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"[…] Non urbs, tamen urbibus ipsa major." The Image of The Hague in the Dutch Literature and Art of the 17th and 18th Century

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Abstract: Although in the early-modern period The Hague was not officially a city, its identity was based on specifically urban features. During the 17th and 18th century, its ambiguous status was explored by the authors of verse urban encomia and prose *descriptiones urbium*. In this article, the presentation of The Hague will be first discussed on the example of Caspar Barlaeus' Latin poem "Haga", and Constantijn Huygens' Dutch encomium "'s Gravenhage" from the *Dorpen* [Villages] cycle of epigrams. Then, the image of The Hague will be examined in the context of an allegorical representation by Jan Caspar Philips in Jacob de Riemer's *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* [Description of The Hague, 1730]. The concluding remarks address the question of how the transformation of the status of The Hague undertaken by these writers and artists may be understood in the context of the literary-historical geography of the Northern Renaissance which has been a special subject of research by Professor Andrzej Borowski.

Keywords: The Hague; the urban encomium; the Dutch Golden Age; urban studies; cultural geography; the Northern Renaissance

1. Introduction

During the early-modern period The Hague, the town that was the informal capital of the Dutch Republic and the residence of the court of the Stadholderate, did not possess municipal rights, as a result of which it was not officially acknowledged as a city. [1] Nevertheless, The Hague had all the features of a city because its sociological, topographic, and institutional character obviously distinguished it from all other non-urban settlements (hamlets, villages, etc.). The position of The Hague in the seventeenth-century Netherlands was therefore an ambiguous one – it was a city and a 'non-city' at the same time. But even though The Hague found itself at the centre of political developments in the Dutch Republic, it appeared small and peripheral by the standards of other European capitals of the same period, and even in the Northern Netherlands it was overshadowed by the rapidly growing metropolis of Amsterdam.

During the Dutch Golden Age several authors of prose descriptions of The Hague (*descriptiones urbium*) and versified urban encomia (*laudes urbi*), as well as graphic artists asked to illustrate books on this topic, deliberately tried to resolve the ambiguity surrounding this '(non-) city' by creating literary and artistic depictions which emphasized its specifically urban character. Among these authors were two illustrious Dutch poets: Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) and Caspar Barlaeus (Caspar van Baerle, 1584-1648). Artists who undertook to depict The Hague as a city were represented, for instance, by Jan Caspar Philips, who contributed an allegorical image on this subject to Jacob de Riemer's *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* [Description of The Hague] (1730). The question that this article will try to answer, will be how did these writers, poets and artists deal with The Hague's status as an ambiguous '(non-) city'? What were the ways in which they used literature and the graphic arts in order to transform the image of The Hague? How did they modify its identity in order to represent it as a true metropolis? Is it possible to situate their efforts in the wider context of cultural change in early-modern Europe?

The methodology, which will be used in this article, is largely derived from the area of cultural geography. Alongside some concepts from the discipline of urban planning, the theoretical model of spatial relations proposed by Henri Lefebvre will used in the actual analysis of textual and iconographic material. Caspar Barlaeus' Latin poem "Haga" (fragments of which will be analyzed) and Constantijn Huygens' Dutch encomium "'s Gravenhage" [The Hague] comprise the corpus of texts under discussion. These poetic images of the identity of The

[1] This article is partly based on the revised and expanded version of a paper delivered by the author at the conference City Peripheries / Peripheral Cities held by the Helsinki Literature and the City Network (HLCN), University of Helsinki, Finland, 28-31 August 2013.

Hague will be complemented by a look at Jan Caspar Philips' etching accompanying Jacob de Riemer's *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* and its allegorical program. In the concluding remarks I will show that Professor Andrzej Borowski's model of the cultural geography of the Northern Renaissance offers an interesting solution to the problem of why the ambiguous non-urban identity of The Hague underwent a literary and artistic transformation during the early-modern era.

2. Cities and urban identity in Dutch culture during the Golden Age

It is impossible to summarize in a few words the 'love affair' of the Low Countries with the city. It is a 'relationship' that, even if the Dutch themselves are sometimes reluctant to admit it, often appears to be one of nearly total identification. Today, the inhabitants of the Netherlands are understandably proud of the fact that the provinces of North and South Holland, and Utrecht, are the fourth largest conurbation in Europe. The ring-like network of cities and industrial estates (esp. The Hague, Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Schiphol and Rotterdam) connecting these provinces is colloquially known as the Randstad. This term, which may be literally translated as "Rim City", "Ring City" or "City on the Edge" ("Randstad" 2015), refers to the way these cities are situated along a fairly narrow stretch of coastland along the North Sea. Recently, planners, urban scholars and politicians have started calling this conurbation a "Delta metropolis" (Mak 2007: 50-51), but the older term Randstad still exists and is very commonly used.

In his latest book *Metropolen aan de Noordzee* Dutch historian Wim Blockmans (2012) argues that the existence of *North Sea Metropolises* was the main factor responsible for the rapid economic and cultural development of the Low Countries during the transition from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period. Besides Blockmans (2012), also other scholars (e.g. Prak (2009: 250-273) and Israel (1998: 113-116; 328-332)) have affirmed that the fast rate of urban growth is the key to understanding the history and identity of the Netherlands. A number of facts support this conclusion. Already by the end of the Middle Ages the Low Countries were one of the most densely urbanized areas of Europe. Unlike other Western European countries north of the Alps, such as England or France, where a single metropolis such as London or Paris became the exclusive center of political, economic and cultural life (Israel 1998: 113, 116), the urban network of the Low Countries remained initially a relatively concentrated and decentralized one, although here too some cities, such as Antwerp (until 1585) and Amsterdam (from the early 17th century onwards) achieved greater prominence than others.

The relatively high proportion of urban dwellers to the overall number of inhabitants and a diffuse distribution of urban centers have been traditionally recognized by scholars as being of paramount importance for the social development of the early-modern Netherlands. [2] These factors have been emphasized recently by Dutch historian Maarten Prak (2009: 251), who cited the following figures: "In 1600 approximately one-fourth of the population of the Republic lived in towns of 10,000 people or more. By 1670 this percentage had increased to one-third, or even one-half […] In most countries the urban population was less – often far less – than 15 percent." [3]

The largest metropolis was Amsterdam which reached a population of about 200,000 at the end of the 17th century (Israel 1998: 621). However, the difference between the smallest cities and large villages was sometimes hardly noticeable. The smallest city in the Netherlands, Sloten in Friesland, had a population of 448 (in 1689), which "made it more the size of a village" (Prak 2009: 251).

The city in the Netherlands was endowed with certain unalienable rights and privileges. The stability of the legal status of the city proved instrumental in consolidating the institutional structure of the Dutch Republic after the Revolt (cf. Price 1976: 54-56). Since the Burgundian period, the economic growth of towns meant that the city-dwelling commercial elites became the main politically and culturally active class of society. [4] In 1477, for instance, the merchant oligarchies of the largest metropolises of the Southern Netherlands, especially Ghent and Bruges, leveraged their power forcing Mary of Burgundy to sign the Great Privilege (*Groot Privilege*), a document that has been sometimes called the first unofficial constitution of the Netherlands (cf. Blockmans and Prevenier (1997: 219)). The Great Privilege restricted the power of the sovereign in a way that benefited the cities and provinces. It granted the urban elites, at least for a certain period of time, not merely the promise that their 'freedoms' would be safeguarded but also the right of participating in decision-making processes.

[2] For patterns of urbanization see esp. De Vries (1984) and Schmal (1988). For population numbers, see Lesger (1993: 30-38), with a diagram showing the distribution of urban centers in the Netherlands by population size. The story of Dutch urban development is comprehensibly narrated by Burke (1956). A perspective specifically focused on the Dutch Golden Age is offered, e.g., by Taverne (1978) in and the selection of articles collected in Taverne and Visser (1993).

