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Spruces, pines, and the picturesque in seventeenth-century Netherlands

WYBE KUITERT

I. Introduction

In early modern Europe, nature began to be viewed as something of its own. It could be studied, represented in painting as a scenery or even redone in a garden as a three-dimensional picture. Highly instrumental in the establishing of a taste for the picturesque in northern Europe was landscape painting, in which the realism of the Dutch in the seventeenth century played a significant role. It raises the question whether such developments can also be traced in garden design in the Netherlands in these decades.¹ Gardens could follow formal, prescribed geometry but wild, natural growth was also appreciated as beautiful and understood — for example, with reference to Japanese aesthetics, leading to the *sharawadgi* discourse in England, as I have shown elsewhere.² The present paper delves deeper into this change from a formal and objective taste to an appreciation of subjective beauty.³ Combining the history of art, botany, horticulture, forestry and gardens, this paper analyses seventeenth-century Dutch sources about such early ideas on a multidimensional nature focusing specifically on conifers. New ideas and feelings of beauty were easily attached and discovered as subjective aesthetics in plantings of spruces and pines as proved by texts, etchings and paintings.

Besides tracing the first introductions of spruces and pines into the cultured landscapes of the Netherlands, this paper also confirms the botanical standing of the species. At first, these evergreens were valued solely as productive timber, adding in the course of the century certain appreciations of imagination and beauty. References to correspondence, poetry and discourse on landscape painting can demonstrate how the Italianate landscape, as well as

the continental European mountain landscape, was an inspiration to garden design. The Italianate landscape was reproduced by means of pines, and sycamores, whereas the deep German forest was recreated with spruces and pines in a garden of Constantijn Huygens. Lacking traditional and local connotations, these new garden plants offered an opportunity for a wider imagination, recalling remote scenery far beyond the cultivated landscape of the Netherlands. Traces of gardens planted with conifers owned by Everard Meyster can be discovered in two imaginative, fully picturesque garden paintings by Jacob van Ruisdael. Realistic representation as it was developed in the art of painting went hand in hand with developments in garden art.

These early experiments in picturesque gardening were straightforward discoveries of arranging trees and applying aesthetic ideas to these arrangements. Writing about it developed simultaneously, but a proper discourse required more time and more writers and readers to develop. Without an established discourse, nature could not be ‘faked’ because ‘the picturesque’ was not formalized yet to prescribe what it was supposed to look like.⁴

2. Mast trees coming in cultivation

Deciduous trees like oak and lime were always present in the cultured landscape of the Netherlands ever since there were efforts towards design.⁵ Spruces and pines, though, appear in records from the sixteenth century on and were used with added aesthetic intentions since about the mid-seventeenth century. The pine, more precisely *Pinus sylvestris*, does not appear in earlier written records but seems to have been a native plant from pollen sample history;

perhaps, it was not more than a crooked and useless tree of poor heath lands.⁶ An obvious import was the spruce, *Picea abies*, or more decisively named *Picea excelsa*; it is native to hilly landscapes deeper in Germany or Scandinavia.⁷ To a lesser extent, and later in history, the fir, *Abies alba*, entered the designed landscape.⁸ Before the appearance of live trees, spruces, firs and pines were well known in the Netherlands because of their timber: straight, round and stout poles that were highly valued for roofs of buildings or the masts of ships and imported in large amounts from Germany.⁹ Such material of the timber industries was called ‘mast’, obviously to be used on a ship, or ‘spar’ or ‘Sparren’ when used as rafters for roof construction; both words were used with the same meaning in Germany, in the Netherlands as well as in England. Known first of all for their practical use as dead, processed wood, aesthetic appreciation for live trees, as well as a correct understanding of their horticulture and botany, naturally came later.

The recorded history of cultivating conifers for timber production began in Nürnberg. In this Imperial City (*Reichsstadt*) in southern Germany, a technique had been developed in the fourteenth century for the reforestation of clear-cut forest and reclamation of other wasteland.¹⁰ Seed of conifers was sown in ploughed furrows and made to grow as stands of harvestable trees. These first artificial forests were successful and gave so much prestige that an Imperial Forest Manager was installed as an administrator directly under the *Reich* administration; forest professionals became educated, salaried people. So-called ‘pine sowers’, the *Nürnberger Dammensäer*, were travelling to various other regions of Germany, as invited specialists to come over with their seeds. With a growing economy, and an increasing demand for mast and spar timber in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century, experiments began to grow pines, and spruces within the Netherlands. A famous pine sower Hans Schaller was invited by the German Count of Nassau, Henry III (1483–1538), to come over to Breda in the Netherlands, a wealthy domain that the latter had inherited.¹¹ With experience in his homeland, the Count’s idea was to reforest some 140 ha of wasteland with mast trees, to become a *mastbosch*, a forest of masts.¹²

After an initial inspection, Schaller started ploughing and sowing in the year 1514, apparently with success, as he was asked to come again and continue the next year in 1515. Numerous bags of mast tree seed were brought in, specified as *Tannensaat* and *Fichtensaat*, seed of pine and spruce, respectively.¹³ Nürnberg is surrounded by the natural area of distribution of the spruce (*P. excelsa*) and even in the middle of the area of the pine (*P. sylvestris*). Both species were familiar trees

to the forest specialists of the region.¹⁴ Spruce is a good option for reforestation; it easily adapts to almost any soil or water situation and is not too problematic if sufficient water and at least some minerals are present. In the Nürnberg *Reichswald* though, the pine took the major role in reforestation projects; we may assume because it is an even less-demanding pioneer species that will grow easily on soils too dry and too poor in minerals for other agriculture or even spruce forestry.¹⁵ Both pine and spruce need an open place with lots of sun light.¹⁶ A third species that the Nürnbergers used to sow was the silver fir (*A. alba*). Silver fir, however, is a tree of the established forest; it would not have been suitable for reforestation of bare heath lands, such as at Breda which must have been the reason that it was not brought in.¹⁷ As for the spruces and pines, we can be sure that after many generations of foresters’ practice in Germany, it was not just some seed, but high-quality seed of selected trees that came to the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century.¹⁸ At Breda, over the years, the spruce will have given limited success only on a few patches of wet heath land at several depressions in the reforestation project.¹⁹ On the other hand it was the fast-growing pines that flourished on the heath land ridge with its dry and meagre sands that makes up the core of the Mastbosch forest, whence it became known as a *P. sylvestris* forest. Spruces were forgotten.²⁰

For any aristocrat landowner or member of the landed gentry, reforestation was an attractive undertaking. With a rather simple and effective investment, not only private capital could be produced, but it was also a way to improve the public case and the wealth of a whole region by providing meaningful jobs and valuable material for ship building and architecture, as is explained by Conrad Heresbach in his *Rei rusticae*.²¹ Heresbach (1496–1576), a Calvinist humanist and prolific writer, was most of his active life employed by the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg who entrusted him with power of proclaiming and maintaining rules and laws. He was also responsible for the management of his master’s domain, most notably the Cleves-part of the *Reichswald*, a large forested area not owned by the Duke but, as at Nürnberg under imperial protection. During Heresbach’s rule, many activities in forestation were undertaken, spreading knowledge and understanding of techniques in wider cultural spheres of the Netherlands.²² A seventeenth-century landscape sketch of the Cleves area shows a thin, young forest with indeed some spruces and pines in view that seem wild seedlings. This little topographical drawing confirms that pines, and spruces were mixed, could propagate and formed part of the established wild flora by that time.²³

Of a smaller scale was the Plantation of Mast trees (*Planterije van Mastboomen*), by a nobleman in East Flanders, precisely illustrated in a print in *Flandria Illustrata* of 1641 (figure 1). Walled in by a stone wall, we see 42 conifers planted in orderly rows.²⁴ The branches are shown shorter at the top but here and there also shorter when lower in the crown, with the longest branches at mid-point, giving a rather globular crown shape. Branches carry the leaves in little cushions. From these details, it would appear to have been pines rather than spruces. Quite ingenuous is also the planting outside the wall at the far end. Here we see an additional 32 mast trees, each and every one with its stem clad in some protective shell as they are planted along the main approach to the bridge that gives entry to the fortified castle on the main island. A

horseman is trying to steer two horses that pull a coach into the entrance of the rather narrow, mast-tree lined passage, making us understand the need for such protection. These trees along the approach are clearly shown as having a different tree shape, with branches nicely tapering towards the top of the tree, suggesting spruce, rather than pine. That the illustrator made an effort for realism is proven by the way he has shown what could go wrong when growing trees for masts. One of the spruces and several of the pines have developed a double tip, something a careful gardener would have noticed in time; he would have prevented the ‘breaking’ of the mast by pruning.²⁵ Some of the trees therefore will not provide a perfect mast, giving an illustrative warning to the ambitious planter to check his trees every year and prune if necessary.



FIGURE 1. A walled-in planting of pines, and road-side planting of spruces by the Count of Wacken, today's Wingene, Flandres 1641 (Hondius 1641).

3. Spruces and pines in the garden Hofwijck

A major interest in conifers was held by Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), poet and secretary to two stadtholders, the Princes of Orange Frederick Henry (1584–1647) and William II (1626–1650).²⁶ In the early 1640s, he worked on his country seat at Hofwijck, publishing a lengthy poem *Hofwijck* in 1653.²⁷ The poem was written more than 10 years after the first plans were developed, but the poet writes in imagination as if the garden is already 100 years old. Because the text is full of other hyperboles and exaggeration in its associations, it informs us unambiguously about design intentions and imbued meaning. Although we do not know how successful the planting actually was during the following decades, the garden was intensively used, so that we may assume that the text was made to match the reality of the developing garden and developing interpretations. Apart from informing us about the thoughts on the project, the poem gives also a precise description of the garden topography, illustrated with various views — including a bird's eye, and a plan with legend. Most of the garden was a planted wilderness like in an Italian *bosco* and had no flower parterres.²⁸ It also had a small orchard and a separate vegetable garden.

When it comes to plants, mast trees are a major theme of composition both in words on paper and of views in the garden. Huygens takes the theme and rolls it over, again similar to what he would do on paper with so many other inspirations. Huygens received his conifers from the forest of his boss, the Mastbosch in Breda.²⁹ Though Huygens speaks of mast trees as a generic term, a more precise analysis shows that it concerns pines, and spruces, each species

clearly differently used. To understand it better, we need first of all to confirm how and where mast trees functioned in the constellation of the design (figure 2).

The main house of the garden, a small, stately summer house in brick, stood in a pond that was flanked on both sides by islands with a planted wilderness of mast trees mixed with a few deciduous trees and an undergrowth of roses, the

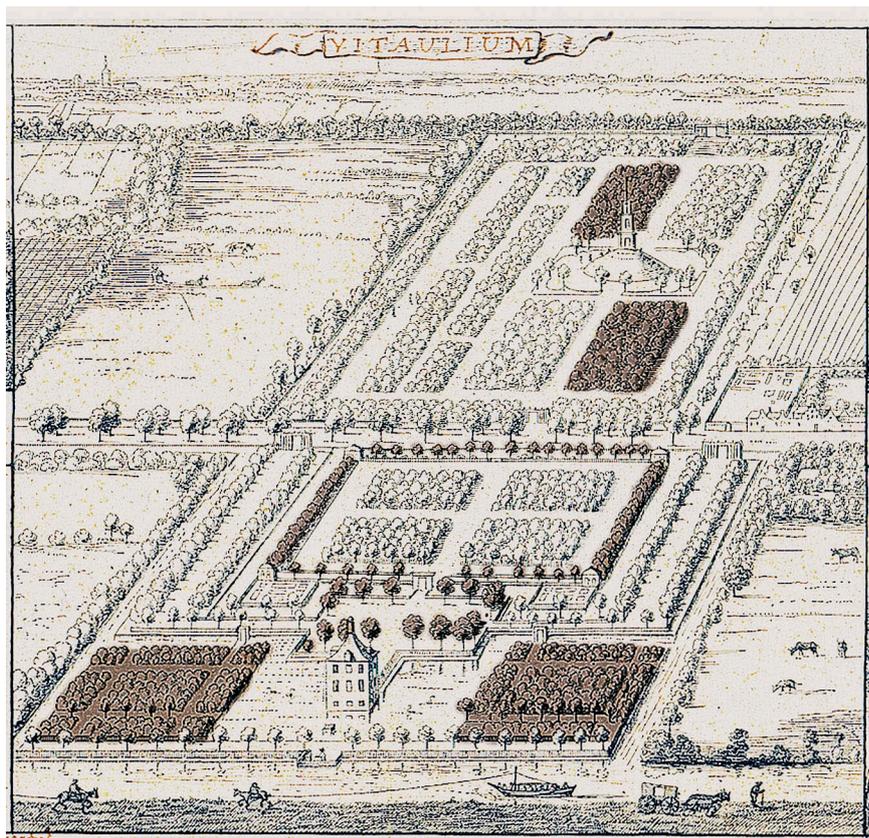


FIGURE 2. Four blocks of forest and plantings in line in front of the house were done with mast trees, indicated in a darker tone in this bird's eye view of 1653. *Vitavlium* is the Latin name of Hofwijck (redone from the original, collection Hofwijckmuseum, from Kuitert 2013).

only flowers present in the garden. In the illustration, we can see a few spruces, towering high (figure 3, left).

Among the trees indicated with some cloudy kind of crown, there must be pines, because of a drawing by one of Huygens' sons; it shows the house, seen from this wilderness with two trees in the foreground. From colouring and aspects of stem, branches, twigs and leaves, it can only be interpreted as pines (*Pinus sylvestris*) (figure 4).

