



BRILL

Public and private life in the art of Pieter de Hooch

Author(s): Martha Hollander

Source: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 51, WOONCULTUUR IN DE NEDERLANDEN / THE ART OF HOME IN THE NETHERLANDS 1500-1800 (2000), pp. 272-293

Published by: Brill

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24706499>

Accessed: 11-04-2020 12:28 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Brill is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*



Public and private life in the art of Pieter de Hooch

Martha Hollander

In the quiet corner of a city, two women are working in the courtyard of a house (fig. 1). A servant carries a pitcher and bucket, squinting in the sun's glare and walking toward the low cellar door of a house. Just in front of her, another woman sits at a spinning wheel. The servant stands between two rectangular patches of sunlight; the other woman, presumably her mistress, faces away from the viewer and towards another arched doorway (echoing the door to the cellar) through the courtyard wall. Her head and shoulders fit squarely within a panel of the wall to the side, which in turns demarcates a space precisely between the distant towers of the Nieuwe Kerk and the old Amsterdam Town Hall. The pattern of rectangles continues in the open windows of the house at the left, and of the other house behind the courtyard, whose gables and chimneys further echo the public buildings behind them.

This picture is typical of the dozen or so courtyard scenes that Pieter De Hooch painted in the late 1650s and early 1660s, early in his career in Delft and Amsterdam (see fig. 5 in Wayne Franits' article in this Yearbook). The outdoor domestic activities depicted in this scene, surrounded by houses and streets, were obviously common in seventeenth-century Holland but had never been explicitly represented. While family life was becoming a common subject for seventeenth-century Dutch artists, De Hooch was the first artist to set such images of domesticity in courtyards. These courtyard scenes, De Hooch's most significant invention, reveal an outdoor area mediating between the private enclave of the household and its public setting, which he alludes to with glimpses of streets, canals, and neighboring buildings. While such scenes are few in number in his oeuvre, they underline in particular De Hooch's abiding interest in the interaction between domestic life and the outer world of the city enclosing it. Likewise, his far more numerous interior scenes nearly always open to a street or garden glimpsed through a door, window, or passageway. This permeability of the boundary between home and city suggests a harmony and exchange between the two worlds, reflecting notions of family and community that characterize the emergence of privacy in early modern urban culture.

The courtyard itself, which so captured De Hooch's imagination, was a mainstay of seventeenth-century Dutch house design. Given the lack of lateral space available for building, and the narrowness of most lots, the courtyard developed as a means of extending usable space beyond the house walls. These walled enclaves might occur in the middle of the house, sepa-

detail

Pieter De Hooch, *A letter delivered in a voorhuis*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: © Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam).

I

Pieter de Hooch, *Two women in a courtyard*. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (photo: The Royal Collection © 2000).



rating the *voorhuis* or all-purpose front room from the rear *achterhuis*, which from the late sixteenth century onward usually included the kitchen. Alternatively, courtyards could be placed at the side or back of the house, sometimes leading to a garden through a doorway in the wall and surrounded by neighboring houses.

As is typical of vernacular architecture, courtyards developed in a haphazard fashion through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; toward the end of this period, house design became more uniform. This was largely due to the efforts of the influential architect Philips Vingboons, working from the 1630s to the mid-1670s, whose house designs for well-to-do Amsterdam merchants ingeniously standardized the structure typical of urban dwellings by mid-century. The first architect to publish his designs, he created forms which could be adapted to houses of any size or shape. His *Afbeeldsels* (1648; first reprinted in 1665 as *Gronden en afbeeldsels*, including the plans) displayed all types of houses, which his wealthy Amsterdam patrons could order or customize as they chose.¹

Vingboons' most significant achievement was his emphasis on transitional spaces that would demarcate different areas of the house. One such design shows a courtyard between two small transitional areas at the back of a house (fig. 2). This is a variation on a frequently-used design now often referred to as the Vingboons-type: on the main floor the *voorhuis* opened directly to the street, while another large room extended behind it. This would then be followed by an inner courtyard or *binnenplaats*, followed by the *achterhuis*, usually including the kitchen and extending to a back garden. This inner courtyard was particularly useful since it let in extra light (always at a premium) between the *voorhuis* and *achterhuis*, both of which had windows.

The Vingboons-type was very popular not only throughout Amsterdam, but in other cities such as Rotterdam and Leiden. In another variation, the *voorhuis* and *achterhuis* are separated by a staircase while the courtyard is placed behind the house, providing a transition between the interior and the garden or the wall of the neighboring house. This back-courtyard design was often adapted for modestly sized houses, where its presence was as much functional as aesthetic. In the expensive, narrow lots available for building in fast-growing Dutch cities, the back courtyard provided a useful space for rough household chores, privies, and outdoor entertainment.

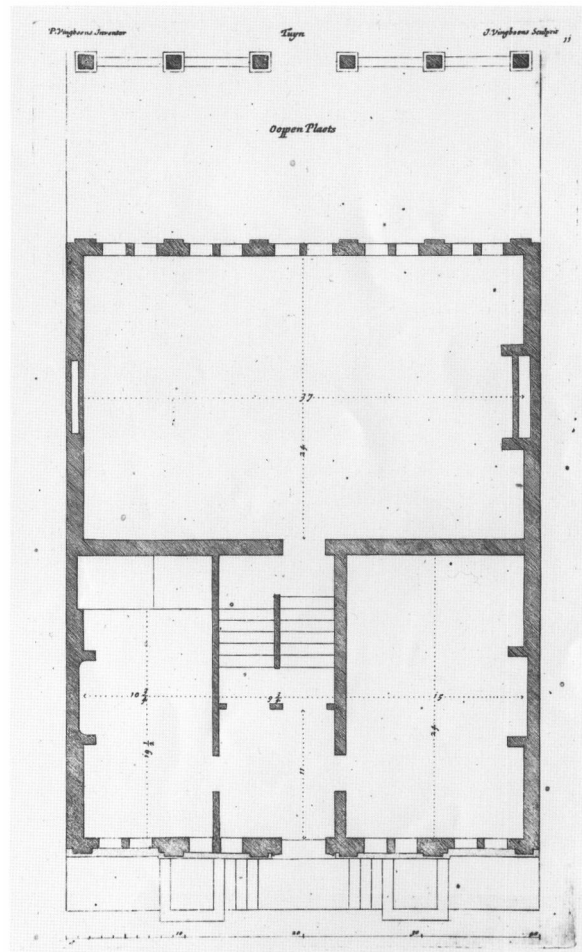
De Hooch's courtyard settings are based on the old houses in the quiet Delft neighborhood where his wife was living at the time of their marriage. The houses here were typical sixteenth-century structures. After a catastrophic fire in 1536, much of the inner city of Delft had to be rebuilt. From 1572 to the mid-1650s this rebuilding was in its final phase; many houses were completely rebuilt from the foundations, while some others were partially restored and given new additions. Many of the Delft courtyards developed during this period. Sometimes houses had stories or side sections added. Sometimes, reflecting the influence of Vingboons' designs, they were expanded in the rear with a new *achterhuis* behind an inner courtyard, which would be connected to the *voorhuis* by a covered walkway or a corridor. Seventeenth-century paintings of Delft houses such as De Hooch's reveal these later alterations; very few of the original details (except, perhaps, the leaded windows) survive.²

