



JACOB VAN RUISDAEL
Windmills and Water Mills
SEYMOUR SLIVE

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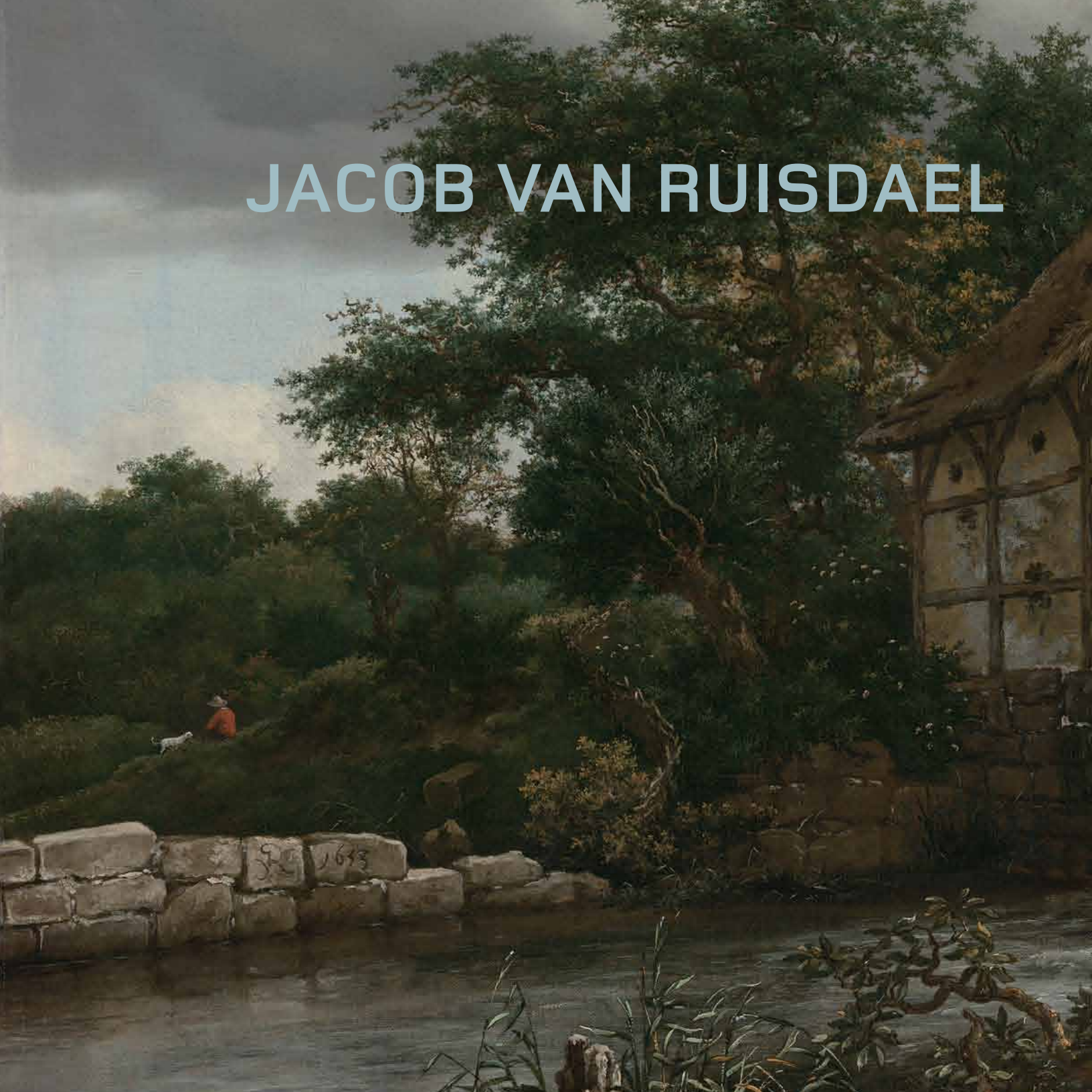
Windmills and Water Mills

Windmills were ubiquitous in seventeenth-century Holland, and they remain the best-known symbol of the Dutch landscape. Jacob van Ruisdael first depicted them as a precocious teenager and continued to represent all types in various settings until his very last years. Water mills, in contrast, were scarce in the new Dutch Republic, found mainly in the eastern provinces, particularly near the border between the Netherlands and Germany. Ruisdael discovered them in the early 1650s and was the first artist to make water mills the principal subject of a landscape.

His most celebrated painting, *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* at the Rijksmuseum, and the J. Paul Getty Museum's *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* are the centerpieces of this overview of the artist's depictions of wind- and water mills. Both depended on forces of nature for their operation, but their use in the Netherlands and their place in seventeenth-century Dutch art differed considerably. This book examines their role in Holland and introduces readers to the pleasure of studying Ruisdael's images of them, a joy conveyed by the English landscapist John Constable in a letter written to his dearest friend after seeing a Ruisdael painting of a water mill in a London shop: "It haunts my mind and clings to my heart."

JACOB VAN RUISDAEL Windmills and Water Mills

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THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM
LOS ANGELES

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p. x: Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape with Two Windmills* (detail), signed, late 1670s. Private Collection.

p. xv: Jacob van Ruisdael, *Three Undershot Water Mills* (detail), ca. 1675. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

Part 1 opener: Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* (detail) signed, ca. 1670. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Part 2 opener: Jacob van Ruisdael, *An Overshot Water Mill* (detail), ca. 1650–55. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

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Preface

Jacob van Ruisdael's *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* at the Rijksmuseum, his most famous painting, and the Getty Museum's masterwork *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* are the centerpieces of this overview of the artist's depictions of wind- and water mills. Both types are man-made contrivances that depend on forces of nature for their operation, but their use in the Netherlands and their place in seventeenth-century Dutch art differ considerably.

In Ruisdael's day windmills were ubiquitous in his native land. Then, as now, they were the best-known symbol of the Dutch landscape. Our artist depicted them from the first moment his hand is recognized as a precocious teenager and until his very last years. Like many of his contemporaries he represented all types of windmills in various settings. By contrast, water mills were scarce. They were only found in a very small area in the new Dutch Republic's eastern provinces, particularly in the region near the border between the Netherlands and Germany. Ruisdael discovered the possibilities they offered his art on a trip there in the early 1650s. He is the first artist to have the brilliant idea of making a water mill the principal subject of a landscape. Apart from Meindert Hobbema, his only documented pupil, hardly a handful of Dutch artists made use of the motif he invented.

The following text offers a brief account of Ruisdael's impact on Hobbema. It also includes references to the history of collecting the master's mill pictures and their reception by later artists and critics. It is disappointing to report that nothing is said in the following pages about the patrons who acquired his mill pictures. Generations of research have revealed absolutely nothing about them. Virtually the same can be said about the clients who commissioned or purchased his almost seven hundred paintings of woodland or forest scenes, Scandinavian waterfalls, dunescapes, views of rivers, panoramas of Haarlem's skyline, and the city's linen-bleaching fields, seascapes, and other subjects.

The only patron names that have surfaced for Ruisdael's prodigious output—and not in connection with a painting of a mill—are those of the powerful and extremely wealthy Amsterdam burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff and perhaps his rich eldest son, Pieter (see ch. 4). Then how did his contemporaries acquire his works? Almost all of them must have been purchased on the open art market, the usual source in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, except for commissions for bespoke portraits and rare orders for paintings designed for public buildings.

Today's art market rarely offers Ruisdael's works and when it does they normally fetch astronomical prices that are far beyond the reach of most mortals. Non-buyers of our time have a consolation, however. It is the enormous pleasure of enjoying them in our public museums and collections, in fine color reproductions, and in illustrated art books. No matter where they are viewed, I hope readers will see some that will enable them to say they understand why the English landscapist John Constable wrote to his best friend on the very day he saw a Ruisdael water mill in a London dealer's shop: "It haunts my mind and clings to my heart."

Acknowledgments

This book owes most to John Walsh, former director of the Getty Museum, who invited me, when he still held that position, to publish Jacob van Ruisdael's *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*, a masterpiece he had acquired to strengthen the museum's growing collection. I gladly accepted, with the caution that I was unable to deliver the manuscript straightway because I had more on my plate than I could handle. Now that I am a nonagenarian my plate is less full and before I travel to the Western Paradise I am eager to fulfill my promise. He will see that long marination has changed my first ideas for the project: it is presently on a larger canvas than initially envisioned. The opportunity to use it deepens my debt to him.

Very special thanks are extended to my close friend Alice I. Davies, who has been my steadfast research and editorial assistant for decades. Once again I have benefited enormously from her knowledge, meticulous help, and eagle eye. At the Getty Museum I am beholden to Scott Schaefer, curator of paintings, for extremely helpful comments on an early draft of the manuscript. Great debts of many kinds are also owed at Getty Publications to the editor Marina Belozerskaya, designer Jim Drobka, production coordinator Suzanne Watson, and copy editor Robin Ray.

S.S.

Editorial Note and Abbreviations

Following Dutch usage, patronymics have been abbreviated in the text. Those ending in *sz.* or *sdr.* should be read as *zoon* or *dochter*, that is, “the son or daughter of.” Put another way, *Isaacksz.* means *Isaackszoon* (the son of Isaack) and *Isaacksdr.* means *Isaacksdochter* (the daughter of Isaack).

acc. no.	accession number
act.	active
Bartsch	catalogue number from Bartsch 1797 (see Bibliography)
Benesch	catalogue number from Benesch 1973 (see Bibliography)
ca.	circa
cat.	catalogue (number)
ed.	editor/edited by <i>or</i> edition
enl.	enlarged (by)
exh.	exhibition
fol.	folio
GAA	Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Amsterdam City Archives)
HdG	Hofstede de Groot 1907–28 (see Bibliography)
inv. no.	inventory number
n./nn.	note/notes
NA	Notarieel archief (Notarial Archives)
no./nos.	number/numbers
p./pp.	page/pages
repr.	reproduced/reprinted
rev.	revised/revised by
trans.	translator/translation/translated by
vs.	versus
vol./vols.	volume/volumes



Biography of Jacob van Ruisdael

- 1628 or 1629 Born in Haarlem, son of the impoverished Mennonite framemaker, art dealer, and painter Isaack van Ruisdael. If he was born in 1628, he would have been the son of Isaack's first wife, whose name is unknown. If he was born in 1629, he was the child of Isaack's second wife, Maycken Cornelisdr.; the couple was married in Haarlem on November 12, 1628.
- 1646 Year of his earliest existing dated works.
- 1648 Joins Haarlem's Guild of Saint Luke.
- early 1650s Travels to the border region between the eastern provinces of the Netherlands and western Germany, most probably with his friend and sometime collaborator Nicolaes Berchem.
- June 14, 1657 Requests baptism into the Reformed Church while living in Amsterdam near the Dam on Buursstraat (today the Rokin) in *de Silvere Trompet*. The document is the earliest known reference to the artist's residence in Amsterdam.
- June 17, 1657 Baptized in Ankeveen, a village near Utrecht.
- January 15, 1659 Registered as a citizen of Amsterdam.
- about 1660 Probable date of *The Arrival of Cornelis de Graeff and Members of His Family at Soestdijk, His Country Estate*, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin,* the only existing work among more than eight hundred paintings, drawings, and etchings attributable to the artist today that can be related to a specific patron. The painting is not solely by Ruisdael. Thomas de Keyser portrayed all the figures, the animals, and De Graeff's handsome coach; Ruisdael contributed the landscape and De Graeff's country house.

- March 18, 1660 Maria, Jacob's half sister, is baptized in Haarlem at the age of seventeen; she was the daughter of Isaack and his third wife, Barbertje Hoevernaels.
- July 8, 1660 Ruisdael testifies before a notary in Amsterdam that Meindert Hobbema spent several years serving and studying (*eenighe jaren gedient ende geleert*) with him. Hobbema is Ruisdael's only documented pupil.
- June 9, 1661 Testifies before an Amsterdam notary on the authenticity of a shore scene by Jan Porcellis. The artists Barent Kleeneknecht, Allart van Everdingen, and Willem Kalf also testify. All four agree the painting cannot be attributed to Porcellis, but there is no consensus on an alternative attribution. Ruisdael's statement on this occasion that he is thirty-two years old is the source for offering 1628 or 1629 as his birth year.
- May 23, 1667 Ruisdael, sick in body but with his understanding, memory, and faculty of speech intact, makes a will designating his half sister Maria as his sole beneficiary on the condition that she disburse to their father, Isaack, his legitimate portion of the inheritance and during his life give him the usufruct of the estate's capital. Ruisdael is described as a bachelor (he never married), living in the Kalverstraat, near the Dam, across from 't Hof van Hollant.
- May 27, 1667 After revoking all previous wills, Ruisdael makes his father, Isaack, his sole beneficiary, with the provision that he have sole disposition of the usufruct. If his father becomes incapacitated, his executors are instructed to provide a decent place (*civiele plaetse*) for him for the rest of his life. As his executors, he names his uncle Salomon van Ruysdael, a prominent Haarlem landscapist, and his cousin Jacob Salomonsz. van Ruysdael, also a landscape painter.
- April 11, 1668 Isaack van Ruisdael transfers all his possessions to Jacob in return for loans he received from his son.

- October 2, 1668 Witness at the marriage of Meindert Hobbema and Eeltje Pietersdr. Vinck from Gorkum.
- November 3, 1670 Burial of Jacob's uncle Salomon van Ruysdael in St. Bavokerk, Haarlem.
- January 12, 1672 Burial of his stepmother, Barbertje Hoevernaels, third wife of Isaack van Ruisdael.
- 1674 Assessed the special "200th penny tax" that Amsterdam levied on its citizens in 1674 to help pay for the costly war that drove French king Louis XIV from the gates of the city in 1672. The tax of ½ percent was demanded only from citizens whose effects were worth more than 1,000 guilders. Ruisdael paid 100 guilders; thus his possessions were appraised at 2,000 guilders.
- July 24, 1674 Pieter Cornelisz. de Graeff, oldest son of the mighty Amsterdam burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff, in the presence of a notary, commissions Ruisdael to repaint (*overschilderen*) and improve (*verbeteringh*) landscapes of the De Graeff estates at Soestdijk and Polsbroek. He may have been asked to work on them because he had painted them on commission from the family. For work on one painting Ruisdael is to receive a fee of 30 guilders, for the other 40 guilders. Neither painting has been identified.
- October 2, 1676 Opening of a grave in the Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, for Isaack van Ruisdael, Jacob's father.
- October 15, 1676 The name "Jacobus Ruijsdael" is inscribed in the List of Amsterdam Doctors with the notation that he received his medical degree at Caen University in northern France on October 15, 1676. The name has been vigorously scratched out. It is the only name in Amsterdam's *Series Nominum Doctorum* of the period to have been expunged. Whether the deleted name refers to our artist Jacob Isaacksz. van Ruisdael is debatable. The matter cannot be investigated at Caen University; its list of registered students begins only in 1702.

- July 9, 1678 Date on bond made to secure a loan of 400 guilders that Ruisdael made to Dr. Jan Baptist van Lamsweerde, physician of the Catholic Maagdenhuis (an orphanage for girls), in the Spui, Amsterdam (see October 5, 1682, below).
- January 21, 1682 Begins proceedings to impound Dr. Jan Baptist van Lamsweerde's goods because payment of the interest on the loan cited above is overdue (see October 5, 1682, below).
- March 14, 1682 A grave is opened for Ruisdael in the south transept (no. 177) of St. Bavokerk, Haarlem. It has been reasonably suggested that he may have returned to his native city shortly before his death, for no evidence has been found that his next of kin paid death duties (a fine for burial outside of the city of residence) to the city of Amsterdam.†
- June 2, 1682 A commission of 10 guilders is charged by the Haarlem Guild of Saint Luke for the sale of the deceased artist's paintings.
- October 5, 1682 A notarial document states that Maria, Jacob's half sister and sole beneficiary, will receive 150 guilders as partial settlement of the debt that Dr. Jan Baptist van Lamsweerde owes the late Jacob van Ruisdael. It also states that the deceased Ruisdael made his loan of 400 guilders to Van Lamsweerde on July 9, 1678, and he started action on January 21, 1682, to impound his debtor's goods because the interest on the loan was overdue.

* Slive 2001, no. 80.

† Van Thiel-Stroman 2006, p. 283.





PART I

Windmills



1 Windmills in the Netherlands

Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29–1682), the preeminent and by far the most versatile seventeenth-century Dutch landscapist, made a number of surprisingly varied and original paintings and drawings of windmills. They were done at a time when people were keenly aware of their deep dependence on the forces of nature that run such mills, an awareness that happily has been resuscitated in our time: heightened interest in renewable energy has led to construction worldwide of enormous electric power-generating turbines, whose forebears were windmills.

Ruisdael's choice of windmills as a motif in landscape and occasional urban settings is easy to understand. In his day thousands of them whirled their sails in the Netherlands. Some provided energy needed to pump water out of lakes, marshes, and low-lying land and to drain it away via canals at a higher level. Drained land helped satisfy the small country's hunger for more land for cultivation and habitation. Other windmills were used as a source of industrial power: to grind grain, husk barley, press oil from crushed seed, saw timber, grind oak bark for tanning, and make flour, paper, gunpowder, mustard, snuff, pepper—the list could go on.

Windmills were used in the Netherlands from at least the fourteenth century until well into the nineteenth century. Around 1850 some nine thousand were still at work, the largest number that ever existed.¹ Soon afterward, when it was recognized that energy generated by steam was much more efficient and reliable than wind power, which can be fickle, the number began to decrease, at first slowly, then more rapidly. At the century's close windmills by the thousand had been abandoned, demolished, or allowed to decay. Introduction early in the twentieth century of power generated by internal combustion engines and electricity ensured their demise.

Only in the 1920s, when less than a thousand windmills were left, did the pendulum begin to swing slowly in the other direction. At that time enlightened Dutch private citizens and members of the Dutch government realized that although new sources of energy may have made traditional windmills superfluous for drainage or industrial purposes, the complete disappearance of these structures from the Dutch landscape would be an irreparable historical and cultural loss. Plans were made and implemented to renovate and provide for the upkeep of the relatively few windmills that had managed to survive. The cause was helped by ordinances forbidding their further destruction.

Thanks to the efforts of the wise Dutch who fought successfully to preserve a precious part of their country's heritage, various types of old windmills can be enjoyed and studied in the Netherlands today. As we shall see, Ruisdael's paintings and drawings provide an additional source of information about them. Equally important, they help us measure the artist's extraordinary pictorial achievement.

2 Early Years in Haarlem

Ruisdael began to depict windmills, the best-known symbol of Dutch landscape, from the moment we first recognize his hand. He chose them as the main subject for three of the precious group of nine black chalk drawings, all similar in size and style, now at Dresden;² one is illustrated here (fig. 1). They probably belonged to a sketchbook the teenager used in about 1646 for studies of the countryside near his native city of Haarlem. Spaciousness, luminosity, and the airy atmosphere of the countryside, mainly achieved with sensitive stippled touches of chalk, are stressed in these sketches, and differences between the mills, adjacent buildings, earth, and sky are slurred over. These qualities link them more closely to landscapes by artists of the previous generation, such as Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) and Jacob's uncle Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/03–1670), than to Ruisdael's own early paintings.

