopher Saxton's 1579 *Atlas*

of England and Wales, undertaken initially at the behest of Queen Elizabeth's

government, reflects the values of the crown. While depicting a rational view of the

English land, the latter work also illustrates the social and political structure of the land.

Each page shows the Royal arms, Thomas Seckford's arms (the financer) and the

inscription "Christopher Saxton descripsit."[254] As Richard Helgerson notes, "[h]ere the

whole system - from Royal authority, through gentry patronage, to commoner

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[251] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 2.

[252] Stanley Mendyck, "Early British Chorography," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 17, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 465.

[253] Ibid., 470 – 471.

[254] Helgerson, 53.

craftsmanship - is set forth."[255]   In respect to the presence of the Royal arms: "not only

are these the Queen's maps; this is the Queen's land, her kingdom... These maps proclaim

Royal sovereignty over the kingdom as a whole and over each of its provinces."[256]

Notably the map in Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger's portrait (Plate 2), discussed in

Chapter One, closely resembles Saxton's early maps.   Early maps and early antiquarian

works fulfill the same function as portraits of the monarchy: they emphasize and maintain

the crown as the peak of the social order.

Inspired by antiquarian studies and influenced by projects such as *Civitates*, in the

late sixteenth century there was a burst of topographical activity in England, with a

particular focus on royal palaces. [257]   There is little evidence that such works were part of

any royal command, most likely such representations reflect similar interests in noble

lineage as recorded in antiquarian literature and performed a function akin to the royal

portraits many nobles hung in their long galleries.   While some expressions owed formal

allegiance to the prints in *Civitates*, others approached the subject matter with a more

decorative flare.   One such work is the Flemish Master of Flying Storks' c. 1620 *The*

Thames at Richmond, with the Old Palace (Plate 12), which blends early antiquarian

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[255] Ibid., 53.

[256] Ibid.,54.

[257] John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: a History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870*, revised ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper Row Publications Inc., 1985), 8.

Plate 12. The Master of Flying Storks. *The Thames at Richmond, with the Old Royal Palace*. c. 1620. Oil on Canvas. 152.1 x 304.2 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge. Object number 61, record id 1388.

interests in naturalistic representations of royal palaces with a residual investment in the symbolic representation of the feudal hierarchy. The medium used, oil on canvas, establishes its distinction from the form of representation used in *Civitates* or in Wyngaerde's depiction of the same locale (Plate 8); not only is this a costlier work, but the softness of oil, the diagonal composition and the abundance of staffage obscures details to promote more interpretative readings of the landscape.

The Thames at Richmond can be divided into three separate, but interrelated zones: the background – Richmond; the mid-ground – the Thames river; and the foreground – the path alongside the river bank. The background and mid-ground have the most in common with Wyngaerde's drawing; the focus being upon architectural incident and travel along the Thames, a river central to trade in the seventeenth century.[258] However, unlike Wyngaerde's direct frontal view and use of cartographic text to identify key landmarks, the Master of Flying Storks uses a diagonal plane, aerial and linear perspective and an abundance of verdant staffage to obscure our view of the town and palace and redirect the eye to the foreground. Whereas in Wyngaerde the foreground bank of the Thames is sparsely populated, in the latter it is alive with activity. The foreground is framed on the left by a large tree, reminiscent of the coulisse popular in contemporaneous Italianate landscapes and stage sets, and balanced on the right by the edge of the Thames and a clump of grasses and reeds. As in *Fête* (Plate 7), figures travel to the central area from either side – on foot, by horse, barge and in a coach. Moreover, the central circle of figures is involved in a common "peasant" dance – the Morris dance

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[258] Julia Marciari Alexander and Malcolm Warner, *This Other Eden: Paintings from the Yale Center for British Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 28.

– while various well dressed, likely noble, viewers observe; the scene is reminiscent of Northern *kermis* and other genre works.[259]

Despite its subject, *The Thames at Richmond* (Plate 12) shares more in common with *Fête* (Plate 7) than Wyngaerde's *Richmond Palace* (Plate 8). Like *Fête*, The Master of Flying Storks' naturalistic setting reinforces the central role of land and monarchical landowner in the feudal social order. The painting shows an easy balance of courtiers, citizens, traders, merchants and mummers in the foreground governed by the dwelling place of the crown on the hill above.[260] Hinting at the economic basis for such tranquility is the predominance of trade routes: the footpath in the foreground and the Thames River in the mid-ground.

It is my contention that the hierarchical structure of the painting is reminiscent of the social separations prosaically represented in country house poems of the same period. As James Turner notes, in such poems "[p]roperty and the orderly countryside are the same thing. In the composition of landscape practicality and aesthetics are allowed to melt together. As it develops in the seventeenth century from simple *placing* to complex *interrelating* it grows correspondingly richer as a means of displaying social doctrine."[261] While arguably more subtle than in *Fête*, the traditional social hierarchy is pictured in harmony with the growth of trade and the increased mobility of the lower orders. To help

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[259] David Fallows, "Review: Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua, Vol 1 by Iain Fenlon," *Early Music* Vol 9, 3, Wind Issue (July 1981): 351, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3126837.

[260] Harris 1985, 25.

[261] James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630 – 1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., 1979), 39.

eschew the fears of the landowners, those in a position to commission poetic and visual representations of rural England stressed the harmonious co-existence of propertied and working interests alike.

As the social structure of England began to shift and as more royal and previously monastic lands fell into the hands of parvenu nobility and gentry, the focus of antiquarians shifted from monarchical dominance to an increased interest in the land of England itself. In the Quartermaster's map of 1654, a re-engraving of Saxton's maps ordered by Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, the geographical information is retained but all references to heraldry or the original authorship are expunged.[262] The presence of the monarch is literally erased from the land.

Just as geography and other practical sciences became increasingly important avenues for parvenu nobility and the gentry alike, so antiquarian studies became a way to write their history upon the land of England. As Melanie Hansen notes, "antiquarian texts can be read as a response to a societal transformation in land ownership and, simultaneously, by virtue of their gentry status, can be understood as taking part in that transformation …"[263]

Frequently, the prints created to accompany antiquarian texts favoured the objective form established in works such as *Civitates* over more decorative works such as *The Thames at Richmond* (Plate 12). The emphasis upon a rational view reflects

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[262] Helgerson, 55.

[263] Melanie Hansen, "Identity and Ownership: Narratives of land in the English Renaissance," in *Writing and the English Renaissance*, eds. William Zunder and Suzanne Trill (London and New York: Longman, 1996), 97.

contemporaneous interest, on the part of many new landowners in the mid-century, in the application of new agricultural innovations, such as crop rotation, and accurate systems of land management, including land surveys, to their land holdings in this period.[264]

The formal language of the objective view is dominant in works such as Wenceslaus Hollar's 1659 *Windsor Castle, Berkshire* (Plate 13). The print employs multiple views in addition to a reference key, reminiscent of cartographic traditions, to position this as a representation whose visual truth goes beyond what any one visitor could apprehend in a single view.[265] The full print consists of two panels: one profile view and one map view, numbers are visible in both and refer to the legend at the side that directs the viewer to points of interest. There is little emotional content in the work; the visual focus is on the clarity of line and map-like precision. The emphasis upon objectivity is not incidental, but instead reflects the source of the commission; in May of 1659 Hollar undertook the drawings of the castle at the behest of Elias Ashmole to be included in the latter's publication *Institutions, Laws, and Ceremonies ... of the Garter*.[266] Unlike Hoefnagel's pastoral representation of Windsor, Hollar's print serves as a factual documentation of a site of significant historical and political importance.

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[264] The influence of surveys will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

[265] Early maps rarely required a legend as the audience often consisted of only those initiated into the science of geography. However, as the audience expanded in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, maps developed their own arcane coding system necessitating the inclusion of an interpretive guide or legend. Woodward 18.

[266] Hyde, 13. While the artist undertook the drawings in May of 1659, the work was not published until 1672, after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy (Hyde 13). Despite its lack of overt monarchical tropes, the subject of the text, the order of the Garter, was likely too politically charged to be published during the Interregnum.
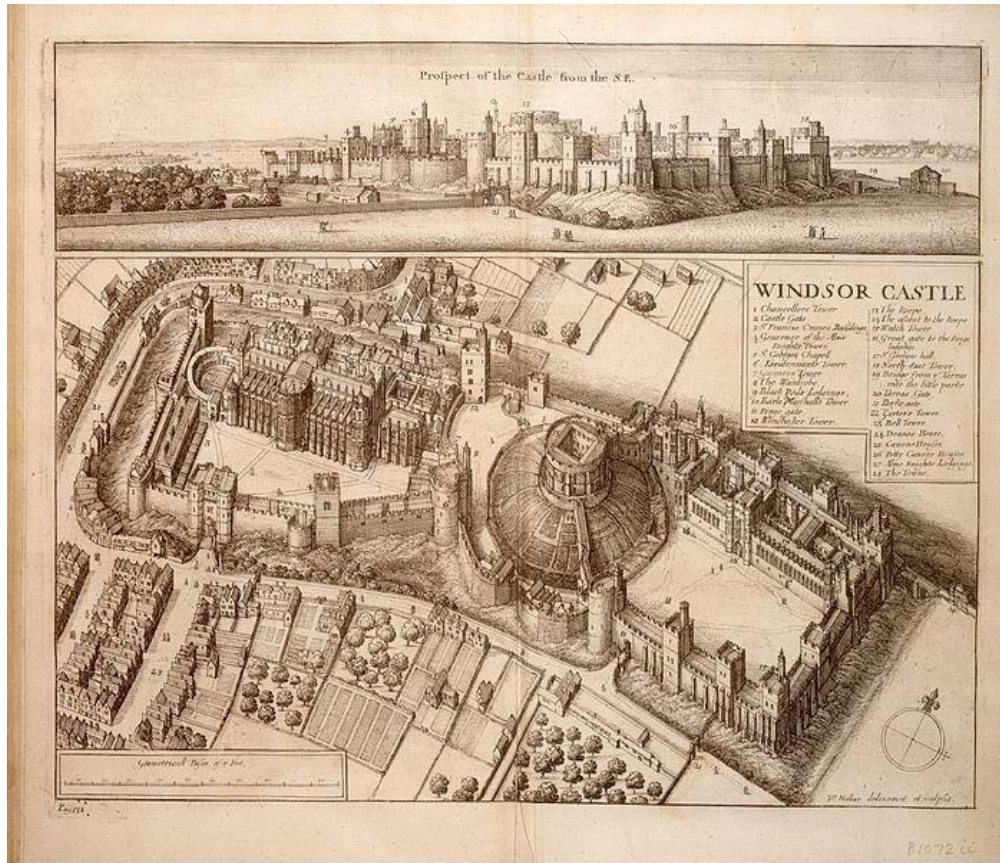
Plate 13. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Windsor Castle, Berkshire*. 1659. Etching. 30 x 37cm. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, P1072.

Royal palaces were not the only sites of antiquarian interest depicted in the seventeenth century, the universities, both Cambridge and Oxford, were also frequent subjects. Indeed, one of the first town plans produced in England was taken in 1574 by Richard Lyne for Dr. John Caius' *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*.[267] Later, in 1678/79 David Loggan, then official engraver to Cambridge, began a similar undertaking to depict the university town.[268] Published in 1690, Loggan's view of Cambridge from the east and west, *Prospectus Cantabridiae Orientalis* and *Prospectus Cantabrigiae Occidentalis* (Plate 14) blends residual symbolic elements with a form common to topographic works. The two prints, taken in profile, show little detail of the city itself, although they do notably include numbered notations and a reference key at the bottom of each print. The city exists only as a thin, two-dimensional, band along the horizon while the majority of each print is occupied by lyrical skies and fields. The works combine objective elements, akin to earlier maps, such as a banderole with the city's name, arms of the crown and city, and a reference key, along with more decorative elements, such as figural staffage in the foreground that is reminiscent of seasonal emblems.

In the view from the east, the foreground depicts pasture lands occupied by a returning party of hunters on the left and a shepherd with his flock on the right. The foreground view of the west is similarly dominated by rustic activities, depicting the gathering of grains from the field. Each print combines the objective view of the

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[267] Bendall, 30; Edward Lynam, "English Maps and Map-Makers of the Sixteenth Century," *The Geographical Journal* 116, 1/3 (Jul-Sept 1950): 9, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1789507. Lyne's bird's-eye view of Cambridge was strongly influenced by his teacher, Frans Hogenberg, engraver of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Ibid., 9.

[268] He was already official engraver to Oxford University. Hyde, 56.
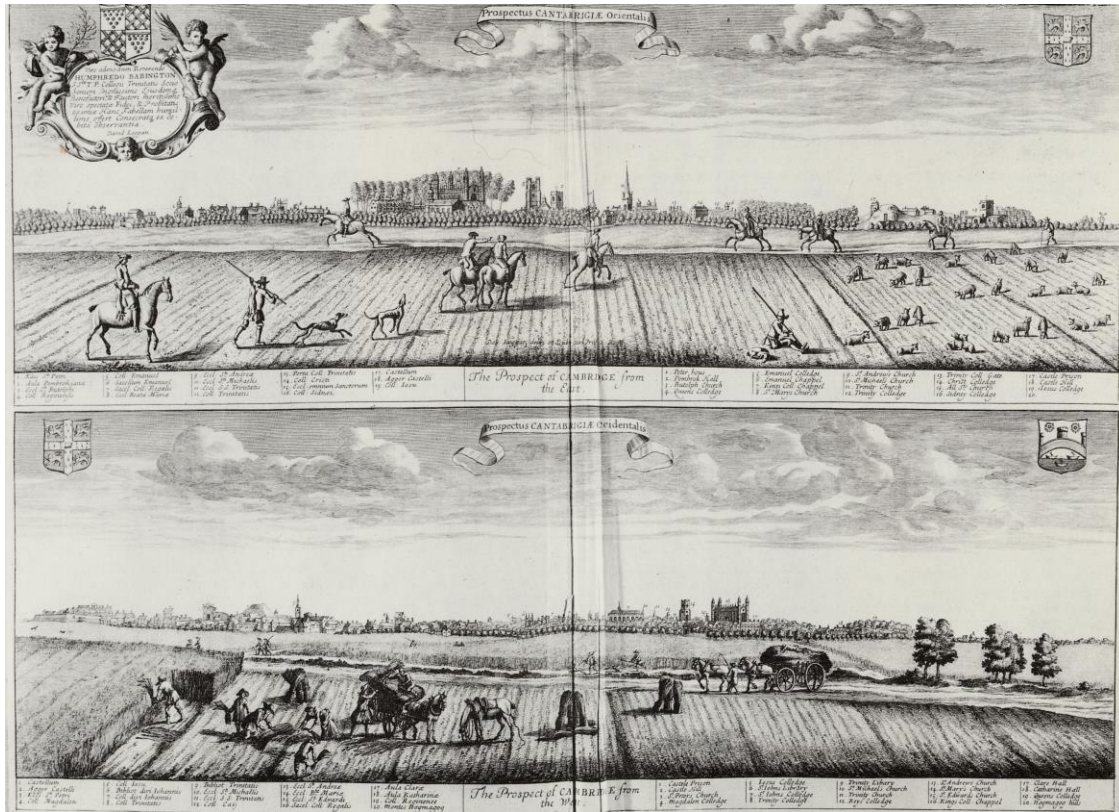
Figure 14. David Loggan. *Prospectus Cantabrigiae Orientalis (The Prospect of Cambridge from the East)* **and** *Prospectus Cantabrigiae Occidentalis (The Prospect of Cambridge from the West)*. **1690. Line Engraving. 145 x 445 mm each. Yale Center for British Art.**

cartographer with residual seasonal elements. Much like the later seasonals discussed in the previous chapter, neither the shepherd nor the workers appear to struggle in their labour. Furthermore, it is notable that Loggan depicts the gathering of the crop rather than the more active cutting of the crops. I argue that the inclusion of the seasonal activities act both as residual references to medieval views of the land, and as signifiers of the continued productivity of the land at a time when grain prices were falling.[269] Moreover, the objective cartographic elements serve to naturalize the ease of agricultural labour as *fact* rather than *symbol*.

An interest in antiquarian studies over the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries helped to create a demand for more descriptive representations of the land. Maps, much like antiquarian collections more broadly, "were seen as aids to a rational interpretation and classification of civilization … and they were also status symbols enhancing their owners' personal prestige."[270] Moreover, despite the emphasis on visual veracity, these works frequently allude to residual symbolic traditions that celebrate the ease of agricultural production and the feudal social order. Such symbolic overtones were particularly pronounced in works intended for a private, and aristocratic audience.

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[269] Susanna Wade Martins, *Farmers, Landlords and Landscapes: Rural Britain, 1720 to 1870* (Cheshire: Windgather Press Ltd, 2004), 2. Joan Thirsk, "English Rural Communities: Structures, Regularities, and Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." in *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis*, ed. Brian Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 51.

[270] Tolias, 648.

2.4   Intersections of Civic Pride and Industry

Beyond depictions of antiquarian interest, town plans were also undertaken as expressions of civic pride or as celebrations of the wealth that the land had to offer. These civic views, which Richard L. Kagan describes as works that incorporate cartographic elements, like landmarks, but are not necessarily topographically accurate representations, were frequently commissioned for civic or commemorative purposes or to mark an important historical event.[271] The creation of such views, and their popularity over the Renaissance, reinforces an emerging idea that the city itself was worthy of representation.[272]

In a variety of landscapes commissioned by the crown, city officials, and landowners after the Restoration, the productive in addition to social and political value of the land was emphasized. As I observe, the interest in accurately depicting the economic benefits of land ownership is not surprising given the coincidence of the rising interest in topographical representations with the increasing fluidity of the land market in England, as will be discussed further in Chapter Four.[273] Much like *Civitates,* these civic landscapes expressed a pride in the prosperity of English towns and cities. Furthermore,

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[271] Kagan, 109 – 148.

[272] Ibid. 19. It should be noted that Kagan, in particular, discusses these civic views in terms of a classical discourse of *urbs* and *civitas*, or physical/architectural attributes vs. the human/social elements of the city. As he notes, in the work of writers such as Alberti, the *urbs* was often conceived as the outward manifestation of *civitas*, although in practice the division between the two is often blurred (Kagan 9 – 18). The relevance of this concept to the English context is yet to be determined and would require further study of primary texts from this period. However, given the broad scope of this present dissertation I feel that debating the merits of *urbs* or *civitas* in English landscapes of this period is beyond the current framework.