The courtyard first appears in one of his earliest domestic interiors, where a woman is preparing vegetables in a room at the back of a house, probably a kitchen (fig. 3). A little girl appears to have just come in from outside, holding a *kolfclub* as she walks by. The woman is seated in front of a shelf nestled beneath a spiral staircase, which rises behind and above her, illuminated by a small window. With the doorway to this staircase there begins a progression of orthogonals leading the eyes outside into the courtyard and the small shed beyond. This door is echoed by the second door that gives out onto a courtyard, where another woman is walking away from us toward a small shed (where a third door lies open, this time in the reverse direction). These three doorways are supplemented with the series of windows at the upper level; glimpsed through the main windows is the window of the neighboring house behind the shed, with its conspicuous red shutters. The woman and child in the foreground are in shadow, while the other woman, in bright light, turns away. While these human presences are contingent, the picture's true subject is the architectural space itself, punctuated with an assemblage of rectilinear forms such as doors and windows, receding smoothly to the outdoors, and culminating in the whitewashed walls of the house next door. Characteristically, De Hooch creates a point of access, a pathway for the viewer through the house to the outside (courtyard or street), paradoxically at the 'back' of the picture itself. The viewer is permitted an imaginary walk through the house. Scenes such as this are imaginary glimpses of the life behind the walls of a familiar neighborhood, their intimacy vouchsafed to us.

Quite aside from his imaginative revisions of local houses, De Hooch's preoccupation with outside access in interiors is, to some degree, related to

2

Philips Vingboons, Floorplan of an Amsterdam house, from *Gronden en afbeeldsels der voornaamste gebouwen van alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft*, Amsterdam, 1688. Art & Architecture Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Arts, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



the general artistic interest at mid-century in accurate spatial description. His logical analysis of space was probably influenced by artists' experiments of the mid 1650s, particularly in Delft.³ Carel Fabritius, for example, had been executing perspective studies as early as the late 1640s, while Vermeer was developing his formula for carefully articulated interiors throughout the later 1650s and early 1660s.⁴ By the early 1650s, the architectural painters Gerard Houckgeest, Emanuel De Witte, and Jan van Vliet were creating meticulous descriptions of church interiors, both real and imaginary.

The specific connections between these artists and De Hooch, who had arrived in Delft from Rotterdam by 1650, are not clear. Documentation of his life is relatively scanty, particularly for the crucial period he spent in Delft before leaving for Amsterdam in 1660.⁵ Nonetheless, his pictures reveal similar experiments with composition and lighting, and especially with architectural space. Like Fabritius, he preferred the expressive effects of a bright, light-toned palette and broad brushstrokes. Like Vermeer, he chose for his interiors a side-window format and expanses of tiled floor. Like De Witte, whose work he encountered in Amsterdam, he often organized his scenes with a deep perspective scheme. His work also shows similarities with

that of other artists who may have had connections with Delft. From his years of study in Rotterdam, De Hooch probably knew the work of Ludolf de Jongh, who in the 1650s produced some garden and *voorhuis* scenes using the effects of interlocking interior and exterior spaces.⁶ With the Leiden painter Isaac Koedijk he shared an interest in juxtaposing different scales in the foreground and background, by including tiny figures appearing in windows and doorways at the edges of their works.⁷

Nonetheless, more than any of his contemporaries, De Hooch was deeply engaged with problems of spatial complexity, opening his settings to further rooms or exterior spaces and imposing a geometric precision on the image as a whole. It is apparent from *pentimenti* that his working method was to sketch out and paint the architectural structures, then to add the figures over them as if they were staffage. This technique, which De Hooch borrowed from the Delft architectural painters, reveals an intense preoccupation with the complexities of architectural space that went beyond his interest in its human inhabitants.

De Hooch had begun his career painting guardroom and tavern scenes, then switched to domestic scenes, which were just becoming popular as an independent genre. With this change in subject matter came a new approach to space: while a few of his dimly-lit, rather poorly defined tavern interiors reveal some initial exploration of spatial complexity, he began opening up his domestic interiors with views through windows and doorways. By about 1656 he started his first courtyard scenes. All in all he did only about twenty exterior scenes set in courtyards or gardens, and a couple of street scenes, mostly early in his career. Once he moved to Amsterdam in 1660-61, he stopped painting courtyard scenes and settled down to interiors for the re-



³
Pieter de Hooch, *A woman preparing vegetables, with a child*. Louvre, Paris
(photo: © RMN/Art Resource).

maining twenty or so years of his career. (There are a few exceptions: these are grander courtyards or manicured gardens, reflecting the greater affluence of Amsterdam art buyers.)

The interiors – largely genre scenes and a few formal portraits – reveal a remarkable variety of experiments in composition and lighting. Almost without exception these interiors feature some form of secondary space, usually a view to the outside. We see rooms with views from the right, from the left, out open windows, through doorways; sometimes we see a window from the side, which offers no view but lets in an invasive patch of sunlight. The views themselves vary from mere sky to a street, or another room, either facing outside or inward to the rest of the house, and, in one spectacular instance, a canal where there looms the prow of a small ship.⁸ He rarely leaves the background of a picture unexplored, or a back wall unpenetrated. Of the one hundred and sixty-odd paintings currently attributed to De Hooch, only about twelve do not feature his standard formula of a *doorsien* to a back room, a courtyard, a garden, or a street. His interest in the penetration, or rather expansion, of the domestic interior appears to have stayed with him throughout his often troubled career.⁹ Just as De Hooch's interiors reveal access to the immediate outdoors, his courtyards offer glimpses of the larger world of the city: neighboring houses, streets and canals and, sometimes, as in Figure 1, public buildings in the distance.

The local urban references De Hooch incorporates into his pictures are, in a sense, his alternative to the popular genre of the city view. Images of particular cities had long been the subject of prints, in the form of topographical views and commemorative pictures of public buildings. Around the middle of the century, painters responded to the new market for 'portraits' of particular buildings, streets, squares and neighborhoods.¹⁰ (Delft artists appear to have taken the lead, producing views of streets in the early 1650s.) Instead of painting cityscapes, De Hooch referred to the city surrounding his more intimately scaled interiors and exteriors. By transferring his domestic scenes to an outdoor setting, he essentially transformed the courtyard into a version of the *voorhuis*.

While most of the courtyard scenes show figures who are fairly close to the picture plane, De Hooch also painted two exterior scenes in a 'middle view', where the figure are smaller in relation to the architecture. In *Woman and child in bleaching ground*, he makes a public urban space look as intimate as a courtyard (fig. 4). A woman lays out linen in spacious yard surrounded by the outer walls of two courtyards. A door in the wall just behind the woman, framing her head, reveals a couple standing together. These walls thus give an idea of what De Hooch's courtyard scenes would look like from the outside. A little girl with a toy at her feet watches the woman laying out linen, standing at some distance behind her. Further back, beyond the figure of the child, a man comes into view from the street; his figure is framed precisely by the walls of the foreground and background courtyards, and by the wall around the Oude Kerk appearing just above his head. By adding the towers of the Nieuwe Kerk (somewhat shifting its orientation to do so), De Hooch reinforces the sense of a familiar urban space that is nonetheless scaled down and domesticated by the presence of the figures and the scene's quiet emptiness.¹¹