The type of windmill seen in these drawings is a post mill (*standerdmolen*) that had been used in the Netherlands since late medieval times. It was mainly employed for grinding grain. A pen drawing of a group of them by Claes Jansz. Visscher (1587–1652) gives a clear view of their elements (fig. 2). They were mounted on a pyramid-like stationary base, which, as Ruisdael's sketches show, could be converted into a shed or cottage that doubled as work space and/or living quarters. The entire upper structure, where the grinding took place, could be rotated on its base into the wind by a pole at the back called a tail pole. A ladder gave the miller access to his mill.

Among the most impressive seventeenth-century Dutch views of a post mill is one by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), his only painting to give great prominence to a mill (fig. 3). It is now a prized possession of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.³ Landscape painting was never one of Rembrandt's special interests. Today less than ten landscapes can be attributed to him, though contemporary inventory references indicate that he painted at least a few more. Datable to the 1640s, Washington's magnificent picture was made during the decade when Ruisdael created the works discussed in this chapter. It is not known if he ever caught a glimpse of it, but judging from his huge existing oeuvre, he never attempted to emulate its nuanced, yet highly dramatic effect of light and shadow, which evokes deep emotional overtones. Indeed, the number of instances that show the impact of the older master on Ruisdael is tiny. All are early works that can be counted on the fingers of one hand.⁴

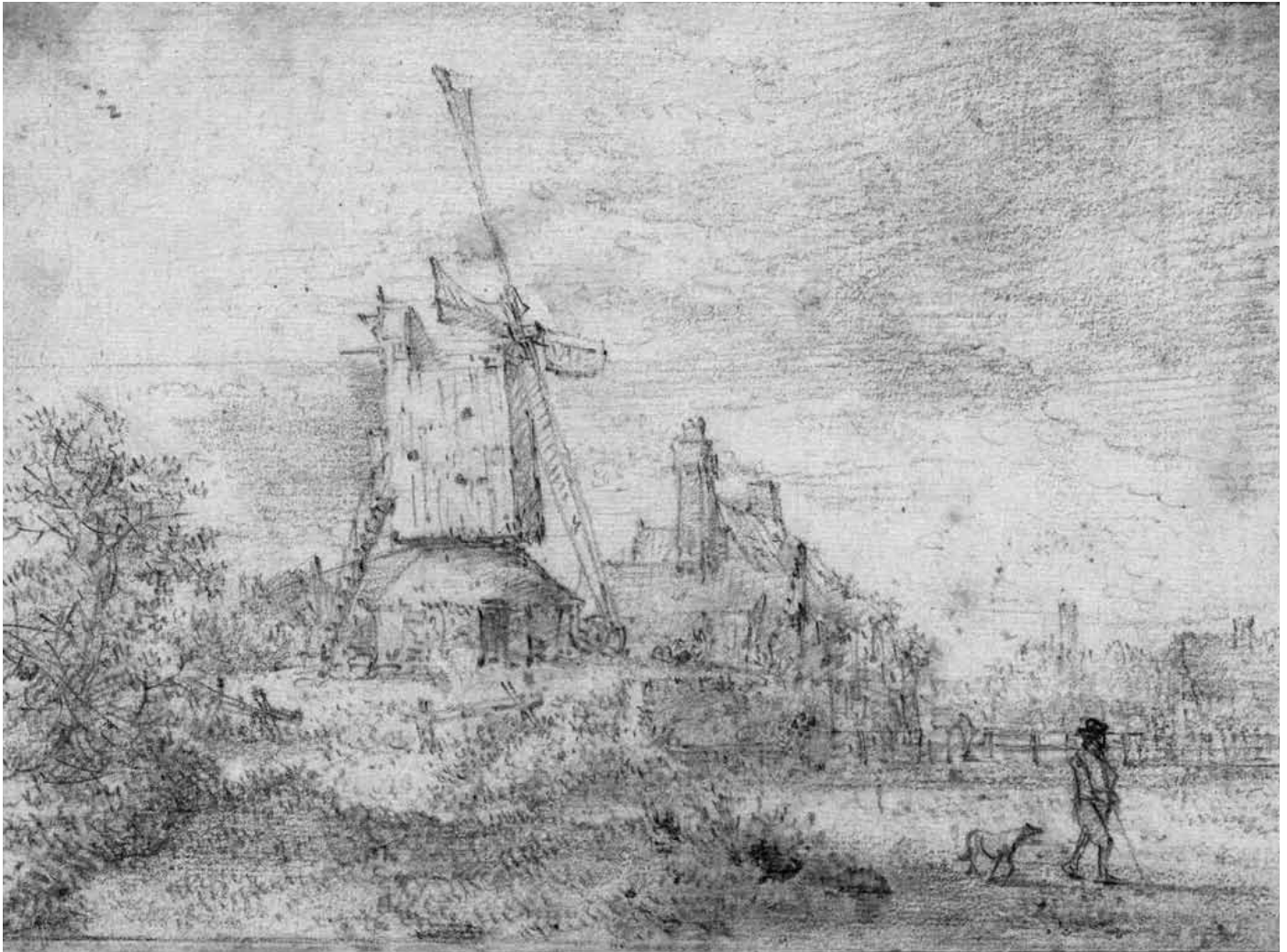


FIGURE 1. Jacob van Ruisdael (Dutch, 1628/29–1682), *Windmill at the Edge of a Village, with a Man and a Dog*, ca. 1646. Black chalk, 14.7 × 19.8 cm (5¾ × 7¾ in.). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, inv. no. C 1286. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY

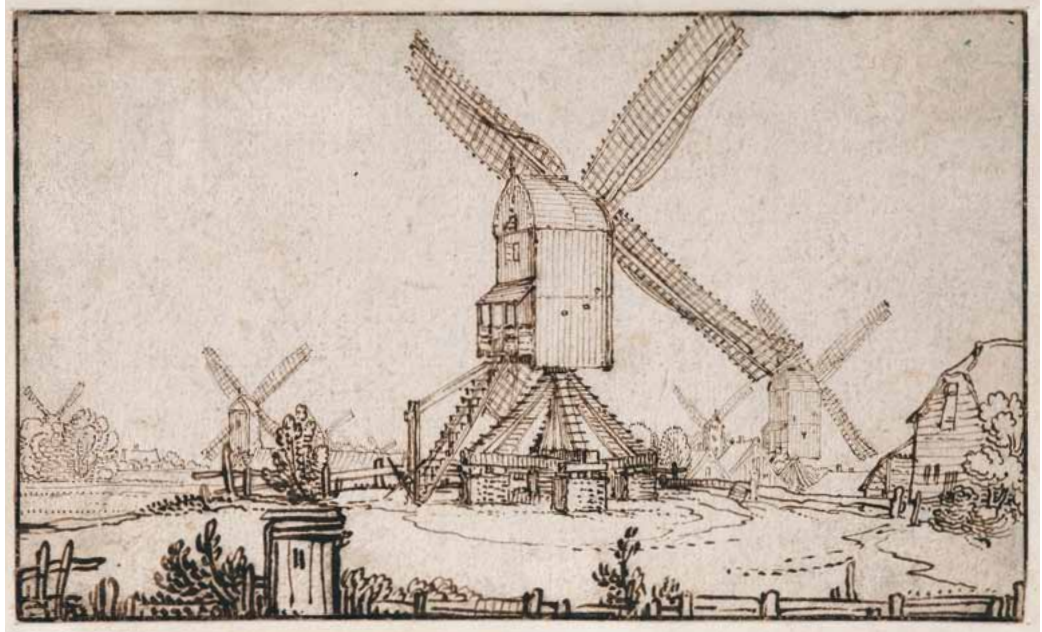


FIGURE 2. Claes Jansz. Visscher (Dutch, 1587–1652), *A Group of Windmills*, ca. 1608. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, 9.2 × 15.3 cm (3 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 6 in.). Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, inv. no. 4617. Photo: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris

A type of mill that evolved from the post mill is the hollow-post mill (*wipmolen*), which was mainly used for drainage. Like its close relative, it had a revolving upper part and a stationary base. It was also equipped with a tail pole and ladder. Its upper part had become relatively small and its lower part relatively large (see the mill in the foreground of fig. 8). The upper part now accommodated only machinery and a long upright shaft that extended vertically through a hollow post from the top to the bottom. At the base the shaft helped run machinery either for grinding or, more often, when attached to a wheel, for scooping water. The machinery in the stationary base occupied quite a bit of space, but there was usually enough room to provide living quarters for the miller and his family.

In Ruisdael's quick black chalk sketch of two post mills near the edge of a town, datable to about 1646, now at the Museum Bredius (fig. 4), the massively solid form of the prominent mill receives greater emphasis than the mills in the Dresden sheets and there is no trace of their quasi-pointillist technique. At the very beginning of his career, perhaps,



FIGURE 3. Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–1669), *The Mill*, 1640s. Oil on canvas, 87.6 × 105.6 cm (34½ × 41¾ in.). Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1942.9.62 (658). Photo: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington



FIGURE 4. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Two Windmills*, ca. 1646. Black chalk, 9.6 × 15.2 cm (3¾ × 6 in.). Museum Bredius, The Hague, inv. no. T93-1946. Photo: Museum Bredius, The Hague

Jacob experimented with more than one way of working as he strove to obtain different landscape effects. Alternatively, some of the sketchbook drawings were perhaps done a little earlier than has been traditionally proposed.

The sketch in Museum Bredius served as a preliminary study for Ruisdael's signed *Windmill at the Edge of a Village*, also datable to about 1646 (fig. 5). Close inspection of the mill in the painting shows that the disposition of the shadows on its base and upper structure is identical to that of the prominent mill in the drawing. The position and distinctive twist of the sails are also the same. Curiously, both show mills with three sails, not the usual four, and both lack the same sail. The cottages on the left and the fences near the small canal are congruent, as is the general lay of the land. There are some differences: in the painting the artist gives the mill a village setting by substituting a church for the second mill, introduces an old solitary traveler with a dog, adds light and dark contrasts, and makes some changes in the distant prospect.



FIGURE 5. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmill at the Edge of a Village*, signed lower right, ca. 1646. Oil on panel, 47 × 63,5 cm (18½ × 25 in.). Private collection. Photo: Courtesy Douwes Fine Art

The painting probably predates Cleveland's more tightly knit and dramatic *Landscape with a Windmill*, signed and dated 1646 (fig. 6). Its mother-of-pearl pink, blue, gray, and white streaky clouds and late-afternoon sky distinctly recall effects achieved by Jacob's uncle Salomon van Ruysdael. The similarity indicates that Jacob knew Salomon's work well and lends support to the hypothesis that his uncle was one of his teachers. However, the dense massing on the right of the cottage, trees, gate, and fence, all dominated by the windmill, is without precedent.

Datable to about 1650, *Evening Landscape: A Windmill by a Stream*, at Buckingham Palace (fig. 7), is an impressive, large variation on Cleveland's picture. Comparison with the latter shows the strides that the young Ruisdael made over the course of a few years. The farmstead and post mill are set back; crowns of high oaks have a new importance; the distant



FIGURE 6. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with a Windmill*, monogrammed and dated 1646. Oil on panel, 49 × 68.5 cm (19⁵/₁₆ × 27 in.). The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 67.19. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund 1967.19. Photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art



FIGURE 7. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Evening Landscape: A Windmill by a Stream*, signed lower left, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 75.6 × 100.8 cm (29³/₄ × 39¹¹/₁₆ in.). Buckingham Palace, London, RCIN405538. Photo: The Royal Collection © 2010, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

view, which now includes an extensive linen-bleaching field, is considerably expanded; and reflections of evening light fall into the lower and middle zones, creating a more ample and freer sense of space. Notable changes are also seen in the heightened sky and the introduction of emphatic thick clouds that billow above and extend over the landscape.

In 1810, about a decade after the Buckingham Palace painting had been purchased for the then prince regent of the United Kingdom, later George IV, John Constable (1776–1837) told his intimate friend Archdeacon John Fisher that he had seen it at the Royal Academy and wanted to copy it.⁵ Whether he fulfilled his desire is unknown; a copy by his hand has never turned up. Regarding Constable's reference to Ruisdael's mill, the printmaker David Lucas (1802–1881) wrote of his friend Constable that he had expressed special admiration for the Buckingham Palace picture, "in which he said he could all but see the ells [*sic*; read "eels"] in the pools of water—that there were acres of sky expressed."⁶

Constable adored Ruisdael. As a fledgling artist he copied Ruisdael's works and managed to acquire a painting attributed to him. In his maturity Constable gave him highest praise and continued to copy his landscapes. Testimony of his love for the Dutch master and appreciation of what he learned from him is offered by the response he gave when Archdeacon Fisher asked him: "Would you part with your copy of your Reysdale? not for myself. & price." Constable replied, "I should hardly like to part with my copy of Ruysdael. Its being an old school exercise (of which I have too few) gives it a value to me beyond what I could in conscience ask for it."⁷

At the time of his death in 1837 Constable's modest collection included three paintings and four etchings by Ruisdael, as well as four of his own copies of Jacob's pictures. Two of his copies are discussed below (see text at figs. 14 and 25). Major accents in both are windmills—not astonishing when we recall that in his youth Constable worked in his father's mills. Mills were in Constable's blood. His younger brother Abram recognized this and was proud of it: "When I look at a mill painted by John, I see that it will *go round*, which is not always the case with those by other artists."⁸

3 The Middle Years

During the 1650s Ruisdael made a group of unpretentious, small paintings—often on wooden panels—of plain Dutch scenes that appear to be hardly modified excerpts from nature. Their subjects are simple motifs: a conspicuous hollow-post windmill (fig. 8) or modest farmstead on a riverbank, a glimpse of a beach seen from a high dune, or merely the scrubby dunes themselves. They are characterized by their fresh, sketchlike quality, a relatively bright palette, and a tendency to open up and lighten space, markedly different from the monumental effects of some of his larger landscapes done during the same decade.



FIGURE 8. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Windmills on the Bank of a River*, monogrammed lower left, ca. 1655. Oil on panel, 24.3 × 33.7 cm (9⁵/₈ × 13¹/₄ in.). Private collection, Scotland. Photo: www.johnmckenziephotography.co.uk

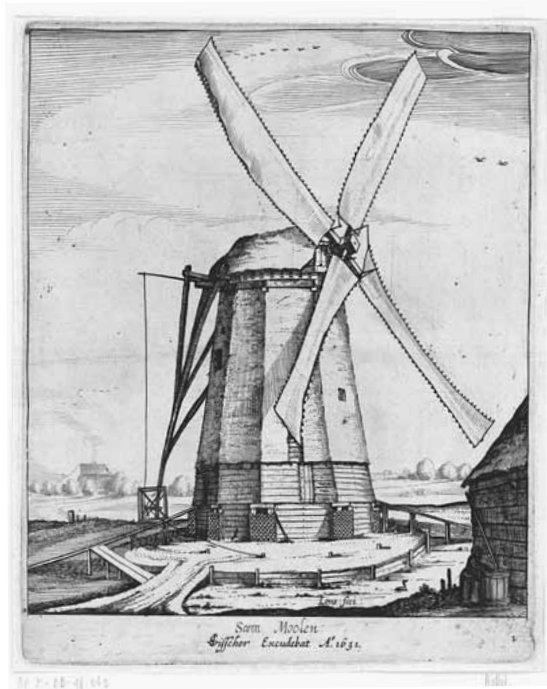


FIGURE 9. Dirck Eversen Lons (Dutch, ca. 1599–after 1666), *Leather Tanning Windmill*, 1631. Etching, 20.7 × 16.7 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-46-262 . Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The windmill seen in the distance in figure 8 can be called a generic tower mill (*toren-molen*), a type that took various forms and as such acquired different Dutch names. Like post mills, they had been found in the Low Countries since late medieval times and gained popularity during the seventeenth century. Usually larger than post mills, tower mills could be octagonal timber structures set on a stage secured on an elevated foundation, or set on an octagonal base directly on the ground (fig. 9). The cap (that is, top) of these mills carried their sails. Only the caps rotated to turn the sails into the wind. They were turned by a wooden mechanism (tail poles) attached to the cap and extended to the stage or ground. Cylindrical tower mills were also used. They were usually constructed of brick and masonry, materials that were far less vulnerable than timber to dampness and other vagaries of Dutch weather.

Tower mills were often used for drainage, a perpetual activity in the Netherlands, as well as for grinding grain and other industries that could be powered by the wind. The Dutch inscription *Seem Moolen* (*Zeemmolen* in modern Dutch) on the etching of an eight-sided wooden tower mill by Dirck Eversen Lons (ca. 1599–after 1666; see fig. 9) tells us it is a leather-tanning mill.

Though Ruisdael's small paintings of the 1650s often appear to be done from life, there is no reason to believe he ever set up his easel outdoors and painted from nature. We have already seen that from the beginning he followed the general practice of seventeenth-century Dutch artists: drawings were done from nature and then, on occasion, used as studies for pictures worked up at home or in the studio.⁹

Our artist was not the kind who made precise squared, pricked, or indented preliminary drawings for his own paintings and etchings. In fact, only one of his drawings is related to his very small production of merely thirteen etchings (none of which include wind- or water mills). Why the young artist stopped etching in the early or mid-1650s, after creating some of the most masterful etchings produced in seventeenth-century Holland, remains unknown. (For one of them datable to the early 1650s, see fig. 37).

On the other hand, drawings that can be classified as preliminary sketches for paintings are known; some have already been mentioned. Another type that may be called first thoughts or *aide-mémoires* for works in oil can also be identified.

There is a close relation between Ruisdael's black chalk sketch at Bremen (figs. 10, 11) and the artist's lovely painting *Windmill on a River Bank*, now in a private collection (fig. 12). Apart from increases in the height of the trees on the right and the height of the bank on which the tower mill is set, the introduction of shrubbery on the left, and a worked-up sky, there is virtually a one-to-one connection between the painting and the drawing.

