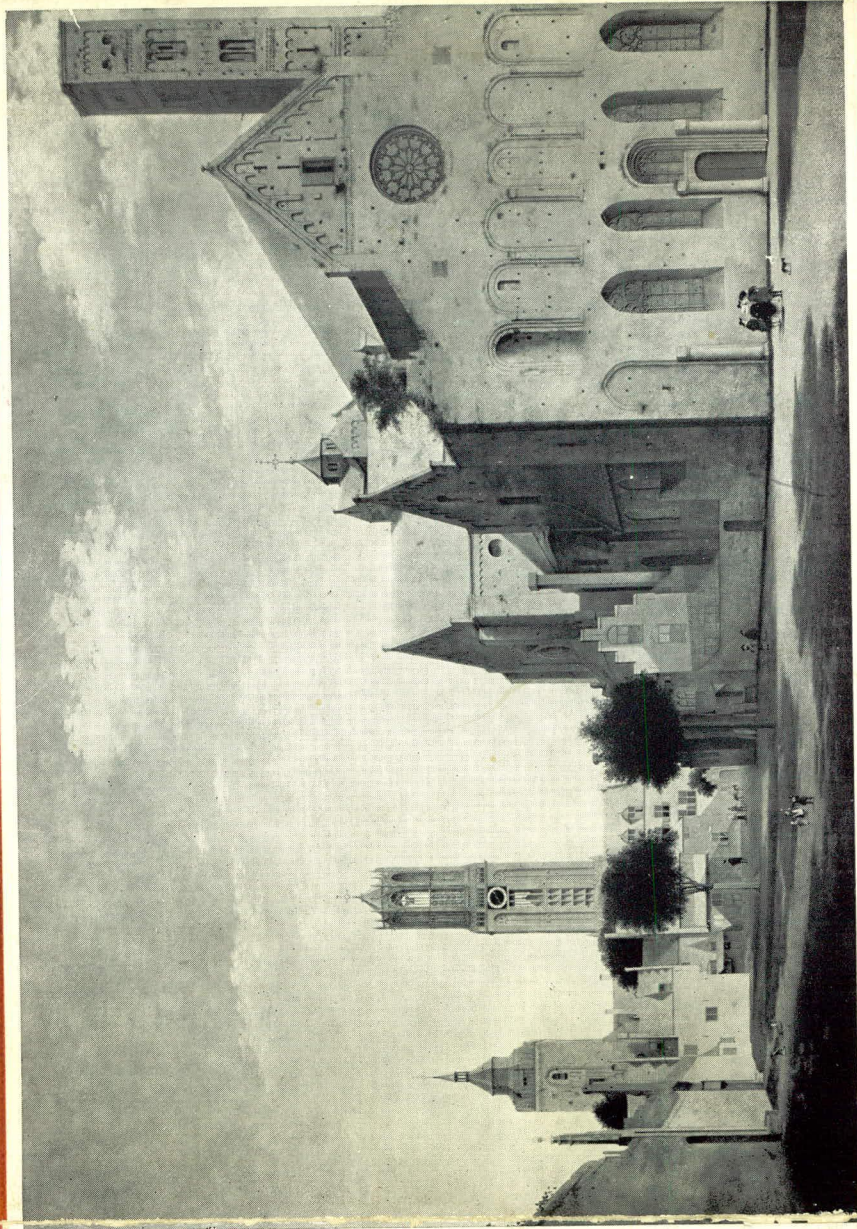


CENTRAAL MUSEUM - UTRECHT

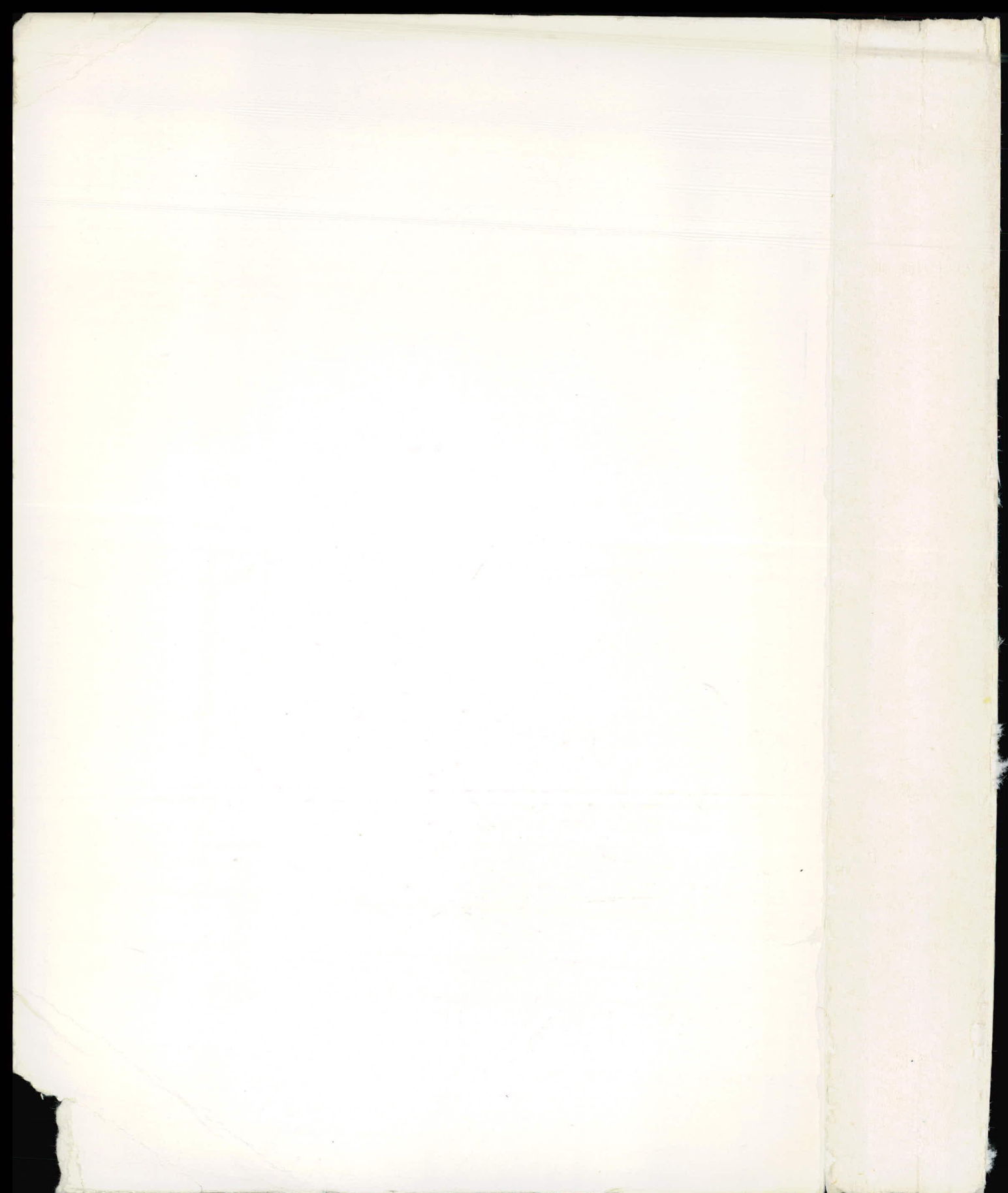


PIETER JANSZ.
SAENREDAM

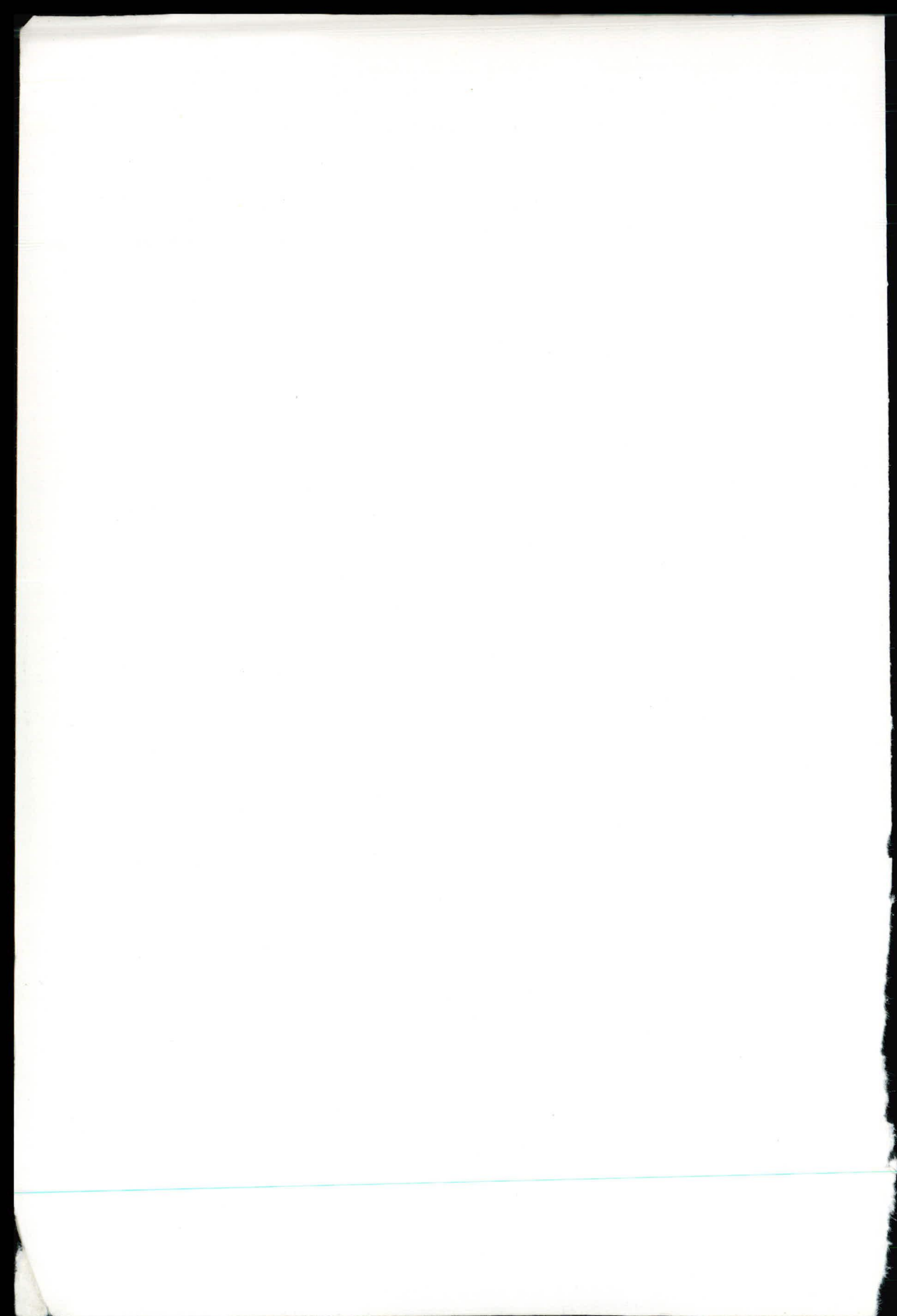
SAENREDAM

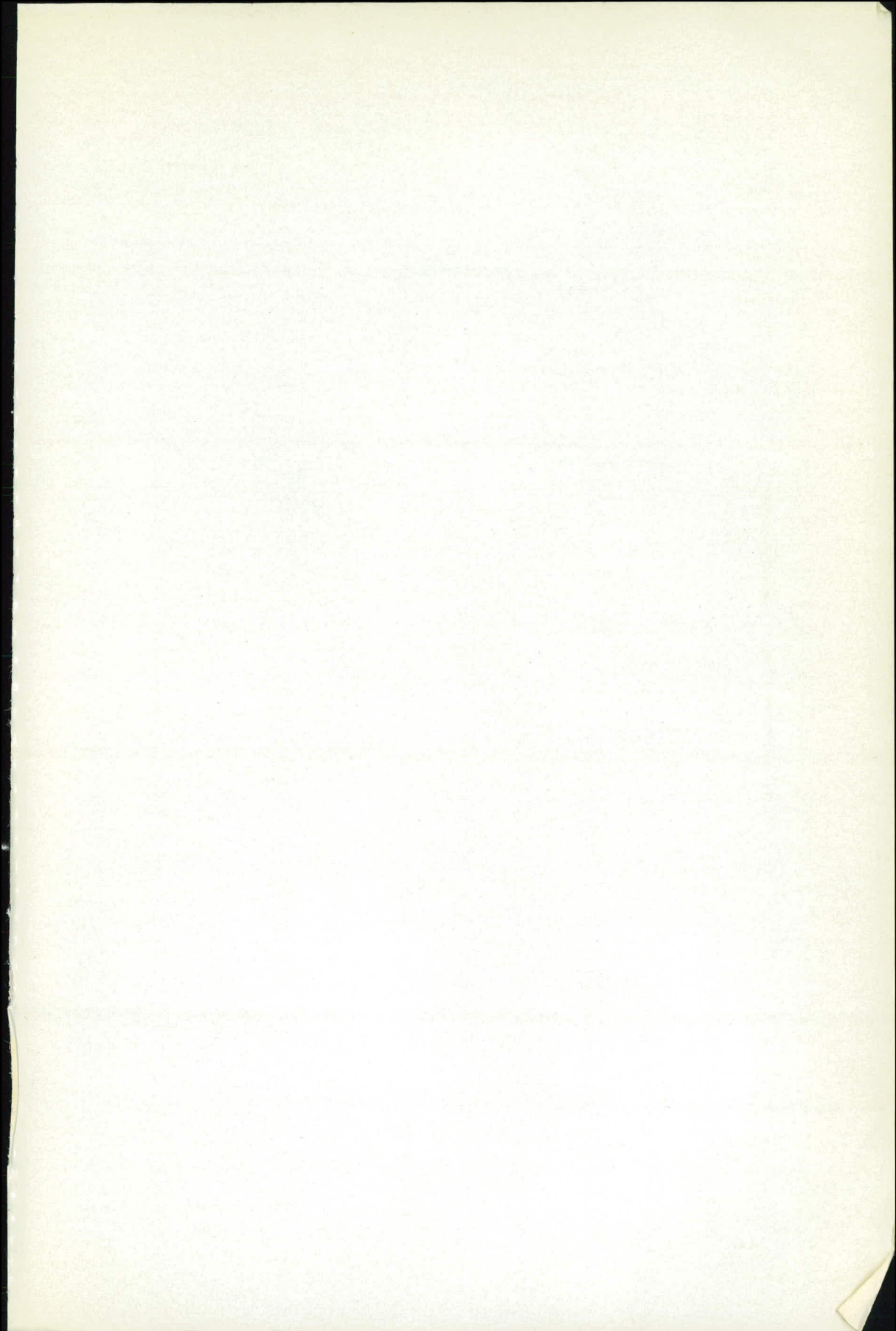
CENTRAAL MUSEUM - UTRECHT

1961



PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM







CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

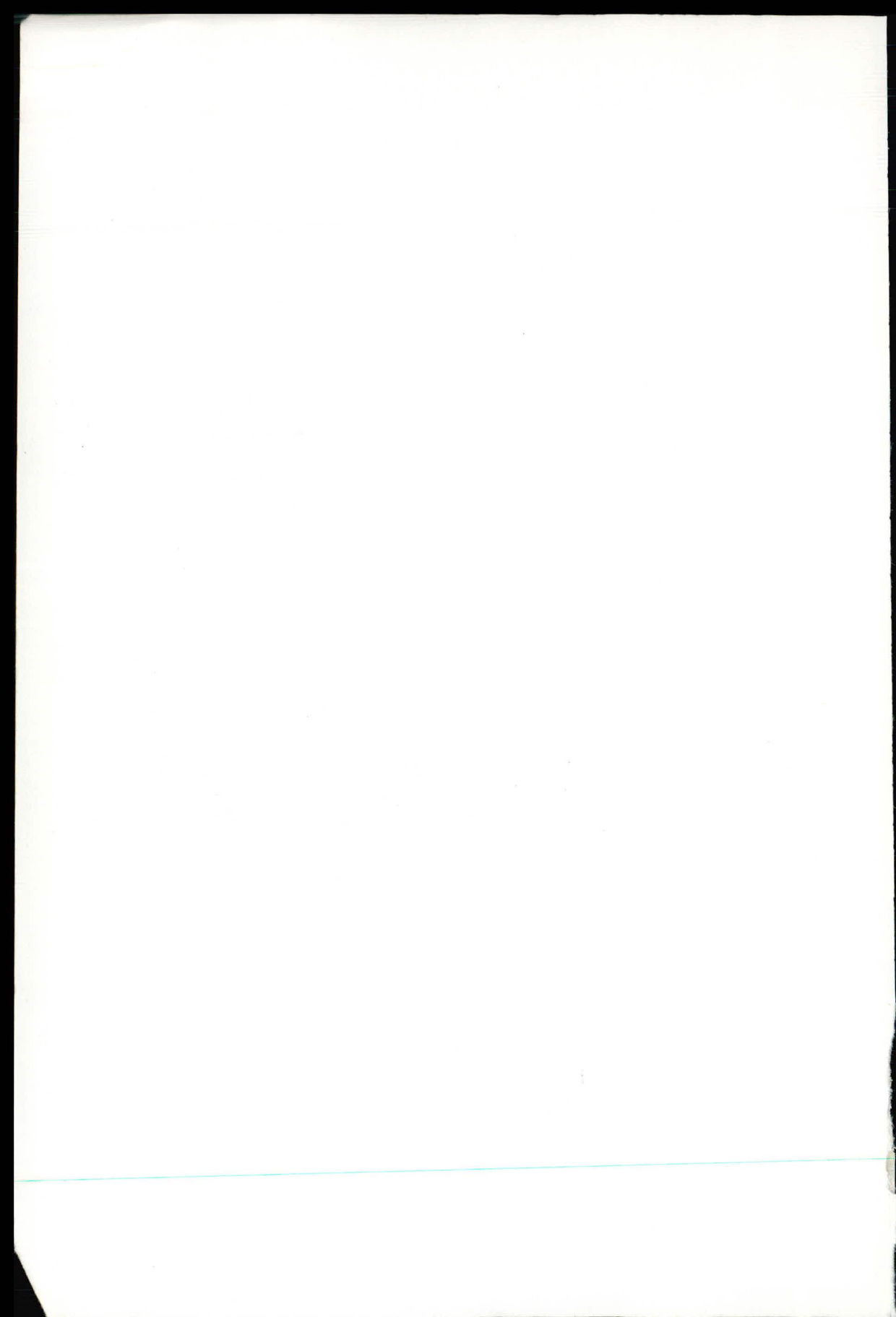
of the works by

PIETER JANSZ.
SAENREDAM

published on the occasion of the
exhibition Pieter Jansz. Saenredam

15 September - 3 December 1961

UTRECHT, CENTRAAL MUSEUM



The following private persons, musea and institutions kindly placed works of art at our disposal

	Her Majesty the Queen
Aerdenhout	J. W. Nienhuys collection
Alkmaar	Stedelijk Museum
Amsterdam	's Rijksprentenkabinet 's Rijksmuseum Gemeentemusea Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Prof. Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena Mrs. P. de Boer collection Six collection
Berlin-Dahlem	Ehemals Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie und Kupferstichkabinett
Bois-le-Duc (<i>'s Hertogenbosch</i>)	Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Weten- schappen in Noord-Brabant
Boston	Museum of Fine Arts
Brussels	Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten
Copenhagen	The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Prints and Drawings
Egham, Surrey	Fr. Jurgens, Esq.
England	Private collections
Esch	Dr. F. H. Fentener van Vlissingen
Glasgow	Art Gallery and Museum