4
Pieter De Hooch, *Woman and child in a bleaching ground*. Private collection, England.

The tiny figures of the man in the street and the couple in the courtyard, circumscribed by the complex architectural elements arising from this idiosyncratic viewpoint, offer public, anonymous counterparts to the intimate scene of woman and child in the foreground. In the context of town views, which are either devoid of figures or depict crowds of small figures in large open spaces, De Hooch's picture is an odd mixture of closeness and distance. People and buildings are in close proximity; the figures are reasonably large, yet far enough away from the picture's imaginary viewpoint to remain anonymous. (De Hooch painted another small-scale street scene, known only through a now lost drawing, which achieves the same effect.)¹² Such pictures, revealing an odd mixture of closeness and distance, resemble the intimate glimpses of Haarlem streets occasionally painted by Gerrit Berckheyde, and the townscapes of Jacobus Vrel.¹³ De Hooch also chose not to paint market scenes, a popular subject representing the intersection of urban and domestic life. He alludes to, rather than describes, the openness and bustle of the city. These images have an oddly subdued quality, revealing only a single corner of the city with the familiar landmarks of public build-

ings, or the anonymous sides of houses. Anchoring his scenes in familiar localities, he meticulously places the human figures within the web of architectural structures that form the modern Dutch city.

De Hooch's use of the town view is also grounded in the tradition of Netherlandish religious art. Fifteenth-century paintings often featured a vignette of a familiar world (actual cities or imaginary lookalikes) through a window or doorway behind the sacred scene. The appearance in such scenes of a locale familiar to artist and patrons alike reinforced the argument for the presence of the sacred in everyday life, and, therefore, better involved the viewer in meditation.¹⁴ In Petrus Christus's illustration of a scene from the life of St. Eligius, a couple approaches the saint in his goldsmith's workshop (fig. 5). While the figures are shown in half-length, occupying most of the rather intimate interior of the shop, a tiny convex mirror on the worktable reveals a street scene outside, somewhat to the left of the viewer's own space. The mirror, slightly cracked at one edge, may function as an allegory of vanity and imperfection. At the same time, the two elegant men in the street stand before a row of modest buildings resembling the *béguines* of Bruges, a sight familiar to the painter and his corporate patrons.¹⁵ Minutely and convincingly described, the worldly sphere is endowed with sacred meaning; conversely, the sacred becomes particularized by taking place in a familiar setting. In De Hooch's courtyard scenes, this mode of religious association is transformed into a modern secular idiom, establishing a link between domestic life and its urban environment.

The endless vignettes of households set in the anchoring context of the outer world largely feature women and children. Many scholars have noted that these images reverberate with the prevailing moral tone of the day.¹⁶ The Calvinist view of daily life focused on the household as the ideal training-ground for one's moral and spiritual life.¹⁷ Despite the equality and companionship stressed in the Calvinist marriage, there remained a clear-cut distinction between woman's and man's place within the family. Indeed, Dutch moralistic literature on the family, as well as architectural and political theory, did much to champion the concept of a distinction between familial and public life. At the same time, these writers were especially concerned with emphasizing gender distinctions, often in architectural terms. The household was the domain of women, while men were expected to engage with their external environment: the street, the tavern, the Stock Exchange.¹⁸ This concept of gender distinction through space (women are soft and timid, therefore they belong indoors; men, being stronger, should go forth into the world to protect their families) has a venerable history. Expressions of this idea appear in Alberti's 5th Book of *De re aedificatoria*, which in turn combines late medieval concepts of the home with fragments of classical sources such as Aristotle and Xenophon's *Oeconomia*. According to this line of thinking, the role of architecture is to contain and thereby preserve the natural state of women.¹⁹

Dutch authors also referred to the Pauline epistles to support the notion of wifely submission, or alluded to Aristotle regarding the division of women's and men's work inside and outside the house. Jacob Cats remarks in *Houwelijk*, his poetic guide to young women on getting married, that 'the man must go about his affairs on the street, while his wife must keep watch in



5
Petrus Christus, *St. Eligius in his workshop*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

the house, in the kitchen'.²⁰ Similarly, Johan van Beverwijck, in his encomium to the female sex, *Van de uytmentheyt des vrouwelicken geslachts*, quotes the kind of homiletic poetry that Cats himself might have written on the subject: 'Man, all outside work is your affair; and all that occurs indoors is your wife's'.²¹ Such specific architectural expression of gender differences appears elsewhere, as in the work of the Flemish architect and engineer Simon Stevin, who combined classical ideas of strict organization and demarcation of space with modern practical solutions for light, heat and plumbing. Stevin articulated the boundaries between the house and the street in terms of masculine and feminine roles. The woman's domain explicitly includes the front door, which she guards carefully as chief custodian of the family dwelling. Stevin and Willem Goeree also establish sexual segregation *within* the house, demarcating spatial boundaries with walls and corridors to ensure that 'masculine' and 'feminine' areas are separate.²²

The association of women with houses had been suggested in visual art as early as the fifteenth century in the Master of Flémalle's *Méroude altarpiece* (Metropolitan Museum, New York), where the traditional Annunciation chamber is visualized as a bourgeois home, a specifically feminine environ-

ment dominated by the Virgin Mary. This link between women and domestic life, expressed through architectural form, is unusually explicit in De Hooch's pictures. With the obvious exception of family portraits, his domestic scenes are nearly all portrayals of women, often accompanied by children, usually little girls. The men who do appear are more or less transient; sometimes they are reduced to small figures in the distance, or even portraits on the walls. Houses, courtyards, and occasional small streets form the serene, circumscribed domain of these industrious housewives and maids. In keeping with the Dutch moralists' views about familial education, these women are also exemplary models for the little girls who so often accompany them.

Yet these pictures, as his courtyard scenes demonstrate so explicitly, open the domestic realm to its urban (masculine) context. This contiguity of

6

Pieter De Hooch, *Interior with two women beside a linen chest*.

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: © Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam).



interior and exterior spaces suggests a more fluid relationship between the feminine world of domesticity and the masculine, outer world of commerce, action and influence. To some extent this is evident in the workings of everyday Dutch urban life: Dutch women, after all, were not sequestered in their homes but almost uniquely among European women did their own shopping, as numerous market scenes dominated by women register.²³ De Hooch appears particularly canny in his representations of doorways, indicating the passage between indoors and out. In a rather grand interior from his early Amsterdam years, two women are calmly putting linen away in a large cabinet, while a little girl runs inside with her *kolf* club (fig. 6). She is silhouetted in the doorway, with a *contre-jour* effect that was one of De Hooch's specialties. Significant in this elegant yet affectionate picture is the distinction between the sunlit exterior and the somewhat dimly lit house, where the women hold sway. Over the doorway is a statue of Perseus, a copy of Cellini's famous statue in Florence; the jaunty set of his limbs echoes the pose of the lively little girl below. Its presence here may be De Hooch's response to the fashion for neoclassical elements of decor in Amsterdam's elegant private houses. At the same time, placed just above access to the street and canal outside, the statue is a surrogate for the absent man of the house.