[3] The same historian adds that "There was another remarkable thing about the Republic's special brand of urbanisation: instead of being concentrated in one or two metropolises, the urban population was spread over a large number of towns. […] Around 1700 the Republic had twenty-one cities with at least 10,000 inhabitants, whereas England, which was nearly three times as populous, had only eleven. London, with more than half a million inhabitants, was more than twenty times the size of Bristol, then the second-largest city in England. In comparison, Leiden, the second-largest city in the Republic, was only three times smaller than Amsterdam, and in 1700 the Republic had seven cities, in addition to Amsterdam, which were just as large or larger than Bristol." (Prak 2009: 251).

[4] During the Renaissance, various thinkers, e.g. Dirk Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-1590), speculated on the rights and moral responsibilities of merchants in relation to the rest of society. Cf. Vandommele and Bussels (2014: 143-166).

A century later, during the Dutch Revolt, the political significance of Dutch cities increased in proportion to the scale of their contribution (especially in financial terms) to the war against Spain. The defense of sovereignty and the respect for 'freedoms and privileges' of the towns and provinces, which seemed under threat from Habsburg centralization, were besides the demand of religious freedom for Protestants, an important ideological motive behind the Revolt against Philip II. The identification with the city was very profound among its humanist elites. [5] The burgher class shared strong sentiments of local separatism and an ideology of 'civic republicanism', which transformed the city into a 'laboratory of statehood' (Frijhoff and Spies 2000: 182). The myth of the city-state also proved very attractive to the urban elites (Frijhoff and Spies 2000: 173). Some early-modern authors, for example the Haarlem *predikant* Samuel Ampzing (1590-1632), even considered the city to be their *patria*, [6] and they held it held just as dear, or even more so, than the region in which they lived, or as a matter of fact, than the Netherlands as such.

The predominantly city-dwelling character of the population of the Netherlands has understandably affected the stereotypes related to the identity of this country's inhabitants. Many volumes have been written about why Dutch culture is (or much less often – is not) *burgerlijk* – an impossible-to-translate word which may be rendered in English, depending on the context, as 'relating to the *burgher*' (i.e. the inhabitant of a medieval or early-modern town), as 'middle-class' or as *bourgeois*, and as finally, as a 'citizen of a country' (cf. Te Velde 1993: 60). [7] The adjective *burgerlijk* additionally suggests someone or something shaped to a certain extent by living in a city and/or by interacting with an urban culture.

Many discussions on the identity of the Dutch, both past and present, have had as their point of departure Johan Huizinga's essay *Nederland's geestesmerk* (1935, translated into English as *The Spirit of the Netherlands*, 1968). In a famous passage from this essay, Huizinga wrote: "Whether we fly high or low, we Dutchmen are all *burgerlijk* – lawyer and poet, baron and labourer alike. Our national culture is *burgerlijk* in every sense that you can legitimately attach to this word" (cited after Te Velde 1993: 60). [8]

It may be misleading, however, to refer to the Dutch culture or literature of the Middle Ages or of the Dutch Golden Age as *burgerlijk* without qualifying this

[5] An interesting study about the values of Dutch urban elites of the small town of Kampen during the renaissance is by Santing (2001: 81-103).

[6] In the poem "Deo et Patriae sacrum" Ampzing implied that the *patria* of the title should be identified with his native city of Haarlem (1629: fol. (?¿)2r).

[7] For a different discussion of the terms *burgerlijk* and *bourgeois*, cf. Schama (1997: 567-569).

[8] The term *burgerlijk* was rendered as "bourgeois" in the original English translation of Huizinga's *Dutch civilisation in the seventeenth century and other essays* (Huizinga 1968: 112); this term was corrected by Te Velde in the quotation cited above.

expression. Dutch historian Henk te Velde's (1993: 60) warning is very relevant here: "Whoever uses the words 'burger,' 'burgerij' and 'burgerlijk' should be very careful." The Dutch Golden Age eventually became defined in terms of *burgerlijk* values, but did this not occur before the 18th and 19th century (Aerts 2001: 8-13). Whenever a *burger* was referred to in early-modern Dutch texts, this term signified a citizen rather than a town-dweller (Meijer Drees 2001: 63-80); the inhabitants of cities often referred to themselves as *poorters*, from the Latin word *portus*, meaning a settlement enclosed by the town gates.

Nevertheless, many scholars have felt that a close relationship existed between literature and culture on the one hand, and the urban environment in which it came into being. According to Dutch literary scholar Herman Pleij (1994: 62-77), during the 15th century the Low Countries witnessed the appearance of an "urban literature" written specifically for town-dwellers. What manifested itself in this literature, Pleij argued elsewhere, was a "burgermoraal", i.e. an ethos unique to town-dwellers (Pleij 1991: 12-14). In his magisterial study of Dutch Golden Age culture *The Embarrassment of Riches* (1st ed. 1987), Simon Schama (1997: 4) avoided the terminological pitfalls of the term *burgerlijk* by referring, somewhat anachronistically, to the so-called "middling sort" ("brede middenstand," or in other words the 'broad middle class') when speaking about the seventeenth-century Dutch whose mentality he had set out to describe. However, Schama (1997: 83) too called the Northern Netherlands of that time "a country which had been shaped by *burgerlijk* virtues," which show how firmly this notion has become ingrained in the consciousness of today's historians.

Calvinism might sometimes appear to have been the factor behind the ascendancy of urban elites in the Low Countries, but the position of this group was already very strong before the Reformation. As a matter of fact, the Reformation in the Low Countries would probably not have succeeded as it did, had it not been for the existence of a closely-knit network of powerful city-based merchant families. These urban elites adopted Calvinism at an early stage and were able to organize the takeover of urban institutions in the largest cities with some help from the urban poor (who counted among the staunchest adherents of this denomination), whereas the rural areas around the same cities, but also some urban enclaves, very often remained Catholic. [9]

[9] It is impossible, in the space of this article, to refer to the important issue of whether, and to what extent, the *burger* identity of the Dutch was linked by a cause-and-effect relationship to the rise of Calvinism as the 'public' religion of the Dutch Republic. It is clear, however, that the rise of the urban elite as the dominant political class of the Low Countries occurred before the developments of the Reformation or the Dutch Revolt. The impact of Calvinism on the mentality on the 17th century Dutch has been illustrated e.g. by Schama (1997: 93-125). One must not forget that Erasmian values were no less important to a large part of Dutch town dwellers, many of whom did not belong to the 'public' Reformed Church. For confessional processes taking place after the Dutch Revolt in Delft, a town situated next to The Hague, cf. Polkowski (2012: 167-199).

In the context of what has been said above, it might appear that the importance of the city in the early-modern Low Countries was principally a result of combined socio-economic and religious-political factors. Such a conclusion, while not in itself incorrect, would be incomplete, however, if the system of literary culture were to be left out of the picture.