's-Graveland	Jonkvrouwe H. M. A. F. Six
Haarlem	Frans Halsmuseum Gemeentearchief Bisschoppelijk Museum Teylers Stichting
The Hague	Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen „Mauritshuis” Koninklijke Bibliotheek Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg Jonkheer Mr. M. A. Beelaerts van Blokland Jonkheer Mr. D. A. W. van Tets van Goudriaan

Hamburg	Kunsthalle, Gemäldegalerie und Kupferstichkabinett
Kassel	Staatliche Gemäldegalerie
Kettwig-Ruhr	Dr. Herbert Girardet
Laren	Jonkheer Ir. Six van Wimmenum
Leyden	's Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit
Leipzig	Museum der bildende Künste
London	The National Gallery Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Collection Clifford Duits, Esq. Edward Speelman Ltd.
Maastricht	Private collection
Middelburg	Bestuur der Godshuizen
Oosterbeek	J. C. H. Heldring, Esq.
Otterlo	's Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes F. Lugt, Institut Néerlandais
Rotterdam	Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
Rijssen	Mrs. G. van Heel
Utrecht	Centraal Museum Gemeentearchief
Vienna	Kunsthistorisches Museum Graphische Sammlung Albertina
Warschau	Muzeum Naradowe
Washington, D.C.	National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection
Weimar	Staatliche Kunstsammlungen im Schlossmuseum
Zaandijk	Zaanlandsche Oudheidkundige Verzameling „Jacob Honig Js. Jr.”
Zürich	Sammlung E. G. Bührle

JUSTIFICATION

The reason to organize the exhibition *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam* has been twofold.