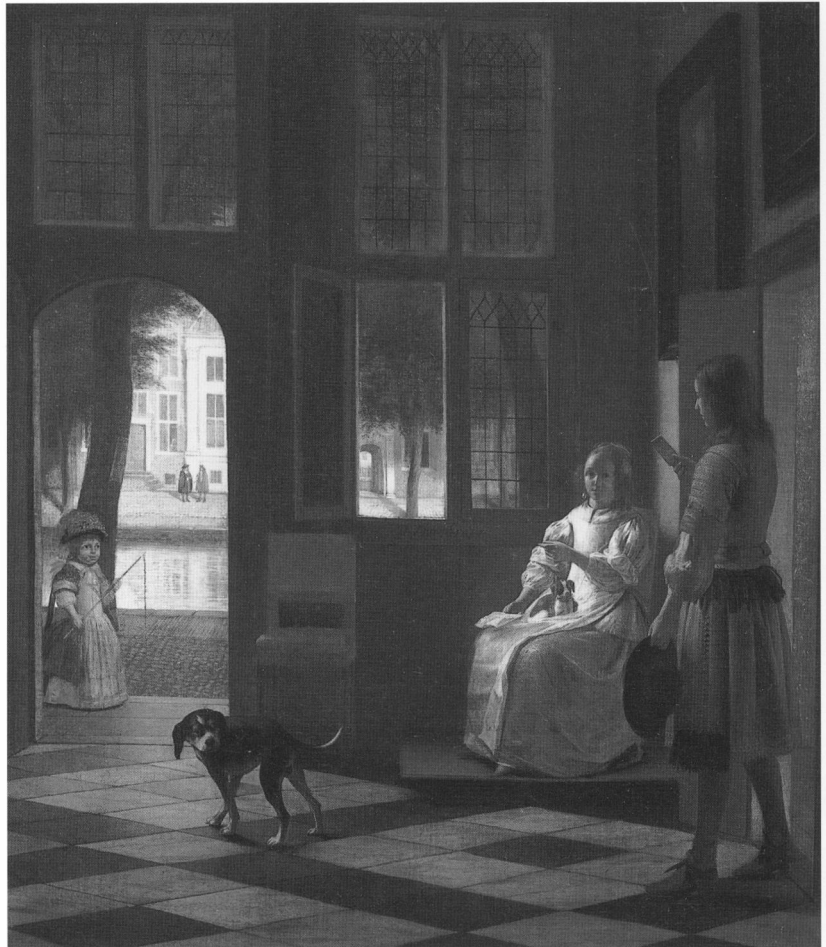
The doorway to the right reveals the *voorhuis* behind it, which in turn affords a view of the canal and street beyond. These suggestively open double doors of the *voorhuis* have just admitted the little girl, who runs inside still playing her game of *kolf*. The door to the main room directly abuts the spiral staircase, another transitional space in the house. The dark interior is pierced with a brightly lit vista through the doorway of the canal, street and house beyond. This lighting distinction reflects actual lighting conditions in Dutch houses, which were fairly dark despite their tall windows.²⁴

The link between women and houses also appears in scenes relating to courtship. Many of these scenes take place in the *voorhuis*, the front part of a house, which offered direct access to the street and hence functioned as a transitional space. It is easy to see why the *voorhuis* becomes a favored setting for De Hooch and his contemporaries. This area of the house is utterly generic. Sometimes a workspace, sometimes for visits, simultaneously public and private, it is a gateway to the deeper interior, the upstairs rooms, and the street.

Many of De Hooch's interiors display this room's transitional character. *A woman and a young man with a letter* shows a woman sitting by a window in a *voorhuis* with the door opening directly onto a tree-lined cobbled street bordering a canal (fig. 7). The woman holds an opened letter and addresses a young man, presumably a messenger, who holds another letter as he stands in the foreground. The scene is somewhat ambiguous: has he just entered the house in from the street with a letter, and is turning to face her? Or has he come through the second door at the right, leading to another room in the house, awaiting her instructions? Is she reading a letter she has received, or that she herself has written? (In fact, the presence of the child – probably a boy, to judge from the hat – standing with a toy just outside the door, is puzzling. This is clearly not a scene about the virtues and pleasures of domestic work; the woman holds a lapdog rather than a basket of vegetables or an embroidery cushion. Yet the child remains, as if imported from such a

7

Pieter De Hooch, *A letter delivered in a voorhuis*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: © Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam).



scene.) Dominating the activity, however, is the extraordinary contrast De Hooch has set up between the dark *voorhuis* and the delicately lit street and canal immediately accessible through the open door. Regardless of the precise situation, this is where the messenger is going, as her gesture indicates. The two dogs reinforce the dual nature of the interior and exterior worlds in this scene. The small dog curled in her lap is often associated in genre scenes with flirtation.²⁵ The larger dog is wandering outside, looking behind as if guiding the messenger to the street where the world beckons. Across the canal we glimpse the sunny facades of two houses, in front of which two men are in conversation. The open window next to the woman's chair reveals an archway and a large tree further along the street. Scenes of women writing, reading or receiving letters often include references to the outside 'masculine' world from which the letter comes. These take the form of pictures on the walls such as maps, seascapes, landscapes, or views outside windows. De Hooch rather ironically displays the scene's only picture on the right wall, where we cannot see it; instead, he opens up the house itself to the brightly lit city outside.

The motif of the open door in courtship scenes predates this picture by at least thirty years. Illustrations in both Cats' *Sinne- en minnebeelden* of 1618 and Jan Harmensz. Krul's *Pampiere wereld* of 1644 show women in interiors, reading and writing letters, while a man enters through the doorway (in the Krul emblem, he is greeted by a second woman). 'Merry company' scenes from the mid-1630s often include an open door, sometimes with a man standing there. In an engraving by Gillis van Breen after Esaias van de Velde, a man hands money to a prostitute while the door behind them admits a flood of light.

The door in such pictures as these appears to suggest the sexual availability of women: just as a door is always open to intruders, a woman's body is open to penetration. This misogynist woman-as-house metaphor gained popularity in the sixteenth century.²⁶ Such literal and figurative openness is the obverse of the benign masculine presence evoked by the same open door in De Hooch's domestic scenes. The use of the motif for both subjects suggests an overlapping, even a confusion, of these two traditional aspects of femininity. The intimate space of the interior provides both homely security and worldly pleasure, sometimes within the same picture. In general, the world of women is portrayed as an interior world open to masculine influence. The appeal of such pictures surely owed much to the delicate balance between their refined atmosphere and their erotic undercurrent. This ambiguity was particularly apt in a culture that condemned explicit sexual imagery.²⁷

Thus, while moralistic writers focused on the appropriate masculine and feminine spaces of world and home, De Hooch's pictures, among others, reveal the permeability of their borders.²⁸ His work visualizes the gender dichotomy of house and street but emphasizes the way in which the two environments are linked. The interior, feminine spaces of the domestic world are rarely isolated or hermetic, but open to the surrounding buildings, streets, skies and canals. Rooms open out to distant views. Gables and church spires appear in the background, outside windows. Doors and gates remain open; the sunlight streams in across the polished floors. Men, women and children join in the interaction between household spaces and those of the surrounding neighborhood.

De Hooch's insistence on expanding his interior spaces to the world beyond them suggests a fluid continuum, rather than strict separation, between the family unit and its larger environment. His pictures evoke a more interdependent relationship between the home and its environment than the prescriptions of domestic literature would suggest. While women are at ease in the domain of house and courtyard, the masculine outer world is not only visible but accessible, literally just a step away.