From these illustrations then, it appears that pines were mixed with spruces as mast trees on both islands.³⁰ The dark green wilderness brought a stark contrast to the house that stood in full light with its brick walls rising up from the pond with its reflections; Huygens was fully aware of this effect.

The square in front of the house was planted on all four corners with maples (sycamores) and mast trees, one by one in a row; it seems each corner had two mast trees and two maples. These mast trees do not feature in any of the garden views, but from the text it appears that these were pines, as explained in more detail below. Behind the square, seen from the house, was the orchard. The path running around the orchard divided in four was planted on the outside with mast trees. Again it was pines: the text alludes to the pairs of dark green leaves, that is to say pine trees with their sets of double needles.³¹

The lower garden, opposite the public road, was basically a forest with alleys for walking, with a little hill in the middle on which stood a pinnacle, later replaced by a tower. On the west side, it was heavily planted with alder to keep the prevailing winds out. Within this sheltering belt, four planted woods were found, two were planted with mast trees: one on the right before the garden hill in the centre and the other wood was on the left and behind the garden hill when seen from the house (see figure 2). Huygens names these woods mast forest or little mast forest.³² From one of the garden views that serve as illustration of Huygens' poem, we can see that these two blocks were planted with spruces, again mixed with pines, and perhaps some other trees (see figure 3, right). Mast trees served a major role in the design and perception of the garden. They are provided in key positions that require attention and are directly in view of visitors. Spruces are planted in stands or woods mixed with pines at both sides of the house. The forest opposite the public road has two blocks planted again with spruce and pines in a mixed wilderness. Specimen pines, on the other hand, serve apparently a different aesthetic and are planted geometrically, in lines mixed with maples enhancing the square, or stand along the straight walks around the orchard in front of the house. It

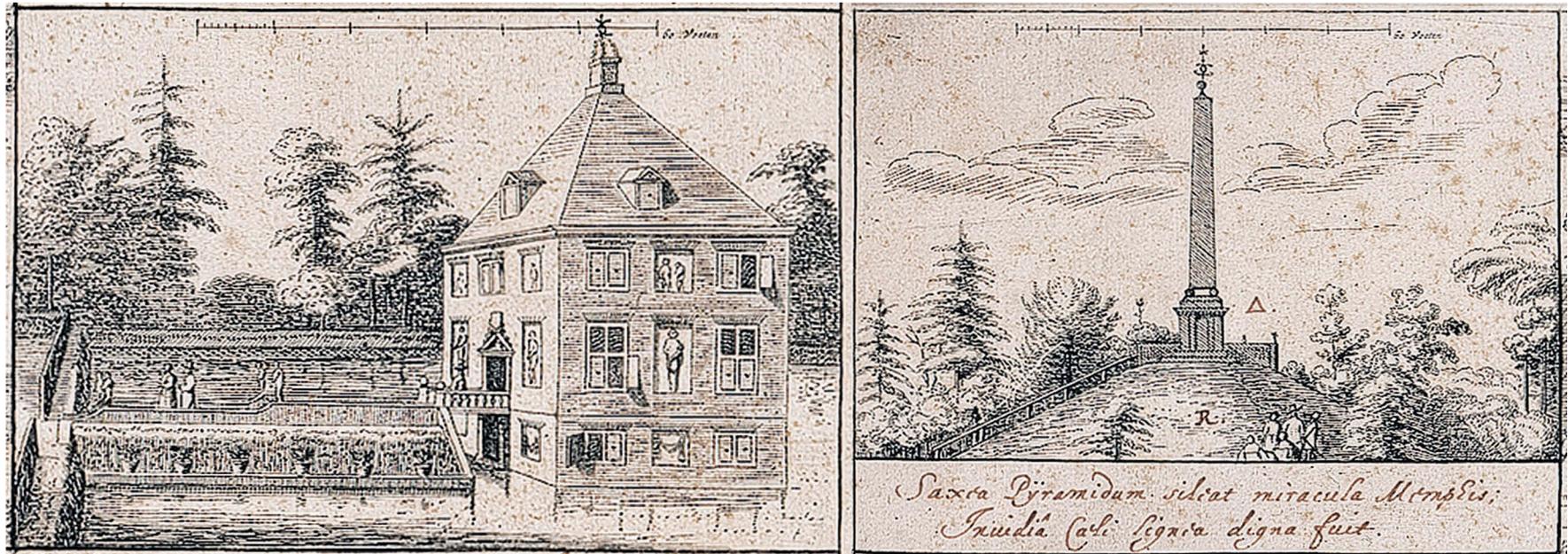


FIGURE 3. Spruces were mixed with pines on the islands besides the house (left) and in the mast woods at the garden mound with pinnacle (right) as seen in these views from 1653. A pine tree is seen to the left of the pinnacle (collection Hofwijkmuseum, from Kuitert 2013).

seems therefore that mixing spruces and pines was thought most fit to express wilderness, whereas pines in lines serve the purpose of enhancing axial geometry.

4. Mast tree taxonomy: male and female

Hofwijck is a poem and Huygens is a poet first of all. It is evident that he is not interested in a precise classification of trees according to the natural science of botany. But in speaking of botany, his writing distinguishes between male and female mast trees, which seem to be an indication of botanic identity.

Botany of Huygens' times is based on the ancients like Theophrastus, who at times discusses plants as either wild or cultivated or divides them between female and male. His classification relates to use in which female plants are useful; they are fruit-bearing or in the case of trees they give good quality

wood. Male plants, generally speaking, are of lesser use; they have no, or hardly any, fruits; male trees have timber that is less preferred.³³ When it comes to pines, spruces and firs, such divisions play a major role in Theophrastus' understanding; he discerns three pines (πεύκη), one wild female, one wild male and one cultivated pine with edible nuts. Contrary to what one would expect Theophrastus does not classify this third nut pine as female. A separate pitch tree (πίτυς), without any epithet of cultivated, wild, male or female, is interpreted in early seventeenth-century northern Europe as spruce.³⁴ When it comes to firs (έλατα), Theophrastus distinguishes male and female. The male fir has sharper, more needle-like, more bent needles and is more compact in appearance, whereas the female has a longer trunk, gives a timber that is whiter, softer and easier to work and more uniform in colour than the male; the male tree has more heartwood and is altogether inferior in appearance. Theophrastus, therefore, makes some major distinctions between firs and pines,



FIGURE 4. Pine trees on the island, seen in the foreground in a drawing by one of Huygens' sons of 1658 (collection Leiden University, from Kuitert 2013).

and seems to mention spruces. But it is not possible to reach at any more detailed understanding. His perceptions concern southern European conifers; moreover, his text is far more extensive than summarized here and includes numerous acknowledged, deviating opinions by others. Generations of north European botanists have struggled with the authority of Theophrastus and his confusing descriptions, sorted out by Caspar Bauhin for example, but he manages only by ignoring evaluations of male or female. Bauhin's *Pinax Theatri Botanici* (1623) was a book in the library of Constantijn Huygens.³⁵

Other efforts to sort out conifer taxonomy were published in several editions of Dodonaeus' herbal; most extensive is the edition of 1644, but without any clear conclusion and again with much confusion on the female/male problem.³⁶ Huygens could have been aware of the puzzlement among botanists, as he was in personal correspondence with the professor and manager of

the Leiden botanical garden and in possession of his catalogue of plants.³⁷ But more than any rational, botanic understanding of conifer taxonomy, Huygens would have loved the idea that conifers could be understood as sexual, whatever species. In his off-duty life as poet and lover of music, he was among many other things obsessed with women and gathered a circle of intelligent and artistic females around him.³⁸ As a poet he took up this idea of male and female conifers with his usual humour in his poem *Hofwijck*, so full of references to almost anything that is human. Instead of mast trees (*mastbomen* or *masten*) as a general nominator, we find various appellations, such as men, little men or fellows (*mannen*, *mannetjens*); little wives, ladies or damsels (*wijffes*, *jofferen*); and even darkies (*bruijntjens*). He sees, for example, his conifers received from Breda's countryside as farmers' daughters that should be cultivated in his woods, educated as it were, into well-mannered and polite damsels (*jofferen*) fit to the urban circles of The Hague, while playing on its use as timber, because 'joffer' is also a carpenter's term for a processed rafter, longer than a spar.³⁹ In a similar manner, the cultivating of trees received from the free-growing Mastbosch forest in his nicely cared for garden woods is likened to the christening of the darkies (*bruijntjens*) from Brasil. In fact, 11 aboriginals from Brasil brought back to the Netherlands by Prince Maurits had aroused great interest after a dance 'in their nature state' at a party in August 1644.⁴⁰ Civilization can be imbued because of surroundings and proper parental care, just as trees need care and wind breaks to be cultivated.⁴¹

The 'little men' (*Mannetjens*) on his square are dark green, using the same word dark (*bruijn*) in a different meaning, pointing to the dark green pine trees with their pairs of green leaves. The mast trees on the four sides of the orchard are again referred to as male trees. It appears then that spruces in the woods were female mast trees, contrasted to the pines in the formal squares, seen as males.⁴² Huygens had only two conifers, females and males, spruces and pines.⁴³ Although poetic play appears to be the main function of the division in male and female, some of the poet's remarks on provenance, botanical details or characteristics in cultivation make it possible to reach at a definite botanic conclusion that supports the above. Huygens got hold of his trees from the Mastbosch in Breda as stated in his poem. What could have been brought in as mast trees from Breda could only have been *P. sylvestris* and *P. excelsa*, as earlier history shows. From the poem, it appears that pines came to Hofwijck as seed that was grown to trees in the Hofwijck nursery, by Huygens' personal care.⁴⁴ Spruces were received as saplings, young seedlings; these were the

young countryside daughters that needed to be cultivated.⁴⁵ Indeed, it would be easier to sow pines because in the dry heath land of Breda they would develop one deep leader root that would rot away in the soils of Hofwijck with their high groundwater table. Spruce seedlings would not be growing in the dry heath land, but would spring up in the already more humid soils of the wet heath lands in Breda, and were easily transplanted with their roots to any soil, also to Hofwijck.

It has been suggested that *A. alba* was one of Huygens' mast trees; the species was even planted in the garden's reconstruction.⁴⁶ But, as said above, from its ecology, it would not have been feasible in Breda in the sixteenth century, and there are no records proving that it was brought in. Anyone trying to grow a silver fir in the wet, windy and open landscape of Hofwijck in the mid-seventeenth century will have failed. Be that as it may, conclusive on the spruce or fir question is the gardener experience of Huygens himself. When he replants his mast trees decades later, in 1682, he deplores a typical garden problem of the spruce. With the rather rich soil of a garden in cultivation and on the high ground water table of Hofwijck, a spruce would not make any deep root system, but would be rooting instead intensively in the most upper soil layer turning the soil into one thick and dry peaty mass of fine roots. The typical superficial rooting of the spruce emaciates the soil around its stem and makes it impossible to plant anything else.⁴⁷ Pines, and the silver fir are rooting deeper and also with a set of leader roots that do not pose this problem.⁴⁸ Forty years after planting, the spruces in Hofwijck must indeed have been a nuisance rather than a blessing, as Huygens reports.⁴⁹ In conclusion, we can state without any hesitation that Hofwijck had *Picea excelsa* Link and *Pinus sylvestris* L. What were the aesthetics of these trees for Huygens?

5. Imagery of spruces and pines — *Utilitas, Wald, and Parasols*

Huygens' plan for Hofwijck was an almost literal application of the principles of module and proportion as developed in classic architecture since Vitruvius.⁵⁰ According to Vitruvius, architecture should strive for *Firmitas, Utilitas, Venustas*, solidity, usefulness and delight — an idea strongly appealing to Huygens.⁵¹ For his Hofwijck garden, Huygens departed from a similar triple scheme, although, remarkably, solidity is absent. Solidity, so much a concern for the architect of a building, would presumably not trouble the amateur gardener of these days, and Huygens exchanges it gratefully for a vaguer concept of honour or glory, which

he explains for various details in the garden, such as a line of elm trees, or his little wood of coppiced oak.⁵² As for his mast trees, these too would have their share in providing delight and glory, and it would have to do with wilderness and imagery of the classics, discussed in more detail in the next section. Most obviously one would think was to advertise their utility; but the poem does not mention it. However, for anyone in seventeenth-century northern Europe, it must have been an exciting idea to grow masts for ships in your garden, ships that were not only the tools of progress and trade, but also of war and nation building. Perhaps, Huygens felt that enough had been poetized already on the topic. At Amsterdam, there was a veritable forest of masts as the harbour showed a forest of masts, while the city itself was built on a forest of inverted masts, that is, the foundation pillars in the swampy soil supporting all the city's buildings in brick and stone. Huygens' earlier metaphor of the 'inverted mast tree forest' for Amsterdam became a big hit and was used by many other poets, also by one of the poet's friends who wrote an introductory poem to *Hofwijck* among the other congratulatory hymns that introduce the published volume in print.⁵³ Huygens was certainly not negative about practical things like utility, but was clearly in search of higher poetic value for his mast trees, so abundantly planted and so foreign to the regions of The Hague in these days.

His garden was basically a set of woods that served as sylvan decoration to a summer house for short-term retreat from the bustle of the city and the intrigue of the court. Forests and outlandish conifers were an effort in designing a refuge with anything opposed to the place from which one wanted to retreat, The Hague.