A close look at Bremen's chalk sketch shows that it is clearly inscribed in the lower left corner in brown ink, *J. Ruijsdael*. (Fig. 11 is an enlarged detail of the inscription on fig. 10; it also shows a fragment of the collection stamp of the Bremen Kunstverein.) The signature is not in Jacob van Ruisdael's hand. It probably was written by an unknown dealer or collector (today known as the "J. Ruijsdael collector") who must have been active even before the sketch entered the Feitama family collection in Amsterdam as early as about 1690. Indisputable proof that it was inscribed before this time is offered by its unbroken history from around 1690, when it belonged to Sybrand Feitama (1620–1701) or his son Isaac Feitama (1666–1709), then to their descendant until 1758, and by the fact that specialists have identified seventeen other Ruisdael sketches inscribed *J. Ruijsdael* that were in different collections and never part of the Feitama family holdings.¹⁰

The recent history of the Bremen museum's drawing is as intriguing as what has been discovered about its early provenance. In 2002, one year after it was catalogued as presumably lost in World War II,¹¹ it resurfaced. Revelations regarding its postwar history could

serve without embellishment as the plot for a thriller. During the war it and about fifteen hundred other works were hidden in a castle in Nazi Germany until invading Soviet troops stole the cache. Subsequently the works were acquired by the KGB and deposited in the National Museum in Baku, Azerbaijan, where they were stolen again in 1993. In 1997 they were in the possession of a former Japanese wrestler who attempted to sell them in Tokyo to pay for a kidney transplant. Later in the same year, part of the trove was found in a closet

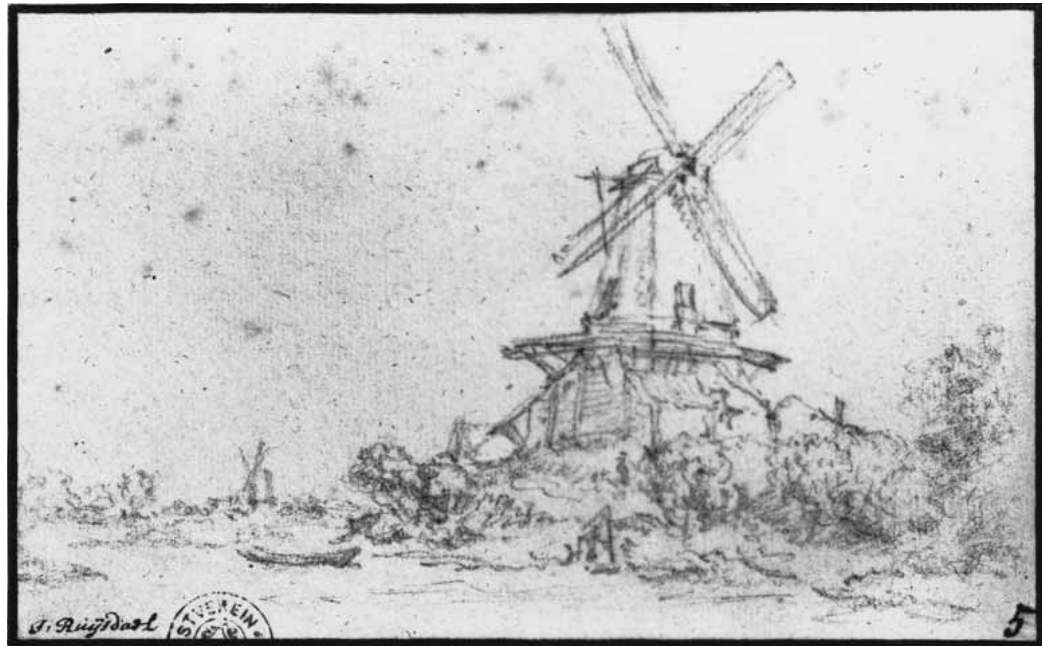


FIGURE 10. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmills near a Body of Water*, signed J. Ruijsdael by a later hand, lower left, ca. 1655. Black chalk, 9.4 × 15.7 cm (3¹¹/₁₆ × 6³/₁₆ in.). Kunsthalle Bremen—Der Kunstverein in Bremen, inv. no. 5. Photo: Kunsthalle Bremen—Der Kunstverein in Bremen. Photograph: Stickelmann

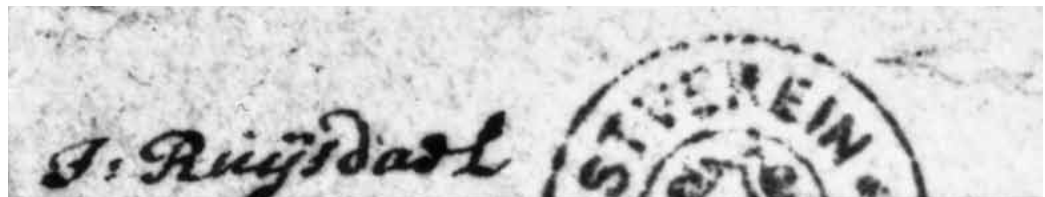


FIGURE 11. Enlarged detail from *Windmills near a Body of Water* (fig. 10), showing inscription and museum stamp

and under a bed in a Brooklyn apartment. In July 2002, U.S. officials finally returned the Ruisdael drawing to the Bremen collection, along with another precious black chalk drawing by Ruisdael that bears the “J. Ruijsdael” signature (it also belonged to the Feitamas) and sketches by Albrecht Dürer, Rembrandt, and Jean-François Millet.¹²

Datable to the mid-1650s is *Landscape with Two Windmills* at the Dulwich Picture Gallery (fig. 13). The silhouette of the large church on the horizon bears some resemblance



FIGURE 12. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmill on a River Bank*, monogrammed lower left, ca. 1655. Oil on canvas, 49 × 66.5 cm (19¼ × 26⅞ in.). Private collection. Photo: Courtesy of Thomas Brod and Patrick Pilkington / Bridgeman Art Library



FIGURE 13. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Two Windmills*, monogrammed lower right, mid-1650s. Oil on panel, 31.5 × 33.9 cm (12³/₈ × 13³/₈ in.). Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, inv. no 168. Bourgeois Bequest. Photo: © Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, UK / Bridgeman Art Library



FIGURE 14. John Constable (English, 1776–1837), *Landscape with Windmills*, after Jacob van Ruisdael, 1830. Oil on panel, 31.6 × 34 cm (12⁷/₁₆ × 13³/₈ in.). Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, inv. no. DPG385591. Acquired in 2007 with funds given by an anonymous donor in memory of Bill and Anita Greenoff. Photo: © Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, UK / Bridgeman Art Library

to St. Bavokerk, the principal church of Haarlem, but the lay of the land is quite unlike the topography of Ruisdael's native city. The Dulwich Picture Gallery also owns the copy John Constable made of it in 1831 (fig. 14), which was still in his possession at the time of his death in 1837. Thanks to it, Dulwich's imperfectly preserved original panel retains a special place in the canon of Ruisdael's work. Constable's copy includes a horseman and boy on the right, which pigment analysis established were later additions to Ruisdael's effort. They were removed during conservation treatment in 1997.

The composition, handling, and almost square format of *Windmill near a River* (fig. 15) are analogous to those of Dulwich's picture, and their dimensions are virtually identical. These striking similarities support the view that Ruisdael painted both around the same time. The suggestion that Meindert Hobbema (1638–1709), Ruisdael's only documented pupil and most important follower, may have executed the panel is unacceptable.¹³ Moreover, it cannot be argued justifiably that it or other small oil sketches done by Ruisdael in the 1650s had a significant impact on his student's juvenilia and later production. The relation of Hobbema's work to Ruisdael's is discussed further in Part II, on water mills.

Ruins seen in the distance of *Windmill near a River* are the remains of the large Romanesque Egmond Abbey and the Gothic Buurkerk, parish church of Egmond-Binnen, a village near Alkmaar. The abbey suffered during the iconoclastic revolts of 1567 and 1572 and was very badly damaged in 1573. The nave of the Buurkerk was a ruin long before our artist visited the site; it collapsed in 1587.

The light that filters through Windsor Castle's carefully worked-up black chalk and gray wash drawing of a tower mill, a cottage, and its privy—which also includes the high bridge over a sluice near the Schermerpoort at Alkmaar—animates the sheet (fig. 16). When the distinguished connoisseur K. T. Parker first published it in 1928–29, he mentioned that a note on its mount states that the site is the same one seen from a different viewpoint in Ruisdael's drawing *High Bridge over a Sluice* at the Amsterdams Historisch Museum.¹⁴ The anonymous author of the note is correct. For Parker “the point is of no importance,” but he correctly predicted that “it is likely that increasing general interest will be taken in the places represented in Dutch landscapes of a quite general (as opposed to topographical) character, since Jakob Rosenberg's instructive comparison between motives occurring in Hobbema and Ruisdael.”¹⁵

Various attempts to identify the precise location of the bridge were unsuccessful until 1998, when L. D. Couprie pinpointed the site.¹⁶ He recognized that the break in the middle of the high bridge's railing indicates that it is an *oorgatbrug*, a fairly common type



FIGURE 15. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmill near a River and the Ruins of Egmond Abbey and the Buurkerk at Egmond-Binnen*, mid-1650s. Oil on panel, 31.2 × 33.4 cm (12³/₁₆ × 13¹/₈ in.). Private collection

in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. These stationary bridges had narrow splits across the middle of their decks that were covered with loose planks. When a vessel with a tall mast needed to pass through, the planks were removed or folded back. Couprie also identified the tower windmill in the drawing as the Black Mill (De Swart), which had replaced a post mill in 1650, and noted that the wooden structure to the right of the mill's base was not a shed but a temporary entry to Alkmaar's Schermerpoort. The drawing was almost certainly made before 1661, for work on a proper gate at the site only began in that year. To judge from the sheet's style it is datable to about 1655–60.



FIGURE 16. Jacob van Ruisdael, *High Bridge over a Sluice near the Schermerpoort at Alkmaar with a Windmill and Cottages*, ca. 1655–60. Black chalk, gray wash, 19.5 × 29 cm (7¹/₁₆ × 11⁷/₁₆ in.). Windsor Castle, inv. no. RL 6607. Photo: The Royal Collection © 2010, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

4 *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede*

None of Ruisdael's earlier paintings of windmills hint at the supreme qualities of his most famous work, *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 17). Mysterious? Not at all. Artists are capable of reaching towering heights without leaving a trace of the path they followed to attain them.

The essence of the work's pictorial beauty is the firm cohesion of forms that harmonizes the dominant vertical mass of the grain mill's cylindrical body rising over the town with the high clouded sky, the breadth of the land, and the broad expanse of the river. The bond between the upper and lower parts of the landscape is strengthened by the interplay between the clouds and the countryside. Not only does the direction of the arms of the huge mill relate to the direction of the thick clouds, but almost every point on the ground and in the water is subtly connected to a corresponding spot in the vault of the heavy gray sky. Rhythmic tension is created between near and far by the strong emphasis on both the close and distant views, and by the contrasts between light and shadow that work together with the intensified concentration of mass and space.

As so often happens in the artist's work, masterful pictorial organization is coupled with scrupulous attention to natural phenomena. An expert oceanographer has observed that in the foreground Ruisdael depicted crossing wave fronts, indicating two independent wave sources; this is the kind of detail normally caught by hydrologists, not artists.¹⁷

Ruisdael was equally attentive to man-made contrivances, as can be seen in a close-up view of the mill's sails (fig. 18). In the artist's time, there could have been few Dutchmen who did not know that the sails of a windmill in their part of the planet move counterclockwise (modern Dutchmen know this as well). Hence, when spars are used, they are placed either in the middle of the sails' frames or forward toward their leading edges. If placed aft they produce shudder, which can be fierce or even shattering. The detailed view of Ruisdael's mill shows the spars in a usable position, forward toward the sails' leading edges.

According to an aeronautical engineer who also is a historian of windmills and their aerodynamics, it shows still more.¹⁸ He states that the picture is the earliest existing representation of a spar at quarter-chord, a position that seventeenth-century windmill makers found by trial and error, and that modern engineers have established is near the sail's—or rotor's—aerodynamic center.¹⁹



FIGURE 17. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede*, signed lower right, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 83 × 101 cm (32¹¹/₁₆ × 39³/₄ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-211 (on extended loan from the City of Amsterdam). Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

FIGURE 18. Detail from *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* (fig. 17)



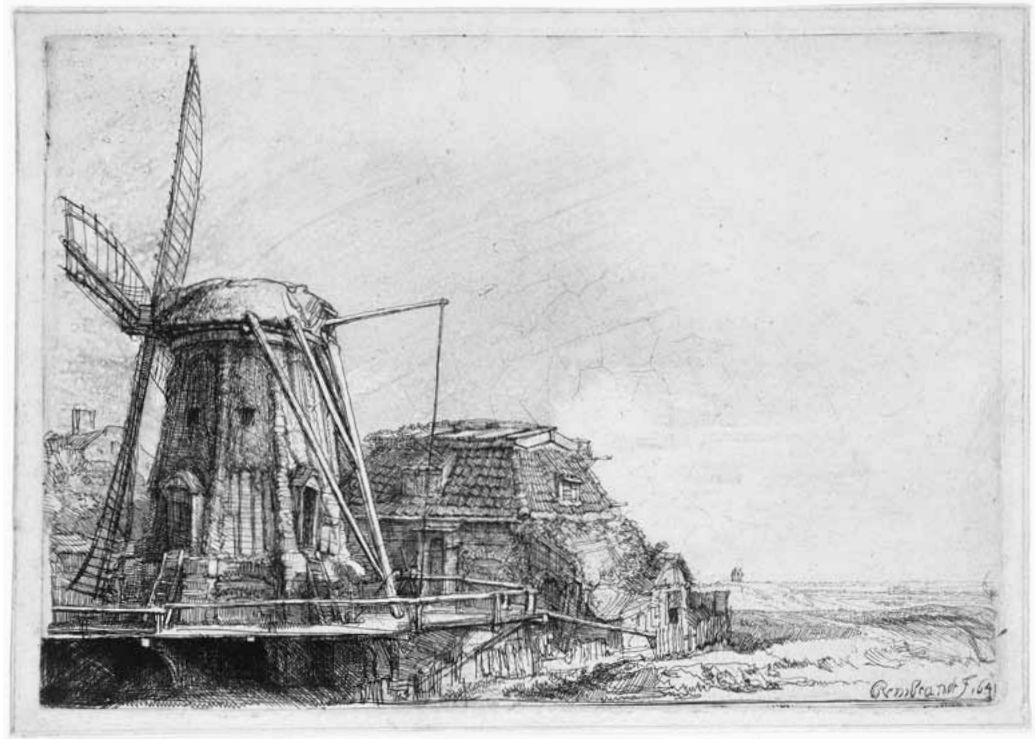


FIGURE 19. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Star, or The Little Stink Mill on the Passeerde Bulwark*, signed and dated 1641. Etching, 14.5 × 20.8 cm (5¹¹/₁₆ × 8³/₁₆ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-473. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

It is noteworthy that Rembrandt's impressive 1641 etching *The Star, or The Little Stink Mill on the Passeerde Bulwark* (fig. 19; Bartsch no. 233), shows a mirror image of the mill. (The windmill that Rembrandt etched was owned by the Leathermakers Guild, which used it for softening tanned leather with cod-liver oil; this process produced a pervasive stench, hence its nickname.) Counterclockwise rotation of the mill's sails with their spars in the aft position, as seen in impressions of Rembrandt's print, would produce violent shudder. Apparently mature Rembrandt, a miller's son who must have learned about windmills when a boy, was not troubled by his mirror view. There are other Rembrandt prints that indicate his occasional disregard for flopped etched images.²⁰

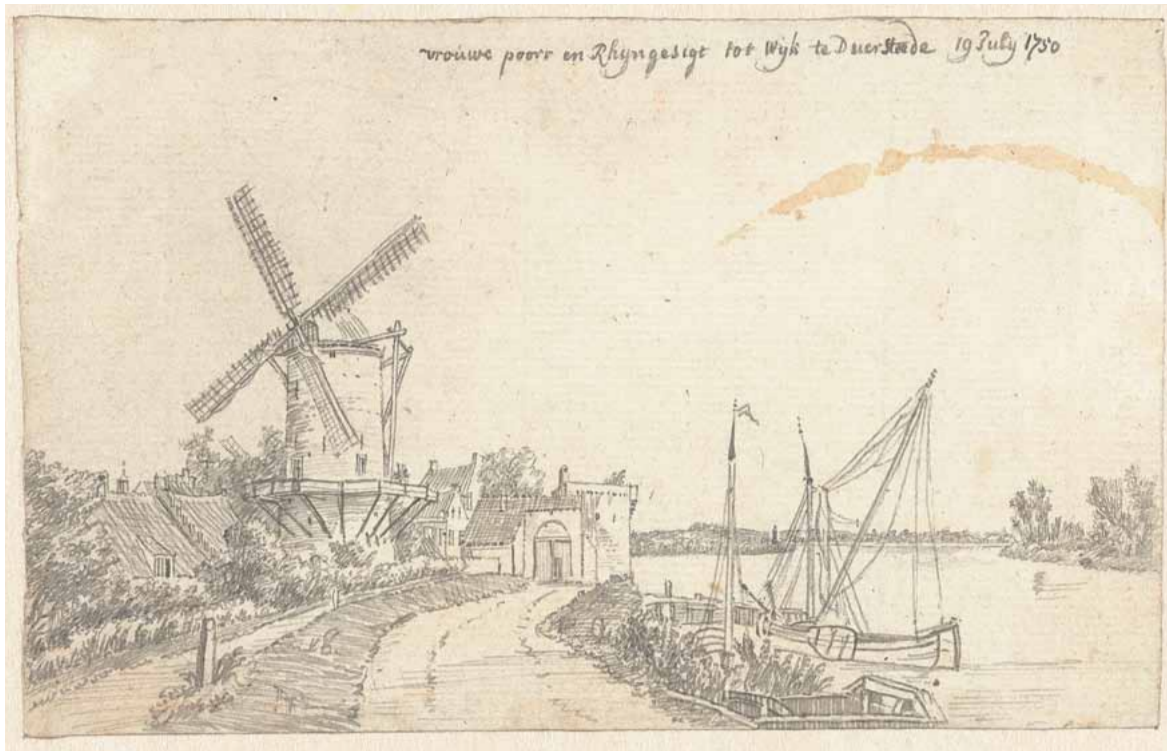


FIGURE 20. Unknown artist, *Windmill, Women's Gate and View of the Rhine at Wijk bij Duurstede*, dated 19 July 1750. Pen and gray ink on paper, 10.6 × 16.9 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1899-A-4187. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Since the nineteenth century it has been known that Jacob's painting offers a view of Wijk bij Duurstede, a small town situated about twenty kilometers (12 miles) from Utrecht at a spot where the Neder Rijn (Lower Rhine) divides into the Lek River and the Kromme Rijn (Crooked Rhine). Until the middle of the twentieth century it was assumed that Ruisdael painted a mill that still exists in the town, but it has been established that this supposition was wrong.²¹ The existing windmill is a gate mill with a square base, and it lies north of the town. The one Ruisdael painted had a round base and was situated south of the town. An anonymous dated drawing at the Rijksmuseum (fig. 20), which depicts it from the opposite side, shows that the one Ruisdael depicted was still intact in 1750. It was demolished in 1810; today only a few remnants of its foundations remain.

Two of the buildings Ruisdael depicted can be identified. To the left of the mill the late medieval castle of Wijk is clearly distinguishable. On the extreme right the squat tower of the Church of St. John the Baptist can be seen. In 1668 the town fathers ordered the installation of clock faces on the four sides of the church tower. Since Ruisdael painted the tower with clock faces in place, the painting probably was done in 1668 or a few years later.

The town's Women's Gate (Vrouwen Poort), which is not included in Ruisdael's picture, was a short distance down to the right. The anonymous eighteenth-century drawing of the mill clearly shows the gate. One scholar makes the appealing suggestion that the three women on the road in the painting may be an allusion to it.²²

On one level the painting is accessible to everyone as a characteristic view of the Dutch countryside. A perceptive essay by Hans Kauffman suggests that it may have had another level of meaning for some of the artist's contemporaries.²³ In Ruisdael's time, people were sharply aware of the forces of nature that ran windmills, water mills, and sailing vessels and moralists of the day were prone to read all manifestations of nature as symbols of transcendental ideas. It was not uncommon for analogies to be made between what man made and the divine spirit that gave him life. A good example of the moralizing tradition is furnished by an emblem published in Zacharias Heyns's *Emblemata, emblemes chrestienes et morales* in 1625 (fig. 21).²⁴

The motto of Heyns's emblem—"The Spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. 3:6)—and the explanation that accompanies it, elaborating on the analogy between the miller's dependence on the wind to grind his grain and man's dependence on the spirit of the Lord for life, are complemented by an engraving by Jan Gerrits Swelinck (ca. 1601–after 1645) of a prominent post mill on a high bastion. Epigrams and mottoes were employed by other moralists to express similar ideas: "Unless it breathes, it is unmoved" (*Ni spiret immota*); "They are moved by the Spirit" (*Aguntur Spiritu*).²⁵ In view of this visual and literary tradition, possibly some of Ruisdael's contemporaries found symbolic meaning in the *Windmill at Wijk*, but it is difficult to assess the extent to which the artist himself wanted his painting to convey this level of meaning.