The interaction between home and the town described in De Hooch's contiguous spaces evokes the emerging concept of private life. In seventeenth-century Holland, the house expressed both public display and private withdrawal, the benefit of worldly achievement and the arena of familial harmony. As the realm of the family, which was seen as the chief mold of citizens, the house was therefore a place of moral and spiritual growth. At the same time, the house was an obvious index of social and economic success: a commodity, a direct way of manifesting distinction and wealth. William

Temple responded to this notion in his travel diary, claiming that all the money the Dutch could spare was 'laid out in the fabric, adornment, or furniture of their houses... [which] have not only the riches of a family, but contribute much towards the public beauty and honour of a country'.²⁹ The house functioned as a medium of self-display and, metaphorically, as a vehicle for asserting one's individual and civic identity. As is evident from travel accounts like Temple's, the all but fetishistic passion for household maintenance became one of the most enduring stereotypes about Dutch life.³⁰

Along with the notion of a private household, as distinct from public environments such as the street, the market, and the church, there developed a sense of the personal within this private environment. This concept of privacy has been described by historians on the evidence of new forms of architecture and literature. The prolific literature on family life and the idea of the house as the physical center of a family's nourishment and status describe an environment set apart from that of the street, the inn, the council chamber, or the court. This new emphasis on a life separate from that of the community has been considered a general phenomenon of European culture between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Jürgen Habermas has analyzed the distinction between the 'private' sphere of the community and the 'intimate' sphere of bourgeois family life at its heart. Analogous to this splitting of environments is the retreat into individuality, the proliferation of etiquette books – that is, guides for the formation of a personal identity – as well as the gradual specialization of rooms in houses.³¹ The cultivation of personal separateness emerges from an awareness of a defined and categorized social order: the self, the home, the street, the church, and so on. During the second half of the twentieth century, historians of the family called attention to what Philippe Ariès once called a 'centrifugal' impulse of socializing, and at the same time, a society turning inward from state and community to fill a need for emotional closeness within the home. Their chief evidence takes the form of books on the etiquette of family and social life, which proliferated throughout Europe from the late sixteenth century onward. According to this view, the notion of regulating and codifying behavior, that is, distinguishing oneself from others within any number of social environments, bespeaks a new acknowledgment of the individual actor within and outside the home, and an awareness of the consequences of his behavior.³²

Yet during the seventeenth century, the actual distinctions between family and civic life (as opposed to the distinction between self and others) were less clear-cut than these modern theorists would have it. Furthermore, the Dutch household was not strictly the feminine domain prescribed by moralist writers on family life. Although domestic interior scenes are often cited as evidence for the notion that Dutch art 'invented' a language for private life, the complex nature of these images suggests instead that the concept of a privacy separate from the experience of the public realm was not yet entirely defined.³³ The issue of privacy was beginning to be addressed in Dutch house design, where provisions could be made to demarcate functional from recreational spaces, for example, or servants from employers. (His idealism notwithstanding, Stevin's concern for boundaries within the

household, and his practical suggestions for maintaining them, exemplifies this new architectural interest.) Yet the Dutch household was not yet fully the 'intimate sphere' described by Habermas. This bourgeois romantic paradigm of the household as both place of refuge and the site of all intimate (and inner) life was not fully established until the beginning of the nineteenth century, even if its emergence can be sensed in the Dutch Republic.

The issue of privacy in seventeenth-century Holland was invoked in part with the very existence of prescriptive literature regarding the home and its vital importance in the spiritual growth of citizens. That is, the experience of domesticity is a concept essentially developed in books like those of Cats and van Beverwijck. Yet their rather strictly defined concepts of home and the world are quite different from what we see in the pictures, which were admired for their beauty and skilled idealizations of everyday life rather than required for moral guidance, as was the literature. Thus, rather than claiming that Dutch artists invented private life, one might say, instead, that artists like De Hooch were inventing a language to articulate the emergence of the concept 'private life'.

More revealing than literature for our purposes, and especially in a culture so profoundly visual, are not only the paintings themselves, which offer fascinating and complex articulations of this transitional period, but developments in vernacular architecture. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, residential building in England and Europe underwent a gradual but crucial transformation. Increasingly, functional spaces such as the kitchen became segregated from living spaces. The home was still a communal space but could also allow for the isolation of particular activities from one another.³⁴ Philips Vingboons's designs, which situate the courtyard between the kitchen and the more formal activities of the *voorhuis*, reveal even as they codify the growing concern with partitioning activities and creating transitional areas between them.

It is telling that this tendency toward the demarcation of specific spaces for use by certain individuals coincides with the proliferation of books on family life and social etiquette. The focus on the importance of home life and its implied distinction from society at large, expressed in texts on marriage and the family, was congruent with a gradual distinction of areas of experience *within* the home. The concept of privacy in terms of domestic space was probably on the minds of architects, but expressed through their designs rather than in writing, as Vingboons' successful publications can attest. Two revealing passages are interesting exceptions. In his 1590 political treatise *Het burgherlijke leven* Simon Stevin remarks of the ideal middle-class house that '[...] the *voorsael* serves as the common place for the whole household, as well as for strangers coming inside to speak to anyone in the house. In order to do so, one should not have to go through the room where the master of the house is speaking to someone alone; or through the bedroom, where the master or his wife are still in bed; or through the dining-room, where one sits at table to keep the kitchen free'.³⁵ Similarly, Henry Wotton, writing in his 1624 *Elements of architecture*, speaks disapprovingly of the current European fashion for aligning doorways so that whole vistas of rooms could be seen at once. Not only is this a sign of vanity and excess, he says, but allows no room for 'galleries [*i.e.* corridors] and rooms of Retreat'.³⁶

Nonetheless, this developing concern with separation of activities within the household was an extremely gradual process, and far behind the ideals of professional and theoretical architects. Studies of seventeenth-century Dutch household inventories show that rooms did not usually have specialized functions; they could be used indiscriminately for eating, sleeping, socializing, and storage. The *voorhuis*, which often ran the width of the house, and the kitchen, more than simply a place for preparing and storing food, were like generalized living spaces. Accordingly, the names of rooms in household inventories are inconsistent and rather ad-hoc, usually referring to position such as 'back room' (*achterkamer*) and 'upstairs room' (*bovenkamer*). Some terms, like *slaepkamer* and *eetkamer*, are not found in inventories until the 1670s and 80s, when the *voorhuis* and the kitchen shrank and became more specialized. By the eighteenth century, they were commonplace. In his diary of 1711, Simon van der Kooij describes his childhood house as having several beds in every room: 'Remarkably, there was a bed in the living room (*woonkamer*), never used as such, but it had probably been here from time immemorial'. Thus by this date, living rooms and bedrooms were considered separate entities.

These changes in the design of the domestic interior took place very gradually. In the late 1650s, when De Hooch was first making his mark, all but the grandest domestic interiors would have been generally communal. Accordingly, the visual depiction of the early modern house describes this long transitional phase from a dwelling as a generic environment for business and family matters alike, to the more fully private partitioned space of the eighteenth century. During the seventeenth century the house was often a nexus of domestic and professional activity. Artisans and painters, of course, worked at home. Likewise, while there were still merchants who accompanied the transport of their own goods, many more maintained a fixed abode in the Netherlands and also worked at home as agents.³⁷

The prevalent domestic urban structure was the *koopmanshuis* or merchant's house, which combined business and residence in a single dwelling. In the arrangement standard throughout most of the century, a section or all of the *voorhuis* was often used as a business area sometimes in addition to a living space; if the house were large enough, living areas would go in the back and storage areas on upper levels. Yet in most middle-class houses these living areas were still multipurpose, used indiscriminately for eating, sleeping, work, socializing, and storage. (Vingboons' designs were versatile enough to accommodate these varied uses; the early editions of his *Gronden en afbeeldsels*, first published in 1648, used only the most generic names for rooms.) It was only at the end of the century that the business area began to be moved to the back, while the *voorhuis* was reduced to a mere vestibule.