First of all we thought it useful to bring together the works of one of the greatest seventeenth-century Dutch painters. It is not the first time such a thing happens. In 1937 the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam showed 22 paintings and 58 drawings of the artist; 6 paintings and 13 drawings by Saenredam were assembled in 1953 at the exhibition *Nederlandse Architectuurschilders* (Dutch painters of architecture) in the Centraal Museum at Utrecht. During the same year another exhibition of Dutch paintings took place in the „Kunsthaus“ in Zürich, *Holländer des 17. Jahrhunderts*, including a small separate exhibition, *der Architekturmaler Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, consisting of 7 paintings and 11 drawings.

In our present exhibition our twofold aim has been to collect as far as possible Saenredam's complete works, and at the same time to compile a catalogue raisonné containing the complete works of the master together with reproductions of every piece.

In order to accomplish this task P. T. A. Swillens' well-known book, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, published in 1935, has served as a basis. However, this important publication now needs some rectifications and supplementations. We expect to fill this need with the data at present at our disposal.

Since 1935 more works by Saenredam, unknown up to then, have come to light. Furthermore, considerable changes took place concerning the ownership of several paintings and drawings.

Swillens' monography lacks records regarding the provenance and the bibliography of pieces. Herefore we conceived the idea of including these items into our publication as far as known to us to-day. We have tried here, too, to reach perfection, but we are very well aware of the fact, that it has not been possible to achieve this aim completely.

It is self-evident that to bring together all the works of a painter such as Saenredam, so highly rated on the art-market at the moment and who painted exclusively on panel, is nowadays practically impossible. Moreover, some of his works (one painting, Orléans, two drawings, Berlin) unfortunately have been destroyed in the Second World War. One of our difficulties has been that some of the works by Saenredam, who painted with a very thin coating of paint on often rather thin panels, are not in a condition to endure transport and climatic changes. This is the case with the works from the museums of Brunswick, Budapest, Munich, Turin and Worcester (U.S.A.), and also in the case of the painting from the collection of the marquess of Bute in Scotland. Yet we were able - *mirabile dictu* - in obtaining on loan 40 of the 50 paintings by Saenredam known to us to exist. We were able to bring

together all the drawings, except those of the British Museum, which is legally not permitted to lend out any objects, and with the exception of those being at the exhibition of Dutch drawings in the „Kunst-halle“, Hamburg. In short, of the 137 drawings known to us (not counting doubtful pieces and copies) only 9 are missing.

It is not a matter of mere chance that the present exhibition is being held at Utrecht. Saenredam, although he lived practically all his life at Haarlem, drew and painted more churches of Utrecht than of any other town in the Netherlands; 20 of his paintings and 56 of his drawings show Utrecht churches. We may, therefore very well call him **THE PAINTER OF UTRECHT**.

As the visitor will observe some works of Saenredam's predecessors have been included in our exhibition (Hans Vredeman de Vries, Bartholomeus van Bassen, Dirck van Deelen and Hendrick van Steenwijck), whose paintings are still imbued with the spirit of the sixteenth century and whose pictures representing architecture, frequently of huge dimensions, form a striking contrast with Saenredam's new conception of presenting the subject-matter.

The visitor will also notice that, at the same time, some other Dutch seventeenth century painters of church-interiors were brought together so as to enable him to compare them with Saenredam's works. While some of these painters, such as Isaak van Nিকেle, are very close to Saenredam, especially concerning their way of working, others such as Emanuel de Witte, are totally unlike him because of their completely different treatment with respect to light and sphere.

Saenredam's works can be grouped in different ways. We did not prefer the chronological grouping. In our opinion, the evolution of his working-method, though by no means negligible, is not decisive enough as to necessitate such an arrangement. Furthermore the catalogue of Swillens which is in chronological order fills such a need. We, on the contrary thought fit to arrange Saenredam's works based upon the buildings represented by him, as he is, apart from being a source of pleasure for all lovers of the art of painting because of his refined pictorial qualities, a major source of knowledge for all lovers of architecture. Such an arrangement gave us, also, a unique opportunity to put together the paintings and the drawing or drawings on which they are based, a thing that has never been done before. With every building a short description of its construction is given. Thanks are due to J. J. F. W. van Agt, hist. art. drs., The Hague, to C. F. Jansen, Esq., Haarlem, to Dr. L. Pirenne, Bois-le-Duc, to Ir. C. L. Temminck Groll, Utrecht, and to Ir. H. A. J. M. Weller, Amsterdam, for the short introduction resp. data supplied by them.

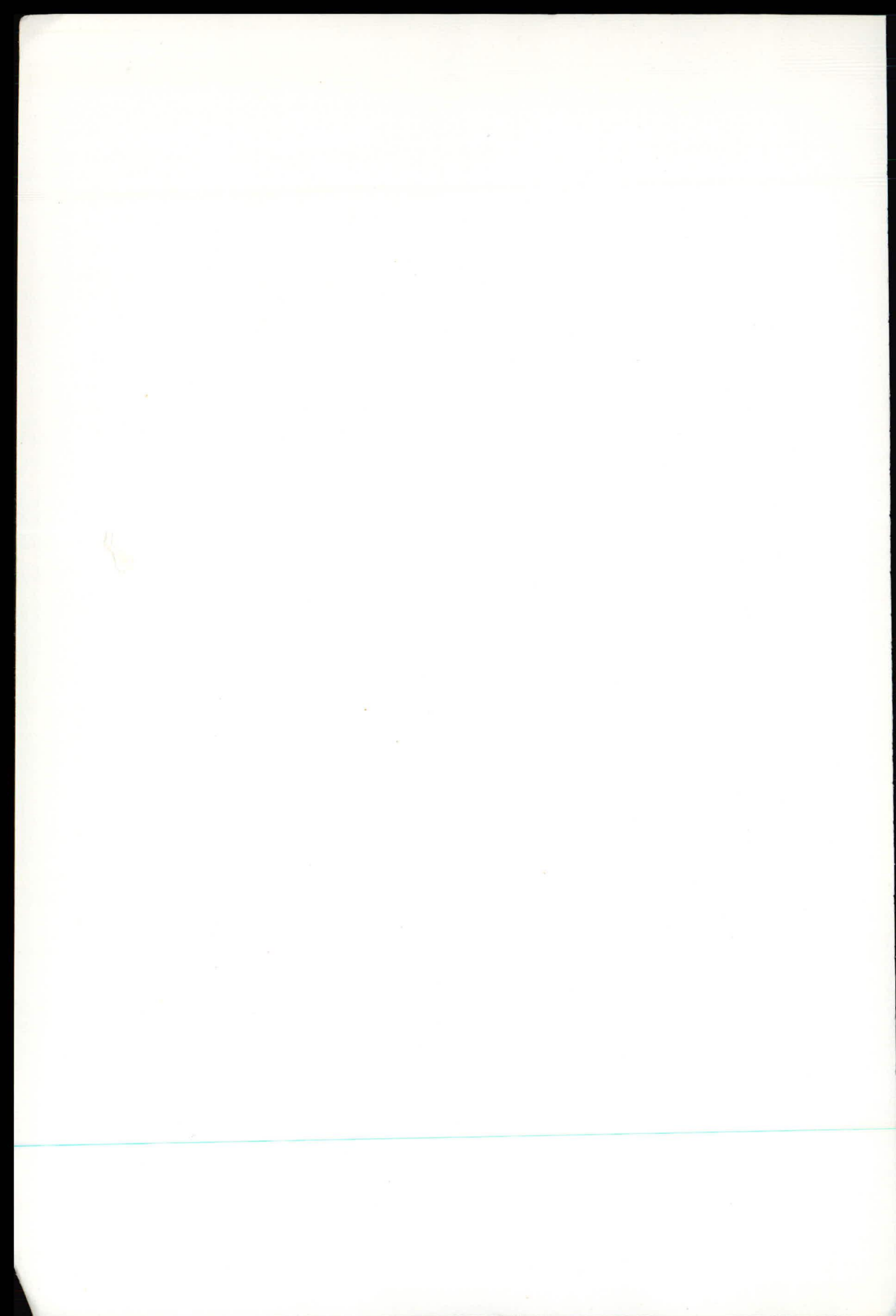
The catalogue is preceded by an article by P. T. A. Swillens, Esq., dealing with Saenredam as a painter. This article is followed by a publica-

tion of Prof. Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, having for its subject Saenredam's drawings. We are most grateful to both authors for their valuable contribution to our publication.

We are deeply indebted to a group of very important contributors without whom this manifestation would never have been accomplished: those who so kindly and generously have entrusted their precious possessions for some months to us. Our respectful thanks go to Her Majesty the Queen who placed two drawings at our disposal, and to many museums and private persons and institutions, who not only lent out their works of art to us, but also helped by giving us important data.

Finally we hope that such an exhibition offering exceptional possibilities for study, may ultimately lead to a thorough comprehension of Saenredam's works. We also hope that certain gaps or misconceptions, which no doubt exist in our catalogue raisonné, can be filled in or rectified. With this end in view we will be very much pleased to receive comments or contributions, hoping to be able to publish them at some later date,

Dr. Maria Elisabeth Houtzager
Director Centraal Museum



THE PAINTINGS

Among the numerous artists active during the heyday of Dutch painting, the 17th century, Pieter Saenredam occupied a place all of his own. Already his contemporaries admired his rare pictorial accomplishments, recognizing in him the initiator of the authentic, i.e. no longer fanciful, representing of church interiors. In many respects he is promotor and renovator of this special domain of art.