Indeed, it had been outside Holland that Huygens got known to mast trees. As a young man, 23 years of age, he had travelled to Venice as a member of an official embassy. For Huygens, it was the first (and would be the last) time in his life that he saw some of the Alps. His journal of the trip that reports quite precise on his experiences is written in French and makes mention of conifers two times, given as *sapins*. The first time is on the way southward when the journey is full of excitement about the steep shores of the Rhine with their vineyards and rocky cliffs, and about the beauty of the fresh and clear, swiftly rushing waters in waterfalls and cascades. Deep in Germany, the party reaches the foot of the Schwäbische Alb, the divide of the watersheds of Rhine and Danube. While passing two exceptionally steep slopes, Huygens mentions *sapins* among the trees covering the mountains.⁵⁴ The trees are all very pleasant to see.⁵⁵ As for the conifers, it must have been the locally endemic spruce *P.*

excelsa and/or the silver fir *A. alba*. Very pleasant to see because these were impressive, primary forest trees in the wildwood for which the region is still known. After the mission in Venice was finished, he notes mast trees another time, more to the north, between Heidelberg and Karlsruhe. Huygens writes this time ‘*espece de Sapins*’: a kind of spruce or fir, without any enthusiasm or evaluation.⁵⁶ In this region, it would have been a stand of planted spruces, a secondary forest owned by the local landlord.

Specifically the first encounter with the trees in the Schwäbische Alb must have been an important landscape memory for Huygens when planting the mast trees in his own garden. In his Hofwijck, the poem as well as the garden, one of the intentions was to evoke the pristine wilderness of the grand German *Wald*. The Mastbosch in Breda that provided his mast trees had them growing in dense stands; therefore, the trees were too thin and high for healthy growth. But in Hofwijck, according to the poet, they will be proud, cultivated, healthy trees, which he compares in a third hyperbole, after darkies and farmers’ daughters, as taking roe or deer from a *wald (sic)*, to be tamed in one’s private garden.⁵⁷ The word *wilderniss (sic)* is explicitly used for the two artificial woods of mast trees on both sides of his house; under the spruces and pines, roses are planted, shedding their withered flowers as a fertilizer for the trees. In Huygens’ words: would it be possible to find a *woud (sic)* that is planted any more noble than this?⁵⁸ The Dutch word *woud* carries the same imagery of primeval wildwood as the German *Wald*.

In another section of the poem, these two woods are explained as dark green wings that hide the light, so that the house in between stands in full light of the day. People passing by are taken by surprise, the poet writes; they stand still and wonder whether these dark forests would have been brought from the wildest parts of Prussia, the native realm of spruce and pine.⁵⁹ For Huygens and his supposed admirers, the pines and spruces were enhancing the imagery of wilderness, leaning on imagery of Germany.

The pines at the central square and around the orchard in front of the house serve a more formal purpose. The eight pines that surround the square are interspersed with eight maples, *Acer pseudoplatanus*; after the similarity of the palmate-lobed leaves, Huygens compares these to the sycamore fig.⁶⁰ They serve as parasols to shade the heads of those who walk, where Huygens adds a foreign word, in the printed edition this time in italics *Parasollen*. The maple can indeed make a parasol-like, globular crown, similar to the sycamore fig; in the garden, both pines, and sycamores were shading the walks of visitors as parasols.⁶¹

It associates in the mind with an ancient biblical search for truth.⁶² Ancient philosophers were walking for their healthy ambulation while in discourse on philosophy and reality, finding arguments for theoretical and political positions. Hofwijck’s square is, after all, two times as wide as the hall of the government in The Hague, and in the garden, the ceiling is even Heaven as Huygens explains with a hint to higher laws.⁶³ After having left the square, one enters the orchard. Its surrounding walk is darkly shaded by the evergreen pines. According to Huygens, walking under it is such an experience that it leaves Athens behind; and Rome took from the shaded galleries of this Greek city its ‘walking lessons’ of spiritual discourse and science.⁶⁴

Hofwijck in its landscape imagery therefore uses conifers in an aesthetic way that is innovative to the Netherlands; the classic Italianate landscape of squares is evoked with walks of pines, and sycamores, and its garden woods are intended at the same time to invoke the sublime forests deep in Germany with pines and spruces. Paths would lead through these woods.⁶⁵

6. Spruces, pines, and the picturesque

The spruce and pine aesthetics in the garden of Hofwijck can only be valued in the midst of a developing discourse on the picturesque in Dutch landscape painting of which Huygens was fully aware. In an earlier and striking discussion on blindness, he argues that painters are blind because they can see only through their painter’s palette, constructing a friendly nature on the canvas far removed from real Nature — even to such an extent that painters visiting hills and valleys may praise the trees as a scenery that has been painted, which makes the Creator into an artful copyist of the artist, foreshadowing a central theme of later discussions of the picturesque.⁶⁶ In the decades before the Hofwijck project, Huygens had some of the famed painters of the Italianate landscape in his immediate surroundings and later in his autobiography he gives his opinions on realism in painting.⁶⁷ Dutch pictures of the 1620s and 1630s show the beauty of the pines in the cultivated landscape around Rome.⁶⁸ Dramatically towering parasol pines feature in a cultivated landscape with ruins of an ancient building prominently in the foreground. This cannot be seen separated from other developments in Europe. Claude Lorrain was a well-known French painter, who had developed the style in Rome, like Poussin. Both painters worked in a kind of stiff, mannered style, with a

focus on archaeological remains; it inspired colleagues in northern Europe, also followed at first by these early Dutchmen.

In the Netherlands, discussion of the workings and meaning of representation in painting took off and moved from the academic ‘painter-like’ (*schilder-achtig*) to more realistic depictions of scenery, using the same Italianate light, but including the majestic tree as an impressive main actor and showing it in realistic detail.⁶⁹ The meaning of the word ‘painter-like’ (*schilder-achtig*) was in a process of change where it took on the meaning of ‘life-like’. This development reflects in works of the 1640s, when a different style of innovative landscape painting came to discover the sublimity of the withered old tree, deviating from the classical ideal of perfection in beauty epitomized by the healthy, towering pine: the two withered oaks by Jan van Goyen are a well-known example. In these years also, the spruce or fir tree at the mountain pass in Northern Italy — precisely where Huygens also had seen it for the first time — was the subject of painting.⁷⁰ It was soon followed by spruces in Nordic landscapes after increasing diplomatic contacts with, and travels to, Sweden.⁷¹ Huygens too, in a later 1682 poem, sees them as Nordic growth (*Noordsch gewas*), three decades after having written that the trees will impress because they seem to have been brought from Prussia.⁷²

For those who tried to find an answer to the classicism of French landscape painting, the lonely spruce at a wild cataract that caught the sublimity of nature became a recurring theme, most explicitly expressed by Ruisdael. Jacob van Ruisdael (1628–1682) had developed already in the 1640s a range of tree species painted with so much attention paid to independent details of botany and tree morphology that a modern botanist can unequivocally define a species. Quite significantly the tree that enters his repertory as last one and quite late, that is to say from about 1660, is the spruce.⁷³ Ruisdael had never been a traveller, and when it comes to his Scandinavian landscapes, he clearly leans on others who had seen the Nordic landscapes at first hand. Be that as it may, some of his Nordic waterfall paintings feature realistically represented glorious spruces. These paintings were apparently sold for a handsome price, and similar commercial motives may also have been the reason for his quitting the spruce as subject within a decade.⁷⁴ However, his period of painting spruces ends in the 1670s with two unusual paintings, remarkable because the spruces are set in a wilderness garden.⁷⁵

That we are dealing with a garden and not a wild landscape is conveyed by various fountains in both paintings (*figure 5*). In the more majestic of the two (*figure 5*, left), we see a towering fountain with a statue and cascading water, while a simpler fountain balances a ball on its main spout. A couple is surprised by a set of

small fountains suddenly spouting up from the ground. Such playful water work was referred to as ‘little cheats’ (*bedriegertjes*) and would spring up in many a garden unexpectedly from a beautiful mosaic garden terrace floor, to surprise and excite the first-time visitor.⁷⁶ However, in Ruisdael’s painting, it is coming up from a forest floor. We see a classic *berceau* vegetal tunnel and, as a remnant from the standard Italian landscape painting, a piece of an antique pillar in the foreground. A large two-storey house overlooks the garden. The architecture of the house reminds directly of some of the designs of well-known architects of the day, such as for a private country seat Vredenburg, or the Mauritshuis, a city palace in the centre of The Hague, used at the time as a state guest house.⁷⁷ Apart from several spruces, the plant life in this painting is an unorganized romantic wilderness. All together, we get the impression that this is an imagined garden world. Most of the figures in the painting seem to have been added by another hand and are dressed extravagantly gorgeous, enforcing the impression that it was the effort to produce something outrageously chic. The same idiom and the same fountains are found in the second painting, but all a little less detailed, and it seems the figures are done this time by Ruisdael himself (*figure 5*, right). Also the house is less wealthy, but it still has two storeys with a large, decorated dormer on the wide roof with two chimneys. Again spruces stand prominently in the foreground and, even more than the previous painting, form the major aspect of the garden landscape, now painted in vertical format enhancing the drama of the towering evergreens.

Obviously, a garden landscape is different from a painting. But it is clear that the imagery of the wildwood garden forest that Huygens could only express in words and on a schematic print in 1653 was gloriously and convincingly brought to the public by Ruisdael two decades later. Primeval qualities of nature could be represented and appreciated as garden scenery. Could Ruisdael have seen some real spruce garden that inspired his two paintings in the 1670s?

7. More spruces: Rijswijk

Huygens was in many ways a landscape innovator in the Netherlands.⁷⁸ He was, for example, the first one to show his country seat in bird’s eye view, a pictorial device that would become immensely popular among later wealthy owners, the owner of Vredenburg being one of the first to follow the idea.⁷⁹ But Huygens’ wish to plant mast trees in his garden does not



FIGURE 5. Two picturesque garden scenes with spruces by Ruisdael (Left, c1675, collection National Gallery of Art; right 1670s, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, from Rückert 2015).

come without a context. In fact, his plans for Hofwijck seem to relate to other gardening activities of Huygens' first employer, Frederick Henry, specifically to the Prince's establishing of a small hunting lodge that had a screening plantation of evergreen trees.⁸⁰ Direct advice to plant mast trees reached Huygens from a colleague in service of the Prince, Laurens Buysero (1613–1674).⁸¹ Buysero was a secretary of the office that managed the real estate of the Princes; the idea that mast trees were economically and politically an interesting investment must have been among his

considerations for estate management.⁸² Buysero himself possessed a retreat close to The Hague at the village Rijswijk where he grew his own spruces with success, yet failed with pines.⁸³ His house was in a string of seats along the canals that were connected to the major water transport route of the Vliet that ran in front of Hofwijck. One of these seats at Rijswijk was popularly known as the Huis te Rijswijk.⁸⁴ Frederick Henry had developed this country seat for private living in the 1630s.⁸⁵ When he died in 1647, it came under the patronage of his widow Amalia van Solms who never

choose to live there. Buysero had already served as the one responsible for the interior decoration of the retreat and had to report to Huygens, who in turn kept Amalia informed.⁸⁶ It seems plausible to suggest that it was Buysero who introduced spruces in the Huis te Rijswijk garden, trees that would feature prominently in later illustrations of the house, when it drew all the eyes of the European elite, as it became the setting of an important European treaty in 1697.⁸⁷ Many of the prints that commemorate the occasion show impressive spruces, likely to have been planted in the late 1640s. The garden east of the main house, called The Rock (*De Rots*),

has quite a stand of these conifers, surrounding a spouting fountain in the middle (figure 6).

It seems to have been the typical simple spouting fountain with a lightly dancing ball balanced on the pressure of the water. It is this detail that recalls Ruisdael — in the painting with the wealthier house we see the same fountain model. As the Huis te Rijswijk had been barely used after the founder's death, the original De Caus-like decorative schemes of the early years of Frederick Henry would have been deteriorating and difficult to maintain in the end. The front garden was reduced in size and

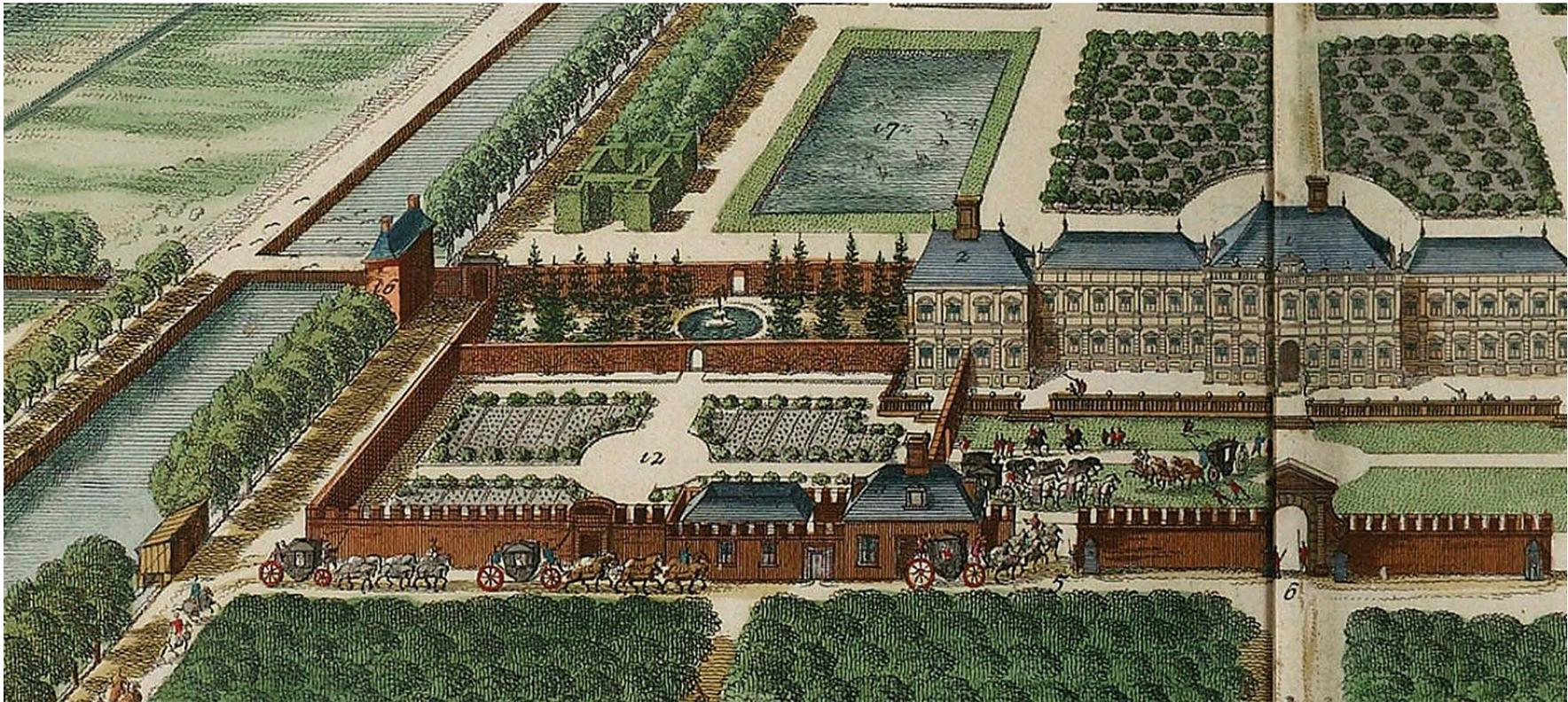


FIGURE 6. Spruces planted around a basin with fountain at the side of the Huis te Rijswijk in a 1697 print (AA University collection, detail Vianen 1697).