While the house structure and uses of rooms show a transition from medieval to modern, from communal to private, these pictures by De Hooch articulate this transitional phase as a mutual accessibility of interior and exterior. The still-transitional domestic space of the *voorhuis*, and more explicitly the courtyard, is not only still for multiple uses but incorporates the street and city beyond within its walls. This incorporation can be seen frequently, though less obsessively, in the work of De Hooch's contemporaries. Ludolf de Jongh experimented with elegant genre scenes set in the

spacious gardens of country houses. Clearly interested in the interplay between nature and the decorous pursuits of affluent landowners, he uses these gardens instead of elaborate interiors as the settings for aristocratic leisure.³⁸ Dutch artists often referred naturalistically to the intersection of household and community by using home furnishings and interior design to allude to the world outside the house walls. The picture-within-a-picture, for example, provided artists with an economical, ingenious form of commentary on the central image. This rhetorical use of a common detail of household furnishing could enhance a scene with varying degrees of subtlety.³⁹ Studies of estate inventories have shown that the typical Dutch house contained a considerable number of paintings. Pictures of interiors show far fewer paintings on the walls than in actuality, which suggests the creative deliberation on the part of painters in selecting appropriate ancillary views to the main scene. (Other documents such as building specifications, information about the sale of houses, and contemporary descriptions such as travelers' reports reveal the extent to which interior scenes were highly contrived versions of the real thing.)⁴⁰

Pictures of landscapes and seascapes, and views out of windows and doors, became conventional devices for all manner of interior scenes, whether portraits or domestic and courtship scenes.⁴¹ Maps were another popular feature of household décor, and they frequently appear in domestic scenes as allusions to a larger context beyond the city, bringing the outside world into the house. They appear variously as symbols of worldly vanity or topical references to political conditions in the Dutch Republic.⁴² At the same time, the map is a secondary picture, like seascapes and landscapes adorning the walls of similar pictures. It refers in a kind of visual shorthand to the larger city, province, or nation surrounding, and supporting, the comfortable bourgeois interior. In Nicolaes Maes's rare depiction of what was undoubtedly a common activity, an old woman is working, or perhaps dozing, over her account-books; a map of the world looms over the table where she is seated (fig. 8).⁴³ Directly next to the map is a small relief bust of Juno, the goddess of marriage and the household. The juxtaposition of Juno and the map, particularly the echoing of the roundel surrounding the bust with the map's hemispheres, implies a connection between the modest space of the old woman's home and the world encompassing it. Such a juxtaposition offers a neat commentary on the old woman's task: she is absorbed in what is probably household accounting, that is, the recording of money, evident from the coins on the table, and hence in an enterprise which connects the home with the world of commerce. Meanwhile, the classical/allegorical reference to feminine domesticity is balanced on the other side of the picture by the bunch of keys in the wall behind the woman, along with the humble objects assembled to her left: two bowls, one of which again suggests the circular shapes on the map, a pitcher, and a box of sewing. Read another way, the associations of home (the objects, the head of Juno) frame the map, bringing the world into the home, just as the map metaphorically 'frames' the scene itself with its view of the world beyond.

The mutual accessibility of home and world is especially pointed in scenes set at the doorways of houses.⁴⁴ These include genre scenes of beggars and street vendors as well as allegorical and religious scenes. Both Maes and

8

Nicolaes Maes, *The housekeeper*, oil on canvas, 66,4 x 53,7 cm. The St. Louis Art Museum.



Jacob Ochtervelt produced a number of pictures showing the interaction between householders and vendors.⁴⁵ In other exteriors, such as Jan Steen's portrait of the so-called *Burgomaster of Delft and his daughter* (National Trust, Penrhyn Castle) the transactions taking place at the boundary of house and street involve charity.⁴⁶ These front-door scenes are all, in one way or another, images of acceptance. This acceptance represents not only the middle class's patronage of street vendors, musicians and the poor, but the community's potential embrace of all modes of life.⁴⁷

Thus, while the concept of home and private life as an alternative to the public stage offered by the city streets was emerging in prescriptive literature and even in some progressive forms of architecture, visual art in Holland describes a more nuanced transitional state. It is in the articulation of this theme that De Hooch stands out so strikingly among his contemporaries. He essentially devotes his *oeuvre* to exploring the ease with which boundaries between household and city could be dissolved – if indeed they fully existed to begin with. Inventing the courtyard scene as a novel means of describing intimate moments of domestic life in the midst of a city, he went on in his more formulaic Amsterdam years to create numerous variations of interiors leading directly to the outdoors. Neighboring houses and larger public buildings in the distance expand the household into its larger urban context. Conversely, quiet street scenes are scaled down by the signs of private life. The simplicity of the dramas enacted by De Hooch's rather awkward figures is set off by the stunning complexity of the architectonic forms surrounding them, and the subtle effects of contrasting light. More than any other set of images, De Hooch's free-flowing spaces describe the domestic and social structure of Dutch life as a complex *mélange* of the domestic and the civic. As his work so persistently reveals, the street, the courtyard and the house are, in a sense, interchangeable spaces for the complementary dynamics of retreat and interchange that characterize the early modern household.