Anterior to the Saenredam epoch the depicting of church interiors had failed to attract artists, at least of the northern Netherlands, except in a mild fashion. They only applied themselves to it in cases where their object and composition necessitated it, hardly for its specific charm and intrinsic beauty. In the south, especially in Antwerp, matters were somewhat different. As early as the 16th century several masters appeared there, who felt themselves drawn to this subject and to the town view as well, e.g. several members of the Neefs family, the Van Steenwijcks¹⁾, Sr. en Jr., Hans Vredeman de Vries²⁾ (who worked in the north too), and a few others. Those, called at the time "painters of architecture" or "painters of perspective" have composed, generally in a clever and competent way, church interiors and exteriors, squares, remarkable buildings, lofty rooms splendidly decorated, etc., all of them widely at variance with reality. Most of those were merely imaginary conceptions, easily lending themselves to the artist's desire to show off his knowledge of and frequently even his juggling with perspective constructions. Only rarely do they remind us of really existing buildings. In the north those masters were still being imitated until late in the 17th century, i.e. by Hans Jurriaens van Baden working in Amsterdam, an artist whose life remains shrouded in mystery, by Dirck van Deelen in Zeeland³⁾ apparently having intimate relations with Antwerp, by Bartholomeus van Bassen⁴⁾ and several others. Bartholomeus van Bassen was also town architect of The Hague. Many times he executed his sketches in oils, and consequently it would be as inexact to attribute them to his mere fancy, as it would be to say they are an eye witness's "view" in the literal sense of this word.

Many of the painters concerned have one trait in common: they represent interiors as if seen from above. In scenes in which those appear, the floor seems to slope up sharply. This process was meant to show as much as possible of both interior and inventory, in accordance with the then prevailing taste, just as contemporary landscape painters submitted to this convention. The very furnishing, though, of their scenes fully demonstrates that they did not intend an exact presentation of an actual scene.

¹⁾ See nr. 237.

²⁾ See nr. 236.

³⁾ See nr. 238.

⁴⁾ See nr. 239.

One beholds a great number of altars, images, lamps, standards, niches, tombs, stairs, platforms, escutcheons, galleries, etc., and many more church requisites, and moreover by way of filling-in numerous prelates and ecclesiastics, kneeling or walking, visitors, children at play, and gambolling dogs. Their phantasies produce mostly rather gaudy pageants and often vast dusky spaces in which artificial lights such as torches, lanterns, or candles bring about startling effects. The peculiar atmosphere of the interior, the play of light, the illusion of silence and serenity as one enjoys it in later masters, especially in Pieter Saenredam, was completely alien to them.

Nowhere in Europe has the church interior been the object of so much interest as in the Netherlands, though it would no doubt be exaggerating to represent this interest as a general one in this country. National aspirations, and the predilections connected with them must have contributed to this lack of interest, though in our opinion the main cause of the phenomenon was the slight attention paid by artists to perspective as a science. Without sufficient knowledge of its laws it is impossible to represent "space", and painters of interiors least of all, can do without this knowledge. Many other masters did not need it so much, as their themes did not demand it. But also those directly interested rarely gave perspective the attention it deserved. Italy was the native soil of the art of perspective, where already at the beginning of the 16th century it enjoyed the keen interest of scholars and artists, especially of architects. The principal handbooks of perspective of the age were written by architects, those of Sebastiano Serlio being best known and most used. They were edited i.a. by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in Antwerp in 1548 and 1568. The writings of the painter-architect Hans Vredeman de Vries appeared in 1581, followed in 1604 by an edition in Dutch. Interest in the new art was greatly stimulated by these publications, which expressed the knowledge acquired at the time. Only in 1600 the book of the mathematician Guido Ubaldi was printed, who had solved many more problems; in the Netherlands, however, his works became known rather late.

Thus was the situation when in 1628 Pieter Saenredam finished his first picture representing a church interior¹⁾. It differed from earlier ones in every respect, and it seemed to be a negation of current ideas on the subject. It was an authentic representation of an authentic motif, without the embellishments of overdone fillings-in, without a multitude of unessential details. It showed nothing more nor less than what he (himself) beheld, what anybody else might behold.

Having ascertained this, we might ask what induced Pieter Saenredam to choose this motif in particular, especially because we know he was not deliberately trained for it and that he was over thirty years of age in 1628. Archivalia tell us that he was born at Assendelft in 1597 as the son of the well-known engraver of those days, Jan Saenredam, who died

¹⁾ See nr. 55.

in 1607. From him young Pieter can hardly have received much instruction. In 1609 his mother Anna Pauwels moved to the neighbouring town of Haarlem, where her son was apprenticed to Frans Pieter de Grebber, in whose workshop he remained until 1622. A year later he was breveted master himself.

De Grebber was in his time a skilful and a renowned figure-painter and decorator. From none of his works, however, does it appear that he had any interest in the problems of perspective. Nor might it be surmised from Saenredam's sketches (plants, flowers, book illustrations, townscapes, village views, a few portraits, etc.) that he moved towards a new sphere before 1628.

Recent investigations brought to light that Saenredam had a fellow-pupil in De Grebber's workshop, who introduced him to the "new science", i.e. of perspective. This pupil was Jacob van Campen, who later on became the famous architect of the Amsterdam town hall (now Royal Palace). Round about 1624 Van Campen, after a sejour of six years in Italy, had returned to his birth-place Haarlem. Though trained as a painter, he had also become attracted to architecture when he was in the sunny south without, however, having given up his original profession completely. Van Campen's later works prove that he was an able perspectivist. His method in this respect was the same as Pieter Saenredam applied in 1628 and afterwards. The two remained friends for life and often collaborated with excellent results.

It would be quite possible to put forward Saenredam's bodily defect as a cause for his change-over to the painting of church interiors. He was a hunchback. His portrait drawn by Jacob van Campen in 1628 clearly shows his big head sunk between his rather narrow shoulders. Perhaps this deformity was the reason of his habitual escape to the seclusion within the church. Anyhow, we may take it for granted that he would never have succeeded in the art single-handed had it not suited his frame of mind, or if his talent and inclination towards it had failed.

Pieter Saenredam was undoubtedly an ingenious and sagacious man, a most painstaking craftsman and a highly gifted painter. None of his contemporaries had such exquisite feeling for the peculiar atmosphere of ancient monuments. He possessed not only the knowledge, but he had also the courage to leave the beaten track. His method is the unmistakable proof of this.

He starts with an extensive sketch drawn while being inside the church, sometimes with a few details worked out more precisely and, if necessary with the measuring out of the groundplan in his workshop. He then applied himself to the delineation after his sketches of a most strict and precise perspective construction, i.e. of a drawing as close to reality as possible. It meant the drudgery of inch and pinch, of determining prospectives, depth and distance, proportions and dimensions, requiring much patience and dexterity. This practice immediately shows the new principle he had in mind: the *exact* depicting of the observed reality, the banishment of all fancies and superfluities.

It was nothing more and nothing less than the presentation of "space" he strove after, immersed in the light and atmosphere peculiar to the church interior. Everything else was of secondary importance to him. A multitude of themes, of overcrowded furnishing, unnatural lighting effects gave way to reality, that is to say, beautiful reality, as seen by him and by him alone.

Moreover, this solid and thorough preparation was advantageous in so far as it enabled him to concentrate in an undisturbed manner on mere pictorial elements. He observed the lofty church, surrounded by high bright walls broken by narrow windows, which transmitted a mild and diffused light embracing the entire space. He created a richness of nuances, never shrill nor gloomy, always soft and transparent, soothing and subdued. It was a play of light with light, a shifting over from nuance to nuance, a reflection on white walls and columns, caught in the greyish-blue of the floors, mirrored in the brass of chandeliers, floating along the smooth lustre of oak church pews, now and then interrupted by the subdued red of a door or the pale colouring of a fresco, the fiercer tints of an escutcheon. And in between the stately rhythmical rows of columns, we find a single human figure, as a hint at spatial dimensions. There is nothing at all liable to break the stillness, nothing that would suggest movement, everything tending rather toward introspection and contemplation. There is no question of any striving after effect, no glaring spotlights on walls, columns or parquetry, no swarming visitors, no ostentation of tawdry ecclesiastical furnishing, no showing off of purposeful acrobatics in the way of perspective.

It is quite remarkable how little one recognizes the rigorous mathematician in the "painter" Saenredam. When his pictorial creation is surveyed as a whole, perspectivistic, linear and coloristic, atmospheric values are seen to be united into an indissoluble synthesis. In this harmonic matching the unique artistry of Pieter Saenredam is acknowledged. As an artist he had an infinite longing for purity and simplicity, for the beauty of reality, of light, tone, and shade.

Saenredam was not only the incomparable creator of the authentic church interior, but also of presentations of the exterior of one single building, church or monument. In particular during his sojourn in Utrecht he drew several exteriors of mediaeval churches as independent phenomena, without any entourage of mere accidentals, only for the sake of the aesthetic values of the theme.

After 1628 his interest was almost entirely occupied by the church interior, the civic building, and now and then the town view, in short themes of architecture and perspective. Only a few other scenes of his are known, from which it might seem that Saenredam had been also in Italy. Already in 1931 Prof. van Regteren Altena demonstrated that Saenredam has had in his possession drawings by his former fellow-townsmen Maerten van Heemskerck (who had certainly been in Rome) and that Saenredam painted (from two of those sketches) "Santa Maria

della Febbre" and "View on Aracoeli", two Roman Churches. The other day a "Colosseum" in Rome made by his hand was discovered.

Pieter Saenredam never visited the south. It even seems that he never left his domicile Haarlem without sufficient reason. When he did so (from time to time), it was mostly in order to fulfil a commission for his friend Jacob van Campen. His trips were generally of short duration only, nevertheless he always brought home a few sketches of either church interiors or other monuments, of his birth village Assendelft, of Alkmaar, Rhenen, Bois-le-Duc, Amsterdam. Only in Utrecht did he stay for a longer period, namely for about five months. In the year 1636, when Utrecht University opened its gates, he drew all important churches, both the exterior and the interior. Until his death in 1665 these sketches furnished him with material for many paintings.

The painters following Saenredam showed their church interiors at moments when vivid pencils of rays were flashing through the space¹⁾. Some of them chose another attitude towards their objects, others again gave the swarming about of numerous church-goers and the motley character of their dresses. Pieter Saenredam must be considered as a pioneer for all that was still to come. His presentation of reality supplied the firm basis upon which others could continue, with a poetical licence and playful fantasy.