[273] Lynam 11, Smith, "State Formation," 93.

like later antiquarian works, they were frequently subtle celebrations of the role of the noble and gentry landowner in such developments.

In the 1670s Hendrick Danckerts was commissioned to paint a series of sea ports across England, including the 1673 *Plymouth* (Plate 15)*,* which was most likely created for William Russell, then the fifth Earl of Bedford.[274] Russell had been recently named, in 1671, governor of Plymouth and was, for his assistance in 1672 in the third Anglo-Dutch war also elected to the position of Knight of the Garter.[275] Danckerts' landscape reflects not only the literal landscape the Earl controlled, but also the political and economic expanse of his influence.

The perspective of this work is inconsistent, the land appears to warp and bend like a *world landscape* as the discrete patchwork of scenes stretch out to the horizon. The foreground shows an idyllic countryside road populated by travellers; on the left, atop a hill, one well-dressed noble extends an arm, gesturing to the wealth of the landscape behind him. Danckerts' figures mimck those in *Civitates*, fulfilling many of the same functions, including providing examples of local fashion in addition to acting as guarantors of the "truth" of the landscape depicted. To the right middle-ground extends enclosed pasture and arable lands, while to the centre and left stretches a densely

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[274] Harris, 1985, 42 and 56.

[275] Victor Stater, "Russell, William, First Duke of Bedford (1616-1700), Politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com.

Plate 15. Hendrick Danckerts. *Plymouth*. **1673. Oil on Canvas. 101.6 x 172.7 cm. Yale Center for British Art. B1976.7.105**

populated port city, with a multitude of ships pulling into the harbour.[276] The two sides

of the middle ground display the wealth of the city, and by extension its governor,

founded in both agriculture and trade. Just below the horizon, in the centre of the city,

the battlements are prominently displayed, a warning to off-shore rivals and a celebration

of the strength of the naval empire during the Anglo-Dutch war.[277] While, as John Harris

notes, the work was likely incorporated into an existing decorative scheme within the

household of the Earl, the painting also makes a clear statement regarding the wealth and

security of this prominent port city and the power and influence of its governor, the Earl

of Bedford.[278]

Similarly, a series of paintings of Henley-on-Thames undertaken by Jan Siberechts at the

behest of Sir Thomas Willoughby, first Baron Middleton and MP for Nottinghamshire,

displays a pride in the district while also reinforcing the beneficent role of the patron to

his constituency's well-being. Jan Siberecht's c. 1690 *Landscape with a Rainbow,*

Henley-on-Thames (Plate 16) in particular deploys a strategic blending of topographic,

ideal and symbolic elements to promote the fashionable Henley-on-Thames district.[279]

While the view is certainly embellished for effect and the perspective slightly distorted,

the main features of Henley-on-Thames, such as the church, are represented with an eye

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[276] The predominance of the enclosed fields may reference the Earl's interest in agricultural improvement; in 1653 he oversaw the drainage of the fens in Bedford, an undertaking which reclaimed much waste land but also sparked local controversy and rioting. Ibid.

[277] The battlements and the ships at harbour may reference the Earl's role in the Battle of Sole Bay in 1672. Ibid. Works such as this show a strong tie to the conventions of both military landscapes and the contemporaneous popularity of seascapes, sub-genres worthy of further study.

[278] Harris 1985, 56.

[279] "Jan Siberechts Landscape with a Rainbow," Tate Museum, accessed 13 July 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/siberechts-landscape-with-rainbow-henley-on-thames-t00899.

to topographic accuracy. Like the landscapes of *Civitates*, the work presents a clear view

of the town on the right, with the majority of buildings presented in a profile view.

Moreover, the town is shown surrounded by its chief economic staples: the enclosed

pasture fields and the trade route of the Thames. The emphasis on trade and pasture

farming, however, may be less a statement on current life in Henley-on-Thames and more

a nostalgic reflection of the roots of the community. As Laura Wortly notes, while

throughout the early part of the century trade was central to the economy and lives of the

city's merchants and gentry, after the Restoration many gentry and nobility retreated to a

life of leisure on their private country estates.[280]

Similar to some of the earlier civic landscapes, Siberechts' work is not devoid of

symbolic and mythological overtones. The grazing cows while depicting commonplace

agricultural reality, also reflect the continued love of the pastoral. The most striking

element in this painting is however, the double rainbow shining forth through the storm

clouds retreating over the right horizon line. Reminiscent of a similar emblematic device

used in Francis Wouter's c. 1634 *Landscape with Rainbow* (Plate 5) discussed in the

previous chapter, the rainbow and receding clouds take on their traditional emblematic

meaning of receding troubles combined with God's mercy after tribulations.[281] I contend

that the combination of the rainbow, receding clouds and grazing cattle can be read as an

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[280] Laura Wortly, "'City Merchants' Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the Painting of Jan Siberechts," in *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670 - 1720*, Mireille Galinou, ed. (London: Corporation of London, 2004), 97.

[281] Henry Peacham, *Minerua Britanna or A Garden of Heroical Deuises Furnished, and Adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of Sundry Natures, Newly Devised, Moralized, and Published, By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Artes* (London: Printed in Shoe=lane at the Signe of the Faulcon by Wa: Dight, 1612), 42, 77, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

Plate 16. Jan Siberechts, *Landscape with a Rainbow, Henley-On-Thames.* **c. 1690. Oil on Canvas. 819 x 1029 mm. Tate, T00899.**

allegory of a return to peace and a pastoral Golden Age after the strife of the Glorious

Revolution of 1688. Despite the prominence of formal elements suggesting

topographical accuracy, Siberechts' work, like many seventeenth-century works employs

residual symbolic elements to reference the social, political and economic significance of

the English land.

Reflecting a more touristic interest in the land, Johannes Kip's 1690 engraving after

Francis Place of *Scarborough with the Castle, Port and Spaw* (Plate 17) depicts

Scarborough as a tourist and trade attraction. To the left foreground, the gentry and

nobility gather on the beach to enjoy the benefits of the Spa, while to the right great boats

pull into the port at Scarborough, overseen by the church and fort atop the dramatic cliffs.

While no cartographic parerga appear on the print itself, at its base a descriptive note

reads:

> … A Great number of ships are here Imployed Particularly in the Fishery,
> where they not onely Supply York & Nottingham & c. but also Exports great
> Quantities into Foreign parts. The Great Vertues of Medicinal Spaw Waters
> (which arise at the Foot of the High Cliff) Occasions A Great Resort of
> Nobility and Gentry all the summer season for its pleasant Accomodation, it
> may be Esteemed, the Tunbridge or Epsom of the North, and for its serenity
> of Air the Mont-pelier of England.[282]

Like many civic landscapes, the print emphasizes the attractions of the site, both as a

place of commerce, but also as a locus for leisure.[283] Notably, the medium increases the

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[282] Quoted in Hyde, 60.

[283] The importance of leisure in landscapes will be discussed further in chapter four.

Plate 17. Johannes Kip after Francis Place. *Scarborough with the Castle, Port and Spaw*. **1690. Coloured Engraving. UK, London, Government Art Collection, 6905.**

potential audience for this work, attracting potential tourists and investors from the middle and upper classes.

While *Plymouth* (Plate15)*, Landscape with a Rainbow* (Plate 16) and *Scarborough with the Castle, Port and Spaw* (Plate 17) by the nature of their mediums appeal to different audiences, the first two being limited to elite audiences while the second has a potentially broader public appeal, they share a similar investment in the descriptive nature of the landscape genre.[284] Like *Civitates* each acts as an objective record of the land and expresses an emergent interest in the land as resource. However, in all three the use of topographical formal elements naturalizes residual symbolic aspects to reinforce elite cultural interests.

2.5   Conclusions

The idea of creating an objective record of the world inspired a broad variety of descriptive landscapes over the seventeenth century. Unlike many texts that separate the study of the symbolic and descriptive forms into discrete studies, I find it more productive to view the two as part of the same discursive field. However, despite using a visual syntax that connotes clarity and veracity, many of these representations were highly subjective constructions that reflected the patron's values as much as any sense of truth. Moreover, as I drew attention to in several works, residual seasonal, pastoral or

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[284] While beyond the scope of this dissertation, there is much room for further study of print and broadsheet representations of the land in this period. One would be well to explore whether more affordable media would yield different forms of representation.

symbolic elements continue to subtly guide interpretations of these pieces. While

developments in natural philosophy inspired new forms of representation that appeared

empirical, I argue that the works produced reflect a more complex, and frequently

subjective, view of the land.

Chapter Three: *Ut Pictura Poèsis* and the Ideal Landscape of the Seventeenth Century

Alongside the continued fashion for symbolic and topographical forms of landscape in the mid seventeenth century emerged an interest in iterations that celebrated the imaginative and intellectual capacity of the artist. In part, these landscapes were rooted in a fascination with classical mythology and symbolism; particularly strident in court commissions in which the pastoral was a prominent signifier of royalist visual culture. However, the imaginative turn was also rooted in the rediscovery of classical texts that celebrated the intellectual prowess of the artist. Of particular significance was the promotion, within written treatises of the mid-seventeenth century and later of the Horatian ideal of *ut picture poèsis*. Texts such as William Sanderson's 1658 *Graphice* and John Dryden's "Preface" to Charles du Fresnoy's 1695 *De Arte Graphica* suggested that like poetry, painting was the product of the imagination of the artist.[285] The practical application of this concept led to a reinvigoration of pastoral and mythological landscapes influenced by Titian's *poèsie* in addition to more subtle expressions of an Ideal Arcadian world, akin to the works of Nicholas Poussin and Claude Lorrain. The latter iteration, *the ideal landscape*, rose to prominence towards the close of the seventeenth century as Italian and French artistic discourses became increasingly fashionable among the English

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[285] John Dryden, "Preface of the Translator with a Parallel, Of Poetry and Painting," in Charles A. Du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica. The Art of Painting. With Remarks ; Translated into English, Together with an Original Preface Containing a Parallel Betwixt Painting and Poetry, by Mr. Dryden ; as Also a Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd Down to the Present Times, According to the Order of Their Succession, by Another Hand,* trans. Mr. Dryden (London: J. Jeptinstall for W. Rogers, 1695), Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com. William Sanderson, *Graphice. The Use of the Pen and Pensil.: Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting : In Two Parts (*London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

elite. In these discourses landscape, and art in general, was increasingly defined as an

intellectual rather than mechanical endeavour. In this chapter I will explore the

production of classical, poetic and ideal landscapes over the seventeenth century against

the context of the artistic and social discourses that shaped their production. However,

much like the previous chapters, I emphasize that the trend to idealization is not wholly

distinct from other iterations, but instead is part of the same broad discursive field.

3.1   The Renaissance of Classical Art in England

A major component of the Renaissance in England, as in other European centres,

was the rediscovery and translation of Classical Greek and Roman texts. Inspired by the

writings of ancient scholars, including Pliny the Elder, Horace and Theocritus, among

others, English writers such as Henry Peacham and Franciscus Junius began to question

the role and form of art. In contrast to more iconoclastic and puritan discourses, Junius

and Peacham felt it necessary to emphasize the importance of the arts in a nobleman's

education.[286] Junius most strongly argues in favour of the ancient defense for art, using

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[286] Nicholas Hilliard, *The Art of Limning. A New Edition of A Treatise Concerning the Art of Limning*, Trans. Arthur F. Kinney, Forward Sir John Pope-Hennessy, Commentary and Apparatus Linda Bradley Salamon (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983), 17 – 18; Franciscus Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients: in three bookes: declaring by historicall observations and examples, the beginning,progresse, and consummation of thatmostnobleart. And how those ancient artificers attained to their skill so much admired excellencie* (London: Richard Hodgkinsonne, 1638), 98, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com; Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la Pittura, scultura et architetture. Book 1 – 5*, Trans. Richard Haydocke (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598), 8 – 9, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com; Henry Peacham, *The Art of Dravving Vvith the Pen, and Limming in Water Colours: More Exactlie Then Heretofore Taught and Enlarged with the True Manner of Painting Vpon Glasse, the Order of Making Your Furnace, Annealing, &C. Published, for the Behoofe of All Young Gentlemen, or Any Els That Are Desirous for to Become Practicioners in This Excellent, and Most Ingenious Art* (London: Printed by Richard Braddock for Willion Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606), "Epistle to the Reader," Early English Books Online,

newly rediscovered classical texts, such as Pliny's *Natualis Historae*, as proof of the

esteeme for art held by the ancients.[287]   As Junius notes, Greeks taught children painting

"*that they might improve themselves in the true knowledge of perfect beautie…*"[288]

Similarly, Peacham suggests in his 1612 *Graphice*, "that you should not esteeme basely

the practice thereof, let me first tell you that in ancient times painting was admitted into

the first place among the liberall arts…"[289] For writers such as Peacham and Junius, the

visual arts stood alongside poetry and rhetoric as key elements in a liberal education;

knowledge and practice thereof enriched not only children's education, but was also

essential to the development of a well-rounded gentleman. As Junius notes, according to

Plutarch "Lovers and well-willers of Art were named *elegantes*, that is, *neat and polished*

men; and that they on the contrary were called *idiote*, that is, *idiots*, the which had no skill

at all and did not care for the delicacy of rare works…"[290]

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http://eebo.chadwyck.com; Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning Him Absolute in the Most Necessary & Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Bodie That May Be Required in a Noble Gentleman* (London: Imprinted by John Legat for Francis Constable and are to bee sold at his shop at the White Lion in Paules Churchyard, 1622), 105, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[287] Brian Cowan, "An Open Elite: The Peculiarities of Connoisseurship in Early Modern England," *Modern Intellectual History,* 1 (2004):158, http://journals.cambridge.org/MITT.

[288] Junius, 98.

[289] Henry Peacham, *Graphice. The Gentlemen's Exercise: Or an Exquisite Practise, as Well for Drawing All Manner of Beasts in Their True Portraitures: As Also the Making of All Kinds of Colours, to Be Vsed in Lymming, Painting, Tricking, and Blason of Coates, and Armes, with Diuers Others Most Delightfull and Pleasurable Obseruations, for All Yong Gentlemen and Others. As Also Seruing for the Necessarie Vse and Generall Benefite of Diuers Trades-Men and Artificers, as Namly Painters, Ioyners, Free-Masons, Cutters and Caruers, &C. For the Farther Gracing, Beautifying, and Garnishing of All Their Absolute and Worthie Peeces, Either for Borders, Architecks, or Columnes, &C.* (London: Printed for Iohn Browne, and are to be sold at his shop in Fleet-street in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, 1612), 105, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[290] Junius, 73.

Classical education and the celebration of ancient artists in the writings of Peacham and Junius fueled an appreciation for classical art among English collectors and connoisseurs; Lord Arundel, for example, had a number of Roman marble copies of Greek sculptures imported for his estate in Surrey.[291] However, with only ancient sculptures surviving at that time, artists and theorists were left to ponder what form ancient painting took. Pliny provided partial answers, celebrating the naturalism, in both subject and technique, of Apelles and Zeuxis, but it was left up to contemporary writers to imagine broader applications.[292]

For inspiration, many patrons, artists and writers turned to the birth place of classical art: Southern Europe, sparking an interest amongst the English elite in foreign travel, especially to Italy.[293] While relations with the Italian states had been strained during the reign of Elizabeth I, under James I and subsequent Stuart rulers these tensions eased. Under James I formal diplomatic relations were established with the Italian states, initially with Venice, but later with Savoy and Tuscany.[294] Venice, in particular, was a key site of cultural exchange for the English. It was the first Italian state to which a resident English Ambassador was stationed (1604 – 1630).[295] It was also a celebrated

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[291] James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Turdors to the Present* (London: Scala Publishers, 2012), 53.

[292] The influence of Apelles and Zeuxis is evident in the celebration of these artists in both Peacham and Junius. Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, 4 – 5; Junius 5, 7.

[293] John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 1 – 2.

[294] Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1979), 167.

[295] Hale, 17;

stop for English travellers who were attracted not only by its constitution, but also by its perceived connection to the classical past and continuation of ancient traditions.[296]

In Italy, the English were exposed to current trends in classical art and new developments in the landscape genre. Venetian paintings in particular were popular commodities among English collectors; Titian and Giorgione, both known for their poetic landscapes, were listed in the collections of both the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arundel in the early seventeenth century.[297] Even when travel was limited, many English collectors were exposed to current trends in classical and classical-style art through prominent collectors who were keen to show off their collections to like-minded gentlemen and artists.[298] Furthermore, print copies of famous works were often available through distributors in Antwerp as well as London.[299]

An additional source for Italian Renaisance styles were the masque designs produced by Inigo Jones for the Stuart court. In themes, stage sets and costumes "the corpus of masque designs represent a conscious and extensive effort of appropriation, bringing into play a vast range of references to the entire repertory of Renaissance art."[300] While an in-depth study of the influence of Jones' use of Italianate tropes is beyond the framework of this dissertation, it should be noted that his influence has been extensively

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[296] Ibid., 16. In 1644 Parliamentarian MPs were so intrigued by Venetian politics that they requested a full account of its constitution. Ibid., 17.

[297] Stourton and Sebag-Montfiore, 54 – 60.

[298] Ibid., 21.

[299] Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 20.

[300] John Peacock, "Inigo Jones' Stage Architecture and its Sources," *The Art Bulletin*, 64, no. 2 (June 1982), 195, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3050216.

studied by scholars, including John Peacock and others. Such studies bring to light the

influence of a cross-section of contemporaneous continental artists, including Sebastiano

Serlio, Giulio Parigi, Hans Vredeman de Vries, and Paul Bril among others, upon English

masques.[301]

In the early seventeenth century, the works of Titian, especially his *poèsie*,

exerted significant influence on the development of the landscape genre in England. The

poèsie form originated with a series of mythological landscapes based on Renaissance

commentaries of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, created by Titian in 1562 for Phillip II of

Spain.[302] While some English collectors, including the Duke of Buckingham and Lord

Arundel, added Titians to their private collections in the early seventeenth century, many

collectors were exposed to the form through prints and paintings inspired by Titian's

poesie. In 1558 Hieronymous Cock issued a popular series of prints based on Titian,

entitled *Landscapes with Biblical and Mythological Scenes*, these prints were widely

available across Europe into the seventeenth century.[303] The *poèsie* form was also widely

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[301] Ibid., 195- 202. John Peacock, "Inigo Jones and Renaissance Art," *Renaissance Studies*, 4, no. 3 (Sept 1990), 246 – 258, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24412507. Enid Welsford, "Italian Influence on the English Court Masque," *The Modern Language Review*, 100 (2005), 75, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3738153. Joan Summer Smith, "The Italian Sources of Inigo Jones's Style," *The Burlington Magazine*, 94, no. 592 (July 1952), 203 – 204, http://www.jstor.org/stable/871065.