Notes

- 1 For a detailed discussion of Vingboons' designs for average-sized Amsterdam houses, see K. Ottenheim, *Philips Vingboons (1607-2678): Architect*, Amsterdam/Zutphen 1989, 75-89. See also W. Kuyper, *Dutch classicist architecture*, Delft 1980, 104-114 on Vingboons' influence throughout Holland.
- 2 On the rebuilding of Delft houses after the fire of 1536, see W. F. Weve, 'Delftse woonhuizen', *De Stad Delft. Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof Delft 1979, 60-62; and T. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *Achter de gevels van Delft: Bezi en bestaan van rijk en arm in een periode van achteruitgang*, Hilversum 1987, 159. Unfortunately, the plans for these houses are lost, and it is usually impossible to tell from studying inventories whether these were all inner courtyards or just open areas behind the house. Inner courtyards appear in four other De Hooch pictures: see P. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, New York 1980, cat no. 18, 28, 49-50. (All catalogue numbers henceforth refer to this volume.)
- 3 For various accounts of the emergence of an innovative 'Delft school', see Sutton, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 15-19; W. A. Liedtke, *Architectural painting in Delft 1650-1675*, Doornspijk 1982, 11-21, especially on the experiments of Houckgeest and De Witte. E. de Bièvre has speculated on development of a local Delft aesthetic, possibly based on the city's topography; see E. de Bièvre, 'The urban subconscious: The art of Delft and Leiden', *Art History* 18 (1995), 222-252.
- 4 On De Hooch's possible relationship with Vermeer, see A.K. Wheelock, Jr, *Johannes Vermeer*, exh. cat. Washington (National Gallery)/The Hague (Mauritshuis), Washington 1995, 20-22; also Sutton *op. cit.* (n. 2), 23.
- 5 According to the surviving documents of De Hooch's life, found in Sutton, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 145-147, the only artist whose work De Hooch evidently saw was De Witte, in the early 1660s.
- 6 On the connections between De Hooch and De Jongh, see R.E. Fleischer, *Ludolf de Jongh 1616-1679, painter of Rotterdam*, Doornspijk 1989, 71-75.
- 7 On possible connections between Koedijk and the Delft painters, particularly De Hooch, see Sutton, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 62, n. 32.
- 8 This unusual picture, in the Michaelis Collection, Cape Town, is reproduced in *ibid.*, cat. 83.
- 9 Comparisons with other artists' treatment of the same subject yields two well-known and telling examples of De Hooch's preference for piercing his interior spaces. An early guardroom subject, known as *Bad tidings* (cat. no 16) reworks a similar picture-by Gerard Terborch, *Unwelcome news*, to include a view through a doorway. Terborch was in Delft in 1653, the year he painted this picture, and De Hooch probably made at least one other picture in response to Terborch's guardroom scenes. Peter Sutton reproduces and compares these paintings in Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch 1629-1684*, exh. cat. London (Dulwich Picture Gallery)/Hartford (Wadsworth Atheneum), New Haven 1998, 17. De Hooch's *Woman weighing gold*, may have provided a model for Vermeer's *Woman holding a balance* (fig. 15 in Chapman's article in this Yearbook). The two pictures have the same compositional scheme, though De Hooch's woman is smaller in relation to the space. Where De Hooch reveals a doorway in the back wall behind the woman, Vermeer prefers a tapestry. See Wheelock, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 142 on the possible relationship between these two pictures.
- 10 See *Opkomst en bloei van het Noord-Nederlandse stadsgezicht in de 17de eeuw! The Dutch cityscape in the 17th century and its sources*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Historisch Museum)/Toronto (Ontario Gallery of Art) 1977. On their historical context, see C. Lawrence, *Gerrit Berckheyde*, Doornspijk 1991, 9-11.
- 11 Sutton, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 106.
- 12 This drawing (destroyed in a fire), is based on cat. 22, reproduced in *ibid.*, 104.
- 13 On Vrel's formal and thematic affinity with De Hooch, see P.C. Sutton, *Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting*, exh. cat. Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art) 1984, 352, and the discussion in M.C.C. Kersten and D. Lokin, *Delft Masters, Vermeer's contemporaries*, exh. cat. Delft (Museum het Prinsenhof), Zwolle 1996, 177-81.
- 14 On the background cityscape in fifteenth-century painting, and extensive sources on the subject, see E.J. Mundy, *Painting in Bruges 1470-1550: An annotated bibliography*, Boston 1985, 158-260; and C. Baradel, *Les vues urbaines dans le peinture des primitifs flamands*, Dissertation, Université de Bourgogne 1988, *passim*.
- 15 On this painting's subject matter and allegorical symbolism, see M. Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance master of Bruges*, cat. exh. New York (Metropolitan Museum) 1994, 96-101; and H. van der Velden, 'Defrocking St. Eloy: Petrus Christus's vocational portrait of a goldsmith', *Simiolus* 26 (1998), 242-276.
- 16 See, for example, Sutton, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 41-51; W.E. Franits, *Paragons of virtue: Women and domesticity in seventeenth-century Dutch art*, New York 1993, 57, 98, 100, 104-107, 118.
- 17 The specific agenda of books on domestic piety has been discussed by W.E. Franits, 'The family at grace: A theme in Dutch art of the seventeenth century', *Simiolus* 16 (1986), 36-49.
- 18 Examples of these sentiments can be found in P. Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia Christiana ofie Christicke huys-houdinghe*, Amsterdam 1655, 108-119; Johannes Colerus, *De verstandige huys-houder*, Amsterdam 1660, 6. On the centrality of family concerns for Dutch women, see S. Marshall, *Women in Reformation and counter-Reformation Europe*, Bloomington 1989.
- 19 For this interpretation of Alberti in particular, see M. Wigley, 'Untitled: The housing of gender', in: B. Colomina (ed.), *Sexuality and space*, Princeton 1992, 327-89, especially 334ff.
- 20 'De man moet op de straat om sijnen handel gaen, /het wijf moet in het huys de keucken gade slaen'. J. Cats, *Houwelick*, in *Alle de Werken I*, Amsterdam 1712, 317.
- 21 'Man, alle buyten-werck/is uwer daden perck./ En als wat binnen past? Dat is u wijfjes last'. *Van de uynemethey des vrouwenlicken geslachts* (1639; second ed. Dordrecht 1643, Book II, 206. For further discussion of the spatial dichotomy of man and wife as it appears in drama and contemporary broadsheets, see M.-T. Leuker, 'De last van 't huys, de wil des mans': *Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1992, 196ff.
- 22 On Stevin's architectural expression of