This difficulty is compounded when we recall that man-made or natural objects depicted in emblems are multivalent. Windmills are not the exception: diverse meanings were assigned to them in seventeenth-century Dutch emblem books. For instance, in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* of 1614, the first emblem book published in Dutch, a type of hollow-post mill with an open base is used to illustrate an emblem that alludes to politics rather than religion (fig. 22). The etching that accompanies it, as well as 183 others in the book, is by Claes

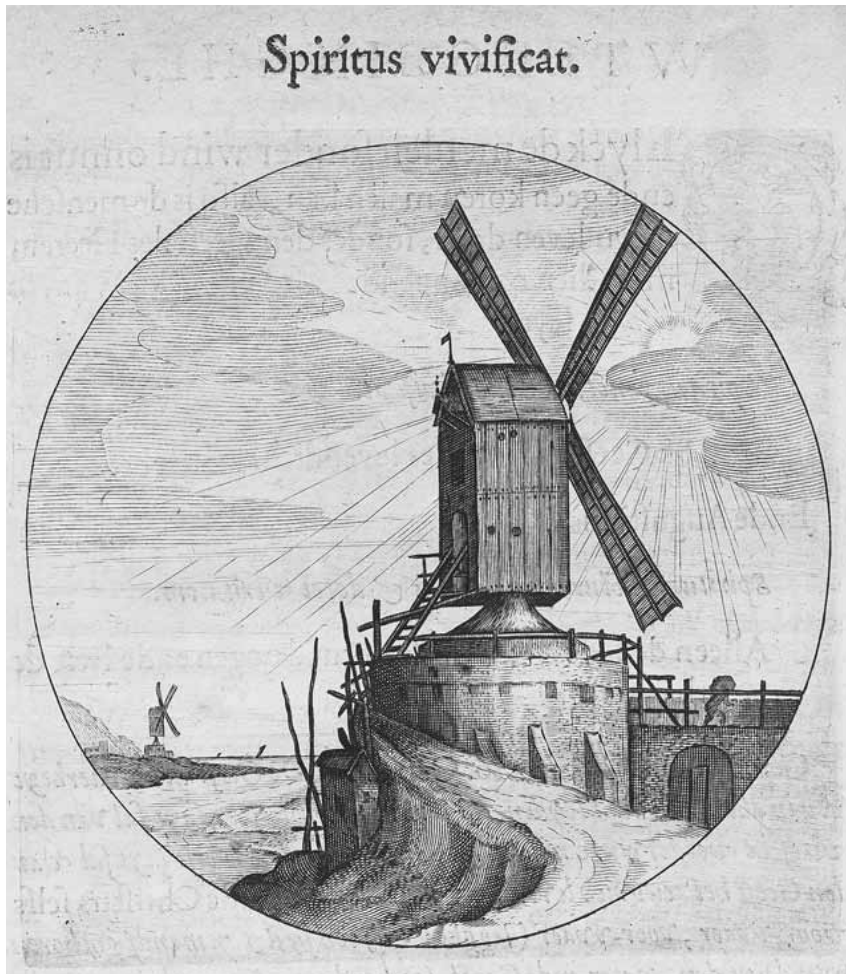


FIGURE 21. Jan Gerrits Swelinck (Dutch, ca. 1601–after 1645), “*Spiritus vivificat*” (“*The Spirit giveth life*”). Engraving, 11.3 × 11.3 cm (4½ × 4½ in.). Emblem in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemata, emblemes chrestienes et morales* (Rotterdam, 1625). Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, acc. no. 93-B10465. Photo: Research Library, The Getty Research Institute

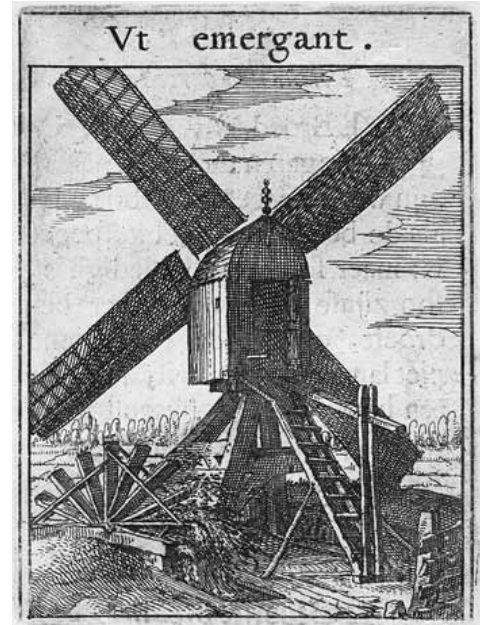


FIGURE 22. Claes Jansz. Visscher (Dutch, 1587–1652), “*Vt emergant*” (“*That they may rise up*”). Etching, 8.3 × 6 cm (3¼ × 2⅜ in.). Emblem in Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614). Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, acc. no. 91-B28047). Photo: Research Library, The Getty Research Institute

Jansz. Visscher (for his lively pen drawing of a group of post mills, see fig. 2). The emblem's motto is "That they may rise up" (*Ut emergant*). Its explanation compares a mill, which endures assaults from all winds and harnesses them to drain water from the land to make it habitable, to a virtuous prince who works tirelessly for the good of his people. Granted that Roemer Visscher's emblem is intriguing and some viewers may have taken a cue from him to associate Ruisdael's *Windmill at Wijk* with the qualities of a virtuous prince, still I am unaware of any reason to assume that the artist intended his painting to allude to this notion.

Finally, is it possible that the grandiose picture is a commissioned portrait of the great tower mill by its unidentified proud owner, perhaps a citizen of the town who wanted to include its important landmarks in his painting? Once again, there is no firm evidence that demonstrates that this is the case. Nevertheless, the hypothesis is not improbable.

Commissioned portraits of property are not uncommon in seventeenth-century Dutch art. An example is the large meticulous "pen painting" (a painting made to look like an engraving) by Jacob Matham (1571–1631) of Johan van Loo's brewery on the Spaarne River in Haarlem and his country manor (fig. 23). In the painting, the manor is spirited from its actual site (about five kilometers [3 miles] from Haarlem) to a spot a stone's throw from Van Loo's Three Lilies (*De Drie Lelien*) brewery, one of fifty local breweries listed in a history of Haarlem published in 1628. A far more ambitious work by Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675) is a huge (192 × 254.6 cm, or 76 × 100 in.) bird's-eye panoramic view of the Trip family's Cannon Foundry in Julitabroeck, Södermanland, Sweden,²⁶ the principal source of the family's fabulous wealth.

Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712), Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde (1638–1698), and other architectural painters made portraits of country houses and estates. So did Ruisdael when he collaborated with Thomas de Keyser (1596/97–1667), Amsterdam's leading portraitist until Rembrandt appeared on the scene in the early 1630s, on a group portrait, now in Dublin, of the extremely wealthy and powerful Amsterdam burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff and his family arriving at their country estate at Soestdijk. In this joint effort Ruisdael painted the landscape and country house, while De Keyser was responsible for the portraits, the elegant horse-drawn state carriage, and two conspicuous dogs.²⁷ Strange as it may seem, Dublin's picture is the only one in Jacob's vast oeuvre of paintings that can be securely linked to a specific patron and, strictly speaking, no more than half of it is by his hand. The De Graeff family had a penchant for views of their properties. A posthumous 1709 inventory of the holdings of Cornelis's eldest son, Pieter, lists two untraceable property portraits by Ruisdael and almost a dozen by other landscapists.²⁸



FIGURE 23. Jacob Adriaensz Matham (Dutch, 1571–1631), *View of the Three Lilies Brewery at Haarlem and of Velsereind Manor*, signed and dated 1627, lower right. Pen painting on panel, 71 × 116 cm (27¹⁵/₁₆ × 45¹¹/₁₆ in.). Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, inv. no. OS 1-254. Photo: Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

Would that an inventory of the first owner of *Windmill at Wijk* would turn up, but the chance of its doing so is almost immeasurably minute. The earliest fact known about its history occurred in 1833—almost two centuries after it was painted—when the brilliant, rich collector Adriaan van der Hoop (1778–1854) purchased it from a dealer for 4,000 guilders. In 1854 Van der Hoop bequeathed it to the city of Amsterdam along with more than two hundred of his choice Dutch paintings, including Ruisdael’s *Undershot Water Mill in a Hilly Wooded Landscape* (see fig. 62), Rembrandt’s *Jewish Bride*, and Vermeer’s *Woman Reading a Letter*. Ruisdael’s masterwork, along with other works in this munificent bequest, has been on permanent loan to the Rijksmuseum since it opened its doors in 1885.

5 Windmills in Winter Landscapes

Ruisdael began to paint panoramas of the distinctive skyline of Haarlem and its nearby fields and linen-bleaching grounds in the 1660s, and in the following decade the impression of the height of towering clouds and vast expanse of land in these works increases. During this period his other scenes of the Netherlands in its various aspects—particularly fertile plains, the sea and shore, and woods, as well as imaginary views—acquire wider prospects and awe-inspiring skies. Four unusual winterscapes with prominent windmills that share the characteristics of works of these years are discussed here; a fifth one is in a private collection.²⁹ They remind us that mills operated in bitterly cold conditions, but neither Ruisdael nor other Dutch painters ever showed them subjected to gale forces or blizzards.

Emphasis on forms in the fore- and middle ground and little more than a glimpse of the tiny houses on the distant horizon place Philadelphia's winter scene in the late 1660s (fig. 24); it is the earliest of the group. The painting has elicited the highest praise from Ruisdael's early critics. When Gustav Waagen, a leading authority in his day on Western painting, saw it in 1835, he wrote: "The feeling of winter is here expressed with more truth than I have ever seen."³⁰ Almost a century later W. R. Valentiner, another prominent authority, called it "the finest winter landscape by the artist, unsurpassed by any painting of similar motive in Dutch art."³¹

Constable also was full of admiration for this work. In 1832 he painted a copy of it (fig. 25) that was still in his possession when he died in 1837. (For the other copy of Ruisdael windmills that was in his collection at the time of his death, see ch. 3, fig. 14.) When Constable copied the painting it was in the outstanding collection of Sir Robert Peel, the most cultivated statesman of nineteenth-century England (in 1871 more than seventy of Peel's paintings were acquired by the National Gallery, London, including two other superior Ruisdael landscapes, Rubens's *Chapeau de Paille*, and Hobbema's masterpiece *Avenue at Middelharnis*).

Constable referred to Peel's winterscape in a letter written in 1832, less than a fortnight after the death of his dearest friend, Archdeacon Fisher: "I cannot tell how singularly his death has affected me. I shall pass this week at Hampstead to copy the Winter—for which my mind is in a fit state."³² His copy is an exceptionally faithful one, apart from the dog he



FIGURE 24. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape*, signed lower right, late 1660s. Oil on canvas, 55.2 × 68.6 cm (21³/₄ × 27 in.). John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 1917.569. Photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917



FIGURE 25. John Constable, *Winter Landscape with Two Windmills*, copy after Jacob van Ruisdael (fig. 24), 1832. Oil on canvas, 58.1 × 70.8 cm (22⁷/₈ × 27⁷/₈ in.). Private collection

introduced on the left. It was inserted to fulfill Peel's demand that Constable include some omission or addition to help differentiate the copy from the original.³³

In 1836, just a few years after Constable had his copy in hand, he used it to drive home an important point in a lecture on Dutch and Flemish landscape painting that he delivered to the British Institution. To bolster his maxim that "We see nothing till we truly understand it," he pointed to his copy, saying:

This picture represents an approaching thaw. The ground is covered with snow, and the trees are still white; but there are two windmills near the centre; the one has the sails furled, and is turned in the position from which the wind blew when the mill left off work; the other has the canvas on the poles, and is turned the other way, which indicates a change in the wind. The clouds are opening in that direction, which appears by the glow in the sky to be the south (the sun's winter habitation in our hemisphere), and this change will produce a thaw before morning. The concurrence of these circumstances shows that Ruysdael *understood* what he was painting.³⁴

Other winter scenes with windmills that belong to the group (figs. 26–28) are more expansive than the Philadelphia painting; they also eliminate its emphatic foreground accents. These changes and their meticulous miniature-like touch in many passages, which accords with their relatively small scale, suggest they were done during the last decade of Ruisdael's activity. A tentative chronology for the three discussed in these pages is proposed in the captions of these figures.

The fine one at Fondation Custodia (fig. 26) shows unpretentious houses clustered around a tower mill set in the middle distance. Only the wisp of smoke rising from the house's chimney and a few tiny scattered figures signal human presence. With exquisite subtlety the picture typifies the almost-monotonous gray atmosphere of a winter day. Here the wintry mood is tender rather than ominous.

Ruisdael's powers of observation did not slacken in his late period. People familiar with the habit of fruit-bearing trees of temperate zones will recognize that the large snow-covered tree is an old apple tree, with the shoots following pruning in the previous spring clearly indicated.³⁵

Logs and long timber beams on the right side of a winterscape, now in a private collection (fig. 27), indicate that the high post mill, erected on what appears to be the snow-covered remains of an ancient brick fortification, is a sawmill. The strong horizontal



FIGURE 26. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape with a Windmill*, signed lower right, early 1670s. Oil on canvas, 37.3 × 46 cm (14¹/₁₆ × 18¹/₈ in.). Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, inv. no. 6104. Photo: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris



FIGURE 27. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape with a Windmill, and a Manor House with Scaffolding*, signed lower right, mid- or late 1670s. Oil on canvas, 39 × 44 cm (15³/₈ × 17⁵/₁₆ in.). Private collection

composition and concentration of prominent elements of the wintry landscape in the middle ground are uncommon in the artist's oeuvre. Attempts to identify the manor house with scaffolding have been unsuccessful; it may very well be the artist's invention.

Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) probably saw a very similar Ruisdael winterscape with a windmill and an identifiable seascape, now in a private collection, when he visited his friend the Comte de Morny (1811–1865) in 1847.³⁶ Delacroix gave De Morny's two Ruisdaels the highest praise. For him they appeared to be summits of art because their art is completely concealed. Their astounding simplicity, he added, lessens the effect of De Morny's Watteau and Rubens, both of whom, he stated, are too much the artists. You can almost hear Delacroix sigh as he writes that to have paintings such as De Morny's Ruisdaels "under one's eyes in one's room would be the sweetest pleasure."³⁷

An exceptional sky is seen in a winterscape with two tower windmills in a private collection (fig. 28). Here Ruisdael shows rays of light emanating from the sun's orb. This phenomenon, hardly ever depicted by painters, is found in only one other Ruisdael, a summer landscape entitled *Sunset in a Wood*, in the Wallace Collection, London.³⁸ Equally rare in the artist's work is the tiny anecdotal detail on the wide expanse of the frozen river of small *kolf* players waiting for their companion to tie his skates. The long, snow-covered beams and shorter logs near the big shed adjacent to the prominent windmill indicate that it is a sawmill.

According to an early cataloguer of Ruisdael's works, the picture is a companion piece to the late winterscape illustrated in figure 27.³⁹ Though both paintings passed through an 1809 sale and another in 1831 as pendants and their dimensions are similar, the emphasis on a windmill on the right in each picture makes them a highly unlikely pair.



FIGURE 28. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape with Two Windmills*, signed lower right, late 1670s. Oil on panel, 38 × 42.5 cm (15 × 16¾ in.). Private collection

6 Windmills in Urban Views

As seen in the distance in *View of a Windmill near a Town Moat*, datable to the early 1650s (fig. 29), and in other town- and cityscapes by seventeenth-century Dutch artists, mills were often erected on the bulwarks of town and city walls. It will be recalled that Rembrandt's exceptional, half-sunlit mill is on a high bulwark (see fig. 3). A high position, of course, enables a mill's sails to capture more wind. In his painting Ruisdael shows as much interest in the meticulously painted, old brick supports of the makeshift bridge as he does in the picturesque background view, a common note in his work. From the very beginning he seems to have taken as much pleasure in painting ample displays of bricks, mortar, and masonry as he did in depicting superabundant foliage, without boring himself or his viewer.

There is no support for the claim that Jacob's painting of a town moat offers a view of Amsterdam's ramparts. The manicured site has not been identified—chances are high that it is yet another of his inventions. There is, however, an etched view of a post mill named the Little Young Lady ('t Juffertje) on a rampart on the left bank of the river Amstel near Amsterdam's Blue Bridge that is indubitably based on an untraceable drawing by Ruisdael (fig. 30).⁴⁰ It belongs to a set of six etchings that the prominent printmaker Abraham Blooteling (also spelled Bloteling, Blotelingh, and Blootelingh; 1640–1690) made in about 1664–65 after Ruisdael's preparatory drawings of sites in Amsterdam.

Ruisdael's vigorous drawing for the set's title page is now in the Noro Foundation (fig. 31). It has been indented for transfer to the copper plate that Blooteling used for the etched title page of the set and is inscribed *Amstel Gesichjes* [*Views of the Amstel*] *door Jacob van Ruisdael*. The set includes views of the city during the course of its great expansion in the early 1660s. Ruisdael's drawing depicts a view of Amsterdam looking south from a spot on the east bank of the new Inner Amstel (Binnen-Amstel). On the left of the drawing is the huge post mill called De Gooyer; its height of 44.4 meters (146 ft.) distinguished it as one of the tallest in the Netherlands. In the distance there is a view of the enormous, arched stone Amstel Bridge (Hogesluis) that was completed in 1663; it linked the city's new walls and handled a large volume of the metropolitan traffic. Beyond the bridge are three tower sawmills and the post mill called the Green Mill (De Groene Molen).