[302] Clark Hulse, "The Significance of Titian's 'Pastoral Scene'," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal,* 17 (1989): 29, Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166591.

[303] Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 45.

disseminated in Dutch Italianist paintings by artists, such as Cornelis van Poelenburgh, who were inspired by the form and content of these mythological scenes.[304]

The emphasis on mythological content within the *poèsie* blended into an already established fashion for pastoral symbolism within late-sixteenth century English art. As discussed in Chapter One, Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* provided a popular framework for representations of the English land. The pastoral found its way into seasonal emblems, such as those used to illustrate Edmund Spencer's *The Shepherd's Calendar* (Plates 4 and 11), in addition to more topographical works like Joris Hoefnagel's *Vindesorium* (Plate 10). The emblems and allegories employed in seasonals had clear didactic meanings that could be translated with the help of emblem books. Similarly, the use of classical forms and figures, such as Pan for example, were translatable into relatively defined narratives, for those with the requisite education. Furthermore, as Andrew Wallace notes, the writings of Virgil and Ovid, particularly the *Metamorphoses*, were mainstays of the English educational system from the sixteenth century on, providing a common symbolic language for the English elite.[305]

Given the existing fashion for classical themes and the interest in Italianate *poèsie* it is not surprising that artists such as van Poelenburgh were popular among collectors and patrons in the early seventeenth century. In Poelenburgh's c. 1630 *Women Bathing in*

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[304] Poelenburgh was a Dutch artist, trained by Italianist Abraham Bloemaert, who had worked in Italy for the Grand Duke of Tuscany before being invited to England by Charles I. The National Gallery, "Cornelis van Poelenburgh – Women Bathing in a Landscape," http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/artists/cornelis-van-poelenburgh-women-bathing-in-a-landscape.

[305] Andrew Wallace, "Virgil and Bacon in the Schoolroom," *ELH* 73, 1 (Spring 2006): 161, Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30030006.

Plate 18. Cornelis van Poelenburgh. *Women Bathing in a Landscape*. c. 1630. Oil on Canvas. 35 x 43.5cm. National Gallery, London, NG955.

a Landscape (Plate 18) a group of female bathers, screened by crumbling Roman ruins to the right, gather in the foreground, pulling draperies to their soft nude forms. The background reveals rolling hills, populated by a few large cows and topped at the extreme left by a Mediterranean-style clay-roofed house. The nudes appear to take on the aspect of nymphs in this Arcadian setting. Given their nudity and attachment to the water they are most likely intended to represent Naiades, or nymphs of the floods, whom Henry Peacham describes as being represented with bare arms and legs, clear hair and pitchers of water.[306] As Peacham notes, the symbolic function of nymphs was as an "allegory of the vegetative humour or moisture that quickneth and giveth life to trees, plants, herbs and flowers, whereby they grow and increase …"[307] While the ruins crumble behind them, the presence of nymphs and the sunrise offer the promise of growth and fecundity in a new Arcadia.[308]

Notably, the lack of recession in the background causes Poelenbugh's work to appear more like a sculptural relief than a painted window onto an Arcadian world. The flatness could suggest the formal allegiance early landscapes owed to existing classical art: sculpture and relief. However, the lack of recession may also signal, as it had in earlier symbolic works discussed in Chapter One, the extent to which narrative and

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[306] Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman Fashioning him absolut, in the most necessary and commendable qualities concerning minde or body, that may be required in a noble gentleman. Whereunto is annexed a description of the order of a maine battaile or pitched field, eight severall wayes: with the art of limming and other additions newly enlarged. By Henry Peacham Master of Arts: sometime of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge*, (London: Printed [by John Legat] for Francis Constable, and are to bee sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane, 1634), 114, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[307] Ibid., 114.

[308] Nymphs and the goddess Diana are also prominently represented in a second work by this artist in the Royal Collection, believed to have been commissioned by James II, entitled *Diana and Her Nymphs*.

allegory are favoured over naturalism in early English landscapes. Moreover, the flatness is reminiscent of the backdrops employed in the popular court masques of Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson.

By the mid seventeenth century, the classical Italianate landscape grew in popularity, particularly the iterations produced by Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin. As early as the 1640s there was a market for the works of Poussin and Claude within England; Denys Sutton suggests that the Marquis of Hamilton had a Poussin in his collection around 1639, although it is only in 1689 that there is a precise record of his work in England.[309] Claude was also known to have had many admirers in England, including an unidentified Englishman who in 1644 commissioned *Landscape with Narcissus and Echo*.[310] While works by Claude and Poussin were rare finds in English collections in the first half of the seventeenth century, their form was widely imitated. Such works often decorated the houses of the wealthy; classical landscapes were often part of a broader decorative scheme, often displayed over doors and mantles in the private apartments of the aristocracy.[311] Henry Wotton Knight and Marshall Smith both

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[309] Denys Sutton, "Early Patrons and Collectors II: London as an Art Centre," *Apollo* (November 1981), 304.

[310] Stourton and Sebag-Montfiore, 77. This work is part of the collection at the National Gallery in London.

[311] Royal Collection Trust, "Jacques Rousseau: A Ruin in a Landscape," RCIN 402933, https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/10/collection/402933/a-ruin-in-a-landscape

remark upon the use of landscapes in the decorative schemes of noble houses and palaces.[312]

The popularity of the classical landscape was especially significant with respect to monarchical projections of power and stability throughout the century. The pastoral, a mythology popularly deployed in Elizabethan visual culture, continued to be referenced in support of the Stuart monarchs. For the early Stuarts the relevance of conjuring Roman myth was linked to the belief, expounded in Geoffrey of Monmouth's 1136 *Historia Regum Britanniae*, that the royal legitimacy of the Stuart Line was founded in their descent from Aeneas and Brutus of Troy.[313] The mythology of ancient Greece and Rome, especially the ideal of a Golden Age, served to unify the political discourse of the crown.[314] As C. B. Hardman notes, this mythology provided a central theme in James I's entry into London in 1603; "… he was welcomed as a second Brute fulfilling the ancient prophecy that the island would be united under a single ruler. Contemporary image-makers reinvigorated and reapplied Tudor myths of the Arthurian past and of the Golden

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[312] Henry Wotton Knight, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), 101, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com; Marshall Smith, *The Art of Painting According To The Theory and Practice of the Best Italian, French, and Germane Masters: Treating of the Antiquity of Painting. The Reputation It Always Had. The Characters of Several Masters. Proportion. Action and Passion. The Effects of Light. Perspective. Draught. Colouring. Ordonnance. Far More Compleat and Compendious Then Hath yet Been Publisht by Any, Antient or Modern* (London: R. Bently in Russel-Street and J. Jancock in Castle Ally, 1693), 13, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com. The advice of Wotton and Smith echoes similar advice given by Leon Battista Alberti in his *Ten Books on Architecture*. Leon Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 192 – 193, Gale Cengage Learning, Eighteenth Century Collection Online, find.galegroup.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca.

[313] Stephen Gregory Gleisner, *The Arts Restored: The Restoration of Royal Imagery and Patronage for Charles II of Great Britian*, PhD Dissertation (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, June 1995), 21.

[314] The Golden Age was a theme both in Virgil and Ovid. C. B. Hardman, "Shakespeare's Winter's Tale and the Stuart Golden Age," *The Review of English Studies*, 45, 178 (May 1994):225, Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/518177.

Age. James was welcomed as a second Augustus, expected to inaugurate a period of peace."[315] The pastoral was also a frequent source of material in Stuart court masques, such as *Pan's Anniversary or the Shepherd's Holiday* presented for King James I's birthday in 1620 in which the King acts as Pan, ruler over the pastoral England – Arcadia.[316] This same mythos is repeated later in the King's own eclogue of 1623 in which he writes, "England was Arcadia, and its government could be safely left in the hand of the ruling deity, 'Royall Pan'."[317]

It is my contention that the collection of classical landscapes over the seventeenth century, by the crown in particular, helped to maintain, especially in the aftermath of the Interregnum and Restoration, continuity with the past. Given the centrality of Golden Age mythology to the early Stuart monarchs it is not surprising that Charles II and James II continued to collect similar works. Much like his father, Charles II tended to favour Italianate works, such as Hendrick Danckert's c. 1674 *Classical Landscape* (Plate 19). Danckerts was a court favourite, well-known in his own time for landscapes, particularly for representations of royal palaces and ports like *Plymouth* (Plate 15) discussed in Chapter Two.[318] Between 1665 and 1677 he created a number of Arcadian landscapes

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[315] Hardman, 221. The importance of the Golden Age to Stuart culture is also discussed in Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), 8 and Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, 85.

[316] John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 183; Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, 202.

[317] James I quoted in: Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 147.

[318] Bainbrigge Buckeridge, "An Essays towards an English-school, with the Lives and Character of above 100 Painters," in Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters Containing a Compleat Treatife of Painting, Defiguring, and the Ufe of Prints: With Reflections on the Works of the Most*

Plate 19. Hendrick Danckerts. *Classical Landscape*. **c. 1674. Oil on Canvas. 42.6 x 114.6cm. Royal Collection, King's Privy Chamber, Hampton Court Palace, RCIN 404073**

Celebrated Painters, and of the Feveral School of Europe, as Well Ancient as Modern. To Which Is Added, an Essays Towards an Englifh-School, with the Lives and Character of above 100 Painters (London: J. Nutt Near Stationers-Hall, 1706), 413, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

for the King.[319] These works were intended as overdoors and over-mantles, ostensibly serving a decorative purpose while visually reinforcing continuity with his father's reign and emphasizing the dawn of a new Golden Age in England.

Danckert's *Classical Landscape* (Plate 19) is a contrived blending of elements popularly deployed in the works of Poussin and Claude. A coulisse of trees frames a central group of figures in front of a pillared temple. Once again dawn breaks over a new Arcadia. In place of nymphs one finds a shepherd, his flock, and a pair of women, all classically attired. The shepherd is a prominent figure in pastoral poetry, often symbolizing love and care, and was also a frequently employed trope in Elizabethan and early Stuart commissions.

Danckerts' work is in many ways reminiscent of Poelenburgh's: both share a dramatic use of lighting, reminiscent of Claude, a fantastical Arcadian setting, classical ruins and antique figures. However, whereas the landscape in Polenburgh appears flat, with limited recession, in Danckert's the figures are dwarfed by the landscape: their pastoral idyll is one within the land or rather the land is inherently part of the narrative rather than a mere backdrop.   The increased predominance of the land reflects the artist's ease with systems of perspective or his own stylistic preferences, and implies the increasing economic and political significance of land ownership in the later seventeenth century.

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[319] John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870*, Rev. Ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper and Row Publications Inc., 1985), 42.

The choice to commission such a classically inspired landscape, does signal, as Stephen Gleisner observes, a desire on the part of Charles II to emphasize the continuity of his reign with his father's as well as hope for a new, different, future.[320] The references to the classical past signalled, as they had in Charles I's commissions, an unbroken monarchical line, traced back to Trajan, reconfirming the legitimacy of the Stuarts, and the monarchy, during the Restoration period.

When the Glorious Revolution of 1688 removed the Stuart line in favour of William of Orange, the new monarch continued to favour the classical form that had dominated the visual program of his predecessors.   Jacques Rousseau's c. 1688 – 93 *A Ruin in a Landscape* (Plate 20) was likely painted by the Huguenot immigrant for William III as part of set of classical paintings intended to decorate the Eating Room and Presence Chamber of the King's apartments at Hampton Court.[321] The work itself is predominately decorative in focus, with the large pillared ruin occupying more than half of the canvas, bathed in the golden light of sunset. In the foreground a female figure bathes in a serene pool while four more lounge on the near-by stairs; the figures emphasize the sensuousness of the scene rather than suggesting a particular narrative. Much like Polenbugh's work (Plate 18), the ruin, the tree to the right, and the abrupt recession to a distant hazy horizon are more suggestive of a theatrical backdrop than a window onto a believable landscape. Even in his own time, contemporary critics dwelt

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[320] Gleisner, *The Arts Restored,* 165 – 168.

[321] Royal Collection Trust, "Jacques Rousseau: A Ruin in a Landscape;" Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with some account of the principle artists and incidental notes on other arts; also a catalogue of engravers who have been born or resided in england; collected by the late George Vertue, digested and published from his orginal mss.* Vol. 3, Rev. Ed. (London, H. G. Bohn, 1862), 106.
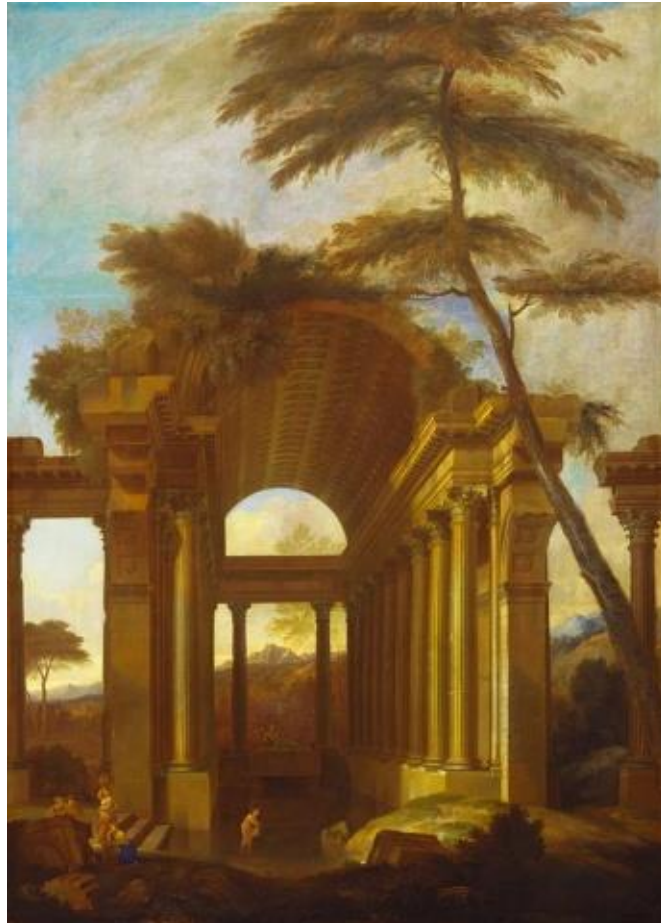
Plate 20. Jacques Rousseau. *A Ruin in a Landscape*. **c. 1688 – 93. Oil on Canvas. 180.0 x 134.6cm. Royal Collection, King's Eating Room, Hampton Court Palace, RCIN 402933**

upon the pleasure of Rousseau's creations rather than their reality or allegorical

significance. As Bainbrigg Buckeridge notes, "His Views are commonly Slyvan and

Solid, his Waters of all kinds, well understood and transparent, his *Fore-Grounds* great,

and generally well broke; and in a Word, the whole very Agreeable and Harmonious."[322]

Despite its decorative focus, Rousseau's work, like Danckerts', serves to reinforce

continuity with past regimes via a common classical language.

While the classical landscapes produced by Rousseau (Plate 20), Danckerts (Plate

19) and Poelenburgh (Plate 18), among others, remained favourites with collectors

throughout the century, some contemporary authors criticized these works for not living

up to the high standards set by the ancients. Peacham and Junius alike complain of the

indiscriminate use of the classical form for ornament alone. In the early seventeenth

century "the antique" as Peacham describes it, was a popular, if often overused, source of

visual delight. Frequent subjects included Arcadian scenes of boys riding, shepherds and

their flocks, "cornu-copias," satyrs, nymphs, goddesses and gods.[323] As Peacham,

somewhat derisively, describes in *The Gentlemen's Exercise* of 1634, "The forme of it is

a general, and (as I may say) an unnaturall or unorderly composition for delightsake, of

men, beasts, birds, fishes, flowers, & c. without (as we say) Rime or reason, for the

greater varietie you shew in your invention the more you please …"[324]   In contrast to the

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[322] Buckeridge, 462. Rousseau was popular in his own time and was known to have made etchings of his own works to be sold by Mr. Cooper in London, Maurice Harold Grant, *A Chronological History of Old Landscape Painters in Oil from the XVIth Century to the XIXth Century* (Leigh-On-Sea: F. Lewis, 1957), 56.

[323] Peacham, *the Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, 47 – 117.

[324] Ibid., 47.

aping of classical form, authors such as Junius suggest that it was the theory rather than the subject matter of ancient art that was most important to contemporary artists and collectors. As he notes, "the true following of a rare Masters Art doth not consist in an apish Imitation of the outward ornaments, but rather in the expressing of the inward force …"[325] To develop this inward impetus Junius suggests that painting, like poetry, rely not only upon the imitative skill of the artist, but also upon their imagination and grace.

3.2   Ut Pictura Poèsis and the Imaginative Landscape

For early seventeenth century theorists one of the central problems of the classical revival was that contemporary painters had no surviving painted examples from which to draw inspiration. Instead, many artists focused upon the content, the mythology, rather than the form. However, as Peacham and Junius complain, this often led to "apish imitation," resulting in works, like Poelenburgh's (Plate 18), that flatly reproduce the form and content of ancient reliefs without the spirit.

Junius, like Leon Battista Alberti and other Italian Humanists, suggests that the true value of ancient art lies in the discourse on poetry and rhetoric. By relying upon classical writings on poetry and rhetoric Junius draws an implicit connection between painting and poetry from the outset.[326] As Judith Dundas observes, "If painters have as

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[325] Junius, 38.