An important way in which literature contributed to enhancing the status and significance of the city in the medieval and early-modern Netherlands was through the activities of the chambers of rhetoric (*rederijkerskamer*). This principally urban institution enabled local intellectual and cultural elites to use literature, among other things, to project a positive image of the city and increase its visibility on a regional level. An important event that served this purpose was, for example, the ‘joyous entry’ (*blijde inkomst*) of the sovereign. Often included in the allegorical pageantry that belonged to these festivities was a reference to the city. In Antwerp, for example, *tableaux vivants* included the figure of a young woman dressed up as a personification of that town (Meeus 1995: 227-228). The ‘Town Maid’ (*stedemaagd*), as this figure came to be called, also appeared as a personage in medieval allegorical dream-vision poetry. [10] During the renaissance ‘Town Maids’ became the chief protagonists of poems in praise of the city. An example of such a figure is the ‘Maid of Amsterdam’ (*Stedemaagd van Amsterdam*), who is shown in the center of Claes Janszoon Visscher’s prospect of that city (1611) (fig. 1). [11]

Gradually, the city became an important *topos* of Dutch literature. One of the genres where this *topos* manifested itself was the urban encomium (Latin: *laus urbium*, *civitatis encomium*; Dutch: *stedenlof*). The poetics of the Dutch urban encomium owed much to the classical Latin tradition – the same tradition which had contributed to the rise of this genre in other modern European literatures (e.g. English, French, German, or Polish). [12] Verse of this kind was written in the Low Countries in the vernacular (Dutch) and in Latin. The best-known authors

[10] An allegorical poem from the Southern Netherlands where a ‘Town Maid’ makes her appearance is Anthonis de Roovere’s poem about Bruges “Het nieuwe jaar van Brugge” (1480) (cf. De Haan and Oosterman 1996: 162). Besides this poem, an even earlier one about Ghent may be mentioned: Boudewijn van der Luere’s “Die maghet van Ghend” (1380-1381).

[11] ‘Town Maidens’ shared many similarities with the ‘Maid of Holland’ (*Maagd van Holland*), a young woman seated in the middle of a ‘garden,’ who allegorically represented the county or province of Holland. The garden was generally surrounded by a wicker fence signifying the sovereignty of this area (cf. Schama 1997: 69-72).

[12] For a comprehensive history of the development of this genre in the Low Countries, cf. Slits (1990). An accessible introduction is provided by C.W. de Kruyter in his edition of Huygens’ *Stede-stemmen* (Huygens 1981: 3-11). The urban encomium as a genre of Polish baroque literature has been the subject of scholarly publications by Buszewicz (1998, 2004); cf. also Krzywy (2013: 73-117). For a terminological debate on the meaning of the terms *encomium* and *laus* in classical and renaissance rhetoric, cf. Niedźwiedź (2003: 29-30) and Awianowicz (2004: 185-193; 2009: 15-21). The author of the present article is currently preparing for publication a critical anthology of Dutch *laudes urbium* in Polish translation, which will include poems by C. Huygens, J. van den Vondel, S. Ampzing and others.

Fig. 1. The Maid of Amsterdam. Prospect of Amsterdam (detail). Etching by Claes Janszoon Visscher (I), 1611.

of city poems were Constantijn Huygens, Joost van den Vondel, and Caspar Barlaeus. Dutch poets could find a ready model for their Dutch urban encomia for example in the Latin epigrams of Julius Cesar Scaliger in praise of European cities from a sequence of poems entitled *Urbes*. However, a Latin and vernacular tradition of urban poetry had already existed in the Low Countries since the late Middle Ages. [13] Besides being the subject of eulogies in verse, towns were also the topic of prose descriptions (*descriptiones urbium*) dedicated to individual cities (cf. Verbaan 2011), and of chorographic works whose authors surveyed entire regions, such as Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione […] di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (1567). Two examples of important *descriptiones urbium* from the Low Countries that may be mentioned here are Jan Janszoon Orlers' *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* [Description of the Town of Leiden, 1614] and

[13] One of the earliest *laudes urbium* in the vernacular is Dirck Mathijszoon's poem in praise of Haarlem, dating from around 1400-1426. Cf. Hogenelst and Van Oostrom 1995: 236.

Dirck van Bleyswijck's *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* [Description of the Town of Delft, 1667-1680]. Books of this type were often commissioned by the town fathers who were well aware of the fact that such publications raised a city's prestige by presenting a positive although not always historically accurate image of its identity. [14]

The city belonged to a different category of *topoï* than non-urban (i.e. rural) places, and generated a different kind of literature. One may assume, therefore, that whenever a non-urban site aspired to the status of a city, elaborate rhetorical arguments would be made in order to present it as having an urban character. This was also true of The Hague, whose representations in literature and the graphic arts will be discussed in this article.

3. A city or not a city? The ambiguous status of The Hague

The question of what constituted a city during the early-modern period was sometimes a contentious one. There were, on the one hand, cities which had municipal rights, and in the Dutch Republic this entitled them to take some part in the mechanisms of political government. On the other hand, non-cities – various rural settlements and villages – had no such rights. But between these two extremes one could find something that may be called a '(non-) city.' This ambiguous entity was not a city in legal terms, but neither could it be regarded, owing to its evidently urban character, as a village or rural settlement. In the early-modern Low Countries such a '(non-) city' was The Hague (Dutch: *'s Gravenhage*; Latin: *Haga Comitis*).

A precedent for calling The Hague a '(non-) city' may be found in Caspar Barlaeus's *Haga*. In this Latin encomium Barlaeus commented on The Hague's paradoxical identity by describing it as "non urbs, tamen urbibus ipsa / Major" (Barlaeus 1645: 409.1-2), which may be paraphrased as: 'a non-city, but greater (or more than) a city.' This qualification is confirmed by the studies of modern urban historians who generally tend to classify sixteenth- and seventeenth-century The Hague as a city, but who are also sensitive to its unique position with respect to other urban sites in the Netherlands (cf. Rutte 2008: 151). Early-modern The Hague may be understood, therefore, as an ambiguous place with an undefined, shifting identity. Using a term invented by Michel Foucault (2004: 6), one

[14] Sometimes the authors of *descriptiones urbium* took liberties with historical facts or interpreted those facts in a particular way that corresponded to their religious or political agenda. Dirck van Bleyswijck, for example, infused his historical narrative about Delft with the notion that the period preceding the Reformation had been a 'Dark Age' characterized by 'superstition.' This was true, according to Van Bleyswijck, especially of Delft's Catholic community whose history and traditions he systematically tried to downplay or subvert (cf. Polkowski 2013: 248-264).

may also call The Hague a 'heterotopia.' According to Foucault, a 'heterotopia' is characterized by the fact that it "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real space several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." Early-modern The Hague may be called a 'heterotopia,' because it combined the properties of urban and non-urban space, but it was never entirely any single one of these spaces. Heterotopias, to quote Foucault (2004: 6), are "contradictory sites"; likewise, The Hague had no rightful claim to be a city. However, in his poem Barlaeus emphasized that The Hague had other qualities which permitted it to represent itself as 'the first among equals' (*primus inter pares*) in relation to the towns of the Dutch Republic.

In order to understand better the reason why Barlaeus called The Hague "non urbs" (i.e. 'a non-city'), one may look briefly at its position in the Dutch Republic. [15] During the medieval period The Hague was home to the court of the counts of Holland. Later, since the late 16th century, it became the place where Stadholders of the princely house of Orange resided. During the Dutch Golden Age The Hague hosted important institutions of the Republic such as the States General. "Hic edicta Patrum, et magni decreta Senatus / Colligit, et patriae prospicit una suae," wrote Barlaeus (1645: 409.7-8) on this topic. Partly because of this very unique position The Hague had not been granted municipal rights during the medieval or early-modern period, and it would not receive them until the French occupation of Holland (1806). This meant that unlike other cities of the province (*gewest*) of Holland, The Hague was not represented in the States of Holland or in the States General (Wagenaar 2005: 95). [16] Moreover, The Hague's lack of walls or fortifications communicated the absence of an urban status. Non-cities were open to the outside world, although this sense was gradually disappearing during the 17th century (cf. Krzywy 2013: 78). The Hague's open topography may be seen by looking at maps such as the one from Jacob de Riemer's *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* [Description of The Hague, 1730] (fig. 2).

Despite the fact that The Hague did not enjoy municipal status, it nevertheless obtained a number of privileges from the counts of Holland. In consequence, as time went by, it developed certain administrative features of a city. These features included quasi-urban institutions (such as the office of four mayors and

[15] For the history of The Hague, cf. esp. Van Gelder (1937), Van Doorn et al. (1984-1986), and more recently, the three-volume historical survey *Den Haag: Geschiedenis van de stad* (2004-2005), the second volume of which is dedicated to the growth of the city during the time of the Dutch Republic (Wijsenbeek, Blankenstein 2005).