In one of the many excellent writings of Prof. Huizinga's *17th Century Dutch Civilisation*, it is justly remarked that Saenredam is one of our most "indispensable" painters. Had he not been given a prominent position, a survey of our culture would be incomplete. This is due primarily to the thoroughly Dutch character of his artistic life-work. No doubt the subject-matter played an important part in this. The church was the main building and the centre of civic life. People had grown up with it, and were familiar with it. But the object as such certainly was not the only element in his creations that captivated his fellow-citizens. They were struck just as much by the refined colouring and by the marvellous light, permeating the whole of space. In the Netherlands, so rich in water, earth and objects are veiled by a transparant, silvergrey haze, the heat of the sunlight being nearly always tempered by impressive masses of clouds while the colours are softened and linked together. This peculiar atmosphere, so highly characteristic for the low countries, is to be found in all details of Saenredam's works.

Like so many of his contemporaries, Saenredam was moved by an irresistible urge to paint. Solid craftsmanship seemed to all of them a matter of course, the handling of brush and colours fulfilled an inner need. Though these elements are never obvious, nevertheless they determine to a high degree habit, style, and character of their works.

They are called realists. This qualification is justified so far as the 17th century masters applied themselves to the presentation of reality, which they faithfully observed. However, it must not be forgotten that

¹⁾ See nr. 244.

the world of reality as they observed it, was glorified and permeated with a poetry and pictorial richness never equalled in European art. Pieter Saenredam was one of the main representatives of this poetical realism. Due undoubtedly to those excellent qualities the artistic creations of Pieter Saenredam's have never failed until to-day to find an echo in the hearts of his countrymen as well as of all real art lovers in the entire civilised world.

P. T. A. Swillens

THE DRAWINGS BY PIETER SAENREDAM

"...that the instruments, the eyes, be sound and without blemish; in order that the gross corporeal things may be transformed in them".

J. RUUSBROEC, *Die chierheit der Gheesteliker Brulocht* (*The Splendour of Spiritual Wedlock*).

The art of drawing may be an occupation in itself, but it may aim at an ulterior purpose as well: at the final presentation in another technique, for which the drawing is used as a mere preparation, leaving no traces, unless sketches have been preserved. Pieter Saenredam practised the art of drawing in both ways. He not only noted down on paper in an attractive form interesting phenomena he came across, but he also used the art of drawing as a mere form of practising, preliminary to the composition of prints and paintings.

Let us not underrate the importance of prints for the Saenredam epoch. All illustrations - they were numerous in a world avidly seeking for encyclopaedic information - were either cut in copper by hand, as woodcuts were in wood, or they were etched. Innumerable prints, either separate ones or in book-form, passed through the press for the use of politics, edification, erudition, or mere amusement. Saenredam's father, once a pupil of the famous Goltzius, whom at time he even surpassed in delicacy of outline and clarity of tone, earned his livelihood by means of engraving. A toilsome work, which he did not even give up when it began to overburden his frail body: *"Plura dedisset, ne praematura morte sublatus fuisset. Immodico artis studio phthisi morbo laborasse dicitur"*, Schrevelius wrote of him. It is not known in what circumstances he left behind his widow. Later on his son could at least afford to collect objects of art, and it seems he was not driven too hard to produce his paintings for the sake of money. This must have suited his thoughtful nature and benefited his working-processes, which betray long periods of incubation. Slowly images crystallized, bearing every trace of prudent and gradual premeditation, images so much the contrary of the brilliant strokes in which Frans Hals improvises a nervous portrait, or Jan van Goyen a rustling river landscape, that one imagines oneself in worlds measured by different clocks.

Saenredam does not make his drawings with a readily saleable painting in mind, a circumstance which obviously brought about a growing aversion to mere ephemeral graphic work. When he had found the way which suited his nature, he applied himself to the assembling of documentation on paper, which remained his property in the manner of an investment liable to be drawn upon if needed. It is not enough realised

that this type of procedure was followed by several other seventeenth-century artists. It is known that it was made use of by Rubens, sometimes by Rembrandt, but with others it is seldom recognized as such. Even nowadays such a Haarlem workshop of that period which contained a card index of its own, might give rise to envy, because of its efficient trade practice. It must have had its much older prototypes, and been stimulated by those sixteenth-century artists visiting their wealthy colleagues in Italy, who were installed in sumptuously furnished palazzi.

As Saenredam collected numerous motifs by means of documentation in sketch-books and on large paper sheets, especially since he started collecting representations of buildings of historical importance, his art of drawing was, strictly speaking, of primary importance. It prevailed over his painting, the character of which was more or less determined by it. Many of his pictures impress us as being drawings translated into paint. It is hardly a matter of surprise. As the son of an able and prolific engraver who hardly ever, or never at all handled a brush, slightly deformed little Pieter (he was a hunch-back) must have practised with pen and burin from an early age till he was twelve, whenever suitable work cropped up in the paternal workshop. He must have been a willing pupil, his handwriting proves it - when either, in those years of transition, it may... have looked slightly old-fashioned or written in roman-italics.

He was, moreover, educated in an epoch when his native country, having gained tranquillity and prosperity, began to reflect on its past - some people did so out of sheer thirst for knowledge, others in order to furnish themselves with new-fangled titles. The whole of the seventeenth century reminds us of one long Sunday, during which the Dutch gradually awoke after the evil dream of Haarlem and Naarden and of much more, from all of which the shaken minds of the older generation had but slowly recovered. It resembled a day of rest when people, less bothered by problems of conscience, had leisure to explore the world with new eyes, and to find an inexhaustible joy in studying every aspect of God's creation, and work done by the hand of man as well. As for this happy Sunday-mood Hals, Van Goyen, Avercamp, and Saenredam all are men of the same epoch; second in order, their differences had their roots in differences of individuality.

Saenredam must have been a quiet boy, given to seclusion, to reading and musing, though he knew how to use his eyes. Both Hals and he came into contact with the learned Rev. Samuel Ampsingh, who - as a child of his age wrote the obligatory town history of old Haarlem, just as Pontanus did for Amsterdam. The third edition (1628) was illustrated by Saenredam. Two years later Frans Hals painted an attractive little portrait of the author. Probably these antipodes already knew each other at the time. In the same year 1628 Saenredam also met Jacob van Campen who drew a portrait of his hunch-backed colleague, more in Saenredam's than in Hals's spirit. Later on Van Campen would from time to time invoke the help of the architecture - minded draughtsman Saen-

redam. Another architect, Pieter Post, even collaborated with Saenredam as a painter.

In print-making, too, a radical change had occurred since the turn of the century, as may be seen from Saenredam's illustrations. After having expressed themselves - and even compelled to do so - in veiled allusions, in emblems and allegories, having sought for edification in the parables of the Scriptures, and at the same time having welcomed Ovid, Vergil, and all Olympus either from, or via Italy, on a summer's day at the turn of the century they witnessed the sudden subversion of the whole amalgam thus concocted. Nearer at hand, in their own world lay from now on the source of almost any inspiration. Shy, though sagacious Pieter sits bent over his sketch-books and carries them with him into the country. For that matter, all of them do so: the elder Terborch, Buytewech, the Van de Veldes, Hercules Seghers, even old Goltzius who sketches the ruins of Brederode Castle, as the others sketch Rijnsburg, at a distance of a day's journey, and Saenredam Kleef Castle. Though it is a small-sized book he illuminates, the crenels and pilaster strips have been minutely counted out in it and he registers with the utmost care. Another typical trait resulting from Saenredam's mentality is a love of minute detail wherever an occasion for it presents itself. The portraits drawn by him in his younger years and engraved by Jan van de Velde are small ones. He draws plants and flowers, in small size, from close by. His filling-in with figures is always to remain so and his treatment of surfaces betrays his near-sightedness. Frans Hals' oval miniature-portraits, on the other hand, lend themselves to the enlargement which was so suitable to his artistic temperament; his details dissolve into the conception as a whole. While Hals notes down life fleeing as a continuous stream, Saenredam is interested in its static side and loses himself in construction and reconstruction: he is known to have designed maps of the siege of Haarlem. As a typical draughtsman, he interpolated into them side-views of buildings and a horizon; owing to which they retain the somewhat ambiguous character recurring in the older visual imaginings in map form, as practised by surveyors for a long time, though already in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Cornelis Anthonisz. and Anthonie van Wijngaerde had conceived more satisfactory solutions in this domain.

At this stage of his career he makes a wonderful discovery: one of Maerten van Heemskerck's sketch-books of his sojourn in Rome a century earlier, a book crammed with town views, hills, ruins and sculpture-fragments. Saenredam starts painting after them and portrays with bated breath small imaginary views of Rome, the atmosphere of which he approximates after the analogy of examples in the taste of Elsheimer, also a painter of small sizes!

The contrast between Hals's working process and Saenredam's should be noted; the portrait painter's genius is of the direct and energetic kind, aiming immediately at his object by looking his vis-à-vis in the face

and portraying him. Saenredam's is of the indirect kind, his intellect interposes itself whenever he is artistically active. His is the translator's work, the object is a source of more than mere visual interest to him. Nowhere, however, does his sense for delicate shades and proportions, indispensable to the real artist, forsake him. In this way he became the archaeologist par excellence among Dutch painters.

The illustrations, suggested by Ampsingh's text, included the venerable St. Bavo's church, which was depicted by the painter both from the interior and the exterior. Lingering between the whitewashed walls, pillars and columns of the silent building must have awakened in Saenredam the desire to become a painter of churches. This kind of work was not absolutely new. Earlier Antwerp and Louvain had found a portrayer of their main churches, viz. the very same Van Steenwijck who travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle in order to picture its cathedral, Charlemagne's legendary chapel palatine. And yet the predilection at the time was not yet definitely fixed exclusively on the exact rendering of the original. The phantastic church, in which parts of heterogeneous buildings were mingled with impossible details, was no less in accordance with current taste than were the existing relics of the historic past. To this older habit Saenredam later on made concessions only rarely. Generally speaking he is a scrupulous portrayer, and when he gives a tomb another place than it has in reality, he never omits to mention the fact expressly ¹⁾.