[326] Judith Dundas, "Franciscus Junius's 'The Painting of the Ancients' and the Painted Poetry of Ovid," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 3, 2 (Fall 1996): 159, Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30222267.

much need of the imaginative faculty as poets, they cease to be mere copiers of external

reality. As Junius transfers to painting the practice and theory of poetry in ancient times,

he naturally evolves a theory of poetic painting. It is not only subject matter that, as

Alberti advised, painters can find in the poets, but a whole method of approaching a

subject."[327]

Over the seventeenth century, the concept, based on Horace, of *ut pictura poèsis*

gained a significant following in some areas of English landscape discourse. For writers

such as Junius, Sanderson and Dryden, poetry and painting were sister arts, sharing

similar compositional and stylistic effects, and more importantly, relying upon the

imagination and grace of the artist. As Junius describes, "these words sayth *Plutarch …*

that Painters *doe expresse with colours what* Writers *doe describe with words; so is it*

that they doe but differ in the matter and manner of Imitation, having both the same

end…"[328] Similarly, in 1658 Sanderson compares painting to poetry:

> For *Poesie* is a speaking *Picture*, and *Picture* is a silent *Poesie*, the first, as if
> always a doing; the other, as if done already. In both, an astonishment of
> wonder; by *Painting* to stare upon the imitation of Nature, leading and guiding
> our Passions, by that beguiling power, which we see exprest; and to ravish the
> mind most, when they are drunke by the eyes.[329]

The idea of *ut pictura poèsis* remained a central tenant throughout the seventeenth

century, especially with respect to the depiction of nature. In 1695, in his " Preface of the

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[327] Ibid., 163.

[328] Junius, 54.

[329] Sanderson, 13.

Translator with a Parallel of Poetry and Painting," Dryden observes that neither painting nor poetry imitate nature, but are rather "the best Nature, of that which is wrought up to a nobler pitch."[330] That is to say, painting like poetry aspires to the rhetorical ideal. In this sense the "noble" arts aspire to true Ideals, in a Platonic sense, whereas realistic descriptions are relegated to the realm of craft. It is this conceptual separation, conceived in the mid-seventeenth century, that has come to define much subsequent study of the genre – separating the Ideal and Descriptive into discrete, hierarchical, categories. However, as this dissertation stresses and has shown with emblematic and other tropes such separation rarely exits in the practice of English landscape traditions in the seventeenth century.

To some extent, the fashion for *poèsie* continued the tradition of viewing the landscape as an extension of a symbolic program, as discussed in Chapter One; however, the emphasis the discourse places upon the imagination and grace of the artist aided the development of an idealized form. While the perpetuation of an idealized view was supported, as I will discuss below, it was also, like the symbolic traditions that preceded it, a reflection of the social status and values of the patrons and collectors.

3.3   The Ideal landscape

For Ernst Gombrich, the creation of the Italian landscape genre was inherently connected to the revolutions in artistic discourse wrought by the impact of Humanism

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[330] Dryden, Xxxiii.

over the Renaissance. While, as discussed in Chapter One, there were barriers to the

inclusion of current Italian trends into English art, some scholars, including Peacham,

Wotton and Junius, were granted access to ample libraries though their diplomatic and

scholarly appointments; while Wotton acted as an ambassador to Venice, both Peacham

and Junius served as tutors to the Earl of Arundel's son. Given their access to the

writings of continental Humanists it is not surprising that the artistic discourses produced

by Peacham, Junius and Wotton most closely resembles the ideals espoused by Southern

Renaissance critics. However, as I stress below, the creation of an English Ideal

landscape was inspired not only by a new "aesthetic consciousness" but also by social

shifts over the latter half od the century.

In contrast to the practical art treatises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

centuries that emphasized the artist's skillful imitation of the visible world, those treatises

influenced by classical thought and Humanist discourse stressed the role played by the

imagination and grace of the artist. In contrast to Richard Haydocke, who notes that the

five elements of painting consist in: "Proportion, Motion, Colour, Light &

Perspective,"[331] Junius adds invention and grace.[332] Junius writes,

> The ancients observed in Picture these five principall points. Invention, or
> Historical argument. Proportion, or Symmetrie. Colour, and therein Light
> and Shadow, as also Brightnesse and Darkness. Motion or Life, and therein
> Action and Passion. Disposition, or an Occonomicall placing and ordering
> of the whole worke… Yet did not the ancients think that the perfection of
> Art consisted in a meete observing of these five points, except the whole

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[331] Lomazzo, 10.

[332] Junius, 221- 222.

worke did breath forth a certaine kinde of Grace proceeding out of decent comlinesse of every point by itself, and out of a mutuall accord of all five.[333]

The importance of elements such as light, colour, symmetry and proportion had long been recognized, even in the more emblematic works of the late sixteenth century. Similarly, the imitation of nature had gained increasing importance in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, influenced, as was discussed in the previous chapter, by contemporaneous developments in topography and natural philosophy. What is unique in Junius, but becomes increasingly important as Italian art theory permeates English criticism over the seventeenth century, are the concepts of invention and grace.

Invention and grace, unlike more technical elements of painting, emphasize the centrality of the artist in the creative process. In terms of the former, invention, it is not enough, according to Junius, to simply imitate nature, but rather the artist must be able to imagine her at her *best*. While the study of the natural world remains important, the true artist draws upon these experiences to represent an *Ideal*. As Junius describes, "such Artificers therefore as carry in their mind an uncorrupt image of perfect beautie, do most commonly power forth into their workes some certaine glimmering sparkles of the inward beautie contained in their minds…"[334]   Thus the artist does not simply transcribe, but instead injects his own genius into each representation.[335]

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[333] Ibid., 221 – 222.

[334] Ibid., 4 - 6.

[335] It should be noted that the use of the term "genius" in seventeenth century treatises is quite distinct from eighteenth and particularly nineteenth century definitions of the term.

The early interest in imaginary landscapes is reflected in Sir Nathaniel Bacon's c. 1656 *Landscape* (Plate 21), a small oil painting upon unprimed copper. The work now appears fairly dark and muddy, likely an effect of age, which makes some details difficult to distinguish. The picture plane is divided into two halves by a large rocky outcropping topped by a gnarled tree in the foreground. The left side shows a path or stream that leads from the left corner and disappears behind the central rise. Upon the far bank in the mid-ground are two rustic cottages and in the distance, upon the horizon line, protrudes what appear to be church spires. The right side of the composition is dominated by craggy rocks reminiscent of those used in works like ca. 1520 *Burning of Sodom* by Joachim Patinir. The landscape depicted is completely unlike the native English landscape. Moreover, there are no mythological figures or classical references; Bacon's work instead presents an early English attempt at a completely fictitious landscape based upon the artist's imagination alone.

More significant than imagination, for Junius and later writers, was the concept of grace. According to Junius, grace is the "life and soule of Art," it is superior to beauty and most importantly for the status of the artist, "cannot be taught by any rules of art…"[336] This latter emergent idea, that the true soul of art cannot be taught, marks a significant point of departure in English art theory, one that echoes the theoretical developments of later Italian Renaissance discourses.

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[336] Ibid., 321 – 327.

Plate 21. Sir Nathaniel Bacon. *Landscape*. **c. 1656. Oil on unprimed copper. Ashmolean Museum, WA 1908.224**

In the early seventeenth century, the dominant definition of the artist was as a workman, artisan or artificer who learned his craft through imitation of both nature and his guild masters.[337] Reflecting the primary function of the artificer, most early treatises emphasize practical instruction over theoretical concepts. William Norgate's 1648 *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, Peacham's 1606 *The Art of Drawing* and 1612 *Graphice*, in addition to Sanderson's 1658 *Graphice* all focus on practical instruction. Even later in the century, William Salmon's 1672 *Polygraphice*, emphasizes the practical side of art, offering a compendium of instructions for a general audience.[338] However, as the influence of contemporary Humanist works and classical discourse grew, writers increasingly drew a distinction between the artistan and artist, the workman and intellectual. Peacham, for example, derides the work of the artisan in his later text, the 1634 *The Compleat Gentleman*, as he describes, "touching Mechanicall Arts and Artists, whosoever labour for their livelihood and gaine, have no share at all in Nobility or Gentry … The reason is, because their bodies are spent with labour and travaile…"[339]

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[337] Hilliard, 15 – 16;   Junius, 5 – 6; Lomazzo, 180 – 183; Sanderson, "Preface;" Knight, 84 – 85.

[338] Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso. Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 113;   William Salmon, *Polygraphice, or, the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring, and Dying: In Three Books : I, Shews the Drawing of Men and Other Animal Creatures, Landskips, Countries, and Figures of Various Forms, Ii, the Way of Engraving Etching and Limning with All Their Requisits and Ornaments, Iii, the Way of Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring and Dying According to the Method of the Best Authors Now Extant, Exemplified in the Painting of the Antients, Washing of Maps, Globes or Pictures, Dying of Cloth, Silks, Bones, Wood, Glass, Stones, and Metals, Together with the Way of Varnishing Thereof According to Any Purpose or Intent : The Like Never yet Extant* (London: Printed by E.T. and R.H. for Richard Jones, 1672), 33 – 162, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[339] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, 12 – 13.

As continental ideas became more available in England after the Restoration, art was increasingly repositioned as an "intellectual" rather than a "mechanical" endeavour. William Aglionby, Royal Society member and a key promoter of continental art theory, places a strong emphasis upon the intellectual as opposed to practical nature of art in his work.[340] In opposition to what he describes as the "Mechanick" approach to art, which he compares to carpentry in that it is the mere physical act of repetition, Aglionby suggests that the artist should employ their genius to ennoble their creations.[341] It is my contention that even the form of his treatise, the 1686 *Painting Illustrated in three Diallogues*, emphasizes the intellectual nature of art; unlike the practical guides and compendiums of Norgate, Sanderson and Salmon, Aglionby's work is written in dialogic form, between "a Travelleler" and "a Friend," a form often reserved for classical philosophy. This form is not surprising considering that unlike Salmon's work, which was aimed a broad audience, Aglionby's was written with an audience of his Royal Society peers and other educated gentlemen in mind. By the close of the seventeenth century the English had largely assimilated the influence of Italian art theory.[342] Art was seen as distinct from craft, as a liberal rather than a "Mechanick Art."[343]

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[340] William Aglionby, *Choice Observations Upon the Art of Painting. Together with Vasari's Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, from Cimabue to the Time of Raphael and Michael Angelo. With an Explanation of the Difficult Terms*, Reissue of 1685 edition (London: Printed for R. King, at the Prince's-Arms in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1719), 101, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com; Salmon, 33- 35.

[341] Aglionby, 98.

[342] In part filtered through the French Academy, whose minutes were published in the Royal Society's journal, *The Philosophical Transactions*.

[343] Smith, 15.

Unlike other histories of the ideal landscape, I argue that the primacy of the intellectual over the physical in late seventeenth century treatises reflects not only changing currents in art, but also contemporaneous changes within English society. In the late seventeenth century there was a growing distinction drawn between intellectual work and common physical labour.[344] With the foundation of the Bank of England, expansion of overseas trade and emerging credit systems, the middle and upper classes were frequently able to make their living on shrewd investments and financial management rather than physical labour.[345] In a period were many cultural accoutrements were available across the classes, labour was viewed as a mark of low social standing. Unsurprisingly, the upper classes that were distinguished by their intellectual work preferred to invest in art that was created by fellow intellectuals rather than common craftsmen.

By the later seventeenth century, the artist was transformed from artisan to genius, an attribute of birth rather than training. As John Evelyn notes in his translation of Roland Fréart, the genius of art (and artists) "consists in a certain vivacity and flowing of *Invention* and *Grace* (which all the study in the World will never attain)…"[346]

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[344] Ian Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680 – 1768*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 129.

[345] H. J. Habakkuk, "English Landownership 1680-1740," *Economic History Review* 10, no. 1 (Feb 1940): 12.

[346] Roland Fréart, Sieur de Chambray, *The whole body of antient and modern architecture comprehending what has been said of it by these ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders, viz., Palladio and Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola, D. Barbaro and Cataneo, L.B. Alberti and Viola, Buliant and De Lorme, compared with one another : also an account of architects and architecture in an historical and etmological explanation of certain terms particularly used by architects : with Leon Baptista Alberti's Treatise of statues / published for the benefit of builders, limners, and painters by John Evelyn*, trans. John

Similarly, in Roger de Piles grace is that natural ability only an artist possesses, as he writes, "'*Tis what pleases, and gains the Heart without concerning it self with the understanding.*"[347]   While the workman may accurately represent the world, only the artist can create art from its depiction. As Marshall Smith suggests, somewhat heavy-handedly, painting "is the Noblest of all *Arte*, since it immediately copys after the Miraculous hand of the *Almighty*; not holy imitates Created *Beings*, but the *Creation* it self…"[348] The artist is thus repositioned as a genius, a skill that is not learned but rather naturally gifted. Much like "true nobility," the true artist, as Evelyn notes, "is so *Born*, not *made*… "[349] Or, in the words of de Piles, "genius is the first thing we must suppose in a painter; 'tis a part of him that cannot be acquir'd by study or labour."[350]

The emphasis on the artist as creative genius did not, however, lead to the creation of landscapes divorced from reality. Many English writers suggest taking a balanced approach to representation, one that blends imagination and observation. Evelyn, for example, criticizes Michelangelo for his "extravagant *Compositions*,"[351] and suggests that imitation should be tempered by the grace of the artist. The art of depicting nature,

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Evelyn (London: Printed for J.P. Sold by C. Wilkinson [etc.], 1680), 8, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[347] De Piles, 8.

[348] Smith, 4.

[349] Fréart, 9.

[350] De Piles, 16.

[351] Fréart, "Preface." Henry Wotton Knight made a similar comment regarding Michelangelo, Knight, 95.

and landscape in particular, necessitated close observation balanced by the imagination of

the artist. As Dryden notes,

> Be not so strictly ty'd to *Nature*, that you allow nothing to study, and the bent
> of your own *Genius*. But on the other side, believe not that your Genius
> alone, and the Remembrance of those things which you have seen, can afford
> you wherewithal to furnish out a beautiful piece without the succour of the
> incomparable School-mistress, *Nature*; whom you must have always present
> as a witness to the Truth.[352]

Landscapes, it was believed, should balance the veracity of the scene and the imagination

of the artist. For de Piles,

> If Painting be a sort of creation, 'tis more sensibly so in *Landskips* than in any
> other kind of Pictures. We see Nature Rising out of her *chaos*, the Elements
> separated, the earth adorn'd with her various Productions, and the Heavens
> with their Stars.[353]

The idea of nature rising out of her chaos anticipates Sir Joshua Reynolds's later position

that opposes the general or ideal representation of nature created by the artist's genius

with the particular view soley based on observation.

One reaction to this theorizing was the continued popularity of the *poèsie* form,

discussed above, that emphasized the creative power and imagination of the artist, often

expressed within a loosely mythological world. However, there were also landscapes

created, such as Adrien van Diest's c. 1698 *Landscape with Distant Mountains* (Plate

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[352] Du Fresnoy, 24.

[353] De Piles, 35.

Plate 22. Adriaen van Diest, *Landscape with Distant Mountains*. **ca. 1698. Oil on Canvas. 84.1 x 81.3cm. Collection: Yale Center for British Art. B1981.25.642.**

22), that employ mythological references in an increasingly subtle manner. The canvas is framed on the left by a rocky outcrop and on the right by a copse of trees and shrubs that flow into the foreground. The mid-ground is broken by a stream and waterfall, on the banks of which two cows and a small flock of sheep gather in peace to watch the distant sunset. Absent are overt references to shepherds and the classical past, instead the peace of a Golden Age is implied by the restful atmosphere of the scene.

Jan Siberecht's c. 1690 *Landscape with Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames* (Plate 16) similarly combines emblematic traditions and topographical attention to detail within a highly idealized interpretation of the English landscape. As discussed in the previous chapter, this work contains elements drawn from emblematic works – the rainbow and receding storm – and topographical traditions – the use of the profile view to represent Henley-on-Thames – with a coulisse and soft lighting akin to paintings by Claude Lorrain. While depicting an actual location, Siberecht's *Henley-on-Thames* is a representation of the town at its best, its noblest.

The lack of overt mythological symbols in these two works echoes a similar change in contemporaneous poetry. In the poetry of the late seventeenth century the imaginative readings of deep allegorical overtones in Greek and Roman myth loose favour in the wake of the emphasis on science and reason.[354] As Richard F. Hardin observes, "Obviously there is a common ground between the suspicion of allegory, which cause the *Metamorphoses* to lose prestige toward the end of the seventeenth century, and

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[354] Richard F. Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England," *Comparative Literature*, 24, 1 (Winter 1972): 51, Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1769381.

the aversion to puns, paradoxes, and quibbles, which led to a widespread devaluation of the poet's chief currency, his language. Neither mystery not mystification was acceptable to men of the English Enlightenment."[355] In place of the mythological characters in Danckerts and Poelenbugh, van Diest and Siberechts leave only the suggestive glow and restful livestock as echoes of the poetic power of painting.

The ideal landscape that develops in the latter half of the seventeenth century is not one that states its imaginative capacity overtly through easily recognizable symbols and characters, but rather one in which the artist is called upon to subtly produce a perfect image of nature. According to Dryden, "a learned *Painter* shou'd form to himself an *Idea* of perfect Nature. This Image he is to set before his Mind in all his undertakings, and to draw from thence as from a Store-House, the Beauties which are to enter into his Work; thereby correcting Nature from what actually she is in individuals, to what she ought to be, and what she was created."[356]

As the century progresses, idealized and descriptive landscapes become increasingly indistinguishable. Moreover, the process of idealization is frequently applied not just to the type of imaginary visions provided by van Diest, but also to recognizable locations such as Henley-on-Thames or Windsor Castle. Jan Griffier's 1681 *A View of Windsor Castle* (Plate 23), for example, combines an antiquarian interest in ancient castles with a desire for idealised representation. In contrast to Wenceslaus Hollar's 1659 *Windsor Castle, Berkshire*, discussed in the previous chapter, in which

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[355] Ibid., 56.

[356] Dryden, xv.