[16] An area whose present-day status slightly resembles that of The Hague in the early-modern Netherlands, is Washington, D.C. (USA). The District of Columbia is not one of the 50 states of the U.S.A. The congressional delegate from the District is not eligible to vote in the House of Representatives. The District also does not have a seat in the Senate.

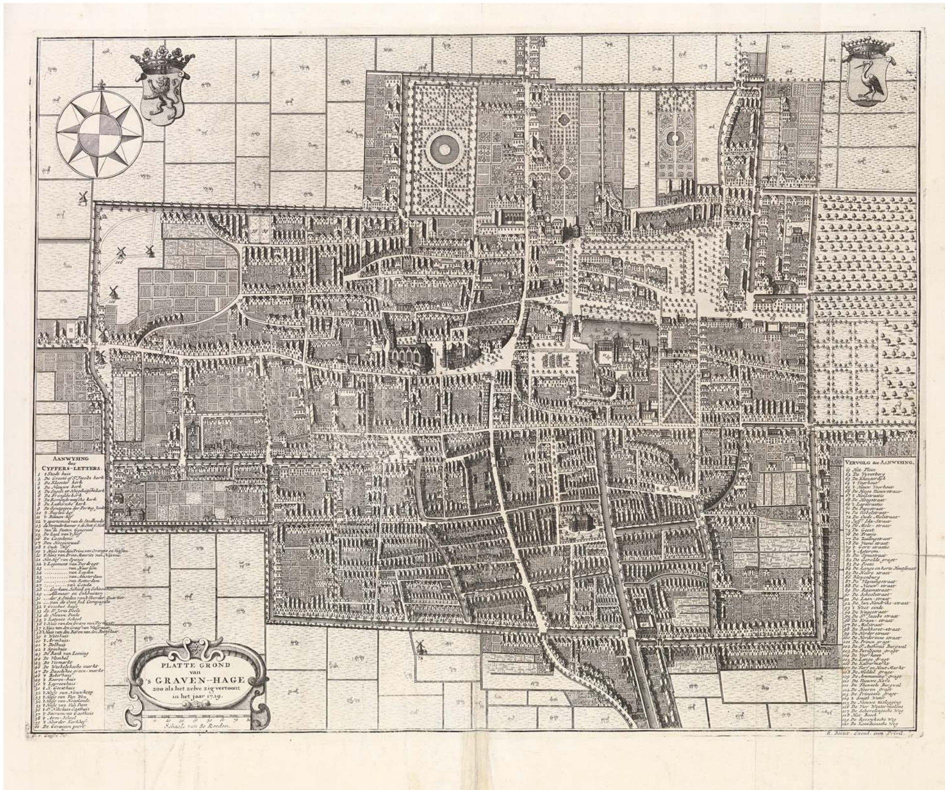

Fig. 2. The Hague in Jacob de Riemer's *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* (1730).

a board of aldermen (*schepenen*) (Wagenaar 2005: 98-99), and a symbolic apparatus, including a heraldic emblem featuring a stork on a field of gold. These trappings, of course, would have been out of place in a village, but they gave The Hague the air of a city similar to any other in the Netherlands.

4. The Hague as an ambiguous 'village of towns' in Constantijn Huygens' "'s Gravenhage"

One of the most accomplished poets of the Dutch Golden Age, who was renowned for writing a sequence of poems in praise of Dutch cities was the courtier and diplomat Constantijn Huygens. A life-long inhabitant of The Hague, Constantijn Huygens authored in the early 1620s a cycle of urban encomia under the title *Stede-stemmen* [Urban Voices], and a parallel series of poems on the subject of

Dutch villages, *Dorpen*. Huygens published these two sequences in a collection of verse entitled the *Otia* [Leisure hours] in 1625. [17]

Huygens composed the *Stede-stemmen* and *Dorpen* by following the model of Scaliger's *Urbes*. Each praise of a Dutch town or village was written as a small epideictic oration involving the trope of *prosopopeia*. The city was personified as a female speaker – a 'City Maiden.' Huygens, however, gave an additional meaning to the already familiar device of *prosopopeia*. The act of speaking, implied by the word *stemmen* ('voices') of the title, alluded to the fact that the representatives of Dutch cities had voting rights in the assembly of the States General (the Dutch word *stem* also means a 'vote'). [18] By emphasizing the patriotism of his 'speaking cities,' Huygens suggested to his readers that the collective unity of these towns was more important than their occasional disagreements (cf. Leerintveld 2008: 14-24). It is obvious that Huygens laid great store by the rhetorically accomplished form of his verse, favouring such typically mannerist features as ambiguity (*ambiguitas*), terseness (*brevitas*), the use of omission (*ellipsis*), a lack of conjunctions (*asyndeton*), and a generous display of wit (*acumen*). However, being also the statesman and diplomat that he was, Huygens was always very sensitive to the political message that his poetry, subtly and in an indirect way, communicated to the reader.

In Huygens' *Dorpen* we find a different situation than in his *Stede-stemmen*. One problem that Huygens had to resolve writing his village epigrams was related to the question of patronage. Whereas the cities were not in need of a patron, since they were able to 'speak' for themselves, both metaphorically and in political terms, the villages required a spokesperson. Huygens resolved this problem in a rather striking way. He dedicated the poems to Dorothée van Dorp, whom he was courting at that time. Dorothée's surname 'Dorp' meant quite simply 'village,' so it was logical (but also consistent with Huygens' fondness for verbal puns and conceits) that she should become the dedicatee of his rural encomia. And because Dorothée lived in the same street as Huygens in The Hague, she was alluded to as the special patron of that place. [19]

Huygens took for granted that the villages had no urban characteristics and therefore were of little or no political importance. His epigram about The Hague, however, which opens the *Dorpen* cycle, reveals an awareness of this (non-)city's

[17] The convention of *otium negotiosum* is discussed in relation to Huygens' *Otia* by Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen (2002: 124-135). It may be interesting to note that the notion of *otium negotiosum* inspired not only Huygens' *Otia* (subtitled *Ledighe uren*, i.e. 'Idle hours') but also Polish baroque poet Wespazjan Kochowski's collection of verse *Niepróżnujące próżnowanie* ['Non-idle idleness', 1674].
[18] For the literary-historical background of *Stede-stemmen*, cf. Huygens (1981), Leerintveld (1988: 97--115), and Strengholt (1989: 88-110).
[19] The effect of Huygens' friendship with Dorothée van Dorp on his poetry is described by Jardine (2009: 37-53).

ambiguity. It also suggests that Huygens made a deliberate effort to compensate for The Hague's real or perceived deficit of urban status. The poet rhetorically transformed The Hague into a metropolis by emphasizing its political significance, its unique 'hybrid landscape,' and refined climate of urbanity:

's Gravenhage
Het heele Land in 't klein, de Waege van den Staet,
De Schaeve van de Jeughd, de Schole van de Daed,
Het Dorp der Dorpen geen daer yeder Steegh een pad is,
Maer Dorp der Steden een daer yeder Straet een Stad is,
5 De rondom groene Buert, het rondom steenen Hout,
Des Boers verwonderingh, al komt hy uyt het woud,
Des Stémans steedsch vermaeck, al komt hy uyt de mueren,
Der Vyanden ontsagh, De Vrijster van de Bueren.
De Werelds leckernij, des Hemels welgevall;
10 Is 't daer met all geseght, soo ben ick meer dan all.
Huygens (1981: 70.1-10).