In what different ways it is possible to represent architectonic space, is amply proved by the history of painting. Since the epoch when Jan van Eyck painted his *Virgin in the Church*, artists have the disposal of optical experience and knowledge of perspective which supplement each other in varying gradations. Components, mutually indispensable and unrestrictedly conditioning each other as mere constructions, produce only images that are at variance with the world of our experience, whereas pure experience looks for a system, liable to realise its own impressions within a given field of imaginary presentation. The representation on the level plane, however generally applied, will only remain an arbitrary transposition of reality. In every method — though involving the circumscription dictated by an axiomatic fixed point and plane of representation that cuts in two the cone connecting eye and object — is inherent a margin of interpretation which not even lens and camera entirely eliminate. Nevertheless, in course of time painters acquired a skill of approximating the effect achieved by photography, even without any knowledge of optical instruments. This took place long before, in the nineteenth century, photography as such was invented, founded on the painters' discoveries. Within the said margin, however, a painter had to make his choice, consisting in — popularly expressed — the correcting with the help of his personal experience of the unreal impression made by an accurately calculated registration of the

¹⁾ cf. the author in *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, p. 11.

field of vision. This was a far greater problem to the painter of vast interior spaces than to the landscapist. The differences between a local situation and the map may, to a certain extent, be indifferent to the latter. As long as the planes in a suggestive way arise one behind the other, the horizon fencing them off effectively, the spectator has no need of a more exact localization. In the case of the town view, however, the situation was different. The problems which arose in this connection were those with which Saenredam was confronted.

Particularly so in cases where he chooses his view-point in the immediate vicinity either of a building, or of some important detail of it. This is the reason why theoreticians expressly dissuade artists from doing so: our field of vision fills a less widely distended angle than is demanded by the nearness involved. Leonardo gave to this problem a lot of thought¹⁾. Marolois in his turn fixed the permissible limit of diameter to the spectator's ken on two thirds of the perpendicular dropped from the eye²⁾. Saenredam defies this precept, and in doing so suggests it to be feasible to span a column of giant height placed close by at a single glance. The consequence is so sudden a decrease in size of those parts that are more removed, that the impression of vastness is considerably enhanced. As it seems this was what the artist intended.

This method may be readily understood when applied to monumental interiors. It furnished Saenredam with a means of expressing height and depth. Applied to the exterior of the New Church, designed by Jacob van Campen in such a way that the tower built by Lieven de Key had been included, it gave, when Saenredam took his position close under the Renaissance tower, a rapid foreshortening of the elegant belfry, detrimental to architectonic harmony and giving rather the impression of a perspective „stunt”. Perhaps Saenredam demonstrated in this manner that the streets around the church did not allow of any but a rather restricted side prospect: shortly before Saenredam started on the drawing, Jacob van Campen was summoned by the town-council to give advice on the lay-out of the newly planned quarter in the neighbourhood of the church. It was not for the first time, indeed, that Saenredam collaborated with Jacob van Campen. In other cases, however, he followed more in the architect's footsteps, which gave him no cause for employing unusual procedures of pictorial representation.

Swillens³⁾ pointed towards other similar practices at variance with tradition, and to their consequences. When Saenredam lowers the eye-level and adapts to it the size of people represented in the church, the result in the picture is an immediate nearness of the vaults - rapidly diminishing in breadth, almost as deep as they are broad in the fore-

1) LEONARDI DA VINCI, *Das Buch von der Malerei*, ed. H. LUDWIG, Vienna, 1888, pp. 450-453; LEONARDI DA VINCI, *Treatise on Painting*, ed. A. PHILIP McMAHON, Princeton, 1956, pp. 178-179.

2) S. MAROLOIS, *Opera Mathematica*, 1628, cited by P. T. A. SWILLENS, *P. J. Saenredam*, Amsterdam, 1935, p. 35.

3) P. T. A. SWILLENS, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-44.

ground - to the spectator's wide open eyes. This implies the suggestion of one's own smallness, and of looking almost upward. This sensation, moreover, is accompanied by an extensive perspective, if one stands before the nave of a church. Unnecessary to point out that an enlarged awareness of space is a result of this, larger even than the one obtained in the immense cathedral at Antwerp, which painters used to behold from a distance, i.e. from under a much acuter angle.

Large figures never appear in Saenredam's pictures. Because of this we can always take for granted that the portrayal concerns the building, not the people. With regard to this there cannot be any room for doubt neither at the first impression nor when scanning the picture more accurately.

How Saenredam set to work was first established by Swillens. The artist was known to have stayed for quite some time at Bois-le-Duc, Utrecht, and Rhenen, drawing churches. In doing so he must have taken their measurements and constructed ground plans to scale. Saenredam on his drawings mentions how much time their execution took him. In comparing those working-times, Swillens found as a maximum five whole days during which the draughtsman "from morning till evening had diligently been active at it": viz. on the drawing of the old Amsterdam town hall. After the fire which laid the building in ruins, it served him well to execute a painting for the burgomasters. We may suppose, that the decision of the town-council to replace the ancient building by a new one on the same spot, immediately induced him to go on an inspection trip to Amsterdam, in order to execute this exact portrayal of the old one.

His longest sojourn away from Haarlem is at Utrecht, where he was for more than half a year¹⁾ engaged in systematically representing its churches, of most of them the interior, in certain cases, as with St. Mary's church, also the exterior. Taken together these representations provide the basis for our knowledge about the condition of Utrecht churches after the change in government brought about by the reformation. Saenredam did for Utrecht, what Heemskerck at the time did for Rome²⁾. There was no lack of material, indeed, for the investigator of our architectural past. The Romanesque, as well as the Gothic style might be studied there in a series of magnificent examples. As at Bois-le-Duc, Saenredam portrays the Gothic cathedral, though St. Mary's and the smaller Romanesque basilican churches, captivate his attention just as much. Here at last he must have felt he had an opportunity for the deepening of his art-historical understanding. The elementary monumental shapes of those churches must also have strengthened his sense for uninterrupted planes and surveyable stereometric divisions,

¹⁾ DE BIE mentions twenty weeks, but the dates on the drawings are from the 7th or the 18th of June 1636 till the 8th of January 1638.

²⁾ cf. C. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, *Utrechtse kerken*, Haarlem, 1889.

and it is since his stay in Utrecht that contrasts of architectonic styles appear to full advantage. At an early age St. Bavo's at Haarlem had already given him an opportunity to do justice to the infinite variety of aspects to the interior seen from different positions and at the same time, to observe how these views resulted from the varied accidental overlappings, in the drawn or painted scene of columns, arches, windows, and vault ribs. Inside Utrecht Cathedral, he notices the unrivalled perpendicular effect of height through the innumerable parallels resulting from the vertical parts of clustered pillars, the cathedral of which the nave had not yet fallen in and which thus could still be taken in by the eye in all its stupendous length, still adorned with colourful historic remnants. The Gothic chancels of the *Buur*-church and St. John's church, as well as the slender articulations of Gothic St. Cunera's church in Rhenen provide him with the last variants, enabling him to express the wealth of our late mediaeval architecture in always new ways. Although in doing so he sometimes might be accused of exaggerating the proportions characteristic for this style, due perhaps to an expressivism which we would rather expect from his contemporaries who proceed less rationalistically. His dependence on the character of his object, however, is evident when he chooses an exceptionally high size of paper for portraying a Gothic chancel, but a broad one for the heavier forms of an austere Romanesque interior.

It can be proved for the rest that the explanation for the procedure as given above will not do in all cases. A broadwise drawing of St. Peter's church, as seen through the nave in the direction of the choir, shows the short Romanesque columns and Romanesque triumphal arch with fifteenth century painting, through which one may look into the choir vaulted in the Gothic fashion. In a picture, executed after this drawing later on, Saenredam left out the triumphal arch, and directly connected the Gothic choir and the crossing, giving slenderer proportions to the columns besides, in order to make the contrast between building periods less perceptible. From this might be concluded that Jacob van Campen's partner this time had consciously reduced the historical values into a space-concept of his own, akin to the classicity of Dutch Baroque¹). Although the painter strikes again and again an individual note, either in supplementing coloristically, or in slightly altering the pictorial contents of the drawing - every painting aimed at an autonomous new creation - the drawings themselves are all the result of a faithful record of what is really seen. In the first instance, every motif was based on it. In general a line-drawing was the starting point. Small sheets from a sketch-book, however, preserved in Berlin, prove Saenredam's early mastery of water-colour technique, to a degree enabling him to draw directly after plants or landscapes. When, therefore, he filled in his

¹) P. T. A. SWILLENS, *op. cit.*, p. 103, no. 117 and Pl. 151, p. 123, no. 197 and p. 124, no. 198, and Pl. 152; p. 67, under cat. 198, represents things in a somewhat different way.

linear sketches with colour, he did not do so with automatic arbitrariness, but rather with the same eye for subtly shaded colour values, which is also evident from the nature studies. In the paintings he raises these gradations, in which local lights or shades play a secondary role, though equally balanced, to their utmost refinement. Moreover, even when transposing the light so characteristic for the drawings on light-coloured paper into oil paint, he perfectly succeeds in maintaining it. Everywhere a limpid clarity reigns uninterruptedly. In this respect he is the very antipode of Emanuel de Witte, whose melancholy temperament was bent on dark and at the same time dramatic effects. In cases where Saenredam made his sketches on blue paper instead of on the habitual white, he did so in order to be able to add light heightenings, either in white chalk or in light pastel tints.

Before executing a painting after a sketch made beforehand, he drew to scale and of the size of the panel, a construction-drawing with the help of his study of the actual building. Here he introduced the auxiliary perspective construction with regard to the view-point indicated on the drawing. This construction might be considered as a correction, not as a preliminary draft, and it is certainly owing to this that we have no difficulty in experiencing interiors as if they were normal views into the vast, articulated interior of the building. It is surprising that there are only a few divergences from a scheme which was set up before in principle, instead of a great many corrections in the reconstruction drawing after the original.

As a draughtsman Saenredam occupies a place all of its own, which most often has been considered as unique. This not only applies to him, but also to many more of the exceptionally gifted seventeenth-century artists, in so far as they held aloof from the fascination of greater artists whose influence was like an irresistible magnetic field. It is not difficult for us to classify the epigones of Rembrandt; the same may be said of Hals and Ruysdael, and even of smaller celebrities like Adriaen van Ostade, Wouwerman, or Netscher. Why then is it that art history has so much difficulty in putting together innumerable phenomena in the artistic firmament of the seventeenth century and to understand them better in their connexion? Probably because the generally rapid development of most artists of such a galaxy of talents did not run parallel in chronological order. At the beginning of the seventeenth century artistic development can no longer be measured by the length of generations but rather by the length of those consecutive waves succeeding one another by jerks and differing locally and temporarily for each workshop.