FIGURE 29. Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of a Windmill near a Town Moat*, signed on the gunwale of the boat on the left, early 1650s. Oil on canvas, 63 × 76.5 cm (24¹³/₁₆ × 30¹/₈ in.). Private collection / Royal Academy



FIGURE 30. Abraham Blooteling (Dutch, 1640–1690), *Mill near the Blue Bridge*, after an untraceable drawing by Ruisdael, ca. 1664–65. Etching, 16.4 × 21 cm (6⁷/₁₆ × 8¹/₄ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-BI-1857. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



FIGURE 31. Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of the Hogesluis [Amstel Bridge] Seen from the Bank of the River Amstel*, ca. 1663. Black chalk, gray wash, 14.5 × 21 cm (5¹¹/₁₆ × 8¹/₄ in.). Noro Foundation, Amsterdam. Photo: Courtesy Noro Foundation



FIGURE 32. Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of Sint Antoniespoort [St. Anthony's Gate] at Amsterdam*, ca. 1663. Black chalk, gray wash, 14.9 × 21.1 cm (5⁷/₈ × 8⁵/₁₆ in.). Kunsthalle Bremen—Der Kunstverein in Bremen, inv. no. 56/282. Photo: Kunsthalle Bremen—Der Kunstverein in Bremen. Photograph: Stickelmann

Ruisdael's four known preparatory drawings for his Amstel views were all indented by Blooteling for transfer to his etching plates. (In addition to the sheet mentioned above, there is a worked-up drawing at Bremen, to which we will turn in a moment, and two more at the *École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts*, Paris.⁴¹) None of the etchings reverse the original drawings, presumably for topographical accuracy. However, such accuracy was not always foremost in Ruisdael's mind. In his preparatory drawing for a view of the city seen from outside St. Anthony's Gate (*Sint Anthoniespoort*; fig. 32) used by Blooteling for his etching, the gate differs notably from contemporary representations and descriptions of it.⁴² There is no way of establishing if purchasers of the topographical print complained that the gate lacked verisimilitude. We know, however, one resident of the city who was well qualified to object: Rembrandt. He knew St. Anthony's Gate like the back of his hand. From 1639 until 1658 he lived in a great house on *Sint Anthoniesbreestraat* (later *Jodenbreestraat*) just a few minutes walk from the gate. Rembrandt passed through it going to and returning from frequent sketching trips to the countryside beyond it. He and others would have noted that, despite the inaccuracies in the depiction of the gate, other Amsterdam landmarks justify the print's title. The handsome tower and spire of the South Church (*Zuiderkerk*) are recognizable and correctly placed. So are, on the right side, the large tower windmill called the Horseman (*De Ruiters*) and the bunkerlike buttress with its two towers.

By the time the artist made his topographical drawings of Amsterdam he must have been familiar with the city's principal sites. We know he was living in a house called the Silver Trumpet (*De Silvere Trompet*) on a busy Amsterdam street in 1657, and there is reason to believe he had moved from his native Haarlem to Holland's great metropolis a couple years earlier. In 1659 he became a citizen of Amsterdam. He most likely remained there until he returned to Haarlem not long before his death in 1682.

More than a decade after he completed his preparatory drawing for the title page of *Views of the Amstel*, Ruisdael returned to a nearby site to create his remarkable black chalk and gray wash drawing, now in Leipzig, of a panoramic view of the river Amstel looking south toward Amsterdam (fig. 33). The drawing's support is made of two sheets of paper pasted together; possibly they were contiguous pages in a sketchbook. The exceptionally extensive bird's-eye view may have been made from the tower at the Peacock Garden (*Pauwentuin*), a popular seventeenth-century excursion site down the Amstel. Emphasis has been given to the foliated trees, the windmills, and other structures in the fore- and middle grounds; the distant view has only been lightly sketched, but it shows enough of the characteristics of the city's major structures to make their identification possible.



Amsterdam is being portrayed after the completion of the new city wall. The Utrecht Gate (Utrechtse Poort) can be seen on the left. The long arched bridge linking the city's walls is the Amstel Bridge; beyond is the high spire of the South Church; and then the more distant Old Church (Oudekerk) is recognizable. The large building with a domed tower left of center on the horizon is the monumental New Town Hall, today the Royal Palace (Koninklijk Paleis) on the Dam, the city's principal square.

The rectangular building with a low-pitched roof on the right is the Portuguese Synagogue (Esnoga). Its cornerstone was laid in 1671 and it was consecrated on August 2, 1675.⁴³ The year of the synagogue's consecration indicates that the drawing was made in 1675 or perhaps a few years later. It has been claimed that the drawing also includes a view of the Reformed Church's city block—long Old Women's Home (Het Besjehuis) above the Amstel Bridge and to the right of South Church's tower; the structure still stands.⁴⁴ If the assertion is correct, the date of the drawing must be pushed forward to about 1681, for construction of

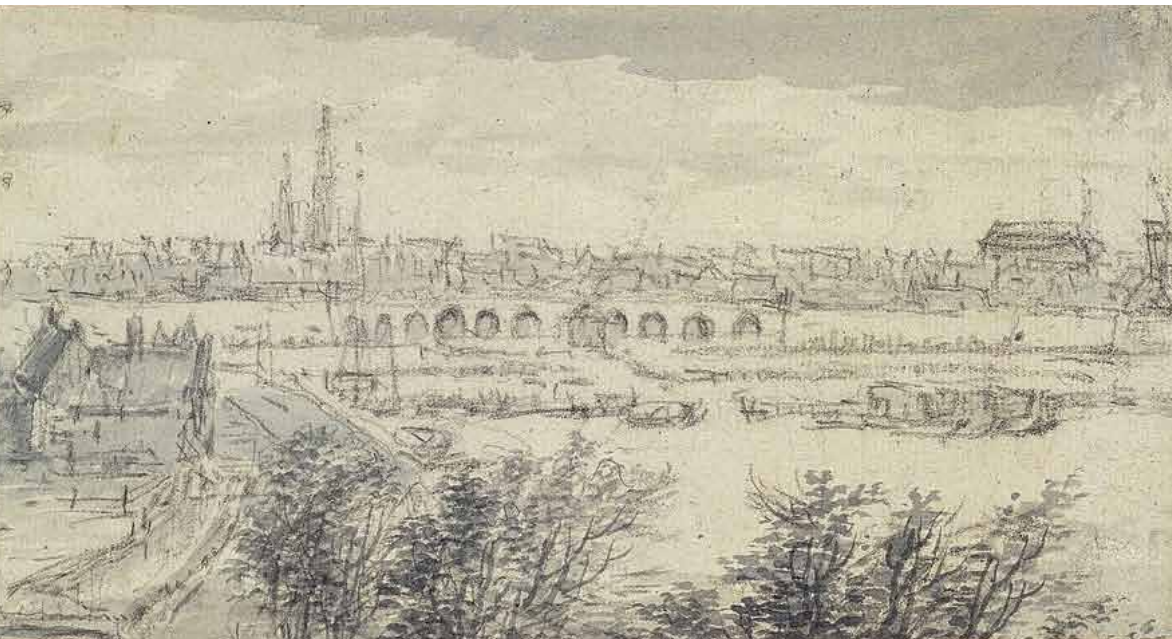


FIGURE 33. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Panoramic View of the River Amstel Looking toward Amsterdam*, ca. 1675–81. Black chalk, gray wash, 8.4 × 31 cm (3⁵/₁₆ × 12³/₁₆ in.; reproduced actual size). Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig, inv. no. I 413. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY

the Old Women's Home only began in 1681. It was completed in 1683, a year after the artist's death. Since it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to spot the Old Women's Home in the drawing, I have reservations about giving it the later date.

In any event, this beautiful drawing, which includes a cluster of windmills outside the walls of Amsterdam, can serve as a safe touchstone for the artist's late drawing style. There is little reason to believe that Ruisdael's work as a draftsman changed much from about 1675 until a few days or weeks before March 14, 1682, when he was buried in his native Haarlem.

Leipzig's drawing served as a preliminary study for his two similar but not identical versions of *Panoramic View of the River Amstel Looking toward Amsterdam*; one is now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 34), the other in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum.⁴⁵ Juxtaposition of the drawing with both versions makes clear that the unusual cropped tree crowns that run along the sheet's foreground are the result of its lower part



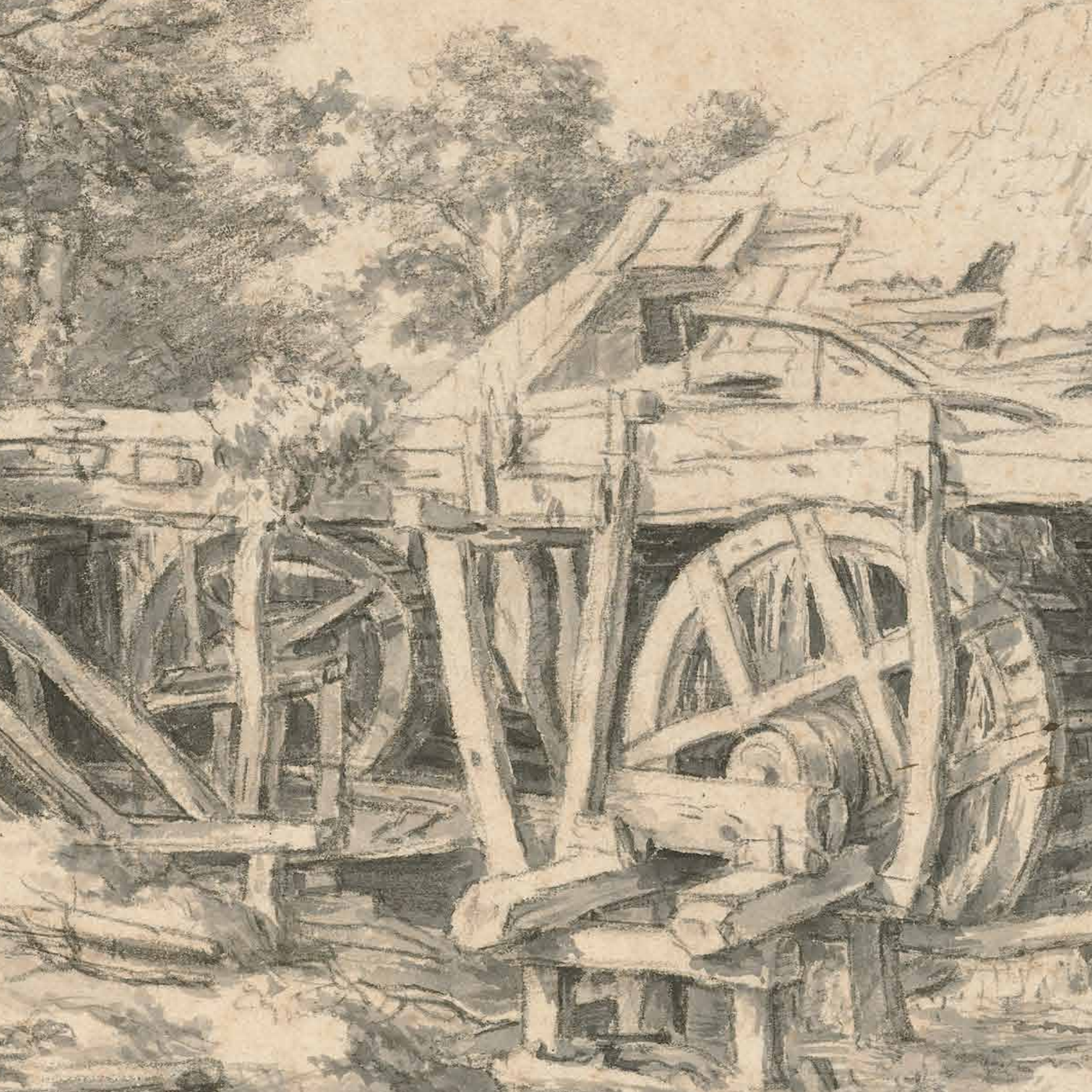
FIGURE 34. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Panoramic View of the River Amstel Looking toward Amsterdam*, signed lower left, ca. 1675–81. Oil on canvas, 52.1 × 66.1 cm (20½ × 26 in.). Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (UK), inv. no. 74. Photo: Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK / Bridgeman Art Library

having been considerably cut. We can only guess if the drawing ever included the towering cloud-filled aerial zones of both paintings. If it did, the height of the drawing was originally about two-thirds greater than it is today. The dark gray wash in the upper right part of the drawing is almost certainly a later addition by another hand. Perhaps it indicates that something untoward happened above it and then was cut away.

A notable feature in both painted versions is the very tall cloud on the right, which meteorologists readily recognize as a cumulonimbus cloud; wisps of icy particles account for their frizzy tops. Apparently, they are the only accurate portrayals of this type of cloud in seventeenth-century Dutch art.⁴⁶ Also to the right in the Fitzwilliam picture (but not in the Amsterdam version) is a gigantic cloud not found in nature. A meteorologist has baptized it *pseudocumulus colis Ruisdaelis*.⁴⁷

As noted above, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to identify the Old Women's Home in Leipzig's drawing, but perhaps it is visible in both versions of the painting. It may be the long rectangular building behind the arched Amstel Bridge in the center. If it is, Ruisdael provided it with many more dormers and chimneys than it actually had, and gave it a pavilion that never existed.⁴⁸ Firm identification of the structure as the Old Women's Home would establish the date of both versions of the painting to no earlier than 1681, for, as stated earlier, that is the year construction on the home began. Since Ruisdael died in March 1682, it would also establish the two views of Amsterdam as the artist's latest documentable works.

We shall probably never know when Ruisdael laid down his brushes for the last time. If the event occurred before the frame of the Old Women's Home was completed, it could explain why parts of the building in his paintings do not correspond with the structure that was actually built. It would not have been the first time Ruisdael allowed his fancy to play a role in his topographical views.⁴⁹





PART II

Water Mills

7 New Motifs Discovered in the Eastern Borderlands

During the early 1650s Ruisdael traveled with his sometime collaborator Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683), named by his first biographer as his “great friend” (*groot vrint*),⁵⁰ to Bentheim, a small town in the southwest of the state of North Rhine–Westphalia about ten kilometers (3.7 miles) from the border between the United Provinces and Germany. The time Jacob spent on this trip has been called his *Wanderjahre*, though a glance at a map reveals that he did not wander very far. As the crow flies, Bentheim is only about 175 kilometers (109 miles) from his native Haarlem.

No written document records the journey, but ample visual evidence indicates that he traveled in the area and explored the surrounding countryside. The date of 1651 inscribed on one of his paintings of picturesque Bentheim Castle confirms his visit to the town by that year. Support for the claim that Ruisdael journeyed there a year earlier with his friend is offered by Berchem’s 1650 drawing of the castle, now at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. In 1656 Berchem painted two of his characteristic imaginary Italianate landscapes that show the castle in the distance from the same viewpoint as for his drawing.⁵¹ Ruisdael executed several pictures of it depicting a similar view.

Bentheim Castle made a much deeper and lasting impression on Ruisdael than on his friend. Over the course of his career he used Bentheim as a motif more than a dozen times. His monumental painting of the castle at the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin, dated 1653, is among the summits of his achievement (fig. 35). In it he enlarged the town of Bentheim’s unimposing low hill (fig. 36) into a wooded mountain that provided the castle with a commanding position. This invention is an outstanding expression of the aggrandizement of forms he often favored during these years.

Another motif he discovered on his trip to the Dutch-German borderland is the distinctive construction of the area’s cottages and buildings. They are half-timbered with cob facades (“cob” is clay, usually mixed with gravel and straw), have tie beams, and display unusual vertical plank gables. These elements are seen in houses on the slopes of the wooded mountain in his 1653 painting of Bentheim (see fig. 35), and more clearly in structures in two other paintings, likewise dated 1653,⁵² as well as in an outstanding etching datable to the early 1650s (fig. 37). They are typical features in the western part of Westphalia and in certain parts



FIGURE 35. Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Castle of Bentheim*, monogrammed and dated 1653 at lower left. Oil on canvas, 110.5 × 144 cm (43½ × 56¼ in.). Collection, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, inv. no. 4531. Photo: Courtesy of National Gallery of Ireland. Photographer: Roy Hewson



FIGURE 36. Bentheim, ca. 1980. Photo: Private collection

of the eastern Netherlands, namely the area that extends to the Twente in the province of Overijssel. Half-timbered buildings of this type quickly became part of Ruisdael's repertoire and he continued to use them frequently until his very last phase.

A third thing Ruisdael saw with his own eyes on his trip is that not all of the Netherlands is as flat as a pancake. As he traveled through the eastern provinces of Gelderland and Overijssel, and across the border into western Westphalia, he discovered hills in the vicinity through which rushing streams coursed. It was the terrain that permitted use of water power. The undershot and overshot water mills (the former are driven by water passing under the wheel, the latter by water passing over it) he encountered in the area impressed him enormously. To be sure, since late medieval times Western artists had made scattered use of water mills in their pictures, but Ruisdael was the first to have the original idea of making them the principal subject of a painting. His use of this motif produced brilliant results.



FIGURE 37. Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Little Bridge*, signed lower margin, center right, ca. 1650–53. Etching (first state), 19.5 × 27.9 cm (7¹¹/₁₆ × 11 in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 1922 (22.31). Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY

8 The Getty Museum's *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*

No one knows how a particular water mill looked in Ruisdael's time, and there is ample evidence that he often selected, rearranged, and invented elements of his landscapes to suit his needs—think, for example, of how he enlarged Bentheim's modest hill (see fig. 36) into a mountain in Dublin's painting (see fig. 35). Therefore, attempts to determine the precise sites of his water mill pictures have proven futile. However, there can be no question that the Getty's superb painting (fig. 38) was inspired by the water mills he saw in Bentheim's vicinity.

The painting's major undershot mill, with its half-timbered and cob-facade construction, tie beams, and vertical plank gable, is a paradigmatic example of the region's vernacular architecture. Notable, too, are the huge blocks of dressed stone in the foreground and the mortared wall made of more than a dozen of them that flanks a bank of the rushing river. In most of the Netherlands dressed stones of such large size are exceedingly scarce, but not in Bentheim and its environs, where sandstone from its quarries was a major export. All of the sandstone used for Amsterdam's magnificent New Town Hall, begun in 1648, had to be imported, and the greater part of it was brought from Bentheim in blocks of exceptional size.⁵³

Bentheim sandstone continued to be exported for centuries. For example, it was sent to New York for construction of the base of the colossal Statue of Liberty, which was presented to the people of the United States by the French in 1884.⁵⁴ In view of the prevalence of the stone in the area, it is not surprising to see the hefty blocks of it that stud two other Bentheim-like scenes Ruisdael painted in 1653, the same year he dated Getty's *Water Mills*. Large blocks of stone likewise figure in his drawings and an etching of the area (see fig. 37).

As an aside, I can testify that modern Dutchmen continue to be impressed by huge stones. I recall meeting the prominent Dutch art historian J. G. van Gelder at Los Angeles's airport for his first trip to the West Coast of the United States, and then driving him about fifty kilometers (30 miles) to Pomona College, where he was scheduled to lecture. He was awed by the gigantic size of the boulders we passed en route. His comment: "If we had rocks such as these in Holland, we would surely exhibit at least one on Amsterdam's Dam to enable Dutch schoolchildren to get an idea of the spectacular scale of really big rocks."



FIGURE 38. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*, monogrammed and dated 1653 on the stone embankment on the left. Oil on canvas, 66 × 84.5 cm (26 × 33¼ in.). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 82.PA.18. Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

On the Getty's painting the artist's conspicuous linked monogram "JvR"⁵⁵ and the year "1653" are inscribed on two adjacent stones of the wall at the river's bank (fig. 39). Both are painted in two colors to create a trompe-l'oeil effect; they appear to be chiseled into their stones. Ruisdael painted other similar illusionistic monograms and signatures: monograms on two other water mill pictures done in the 1650s (see figs. 49, 50), and a monogram and a signature he placed on two splendid landscapes datable to the same decade.⁵⁶ Then, it seems, he became bored with the trick; in any event, these paintings are his only existing works that employ the device.

The date of 1653 on the Getty's painting is a significant one. A total of five Ruisdael pictures bear it, and we have seen that four of them have themes that are unmistakably associated with the vicinity of Bentheim.⁵⁷ After 1653 a curious thing happened. Ruisdael virtually stopped dating his paintings. The five paintings cited above are the very last ones dated in the 1650s. Only five are dated or reputed to have been dated in the 1660s, and the last digit of every one of them (including *Undershot Water Mill in a Hilly Wooded Landscape* at the Rijksmuseum; see fig. 62) is unclear or has been obliterated. And not a single work by Ruisdael bears an authentic date in the 1670s or 1680s.