The Hague
The whole land in a nutshell; the weigh-scales of state;
The bringer-up of youth; the school of noble deeds;
A village of villages, not one where streets are paths,
But a village of towns, where every street's a town;
5 Boroughs hemmed in by green, woodland enclosed in stone,
The awestruck peasant stares, though in forests he dwells,
The townsman's urban bliss, though walls are his abode;
The terror of the foe, the maid that neighbours court.
The world's rapture and of heavens the delight;
10 Has everything been said, then I am this and more. [20]

Huygens' poem begins by defining The Hague, rather surprisingly, as "Het heele Land in 't klein…" (70.1), i.e. "The whole land in a nutshell…" (an alternative paraphrase might be: 'the entire country on a small scale, in miniature'; cf. "in het klein" in Hannay and Schrama 1996: 408-409). Today, if one goes to The Hague, one may literally see the Netherlands 'in a nutshell' at Madurodam, which is a theme park where one can walk next to scale models of famous sites and buildings from all over the country. This, however, was of course not the sort of 'mini-Netherlands' that Huygens had in mind! The key to reading this passage is that The Hague was a 'small-scale Dutch Republic' because it was there that the political representatives of all Dutch towns and provinces assembled in the

[20] Translation mine – M.P.

States of Holland and the States General (cf. Huygens 1981: 70, fn. 1). Delegations from all parts of the land came to The Hague on matters of business or politics. The 'microcosm' of the States General validly represented the Republic's body politic (*corpus politicus*). Thus, a relatively small group of individuals held the reins of political power. When the States General met in The Hague's Binnenhof castle, their gathering would have undoubtedly resembled a small village whose population came from all over the country.

The Hague was, for Huygens, principally a space where the citizen (Latin: *civis*, Dutch: *burger*) of the Dutch Republic (*Respublica Belgica Foederata*) realized his political prerogatives. This environment was further defined by the symbol of "de Waege van den Staet" ('the weigh-scales of State') (Huygens 1981: 70.1). This passage is generally interpreted as referring to 'weighing' (i.e. pondering and deliberating) matters of state (cf. Huygens 1981: 70, fn. 1). One may understand this in a general sense, but it is also possible that Huygens had a specific institution in mind. During the Dutch Golden Age, an organ which specialized in advising the States General on important political questions was the *Raad van State* (Council of State). [21] If Constantijn Huygens was thinking of an advisory body, then the *Raad van State* could have easily been his model, because his father Christiaan (I) was one of its secretaries. However, the 'weighing-scales' of this fragment may also have alluded to the balance held by *Justitia* (the personification of justice), because The Hague was the seat of the *Hoge Raad*, the High Council of Holland, Zeeland and West Frisia, which was the highest court of appeals for these provinces.

The Hague was "De Schaeve van de Jeughd, de Schole van de Daed" (Huygens 1981: 70.2), a "bringer-up of youth, a school of noble deeds." In other words, it was a place where a young man could obtain an education, and acquire good manners while expecting to assume responsibility for the republic (*res publica*) in a spirit of serving the 'common good' (*bonum commune*). [22] At The Hague such a young man could prepare himself for a public career either at court or in the administrative apparatus of the state. It is very likely that in these lines Huygens conveyed something of his own experience. In the years preceding the writing of this poem he had received a thorough private education provided for by his father Christiaan (I), an education expressly designed to furnish him with the skills required for the career of a courtier and diplomat. When composing the poems which eventually made up the *Otia* volume, Constantijn Huygens was still completing his training as an apprentice-diplomat in the retinue of Dutch envoy François van Aerssen and eagerly hoping for an official position at court.

[21] On the competence of this organ after the Dutch Revolt, cf. Israel (1998: 238-239).
[22] On this concept in the political culture of a Dutch town during the Renaissance, cf. e.g. Santing (2001: 83).

This expected position materialized in 1625 when he was appointed to become secretary to stadholder Maurice of Nassau (cf. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen 2002: 128-129).

In verses 3-4 of his praise of The Hague, Huygens explored the antithetical relationship between villages and cities, and between the rural and urban landscape. The Hague was the paragon of a village, even perhaps a 'super-village,' for this is how one might translate Huygens' superlative phrase "Dorp der Dorpen" ('village of villages') (70.3). In the rural landscape of a village one would find roads or paths, but obviously not streets (Huygens 1981: 70.3). Huygens, however, shows the reader that early-modern The Hague does not resemble such a typical village. Not only did it have streets, but moreover, because of the size and density of its population, almost every one of its streets could be called a "town" (Huygens 1981: 70.4). This last hyperbole was actually correct because The Hague, which had around 15,000 inhabitants in 1622, counted as the ninth largest city of the Netherlands (Israel 1998: 328). A residential quarter in The Hague would have been approximately the size of a small town like the Frisian city of Sloten (mentioned by Prak 2009: 251, cf. above). In fact, Sloten's population of 447 inhabitants could have fitted in The Hague thirty times over, yet Sloten, and not The Hague, was officially a city.

Huygens' ambiguous "village of towns" (70.4) was different from and at the same time more than a city. Today, a "village of towns" might bring to mind, on the one hand, a conurbation which in some areas retains a rural, village-like identity, like the Randstad in the modern Netherlands does. The Randstad comprises not only highly urbanized areas but also small towns and villages, while in its center are ecological resources: the so-called 'Green Heart' of Holland ("Groene Hart") (Mak 2007: 50). On the other hand, a "village of towns" might suggest a paradoxical 'urban village' of the kind envisioned by anti-modernist urban designers of the late 20th / early 21st century (Thompson-Fawcett 2003). The identifiers of such a (post-) modern 'urban village' are social prestige and the high value assigned to recreational green space, stemming from the architectural credo of "environmental sustainability" (Thompson-Fawcett 2003: 67-68). The combination of green space and an urbanized environment may also be described in terms of a 'hybrid landscape,' a concept recently discussed in the context of modern urban planning e.g. by Karvonen and Yocom (2011: 1305-1322).

Constantijn Huygens described the topography of The Hague as a rural landscape alternating with an urban one (Huygens 1981: 70.5). The poet resorted to the rhetorical figure of chiasmus to create a verbal pattern of spatial relations. Its 'constructed' character suggests that one is dealing here with what French sociologist Henri Lefebvre called "conceived" space (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39) (we will refer to Lefebvre's theory of spatial relations later on in this article). The

chiasmus of verse 5 in Huygens' poem is in effect a simple model of spatial organization, in which each type of place may be situated either 'inside' or 'outside' another one. Huygens additionally uses a pronoun expressing the sense of enclosure (*rondom*), in this way semantically reinforcing in this passage the spatial meaning conveyed by the chiasmic pattern. When the two areas of The Hague are positioned in relation to each other, the passage suggests the equivalence and interdependence of the urban and rural elements of this 'hybrid landscape.' These two types of areas, the urban and the rural, are not in opposition to each other, but instead they are complementary. Alternating swathes of green and residential areas create an overall effect that is both harmonious and pleasing.

Such an effect corresponded to the renaissance appreciation for natural surroundings. Gardens, orchards, and other examples of a *locus amoenus*, were all highly valued in the Low Countries. A garden was the favourite retreat of a humanist man-of-letters. Such places, "inviting meditation, cultural activities, and the reading of God's second book, nature" (De Vries 1990: 83), were, of course, constructed as an intrinsic part of the residences of the patriciate and nobility.

Returning once more to Huygens' verse 5, one may paraphrase it in the following way: the built-up neighbourhoods of The Hague are surrounded by greenery, and the woodland is hemmed in by stone and brick-and-mortar (Huygens 1981: 70.5). Specifically, residential areas are combined with cultivated recreational green areas. This might mean, in the 17th century, simply the presence of houses with large orchards – this is the interpretation given to this passage by the editor of Huygens' poems C.W. de Kruyter (Huygens 1981: 70, fn. 5). A better illustration, however, according to the author of the present paper, are the residences of the elite of The Hague – the mansions or villas in the Vitruvian or Palladian style that sprang up in and around that city during the Dutch Golden Age. These sumptuous country villa's called *buitenplaatsen*, allowed Dutch patricians to enjoy "a cleansing repose from the soiling commerce of the town" (Schama 1997: 292). Two examples of such mansions, enclosed in geometrically measured out green areas, parkland and gardens, were Hofwijck (an ambiguous name meaning 'Retreat-from-Court' or 'Garden-Place', Lat. *Vitaulium*) – the villa designed by Constantijn Huygens at Voorburg near The Hague – and Jacob Cats' Zorghvliet ("Fly from care") (cf. De Vries 1990: 81-98; Schama 1997: 293).