This in my opinion explains the fact that Saenredam's art shows an affinity with that of other artists, who under comparable circumstances at another moment arrived at conclusions of a similar trend, apart from the differing art-genres each of them followed. One of the main conditions for this affinity was their starting from the drawing, just like

the Haarlem mannerists, even if it were from a conception of the drawing diametrically opposed to that of those artists. For this generation Van Mander's art theory holds good no longer, except for the adage that the draughtsman's art had to be the basis of the painter's art. The art of painting as a basis for the art of drawing would mean a step further with which Saenredam's art did not reckon.

No prostration before the older theory, nor before the picturesque, did not automatically mean no prostration whatsoever. As regards Saenredam, Avercamp, Buytewech, and Vroom, it meant prostration before the world of the visual. Buytewech reacts to this form of subjection with a certain „as for me”, Avercamp as a child among his playthings, Vroom as a dreamer, and Saenredam devout and devoted as well as enchanted at his very precision. No one, however, combined devotion in quite the same way with dream and naïve receptivity, without for that reason eschewing rational consciousness, as did Pieter Saenredam.

There were artists in Saenredam's neighbourhood congenial in nature as well as artistic education. At the time I suggested that the painter Frans Post, who evokes Brazil for us in a way quite individual, should have started from the early work of Pieter Saenredam¹). Gudlaugsson has proved since, that his brother Pieter Post, the later architect, collaborated as a painter with young Saenredam²). Some landscapes by Pieter Post are very similar to Saenredam's paintings and of the same artistic quality. The same might be said of Cornelis Vroom, Jan Brosterhuyzen, the De Verwers, several still-life and flower-paintings, and many more, probably all of them keen intellects, who with a feeling for discreet abandonment to their object knew much better how to approximate the phenomena more penetratingly than light-hearted minds, more readily inclined to ostentation. Those kindred spirits are to be found in Kampen or Amsterdam, although most of them live in Haarlem. Hence the cogency of the possible reducibility for the whole phenomenon to a common origin. Up till now only little thought seems to have been given to this problem. Genres in art are too much considered as circumscribed nuclei, and the remarkable mixture of distance and absorption not enough as a deeper lying cause.

Nevertheless his mental make-up reminds those capable of distinguishing it and of observing its gradually infiltrating into the production of those originally of quite another disposition, of a leaven, comparable as such to the *devotio moderna*. Something related to a characteristic feature in the life of our people, as bent on a higher level of contemplativeness. Probably it is the same trait from which the birth and blossoming of still-life painting in our country was the more directly visible result. The work of Gerard Terborch for instance seems to be ennobled by it. In Rembrandt, too, this trait appears though it is only

¹) *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

²) S. J. GUDLAUGSSON, in *Oud-Holland*, LXIX, 1954, p. 59 a.f.

one of his many aspects. It matures in the acquired tranquillity of his later years, enabling him to engrave a masterpiece in miniature like the Shell.

May be it would be possible to solve the problem of the origin of this trait, if only Pieter Saenredam's early years were slightly better known. The elder Saenredam was a ready draughtsman, expressing himself in different techniques, and appearing as a belated follower of mannerism in the extreme elongation of his, often elegantly drawn, figures. The only exception is the exquisite sketch for a boy's portrait on a small sheet in my possession, which we might be tempted to consider as the oldest portrait of young Pieter in existence¹⁾. The main point is that already before his tenth year, he had seen drawings showing a loving approach to life. Afterwards he was a pupil of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber's and according to De Bie he stayed in this painter's workshop for ten years. This communication deserves the more credit, as the date of his arrival in this workshop, 10 May 1612, according to De Bie, can hardly have been furnished by any other person than the accurate pupil himself.

Up to now De Grebber is known to us only from his life-size portraits, showing no affinity with the small ones Saenredam ordered to be engraved. We do not know any longer the landscapes he is reported to have painted in his youth and under the influence of Jacques Saverij. Probably they were of small size. Saenredam's earliest dated drawing, „a few bleachers' houses near the dunes outside Haarlem", 1617, has the same character as Savery's painstaking watercolours. In the case of Goltzius, to whom Frans apprenticed his son, we find in 1603 a few small landscape drawings, — at variance with the rest of his rather luxuriant works — bearing witness to a new tendency towards intimacy. Behind this landscapism in small size the example of Pieter Brueghel is dimly perceived. Just as was the case in other domains, this art signified the complete victory over mannerism, as well as the evocation of an older time-spirit, viz. that of the so-called "primitives".

Saenredam's art is also rooted in the the sphere of archaeology. It is known that almost the whole group maintained some relationship with the intellectual élite. Several artists either were in correspondence with Huygens, or worked through his intermediary for the stadtholder. One of the earliest signs of interest in national archaeology seems to be the descriptions of the Brittenburg, the foundations of which had completely been laid bare several times during the sixteenth century by the temporary falling back of the North Sea. Ortelius, Hubert Goltzius, and Guicciardini paid attention to it, though the more striking passage about the Brittenburg is to be found in Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia*.

With the help of the oldest drawings made after the foundations of the castle, and also after the archaeological objects found near it, which

1) See no. 247.

via the Leyden "antiquarius" Cornelius van Aken came into the possession of the Van Wassenaar family, two paintings originated, one of which in my opinion was made by Saenredam during his initial period¹⁾. This painting is in the collection of Jonkheer Mr. D. A. W. van Tets van Goudriaan, The Hague, the other is in the State Archaeological Museum, Leyden.

Both show a method of depiction wholly consistent with the one made use of in Saenredam's topographical drawings of the siege of Haarlem, and still popular with contemporary surveyors in so far as they 'were good draughtsmen'²⁾. If we take into consideration that the borrowed elements for those paintings from an older map, and from the illustrations to the 1588 edition of the *Batavia* as well, we are struck by Saenredam's relation to a family of the name of Junius. His great-grandmother after the early death of her first husband, Saenredam's great-grandfather, had married a certain Junius, whose son had taken his father into his house, and with whose grandson at Bois-le-Duc Saenredam must have stayed in 1631.

It is tempting to suppose that those Junii were related to Hadrianus Junius, though it can as little be proved as a relationship to Isaac Junius, from 1619 up to 1625 minister at Katwijk (the years in-between which the painter may be supposed to have surveyed the beach there), who had been stationed at Haarlem from 1612 up to 1619. Let us try to clear up personal relations a little more. Hadrianus Junius married in second marriage the sister of Kenau Simonsdr. Hasselaer, a daughter born from this marriage becoming the wife of the engraver Jan van Deutecom the elder. He was the maker of the engraving representing a site-plan of the siege of Haarlem, which Saenredam in 1628 had reproduced in smaller size for Ampsingh's *Beschrijvinge ende Lof van de stad Haerlem* (Description and Eulogy of the town of Haarlem)³⁾. One thing and another might point towards an existing interest in the national past in the circle in which young Saenredam moved at Haarlem, and towards the fact that connections as surmised here, may have contributed to the developing of his archaeological interests, as I tried to elucidate in 1931, on the basis of different grounds.

In the picture in Jonkheer van Tets van Goudriaan's collection the North Sea beach is lying before us as seen from the sea and fenced off by the range of dunes behind. A numerous crowd moves around

1) After having studied the painting, which I only knew from the reproduction, in its original, it appeared to me that it was painted after all by a contemporary, either Esaias van de Velde or Jan van Goyen. In this case, therefore, the archaeological interest should rather be sought with the person who commissioned the painting.

2) Such surveyors were J. van Banchem at Leyden (comp. his Lokhorst Castle, 1595, repr. in S. J. FOCKEMA ANDREAE - J. G. N. RENAUD - E. PELINCK, *Kasteelen, Ridderhofsteden en Buitenplaatsen in Rijnland*, Leyden, 1952, Pl. 44) and Balthasar Floris van Berckenrode and others in the same time.

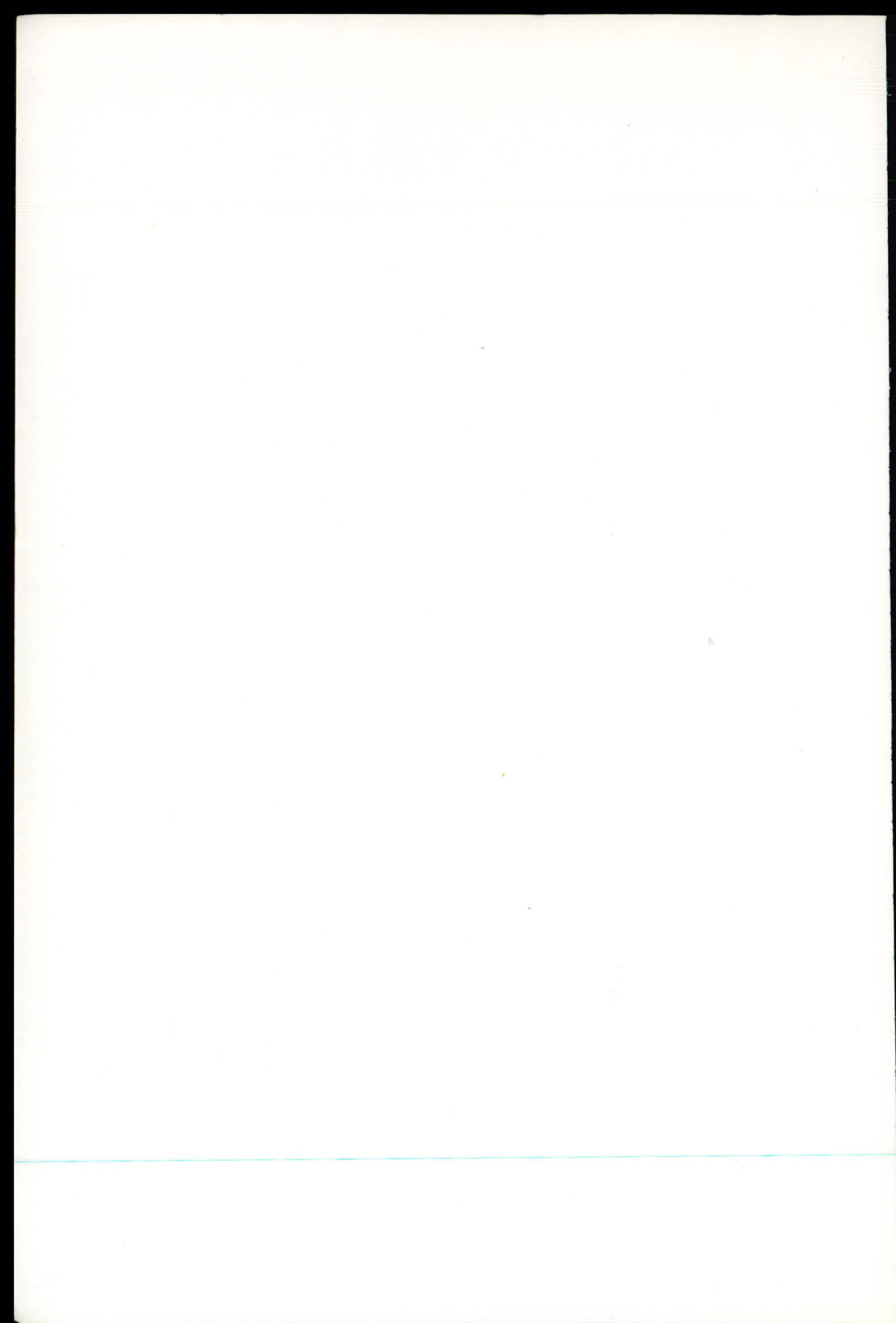
3) See no. 186.