Now, paucity of dates on paintings is not always extraordinary. After all, only three of the thirty-five paintings that are securely attributed to Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) are dated and not one of the dozen or so by Hercules Pietersz. Segers (1589/90–1633/38), the most original and experimental landscapist active in Holland during the first decades of the seventeenth century, bears a date.

But Ruisdael's case is very different. First of all, he was far more prolific than Vermeer, Segers, and many other seventeenth-century Dutch artists: almost seven hundred paintings can be ascribed to him. Secondly, dates on pictures that young Ruisdael made during the first years of his career are not rare. To the contrary. In 1646, when the seventeen- or eighteen-year-old artist first appeared on the scene, he signed and dated 10 of his paintings; in 1647, no less than 18 bear his signature and date; the total for 1648 and 1649 is 17. In 1650 there is only one—perhaps because he spent most of that year on the road in the eastern provinces, not in his native Haarlem. Thereafter, dates are rare; in 1651 and 1652 the total is merely 6. We have already heard how the story ends in 1653 and what happened during the following three decades.

A review of dates on his almost 140 existing drawings and 13 etchings tells a much shorter story: 1649 is the last year he is known to have dated a work on paper.



FIGURE 39. Enlarged detail from *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* (fig. 38)

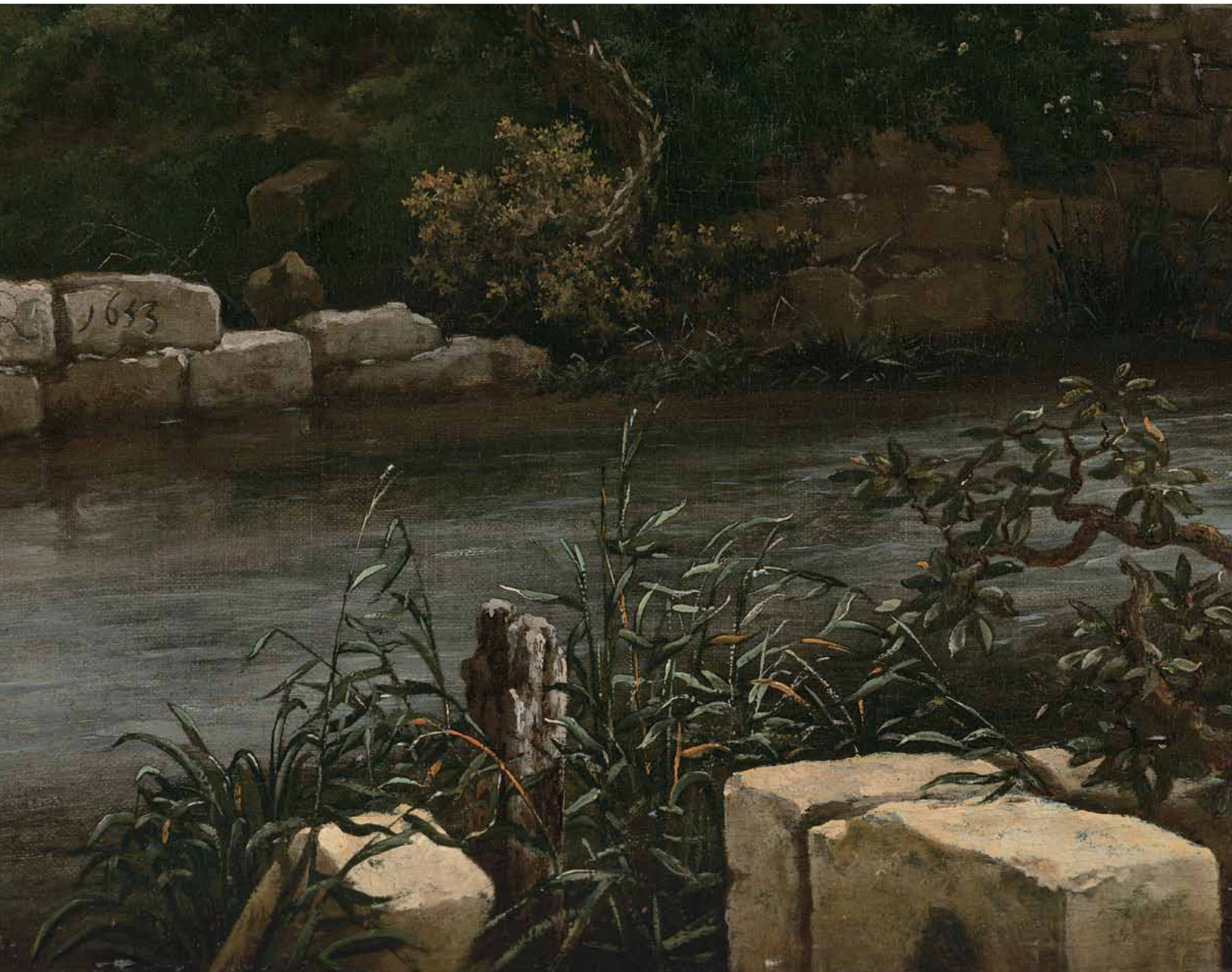


FIGURE 40. Detail from *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* (fig. 38)

Why Ruisdael virtually stopped dating his efforts when he was still in his early or mid-twenties remains an unsolved mystery. The fact that he did so is worth mentioning, but it was not an unmitigated calamity. Not every art lover is keen to know the dates inscribed on works of art. However, such dates are of more than passing interest to people who want to learn how an artist's way of working changed during the course of his career. When dated works are very scarce or nonexistent, as we have seen, more or less firm dates can often be assigned on the basis of topographical details or partially legible inscriptions, or by other probative evidence. Another aid is consideration of the way an artist handles paint during different periods of his career.

A telling example of the last point is offered by juxtaposing a close view of the weeds, reeds, grasses, and other objects on the bank in the foreground of Getty's *Water Mills* (fig. 40) of 1653 with a similar passage in the foreground of Ruisdael's *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* (fig. 41), which must have been painted at least fifteen years later (see ch. 4). In the work of 1653 details are scrupulously transcribed. The impression of flickering light playing



FIGURE 41. Detail from *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* (fig. 17)

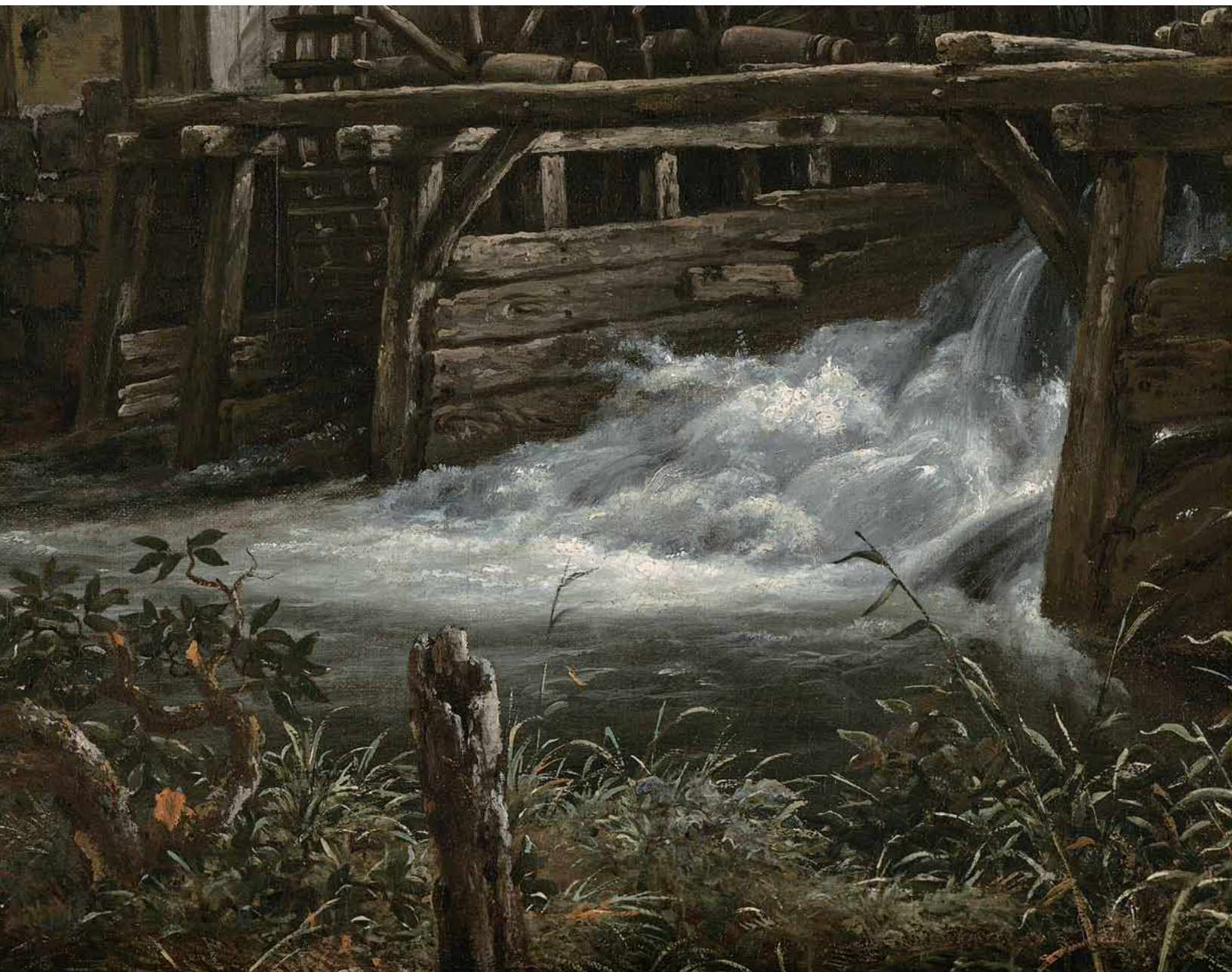


FIGURE 42. Detail from *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* (fig. 38)

over the tangled thicket is created by the different hues of green and warm brown used to delineate almost every single leaf and blade of grass. Highlights are in paint that is singularly dry. Contrasts between light and dark on the dressed stones are intense, yet shadows remain transparent. Judging from Ruisdael's astonishing early portrayals of undergrowth, he probably made drawings of shrubs, plants, and weeds as preparatory studies for his paintings that include them, but if he did, not one has survived.

As for the weeds and pilings in the *Windmill at Wijk*, here less is more. Ruisdael has abandoned his early passion for detail. Reeds have been summarily drawn with swift, crisp, and sometimes razor-sharp strokes of his brush dipped in paint that almost has the viscosity of ink. Economy and surety of touch are now the watchwords.

In the Getty Museum's picture of the two mills standing on opposite sides of the waterway, the one on the right is severely cropped; only the edge of its rotting wall, its thatched roof, and a section of one of its stationary water wheels are visible. The cascade of water rushing from the broad open sluice is among the artist's first successful attempts at portraying a powerful torrent and seething white foam (fig. 42). The effort stood him in good stead in the late 1650s and early 1660s when he began painting a motif he had never seen and would never actually see: tumultuous Scandinavian waterfalls.

The trees in the Getty view are as impressive as the mills and the rushing torrent, especially the great towering oak that seems to embody the vital forces of growth in nature (fig. 43). On the far left of the painting there is a tiny detail that could have served as the artist's signature had he not signed the work. It is the lone traveler with his white hound (fig. 44). A solitary man and his dog, often not readily seen, are frequently included in Ruisdael's landscapes; the man in the Getty's picture is more conspicuous than most. The red of his jacket is its sole spot of intense color.



FIGURE 43. Detail from *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* (fig. 38)



FIGURE 44. Enlarged detail from *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice* (fig. 38)

9 Other Undershot Water Mills of the 1650s

At first blush the composition of the downstream view of two water mills lying at an angle to each other across an open sluice, now in a private German collection (fig. 45), appears quite similar to that of the Getty's *Water Mills*, but there are significant differences. In the former there is a much closer view of the sluice's exceptionally long foremost beam and of the wooden posts and planks beneath it, as well as the large, half-timbered mill capped by a thatched gable roof. The landscape plays a less significant role in this work and its foreground considerably differs. Additionally, the mill on the right has become a ruin with a defunct water wheel.

Conceivably the boldness of the work's conception indicates that it postdates the Getty's *Water Mills* by a bit. But it also is arguable that it predates the latter, because Ruisdael achieves a more serene balance between the water mills and their rich natural setting in the Getty's picture.

Another consideration is the treatment in each work of the torrent cascading from the open sluice and its agitated tail water as it rushes downstream. Both are equally convincing. This cannot be said of the water rushing through the open sluice of a related painting at the National Gallery, London (fig. 46). The cascading water here bears a resemblance to cotton batting and its boiling foam ends too abruptly. Greater accuracy in the description of the tail water in the privately owned and Getty pictures implies an understanding of the action of turbulent water, gained by experience with the motif. If this supposition is correct, the National Gallery's painting probably antedates the other two works.

The National Gallery's painting and a variant of it in a private collection (fig. 47) offer instructive head-on, downstream views of the sluices and their sluice gates, which could be opened or closed quite easily to control the flow of water. Sluice gates were employed to start or stop mill wheels and were used to regulate the wheel according to the speed or load required. Herein lies a fundamental difference between a water mill and a windmill. The latter, of course, had no method whatsoever of controlling the strength of the wind. It had to make the best of whatever blew.⁵⁸

Notable in the London picture and the variant is the different state of preservation of the right-hand mills. However, it would be wrong to rely on their relative deterioration to establish their chronology. Ruisdael's ruined mills, like their landscape settings, are concoctions of his imagination, not faithful transcriptions of what he saw before his eyes at mill sites.



FIGURE 45. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*, signed on the stone foundation, lower right, ca. 1653. Oil on canvas, 54.3 × 67.6 cm (21³/₈ × 26⁵/₈ in.). Private collection, Germany



FIGURE 46. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*, signed lower left, ca. 1651–52. Oil on canvas, 87.3 × 111.5 cm (34³/₈ × 43⁷/₈ in.). The National Gallery, London, inv. no. 986. Photo: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY



FIGURE 47. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*, ca. 1652–55. Oil on panel, 52.3 × 67.6 cm (20⁹/₁₆ × 26⁵/₈ in.). Private collection

that in his catalogues he describes some untraceable pictures on the basis of reproductive prints, with a sensible word of caution:

It may be proper to observe that Prints do not always correctly correspond with the Pictures from which they are taken: the engraver will frequently leave out parts, make additions, or alter as may best assist the effects of the Print, or suit the caprice of himself or others. The relative proportions are also very frequently changed.⁶⁰

Particularly noteworthy is Ruisdael's *Landscape with a Millrun and Ruins* in the Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide (fig. 49), in which only the masonry and brick foundations of water mills remain. The huge, ancient, blasted oak with its twisted roots clawing into the turf on what is left of the brick base of a mill underscores the age of the ruins. The artist seems to want us to contemplate the many decades that had to pass for it to take root at the site and become an enormous battered tree.

Sharp contrast between the remains of the mill run, the crumbling ruined building in the middle ground, the broad sheet of rushing water, and the towering, half-dead tree on the one hand and the force of nature's rich profusion on the other suggests that the painting has an allegorical intent. The combination of conspicuous ruins, moving water, and dying or dead trees in it may very well allude to the transience of life and the ultimate futility of all humankind's endeavors—a common theme in seventeenth-century Dutch art—while nature's luxuriant growth offers a promise of hope and renewed life. Moralizing landscapes are rare in Ruisdael's oeuvre; best known are his celebrated versions of *The Jewish Cemetery* at Dresden and Detroit.

Rotterdam's small *Thatch-Roofed House with an Undershot Water Mill* (fig. 50) is remarkably well preserved. When it was conserved in 1997, not a passage needed restoration.⁶¹ Close analogies with the Getty's *Water Mills* of 1653 place it at about the same time. Constable saw the picture when it was in the hands of John Smith, the London dealer and indefatigable cataloguer. On November 28, 1829, the very day he saw it, Constable wrote to his dear friend Archdeacon Fisher about it:

I have seen an affecting picture this morning by Ruisdael. It haunts my mind and clings to my heart—and has stood between me & you while I am now talking to you. It is a watermill—not unlike *Pernes Mill*—a man & boy are cutting rushes in the running stream (in the “tail water”)—the whole so true clear & fresh—& as brisk as champagne—a shower has not long passed. It was beside the large one at Smiths—& showed Ruisdaels compass of mind in landscape.⁶²



FIGURE 49. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with a Millrun and Ruins*, monogrammed on the masonry on the far left, ca. 1652–55. Oil on canvas, 59.3 × 66.1 cm (23 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 26 in.). Gift of James & Diana Ramsay and the James & Diana Ramsay Fund through the Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation 1985. Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, inv. no. 853-p-6. Photo: Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



FIGURE 50. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Thatch-Roofed House with an Undershot Water Mill*, monogrammed lower left, ca. 1653. Oil on panel, 36 × 42 cm (14³/₁₆ × 16¹/₂ in.). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 2520. Photo: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

10 Views of an Overshot Water Mill

Though none of the sites of the water mills Ruisdael depicted can be identified, it is certain that he was intrigued by one specific timbered, tile-roofed overshot water mill, of a type found in the eastern province of Gelderland. Four of his drawings show this mill from different angles. He was not the only Dutch artist to favor a particular subject for his outdoor sketches. Rembrandt, for example, in the 1650s made a half-dozen sketches at the site of the manor Kostverloren on the river Amstel, and during the same decade he drew a specific farmstead at least three times from different sides.⁶³ The two artists, however, made different use of their drawings. Ruisdael employed his as preparatory studies for four paintings. Rembrandt did not. That was his wont. Though Rembrandt drew almost two hundred landscapes, not a single one qualifies as a preliminary or preparatory compositional sketch for a painting and only one can be classified as a study for an etching.⁶⁴

We begin our discussion of Ruisdael's views of the mill with his sensitive, fully worked-up drawing at the Rijksmuseum of its long side, which shows its three water wheels (fig. 51). It serves as a working drawing for the painting in a private collection (fig. 52). Although the mill in the latter is in rather deep shadow, it shows unmistakable congruencies with the Rijksmuseum's drawing. Young Meindert Hobbema painted an untraceable signed copy of the picture—with changes in the landscape—that included passages in his characteristic early style.⁶⁵

Here it is appropriate to say a little more about Hobbema and his teacher. In 1660 Ruisdael testified before a notary in Amsterdam that Hobbema had assisted and received instruction from him for several years,⁶⁶ but it seems that Meindert in his early phase was more stimulated by Jacob's uncle Salomon van Ruysdael and the landscapist Cornelis Vroom (1590/91–1661), and perhaps by Anthonie van Borssom (1630/31–1677), than by Ruisdael. Put another way: the budding artist seems to have had an independent streak. In any event, except for his copy of Ruisdael's painting, none of the small light-colored pictures he made from about 1658–61 (*River Scene*, 1658, Detroit Institute of Arts, is his earliest existing dated work) show Jacob's motifs or his coherence and energy.