Another 'hybrid landscape' was Voorhout, a woodland area of The Hague. Sections of this area were set aside for luxurious mansions along its main axis, an avenue called Lange Voorhout, [23] while its remaining parts retained their natural, forested character (Stal 2005: 40). The existence of such 'hybrid spaces' in The Hague increased its spatial complexity, and therefore also its aesthetic

[23] The avenue of Lange Voorhout was the subject of Huygens' satirical poem "Batava tempe" (1621). Hofwijck became the theme of his long descriptive poem under the same title (1653).

value and prestige. It gave to this '(non-) city' an air of refinement, an atmosphere which was appreciated by foreign visitors. To mention one example, Giacomo Fantuzzi, an Italian traveller who visited the Low Countries in 1652, observed that "The Hague, once a village, has now metamorphosed into the most beautiful, charming, and refined city in the world." Fantuzzi was reminded of his homeland by The Hague's wide avenues and by the presence of elegant palaces decorated with works of art in the Italianate style (Krzywy 2013: 79).

Urban and non-urban areas are also spaces of human experience, psychological and intellectual involvement, in other words, they are a "lived space" (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Huygens' epigram (70.6-7) offers two reactions to The Hague's ambiguous (non-) urban "lived space" by a pair of stereotypical protagonists: a naïve peasant and a worldly-wise town-dweller. The peasant knows nature by heart, but what captures his awkwardly admiring gaze in The Hague is of a different order than a rural landscape: it is nature that has been transformed, as we have seen above, by its juxtaposition with a refined urban setting (Huygens 1981: 70.6). [24]

The other visitor is the city-dweller who finds that The Hague is his "urban bliss" ("steedsch vermaeck") even though "walls are his abode" ("al komt hy uyt de mueren") (Huygens 1981: 70.7). Modern-day scholars tend to identify the city with a specific type of lifestyle and with the availability of leisure activities. French urban historians Patrick Boucheron, Denis Menjot and Marc Boone (2003: 21), for example, have defined the city as: "le lieu privilégé dans lequel les inhabitants disponent d'un maximum de commodités et plaisirs, où s'exprime une société, principalement la classe dominante" ["a privileged place, in which the inhabitants have at their disposal a maximum of commodities and amusements, and where a society, principally of the dominant class, expresses itself"]. In Huygens' encomium, the ambiguous phrase "steedsch vermaeck" (literally, 'urban amusement' or 'urban leisure') [25] suggests, likewise, a city lifestyle filled with leisurely and entertaining activities. However, one may argue that the word "steedsch" additionally alludes to the trait of *urbanitas* (from which the English word 'urbanity' is derived). The classical Latin notion of *urbanitas* was associated with the city (*urbs*), but most of all with the qualities of politeness, amiability and courtesy. A pair of Latin words which have a similar meaning are *civitas* ('city') and *civilitas* ('civility').

The qualities of *urbanitas* and *civilitas* were a common *topos* of early-modern writers reflecting on urban culture. One foreign visitor who complemented

[24] The wonderment of the simple peasant can be explained in terms of the impact of the urbanized *and* natural landscape of The Hague. However, it is unclear why Huygens' peasant lived in the forest, except as a hyperbole, because the average rural inhabitant of Holland would have been more familiar with fields and meadows (polders); in Huygens' day large forests were already somewhat exceptional in that province.

[25] However, "steedsch" may be also translated as "constant," cf. Huygens (1981: 70, fn. 7).

the town-dwellers of the Low Countries on their civility (Italian: *civilità*), and praised the cities of the Netherlands for having a high level of civic culture, was the Antwerp-based Florentine geographer and merchant Lodovico Guicciardini (Frijhoff and Spies 2000: 192). Others, however, including travellers from Poland, were not as kind to the Dutch townsfolk of the Golden Age. Polish nobleman Jerzy Ossoliński, for example, stung by the egalitarian attitude of the burgomasters of Zwolle, called their behaviour rude and uncivil: "[…] naughty peasants, who puffed up with *vanissimo spiritu* for the reason that the whole world *adorare* them, as if they were *fortunatae et naturae miraculum*" (Borowski 2007: 164).

The relevant passage of Huygens' poem (70.7) may be interpreted, therefore, as meaning that a typical townsman's lifestyle is literally 'urban' because he lives in the city (*urbs*), but at the same time such a town-dweller may be constrained, in certain ways, by a city's real and metaphorical 'walls.' Maybe this constraint comes from a narrow intellectual outlook, or perhaps it is a result of an inability to assimilate the cultural norms which may only be found beyond those 'walls' – for example at court? In any case, this town-dweller, arriving in The Hague, would discover that it has a high standard of moral and aesthetic urbanity (*urbanitas*) or civility (*civilitas*) which might not be present in other cities. A reader of Huygens' poem could therefore infer that The Hague, although not formally a city, actually surpasses all towns whose inhabitants do not possess these two important qualities.

Modern urban studies define the city as a place which offers everything in abundance (cf. above, Boucheron, Menjot and Boone 2003: 21); similarly, the finest and largest cities of the renaissance were commonly praised for their wealth (*opulentia*). Julius Cesar Scaliger's epigram about Antwerp from the *Urbes* ended with the following praise of this city (formulated in the 1st person singular): "[…] Quorum insunt aliis singula, cuncta mihi" ["Others have some things, only I have everything"] (556-557.1). Of course, Huygens could have found other precedents for this kind of lavish praise because such a hyperbolic comparison – described by Ernst Robert Curtius (1997: 170-173) as *Überbietung* (i.e., 'outbidding') – was an established rhetorical device in classical or renaissance literature. [26] However, Scaliger's *Urbes* were certainly one of the models for Huygens' *Stedestemmen* and *Dorpen* (cf. Huygens 1981: 4-5), so it is possible that the final verse of "'s Gravenhage" – "Is 't daer met all geseght, soo ben ick meer dan all" ["Has everything been said, then I am this and more"] (70.10) – contains a distant echo of Scaliger's phrase.

[26] According to C.W. de Kruyter this verse is an example of the *topos* designated by E.R. Curtius as *Unsagbarkeit* (Huygens 1981: 10-11). I would argue, however, that this figure combines elements of both *Unsagbarkeit* ('say no more…') and *Überbietung*. The latter was also used for praising contemporary persons or objects as opposed to historical ones (cf. Curtius 1997: 173).

Is it merely a coincidence that the final line of Huygens' encomium of The Hague invokes a *topos* from Julius Cesar Scaliger's praise of Antwerp? At this point I will venture the hypothesis that juxtaposing Antwerp and The Hague, in a reading of Huygens' encomium, is not only not a-historical, but as a matter of fact, it is what this poem actually invites us to do. The city on the Scheldt counted in the mid-16th century as the largest metropolis in the Low Countries, but when Huygens wrote the *Stede-stemmen* and *Dorpen*, its greatness – or so the narrative goes – had been eclipsed by Amsterdam. Below, I will argue, however, that there are reasons to regard Antwerp as an important rival of northern Dutch cities in Huygens' day, warranting such a comparison.