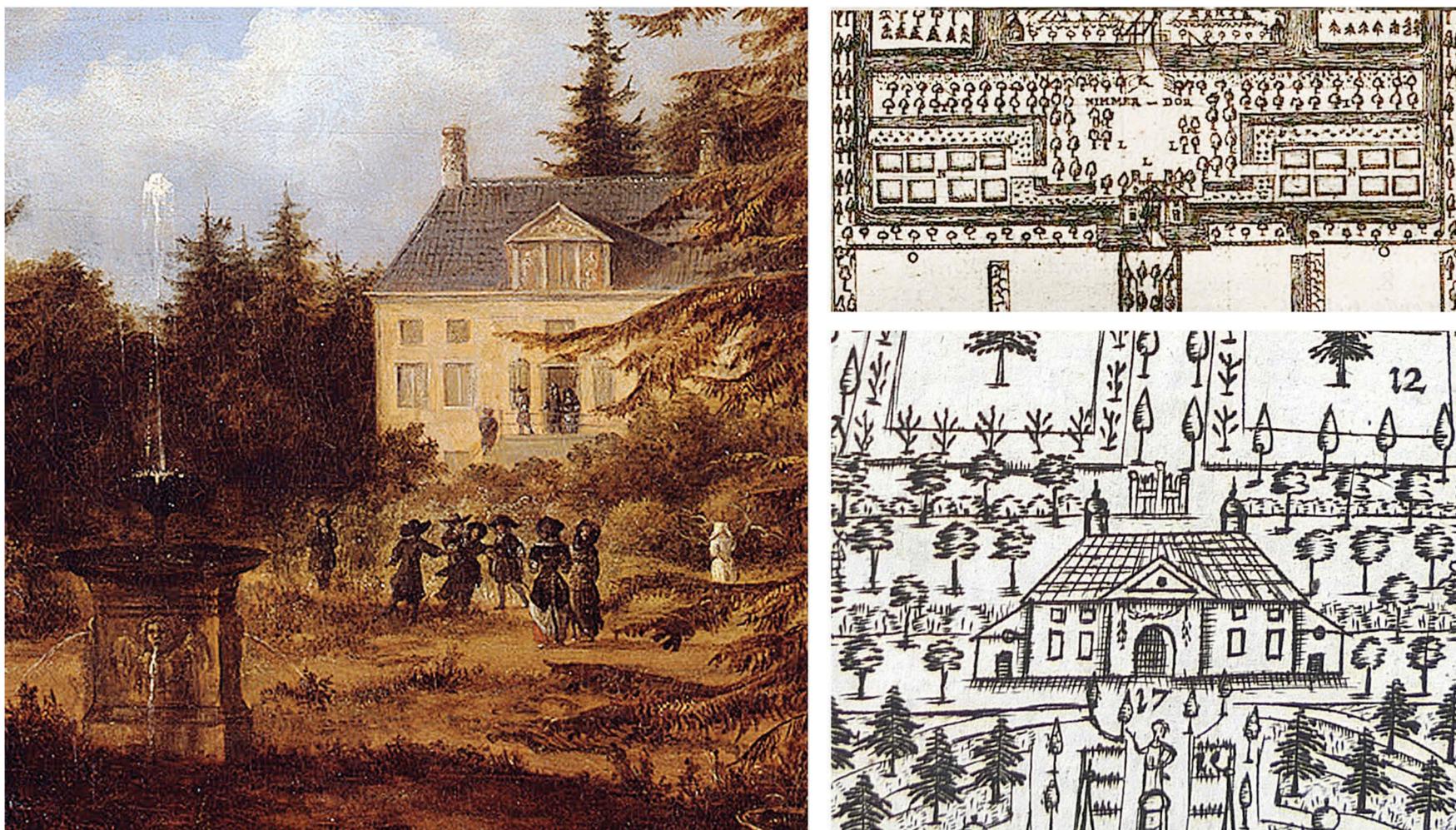


FIGURE 7. Architecture of Meyster's estates (right) resembles the main building in one of Ruisdael's paintings (details from Ruisdael 1670s, Meyster 1655 and Meyster 1669).

many of the fountains and decorative parterres disappeared. It is more than likely that low-maintenance strategies had induced the planting of spruces, as these would at least yield some income for the timber industries.⁸⁸

8. Evergreens and the picturesque: the mad squire

A remarkable conifer gardener was the 'mad squire' (*dolle jonker*) Everard Meyster (1617–1679). He was a catholic, therefore without any official position, but also an extremely rich Maecenas of the arts and an unconventional

critique of society.⁸⁹ That might be the reason that Huygens, although he visited Meyster and saw his gardens, hardly writes about him.⁹⁰ Anyway, Meyster was also much aware of the aesthetic contrast between free-growing nature and built architecture, which is clear from his theatrical piece that was published and performed in 1655. The piece is about the classicist architecture of the newly built city hall of Amsterdam and the beauty of the natural scenery around Amersfoort where Meyster and the architect of the city hall had their country estates.⁹¹ In the play, famous gods of antiquity like Jupiter, Mercurius, Juno, Diana, Pan and Ganymede, but also artists and architects like Vitruvius, Scamozzi and Michelangelo join in to praise the beauty of the building and the natural landscape. Two painters, Holbein and a fictive Apel, after having seen the new city hall, travel to the region of Amersfoort. They are impressed by the beauty of nature that has blessed the landscape with often changing views: the painters' brush would start painting by itself, so beautiful is the landscape. The painters see this landscape scenery as a painting with depth of field in the far perspective of a straight road, the new street between Utrecht and Amersfoort, cut between the rolling hills of the heath lands.⁹² In the theatre piece, Meyster's own estate is also visited by such famous visitors. In fact, Meyster possessed two country seats, both lauded in privately published poems with an illustration, though both gardens have disappeared. One of it, Doolomberg, with a date given as 1669, was an intricately designed labyrinth with garden hills along a central axis of symmetry.⁹³ The planting was mixed evergreen and deciduous, and there was some truly informal wilderness planting; it had a main fountain in front of the house and some lower fountains deeper in the garden. The axis of symmetry surrounded by more informal design predates the idea of the picturesque in painting that would become the main stream in the 1680s: a central subject like a road with far perspective shown in symmetry and geometry, but with surrounding elements in the rest of the composition rendered with as much variety as possible.⁹⁴

His other country seat, also introduced already in his play of 1655, was planned in perfect geometric symmetry, but exclusively with evergreens, like spruces, but also including native juniper, holly, box and ivy. It was named Nimmerdor, which means 'never-withered', as leaves seemed never fading; the accompanying poem was published in 1667.⁹⁵ Meyster's intention was not artifice but a natural sanctuary of eternal spring and everlasting summer; the garden had on purpose no classical sculpture. He wrote about this garden that 'Nature beats art here, no artful brush is able to express it'.⁹⁶ The main house of

Doolomberg and the gate house of Nimmerdor, though only some rough idea can be had of both, look like the house in Ruisdael's second painting (figure 7).

All have two storeys, two chimneys and a pediment or gabled dormer centred on the roof. However, the Nimmerdor gate house has a draw bridge in front, over the canal that surrounds the house, rather than a high, stone staircase entrance as in Ruisdael's painting. On this country seat, Meyster writes that it is 'a pleasant painter's house for green *Paintings*, not hanging before the eye, but standing in full face'.⁹⁷ Obviously, it would challenge a painter to paint realistic representations of real, evergreen garden scenery. We



FIGURE 8. *The fountain in one of Ruisdael's paintings (left) seems to be a luxurious version of the fountain in Meyster's country seat Doolomberg (details from Ruisdael c1675 and Meyster 1669, fold-out, unnumbered page 11).*

notice once again that the fountain statue in Meyster's seat Doolomberg seems like a cheaper version of the one in Ruisdael's first picture (figure 8).

At the risk of bringing in too much imagination, it almost feels as if the mad squire had challenged Ruisdael to do something quite unusual, to which the painter responded beyond expectation.⁹⁸ Or otherwise, Ruisdael was aiming at country seat owners with ambitions in landscape design, like Meyster and the owner of Vredenburg, guessing they would buy such novelties. Besides such speculations though, it is clear that Ruisdael did not paint in total fantasy, but in reality gives an image of various gardeners' experiments with outlandish imagery of spruces and pines, introducing ideas on the picturesque in landscape design that were under discussion among wealthy owners. Ruisdael was obviously very much aware of the formation of a discourse on realism in landscape representation and wilderness gardening.

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Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Seoul National University,
Seoul, South Korea

NOTES

1. The term 'the Netherlands' in this paper does not denote a state or nation but covers a wide cultural sphere including Holland, Flandres, Brabant, Guelders, etc.
2. See Wybe Kuitert, 'Japanese robes, *Sharawadgi*, and the landscape discourse of Sir William Temple and Constantijn Huygens', *Garden History*, 41/2, 2013, pp. 3–22, Plates II–VI; Wybe Kuitert, 'Japanese Art, Aesthetics, and a European discourse — unravelling *Sharawadgi*', *Japan Review*, 27, 2014, pp. 77–101; Wybe Kuitert, 'Context & praxis: Japan and designing gardens in the West', *Die Gartenkunst*, 28/2, 2016, pp. 278–292. The Japanese *shara'aji* is presented by William Temple as a Chinese concept following a literary model of Constantijn Huygens.
3. The change from the formal, geometric, abstract garden to the nature-imitating landscape garden in the eighteenth century is linked to a change in the concept of subjectivity, understood as a shift from objective formal aesthetics to subjective psychological aesthetics — as represented in the formal Baroque garden and the landscape garden of the Enlightenment, as proposed by Hans von Trotha, Key Note speech at the *Workshop Transplanted Places: Garden Design and Shifting Cultural Geographies, 1650–1800*, hosted by the Freie Universität Berlin, 22 June 2017.
4. On the problematic relation between 'nature' and (prescriptions of) 'the picturesque', see David Marshall, 'The Problem of the Picturesque', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 2002, 35/3, pp. 413–437, referring to John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1976), p. 6, and David Streatfield, 'Art and Nature in the English Landscape Garden: Design Theory and Practice, 1700–1818' in *Landscape in the Gardens and Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). For more general terms, see Laurent Châtel, "'Getting the Picture" of the Picturesque: Some Thoughts on the Greatest British Aesthetic Muddle of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Bulletin de la société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* 51, 2000, pp. 229–248.
5. On trees in medieval times in the Netherlands, see Jacob van Maerlant, M. Gysseling (ed.), *Der naturen bloeme* (Den Haag, Antwerpen: Sdu Uitgevers, Standaard Uitgeverij, 1998). The only tree appreciated for beauty is the lime tree with its spring foliage.
6. See W. G. Huisman, 'Grovedenneentelt op heidegronden in Nederland in voornamelijk de 19e eeuw', *Nederlands Bosbouw Tijdschrift*, 55/7–8, 1983, p. 276; in general terms on *Pinus sylvestris* L., see T. Houston Durrant, D. de Rigo and G. Caudullo, '*Pinus sylvestris* in Europe: Distribution, habitat, usage and threats', in J. San-Miguel-Ayán, D.