Only in about 1662 is the influence of Ruisdael seen. Hobbema's *Forest Swamp* of 1662 at Melbourne is actually based on one of Ruisdael's etchings (Slive 2001, no. E13),⁶⁷ and,



FIGURE 51. Jacob van Ruisdael, *An Overshot Water Mill*, ca. 1650–55. Black chalk, gray wash, 20 × 31.3 cm (7⁷/₈ × 12³/₈ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1887-A-1392. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



FIGURE 52. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Overshot Water Mill at the Edge of a Wood*, monogrammed lower left, ca. 1655. Oil on canvas, 75.7 × 98.5 cm (29¹³/₁₆ × 38³/₄ in.). Private collection. Photo: Courtesy David Koetser Gallery, Zurich, Switzerland. Photographer: Pieter de Vries–Texel

as we shall see, other works of this time show his use of his teacher's subjects. In 1663 his style again gains more independence, and in the following years he created a series of paintings that gave him a secure position among Holland's great landscapists.

Hobbema's earliest-known painted copy of a Ruisdael, mentioned above, includes passages that are in his unmistakable personal style of the late 1650s. Elements of it are conspicuous in his use of what have been aptly called his "tin soldier" trees with fuzzy cottonlike foliage; they are clear signs of his early independent activity during these years.⁶⁸ Moreover, young Hobbema did not hesitate to take some liberties with his model; he eliminated the low wattle fence at the edge of the mill pool that figures prominently in both Ruisdael's painting and drawing.

In addition to his untraceable painted copy of his teacher's composition, Hobbema made a drawing, now in the Teylers Museum (fig. 53), that incorporates the long view of the same mill in the middle distance of a landscape with three large trees in the foreground.



FIGURE 53. Meindert Hobbema (Dutch, 1638–1709), *Overshot Water Mill with Three Trees in the Foreground on the Right*, 1660s. Black chalk, gray wash, heightened with opaque white watercolor, 18.2 × 29.5 cm (7³/₁₆ × 11⁵/₈ in.). Teylers Museum, Haarlem, The Netherlands, inv. no. R 37. Photo: Teylers Museum, The Netherlands



FIGURE 54. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Overshot Water Mill in a Wooded Landscape*, ca. 1650–55. Black chalk, gray wash, 20.1 × 31.4 cm (7⁷/₈ × 12³/₈ in.). Teylers Museum, Haarlem, The Netherlands, inv. no. R 38. Photo: Teylers Museum, The Netherlands

His free use of broad areas of wash and general luminosity, as well as his detailed attention to light and the character of the foliage, distinguishes it from Ruisdael's drawing. Hobbema incorporates this mill—seen from the same viewpoint and with a similar foreground and huge tree—in his small, upright *Water Mill in Cincinnati*, and again with some changes in a painting now in Brussels.⁶⁹

In Ruisdael's outstanding drawing also in the Teylers Museum we see a close side view of the same wooden overshot mill (fig. 54). This study is notable for its vigorous, yet meticulous differentiation of foliage and convincing depiction of rushing and still water. These qualities are not immediately apparent in the Melbourne picture (fig. 55) that is based on the sketch. The painting has darkened considerably; detailed inspection, however, reveals strikingly close correspondences. The compactness of their compositions speaks for a date in the first half of the 1650s.



FIGURE 55. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Overshot Water Mill in a Wooded Landscape*, monogrammed on the hillside on the left, ca. 1650–55. Oil on canvas, 65 × 71.3 cm (25⁹/₁₆ × 28¹/₁₆ in.). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, inv. no. 1249/3. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia / Bridgeman Art Library

Comparison of Hobbema's black chalk and gray wash drawing at the Petit Palais (fig. 56) of the same or a very similar overshot mill seen from the same angle as Ruisdael's sketch at the Teylers Museum (see fig. 54) shows how the pupil's touch differs from the master's. Hobbema's handling of wash is much broader (compared to Ruisdael's, it looks blotchy), and his treatment of the dark and middle tones in the foliage is more generalized. The landscape and details of the mill's construction differ as well. Notable are the divergences between the two large water wheels: Ruisdael's wheel has a simple large hub and four spokes; Hobbema's, a huge square hub with eight sturdy spokes.

It is debatable whether Hobbema's drawing was done at the site (or based on his own sketches made there) when the mill had a different water wheel or if he used his teacher's drawing or the Melbourne painting as a point of departure for it. More certain is that the overshot mill seen in the Petit Palais drawing is incorporated in some of Hobbema's well-known paintings, along with what can be called his favorite sturdy water wheel, and always in different settings. An outstanding work that includes it as the principal subject is Hobbema's *Water Mill* at the Rijksmuseum (fig. 57); it appears again in his *Village with a Water Mill* at the Frick Collection and it is a major element in a landscape dated 1664 in Toledo.⁷⁰



FIGURE 56. Meindert Hobbema, *Overshot Water Mill in a Wooded Landscape*, 1660s. Black chalk, gray wash, 18.3 × 29.4 cm (7³/₁₆ × 11⁹/₁₆ in.). Collection Dutuit, Petit Palais, Paris, inv. no. 995. Photo: © Petit Palais / Roger-Viollet



FIGURE 57. Meindert Hobbema, *Overshot Water Mill in a Wooded Landscape*, mid-1660s. Oil on panel, 59.3 × 83.6 cm (23³/₈ × 32¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-156. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

These pictures and those in Cincinnati and Brussels cited above, as well as others mentioned in the following pages, support Hobbema's unshakable reputation as an outstanding painter of water mills. Indeed, the name that first comes to mind when Dutch landscapes with water mills are mentioned is Hobbema's, but it is well to recall that his teacher made masterworks that had water mills as their central focus before the pupil held a brush in hand.

Ruisdael's third drawing of the overshot mill, now at the British Museum (fig. 58), shows it at an angle. It served as a preparatory drawing for a painting at the Instituut Collectie Nederland (ICN), The Hague (fig. 59). The painting's state of preservation is not good; it has dark passages that are difficult to read. Technical examination of its signature



FIGURE 58. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Overshot Water Mill and a Millpond*, ca. 1650–55. Black chalk, gray wash, 18.1 × 22.1 cm (7¹/₈ × 8¹¹/₁₆ in.). British Museum, London, inv. no. 1854,05135. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY



FIGURE 59. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Overshot Water Mill and a Millpond*, signed lower left, ca. 1655–60. Oil on canvas, 56.5 × 67.5 cm (22¼ × 26⅞ in.). Instituut Collectie Nederland, The Hague, inv. no. NK 1773. Photo: ICN, Rijswijk / Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Photographer: Tim Koster

may show it to be a later addition. The wide expanse of the millpond that extends across the foreground and the strong contrast between the main motif and the solid mass of the tree-covered hill behind it, with an open vista stretching to the horizon, suggest that it was painted about 1655–60.

There is close fidelity between the British Museum's drawing and the ICN's painted version, although sharp cropping of the trees on the left and right sides of the drawing indicate that both sides of the sheet have been cut. This mill appears again from a very similar viewpoint in an imaginary grandiose setting in Ruisdael's late *Overshot Water Mill in a Mountainous Landscape*, now in Detroit (see ch. 11 and fig. 65).

An exceptionally unusual, close view of the backside of the overshot water mill by Ruisdael is at the Amsterdams Historisch Museum (fig. 60). Like his three preparatory drawings of the other sides of the mill, it is executed in black chalk and gray wash; however, it is the only one with touches of pen and black ink. It served as Ruisdael's working drawing for his painting that appeared in a 1983 sale as an unpublished work (fig. 61). The painting is



FIGURE 60. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Wooded Landscape with a Rear View of a Water Mill with a Punt*, ca. 1650–55. Black chalk, pen, and gray wash, 19.7 × 29.6 cm (7¾ × 11⅝ in.). Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. no. TA 10304. Photo: Amsterdams Historisch Museum



FIGURE 61. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Wooded Landscape with a Rear View of a Water Mill with a Man in a Punt*, monogrammed lower right, ca. 1650–55. Oil on canvas, 42.5 × 41.2 cm (16³/₄ × 16¹/₄ in.). Private collection

now in a private collection. After it surfaced, removal of its old discolored varnish revealed numerous scattered paint losses in the sky and abrasion in the original paint surface of the foliage.

I do not know of another drawing or painting by a seventeenth-century Dutch artist that depicts the rear premises of an overshot or undershot water mill. Instead of showing a characteristic aspect of the former—the trough that carries rushing water to its working water wheel and broad sheets of cascading water—Ruisdael offers only a bit of the rear of the mill nestled in the hollow of a low mound, focusing his attention on the sturdy timber lock that controls the stream of water carried by the trough to the top of the water wheel. From this angle the wheel itself is hidden.

Though the drawing (see fig. 60) shows only the lower two-thirds of the painting (see fig. 61), and its large bent tree has been given a more distinct personality, becoming a more pronounced accent in the painting, this drawing, like the other three, is very closely related to the finished picture. Originally, the drawing probably shared the painting's unusual square format; the abrupt way the crown of the large tree is cropped suggests it has been cut at the top.

In the drawing a punt is seen in the lock. In the painting, a workman has entered the small boat. His jacket provides the single bit of vivid red that Ruisdael often introduced in his landscapes. We have seen that the traveler's red jacket in the Getty's *Water Mills* (see fig. 38) strikes a similar note.

11 Coda

Judging from Ruisdael's existing oeuvre, he painted a mere five landscapes that emphasize water mills during the last two decades of his life. All are surprisingly different. The earliest of the group is the Rijksmuseum's particularly attractive picture, *Undershot Water Mill in a Hilly Wooded Landscape* (fig. 62). Like the artist's *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* (see fig. 17), it was in Adriaan van der Hoop's collection. He bequeathed both, along with other major paintings, to the City of Amsterdam in 1854. Since 1885 it has been on extended loan to the Rijksmuseum.

The painting is one of Ruisdael's rare dated pictures of the 1660s. Though the last digit of the date is no longer distinguishable, copies or variants after it by or ascribed to Hobbema lend support to the date of 1661 read on the original by earlier specialists. A Hobbema copy, entitled *The Travelers*, signed and dated 166[?], is at the National Gallery, Washington (fig. 63);⁷¹ it greatly enlarges the original's dimensions, makes changes in the foreground, and introduces two horsemen on the road (the horsemen are by another hand). No less than a half-dozen other copies of the Rijksmuseum's picture attributed to Hobbema are known.⁷² They and others executed around 1662 suggest that for a very short period Hobbema entertained the idea of devoting his career to generating copies and variants of his teacher's work, but as we have seen, not long afterward he successfully went his own way.

The mill in the middle ground of the Rijksmuseum's original is beautifully integrated into the picture's rich composition, which includes a mirror-smooth millpond, tall elegant trees, a winding road, and a wooded hill. John Smith, the pioneer cataloguer of Ruisdael's production, makes an unexpected statement about the painting's figures: a woodsman with ax in hand near a felled tree trunk and a woman kneeling near him. He writes that both figures were painted by Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–1789), a popular French landscapist.⁷³ Since there is no verifiable evidence that the picture was in France before Vernet's death, his claim is questionable. Yet it is notable that some Hobbema copies do not include these figures (see note 72 for citation of one formerly in the Toledo [Ohio] Museum). Perhaps Smith was correct. The matter could almost certainly be resolved by a conservator and a specialist closely familiar with Vernet's style. The former would hopefully be able to establish if the two figures are painted with pigments that are an integral part of the picture's original paint layer; the latter could probably determine if the figures show Vernet's hand.



FIGURE 62. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Undershot Water Mill in a Hilly Wooded Landscape*, signed and dated 166[1?], lower right. Oil on canvas, 63 × 79 cm (24¹³/₁₆ × 31¹/₈ in.). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-213 (on extended loan from the City of Amsterdam). Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



FIGURE 63. Meindert Hobbema, *The Travelers*, signed and dated 166[?], bottom right. Oil on canvas, 101.3 × 144.8 cm (39⁷/₈ × 57 in.). Widener Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1942.9.31. Photo: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington



FIGURE 64. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape with an Undershot Water Mill*, signed lower right, mid-1660s. Oil on canvas, 55 × 67.5 cm (21⁵/₈ × 26¹/₁₆ in.). Private collection. Photo: Courtesy Sotheby's

Around the mid-1660s Ruisdael painted a very unusual, signed winter scene, now in a private collection (fig. 64). Its central focus is a large, snow-covered, inoperative water mill and sluice adjacent to a frozen millpond. Snow blankets the landscape and the distant village; a break in the heavy brooding clouds suggests the sky may soon lighten. The artist's winterscapes with windmills have been discussed (see ch. 5) and we know that his other paintings of winter comprise views of the river Amstel and the skyline of Amsterdam, unidentified towns and villages, farmsteads, and castles. There is even one that prominently displays the ingenious lamppost invented by the leading architectural painter Jan van der Heyden; this invention led, in 1669, to the installation of more than two thousand of his lamps in Amsterdam, making it the first European city to enjoy street lighting.⁷⁴ However, the snow-covered winter scene illustrated here is the only existing one by our artist that includes a prominent water mill. Indeed, it may be unique. To my knowledge, the subject is not represented by any other artist of the heroic age of Dutch painting.

Ruisdael's three other landscapes with water mills are datable to the 1670s. Sharp eyes are needed to find the one in Detroit's stately mountainous landscape (fig. 65). Subordinated to other motifs in this large painting, it is in the far middle ground at the foot of the dark hill. Close inspection shows that it represents the same tile-roofed, timber overshoot mill that Jacob depicted in the 1650s from four different sides. Here it is seen at the same angle he selected for his British Museum drawing (see fig. 58), which served as the sketch for the painting at the Instituut Collectie Nederland, The Hague (see fig. 59). The mill's reappearance in Detroit's picture suggests that Ruisdael kept the sketch he made in the 1650s in a portfolio on the chance he had need of it. Apparently Hobbema had a copy as well. He used the same mill seen from the same angle for his outstanding paintings of water mills at the Rijksmuseum, the Wallace Collection in London, and the Art Institute of Chicago.⁷⁵

Hobbema never saw the water mill in the grandiose setting Ruisdael used. His repertoire does not include a single mountainous landscape. Ruisdael never saw mountainous landscapes either, but in his last years he painted a few imaginary ones. Like the one at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (fig. 66), they are dedicated to the rugged grandeur of a mountain range as high as the Alps, with its loftiest peaks shrouded by clouds, as a means to express the vastness and dominant power of nature. Detroit's water mill in an imaginary mountain view offers a hint of his very late depictions of the awesome subject. There is a minuscule water mill in the Hermitage's majestic painting that is even harder to find than the one in Detroit's picture. It is on the far right, at the bank of the broad river running along the foot of the towering chain of mountains. Ruisdael's early cataloguers categorized the painting as



FIGURE 65. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Overshot Water Mill in a Mountainous Landscape*, signed on a rock, lower right 1670s. Oil on canvas, 106.7 × 133.4 cm (42 × 52½ in.). The Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 49.532. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Fisher. Photo: Detroit Institute of Arts, USA / Bridgeman Art Library



FIGURE 66. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Mountainous and Wooded Landscape with a River*, late 1670s. Oil on canvas, 99.5 × 137 cm (39³/₁₆ × 53¹⁵/₁₆ in.). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. 932. Photo: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg © The State Hermitage Museum



FIGURE 67. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Three Undershot Water Mills with Washerwomen at the Foot of a High Hill*, falsely monogrammed, lower right, ca. 1675. Oil on canvas, 60 × 74 cm (23⁵/₈ × 29¹/₈ in.). The National Gallery, London, inv. no. 989. Photo: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY

a water mill picture, but it does not qualify as one, and it is not arguable that the tiny sailing boat and log raft on the river classify it as a riverscape. If we choose to pigeonhole it, it is best to call it a mountainscape.

Three Undershot Water Mills with Washerwomen at the Foot of a High Hill at the National Gallery, London (fig. 67), is very badly abraded, particularly in the dark areas, but enough can be seen of the miniature-like treatment of the three large mills to place it about 1675. It is a pity that the painting has suffered so much. Without a magnifying glass, it is difficult to discern the activities of the working washerwomen and their little children in the foreground's light area.

The painting's three mills are closely related to those in a black chalk and gray wash drawing at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (fig. 68), datable to about the same time. It has been proposed that the mills in the drawing depict some that were at Schutterhof, a village about



FIGURE 68. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Three Undershot Water Mills*, ca. 1675. Black chalk, gray wash, 18 × 25.4 cm (7 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 10 in.). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. 5536. Photo: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg © The State Hermitage Museum

three kilometers (2 miles) from Bentheim, the town Ruisdael visited about two decades earlier.⁷⁶ This supposition remains tentative, particularly after one learns that there were other clusters of undershot water mills in the vicinity. For example, an inscription on a signed pen-and-wash drawing of large double mills by Frederick de Moucheron (1633–1680) tells us that they represent the water mills at Schuttrup (*water molen van Schuttrup*), a village near Bentheim's hill.⁷⁷

If the late date assigned to the Hermitage drawing is correct (the almost miniaturist handling that it shares with the National Gallery's painting supports this), the sketch may have been based on an earlier study executed when Ruisdael made his trip to Bentheim's area in the early 1650s. There is no reason to believe he revisited the eastern provinces and Westphalia late in life.

Our discussion of Ruisdael's water mills closes with Detroit's signed painting of a downstream view of a mill and its sluice in a broad hilly landscape (fig. 69). Its paint film is generally, and in some places badly, worn. The calm scene and insignificant role the clouds play in the painting's pictorial organization are unusual for the artist, but in its intact passages the touch speaks for Jacob's hand, particularly in the large half-timbered mill, its reflection, and the grasses. Datable to Ruisdael's last years, it offers a distinct premonition of eighteenth-century bucolic landscapes.



FIGURE 69. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Undershot Water Mill with a View of a Hilly Landscape*, signed lower right, ca. 1675–80. Oil on canvas, 42.5 × 60.5 cm (16¾ × 23⅓/16 in.). The Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. F28.94. Gift of Sally Butzel in memory of Leo and Carolyn Butzel. Photo: Bridgeman Art Library / Detroit Institute of Arts, USA

Notes

1. Stokhuyzen 1962, p. 100.

2. Slive 2001, p. 527, no. D46; p. 528, nos. D48 and D49. A fourth sheet, now at the Albertina, Vienna, that depicts windmills in a landscape may be another survivor of this group (*ibid.*, p. 581, no. D121). It is similar in size to the others and like them is done in black chalk, but it has been disfigured by gray wash added by another hand. What can be seen of the chalk sketch suggests it may belong to the Dresden sketchbook group.

3. For the picture's volatile critical reception over more than two centuries—from its place near the top of the charts to its complete abasement, then (in my view unjust) demotion to a work by a pupil or follower, and, finally, the beginning of its rehabilitation in our time as a genuine Rembrandt—see Wheelock 1995, pp. 230–41, no. 1942.9.62 (658) and the monographic entry on the painting by Van de Wetering 2006, pp. 74–91. Before Wheelock and Van de Wetering published their reasons for incorporating *The Mill* once again into the canon of Rembrandt's paintings, Wheelock (1979) and Schneider (1990, pp. 42, 44–47, 183–90 [no. 6]) argued forcefully for its attribution to the master. It should be added that some specialists continue to express reservations about its ascription to Rembrandt. Sometimes it seems that the Rembrandt—not Rembrandt debate will be eternal.