In the early 17th century Antwerp still retained much of its cultural prestige and it continued to be one of the few urban centers in the Low Countries which were highly praised for their cultural status by European humanist men-of-letters (cf. Borowski 2007: 142-147). During the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) Antwerp's economic situation improved to such a degree that its commercial elites, cooperating with the authorities of the Habsburg Netherlands, began contemplating an annexation of the Dutch Republic (cf. Israel 1998: 418-419). The Dutch Calvinists, a group to which Constantijn Huygens belonged, generally tended to regard Antwerp's slow but steady economic revival during the first two decades of the 17th century as a growing risk to the economic and political position of Holland and the remaining northern provinces. This was one of the reasons why throughout the 17th century Amsterdam's Calvinist merchants systematically insisted on a blockade of the Scheldt (cf. Israel 1998: 527-528). Dutch Protestants were also strongly suspicious of Antwerp's role as a center of the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation. In their view the southern metropolis was once again poised to become a powerful competitor of the Dutch Republic on the political and economic arena. Perhaps for this reason, the depiction of Antwerp in literary texts from the Northern Netherlands was far from positive: examples of a negative, stereotypical view of Antwerp include Gerbrand Adriaanszoon Bredero's comedy *Spaanschen Brabander* (1618) and Huygens' farce *Trijntje Cornelis* (1653). [27]

When Huygens wrote this encomium, the identities of Antwerp and The Hague could not have been more different. Antwerp was one of the oldest towns in the Netherlands. In 1612 it had some 54,000 inhabitants, so it still counted during this period as a true metropolis (cf. Israel 1998: 413-414). The Hague, by contrast, was not only an upstart which had not yet entirely shed its village-like

[27] Many of these arguments were formulated in political pamphlets. In *Practiicke vanden Spaenschen Raet* [The Practice of the Spanish Council], for instance, Huygens' mentor and Calvinist political ideologue François van Aerssen attacked humanist scholars Justus Lipsius and Erycius Puteanus for allegedly plotting to bring down the Dutch Republic (van Aerssen 1618, Lublin, BU KUL XVII.4055 adl.).

atmosphere, but compared to other major European cities it was still fairly small. Whereas, on the one hand, Antwerp represented the values of Roman Catholicism, Habsburg absolutism, and the baroque style in the arts, The Hague, on the other hand, stood for Protestantism, Dutch republicanism (according to the formula of *respublica mixta*), and the neoclassical style of architecture. So, at the risk of a certain oversimplification, one may assume for a moment that early-modern Antwerp and The Hague represented two different paradigms of religion, social order, statehood, and aesthetics.

If the last verse of Huygens' encomium is more than just a rhetorical flourish, then is it culturally and politically significant that the poem should end this way? Should we understand its final words in the context of a rivalry between the two paradigms mentioned above – or differently stated, in the light of political and cultural *Überbietung*? The 'North' *versus* the 'South'? The 'new' *versus* the 'old'? It is, inevitably, a matter that invites speculation and debate. Yet if we respond to at least the first of these questions in the affirmative, then there is reason to assume Huygens expressed in his poem a sentiment that he shared with many of his contemporaries: The Hague (standing 'pars pro toto' for the Dutch Republic) had 'outbid' Antwerp in its role as one of the finest metropolises of the Low Countries.

5. The Hague as a 'represented space' in an allegorical frontispiece by Jan Caspar Philips

A different literary and artistic representation of The Hague may be found in Jacob de Riemer's *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* [The Description of The Hague, 1730]. This large, two-volume work contains both prose texts and a number of poems. Opening the first volume, on the second leaf the reader comes across an allegorical frontispiece by Jan Caspar Philips (fig. 3). This etching is accompanied by a poem by Hendrik Schim (1695-1742) explaining its significance. Both the etching and the poem deserve closer scrutiny because of the interesting way in which they support the hypothesis that The Hague was undergoing a redefinition of its status in the literature and the pictorial arts of the 17th and 18th century.

Several elements capture the viewer's attention in this composition. The central area is occupied by four female figures and several *putti*. At the centre of the group of adult figures, we see Clio, the muse of History, seated at a writing table and brandishing a pen. Her head is turned away from the viewer, because she is looking at an unfolded map which the female figure standing closest to her left is holding in her hand. This second figure, Schim elucidates in his poem, is none

Fig. 3. An allegorical frontispiece by Jan Caspar Philips from Jacob de Riemer’s *Beschryving van ‘s Graven-hage* (1730).

other than “de Waerheit zelf” (“the Truth herself”) (De Riemer 1730: 1v.4). Her two remaining female companions (on the viewer’s right) embody the political program of the composition. The woman seated in the foreground represents, as Schim tells us, “Staetsbestiering” (De Riemer 1730: 1v.13), i.e. “Government.” She holds in her hand a bundle of arrows modelled after the Roman *fasces*, which were a symbol of the unity of the Dutch provinces (another, commonly-found expression of this unity was the Latin motto “Concordia res parvae crescunt”). The other female figure, standing closer to the background of the composition, is a personification of the ‘Golden Freedom’ (*Aurea Libertas*) (in Schim’s poem: “gulde Vryheit”, cf. De Riemer 1730: 1v.16). Her attribute is a staff with a so-called

'freedom hat,' the *vrijheidshoed*, which symbolized the republican aspirations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutchmen (cf. Schama 1997: 69, 99).

Two prominent areas in this composition compete for the viewer's attention no less than the figures themselves. One of these areas is the map to which the radiant figure of 'The Truth' is eagerly pointing. On this map a network of streets, suggestive of a city, is clearly displayed. The second area is placed to the viewer's left. There, the allegorical scenery opens up to reveal an urban landscape with a tree-lined lane, houses, and several church steeples. This appears to be a typical urban prospect of the kind displayed on the margins of maps, in ornamental cartouches, and in atlases. The viewer is quite obviously encouraged to identify these two spatial representations (both of which are part of the larger allegorical composition) with a city and with the same site, that is to say, The Hague. The text of Hendrik Schim's poem confirms this impression. The map, we are informed, shows "De nette gront […] van 't vorstlyk 's Gravenhaeg" ("The pleasing area of princely The Hague") (De Riemer 1730: 1v.5), whereas the vista on our left is identified as "De Haeg" (1v.25).

Jan Caspar Philips' allegorical composition, therefore, encourages the viewer to conclude that the two spaces – the prospect of The Hague, with its illusion of three-dimensionality (reality), and the two-dimensional, abstract form of a map – are, as a matter of fact, two mutually nonexclusive ways of describing and representing the same thing. Clio, engaged in writing, but also inspecting, pondering, and ordering her material, embodies the process of historical narration. She symbolizes the work that the urban historian or antiquarian has embarked upon; her task is to synthesize various representations of physical space in a systematic narrative. Clio also acts as an intermediary between the reader (or viewer) on the one hand, and various forms of verbal or iconographic representation of reality on the other (examples of the latter, such as the map, books, charts, documents, the architectural images brought to her by the putti, etc., are scattered throughout this scene).

How can one interpret the multiplication of spatial representations, including both 'real' and 'represented' space, of which Philips' allegorical composition invites us to become aware? A possible path of interpretation is presented in the semiotics of urban space developed in *The Production of Space* by Henri Lefebvre (1991), a French sociologist whose work has been recently heralded (e.g. by Günzel 2012) as representing a breakthrough in the study of cultural geography. What will be presented here is only a very cursory attempt to apply some elements of Lefebvre's theory, without going further into its merits or demerits, to a specific iconographic composition (this interpretation is also based in part on commentaries by Günzel (2012: 318) and Thompson-Fawcett (2003)).

According to Lefebvre, space, or rather what societies 'do' with spatial relations, should be understood in terms of a triad consisting of the following elements: 1) 'perceived space,' that is to say, the environment where the 'spatial practice' of society is enacted; by this term, Lefebvre implied the space traversed by everyday human experience, but also the space mapped and measured out by cartographers and geographers; 2) 'conceived space,' this is, in Lefebvre's words: "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists […] all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre 1991: 38). The last element, 3) 'representational' (or 'lived') space, comprises a space that is viewed no longer, as it were, from above, but from the inside, by each and every individual immersed in spatial relations, who makes an effort to understand, capture or express his or her own phenomenological experience of space by means of certain "more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs" (Lefebvre 1991: 39).