- de Rigo, G. Caudullo, T. Houston Durrant, A. Mauri (eds), *European Atlas of Forest Tree Species* (Luxembourg: Publications Office European Commission, 2016), pp. 132–133.
7. See G. Caudullo, W. Tinner, and D. de Rigo, 'Picea abies in Europe: Distribution, habitat, usage and threats', in *European Atlas of Forest Tree Species*, pp. 114–116 on the spruce. The Norway spruce is not an *Abies*; therefore, this paper uses the isonym *Picea excelsa* Link as proposed by Johann Heinrich Friedrich Link (1767–1851) in 1842, rather than *Picea abies*, a name confirmed in 1881 by Gustav Karl Wilhelm Hermann Karsten (1817–1908) after Carl Linnaeus' *Species Plantarum* 2, 1000–1002, 1753. On the problematic *Picea abies*, see Erwin Janchen and Hans Neumayer, 'Beiträge zur Benennung, Bewertung und Verbreitung der Farn- und Blütenpflanzen Deutschlands', *Österreichische Botanische Zeitschrift*, 91/4, 1942, pp. 213–214.
 8. B. K. Boom, *Nederlandse dendrologie, Geïllustreerde Handleiding bij het bepalen van de in Nederland voorkomende soorten, variëteiten en cultivars der gekweekte houtige gewassen. Naar B.K. Boom, door J. de Koning, J.W. van den Broek, H.J. van de Laar and G. Fortgens, dertiende druk* (Wageningen: Veenman, 2000), p. 100 mentions that *Abies alba* Mill. was planted in England in 1603, after Evelyn's report in his *Sylva*, we may assume. Evelyn, in the expanded fourth edition of 1706, speaks of 'two Spanish or silver firs' John Evelyn, *Sylva: Or a discourse of Forest-Trees: By John Evelyn F.R.S. 1706 — With an Essay on the life and works of the author by John Nisbet — A Reprint of the fourth edition in two volumes* (London: Doubleday, 1918), p. 230, apparently speaking about the Spanish silver fir, *Abies pinsapo* Boiss. (*Spaanse zilverspar* in Dutch), and not about *Abies alba* Mill. In Evelyn's first edition, the author follows Theophrastus and mentions successful growing of firs that could equally well have been spruces; see John Evelyn, *Sylva, Or a discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's dominions. As it was Deliver'd in the Royal Society, the XVth of October, MDCLXIII ... To which is annexed, Pomona Or, An Appendix concerning Fruit-Trees in relation to Cider; The Making and several ways of Ordering it* (London: Jo. Martyn, and Ja. Allelry, 1664). In any case, the silver fir will not have arrived before the early seventeenth century in the Netherlands. During the seventeenth century, its taxonomy is confused and it seems never to have been used on a large scale as forestry tree in the Netherlands, see Jaap Buis, 'Historia Forestis: Nederlandse bosgeschiedenis deel 1', *A.A.G. Bijdragen* 26–27, 1985, pp. 796–798. On the silver fir in general, see A. Mauri, D. de Rigo and G. Caudullo, 'Abies alba in Europe: Distribution, habitat, usage and threats', in *European Atlas of Forest Tree Species*, pp. 48–49.
 9. Log floats, so called *Holländerflöße*, were floated down the Rhine from the Schwarzwald, Neckar and other side rivers of the Rhine to the Netherlands; see Gerhard Stinglwagner, Ilse Haseder and Reinhold Erlbeck, *Das Kosmos Wald- und Forstlexikon* (Stuttgart: Kosmos, 2005), p. 421; M. Scheifele, 'Als die Wälder auf Reisengingen — Wald-Holz-Flößerei in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Enz-Nagold-Gebietes (Karlsruhe: Braun-Verlag, 1996); M. Scheifele, 'Als die Wälder auf Reisen gingen- Über die Flößerei in südwestdeutschland' *Forstwissenschaftliches Centralblatt*, 116/1–6, 1997, pp. 53–59; Joachim Radkau, 'Handelsrevolution, Holzboom und Holländerflöße' in Joachim Radkau (ed.), *Holz*, (München: Oekom, 2012), pp. 133–137.
 10. See on these early artificial forests Georg Sperber, *Die Reichswälder bei Nürnberg — aus der Geschichte des ältesten Kunstforstes* (München: Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten, 1968) and Rolf Lohberg, 'Die Dannensäer aus dem Nürnberger Reichswald' in *Geschichte der Forstwirtschaft* (PhiloPhax & Lauftext, 1986), online at <http://wald.lauftext.de/vom-wald-zum-forst/geschichte-der-forstwirtschaft/die-dannensaer-aus-dem-nurnberger-reichswald.html>, accessed September 2017.
 11. On the details of the project, see G.E.H. Tutein Nolthenius, *Aanleggen en Behandelen van Grove-Denneboschen*, (Arnhem: Nederlandsche Heidemaatschappij, and P.Gouda Quint, 1891), pp. 2–4, following J. de Grez, 'De dennenteelt in Noord-Brabant', *Handelingen Provinciaal Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant over het jaar 1873*, pp. 1–11.
 12. Nassau-Dillenburg had detailed forest regulations since the mid-fifteenth century; see Friedrich Ludwig Walther, *Grundlinien der teutschen Forstgeschichte und der Geschichte der Jagd* (Gießen: Gottgetreu Müller, 1816), p. 23; also Martin Speier, *Vegetationskundliche und paläoökologische Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion prähistorischer und historischer Landnutzungen im südlichen Rothaargebirge*, *Abhandlungen aus dem Westfälischen Museum für Naturkunde* 56/3–4, 1994, pp. 1–191, p. 33.
 13. The original records speak of 'tannensae't and 'vijstensaet'. The voiceless phonation of the *ich-Laut* in *Fichte* was presumably understood as a simple 's' by a Dutchman. *Fichte* or *Feichte*; see Höfer, Matthias, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der in Oberdeutschland, vorzüglich aber in Oesterreich üblichen Mundart* (Linz: Kastner, 1815), p. 204, becomes then *fiste* in Dutch, written as *fyste* or *vijsste*. *Vijstensaet* must indeed be a variant spelling for *Fichtensaet*, as Grez 'De dennenteelt' pp. 8–10 and Tutein Nolthenius *Aanleggen en Behandelen*, p. 4 assumed. Grez's suggestion that it could be an added specification of *tannensae't* does not make sense. Tutein Nolthenius muffles *Picea excelsa* away without any argument — see also note 20 below. *Picea excelsa* was not the least among the reforestation strategies of the Nürnberger seeds men; on the history of the sowing of *Picea excelsa* seed, introducing several case studies from 1423 to 1610, see H. Schmidt-Vogt, T. Keller, D. Klimetzek, S. Schönhar, S.A. Dyrenkov, F.H. Evers and H.A. Gussone, *Die Fichte. Ein Handbuch in zwei Bänden* (Hamburg and Berlin: Paul Parey, 1987), Band I, pp. 246–247. Part of the misunderstanding is in the meaning of the words *Fichte* and *Tanne* that change regionally: in the Oberdeutschland area of Nürnberg, *Fichte* is to be understood as *Picea excelsa* (*Pinus picea*: Höfer Ibid., p. 204), while *Pinus sylvestris* is called *Tanne* or *Föhre* (Höfer Ibid., pp. 235, 236).

14. The presence of endemic stands of spruce and pine reflects in the language of the region in various expressions in which spruces and pines are taken together: *Fah-holz*, p. 191; *Tannengras*, p. 316; *Größling* or *grüsling*, p. 326; page numbers of Höfer *Ibid*.
15. Three quarter of the initial artificial forest at Nürnberg was pine forest around 1500; see Lohberg 'Die Dannensäer', unnumbered.
16. On ecological, soil and climate requirements of *Pinus sylvestris* and *Picea excelsa*, see Houston Durrant 'Pinus sylvestris', respectively, Caudullo 'Picea abies'.
17. See on the ecological, soil and climate requirements of *Abies alba*, Mauri 'Abies alba' pp. 48–49; also Gary Kerr, Victoria Stokes, Andrew Peace and Richard Jinks, 'Effects of provenance on the survival, growth and stem form of European silver fir (*Abies alba* Mill.) in Britain', *European Journal of Forest Research*, 134, 2015, pp. 349–363. See also Alessandra Bottero, Matteo Garbarino, Vojislav Dukić, Zoran Govedar, Emanuele Lingua, Thomas A. Nagel and Renzo Motta, 'Gap-phase dynamics in the old-growth forest of Lom, Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Silva Fennica*, 45/5, 2011, pp. 875–887. See also note 8 above.
18. Breda's Mastbos continued to provide high quality seed in later centuries; see Buis *Historia*, pp. 782–783.
19. On an early map of the region, the depressions are shown as lakes; see J. Lips, *Caerte ende metinge (...) van seeckere syne Furstel. Gen. bosschen, landen, wegen, herbanen, wateren, heyde ende andere gronden van erven, gelegen, soo in den dorpe van de Hage als tot Ginneken, by de stadt Breda, mitsgaders mede van eenige particuliere personen landen ende gronden ...* (Collection Stadsarchief Breda), 1621–1629. A description of a walk through the forest in 1645 makes mention of a lake (*viver*) as is clear from the diary of the prince, see Willem Frederik, *Gloria parenti. Dagboeken van Willem Frederik, stadhouder van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe, 1643–1649, 1651–1654*, edited by J. Visseren and G.N. van der Plaats (Den Haag: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1995), p. 139. Other wet heath land was found along a few minor streams that have disappeared. In detail on the Mastbos project Karel A.H.W. Leenders, 'Het landgoederen-landschap rond Breda', *Jaarboek De Oranjiemoes* 52, 1999, pp. 33ff. On soil and vegetation of the Mastbos, see D.P. Pranger and M. Jongman, *Vegetatiekartering Mastbos, De Dorst en Donken 2007, Report 684EGG in opdracht van Staatsbosbeheer Regio Zuid, Tilburg* (Groningen: EGG-consult, 2008). At Hulthen, close to Gilze, was a second Mastbos also owned by the lord of Breda, see Chr. Buiks, 'Het Middeleeuwse Landschap in de Baronie van Breda (II)', *Brabants Heem*, 37, 1985, p. 54.
20. From the early nineteenth century on foresters in the region focused exclusively on the fast and easy growing pine *Pinus sylvestris*; in historic retrospect, *Picea excelsa* disappeared.
21. Conrad Heresbach, *Rei rusticae libri quatuor, unversam rusticam disciplinam complectentes, unâ cum appendice oraculorum rusticorum Coronidis vice adiecta ... Coloniae Apud Ioannem Birckmannum* (Köln: Birckmann, 1570), Liber II — De Hortis atque Plantis, pp. 86–87.
22. Buis *Historia*, p. 570.
23. Frederik de Moucheron, 'Blick vom Freudenberg auf Emmerich und Rees' in *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem*, Bd. 3007, fol. 14–15, (6) (Collection Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) c.1660.
24. H. Hondius, (attributed) 'WACQVEN. Municipium de Wacquen. Praetorium Guilielmi Caroli Francisci a Burgundia, Comitibus de Wacquen', in A. Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata* (Amsterdam: Joan en Cornelis Blaeu, 1641–1644, Collection Ghent University), Vol.II, 1641, pp. 430–431.
25. Laurens Buysero (1613–1674) in a letter about his inspection of a mast tree plantation mentions having taken notice of 'sown mast breakers' 'gesayde mast-breakers' that must have been mast trees grown from seed. The seedlings would be spoiled if the tip was broken, something that easily happens with young pine seedlings. Letter of 13 July 1644, see J.A. Worp (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, Vierde Deel 1644–1649 ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), pp. 1–2, No.3601. See WNT, *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* (Leiden: Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, 1851–1998), <http://gtb.inl.nl/> accessed October 2017, (entry *breken*) on 'breaking' in the sense of the spoiling or tearing apart (splitting) of a mast (*doen uiteenscheuren van de mast*).
26. On Hofwijck and Huygens, in the context of this paper, see: Ton van Strien and Kees van der Leer, *Hofwijck — Het gedicht en de buitenplaats van Constantijn Huygens* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002); Ton van Strien and Willemien B. de Vries, *Constantijn Huygens, Hofwijck, Band 1, Deel 1 / Tekst en Deel 2 / Apparaat, Monumenta Literaria Neerlandica XV, 1–2* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008) and Ton van Strien and Willemien B. de Vries, *Constantijn Huygens, Hofwijck, Band 2, Deel 3 / Commentaar, Monumenta Literaria Neerlandica XV, 3* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008). On Huygens (and Hofwijck), see the text editions in many volumes of Huygens' poems and letters: J.A. Worp, *Constantijn Huygens, Gedichten*. Deel 4 (1894) 1644–1652; Deel 5 (1895) 1652–1656; Deel 7 (1897) 1661–1671; Deel 8 (1898) 1671–1687 (Groningen: J. B. Wolters); and J.A. Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*. Tweede Deel (1913) 1634–1639; Vierde Deel (1915) 1644–1649; Zesde Deel (1917) 1663–1687 ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff). All sources with ample biographical details.
27. See the poem and edited versions: Huygens, *Constantijn Vitaulum. Hofwijck. Hofstede Vanden Heere van Zuylichem Onder Voorburgh* ('s Gravenhage: Adrian Vlac, 1653) in facsimile edition: *Haagse Teksten II, uitgegeven vanwege de Stichting School voor Taalen Letterkunde te 's Gravenhage*. Bezorgd en ingeleid door P.J.H. Vermeeren (Wassenaar: Sevre, 1967); H.J. Eymael, *Constantijn Huygens' Hofwijck (Vitaulum)*, *Tweede druk* (Zutphen: Thieme, 1920); F.L. Zwaan (ed.), *Constantijn Huygens, Hofwijck* (Jeruzalem: Chev, 1977); Strien *Apparaat*; Strien *Commentaar*. On the country seat and garden Hofwijck, see Kees van der Leer and Henk Boers, *Huygens' Hofwijck, de buitenplaats van Constantijn & Christiaan*