- a familial ideal see H. de Mare, 'A rule worth following in architecture? The significance of gender classification in Simon Stevin's architectural treatise (1548-1620)', in: E. Kloek, N. Teeuwen and M. Huisman (eds.), *Women of the Golden Age*, Hilversum 1994, 103-120. See also De Mare, 'The domestic boundary as ritual area in seventeenth-century Holland', in H. de Mare and A. Vos (eds.), *Urban rituals in Italy and the Netherlands: Historical contrasts in the use of public space, architecture and the urban environment*, Assen 1993, 108-190.
- 23 On market pictures and other scenes of economic exchange, and their relation to the feminine-centered interior, see E.A. Honig, 'The space of gender' in: W. Franits (ed.), *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art: Realism reconsidered*, New York 1997, 186-200; esp. 197ff.
- 24 On lighting in Dutch houses, see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, France and Holland*, New Haven 1978, 355-357.
- 25 The emblem of a lady and her dog, accompanied by a maid, appears in Jacob Cats, *Spiegel vande ouden en nieuwen tijd*; on this emblem and its relation to genre scenes, see E. de Jongh, *Zinne- and minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1967, 38-40.
- 26 This tradition has been surveyed in N. Salomon, 'From sexuality to civility: Vermeer's women', *Studies in the history of Art* 55 (1998), 309-326.
- 27 On the availability of erotic art in seventeenth-century Holland, and on the difficulties faced by art historians in attributing sexual content to genre painting, see W.E. Franits, 'Wily women? On sexual imagery in Dutch art of the seventeenth-century', in: T. Hermans and R. Salverda (eds.), *From revolt to riches: Culture and history of the Low Countries 1500-1700; international and interdisciplinary perspectives*, London 1993, 300-319.
- 28 For an interesting discussion of the issue of masculine and feminine spaces as public and private, and their treatment in Dutch genre art, see Honig, *op. cit.* (n. 23).
- 29 W. Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, G. Clark (ed.), Oxford 1972, I, 139.
- 30 There is Temple's famous (and probably apocryphal) account of visiting a house and being lifted by a maid and carried across the room to prevent soiling the floor. (*Ibid.*, 145). The myth of cleanliness originated in a description of Delft; see De Bièvre, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 243; in general, see S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches: An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*, New York 1987, 275-297. The architectural historian Witold Rybczynski has noted the Dutch origins of bourgeois comfort as we understand it today; see W. Rybczynski, *Home: A short history of an idea*, New York 1986, 51-75.
- 31 See J. Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere*, trans. T. Burger, Cambridge 1989, particularly 44 ff. Other examples of the vast literature on the subject of emerging consciousness in early modern Europe focus on the cultivation of the self in response to the awareness of one's separateness from others. J.-C. Agnew, *Worlds apart: The market and the theatre in Anglo-American thought 1550-1750*, Cambridge 1986, esp. 97ff., uses market and theater as metaphors for this new awareness of social intercourse, while S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning*, Berkeley 1983 studies the formation of particular identities in response to authoritarian pressure. Norbert Elias, also examining etiquette books, studies this distinction on the individual psychological level and relates this specifically to larger political tendencies in Europe, seeing the building of nations in conjunction with the formation of individual identities. Elias' monumental study of manners equates the formation of the individual with the formation of nations. According to this theory, the psychological necessity for cultivating the self is analogous with political centralization. See N. Elias, *The history of manners, (The civilizing process, Part I)*, trans. E. Jephcott, New York 1978.
- 32 See P. Ariès, *Centuries of childhood*, trans. E. Jephcott, New York 1962; and L. Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England 1500-1800*, New York 1979. While these studies mainly concern France and England, these issue of private and public life have been extended to studies of the Netherlands.
- 33 Schama somewhat revises Ariès's interpretation of a complete withdrawal into the home by arguing for a 'tension' between the superiority of home and the necessity for travel and trade. This assessment, however, rather reductively moralizes this tension, calling it the 'struggle between materialism and morality' rather than a distinction between two social impulses. (Schama *op. cit.* (n. 30), 385.)
- 34 Innovations in seventeenth-century vernacular design, such as spatial segregation, has been studied in English houses; see, for example, G. Carson, 'Segregation in vernacular building', *Vernacular Architecture* 7 (1977), 24-29.
- 35 '[...] Want nademael de voorsael dient voor ghemeene plaets des heelen huysghesins, oock voor vreemde luyden van buyten commende, om daer in met ymandt vanden huysse te spreekken, soo en voughet niet dat men, om tottet selve te commen, soude moeten gaen deur de vertreckcamer, daer den Heer vanden huysse met ymandt alleen spreeket, noch door de slaepcamer daer den Heer of sijn Vrouw noch opt bedde mocht leggen, of deur de Eetcamer daermen an tafel mocht sitten, noch oock daer mee de keucken te ontvrijen [...]' S. Stevin, *Het burgherlijke leven*, ed. H. Stevin, Amsterdam 1649, 65-66.
- 36 H. Wotton, *Elements of architecture*, London 1624, 72-74.
- 37 On the changes in business practices in the Netherlands, see J.A. van Houtte, *An economic history of the Low Countries 800-1800*, New York 1977, 200ff.; on professions in cities and the rise of trade, see F. E. Huggett, *The modern Netherlands*, New York 1971, 30ff.
- 38 On the connections between De Hooch and De Jongh, see Fleischer, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 71-75. On De Jongh's courtyard and garden scenes, see F. Scholten, 'Ludolf de Jongh en de aristocratisering van het genre', in: N. Schadee (ed.), *Rotterdamse meesters uit de Gouden Eeuw*, Zwolle, 1994, 143-152.
- 39 It is not clear when this device originated, but its emergence coincides with the development of interior scenes around 1600, particularly the Antwerp 'gallery picture' by the architectural prints and paintings of Jan Vredeman de Vries. Since the 1950s the chief studies of the picture-within-a-picture are W. Stechow, 'Landscape painting in Dutch seventeenth-century interiors', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1960), 165-184. More recent approaches to the motif as a rhetorical device are D. Smith, 'Irony and civility: Notes on the convergence of genre and

- portraiture in seventeenth-century Dutch painting', *The Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 407-430, and G.J.M. Weber, "Om te bevestigen, aen-te-raden, verbreedende ende verciere": Rhetorische Exempellehre und die Struktur des Bildes im Bild', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 55 (1994), 287-314. Most analyses have focused on individual works, especially those of Vermeer. See, for example, A.J. Wheelock, *Jan Vermeer*, New York 1981, 42-43, 74, 92, 98, 100, 106, 120, 128, 138, 142, 146, 152; Sutton, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 340-345; J.A. Welu, 'Vermeer's Astronomer: Observations on an open book', *The Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), 263-267; E. Goodman-Soellner, 'The landscape on the wall in Vermeer', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 58 (1989), 76-88.
- 40 On the hanging of pictures in houses, see J. Loughman, 'Aert Teggens, a seventeenth-century Dordrecht collector', *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991) 532-537. For the highly contrived renderings of domestic spaces and furnishings in Dutch genre paintings of the second half of the seventeenth century, see C.W. Fock, 'Werkelijkheid of schijn. Het beeld van het Hollandse interieur in de zeventiende-eeuwse genreschilderkunst', *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), 187-246.
- 41 For a brief survey of the use and significance of windows in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlandish art, see A.W.A. Boschloo, 'Raam vertellingen', in: *Ontrouw aan Rembrandt en andere verhalen: Een bloemlezing*, Amsterdam 1991, 83-90.
- 42 For an interpretation of maps as political and topical allegories, see B. Hedinger, *Karten in Bildern: Zur Ikonographie der Wandkarte in holländischen Interieurgemälden des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim/New York 1986, *passim*. See also V.I. Stoichita, *L'Instauration du tableau: Meta-peinture a l'aube des temps modernes*, Paris 1993, 174-190.
- 43 It was noted particularly by foreign visitors to the Dutch Republic that women were responsible for household business, and even for their husband's business affairs when they were absent. Already in 1567, Ludovico Guicciardini remarked that the Dutch women were 'so practiced in affaires of the world, that they occupie themselves in most part of mens exercises especially in marchandize'. L. Guicciardini, *Description of the Low Countries*, English 'epitome', London 1593, 70. Later observers remark that the Dutch wife has complete control over household finances. See W. Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hamburg, Lubeck, and hansiatique townes, but more particularly of the United Provinces*, Amsterdam 1688, 31, and W. Mountague, *The delights of Holland, or, a three months travel about that and the other provinces*, London 1696, 183-184.
- 44 The doorway has been analyzed as a boundary of domestic and civic life in Dutch culture by H. de Mare 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 22).
- 45 On Ochtervelt's doorway scenes, see S. Kuretsky, *The paintings of Jacob Ochtervelt*, Montclair 1979, 34-39.
- 46 For a dense and subtle analysis of this portrait, and its relation to other scenes of charity and commerce, see S. Muller, 'Jan Steen's *Burgher of Delft* and his daughter: A painting and politics in 17th-century Holland', *Art History* 12 (1989), 268-297.
- 47 Allegorical pictures of contemporary life could also evoke the spiritual link between family and community. Two examples are the subject of families saying grace, and 'poor parents, rich children', set just outside the house. See P.J.J. van Thiel, "Poor parents, rich children" and "family saying grace": Two related aspects of the iconography of 16th and 17th-century Dutch morality', *Simiolus* 17 (1987), 90-149. See also Franits, *op. cit.* (n. 17), also E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw*, Haarlem 1986, 47-50. Likewise, biblical scenes such as the Expulsion of Hagar, the parables of Lazarus and Dives and the Return of the Prodigal Son, are frequently staged at the front door of a house. In such scenes, as well as in other moral allegories, the familial and civic implications of the house which we have already examined extend into the spiritual sphere. These themes are beyond the scope of this article but merit further examination within this social context.