If one were to apply Lefebvre's spatial triad to Philips' etching, then it turns out that this image embodies different attempts at translating spatial experience (sometimes already mediated by language or by the visual arts) into a system of visual (iconic, symbolic or allegorical) signs, and therefore it may be called a 'representational space.' Within that composition, however, one can further distinguish the two areas which have been mentioned above. These two areas may be also tentatively described using Lefebvre's theory. The first one is the prospect of The Hague, an iconic image of 'perceived space,' the physical space known to the readers of Jacob de Riemer's work. Considered on its proper terms, however, that is to say, as an image and as the product of a system of signs created according to a specific artistic convention, this view may be identified with a 'representational space,' which is both "lived" and "appropriated" (after Lefebvre 1991: 39) by the draughtsman, his clients, and by the viewers of the picture. An additional element which suggests that we are dealing with a 'representational space' is the heraldic symbol of The Hague displayed on the monument that forms the backdrop to the allegorical scene.

The other important object in the allegorical scene devised by Philips is the map of The Hague. This map shows a 'perceived space' similarly as the prospect to the viewer's left, but at the same time, it is by itself a 'representation of space' governed by a code proper to the discipline of cartography, a "conceived space" which is abstract and virtual (also the architectural diagrams of buildings handled by the *putti* are, in this sense, 'representations of space'). However, this map is not yet (at this stage at least) an urban planner's vision, a model of what The Hague *should* look like, it is instead a representation of the *status quo*, but nevertheless it does have potentially important consequences for the future.

The allegorical mode of representation was most commonly used to articulate the identity of sites that had a valid claim to an urban or aristocratic identity. The very act of allegorizing, therefore, may be seen as reinforcing the pretentions of The Hague to being a city. [28] Additionally, the existence of different types of iconographic representations of The Hague in a single composition is in itself significant. Among other things, it draws attention to the fact that early-modern The Hague was a site that generated a diversity of spatial practices, perceptions and representations. Such diversity may be understood as typical of the experience of living in an urban environment. As Albrecht Classen (2009: 15) points out, the late-medieval and early-modern city was a space that invited and stimulated complex semiotic practices. The existence of different products and modes of representation, spatial complexity and high objective value, are likewise important determiners of urban space (Jałowiecki and Szczepański 2006: 317). Therefore, the multiplication of images depicting The Hague made the viewer acutely aware that the object of these representations was a city, and moreover, one that was at once complex, refined and invested with high value.

Urbanity, of course, was an important topic of Hendrik Schim's poem that accompanied Jan Caspar Philips' etching. Schim eulogized The Hague as "Den ring van Nederlant, de parel van de Steden" ('The ring of the Netherlands, the pearl of [Dutch] cities'). Like Huygens (1981: 70.1), Schim understood that The Hague's institutions had a significant role to play in 'weighing' the matters of state and striving for the 'common good' (*bonum commune*), even though this second objective was now expressed in terms of political 'interest': "De Haeg, de Stoel des Rechts, alwaer met duizent oogen / 't Belang van 't Algemeen doorzien wort en gewogen" (De Riemer 1730: 1v.25-26) ["The Hague, the Seat of Justice, where a thousand eyes / Seek to find – and weigh – where the Common Interest lies"]. Accompanied by Schim's poem, Philips' composition on the frontispiece allowed The Hague to be presented as already possessing many of the characteristics associated with the urban status that it aspired to attain.

6. Conclusions

No redefinition of status was available to the other villages in Constantijn Huygens' poetic cycle of rural encomia, the *Dorpen*. The non-urban status of these sites had become almost permanent (indeed, only very few villages in the Northern

[28] As an allegorical composition, J.C. Philips' frontispiece is no different from the tableaux employing groups of personified Arts, Virtues, etc., produced by other draftsmen and authors of *descriptiones urbium* and chorographies to express the identity actual cities. Cf. e.g. the allegorical frontispiece of Dirck van Bleyswijck's *Beschryvinge van Delft* [Description of Delft] (Van Bleyswijck 1667).

Netherlands, which had not been granted municipal rights during the Middle Ages, were able to obtain them before fall of the Dutch Republic in 1795). Only The Hague had any real potential to assume the urban identity that its commercial and intellectual elite felt that it truly deserved. In literature and the graphic arts, the identity of early-modern The Hague involved a constant dialogue with the concept of the city. The Hague's ambiguous status as a highly urbanized, and in particular, a very *urbane* '(non-) city,' was a crucial issue which was debated and rhetorically exploited by authors from the Netherlands in urban encomia as well as in *descriptiones urbium*. [29] In this respect, the literary representations of the identity of The Hague shed a light on the conceptual and aesthetic aspects of the depiction of urban space in the Low Countries, providing a point of contact for comparative research on early-modern representations of urban identity in other European literatures.

The discourse of identity that evolved around the paradoxical '(non-) urbanity' of The Hague also offers interesting evidence with regard to the notions of centrality and peripherality in early-modern Europe. The cultural geography of Renaissance Europe has been a special terrain of research by the eminent Scholar whose 70th Jubilee this Festschrift celebrates – Professor Andrzej Borowski. His seminal study *Pojęcie i problem Renesansu Północnego. Przyczynek do geografii historycznoliterackiej humanizmu renesansowego północnego* [The Concept and Problem of the Northern Renaissance. A Contribution to the Literary-Historical Geography of Northern Renaissance Humanism, 1987] identified the strategies by which various northern European cultures, which in the classical world-picture had been assigned a place among the 'barbaric' nations (*barbaricum*), strove to liberate themselves from the constraints of the peripheral position that had been imposed on them. One of the arguments of *Pojęcie i problem Renesansu Północnego* was that the northern cultures of Europe (including the Dutch and Polish), [30] successfully responded to the challenge of an imputed 'barbaric' and peripheral position by re-shaping their identity in such a way as to diminish the distance (*spatium*) that separated them from the Mediterranean area and its centre, the City of Rome (*Urbs*) and its civilization (Borowski 1987: 47-52). This detailed analysis of the complex "spatial myth of the 'renaissance' of antiquity" (Borowski 1987: 51) revealed the existence of many-aspectual relationships between notions of centrality and peripherality, and wider-scale issues such as the rhetoric of identity and the dynamics of cultural geography in renaissance Europe.

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[29] Besides the work of De Riemer (1730), discussed above, an earlier example of such a text is a rhymed *urbs descriptio* by Jacob van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage met de voornaemste plaetsen* [The Hague with Its Finest Places] (Van der Does 1668).

[30] One should not understand Polish culture during the early-modern period in an all too narrowly defined ethnic or linguistic sense. For the multi-national identity of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the early-modern period, cf. Borowski (2007: 35-38).

It is interesting to see, therefore, how on a local scale similar cultural aspirations manifested themselves in Constantijn Huygens' portrayal of The Hague. One may mention here, among other things, the political ideal of service to the common good (*bonum commune communitatis*) in a republican state based on the classical model (*res publica*), reflections on the status of nature in relation to an urban environment, and the cultural ideal of behaviour infused by the values and spirit of *urbanitas* or *civilitas*. The renaissance-humanist "rhetoric of space" (Borowski 1987: 52) was of demonstrable significance for Dutch authors and artists who sought to achieve a redefinition of The Hague's peripheral and non-urban status. The model of spatial geography developed by Borowski (1987) provides us with a methodology which allows us to better situate Huygens' work, that of other authors and artists dealing with the identity of The Hague during the early-modern period, and the culture of the Dutch Golden Age in general, within the larger framework of a renaissance-humanist reinterpretation of Latin civilization.

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