- (Voorburg: Vereniging Hofwijck, 2015). My quotes of the poem Hofwijck in this paper follow the transcriptions of Strien *Apparaat*.
28. Florence Hopper, 'The Dutch Régence Garden', *Garden History*, 9/2, 1981, p. 125.
29. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 209–211 of the poem: 'I bow my head towards Breda; my masts are as her children; it has pleased Frederick to reduce his Woods; to furnish mine' (*Hier buijgh ick voor Breda; mijn Masten zijn haer' kind'ren: Theeft FREDERICK belijft sijn Houtgewasch te mind'ren, Om 't mijne te versien.*)
30. In one of the original manuscripts for the legend of the illustration, Huygens described the islands as 'filled with mast forests' (*Oost ende West-Eiland voll mastbosschen.*); see Strien *Commentaar*, p. 354. The *Hofwijck* poem also refers to nut and chestnut trees, and mountain-ash, but these are far less important than the 'male' masts, sown by Huygens (or his gardener) himself (Strien *Apparaat*, lines 1993–2001); see also note 44 below.
31. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 1486–1487: 'Mast trees thick and towering, that with their dark green pairs, surround the allées of my garden' (*Mast-boomen, dick en steil, die met haer bruijne paren / De Cingels van mijn Thuijn omcingelen met pracht*). Huygens changed hairs (*haren*) to pairs (*paren*). See also WNT *Woordenboek* (entry '*paar*') on '*paren*' pairs, gathered together in a set of two, (*tot een stel van twee bijeengevoegd*); interpreted by Van Strien (Strien *Commentaar*, p. 177) as a double row of trees, but Huygens is clearly talking about the double needles of the pine.
32. In the legend of the illustration, the woods are given as little mast woods (*Mast Boskens*), Huygens *Hofwijck.*, unnumbered page. These were set obliquely opposite each other as in French etiquette on table setting: same dishes were set opposite and in oblique on the other side of the table, explained by Huygens (Strien *Apparaat* lines 249–253 of the poem); also Strien *Commentaar*, p. 109.
33. See Theophrastus' general division between male and female (pp. 202–203); and on conifers (pp. 210–221) in Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants, and minor works on odours and weather signs, with an English translation by Arthur Hort, in Two Volumes, Vol. I, The Loeb Classical Library* (London: Heinemann, New York: Putnam's Sons, 1916).
34. See Geofroy Linocier, *L'Histoire des Plantes, Traducte de Latin en François: Avec Leurs Povtraicts, noms, qualitez & lieux où elles croissent, ...* (Paris: Macé, 1619), p. 38 also Caspar Bauhin, *Pinax Theatri Botanici Caspari Bawhini Basileens. Archiatri & Professoris Ordin, sive Index in Theophrasti Dioscoridis Plinii et Botanicorum qui à Seculo scripserunt ...* (Basel: Arion, 1623), p. 493. In fact πίνυς regenerates after a bush fire according to Theophrastus and seems to stand for a pine from Lesbos, perhaps *Pinus brutia*, *Pinus nigra*, or *Pinus nigra ssp pallasiana*; see Nikolaos M. Fyllas, Panayiotis G. Dimitrakopoulos and Andreas Y. Troumbis, 'Regeneration dynamics of a mixed Mediterranean pine forest in the absence of fire', *Forest Ecology and Management*, 256, 2008, pp. 1552–1559. The Theophrastus edition of 1913 (Ibid.) refers in its English translation to *Pinus* as a confusing 'fir' which must be because of the 'Scotch fir' = *Pinus sylvestris*. Fir is usually reserved for *Abies*.
35. Bauhin's *Pinax* was on Huygens' bookshelves as an auction catalogue of his library shows; see Abraham Troyel, *Catalogus Variorum & Insignium in omni Facultate & Lingua — Librorum Bibliothecae Nob. Amplissimae Viri Constantini Hugenii ... in Officina Abrahami Troyel, Hagae-Comitis* (Den Haag: Troyel, 1688, online at <https://adcs.home.xs4all.nl/Huygens/varia/catal-a.html> viewed October 2017). See note 42 below to get some idea of the confusion in conifer taxonomy of these days.
36. Rembertus Dodonaeus, *Cruydt-Boeck Rembert Dodonaei, volghens sijne laetste verbeteringhe: Met Bijvoeghsels achter elck Capitel, uyt verscheyden Cruydt-beschrijvers: Item, in 't laetste een Beschrijvinghe vande Indiaensche ghewassen, meest ghetrocken uyt de schriften van Carolus Clusius. Nu wederom van nieuws oversien ende verbeteret. T' Antwerpen, Inde Plantijnsche Druckerije van Balthasar Moretus. M. DC. XLIV* (Antwerp: Plantijn Moretus, 1644), pp. 1343–1350, and pp. 1353–1355. Joost van Ravelingen appears to have finished his compilation for this fourth edition of Dodonaeus in Leiden in 1618 which was published in 1644. On Joost van Ravelingen (— died 1628) and his brother Frans, and their involvement in Antwerp's Plantin Moretus publishing house, see Isidoor Teirlinck, 'Joost van Ravelingen — botanist en dichter', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1913.
37. Adolphus Vorstius (1597–1663), full professor since 1625, exchange of letters with Huygens between 1633 and 1653, among many other things about Huygen's sons, that were students in Leiden; see CKCC: *Circulation of Knowledge and Learned Practices in the 17th-century Dutch Republic* database available online at Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, <http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/>. Viewed November 2017. Vorstius mentions three, for this paper relevant conifers; *Abies*; *Pinus domestica*; and *Pinus silvestris*, s. [*sive wk*] *Pinaster*; see Adolphus Vorstius, *Catalogus Plantarum Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi* (Leiden, 1636). However, without any description, no conclusion can be drawn about the identity of the species. The catalogue was on Huygens' bookshelves as the auction catalogue (see Troyel *Catalogus*) of his library shows.
38. Elisabeth Keesing, *Het volk met lange rokken, Vrouwen rondom Constantijn Huygens* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1987), throughout.
39. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 211–215: 'They are damsels of the countryside / My Fathers's Fatherland, that I have replanted / I say damsels, but I should say noble, little women / Breda's little women, yes; but I dare to be proud / to have them made Court-wise on Hofwijck and up to standards of The Hague' ('*tzijn Jofferen van 'tland, / Mijns Vaders Vaderland, die ick hebb voortgeplant: / 'Ksegg Jofferen, noch eens: 'kmochts' ed'le wijffes noemen / Bredaesche wijffes, jae; maer die ick derve roemen / Op Hofwijck Haeghs gemaect te hebben en Hof-wijs*).

40. D. Veegens, *Historische Studien* ('s-Gravenhage: W.P. van Stockum & zoon, 1881), p. 127.
41. In more detail in a forthcoming paper 'Enlightened education: Growth, the garden, and Japan perceptions of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)'.
42. Huygens, perhaps as a poet triggered by the word 'joffer' meaning damsel — but also 'spar', appears to follow Dodonaeus who states that our pine trees (that is the ones around in Holland) are may be better understood as *Pinus siluestris Macedonum mas*: the male Macedonian pines of Theophrastus (Dodonaeus *Cruydt-Boeck*, p. 1346). The spruce (*Vurenboom*) is the *Abies femina*, the female spruce, to be distinguished from the *Abies mas Theophrasti* which is the white fir (Dodonaeus *Cruydt-Boeck*, p. 1354). But Huygens could equally well have chosen other options from this source with all its perplexing and confused argument. In the lengthy deliberations of Dodonaeus and Van Ravelingen, another author Bellonius is introduced who speaks of a type of the white fir as the male fir. Although he describes that the cones of this fir are standing and not hanging, it is *not* given as the *reason* for calling it male, as Van Strien (Strien *Commentaar*, p. 106) reports. Moreover, Van Strien suggests that Huygens' females are pines, because the cones are hanging, something not seen in Dodonaeus *Cruydt-Boeck*, to which Strien refers. Bellonius speaks of the other, more common white fir as having whiter, softer wood, easier to work and that is the reason why it is called the female, *Abies femina* with Bellonius (Dodonaeus *Cruydt-Boeck*, p. 1353), which seems to refer to *Abies alba* Mill., contradicting the above. The less common white fir is according to Bellonius the real *Abies* of Theophrastus, being the *Abies mas*, the male. Bellonius is Pierre Belon (1517–1564) a French traveller, naturalist, writer and diplomat. His work on conifers *De arboribus Coniferis, Resiniferis aliisque semper virentibus; de mille Cedrino, Cedria, Agarico, Resinis &c.* (Paris, 1553), was translated by Carolus Clusius in 1605.
43. Laurens Buysero (1613–1674), a counsellor, accountant and secretary of the Prince of Orange, made an inspection of Hofwijck for Huygens who was on military campaign with the Prince for the whole summer in 1644 when Hofwijck was under development. He reports on mast trees: '... many among the males against the fence along the Vliet have come up, relatively much more than in my garden, but the females are doing much better with me'. He promises to do an official review if his busy schedule allows. Worp *Briefwisseling* 1915, pp. 1–2, letter No.3601 sent from The Hague, 13 July 1644. See also note 25 above and notes 44, 81, 82, 83 below.
44. Hofwijck poem, Strien *Apparaat*, line 2000: 'My offspring, brought up from the soil by my own care, my own little Men' (*Mijn afkomst, door mijn sorgh ter aerden uijtgebracht / Mijn eighen Mannetjens*). See also the letter by Laurens Buysero on mast trees sown; see note 25 and 43 above; also Eymael *Hofwijck*, p. 99.
45. See note 39 above: the spruces (*jofferen*) were transplanted (*voortgeplant*).
46. Van Strien (Strien *Commentaar*, p. 106), drawing a too hasty conclusion from Dodonaeus (see note 42 above), followed by many others: Ben Bregman, 'Zoeken naar harmonie — De reconstructie van Huygens' buitenplaats Hofwijck', *Cr. Interdisciplinair Tijdschrift voor Conservering en Restauratie*, 7/3, 2006, p. 29: 'outlandish mast trees' (*uitheemse bomen*); followed by Henk Boers in Carla Oldenburger, Jan Holwerda, Henk van der Eijk, Sandra den Dulk, and Henk Boers, *blog 19 July 2008 until 8 August 2008, Dutch garden history society* Cascade <http://www.cascade1987.nl/mastbomen-op-hofwijck/>, retrieved 23 October 2017; also seen in Henk Boers and Kees van der Leer, 'De reconstructie van de tuin van Hofwijck', *Cascade, Bulletin voor tuinhistorie*, 18/1, 2009, p. 28: silver firs ('*zilverdennen*'); extensively in Leer *Huygens' Hofwijck*, pp. 74–75: silver fir ('*zilver-spar*'); a reference to Stephaan Blankaart, *Den Nederlandschen Herbarius ofte Kruid-boek der Voornaamste Kruiden, tot de Medicynne, Spys-bereidingen en Konstwerken dienstig ...* (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1698) makes no sense as it could not have been read by Huygens, who passed away in 1687, and in any case Blankaart does not specify that the pine tree should be male *because* of standing, and the silver fir female *because* of hanging cones; on the whole, this source is vague on botanical identification and meant to serve as an instruction on medicinal uses of plants, not their botany.
47. On this rooting problem, see Schmidt-Vogt *Die Fichte*, Band I, p. 326 and Band II, p. 251.
48. See J.N. Köstler, E. Brückner and H. Bibelriether, *Die Wurzeln der Waldbäume* (Hamburg and Berlin: Paul Parey, 1968), pp. 109, 113, 119.
49. On spruces, Huygens writes in a later 1682 poem: 'This green Nordic growth / That used to be Hofwijck's glory / ... / Her roots' violence / have ruined all the field / That almost, half exhausted / Had forgotten its wealth' (*Dit groene Noordsch gewas / Dat Hofwijcks luyster was / ... / Haer' wortelen geweld / Vermielden all het veld, / Dat schier, half uytgegeten, / Sijn weelde had vergeten*.) J.A. Worp (ed.), *Constantijn Huygens, Gedichten*. Deel 8, 1671–1687 (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1898), p. 298–299.
50. In detail: Robert van Pelt, 'Man and Cosmos in Huygens' Hofwijck', *Art History*, 4/2, 1981, pp. 150–157.
51. Vitruvius' *Firmitas, Utilitas, and Venustas* were represented by three statues at Huygens' inner city house in The Hague; see T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Beeldhouwwerk in Huygens' Haagse Huis', *Oud Holland*, 77/3–4, 1962, pp. 181–205.
52. Honour, utility and pleasure (*Eer, Nutt, Lust*) are three honourable matters (*drij beroemde saeken*; see Strien *Apparaat*, lines 2062–2063) for the elm trees along the river Vliet. Utility, delight and glory (*Nutt, Vermaeck en Heerlickheid*; see Strien *Apparaat*, line 264) is provided by his coppiced oak wood; see also Strien *Commentaar*, p. 31.
53. Huygens in a poem lauding The Hague had already proposed the idea of 'the forest of inverted masts' (*het averechte Masten-woudt*) when referring to Amsterdam; see Jacob Smit, 'Batave Tempe dat is 't Voorhout van "sGraven-hage"', in *Driemaal Huygens — Vergelijkende karakteristieken van Constantijn Huygens' Batave Tempe, 't Costelick mal en de*