Plate 23. Jan Griffier the Elder. *A View of Windsor Castle*. **1681. Oil on Canvas. 51.8 x 80.6 cm. Royal Collection, RCIN 406952**

clarity and accuracy were paramount, Griffier presents a hazy view of the castle a top a hill bathed in the golden light of sunset. The town appears below the castle, nestled between verdant trees and pastures, some of which are occupied by peaceful livestock reminiscent of Van Diest's landscape. In the foreground two horsed figures, likely nobles, meet upon the road. One appears to be asking directions to Windsor, while the other, surrounded by men on foot and hound dogs, is likely setting out upon a leisurely hunting trip. While the ostensible subject is the depiction of Windsor Castle, the artist has idealized the surroundings, bathing the castle in a strong element of fantasy.[357] Moreover, through the use of atmospheric lighting and hints at pastoral ease, Griffier recasts the castle, and by extension the crown, as the centre of a new Arcadian Golden Age.

3.4 Conclusions

The ideal did not replace the topographic or symbolic landscape, indeed to distinguish these into exact categories is in many ways fallacious; much like the ideal landscape itself, I argue that these categories exist only as imaginary forms. However, the importance of the ideal as a form rests in its connection to the progressive incorporation of classical and later continental theories into an existing body of English writings upon the arts. It is an effect not only of the desire to elevate art and the artist, but also, by extension, the collector. Furthermore, the emphasis on the intellectual nature

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[357] Royal Collection Trust, "Jan Griffier the Elder: A View of Windsor Castle," RCIN 406952, https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/6/collection/406952/a-view-of-windsor-castle.

of art and the landscape reflects a broader cultural distinction, becoming ever more pointed toward the close of the seventeenth century, between mechanical and intellectual labour. In contrast to Gombrich's perception of the revolutionary emergence of the conceptually pure landscape, I contend that the English landscape, even in its most idealized forms, is a product of a broader field of discourse that included a residual emblematic tradition and an emergent interest in naturalistic representation.

Chapter Four: A Prospect Befitting a Gentleman: Estate Landscapes in the Seventeenth Century

Since its incorporation into the English cultural scene the landscape genre has been deployed as a representation of elite landowning interests; this relationship is particularly evident in the sub-genre of the estate landscape. Unlike other discussions of this subgenre, I contend that the estate landscape incorporates symbolic, topographic and ideal elements in iterations that reflects not only the changing discourse surrounding the estate, but also the varying political and economic significance of that space. In contrast to many other studies of the estate, in this chapter I emphasize that while the form reflects elite landowning interests, the representational goals of this group were far from homogenous; while these landscapes share a common interest in depicting the evolving nature of landownership, the final products are varied, reflecting the breadth of interests and values of both the artist and the patron.

The majority of scholarly works on this form of landscape refer to them as "estate portraits" reflecting the inherent connection between the patron and the display of his estate. John Harris, for example, remarks that "just as families had their portraits taken to be hung in their houses, so it became a fashion to record their houses."[358] However, in placing the focus on portraiture these works are dislocated from the existing landscape discourse and related iterations which inform their representation, including *kermis, poèsie* and *city plan*. As such, this chapter uses the nomenclature "estate landscape" in

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[358] John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Sotheby's Institute, 1995) 9.

place of "portrait" to emphasize the connection between these iterations and the existing landscape discourse discussed in previous chapters.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the representation of the land was modified in response not only to imported artistic discourses from Southern and more predominantly Northern Europe, but also in reaction to the changing perceptions of the land within England. In particular, the transition from a feudal conception of land to a more capitalist perspective had a major impact on how the English ruling classes thought about land ownership and its broader economic, social and political implications. As Kari McBride observes, "Country house discourse articulated economic, social and political power in relationship to the landscape at a time when the valence of the land, of titles, and of legitimacy in general were in flux, enabling and inflecting an evolution to new cultural forms and norms for nearly two centuries."[359] This final chapter will explore the impact of changing economic, social and political realities upon the estate landscapes produced over the century.

4.1   A Survey of the Country Estate

The growing market for land over the seventeenth century caused subtle shifts in the discourse surrounding the country house. The feudal model in which the manor functioned as the centre of a web of social obligations was gradually replaced by a private estate in which improvements, such as enclosure, were celebrated within the

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[359] Kari Boyd McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2001), 16.

landscape genre. These changes were reflected in a shift from *kermis* works to estate landscapes that promoted the economic value of the new, capitalist estate. Unlike the more idiosyncratic form of the *kermis* and the *seasonal* these landscapes employed a visual syntax akin to estate surveys, city plans and maps to project a sense of objectivity, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Up until the close of the sixteenth century the feudal country estate sat at the centre, physically and socially, of the local community. As Kimberly Skelton observes, "Traditionally, landowning families were expected to promote England's welfare by overseeing productive agricultural estates, prosperous parishes and estate communities. In addition, all those passing the estate gates, from nobility to the wandering poor, could expect to receive refreshments and other assistance."[360]   The manor house was pivotal in feudal society; not only did it serve as the main administrative centre of local government, but it was often physically and socially at the centre of the community.[361] Even as the dominance of the feudal system waned in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the elite classes continued to emphasize the traditional importance of the manor's role in country house poetry and *kermis* landscapes such as *Fête at Bermondsey* (Plate 7), as discussed in Chapter One.

However, as access to land ownership broadened over the century, the discourse surrounding the land and its representation shifted in response. The sale of monastic

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[360] Kimberley Skelton, "Redefining Hospitality: The Leisured World of the 1650s English Country House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68. 4 (Dec 2009): 496.

[361] Mark Girouard, "The Power House," In *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, ed Gervase Jackson-Stops (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 22.

lands by Henry VIII was followed by the sale of crown lands under Elizabeth, and

continued under the supervision of James I and Charles I. Moreover, the early Stuart

kings undertook massive land reclamation projects to convert common waste and

marshland into productive farm lands, resulting in the addition of 120, 000 acres to the

Royal estates.[362] Many of these crown lands were in turn sold to new landowners,

including the lesser gentry and merchant classes, creating a new generation of

landowners, ones with less invested interest in the old feudal system.[363]

Land sales continued over the Interregnum; the Commonwealth government sold

not only delinquent Royalist lands, but also the lands of Royalist Bishops, Deans and

Chapters to raise funds for the government and army.[364] Land continued to be an

influential commodity into the Restoration period as Charles II and James II continued to

sell crown lands.[365] These sales inspired many middle-class buyers to invest in the land;

as Christopher Hill observes, "Many merchants were interested in the estates of

'unprogressive' landowners, not merely as a source of immediate capital, but also as a

long-run field for investment in production for the expanding market, whether for food or

wool, or in the hunt for minerals: this in addition to the traditional attractions of land …

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[362] Christopher Trent, *The Changing Face of England: The Story of the Landscape through the Ages* (London, New York, Sydney and Toronto: White Lion Publishers, 1956), 138 – 139.

[363] Richard Hoyle, "'Vain Projects': The Crown and Its Copyholders in the Reign of James I," In *English Rural Society, 1500 - 1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, eds John Chartes and David Hey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 77 – 81.

[364] Joan Thirsk, "The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum," *The Economic History Review* 5, 2 (1952): 188.

[365] Christopher Hill, "The Agrarian Legislation of the Interregnum," *The English Historical Review* 55, 218 (Apr. 1940): 250.

as the source of political power and prestige."[366] The availability of land meant increased

profits and social cachet for those willing and able to keep up with the changing times.

Such sales set the stage for a new, market-driven relationship to land-ownership.

Whereas before the Civil War land was most frequently given or taken by the monarch,

by mid-century land could be won or lost through shrewd fiscal investment and land

management.[367]

Economic value was often the focus of estate landscapes commissioned by

patrons whose social and financial status was founded upon investments in the land; such

is the case with Jan Wyck's 1686 *Whitehaven, Cumberland* (Plate 24). Just as Hendrick

Danckerts' *Plymouth* (Plate 15), discussed in Chapter Two, highlighted the patron's role

in the increased wealth of the port city, Wyck's *Whitehaven* depicts the patron's pride in

the success of the community he built around his estate. The Northwest regions of

England did not progress along the same pattern of agricultural development as the

South. Much of the Northwest remained committed to feudal ideals; the exceptions were

communities, like Whitehaven, where capitalist markets for goods developed.

Whitehaven, Cumberland, unlike more southerly communities such as Kent, Surrey and

Cambridgeshire entered into a capitalist relationship to the land through the

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[366] Hill, 223.

[367] Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy, *Property and Landscape: A Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London: George Phillip, 1987), 123 – 124. The sale of royalist lands is well documented in: Hill; H. J. Habakkuk, "Public Finance and the Sale of Confiscated Property During the Interregnum," *The Economic History Review* 15, 1 (1962): 70 - 88; R. H. Tawney, "The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640," *The Economic History Review* 11, 1 (1941): 1-38; and Thirsk, "The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum."

Plate 24. Jan Wyck. *Whitehaven, Cumberland*. **1686. Oil on anvas. 104.8 x 182.2cm. Private Collection.**

expansion of trade and the mining of industrial goods, such as coal.[368] Whitehaven had

been developed as a port city earlier in the century by the first Baron Cumberland, Sir

Christopher Lowther, a successful merchant and strong supporter of King Charles I

during the Civil War.[369] After the Restoration his son, Sir John Lowther, continued his

father's work, albeit from afar.[370] Sir John spent most of his time in London as an

electedMember of Parliament for Cumberland (1665 to 1699).[371] Despite his physical

distance from Whitehaven, however, Sir John oversaw the planning of the town (the first

planned town built since the middle ages), the expansion of the collieries, and encouraged

trade with Dublin.[372] Under the guidance of Sir John the small town became a thriving

port with a church, school and enlarged pier all built at the expense of the inhabitants

who most benefited from these improvements.[373] The success of such developments is

reflected in the rapid growth of the town from a population of 2, 272 in 1693 to 16, 400

by 1785.[374]

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[368] Andrew B. Appleby, "Capitalism or Seigneurial Reaction? The Northwest of England 1500 - 1700," *The American Historical Review* 80, 3 (June 1975): 592 – 594.

[369] D. R. Hainsworth, "Lowther, Sir Christopher, first Baronet," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004 – 2011), http://www.oxford.dnb.com.

[370] While John Harris records the commission as having come from Sir William Lowther, it is more likely that is came from his nephew Sir John Lowther, Baron of Cumberland, who was Lord and MP for Whitehaven at the time. Hainsworth; John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870*, Rev. Ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper and Row Publications Inc., 1985), 61.

[371] Hainsworth, "Lowther, Sir Christopher, first Baronet."

[372] Ibid.

[373] Ibid.

[374] Harris, 1985, 61.

In 1686 Wyck was commissioned to record *Whitehaven, Cumberland (*Plate 24).
The landscape is taken from a slightly elevated position, as if from a trade ship, looking towards the port with the town and the Lowther estate in the distance, a common viewpoint in perspective views, as discussed in Chapter Two. While the use of linear perspective in the depiction of Whitehaven is inconsistent, the lines of the hedgerows in the rear and the city streets in the foreground roughly converge upon the manor of the Lowther family, reinforcing Sir John Lowther's position   as a prominent industrialist and politician but also the socio-economic context specific to Northwest England. Reflecting the industrial focus of the area and its Lord, Wyck's painting situates the port in a prominent position, occupying just under half of the canvas. The newly developed town expands out in the middle ground. The uniform use of colour in the architecture and the emphasis on the rational layout of the streets underlines the success of Sir John's Whitehaven plan. Contrasting the town, the landscape in the background depicts sprawling pasture lands, enclosed hedgerows and rocky cliffs either side of the town. Unlike Matthias Read's c. 1732 depiction of Whitehaven which includes fields occupied by gentlemen as well as grazing livestock, Wyck's background is largely uninhabited, redirecting the viewer's gaze to the port and the manor house. Wyck's painting reflects not only the patron's interest in the landscape genre, but also his interest in the land as a financial prospect.

The shifting nature of land ownership over the century also fueled the need for accurate surveys. In the early sixteenth century, the survey of an estate was a casual affair, often involving the Lord, a manorial officer, and the testimony of district men

whose collective memory of the place would define the lay of the land.[375] Land as a site

for shared rights was demarcated through rituals such as rogation or the beating of the

bounds.[376] The measurement of the land itself was largely idiosyncratic; units were often

determined by how much land could be worked in a given time. A hide, for example,

was the portion of land that could be tilled by one team in a year and a day.[377] However,

as the land market became increasingly fluid, new landowners created a demand for more

accurate systems of mapping their lands.[378]

Influenced by developments in empirical science and the rediscovery of ancient

methods of geometry, surveyors encouraged landlords to embrace rational methods for

measuring their holdings.[379] Initially these new techniques for land management were

met with resistance. Sixteenth-century poems and sermons alike highlighted the negative

impact agricultural improvers had on the greater community; Sir Thomas Moore in his

1516 *Utopia*, for example, imagined an agrarian world turned upside down by the

covetousness of landowners.[380] However, poor harvests and falling grain prices in the

early seventeenth century caused a reassessment of the issue; the clergy and parliament

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[375] Andrew McRae, "To Know One's Own: Estate Surveying and the Representation of the Land in Early Modern England," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 56, 4 (Autumn 1993): 335 – 343.

[376] Rogation ceremonies originated in Catholic blessings of common fields. Nick Grindle, "*The Wise Surveyor": Surveying and Representaton in British House ad Estate Portraiture, c. 1650 – 1715* (PhD Dissertation, University Collge of London, no date), 50; Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500 – 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 272.

[377] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 346.

[378] Edward Lynam, "English Maps and Map-Makers of the Sixteenth Century," *The Geographical Journal* 116. 1/3 (Jul-Sep 1950): 11.

[379] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 163 – 190.

[380] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*,23 – 27.

slowly accepted the potential benefits of a more capitalist approach to the land. By the

mid seventeenth century, the agricultural improver was reimagined as godly and rational.

In some texts, "imposition of a newly rigorous order and definition in the apportionment

of property rights is depicted as leading to a universal improvement, which furthers the

interests of the commonwealth."[381]

The creation of visual surveys both mirrored and projected the changing role of

the estate in English society. As Andrew McRae notes, through the estate survey

"[l]andownership is figured as reducible to facts and figures: a conception which

inevitably undermines the matrix of duties and responsibilities which had previously been

seen to define the manorial community. In the perception of the surveyor, the land is

defined as property, as the landlords 'own'."[382] To the more conservative landowners the

survey and the improvements it often supported ruptured the traditional doctrine of

stewardship. However, the product of the surveyors, the estate map, found favour with

the parvenu landlords for whom the economic, social and political benefits of

landownership outweighed the concerns of the community. For these men the survey

was often displayed within the manor house as both a record and a status symbol.[383]

In Simon Basil's 1608 *Hertford Castle and Castle Yard* from the *Survey Therof*

Taken by Symon Basyll Surveyor ... (Figure 25), the land of Robert, Earl of Salisbury and

Lord High Chancellor of England is clearly demarcated on paper. In the centre of the

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[381] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 151

[382] Mcrae, "To Know One's Own," 178.

[383] Ibid., 190.

work the castle grounds are pictured in profile, surrounded by a bird's-eye view of the

surrounding village, church, pasture and arable lands. Each field is clearly delineated

along with the house it adjoins and the entire layout appears clear and rational. However,

while the work serves as a permanent record of the Earl's lands, it also serves a decorative

purpose and was likely intended for display in the Earl's home. The survey is brightly

coloured with watercolour and gouche and includes seasonal staffage such as sheep

grazing and workers sowing the fields, residual references to earlier seasonal and pastoral

landscape traditions. In all, the survey appears to record a happy well-functioning estate

as fact.

Just as the form of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, as discussed in Chapter Two, helped

to shape subsequent depictions of the civic landscape, so the form of the estate survey

influenced the development of later estate landscapes. Such visual inheritance is evident

in the c. 1667 Anonymous *Llannerch, Denbighshire, Wales* (Plate 26). Like the Hertford

Castle survey (Plate 25), the landscape combines both profile and bird's-eye perspectives

in order to best represent all the elements of the estate. The main house, in addition to

what is likely the gardener's home or a guest house to the right rear, are all viewed from

an elevated profile, akin to the survey of Hertford Castle, making their architectural

distinctiveness easily recognizable. The majority of the gardens, the foreground deer

park, the grazing fields to the right of the house and the arable fields to the rear are all

viewed from above, from a bird's-eye perspective, such that one can appreciate the

geometric design of the gardens and the scope of the surrounding parks, fields and

avenues that lead up to the house. Some of the walls and all of the sculptures and

fountains are pictured in profile, highlighting the workmanship of each.

Plate 25. Simon Basil. *Hertford Castle and Castle Yard***, from the "Survey thereof taken by Symon Basyll Surveyor …" 1608. Pen and ink with watercolour and gouache on paper. 38 x 28.1 cm. Yale Center for British Art.**

Plate 26. Unknown. *Llannerch, Denbighshire, Wales*. ca. 1667. Oil on canvas. 114.3 x 151.8 cm. Yale Center for British Art, B1976.7.115.

While it may seem an unusual choice to stich together so many perspectives into one painting, one must remember that it has its precedence within earlier world landscapes in which perspective came second to narrative. Moreover, despite appearances, the choice of each perspective is logical when one considers the goal of fully representing the estate to its owner and guests; no singular perspectival system could adequately represent all the details. The painting was most likely commissioned by Mutton Davis to depict the additions he and his grandfather, Sir Peter Mutton, had made to the estate.[384] While the grandfather had the large manor house built, Davis, after visiting the elaborate gardens of France and Italy, undertook the creation of his own gardens at Llannerch, the design features of which are made plainly visible in the mix-matched perspective used throughout this painting.[385]

Just as *world-landscapes* and *seasonals* had echoed a feudal connection to the land, so the emergent capitalist view was ordered by the rational, empirical form of the survey and related bird's-eye view. As Denis Cosgrove has observed, the science of perspective helped to organize the land into property.[386] It helped to usher in a concept of space far removed from a feudal system of land "locked into a web of interdependent lordships based on fief and fealty."[387] As the estate discourse shifted in favour of private

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[384] Joy Breslauer, Ellen D'Oench, and Mary Spivey, *Country Houses in Great Britain* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1979), 19.

[385] Ibid. 19.

[386] Denis Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10, 1 (1985): 55.

[387] Ibid., 55. The importance of stewardship is also noted in Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 18.

ownership, the discourse of improvement increasingly replaced a residual attachment to a community-focused ideology. The *kermis* landscape faded in favour of estate landscapes that celebrated the Lord's management of the estate rather than his direct involvement in the community. Land reclamation projects, agricultural innovation and enclosure boosted land available and served to emphasize the ideal of absolute ownership.