4. Stechow (1968, p. 39), aptly characterizes Ruisdael's *Extensive Landscape with Trees and a Distant View of a Town*, Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass. (Slive 2001, no. 66), as a paraphrase of Rembrandt's most famous landscape etching, *The Three Trees* (Bartsch no. 212). Jacob's debt to *The Three Trees* can also be seen, but less conspicuously, in his etching *The Three Oaks* (Slive 2001, pp. 601–2, no. E9) and Vienna's painting *River Landscape with the Entrance to a Vault* (*ibid.*, no. 522); both works are signed and dated 1649. In my view they are the only ones that show our artist's debt to Rembrandt. I should add that I am not convinced that Ruisdael was inspired to eliminate Amsterdam's Montelbaans Tower's elegant, tall spire (which it still has today) in his black chalk drawing of it at the Louvre because he knew Rembrandt's earlier sketch of it, now at the Museum het Rembrandthuis, which also shows the ancient tower spireless. For a discussion and illustrations of these drawings see *ibid.*, pp. 564–65, no. D86, and Slive 2009, pp. 154–56. Finally, though the connection made

in Slive 1981 (pp. 135–36, no. 47) between *River Landscape with Ruins* at Kassel, attributed to Rembrandt by Bredius (1971, no. 454), and Ruisdael's famous *Le Coup de Soleil* (*A Burst of Sunshine*) at the Louvre (Slive 2001, pp. 346–48, no. 474) is a qualified one; I have since come to find the notion far-fetched. It is no accident that it is not mentioned in my entry on the Louvre picture that appeared two decades later (see *ibid.*). Ascription to Rembrandt of Kassel's landscape, which was done in more than one stage and most likely by more than one hand, has been rightly questioned by Bruyn et al. (vol. 3, 1989, pp. 514–20, no. B12,) and Schneider (1990, pp. 206–11, no. R5,).

5. Beckett 1968, 6, p. 74.

6. Parris et al. 1975, p. 57.

7. Beckett 1968, 6, pp. 44–45.

8. Leslie 1951, p. 4.

9. A few exceedingly rare published and visual references allow us to infer that some of Ruisdael's contemporaries made paintings in the open air. Among them is the statement in the biography of Claude Lorraine by the German artist and art historian Joachim von Sandrart in his *Teutsche Academie* (1675). In it, Sandrart explicitly writes that he rode with Claude, Nicolas Poussin, and the Dutch artist Pieter van Laer from Rome to nearby Tivoli to paint as well as draw landscapes. Also pertinent are two drawings with very unusual subjects, one by Jan Lievens (Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main), the other a retouched counterproof of a drawing by Jan Asselyn (Staatliche Museen, Berlin); both depict painters working outdoors at their easels. It should be stressed, however, that among the almost countless number of landscapes left to us by seventeenth-century Dutch artists, not one can be classified unequivocally as a painted view of nature done in the open air.

10. Giltay [Giltaj] (1980, p. 184 and n. 107) first called attention to the significance of the inscription. He cited it on 10 drawings. As noted in the text, today 18 have been identified, a fact that makes the anonymous "J. Ruijsdael collector" the earliest-known person to assemble a sizable group of the artist's works. Broos (1987, pp. 170, 190, nn. 50–51) recognized that the Bremen drawing had entered the Feitama collection by ca. 1690 and that the group of drawings must have borne the "J. Ruijsdael" inscription before it was acquired by the

Feitamas. A manuscript inventory of the Feitama family's drawing collection compiled by Sybrand Feitama II (1694–1758) lists almost 1,500 drawings, including no less than 41 by Ruisdael. For studies of the family's holdings see Broos 1984, 1985, and 1987.

11. Slive 2001, pp. 518–19, no. D34.
12. Additional data regarding the affair are in the curatorial files of the Kunsthalle, Bremen.
13. Simon 1930, p. 74.
14. Parker 1928–29, p. 10. The Amsterdams Historisch Museum drawing is Slive 2001, pp. 499–50, no. D10.
15. Parker 1928–29, p. 10. See Jakob Rosenberg, “Hobbema,” *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 48 (1927), p. 139ff.
16. Couprie 1998, pp. 40–49. His proposal (pp. 44–45) that the Windsor Castle drawing may be by Jan van Kessel (1641–1680) is unconvincing; for a defense of its attribution to Ruisdael see Slive 2001, pp. 584–85, no. D127.
17. Private communication, Prof. Alan Robinson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. He noted that the phenomenon could be the result of two rivers merging at this juncture or created by pilings along the shore.
18. Drees 1976, pp. 4–9.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
20. Rembrandt's etchings that are mirror images include *David and Goliath* (Bartsch no. 36c); *The Shell* (Bartsch no. 159); *View of Amsterdam* (Bartsch no. 210); and *View of Haarlem with the Saxenburg Estate* (Bartsch no. 281; formerly wrongly identified as *The Goldweigher's Field*).
21. For a discussion of the mills correctly and wrongly identified as the one Ruisdael painted see Hijmans 1951, pp. 51–57.
22. Imdahl 1968, p. 5.
23. Kauffmann 1977, pp. 379–97.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 388.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
26. Davies 2001, p. 239, no. 120, pl. 120.
27. Slive 2001, pp. 106–8, no. 80.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 488, no. 693.

30. Waagen 1837–39, 1, p. 295.
31. W. R. Valentiner, *Johnson Collection Catalogue*, 1913, 2, p. 125, no. 569.
32. Beckett 1968, 6, p. 365.
33. Parris et al. 1975, pp. 61–62.
34. Beckett 1970, p. 64.
35. Ashton et al. 1982, pp. 18, 21.
36. Tracing pictures that belonged to the *marchand-amateur* De Morny is not an easy task. He never published a catalogue of the many important works that passed through his hands. He acquired and sold pictures rapidly; they appeared in no less than eight sales between 1841 and 1865. (For a succinct account of his activities see Haskell 1976, pp. 102–3.) A valuable clue to the Ruisdael winterscape seen by Delacroix is found in the catalogue of the sale of De Morny's paintings held in London (Phillips, June 20, 1848, no. 40), which fetched £157.10: “A Winter scene in Holland. The composition is distinguished by a windmill erected on a pile of old brick-work, having an archway under it. A cottage stands in the centre of the view, and considerably beyond it is a large building under repair, with scaffolding around it. The whole of the country is submerged in snow, and the clouds still indicate another fall. Canvas, 1ft.5 by 1ft.3 [43.2 × 38.2 cm; dimensions reversed?].” The cataloguer's precise description seems to clinch identification of the work with the winterscape now in a private collection (fig. 27); however, what is known about the nineteenth-century provenance of the latter painting does not support this identification (see Slive 2001, p. 481, no. 683). The possibility that the winter sold in 1848 was an untraceable close variant or copy cannot be excluded. More probable is identification of the seascape now in a private collection as the one Delacroix saw (see Slive 2006, p. 128, no. 41).
37. *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*, ed. André Joubin, Paris, 1932, 1, pp. 212–13: “Avoir sous les yeux de semblables peintures dans sa chambre, serait la jouissance la plus douce.”
38. Slive 2001, pp. 288–89, no. 375.
39. Smith 1835, 6, p. 39, no. 120.
40. Like others in the set of views discussed below, the credit line on the etching follows the tradition that states, in Latin, that Ruisdael invented the image and Blooteling made his print after it:

J. van Ruisdael invent . . . A. Blotelingh fecit. Identification of the mill in the etching and those in figures 31 and 32 is based on data in Dumas et al. 2007, pp. 80–81, nos. 36, 37a, 37b.

41. Ruisdael's preparatory drawings at the École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts etched by Blooteling are *The Blue Bridge (Blauwbrug)*, Slive 2001, pp. 568–69, no. D102, and *The Yacht Harbor at the River Amstel near the Blue Bridge*, *ibid.*, pp. 569–70, no. D103.

42. Both Ruisdael's drawing of the gate and Blooteling's faithful etching after it fail to include the structure's large arched pediment, which prominently displayed Amsterdam's coat of arms; the gate's distinctive watchtowers with their large, double blind pedimented windows and tall chimneys, which flanked either side of it; and the Tuscan pilasters that decorated the facade. Jan van Kessel made a splendid, accurate drawing of it; see Davies 1992, pp. 229–31, no. d9, repr. Contemporary descriptions are in Fokkens 1662, p. 335; Dapper 1663, p. 451; Von Zesen 1664, p. 190; Domselaer 1665, book 3, pp. 265–66.

43. D'Ancona 1940, pp. 287–89.

44. D'Ailly 1953, pp. 68–69, no. 138.

45. Slive 2001, p. 17, no. 4.

46. Walsh 1991, pp. 103–6. The cumulonimbus cloud in the Amsterdam version reappeared after a heavy layer of old discolored varnish was removed during a conservation treatment shortly before it appeared in the sale, anon., London (Sotheby's), December 7, 2006, no. 23.

47. *Ibid.* The meteorologist George Siscoe named the dramatic cloud that Ruisdael invented.

48. A print of the Old Women's Home done ca. 1700 by V. Smith is illustrated in Meijer 1897, 1, p. 187. An anonymous eighteenth-century print of it is in Kruizinga 1973, fig. 303.

49. For Ruisdael's radical alterations to St. Anthony's Gate in his preparatory drawing for the Amstel series (fig. 32), see the discussion in ch. 6 and n. 42 above. He also made significant changes in his depictions of other Amsterdam landmarks. For example, his drawing of the Holy Way Gate (Heiligwegspoort) shows it as an imaginary lush woodland setting and makes major modifications to its bridge, and his sketch of ancient Montelbaans Tower deprives it of the elegant, tall, wooden spire it acquired in 1606 and retains to this day (see Slive 2001, nos. D13, D96, respectively, and their accompanying illustrations; also n. 4, above).

50. Houbraken 1721, 3, p. 65. Notable Ruisdael and Berchem joint efforts are *The Great Oak*, 1652, Los Angeles County Museum

of Art, and *Wooded Landscape with a Flooded Road*, 1665–70, at Douai, on extended loan from the Louvre (Slive 2001, nos. 380, 397). Berchem painted the prominent figures and animals in both magnificent woodland scenes.

51. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, inv. no. 1481; HdG, 9, Berchem, no. 109. The Duke of Westminster, London; HdG, 9, Berchem, no. 110.

52. *Village with Half-Timbered Houses Flanking a Road on a Hill*, signed and dated 1653. Musée des Beaux-Arts et Musée David d'Angers (Slive 2001, no. 552); *Landscape with a Half-Timbered House with a Blasted Tree*, signed with a partially legible signature and dated 1653, Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Ky., inv. no. 1988.2 (Slive 2001, no. 577).

53. Fremantle 1959, pp. 37–38, 83, n. 51.

54. Buvelot 2009, p. 82.

55. The left stroke of the monogram's "R" also serves as the letter "J"; the lowercase "v" is attached to the left stroke of the letter "R." Here it can be noted that, to my knowledge, the artist always signed his surname "Ruisdael," not "Ruysdael." His uncle Salomon and his cousin Jacob Salomonsz. used the latter spelling.

56. *Hilly Wooded Landscape with Cattle*, monogrammed, the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, Bowhill, Selkirk (Slive 2001, no. 477); *Wooded River Valley with a Footbridge*, signed and dated 1652, The Frick Collection, New York, inv. no. 49.1.156 (*ibid.*, no. 511).

57. The fifth is *Forest Scene*, signed and dated 1653, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 350 (*ibid.*, no. 307).

58. Hills 1996, p. 29.

59. Kaposy 1977, p. 320.

60. Smith 1829, 1, p. xxiv.

61. Kind communication from J. Giltaij, senior curator, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

62. Beckett 1952, pp. 250–51. Fisher knew Constable's *Pernes Mill* well. Constable gave him a small oil sketch of the undershot water mill in 1824, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Reynolds 1984, I, no. 24.4, repr.). The mill is also known as Gillingham Mill and Parham's Mill (*ibid.*, nos. 23.2, 26.4, 27.5).

63. For the Kostverloren drawings see Benesch nos. 1220 (verso), 1265, 1266, 1268, 1270, and a drawing at Dresden (not in Benesch) reproduced in Slive 1988, p. 155, figs. 6–9. For Rembrandt's three farmstead drawings see Benesch nos. 1295–97. Benesch no. 1294 (recto), which depicts the same farmstead, was unanimously attributed to Rembrandt until Schatborn signaled reasons to ascribe

it to Pieter de With (act. second half of the seventeenth century, d. after 1689), who was probably the master's pupil in the early 1650s; see Peter Schatborn's entry in Bevers et al., 2009, pp. 220–21, no. 37.2.

64. *Cottage with a White Paling*, a drawing at the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. RP-T-1981-1), is a preliminary drawing (in reverse) for Rembrandt's etching of the same subject (Bartsch no. 232; see White 1968, pp. 390–94).

65. Dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam, kindly informed me that he had the signed copy in 1957 and sold it to a private Austrian collector ca. 1958. Its present location is unknown. It is illustrated in Slive 2001, p. 142, fig. 124a.

66. “[B]ij hem eenighe jaren gedient ende geleert heeft”; GAA, NA, H. Friesma 3068 (film 3027), fol. 1621, July 8, 1660.

67. For Hobbema's painted variant, signed and dated 1662, of Ruisdael's etching *Forest Marsh*, at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, see Slive 2001, p. 609, fig. E13a. Another signed variant of the etching by Hobbema, datable to about the same time, is at the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid; see *ibid.*, fig. E13b. Yet another contemporary painted variant of the etching is at Dresden. This work was attributed to Ruisdael from the time it entered the gallery in 1743 until 1928, when Jakob Rosenberg recognized the remains of Jan van Kessel's signature on it; see *ibid.*, pp. 636–37, no. dub 67.

68. Stechow 1959 remains the best study of Hobbema's early years; for his characterization of works done ca. 1658–59 see *ibid.*, p. 9. Neither a reliable Hobbema monograph that surveys his entire career nor an illustrated catalogue raisonné that distinguishes between his genuine and less solidly attributed works has been published. Brouhiet's (1938) attempt to do both was unsuccessful. For a devastating review of his effort see MacLaren (1939; reprinted 2003). A convincing account of the drawings attributed to Hobbema (none are signed or dated) is provided by Giltay [Giltaj] 1980, pp. 168–74, 184–85, 203.

69. Meindert Hobbema, *Overshot Water Mill*, signed, perhaps 1680s, Cincinnati Art Museum, inv. no. 1946.94; HdG, 4, Hobbema, no. 75; Stechow 1968, fig. 149; and *Overshot Water Mill*, 1660s, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, inv. no. 3027; HdG, 4, Hobbema, no. 69; *Musea . . . Inventariscatalogus . . .*, 1984, p. 145, inv. 3027, repr.

70. Meindert Hobbema, *Village with Water Mill among Trees*, signed and datable to ca. 1665, The Frick Collection, New York, inv. no. 111.1.74; HdG, 4, Hobbema, no. 99; Davidson and Munhall, 1968, 1, pp. 225–27, repr. and *The Water Mill*, signed and dated 1664, Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art, inv. no. 67.157; Stechow 1968, fig. 152. It also

is worth mentioning the only known water mill by Jan van Kessel, another follower of Ruisdael's who also may have been his pupil: *Overshot Water Mill in a Hilly Landscape*, ca. 1665, formerly Alvan T. Fuller, Boston (Davies 1992, p. 158, no. 48, pl. 48). It is closely related to Hobbema's group of mills discussed here, particularly the one in Amsterdam (see fig. 57). Kessel may have used the latter as his source. We know that the two artists were friends, and both were emulating Ruisdael in about 1662. It has been noted above (see n. 67) that in 1662 Hobbema based a painting on one of Jacob's etchings. Around the same time Kessel painted a copy of the very same etching. More telling, Meindert served as witness for the banns of Jan's marriage in 1668, and he acted as godfather at the baptism of Kessel's son in 1675 (*ibid.*, pp. 16–17). However, Kessel's signed drawing of an identifiable site in Deventer datable to the mid-1660s indicates that he traveled east beyond Gelderland to Overijssel: *Bergpoort and Bergkerk at Deventer*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (*ibid.*, pp. 235–36, d15, pl. 198). The possibility that Kessel and Hobbema traveled together to Deventer is discussed by Davies (*ibid.*, pp. 88–89).

71. Wheelock (1995, pp. 113–17, no. 1942.9.11 [627]) offers a discussion of the last digit of the date as interpreted by earlier cataloguers and concludes it is perhaps “2.” I find it illegible.

72. See Slive 2001, pp. 131–33, under no. 110. One of Hobbema's signed variants of Ruisdael's original at Amsterdam surfaced at the sale, anon., London (Sotheby's) on July 7, 2010, no. 34, repr.; not in HdG or Brouhiet 1938. The foreground of this variant is figureless; the kneeling woman and man with an axe in the original are not included in it. The picture had been acquired by the Toledo Museum of Art by 1957 (see W. H[utton], *Toledo Museum News*, Fall 1957, p. 10); it was sold by the museum in 1968.

73. Smith 1835, 6, p. 22, no. 48.

74. *Winter Landscape with a Lamppost and a Distant View of Haarlem*, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 1109; Slive 2001, no. 670.

75. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. C 144; HdG, 4, Hobbema, no. 67; Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 277, C144, repr. Wallace Collection, London, inv. no. P99; HdG, 4, Hobbema, no. 85; Ingamells 1992, 4, pp. 156–58, P99, repr. Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 94.1031; HdG, 4, Hobbema, no. 71; Stechow 1968, fig. 153.

76. Maschmeyer 1978, pp. 66–68.

77. Moucheron's drawing is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Atlas van der Hem), Vienna; Slive 2001, p. 30, repr.

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- a number, e.g., 127, refers to a painting
- D and a number, e.g., D46, refers to a drawing
- E and a number, e.g., E10, refers to an etching
- dub D and a number, e.g., dub D47, refers to a drawing that has a dubious status

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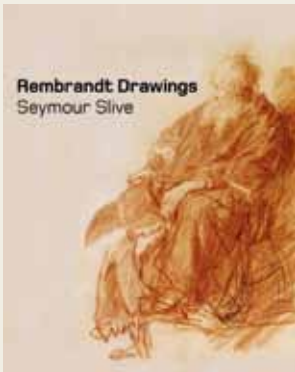
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SEYMOUR SLIVE is Gleason Professor of Fine Arts emeritus at Harvard University and former Elizabeth and John Moors Cabot Director of the Harvard Art Museums. He is the author of *Rembrandt Drawings* (Getty Publications, 2009), *Dutch Painting, 1600–1800* (Yale University Press, 1995), *Jacob van Ruisdael: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings, Drawings, and Etchings* (Yale University Press, 2001), and numerous other publications.

ALSO FROM SEYMOUR SLIVE

Rembrandt Drawings



On the front cover: Jacob van Ruisdael, *Windmill on a River Bank* (detail), monogrammed, ca. 1655. Private Collection.

On the back cover: Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Undershot Water Mills with an Open Sluice*, monogrammed and dated 1653. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Dutch art expert Seymour Slive explores Jacob van Ruisdael's hauntingly beautiful depiction of windmills, a beloved feature of Netherlandish landscape, and the artist's pioneering portrayals of water mills, a new subject he introduced into contemporary painting. Slive writes with deep love for this art and brings Ruisdael's work vividly to life.



Praise for Seymour Slive's *Rembrandt Drawings*

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