- Uytlandighe herder (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966), pp. 22–80. It was copied by other poets, like Joost van den Vondel in his poem on the new Amsterdam city hall, *Inwydinge van 't stadhuis t'Amsterdam*, published 1655; see Joost van den Vondel, *Inwydinge van 't stadhuis t'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Weduwe van Abraham de Wees, 1655; Wit Lavendel, 1982), p. 100. Also Vondel's poem *Powerful Business (Machtige Neering*, 1659, in J.F.M. Sterck, H.W.E. Moller, C. G.N. de Vooys, C.R. de Klerk, B.H. Molkenboer, J. Prinsen J.Lzn., L. Simons, C.C. van de Graft, L.C. Michels, J.D. Meerwaldt, and A.A. Verdenius, (eds), *De werken van Vondel. Deel 8. 1656–1660* (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor goede en goedkoope lectuur, 1935), p. 727. Vondel made use of the trope again in a text for a commemorative coin on the harbour. The poet Jacob Westerbaen in his introductory poem to Huygens' *Hofwijck* poem also refers to the 'dead forest of inverted masts' (*het dorre bosch der averrechtse masten*; see Strien *Apparaat*, p. 19). Amsterdam's city hall was built from 1648 to 1665, standing on 13,659 inverted masts.
54. *Sapins* in this context refers to both spruces and silver firs. See Matthias Lobelius, *Kruydtboeck oft Beschryvinghe van allerleye Ghewassen, Kruyderen, Hesteren, ende Gheboomten deur Matthias de Lobel ...* (Antwerp: Christoffel Plantyn, 1581), p. 264: 'The ones who travel from Germany to Trente, Verona, and Venice have to pass under very high and wild forests of these pitch trees and mast trees' (*De ghene die uyt Duytschlandt nae Trenten / Verone ende Venegien reysen / moeten onder door gaen zeer groote ende woeste bosschen van dese Peckboomen ende Mastboomen*). It was repeated by others, like Dodonaeus in 1644, referring to *Picea excelsa* and *Abies alba*. See Rembertus Dodonaeus, *Cruydeboeck. In den welcken die gheheele historie / dat es Tgheslacht / t'fattoen / naem / na = tuere / cracht ende werckinghe / van den Cruyden / niet alleen hier te lande wassende / maer oock van den anderen vremden in der Medecijnn oorboor = lijck / met grooter neersticheyt begrepen ende verlaert es / met der seluer Cruyden na tuerlick naer dat leuen conterfeytsel daer by ghestelt. DER hoochgheborene ende alderdoorluchtich = ste Coninghinne ende Vrouwe / Vrouw Marien Coninghinne Douaigiere van Hungheren / ende Bohemen &c. Regente ende Gouuernante van des K. M. Neerlanden / toeghescreuen. Duer D. Rembert Dodoens / Medecijn van der stadt van Mechelen* (Antwerpen: Jan Van Der Loe, 1554), p. 1350.
55. Diary entry: May 22nd p.13: *Le 22e à 9 heures du matin, nous partismes de Paling avec le Convoy redoublé; passames par les terres de Leopold, pais haut et montueux; eusmes entre autres deux montagnes d'excessive roideur à passer, estants pour la pluspart couvertes de Sapins, Chesnes et autres arbres fort agreables a veoir*. The travel is through the Balingen Alb. See Frans R.E. Blom, Judith Heydra and Trudy Snijders-De Leeuw, *Constantijn Huygens — Journaal van de reis naar Venetië* (Amsterdam: Prometheus Bert Bakker, 2002), p. 13.
56. Diary entry: July 29th p.38: *Le 29e nous montames en coche devant jour pour esquivier les incommoditez du Midi; traversames derechef des forests espoisses, et disnames de bonne heure à Lincken, village tout sur le bord de la Riviere, encor au Marquis de Tourlach; apres midi passames entre autres à Graben, où ledit Marquis a une tresbelle et grande maison; les gardes nous firent difficulté à la sortie, premier que leur eussions baillé par escrit la qualité de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur; nous costoyames cette apresdinée des grandes forests, la pluspart de Chesnes-verds, espece de Sapins*. The region of Graben was a holding of the Marquis de Tourlach. See Blom *Journaal*, p. 18.
57. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 225–228 of the poem on the cultivation of his countryside daughters: 'I took home these folks as mere, bare-headed chits / and started breeding from their youth and learned them to obey / As if I pilfered roe or deer from the wald / and presented them spaciouly and lovely in my reserve' (*Dit volckjen hebb ick t'huijs gehaelt, als kale wichten, / En vander jeughd gefockt en voor mij leeren swichten. / Neemt dat ick Rhee of Hind gerooft hebb uijt het wald, / En in mijn' wildbaen ruijm en lieffelick gestalt*).
58. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 2033, 2040, 2051, 2052 of the poem: 'Step in the Wilderness on the East or on the West /.../ Mast trees are fertilized from their very youth with Roses /.../ Go forth now and search around if somewhere meadow or wildwood / was grazed or planted with a nobler plant'. (*Treedt inde Wilderniss ten Oosten of ten Westen, /.../ Mast-boomen vander jeughd met Roosen zijn gemest. /.../ Gaet henen nu en soeckt of ergens weij of woud / Met edeler gewasch begraest werdt of bebouwt.*)
59. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 2014–2016 of the poem: 'When you see the two dark-green nights of Hofwijck / two nights of trees that wing it with glory / as if they were transferred from the wildest parts of Prussia'. (*Wanneer ghij Hofwijck siet twee doncker-groene nachten, / Twee nachten van geboomt beuleugelen met pracht, / Als warens' uijt het wildst van Pruijssen herr gebracht*. The last two words *herr gebracht* read as a Germanism).
60. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 1328, 1329, 1333–1335 of the poem, on the maples: '... There are some features in your leaves / that look sycamorish /.../ Half Mulberry, half Fig, half Vine and half a Lime, / whatever I would like to baptize you; yes serving as a slave / that covers my head with yours as Parasol'. (*Daer leeft wat in uw blad / Dat Sijcomorich lijckt; /.../ Half Moerbeij en half Vijgh, half Wijnranck en half Linden, / All soo m' u doopen will; jae die voor slaven streckt / En mijn hoofd met het uw als Parasollen dect*).
61. The poem (Strien *Apparaat*, lines 1336–1342) continues stating that the sycamores only shade in summer, while the pines do it all year round: 'T'is pleasant service as long as your crowns last / but that is half-yearly work. That is what your neighbours know / My dark green little Men, that in between the two of you / yard after yard, each year their never winter-grey head / send up to blind the Summer sun / and weary violence of bleak winter-wind / bar it from my Square' (*T is aengenamen dienst, soo langh uw' kruijnen duren: / Maer dat s half-jarigh werck. Dat weten uw geburen, / Mijn bruijne Mannetjens, die tuschen beiden op / Bij ell voor ell in 't jaer haer nemmer grijsen kopp / Ten hemel spoedighen, om Somer-Sonn te blinden, / Ent moeijelick geweld van schrale winter-winden / Te weeren van mijn Plein*).

62. In the Bible's gospel of Lucas, Zacchaeus, short of stature climbed a sycamore fig in order to get a better view of Jesus. Zacchaeus was a rich man and a sinner to the public. However, neither Jesus nor Zacchaeus were deterred by such prejudices of others. In a footnote, Huygens refers to Lucas, in extension seeing the sycamore as a tool to higher wisdom. Quoting Lucas, Huygens ignores Marcus who gives a lengthy parable on Jesus approaching a sycamore to find truth, but is deceived as he finds no fruits.
63. In the poem with much hyperboles in Strien *Apparaat*, lines 1249–1292 of the poem, discussed by Strien *Commentaar*, p. 163.
64. Strien *Apparaat*, lines 1489–1491 of the poem 'The Athens's gallery where Rome went back to fetch / the walking lessons of science and spiritual discourse / falls far behind this path, the green of these Paths. / Come on, wise walkers, I need you here: ' (*D' Atheensche Galerij daer Roomen self gingh halen / De wandelende less van wetenschap en talen, / Moet swichten voor dit pad, voor deser Paden groen. / Komt, wijze Wandelaers, hier hebb ick u van doen:*) The word 'taal' (language) translated as spiritual discourse (*taal = middel van geestelijk verkeer tusschen de leden van een bepaalde menschengemeenschap*; see WNT *Woordenboek*, entry 'taal'). Advertising the Hofwijck pine walks as being even better than the ancients' gallery, intelligent friends are invited to come and walk together; they are needed for discourse: the following lines of the poem deal with simple minds only after material fruits; with the vanity of worldly politics, gossip and empty argument at court in The Hague; narrow-minded sectarian dispute; and so forth. The importance of discourse outside the city, leading to understanding and tolerance, is supported by quotes of Seneca, Cato, Horatius and Plinius the Elder. A lengthy section of almost 200 lines follows on perception, nature, human body and more, ending with a conclusion that all this wisdom can be read in Hofwijck, which is like the Book of Books (Strien *Apparaat*, line 1677); see also Strien *Commentaar*, pp. 36–40.
65. Huygens could have known about Virgil's *Bucolics* that state: 'The handsomest in woods is the ash; in gardens, the pine; the poplar by rivers; the fir-tree on lofty hills' (*fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, populus in fluviiis, abies in montibus altis*); see T.W.C. Edwards, *The Bucolics of Virgil, Litterally translated into English Prose, from the text of Heyne* (London: Matthew Iley, 1825), p. 79. Paths through the woods are seen in plans of the garden, such as the one that accompanies the *Hofwijck* poem (Huygens *Hofwijck*, unnumbered page), or a later map *Kaart van de hofstede De Werve* (map of 1666, reproduced in Leer *Huygens' Hofwijck*, p. 90) that shows the paths in the mast woods in the lower garden, not seen in the 1653 plan. On the importance of walking in relation to the picturesque, see John Dixon Hunt, 'Time of walking', *Studies History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 2016, 36/4, pp. 1–8.
66. See Huygens' poem 'Euphrasia, or Eye Consolation to Parthenine' (*Euphrasia. Ooghen-troost aen Parthenine*, 1647 lines 455–459 and 473–480): 'The painters I call blind, and if you look more carefully / most of them are creators, but look only through the palette / and construct a Nature of a friendly character / And sweet and pleasant: but do you think to read / How grandmother Nature poses her own character? ... See how these gentle folks err in this blindness. / Go for a walk with them through trees, hills, and valleys, / there is, they say, a view that is as in a painting. / I can't excuse for it, it is lighthearted talk; / I think they say, God makes artful copies / of our originals, and He may be happy that / this masterly design, as if it were done by our hand / could not be any more beautiful, at Sea, in Sky, and on Land'. (*de schilders heet ick blind. en soom'er wel op lett, / 'Tzijn scheppers meestendeel. sy sien maer door 'tpalett, / En bouwen een' Natuer, die vriendlick is van wesen / En soet en aengenaem: maer meent ghy daer te lesen / Hoe grootemoer Natuer haer eighen wesen staet? ... Siet hoe verr 'tsoete volck in dese blindheid dwalen: / Gaet met haer wandelen door Boom en Bergh en Dalen, / Dat's, seggens', een Gesicht dat Schilderachtigh staet. / 'K kan 't niet ontschuldigen, 'tis derteltjes gepraett; / My dunckt sy seggen, God maect kunstighe Copijen / Van ons oorspronckelick, en magh sich wel verblyen / In 'tmeesterlick patroon, all waer 't van onse hand, / 'Ten kon niet schooner zyn, in Zee en Locht en Land.*). 'As in a painting' (*schilderachtig*) in this context can be read as 'fit to be painted' or 'it looks as if it has been painted' according to Boudewijn Bakker, 'Schilderachtig: Discussions of a Seventeenth-Century Term and Concept', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 23/2–3, 1995, p. 153. From the sarcastic tone of the poem, clearly the latter interpretation is correct. Cf. note 4 above.
67. The painters Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594–1667), Moses van Uyttenbrouck (c1595–before 1647), Jan Josephsz. van Goyen (1596–1656) and Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630) were in late 1620s active in the direct environment of Huygens. In his autobiography, he mentions three of them and dwells extensively on realistic representation in painting; see Inge Broekman, *Constantijn Huygens, de kunst en het hof*, (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2010), pp. 199–201. From Huygens' correspondence, it is clear that he ordered an 'Italian Landscape' (*Italiaensch Landschap*) from the painter Cornelis Hendricksz. Vroom (1590/1592–1661) to serve as decoration in his Hofwijck; ordered in 1641; *Ibid*, pp. 83–84.
68. Cornelis van Poelenburch was in Rome from 1617 to 1625 and Bartholomaeus Breenberch (c1598 – c1657) stayed there from 1619 to 1629. In their Italianate landscapes (like van Poelenburch's *The Martyrdom of Saint Stephen*, 1615/1630 or *Diana bathing with her Nymphs* c1624 or Breenberch's *Rocca Pia, Tivoli*), we see the typical parasol pine in the distance.
69. See Bakker 'Schilderachtig' in detail on the changing meaning of the word *schilderachtig* (picturesque) in this century.
70. Jan Both (c1615–1652) inspired by Claude Lorrain (c1600–1682) painted in an Italianate style. He had many followers, pupils and imitators and was enormously influential in the development of landscape painting in Holland. His *Mountain Pass*