The process of enclosure, which had begun in the sixteenth century and gained momentum over the seventeenth century, involved the hedging-in or fencing off of common wasteland, or the containing of common arable lands.[388] While the extent of tenant involvement in enclosure differed from parish to parish, many early broadsheets blamed "greedy" parvenu landowners for such improvements, noting that it often led to the eradication of common arable lands in favour of pasture lands for the well-to-do landowner.[389] Between 1650 and 1657 much common park land and forest was converted to private use without regard for communal rights and without the intervention of parliament.[390] In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, improvements, such as enclosure, were hotly debated as many critics saw them as inherently amoral.[391] However, as grain prices fell over the seventeenth century, many landlords transitioned into the more profitable pasture farming model. Over the century, the welfare of the property owner was rebranded as commensurate with the welfare of the commonwealth

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[388] Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740 - 1860* (Berkely, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986), 9 – 10; Williamson and Bellamy 94.

[389] James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630 – 1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., 1979), 126 – 155.

[390] Hill, 245 – 248.

[391] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 9, 77.

as a whole.[392] The rise of the estate landscape and decline of the *kermis* certainly

underscored this change.

The physical impact of enclosure and other improvements are visible in estate landscapes

throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. In Jan Siberechts' 1681 *Cheveley*

Park, near Newmarket (Plate 27), for example, the central manor is surrounded by a

quilt-like pattern of enclosed fields. Similarly, in Leonard Knyff's c. 1699 *The North*

Prospect of Hampton Court, Herefordshire (Plate 28), the pattern of enclosed fields

dominates the painting, reflecting as will be discussed further in section three, the Earl of

Conningsby's desires to extend his estate, even at the cost of his freehold tenants.[393]

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, the accessibility of land ownership

shifted once more, as the market for grain and similar commodities dipped, land

ownership fell into the hands of a few large landowners who were able to subsidize their

estates with government positions, army commissions and commercial ventures.[394] The

rising prominence of the large landowners often came at the expense of not only the

lower classes, but also the yeomen, small freehold farmers, lesser gentry and the

squirearchy who suffered from higher taxes, rents and the decline of grain prices over the

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[392] Williamson and Bellamy, 96.

[393] A. E. Stokes, "Conningsby, Thomas, First Earl of Conningsby," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004 – 2011), http://www.oxford.dnb.com.

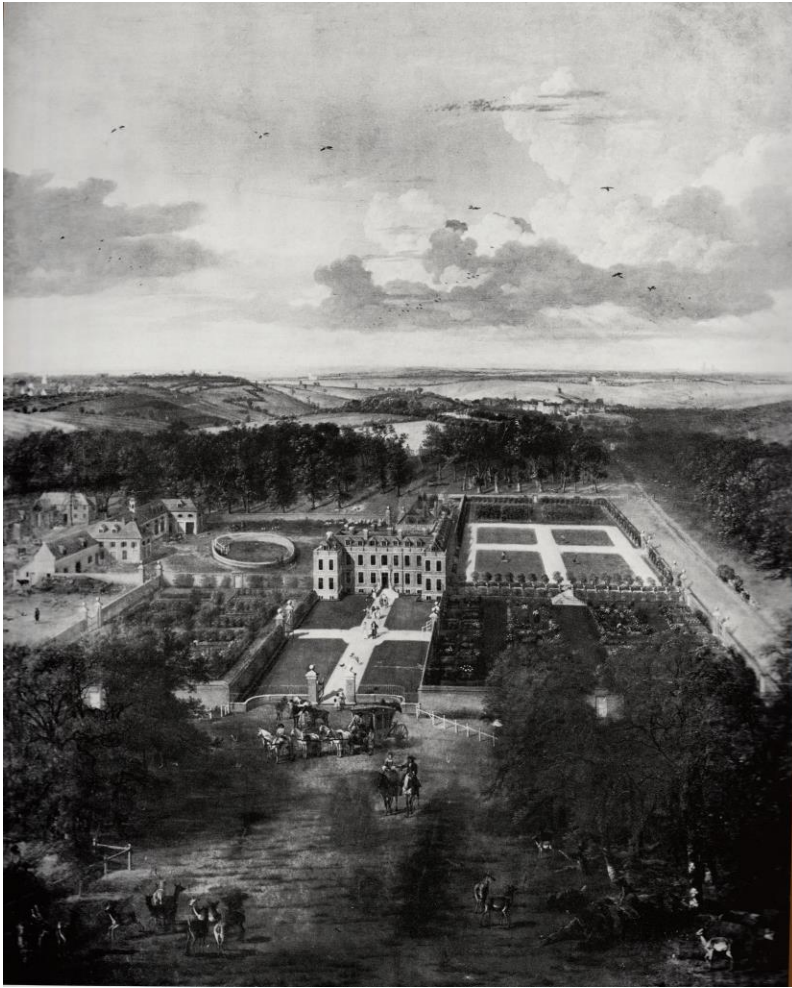[394] Martins, 2; Tawney, 34; Williamson and Bellamy, 120.

Plate 27. Jan Siberechts, *Cheveley Park, near Newmarket*. Oil on canvas. Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire, UK, BEL 45325.

Plate 28. Leonard Knyff, *The North Prospect of Hampton Court, Herefordshire.* **ca. 1699. Oil on canvas. 148.3 x 214.3 cm. Yale Center for British Art, B1981.25.390**

Restoration period.[395] To compensate for their losses, the squirearchy and lesser gentry

transitioned into city-based occupations, becoming lawyers, doctors, goldsmiths, and

tradesmen.[396] The success of the landowners who did thrive was founded upon their

ability to diversify their income sources into other commercial and political ventures. For

these landowners, their country estates became "a symbol of the general confidence of

the age and a token of the security and wealth of the newly established class of gentry."[397]

Reflecting the declining importance of agricultural labour on these estates, one can

observe a commensurate decline in the depiction of labour in landscape painting,

replaced instead with pastoral scenes of Arcadian peace or celebrations of a leisurely

country life.

The Restoration also introduced a new concept in land ownership: location-based

pricing. Whereas earlier land had been sold at a fixed rate, after the Restoration prices

were increasingly based upon location, particularly proximity to London, the social and

political capitol of the nation.[398] In concert with the increased real estate value of the

southern counties, there was also a rise in depiction of landscapes from these regions,

such as the popularity of Henley-on-Thames in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth

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[395] H. J. Habakkuk, "English Landownership 1680-1740," *Economic History Review* 10, 1 (Feb 1940): 4;
Williamson and Bellamy, 119.

[396] Habakkuk, "English Landownership 1680-1740,"4, 10 – 11.

[397] Lees Milne, *Earls of Creation: Five Great Patrons of Eighteenth-Century Art* (London: Hamish
Hamilton, 1962), 36.

[398] H. J. Habakkuk, "Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600 - 1800: III.
Did the Gentry Rise?" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981): 204.

century works.[399] As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, Jan Siberect's created a

group of landscapes of this region for Sir Thomas Willoughby, of which *Landscape with*

a Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames (Plate16) was one example. In contrast to *Whitehaven,*

Cumberland (Plate 24) that uses a primarily topographical form that echoes the rational

layout of the community, Siberecht's work combines a topographical style with Italianate

and symbolic elements to create a more idealized depiction of the English land that

reflects the changing social-economic role of landownership in Southern Restoration

England.

4.2 Social Prospects

Over the course of the seventeenth century the continued sale of titles and

growing middle-class and gentry wealth resulted in the declining importance of birth with

respect to social status, in its place the country estate took on a more central role in the

performance of social prominence. As discussed in Chapter One, Elizabeth and her

father had initiated the sale of noble titles, a convention that was continued throughout

the early seventeenth century. James I revived the practice; Baronies were available for

ten thousand pound, Viscounts for fifteen and Earldoms for twenty-thousand pound. By

the close of Charles I's reign, the Stuart kings had tripled the number of aristocrats in

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[399] Laura Wortly, "'City Merchants' Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the Painting of Jan Siberechts." In *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670 - 1720*, ed Mireille Galinou (London: Corporation of London, 2004), 96 – 99.

England.[400]   Title sales were not without their critics. While as Henry Peacham observes

in *The Compleat Gentleman* of 1622, the social order was divinely ordained, it was

possible to be gifted a noble title in reward for great service to mankind.[401]   However,

the common practice of purchasing titles remained, as Peacham notes, "very predjudiciall

to true nobilitie and politique government…"[402]

The sale of titles led to concerns over the erosion of the traditional social

hierarchy, concerns often masked in pastoral poems, like Sir John Denham's 1642

Cooper's Hill which emphasized a strictly feudal social order.[403] In the first half of the

century, country house poetry, much like landscape painting, shifted from depictions of

communal co-operation and public responsibility to a celebration of a spontaneously

fertile nature and retreat into a private, naturally fertile world of the elite.[404] In country

house poems of this period the estate became the centre of debates over legitimacy in an

era of social and economic change. Like the house itself, the poems tended to preserve

the ideals of the past, celebrating the virtues of the Lord and the moral superiority of

country living. This was in line with calls from James I from 1603 through to 1624 for

the nobles to return to the country to manage their estates. There was, however, a

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[400] Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603 – 1714* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 24; Kenneth Mackenzie, *The English Parliament* (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1962), 180.

[401] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning Him Absolute in the Most Necessary & Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Bodie That May Be Required in a Noble Gentleman* (London: Imprinted by John Legat for Francis Constable and are to bee sold at his shop at the White Lion in Paules Churchyard, 1622), Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com; 72.

[402] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 14.

[403] Turner, *The Politics of Landscape*, 7.

[404] Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 246 – 254.

disjunction between the ideal of the estate in poems and the social and economic changes

taking place contemporaneously.[405] As Chris Fitter observes, "Urban separation from the

field of labour whose harvest it appropriated fostered the mirage of self-producing nature;

radical disturbances in landownership produced passionate nostalgias of 'true' possession

and settled rural security."[406] Similarly, in early landscapes such as *A Fête at*

Bermondsey (Plate 7), as discussed in Chapter One, the social turmoil caused by the sale

of monastic lands and noble titles is disguised within a *kermis* landscape that focuses

upon the happy reciprocity of a waning feudal order. The possessive space of the estate

is naturalised by both the perceived veracity of the topographical elements in the

background and the nostalgic citation of a traditional community celebration in the

foreground.

Residual feudal values were further weakened in the wake of the social changes

wrought by the Civil War and its aftermath. The Civil War, and particularly the

execution of Charles I, publicly demonstrated the power of the common people. Not only

were the "commons" capable of condemning a King, but they were able to reach for the

same economic, political and social distinctions previously limited by birth (of course

these commoners were often wealthy or lesser nobles themselves). Furthermore, the

land sales initiated by the Commonwealth government continued to erode the centrality

of the old feudal hierarchy that had dominated the medieval social scene by granting

access to the traditional signifier of high birth: the estate. As R. H. Tawney notes, "In

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[405] McBride, 96 – 123.

[406] Fitter, 235.

such conditions, the social categories used to distinguish the landed and trading class...

lost in England any claim to precision which they may have once possessed. The

landowner living on the profits of rent or commercial farming, and the merchant or

banker, who was also landowner, represented not two classes, but one."[407]

Despite the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, the centrality of the

feudal social order continued to fade. After 1660 feudal tenures were abolished and

nobility was no longer conceived of as an accident of birth, but rather as something one

could achieve through great deed or service.[408] This notion is reflected in the changed

laws around peerage. A peer was no longer appointed only by the monarch, but could be

created by individual political parties.[409] Furthermore, the differences between the

aristocracy and merchants, as Mireille Galinou remarks, became more fluid, as taste,

presentation and education became greater indicators of social position than title or

governmental rank.[410]

The country estate during this period evolved into a pre-eminent site for the

display of one's social position, and as the century progressed it was increasingly valued

for its social and political cachet rather than only its economic potential (a value which

drove the afore-mentioned location-based pricing of land during the later seventeenth

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[407] Tawney, 18.

[408] Something Peacham had suggested could be possible. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman,* 10.

[409] Mackenzie, 181.

[410] Mireille Galinou, "Introduction," *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670 - 1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: Corporation of the City of London, 2004) xi; Gordon Glanville and Philippa Glanville,"The Art Market and Merchant Patronage in London, 1680 – 1720," *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670 - 1720*, ed Mireille Galinou (London: Corporation of the City of London, 2004), 11.

century). As the role of the estate became more symbolic, the estate grew increasingly

private. This privacy was evident in the design of new houses themselves in addition to

their placement with respect to the surrounding communities. Before the Civil War the

Great Hall had been an essential element in the country house; it was a common meeting

place for servants, tenants and family with the Lord acting as surrogate community

father. In later houses the hall was much less prominent, with the servants banished to

the basement and the private chambers of the family becoming less accessible to

guests.[411] As G.R. Hibbard observes,

> The decline in 'housekeeping' which took place in the early seventeenth
> century meant that the great hall was no longer necessary as a communal
> dining room. There was a marked tendency for the great man to make much
> more use of intermediary officials in his dealings with tenants and servants,
> and in this way to cut himself off from direct contact with the humbler day-
> to-day activities of his estate.[412]

In the country house poetry of the mid seventeenth century one finds a commensurate

shift from celebratory communal cooperation and public responsibility to a celebration of

retreat.[413]

Similarly, these new houses were often constructed in locations removed from the

day to day life of the communities they served. Such isolation is emphasized in Jan

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[411] G. R. Hibbard, "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 19, 1 /2 (Jan – Jun 1956), Jstor, http://www.jstor.org/stable/750248, 161. Skelton's essay also does a thorough job of exploring the changes to architecture in this period.

[412] Hibbard 161.

[413] Fitter,254.

Siberecht's depiction of the Cheveley Park estate (Plate 27). The landscape is taken from

an artificially elevated position such that while the background and foreground appear

largely in profile the estate itself is depicted from a bird's-eye point of view mimicking

the estate survey form, and suggesting a similar investment in accuracy and control. Like

the estate survey, the landscape clearly delineated the boundaries of the Lord's holdings

deploying a similar visual syntax to imply an objective view of the land. From this

elevated position, the layout of the estate is clearly visible; in front of the house and

either side are various formal walled gardens with open green space and ornate floral

displays after the French style (popular in England at the time). To the left of the house

are the stables, a barn and cock fighting ring. The house itself is clearly separated by

walls and parks from the communities visible in the far distance. Such a separation of the

manor from the land and community would have been unthinkable a century earlier, as

discussed in Chapter One, and reflects the extent to which, by the later seventeenth

century, the land had become an object of private speculation. The physical separation

from the working lands also reflects the social distance between the landowner and the

working classes. As Fitter notes, "The nobleman is to be elevated above workaday nature

just as his surf is forever bound to it."[414]

The isolation of *Cheveley Park* (Plate 27), however, is not just an effect of

changes to the physical environment and role of the estate, but in this case also reflects

the political situation of Restoration England. This work was created for Henry Jermyn,

a long-time member of the household of James, Duke of York (later James II). For

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[414] Fitter, 205.

Jermyn estate living became a fact of life when, as a known catholic, he lost his court placement after the passing of the first Test Act in 1673 and the Second Test Act in 1678.[415] This painting was commissioned four years before James II ascended to the throne and raised Jermyn to Baron Dover.[416] Despite his loss of place at court the painting projects Jermyn's high social standing; the large estate stands in as Jermyn's double, stretching its influence across much of the canvas.

Throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century the physical separation of the house from the surrounding community remained a common theme. As Kimberley Skelton observes, the large vistas that surrounded new estates, separating them from the local community, "suggested that land ownership remained the basis for the elite status of owner and guests, and they also evoked the spaces and experiences of elite leisure activities."[417] Such an emphasis on private leisure is in part an effect of the Interregnum, when, with the dismissal of the House of Lords, many noble landowners retreated to their estates to pursue a life of leisure. However, the emphasis on leisurely country pursuits, especially hunting, in mid to late seventeenth century landscapes also serves as a marker of social distinction.

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[415] The Test Act of 1673 required all civilian office holders to take Anglican communion and publicly deny transubstantiation, which a number of officers, including the Duke of York, refused to do. The Test Act was strengthened in 1678 to exclude all Catholics from Parliament. Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603 – 1714*, 4th Ed. (Harlow :Pearson Education Ltd., 2012), 318; Kishlansky 248-253; John Miller, "Jermyn, Henry, Third Baron Jermyn and Jacobite earl of Dover*," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004 – 2011) http://www.oxford.dnb.com.
[416] Miller.

[417] Skelton 504.

Hunting had long been a privilege of the noble classes, and in particularly a habit

of royalty. *Nonsuch Palace* (Plate 29), c. 1620, the pair to The Master of Flying Storks'

The Thames at Richmond (Plate 12), for example, underlines the connection between

royalty and hunting by focusing upon the stag hunt, the traditional game of the crown.[418]

As Stephen Deuchar observes, "The 'nobility' of the sport was, indeed, a cornerstone of

traditional sporting theory."[419]

However, as landownership became an increasingly important signifier of social

class, noble leisure activities were adopted as signs of social prominence by the gentry

and lesser nobles. The increased wealth and status of landowners over the seventeenth

century also resulted in changes to the Games Laws to include nobles of lower standing,

such as the sons of Esquires, in addition to owners of freehold estates worth one hundred

pound per annum.[420] As a result, not only did the popularity of hunting as a sport

increase amongst the gentry, but the depiction of the activity grew. As Deuchar notes,

between 1689 and 1690 sporting landscapes were the most popular kind of landscape.[421]

Given the visual legacy of hunting imagery in royalist works, it is not surprising that

similar forms of representation became popular with the increasingly socially and

politically ascendant landowning classes. Depictions, such as Jermyn riding out into his

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[418] Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 3.

[419] Deuchar 49.

[420] John Barrell, "The Public Prospect and the Private View: The Politics of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in Simon Pugh ed. *Reading Landscape: Country-City-Capital* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 29; Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 229.

[421] Deuchar 33.

Plate 29. Master of Flying Storks.   Nonsuch Palace. c. 1620. Oil on canvas. 151.8 x 302.5cm.   Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Object number 95, record id 1386.

deer park in *Cheveley Park* (Plate 27) create a visual elision between the courtier and the traditional ruling classes of England. As Duechar notes, "hunting as sport required and proclaimed the availability of land, the freedom and time to exploit it, and, very often, an economic status derived from a dependent class beneath."[422]

Many early estate landscapes functioned as records of the estate, even employing a visual form reminiscent of the survey format. Such works were often displayed with pride in the London townhouses where they reminded visitors of the owner's prominence in the country.[423] In such locations, "Prospect views were both a documentary account, making a detailed record of the landed estate, and an opportunity to display the size and grandeur of the estate in an easily understood visual form."[424] The estate landscapes often recorded the creation of new houses or improvements to existing estates, including the addition of gardens, as in *Llannerch* (Plate 26), such inclusions served as records, but also reinforced the status of the owner by emphasizing his artistic taste.[425]

Art collecting and patronage, along with other leisure pursuits, became a way for the newly rich or ennobled to claim their place among the higher social classes. In popular English translations of Italian works, such as Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, the gentleman was encouraged to learn persuasive eloquence, manners and cultural

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[422] Deuchar 2.

[423] McBride, 144; James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala Publishers, 2012), 78.

[424] John R. Gold and George Revill, *Representing the Environment* (New York: Routledge Press, 2004), 120.

[425] Hilary A. F. McKee, *The Bird's-Eye Views of L. Knyff and J. Kipp as published in Britannia Illustrate, and their use for understanding Historic Landscapes* (PhD Dissertation, Brookes University, 2004), 4.

refinement as a way to advance one's status at court.[426] One of the main features of

treatises derived from courtesy literature, such as Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*,

was the promotion of connoisseurship, emphasizing that "gentlemen should include

knowledge of art as one of their accomplishments."[427] Such knowledge was understood

by many as a key feature of the well-rounded gentleman. The patronage of the arts,

beyond signalling one's social status and cultural refinement also demonstrated one's

ability to make sound judgements, a most important skill for the politically ascendant

landowner.[428]

Hendrick Danckert's c. 1674 – 1675 *Ham House, Surrey* (Plate 30), displays the

connoisseural acumen of the patron as both subject and object of the commission. The

patrons, John Maitland, the Duke of Lauderdale, and his wife, the Countess of Dysart,

were central figures in Restoration patronage, a role which is emphasized in this work.[429]

The Duke of Lauderdale had been a staunch Royalist during the Interregnum, even

spending time in jail for his convictions after the battle of Worchester in 1651. At the

time of the Restoration he was created Secretary of State for Scotland and in 1672 made

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[426] Dominic Baker-Smith, "Renaissance and Reformation" In *Renaissance and Reformation*, ed Boris Ford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 17; Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560 – 1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa Warwickshire: James Hall Publishing, Ltd., 1981), 66.

[427] Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in theTheory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, PhD Dissertation (The Warburg Institute and the University of London, September 1982), 97.

[428] While artists collected the largest percentage of landscapes in the later 17th C, landscapes made up a significant proportion of merchant collections (7.75 %) and noble collections (11.5%) Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Centruy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955), 86.

[429] Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste*, 86; Stourton and Sebag-Montfiore 77 – 79.

Plate 30. Hendrick Dankerts. *Ham House from the South.* **c. 1675 – 79. Oil on canvas. 994 x 652 mm. Ham House, Surrey, National Trust. NT 1139878.**

the Duke of Lauderdale and Knight of the Garter.[430] That same year he married his

second wife, Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart, and moved into her family estate,

Ham House in Surrey.[431] Maitland was a notorious political maneuverer. In 1674 he

became Baron Petersham, then Earl of Guilford and was later appointed to the English

Privy Council.[432] Despite the religious fervour of the times, Maitland was also a strong

supporter of James II's conversion to Catholicism.[433] True to his station within court

circles and his own sense of self-importance the Duke gathered a grand court of foreign

painters around him at Ham House, much like the royalty and courtiers of the early

seventeenth century. As James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montfiore note, "Lauderdale

was Scottish Secretary, an ambitious man … whose passion for redecorating their many

seats was 'considered to be fundamental to the Duke's projection of power'."[434] Most

well-known of these seats was Ham House in Surrey, which in the late seventeenth

century played home to many Dutch artists, including William van de Velde, Jan

Siberechts, Thomas and Jan Wyck, and Adrian van Diest, all of whom were central

figures in the development of the landscape genre in the latter half of the seventeenth

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[430] Ronald Hutton, "Maitland, John, Duke of Lauderdale," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004 – 2011), http://www.oxforddnb.com

[431] Hutton; "History: Ham House, Surrey," *National Trust House History*, http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vn/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-hamhouse/w-hamouse-history.

[432] Hutton.

[433] Hutton.

[434] Stourton and Sebag-Montfiore, 78.

century.[435] Danckert's depiction of Ham House is designed to highlight the central role of the Duke and Countess in the English art (and political) scene.

Unlike many estate landscapes discussed thus far, Danckerts' work is taken from a lowered perspective in order to better display the prominence of the Duke and Countess as well as their collection. The house occupies a central position, in front of which, at the apex of a recessive triangular composition, the Duke and Duchess emerge into their classically inspired sculpture garden. The garden, encircled by trees and marble statues, reminiscent of Arundel's collection earlier in the century, is peopled by nobles, servants and hunting dogs, more akin to the French *fête galante* than the Dutch *kermis*. Unlike other house portraits in this period, the manor and the couple are predominant, while the English landscape is almost inconsequential to the scene. The primacy of the estate signifies the central importance of social and political standing for the Duke.

Over the course of the seventeenth century land ownership and its representation increasingly served as a reflection and projection of one's social status, such as is visible in Jan Van Der Vaart's c. 1695 – 1705 *Bifrons, Kent* (Plate 31). Like other Restoration prospects, the house occupies a central position, separated from the surrounding communities by walled and hedged gardens, the majority of which are decorative, although the one to the left appears to be a market garden supplying the kitchen with fresh produce. Surrounding the estate are enclosed pastures containing livestock in the closer pastures and hay fields in the background (to the right of the house). The closest community is viewed at some distance, to the far right of the house. A group of hunters

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[435] Harris, 1985, 43; Stourton and Sebag-Montfiore, 78.

Plate 31. Unknown, perhaps Jan Van Der Vaart (Previously Jan Siberechts and Jan Wyck). *Bifrons, Kent (*Alternate title: *Hunting Scene with Bifrons Park in the Background*). **c. 1695 – 1705. Oil on canvas. 156.2 x 232.4 cm. Yale Center for British Art, B1977.14.83.**

and their dogs emerge over the crest of a steep slope in the foreground; the primacy of the party establishes both the ownership of the estate and the status of the owner.[436] The painting emphasizes the rank of the patron not just in subject, the estate and the hunt, but also in form. *Bifrons, Kent* contains the estate landscape within an idealistic framework. The bird's-eye estate in the mid-ground is dwarfed by an Italianate painting style in the foreground with soft atmospheric lighting and a coulisse of trees either side of the hunting party reminiscent of works by Claude or Salvator Rosa. The prominence of such elements reflects the extent to which Italian and French art theory had penetrated the consciousness of upper class collectors and patrons by the latter half of the seventeenth century, as discussed in Chapter Three. As Fitter observes, the painter, like the poet, is "concerned to promote not a sharper material definition of a contingent space so much as a triumph of the human mind in its artistic construction. The painting compresses a thousand acres within three feet of canvas in a bravura act of control and possession."[437] Just as late-seventeenth-century artistic discourse, as discussed in Chapter Three, increasingly favoured the intellectual over the mechanical, so later estate landscapes tended to value the manor less as a site of economic wealth than as a signifier of social and political prominence.

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[436] Gold and Revill, 121.

[437] Fitter, 276.

4.3   Political Perspectives

Particularly in the closing decades of the seventeenth century the estate landscape was often deployed to project one's significance in the broader political landscape. Landownership had always been implicitly connected to political agency; the extent of one's holdings determining one's voting rights or eligibility for government positions. However, over the course of the century land and title sales in addition to changes to the structure of the English government increased the political significance of landownership as the century progressed.

The changes that would lead to the political prominence of the large landowner by the end of the century began in the early seventeenth century with the expansion of parliament by the early Stuarts. James I and Charles I increased the number of seats in the House of Lords; James I added fifty-four lay peers to the House and Charles a further twenty-one; by the end of Charles I's reign the House of Lords, which during Elizabeth's rule had consisted of sixty men, had grown to one hundred and thirty-five, many of whom had only achieved noble status since 1603.[438]

The early Stuart kings also made significant changes to the House of Commons. In 1604 James I made the Commons their own masters – granting them permission to determine who would sit in the house, the right to revive borough representation where they saw fit, and the ability to lay down the principles of franchise, privileges which had

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[438] Mackenzie, 98; Tawney, 34.

previously been reserved for the crown.[439] Furthermore, in 1620 the franchise rate for

freeholders was raised to eighty shillings a year and was also extended to copyholders

who earned ten pounds a year. This extension of franchise gave more power to

politically inclined landowners who could now marshal not only their freehold tenants,

but also their more susceptible copyhold tenants for political support in securing a seat in

the House of Commons.[440]

The Civil War and Interregnum further disrupted the supremacy of the crown

when it abolished the power of the monarch and the House of Lords altogether leaving

the government, dominated by landed classes and the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell,

in control of the nation. The changes initiated during the Interregnum reverberated into

the Restoration, at which time three-quarters of the MPs sitting in Parliament were drawn

from landed classes.[441] The power of the landowner, based in the consolidation of his

estate, guaranteed not only more efficient commercial production (of wool, coal or other

land-based resources), but the denser living pattern also ensured a closely-knit

constituency.[442]

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[439] J. Plumb, "The Growth of the Electorate in England from 1600 to 1715," *Past and Present* 45 (1965): 95.

[440] Ibid., 93 – 96.

[441] Kischlansky, 257.

[442] Williamson and Bellamy, 125.

By the eighteenth century landowners accounted for at least eighty percent of the House of Commons and almost all of the House of Lords.[443] Landowners were seen as natural statesmen, more rooted in the land and by extension the nation than any other businessman.[444] As James Turner notes, "The political establishment of England, according to Royalists and Parliamentarians alike, was 'naturally' made up of those who had a 'locall and permanent interest in the kingdome – *local* being invested in the natural wealth of the country estate, and *permanent* being exempt from alienation, disputed title, or popular invasion …"[445] For such landowners, the display of estate landscapes in their London townhouses and at their estates projected not only their social status, but also served political ends. I would argue, for example, that Wyck's depiction of *Whitehaven* (Plate 24) advertises the achievements of Lowther as a political representative for his region while also displaying the skills he could bring to other National endeavours. Similarly, *Ham House* (Plate 30) in depicting the good taste of Lauderdale subtly implies his ability to make good judgements on a broader scope.

Unlike many histories of estate landscapes, this dissertation observes that while the landowning gentry reinforced their legitimacy via references to royalist imagery such as hunting scenes, as discussed in the previous section, the crown drew upon the visual language of these landowners to shore up its own mythology. Judging by his use of print culture and visual media, Charles II showed a surprising awareness of a need to fashion a

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[443] M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1978), 22.

[444] Williamson and Bellamy, 124.

[445] Turner, *The Politics of Landscape*, 101.

clear monarchical image.[446] The symbolic order of Charles II's rule revolved primarily around the narrative of his escape after the Battle of Worchester in 1651. On September 3, 1651, Charles II fled the battlefield at Worchester after Oliver Cromwell's troops defeated the young King and his mainly Scottish troops. After the battle, Charles II travelled initially to White Ladies Priory, approximately thirty-three miles from the battlefield, where he disguised himself as a woodsman and went into hiding. In one close call with the Roundhead soldiers Charles II and his compatriot, Col. William Carless, were forced to hide in the branches of a large oak tree, later known as the Royal Oak, some miles away on the grounds of Boscobel House. Eventually, after six weeks of travel and intrigue, the young King was able to secure safe passage to France.[447] On his return voyage to England in 1660 Charles II revealed the events of his escape and the tale of the Royal Oak became the focal point for much Stuart propaganda during the Restoration. In 1660 Charles II authorized an official account of his narrative and by the end of 1660 the Royal Oak had found its way into a dozen pamphlets, broadsides and ballads.[448] In c. 1662 the tale was immortalized in paint in Isaac Fuller's five-piece series *Escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worchester* (National Portrait Gallery).[449]

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[446] Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 12.

[447] Oliver Millar, *The Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen: The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures* (London: Phaidon Press, 1963), 137; Weber, *Paper Bullets*, 27 – 30.

[448] David H. Solkin, "Isaac Fuller's Escape of Charles II: A Restoration Tragicomedy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999): 209; Weber, *Paper Bullets,* 26.

[449] Solkin, "Isaac Fuller's Escape of Charles II: A Restoration Tragicomedy," 236.

However, Charles II also commissioned less dramatic paintings of the tale, including Robert Streater's c. 1670 *Boscobel House and White Ladies* (Plate 32).[450] Unlike the Fuller series which approximates a history painting style, *Boscobel House and White Ladies* is executed in the topographical style popularly used to depict landed estates. In a form akin to contemporaneous estate landscapes the work combines bird's-eye and profile views with the seeming intent of presenting an accurate record of an estate, and by extension Charles' escape. However, as John Harris observes, while Whiteadies and Boscobel appear in close proximity in the painting, they are in reality miles apart.[451] Moreover, Streeter's use of flora and atmospheric clouds, which occupy a significantly large proportion of the canvas, create a decorative rather than topographical effect. On the surface, the work is akin to other estate portraits being produced at the time, the naturalism of the landscape guaranteeing its veracity. However, the work is much more idealized than it appears, depicting what Colonel Grant calls, "one of the most romantic events in English history."[452]

Compared to Fuller's series this painting is remarkable for the prominence given to the landscape, such that the history and mythology depicted is naturalized by the

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[450] Robert Streater was already a well-known painter during the interregnum, working in history paintings, religious works, allegories, landscapes, still lives, birds, heraldry and house decoration. Maurice Harold Grant, *A Chronological History of Old Landscape Painters in Oil from the Xvith Century to the xixth Century* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1957), 54. Sanderson notes of Streater," [o]f our own nation I know none were excellent but *Streater* who indeed is a complete master therein." William Sanderson, *Graphice. The Use of the Pen and Pensil.: Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting : In Two Parts* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), 19, Early English Books Online. http://eebo.chadwyck.com. There is also a closely related print by Wenceslaus Hollar in the British Museum, Museum number 1936, 0610.8.

[451] Harris 1985, 40.

[452] Grant, 54.

Plate 32. Robert Streeter. Boscobel House and White Ladies. c. 1670. Oil on canvas. 136.7 x 211.5 cm. Royal Collection. RCIN 404761

Plate 33. Isaac Fuller. *King Charles II and Colonel William Carlos (Careless) in the Royal Oak.* **ca. 1660s. Oil on canvas. 212.7 x 315.6cm. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5249**

work's topographical appearance.   Whereas in Fuller's *King Charles II and Colonel Carless in the Royal Oak* (Plate 33) the oak takes up much of the picture plane with the King and Carless clearly visible amongst its branches, in *Boscobel House and White Ladies* the oak is nearly lost amongst the fauna between the two estates while its occupants are nowhere to be seen. While broadsides often strove to make the story of the King's escape clearly legible for a broad audience, the Streater painting makes a stylistic appeal to those landowners who were not only the prime collectors of estate landscapes but also frequent critics of the court's excesses.[453] I would argue that in taking up the popular estate landscape format it draws a correspondence between the tastes of the crown and that of the people (or more specifically the parliament). While works like *Boscobel* were a relative anomaly, its creation belies both the popularity of the estate landscape in addition to the political and cultural influence of the large landowners in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[454]

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[453] Michael Foss, *The Age of Patronage: The Arts in Society 1660 – 1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1971), 20; Julia Marciari Alexander and Catherine MacLeod, "Introduction," In *Politics, Transgression, and Representation and the Court of Charles II,* edited by Julia Marciari and Catharine MacLeod Alexander (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), xiv; Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with some account of the principle artists and incidental notes on other arts; also a catalogue of engravers who have been born or resided in england; collected by the late George Vertue, digested and published from his orginal mss. By Horace Walpole, with additions by the Rev. James Dallaway*, Rev. Ed. (London, H. G. Bohn, 1862), 2.

[454] In a form similar to Streeter's, Hollar also chose to depict the Boscobel myth using a topographical syntax in his print *A View of Boscobel House & White Ladies ...* originally created to accompany T. Blount's publication of the King's tale. This print went through a number of copies, including one by Richard Gaywood, M. Vdr Guch Sculp, and another by John Clark [Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607-1677* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 90]. Unlike gentry and noble estate landscapes in the 1660s this royalist estate landscape was clearly intended for a broader audience, perhaps an attempt to visually unify the crown and parliament even when their interests often diverged.

The political prominence of the landowning classes increased in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The new regime not only replaced the Catholic James II with the Protestant William of Orange, by Parliamentary assent, but also initiated a number of policy changes that benefitted a new, predominantly landowning, political class. For example, while the crown's ability to raise funds without Parliamentary consent was restrained, new laws in defense of property rights were enacted and constraints on property from the church, crown and common rights were removed.[455] As Kenneth Olwig observes, " A country seat, not London courtly pomp, legitimated political authority in post-revolutionary England. The Whig gentry might have disagreed amongst themselves … and disagreed, more generally, with the ancient landed nobility and conservative Tories, but all tended to identify with the country as the natural source of political legitimacy."[456] Against this context, the estate, and its literary and visual representation, became a signifier of political legitimacy, particularly as the discourse of Civic Humanism gained cultural valence towards the close of the seventeenth century.

The shift in estate discourse from a paternalistic feudal home, to a private space of leisure and political contemplation primed the elite for the incorporation of Italian Civic Humanism into the political landscape of the late seventeenth century. According to the discourse of Civic Humanism, "the ability of the disinterested citizen to grasp the true interests of society had come to be identified as a function of his ownership of landed

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[455] Coward 373-374; Stephen Daniels, "Godly Prospects: English Estate Portraiture, 1670 – 1730," In *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography*, eds by N. Alfrey and S. Daniels, (Nottingham: University Art Gallery Castle Museum, 1990), 9; Kishlansky 293; McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 298.