- with large fir tree (1647/50, Detroit Institute of Arts; The Dutch RKD dates it as 1638/1641) shows his innovative realism. Allaert van Everdingen, travelled to Sweden and Norway in 1644 for the first time and painted many Nordic river landscapes ever since.
71. Thus, someone like Henry II, Count of Nassau-Siegen (1611–1652), could in a 1643 letter to Huygens regret that he had not brought a painter with him on his travel to Sweden, as he said: ‘I have seen so many beautiful landscapes’. Letter of March 27th, 1643, CKCC *Circulation*, huygoo1/3233.
 72. See note 49 above.
 73. Peter Shaw Ashton, Alice I. Davies, and Seymour Slive, ‘Jacob van Ruisdael’s Trees’, *Arnoldia*, 42/1, 1982, pp. 2–31.
 74. Ruisdael could have been inspired by Everdingen, but only took it up as a theme after many others. Commercial motives seem evident as an inventory of 1669 demonstrates; see Ashton ‘Ruisdael’s Trees’, p. 11.
 75. See in detail Juliane Rückert, ‘Jacob van Ruisdaels Buiten-Ansichten, Zwischen realem Raum und Landschaftsillusion’ *Archimaera architektur.kultur.kontext.online* #6, 2015, pp. 27–36. Two paintings introduced by Rückert are Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landhaus mit Park*, 1670s (Painting collection Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Foto: Jörg P. Anders) and Jacob van Ruisdael, *Country House in a Park*, c1675 (Painting collection National Gallery of Art 1960.2.1). Other paintings with prominent spruces in landscape scenery in these years are for example two paintings of the same, probably not imaginary, formal garden by Ludolf de Jongh: ‘A Formal Garden: Three Ladies Surprised by a Gentleman’ (c1670s, Royal Collection UK) and ‘Ladies in a Garden’ (1676, the Art Museum, Princeton University); or a wilderness background with a towering spruce in the portrait of the families Cock and Kaiser, by Matthias Withoos and Steven van Duyven (1676, Westfries Museum). On Withoos’ role in the network, see Sandra den Dulk, ‘Sparrentorens voor de stadsmuur van Amersfoort’, in Stichting Tuinhistorisch Genootschap Cascade (ed.) *Tuingeschiedenis in Nederland II*, 2016, p. 35 and D. Hamer and W. Meulenkamp, ‘Nimmerdor en Doolomborg, Twee 17^e-eeuwse tuinen van Everard Meyster’, *Bulletin KNOB*, 86/1, 1987, pp. 2–14., p. 12.
 76. The little cheats are seen spouting up around the ‘not-costly’ fountain (*onkostelijke fontein*) with a ball on its spout, illustrated by Van der Groen; see Jan van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier, Zijnde het I. Deel van het Vermakelijck Landt-leven. Beschrijvende alderhande Prinçelijcke en Heerlijcke Lust-hoven en Hofsteden, en hoemen de selve, met veelderley uytnemende Boomen, Bloemen en Kruiden, kan beplanten, bezaeyen, en verçieren ...* (Amsterdam: Marcus Doornick, 1670), p. 10; the idea may have been copied from De Caus. The plainer of the two fountains in Ruisdael’s painting seems a luxurious version of van der Groen’s fountain.
 77. The facade looks similar to designs for such country seats done by Ph. Vingboons, in particular his drawing *Huis Vredenburg*, see the *Rijksbureau* collection at the *Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed*, Objectnr 12.815, photo of 1932.
 78. Jan van der Groen notes that mast trees are used first of all for forests, but also for side planting of alleys or shaded walks; Jan van der Groen was the royal gardener to the Prince of Orange, Huygens’ employer; see Groen *Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, p. 7. The medicinal garden of Breda was planned in the 1640s with four walks as a central cross planted with mast trees and other evergreens; see letters by its director, professor Johan van Brosterhuysen (c1596–1650) to Huygens: 8 November 1646 (Worp *Briefwisseling*, Vierde Deel (1915) 1644–1649, p. 361, letter No. 4481) and 12 September 1647 (Worp *Ibid*, p. 426, letter No. 4665). A planting project of firs along the city walls of Amersfoort relates to the circles of Huygens; see Dulk, ‘Sparrentorens’, pp. 35–44.
 79. Bird’s eye view of Vredenburg, dated 1654–1656 ‘*Perspective Uytbeeldinge van Vreden-burch, met hare omstaande Timmeragie, Hoven, Plantagie, etc.*’ by Pieter Post (1608–1669) and Jan Mathijs (active 1650–1685) in the *Noord-Hollands Archief, Collectie Technische Tekeningen*, Nr. NL-HlmNHA_492_0410.
 80. Frederick Henry bought an existing country seat Zuilenstein as a hunting lodge and in 1634 paid André Mollet (c1600–c1655) for decorative improvements that included a hedge of evergreen trees, supposedly pines, around the site to increase prestige and privacy. See Fred Gaasbeek, ‘Boscultuur, De esthetische aspecten van bosbouw op de landgoederen Zuilenstein en Amerongen’, *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht 2000*, 2000, pp. 53–102, pp. 53–74. The Hofwijck plan seems a refined, ‘vitruvianised’ version of the Zuilenstein plan, compare with figure 3 in *Ibid*, p. 60.
 81. Letter by Buysero sent from The Hague to Huygens on campaign with his boss (13 July 1644) ‘... I wouldn’t know better than that I advised Your Honourable also on the point of mast trees [on Hofwijck]’ (... *Ick en weet niet anders, off hebbe UEd. oock geadviseert aengaende UEd. mastboomen [op Hofwijck]*); see Worp *Briefwisseling*, Vierde Deel, pp. 1–2, letter No.3601.
 82. On Buysero’s position, see Worp *Briefwisseling*, Tweede Deel (1913) 1634–1639, p. 89: Laurens Buysero was auditor of the accounts of the domains of South Holland, promoted in 1637 to advisor and secretary, and again in 1647 to personal advisor and accountant of the prince stadtholder.
 83. Buysero made an inspection of Hofwijck for Huygens who was on military campaign with the Prince for the whole summer in 1644 when Hofwijck was under development. He reports: ‘... I wouldn’t know better than that I advised Your Honourable also on the point of mast trees or sown mast breakers [see notes 25 and 43 above] that I have seen [on Hofwijck] on a fully private visit; many among the males against the fence along the Vliet have come up, relatively much more than in my garden, but the females are doing much better with me’. (... *Ick en weet niet anders, off hebbe UEd. oock geadviseert*

- aengaende UEd. mastboomen [op Hofwijck] ofte gesayde mastbrekers, die heel particulier hebbe gesien; van de mannekes syn der jegen het heck van de vliet veel opgecomen ende naer advenant veel meer en beter als tot mynent, maar de wyffkes syn tot mynent beter ...) He promises to do an official site review if his busy schedule allows; Worp *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2, letter No.3601. Buysero's private seat was called Duinzigt.
84. A map of 1712 shows how Duinzigt and Huis te Rijswijk were on two different strings of estates along two canals that connected to the Vliet; see Jacob Kruikius, 'Hoogheemraedschap van Delflant' map in 'T Hoogheemraedschap van Delflant, met alle de Steden, Dorpen, Ambachten, Litmaten, Polders, Blocken, Gehugten, Buerten, Hofsteden, Woningen, Boomgaerden, Tuynen, Velden, Sluyzen, Vaerten, Vlieten, Stranden, Duynen, Dycken, Wegen, Kaden, Molens, Bruggen, Meerren, Dobbens, Wateringen, etc. daer in Gelegen op Voetmaet in Kaert Gebracht Anno MDCCXII // Gemeenten en in Kaerte gebracht Door (de Geadmitteerde Lantmeters) Nicol. en Jac. Kruikius (Delft, 1712), p. 9.
85. See for example a letter by Huygens to Amalia van Solms-Braunfels (1602–1675): 'His Highness ordered me to send you a porter to carry this box and two plans of the garden at Rijswijk, for which Mr. van Campen has made another design that pleases me very much, but His Highness has preferred the ones that are of its proper arrangement' (*Z.H. beveelt mij aan u een bode te zenden 'pour porter ceste boitte, et deux plans du jardin à Rijswijck, pour lequel M. van Campen avoit encor formé un autre dessein, qui me plaisoit assez, mais S.A. a preferé ceux-ci, qui sont de sa propre ordonnance'*) Letter of August 2nd, 1638, CKCC *Circulation* huyg001/1909. It suggests that the taste of the Prince is conservative. On Van Campen see note 91.
86. Broekman *Huygens, de kunst en het hof*, pp. 130–134.
87. This was the treaty of Rijswijk that ended nine years of war with France. After the death of Amalia in 1675, the Huis te Rijswijk came in the possession of Amalia's grandson William III (1650–1702); see Jan Holwerda and Henk van der Eijk in Oldenburger *Cascade blog*.
88. See Jan Holwerda and Henk van der Eijk in Oldenburger *Cascade blog*.
89. For some biographical details, see A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden. Deel 12 (tweede stuk)* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1869) p. 819–821. For an introduction to his country seats: P. A.F. van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselschap met de boucken* (Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen, 1960), pp. 41–45. See Dulk 'Sparrentorens', pp. 39–40 on his network and evergreens.
90. Huygens made a trip along various country seats in 1669 and reported in verse form 'Excursion from ... August to ... September 1699 (*Uijtwandeling vanden ... augusti tot ... septemb. 1669*); see Worp *Gedichten* Deel 7 (1897) 1661–1671, p. 292. His report on his visit to Meyster's Nimmerdor (*sic*) and Doolomberg (*sic*) is simplistic and remarkably pointless.
91. See Everard Meyster, *Het Eerste Deel der Goden Landspel om Amersfoort, Van 't nieuw Stad-huys binnen Amsterdam. Gespeelt, en vertoont aldaer* (Privately published, Amsterdam, 1655). Jacob van Campen (1596–1657) was the architect of the Mauritshuis in The Hague and the Amsterdam city hall that was inaugurated in the same year 1655. Van Campen (also the architect of Huygens' Hofwijck and his inner city house in The Hague) had his country seat Rambroeck (Randenbroek) in Amerfoort; Meyster (*Ibid.*, pp. 4–5) lauds its natural beauty as never-withering, introducing his own Nimmerdor on later pages (*Ibid.*, pp. 43–45).
92. '... and so painting-like shows that hill, this wood, that shrub, / that stream, that tree, that road, it seems to close itself in the far distance, / By seeing all its length, or where it almost disappears / and wants an end in the far distance, and to strike at a hillside [in the background of the painting, wk]'. (*Soo schilderachtigh staet die Bergh, dat Bosch, die Struyck, / Geen Stroom, die Boom, die Steegh, waer sy van vers toe-luyck, / Door 't versien van haer Lengt', of waer dat schier verflouwen / Een slot wil in 't verschiet, end' op 't Geberghthe blouwen.*) *Ibid.*, p. 33. The road refers to the road between Utrecht and Amersfoort that was constructed after a design by Van Campen of 1647. The road cut straight through the undulating heath land, in the picture giving central symmetry with irregular landscape on both sides.
93. Everard Meyster, *Des Weerelds Dool-om-berg ont-dood op Dool-in-bergh* (Utrecht: Johannes Ribbius, 1669). The garden and the accompanying poem take human, religious, spiritual and intellectual righteousness as theme in which one may err. Labyrinth and symmetry intend to express this message.
94. See Bakker 'Schilderachtig', p. 158, introducing an etching 'On viewing a picturesque landscape' (*Op het beschouwen van een schilderachtig Lantschap*) from Francois van Hoogstraeten, *De Schoole der Wereld: Geopent in CXL. Vliegende Bedenkingen op veelhande voorvallende Gezichten en Zaeken; Toege-eigent aen den overledene Heere Jacob Cats, Door F.V.H. Met kopere Plaeten voorzien* (Dordrecht: Francois van Hoogstraeten, 1682), p. 12; this portrait format picture shows in the centre a road planted on both sides with deciduous trees in symmetry with deep perspective, tree stems pruned bare; a rocky landscape is seen on the right-hand side with two firs or spruces on the top, one healthy, one dead. See also note 92.
95. Everard Meyster, *Nimmerdor berymt, door E. Meyster op den trant, 't Is Nimmerdor rontsom, van boven en ter zijden* (Utrecht: Johannes van Paddenburgh, 1667). It was a booklet dedicated to the evergreens and was printed with green ink, which turned brownish over the centuries and is difficult to read; it has a plan of Nimmerdor; see Marieke van Delft, 'Dutch private presses before 1800', online at National Library of the Netherlands <https://www.kb.nl/en/themes/book-art-and-illustrated-books/private-press/dutch-private-presses-before-1800> retrieved 12 September 2017. A similar plan of the Nimmerdor garden is found in Meyster *Goden Landspel*, p. 44.
96. See a detailed analysis of the two estates in Hamer 'Nimmerdor en Doolomberg'. The natural sanctuary of Nimmerdor was in antithesis to 'pastoralism' of catholic pastors, whereas eternal spring and everlasting summer referred to Vergil's Georgica; see

Meyster *Nimmerdor*, p. 10 and Hamer 'Nimmerdor', p. 7; respectively, Meyster *Ibid.*, title page and Hamer *Ibid.*, p. 4. Quote translated from '*Natuer gaet boven konst, hier treft geen kunstpenceel*' Meyster *Ibid.*, p. 8 and Hamer *Ibid.*, p. 5.

97. Translated from *Een aerdigh Schilder-huys vol groene Schilderijen*, / *Niet hangende in 't oogh, maer staende in 't gesicht* ... (p. 2); another significant quote from this source is: ... at my orchards with green tapestries of flowers / not luxurious by art, but splendid just by nature (... *bey mijn boogaerden met groen*' tapeetserijen

/ *Niet kostelijck van kunst, maer van natuur soo net* ... (p. 15)); both quoted in Hamer *Ibid.*, p. 5, that gives the page numbers of Meyster *Ibid.* in brackets. Paintings '*Schilderijen*' and green fields of flowers '*tapeetserijen*' are in italics. '*Tapeetserijen*' poetized from '*tapeten*': fields or trees covered with flowers like a tapestry or painted wall paper.

98. Meyster is well remembered because he had challenged the citizens of Amersfoort in 1661 to pull a large, rounded rock from the heath lands over the

public road all the way to the inner city to be buried on the market. The event generated much public mockery and arousal, and the city is still known as the city of 'rock-pullers' (*kei-trekkers*). On the motivations for this guerilla art event see Meyster *Goden Landspel*, p. 63; after the event Meyster published his poem *Rock-farce of lies and truth, on the stone-owl flight of this world* (*Keyklucht van Jock en Ernst, op de steen-uylevlucht deser werelt*, Utrecht, 1661). Stone-owl is *Athene noctua*.