[456] Kenneth Robert Olwig, *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 102.

property."[457] The financially independent landowner was presumed to have no

occupational bias because of his lack of profession outside of politics, and his wealth was

assumed to provide him with the time to devote to politics.[458] Thus it was believed that

only the leisured landowning gentry and nobility possessed the autonomy necessary to

achieve full rationality and govern themselves and others.[459] This autonomy was

reflected in estate landscapes that deployed the guise of topographical accuracy to

emphasize the landowners' clarity of vision, rationality, and influence. As Turner notes,

by the close of the seventeenth century the prospect landscape was frequently associated

with the political survey, "its wide scope and mastery of distance, suggests a vision of

transcendent truth."[460]

In works such as Leonard Knyff's c. 1699 *The North Prospect of Hampton Court,*

Herefordshire (Plate 28), the manor house occupies a relatively small proportion of the

panoramic landscape. This painting was likely commissioned by Thomas Coningsby,

Earl of Coningsby, and his wife, Margaret, Countess of Coningsby to record the brick

addition to the Tudor-style estate built in the 1680s.[461] However, the work also stands as

a depiction of the Earl's parliamentary seat. In Knyff's painting the estate is set against

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[457] Barrell, "The Public Prospect,"28.

[458] Ibid., 28

[459] David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 7. Civic Humanism and history painting is also discussed in John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

[460] Turner, *The Politics of Landscape*, 43.

[461] Mary Spivey, "Country Houses in Great Britain," In *Country Houses in Great Britain* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1979), 23.

the sprawling landscape, with hedge rows expanding out like arteries across the land

echoing the importance of the constituency of Leominster, Herefordshire to the Whig

MP's political standing.

Coningsby was a controversial political figure, holding his seat in the House of

Commons for Leominster, Herefordshire from 1679 to 1710. He had supported the

exclusion of James II and been a vocal supporter of the Glorious Revolution that led to

the crowning of William III in 1688. In the early eighteenth century, he ran into some

controversy when in the process of extending his property rights in Marden and

Leominster he attempted to wrongfully eject freehold tenants from his lands.[462] Knyff's

representation of his estate while documenting the transformation of the estate also

reflects this parliamentarian's obsession with extending his lands and influence in

addition to the freedom the political climate of the late seventeenth century provided to

this landowning MP.

Paintings such as *The North Prospect of Hampton Court* (Plate 28) and *Boscobel*

(Plate 32) draw upon the perceived veracity of the estate landscape to connote a rational

and detached perspective and suggest the obviousness of the landowner's (including the

crown's) ability to govern. In such works the estate acts as a microcosm of the broader

political landscape; as Nick Grindle observes, "… landscape painting offered a precedent

for representing social relations as part of the natural order."[463] However, as noted in this

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[462] Stokes.

[463] Nicholas Grindle, "New Ways of Seeing: Landscape Painting and Visual Culture c. 1620 – c. 1870," in David Binda ed., *The History of British Art 1600 – 1700* (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2008), 122.

chapter, such imagery was employed not only by Whig parliamentarians, but also Tories and the Crown itself.

4.4   Conclusions

The estate landscapes that were created, particularly in the latter half of the seventeenth century, employed formal and ideological apparatus inherited from earlier symbolic, topographic and ideal iterations to produce works that reflected the values and tensions provoked by the shifting status of landownership over the century. While a Whig history can certainly be retrospectively observed, it was, as this chapter brings to light, contested by the competing interests of Royalists, Parliamentarians and landowners of all political and religious stripes who projected their views of the land, and the burgeoning nation, of Great Britain. The estate landscape thus served to mediate conflicting perspectives by providing a visual locus for the negotiation of changing economic, social and political values founded in the land of England.

Conclusion: Towards New Horizons in the Study of the English Landscape

The study of the English landscape has long been hampered by the presumption that the English iteration of the genre emerged only in the late seventeenth century. The basis of these limits was founded upon anachronistic assumptions, not the least of which was that there was only *one* definition of the genre. However, as this dissertation has demonstrated, not only did the genre enter English culture much earlier, but it took on a wide assortment of forms, reflecting both the influence of Northern and Southern European artistic discourses as well as varying responses to the role of land within seventeenth-century English society. This dissertation has approached the landscape as a genre steeped within the discourse of art in addition to exposing this institutional history to the broader discursive field of the land.

Within an art historical context this dissertation has examined three representational tropes used to express the changing landscape, from symbolic to topographical and ideal and explored their use in the sub-genre of the estate landscape. Traditionally, English art history, particularly that written in the modern period, has given priority to those idealized landscapes created for their own sake beginning with the eighteenth century.[464] More recently, there has been a concerted effort, from scholars such as John Harris and Nick Grindle among others, to reprioritize topographical

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[464] Among the texts that give preferential treatment to the idealized landscape in England are: Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (London: John Murray, 1976); Michael Rosenthal, *British Landscape Painting* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1982); Andrew Wilton, *Five Centuries of British Painting: From Holbein to Hodgkin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001); and Charles Hemming, *British Landscape Painters: A History and Gazetteer* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1989).

forms.[465] While such explorations redress a certain lack, they do little to break down the

seeming opposition of real and ideal. In contrast, this dissertation has emphasized how

the diversity of representational forms reflects not only the translation of a foreign genre

into an English context, but also the connection to broader discourses concerning the

land.

The seventeenth-century English landscape genre is marked by the variety of its

iterations, a breadth that in part reflects the foreign origins of the genre. At the opening

of the century there was little conception of an *English* landscape; the form was imported

along with artists and prints from Northern and Southern Europe in the early seventeenth

century and it was not until the latter half of the century that English critics showed an

interest in developing a specifically "English School." William Sanderson in 1658 was

among the first to celebrate specifically English landscapists, but it was not until

Bainbridgge Buckeridge in the eighteenth century that the desire to promote a uniquely

English school is evident in artistic treatises.[466]   However, this lack does not mean that

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[465] Topographical forms take center stage in: John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540 – 1870*, Rev. Ed. (New York: Sotheby's Publications and Harper and Row Publications Inc., 1985) and John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Sotheby's Institute, 1995). In addition to Katharine Gibson, "Jan Wyck c. 1645 – 1700: A Painter with 'a grate deal of fire'," *The British Art Journal*, 2. 1 (Autumn 2000): 3 – 13, http://jstor.org.stable/41615006; Nick Grindle, "The Wise Surveyor: Surveying and Representation in British House and Estate Portraiture, c. 1650 – 1715" (PhD. Diss, University College of London, 1999); Richard Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns, 1575 – 1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin*, 76. 1 (March 1994): 105 – 128, http://jstor.org/stable/3046005; Sarah Trevisan, "The Impact of the Netherlandish Landscape Tradition on Poetry and Painting in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66. 3 (Fall 2013): 866 – 903, http://jstor.org/stable/10.1086/673585.

[466] Bainbridgge Buckeridge, "An Essay Towards an English-School, with the Lives and Characters of Above 100 Painters," in *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters Containing a Compleat Treatise of Painting, Defiguring, and the Use of Several School of Europe, as well Ancient as Modern*, Roger de Piles (London: J. Nutt Near Stationers-Hall, 1706) Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com;

this early period is not worthy of the attention devoted to the English landscape of the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rather the earlier period exposes to critical attention

the extent to which the English landscape is a product of a particularly English skill for

colonizing and assimilating foreign ideas and influences.

In a general sense, the English landscape stylistically developed from a blending

of Northern and Southern Renaissance forms. As John Dryden observes at the close of

the century, unlike the Italianate or Dutch landscapes, the English representation balances

idealism with verisimilitude.[467] John Hayes similarly notes in his 1956 essay, "to a large

extent, the history of landscape painting and the taste for it in later seventeenth-century

England are synonymous with the history of topography and decorative painting, the two

not infrequently intertwined."[468] As discussed in Chapters One to Three, this blending

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William Sanderson, *Graphice. The Use of the Pen and Pensil.: Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting : In Two Parts*, (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com, 26. Ian Pears remarks upon this lack of interest in an English school in his work: Ian Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680 – 1768* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 11.

[467] Roger De Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters Containing a Compleat Treatife of Painting, Defiguring, and the Ufe of Prints: With Reflections on the works of the Most Celebrated Painters, and of the feveral school of Europe, as well Ancient as Modern. To which is added, an Essays towards an Englifh-school, with the Lives and Character of above 100 Painters*. (London: J. Nutt Near Stationers-Hall, 1706), 35, Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com; Charles A. Du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica. The Art of Painting. With Remarks ; Translated into English, Together with an Original Preface Containing a Parallel Betwixt Painting and Poetry, by Mr. Dryden ; as Also a Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd Down to the Present Times, According to the Order of Their Succession, by Another Hand.* Trans. Mr. Dryden (London: J. Jeptinstall for W. Rogers, 1695), 24, Early English Books Online. http://eebo.chadwyck.com.

[468] John Hayes, "Claude de Jongh." *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol 98. No. 634 (Jan 1956): 3 – 11. Jstor. 30 November 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/871774. 43.

had as much to do with artistic currents as with religious and social changes that influenced the migration and assimilation of foreign ideals.

The predominance of Northern forms in the first half of the century, for instance, was inherently tied to the religious values and political currents of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Many of the earliest examples of the landscape upon English shores drew influence from emblematic and genre works popular in the co-religious Netherlands, such as the *kermis* tradition, in addition to more topographically inclined forms. As discussed in Chapter Two, topographical prints, such as those used in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, provided a visual example of a landscape that mirrored the contemporaneous empirical turn in English and European natural philosophy. The formal language derived from such topographical works was applied in representations of prominent towns and estates, reinforcing the apparent veracity of these prospects. These descriptive landscapes used a visual syntax akin to cartography to represent a "truthful" vision of the land. However, much like the symbolic works of the previous century, these works presented the perspectives of the upper classes.

While the majority of early landscapes were influenced in form and content by the traditions developed in Northern Europe, Humanist traditions and Italian art theory were also assimilated into English traditions over the course of the century as political and religious tensions between the Catholic South and England eased. The influence of Italian Renaissance forms was particularly clear in English pastoral works that began to emerge in the late sixteenth century, in addition to classical *poèsie* throughout the century. However, of more lasting and far reaching influence were the discourses imported from France and Italy in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Within these

texts, the imagination and grace of the artist, as opposed to his mimetic skill, was given priority, such that the genre became increasingly idealized in its representation even when depicting a seemingly topographically accurate prospect.

The seventeenth-century English landscape was formed from the confluence of multiple aesthetic tropes, including the symbolic, topographical and ideal. While the chapters of this dissertation, for the sake of clarity, have discussed each in relative isolation, the interrelation of these categories was more complicated in practice. These categories did not occur as part of a teleological development, from medieval symbolism to an idealised landscape for "its own sake," instead formal choices often reflected the parameters of the commission. For example, Hendrick Danckerts, a landscape painter popular with the crown, aristocracy and gentry alike in the 1670s, produced landscapes in a variety of styles, each tailored to the requirements of the patron. Some of his works, such as his c. 1674 *Classical Landscape* (Plate 19) are creations of pure fantasy, reflections of the extent to which Italian and French theories and classical forms permeated English fashions towards the close of the seventeenth century.

However, Danckerts also produced works whose nature and expression reflect a greater interest in visual veracity. The estate landscape *Ham House, Surrey* c. 1674-75 (Plate 30), for example, was created for John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale as a display piece to highlight his artistic taste and the grandeur of his estate. Similarly, Danckerts' 1673 *Plymouth* (Plate 15) deploys formal choices reminiscent of city plans and world landscapes to highlight the prosperity of the English port city and by extension the good governance of the patron, William Russell the 5th Earl of Bedford. In contrast to *Classical Landscape* (Plate 19), which served a largely decorative purpose, the

naturalism employed in *Ham House* (Plate 30) and *Plymouth* (Plate 15) reinforces the veracity of the scene and by extension the prominence of the patron.

The symbolic, ideal and topographical were also frequently combined within single paintings, especially towards the end of the century. Such a blending of forms is evident in Jan Siberecht's c. 1690 *Landscape with Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames* (Plate 16) that merges residual emblematic elements, such as the rainbow and receding storm, with topographical attention to local detail and a subtle idealism common to Italianate works. The stylistic choices made by artists and patrons over the seventeenth century reflect not only contemporary fashions in the genre, but were often deployed strategically as visual signifiers that reflected invested values and ideals concerning the land.

The landscape as such rests in this tension between visual representation and the broader discursive field of the land. As part of this broader perspective, the symbolic, topographical and ideal become connotative forms capable of communicating and negotiating reactions to the changing significance of the land. The symbolic tradition, for example, was often tied to a residual attachment to a waning feudal system, such as the link between the *kermis* form and the desire to reinforce feudal connections amongst social orders, as discussed in Chapter One, or the use of the pastoral to assuage tensions surrounding the transition to enclosed pasture farming over the century.

Similarly, topographical forms were often deployed to reinforce the veracity of a depicted scene. As noted in Chapter Four, it was not coincidental that many estate landscapes shared a formal similarity with contemporaneous estate surveys; the implied

link with the survey suggested the objective "truth" of the constructed scene while reinforcing the landowner's visual mastery and control over their estate.

Even the choice to decorate one's home with more idealised landscapes was often linked to the patron's desire to visually project his social status through taste and knowledge of contemporary continental fashions, such as in Danckert's *Ham House* (Plate 30). Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Three, the artistic discourse that formed the backbone of the idealised landscape mirrored contemporaneous cultural shifts regarding the status of labour. As the feudal system waned, the landowner grew divorced from the productive nature of ownership as his estate became increasingly important as a social and political status symbol. Just as the absence of agricultural labour defined the high status of the landowner, so the intellectual, as opposed to mechanical, nature of art became a distinguishing feature of the new artist towards the close of the century.

It has been common in critical histories written since the 1980s to interrogate the construction of hegemonic ideology within the landscape genre. Most commonly scholars have explored the connection between the rise of parliamentary landowners and the landscape genre. In contrast, this dissertation by exploring an earlier period highlights the extent to which the landscape was used to project a variety of elite responses to the land, including feudal values, royalist concerns and competing parliamentary interests.

Over the seventeenth century, English culture and society underwent a period of transition in which the land itself became increasingly significant to one's social and political position. While the landscapes produced routinely reflected the values of the

elite classes, the upheavals of the century resulted in the creation of multiple perspectives. This variety is particularly evident in the subgenre of the estate landscape in which the crown as well as landowners, both ancient and parvenu, Whig and Tory, projected their visions of the political landscape of England. For example, while Robert Streeter's c. 1670 *Boscobel House and White ladies, Shropshire* (Plate 32), Jan Wyck's 1686 *Whitehaven, Cumberland* (Plate 24) and Leonard Knyff's c. 1699 *The North Prospect of Hampton Court, Herefordshire* (Plate 28) represent a seemingly accurate depiction of an estate, the formal choices made within each work, the varying incorporation of symbolism and idealism, betray different views of the political landscape. While *Boscobel House* uses a topographical form to naturalise a popular royalist narrative, *Whitehaven* and *The North Prospect* use that same naturalism to display the estate as a status symbol. Moreover, the latter two works, while both commissioned by prominent politicians, reflect widely different views of the land; the former depicts the politician's investment in improving the community he represents, while the latter pictures a more detached view, one that anticipates the civic humanist discourse of the eighteenth century.

The importance of the study of the seventeenth century is not to retrospectively discover the roots of eighteenth and nineteenth century traditions, but rather to acknowledge the debt these later traditions owe to an earlier period, a period in which the genre is full of difference, variety and negotiation. There is no clear progression, Whig history, etc., but rather a negotiation of dominant, emergent and residual values. Whereas studies in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English landscape lend themselves to ideological dissection, the seventeenth century begs for further study as a period marked

by its struggle for visual coherence. In redirecting the focus of English landscape studies to earlier expressions of the genre this dissertation exposes a wide variety of areas for further study.

Upon a purely aesthetic front there is room for further research into the effects of the translation of Dutch, Latin and Italian sources of Humanist literature into English. For example, one might ask what was lost and gained in the translations of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* into varying English versions, including Henry Peacham's translation based on Karel van Mander and William Aglionby's more direct incorporation of the text in his *Choice Observations Upon the Art of Painting*.

Furthermore, given the predominance of a "Whig history" in many eighteenth-century studies, as observed by Nigel Everett, there is a necessity to further expose the variety of competing political views present in seventeenth-century landscapes. [469]   For example, one might ponder whether political allegiance, religious faith or geographic location etc., have a significant impact on the types of landscapes commissioned and collected. Similarly, while there is much research into parliamentarian landscapes in the

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[469] Nigel Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). In the latter work, Everett links the rise of the a "Whig" landscape with a more aesthetic iteration of the genre after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. As Everett notes, a common element in the history of landscape is the emergence after 1688 of a Whig landscape that reflected, in its rough, proto-picturesque style, the liberty of the nation bought with the restrictions of the powers of the monarch as well as the relative freedoms of the democratic United Kingdom compared to absolutist France. Not coincidentally, as was discussed in chapter four of this dissertation, the emergence of an aesthetically 'pure' landscape is strongly tied to the politically ascendant classes who, as Nick Grindle explores in his 2006 "Virgil's Prospects," use the representation of their lands as mirrors and projections of their political acumen. Everett, 38. The Whig landscape is also noted in: Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740 - 1860* (Berkely, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986) 17; Helsinger, "Land and National Representation in Britain," 18; Wilton 52 – 59; Nick Grindle, "Virgil's Prospects: The Gentry and the Representation of Landscape in Addison's Theory of the Imagination," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, 2 (2006): 193 – 195.

late seventeenth century, there is room to expand studies upon the role of natural forms and landscape in the perpetuation of Royalist discourse in this same period. Finally, the diversity of perspectives emphasized in this dissertation beg for a reconsideration of the 1707 *Britiannia Illustrata* as a text founded upon difference rather than national unity.

   In this dissertation I have sought to expand the horizon for the study of the English landscape by viewing the genre not solely as a product of an artistic discourse, but rather as an iterable reflection and projection of a constantly shifting discursive relationship to the land. Each of the three visual tropes explored, the symbolic, topographic and ideal, betray a particular view of the land and project a specific connotation that is used singularly or in combination in the creation of landscapes, such as the estate landscapes discussed in Chapter Four. As the land of England continues to be deployed in contemporary political discourses, it becomes ever more imperative that as academics we evaluate the roots of such frameworks. In the end, there never was a purely *English* landscape, but rather many iterations based upon local interpretations of foreign visions and ideas.

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