the foundations of the castle which is mapped out, contrary to the coast itself, in bird's eye view. The figures remind us of Saenredam's filling-in, and show affinities with those of Esaias van de Velde and again Pieter Post. Yet the picture lacks any clear traces of the nicer shades as found in the painters mentioned who for convenience sake we might call the "contemplatives". Perhaps we might be justified in supposing that they did not manifest themselves more generally before the third decennium of the century. After Saenredam's decease in 1665 they are hardly to be met with any longer, with the only exception of a few artists drawing plants and small animals, who kept themselves aloof. Although reducible to miniature paintings, they were a highly characteristic product of the second quarter of the seventeenth century as they appeared as an autonomous phenomenon, and none among our golden age painters cultivated them more assiduously than Pieter Saenredam, who according to Cornelis de Bie "was inscribed in the year 1623 on April 24th in the Golden Book as an independent master, and only about the year 1628 applied himself entirely to the painting of perspectives, church interiors, galleries, buildings and other things, exteriorly as well as interiorly, doing them in such a way after life, that their essence and characteristics could hardly show to a fuller perfection than he with his brush knows how to express with the utmost ingenuity".

J. Q. van Regteren Altena.

PIETER JANSZOOM SAENREDAM (1597 - 1665)

- 1597 Born the 9th of June in Assendelft as son of the engraver Jan Pietersz. Saenredam (1565-1607) and Anna Pauwels.
- 1607 death of his father.
- 1609 his mother moves with the only son to Haarlem.
- 1612 on the 10th of May Saenredam becomes a pupil of Frans Pieter de Grebber with whom he stays till 1623.
- 1617 earliest dated work (drawing, view on some houses outside Haarlem, no. 198).
- 1625 trip to The Hague, possibly with a visit to Bartholomeus van Bassen.
- 1627 active in Haarlem (for S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*).
- 1628 first dated painting (no. 55); about this year he starts painting churches and other buildings (C. DE BIE, *Het Gulden Cabinet*, p. 246); in this period already contact with Jacob van Campen and Salomon de Braij.
- 1628-1629 active in Haarlem (Great Church).
- 1632 active in Bois-le-Duc (29th of June-23rd of July), probably staying with his uncle the Reverend Johannes Junius.
- 1633-1634 active in Assendelft, in August.
- 1634-1636 active in Haarlem (Great Church).
- 1635 appointed secretary of the Painters' Guild.
- 1636 sojourn in Utrecht (from June till October), possible at the instigation of Abraham Bloemaert.
- 1638 on the 5th of December he marries Aefjen Gerrits at Bloemendaal.
- 1639 from Pieter Jansz. Begijn he buys Hubert Goltzius' *Les images de tous les Empereurs depuis C. Julius Caesar*.
- 1640 steward of the Guild.
- 1641 active in Amsterdam.
- 1642 dean of the Guild.
- 1644 active in Rhenen, in the summer (possibly for Salomon de Braij).
- 1650 active in Haarlem (the New Church.)
- 1651 before this year death of his wife.
- 1654 active in Assendelft.
- 1661 active in Alkmaar end of May - beginning of June.
- 1665 buried the 31st of May in the Great or St. Bavo-church at Haarlem.



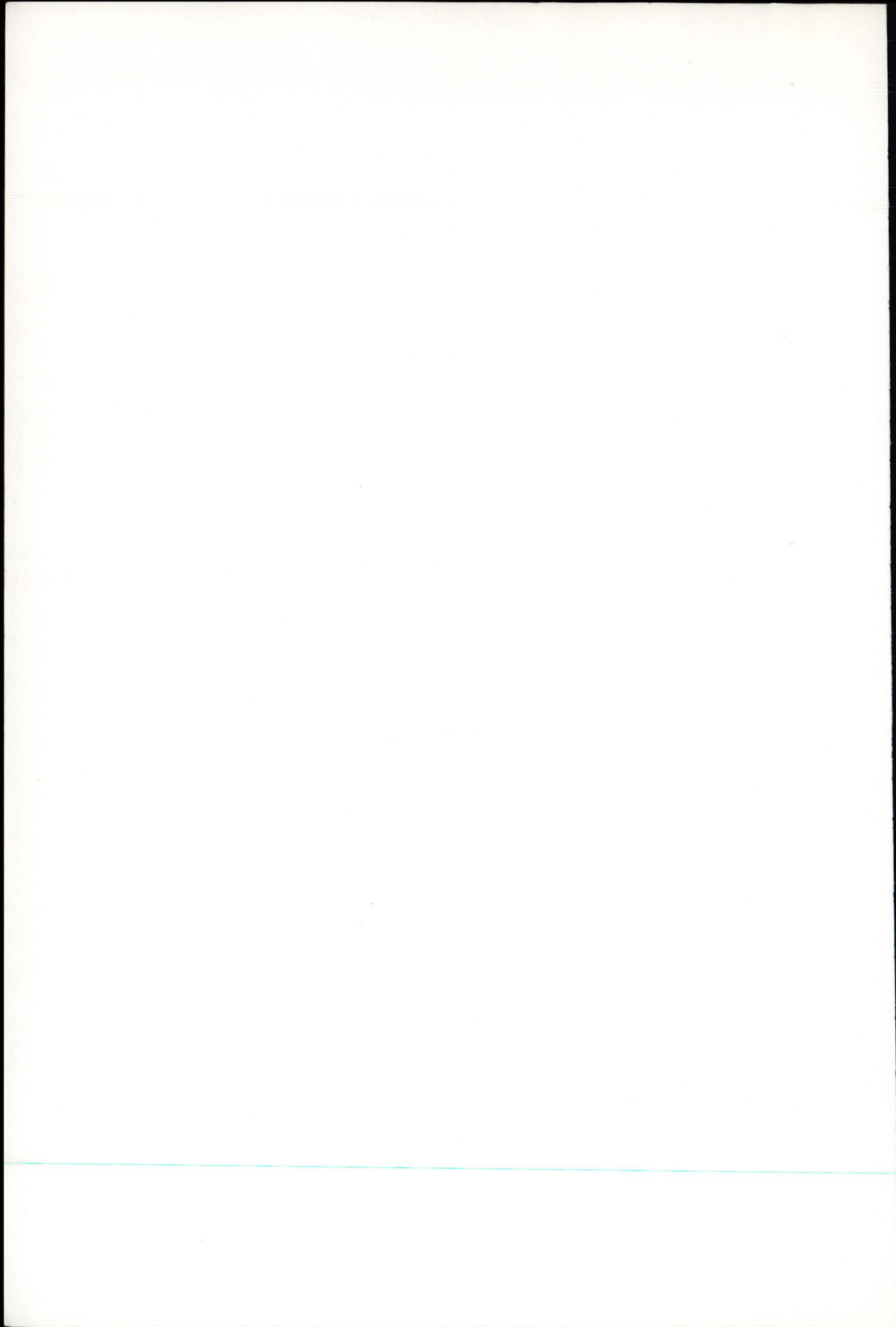
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LIST OF EXHIBITIONS CITED IN ABBREVIATION

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>Amsterdam</i> 1938 | <i>Schilderijen en Teekeningen Pieter Jansz. Saenredam 1597-1665</i> , Museum Fodor, Amsterdam, 1938. |
| <i>Brussels</i> 1946 | <i>De Hollandsche schilderkunst van Jeroen Bosch tot Rembrandt</i> , Paleis voor Schoone Kunsten, Brussels, 1946. |
| <i>Brussels</i> 1961 | <i>Tekeningen uit de Gouden Eeuw</i> , Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels, 1961. |
| <i>Cologne</i> 1955 | <i>Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen, Handzeichnungen</i> , Wallraf-Richartzs Museum, Cologne, 1955. |
| <i>Ghent</i> 1958 | <i>De Gouden Eeuw der grote Steden</i> , Sint Pieters Abdij, Ghent, 1958 ² . |
| <i>Haarlem</i> 1946 | <i>Haarlemsche Meesters uit de eeuw van Frans Hals</i> , Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1946. |
| <i>Haarlem</i> 1961 | <i>Nederlandse Orgelpracht</i> , Vishal, Haarlem, 1961. |
| <i>Milan</i> 1954 | <i>Mostra di Pittura Olandese del Seicento</i> , Palazzo Reale, Milan, 1954. |
| <i>Rome</i> 1954 | <i>Mostra di Pittura Olandese del Seicento</i> , Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1954. |
| <i>Rotterdam</i> 1937 | <i>Schilderijen en Teekeningen Pieter Jansz. Saenredam 1597-1665</i> , Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1937-38. |
| <i>Rotterdam</i> 1955 | <i>Kunstschaten uit Nederlandse Verzamelingen, 1597-1665</i> , Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, |
| <i>Utrecht</i> 1953 | <i>Nederlandse Architectuurschilders 1600-1900</i> , Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1953. |
| <i>Utrecht</i> 1959 | <i>Herdenkingstentoonstelling Paus Adrianus VI</i> , Centraal Museum, Utrecht - Leuven, 1959. |
| <i>Zürich</i> 1953 | <i>Holländer des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> , Kunsthau, Zürich, 1953. |

ELUCIDATION

The works present at the exhibition are marked* behind the catalogue number.

The measurements are in centimeters, height before width.

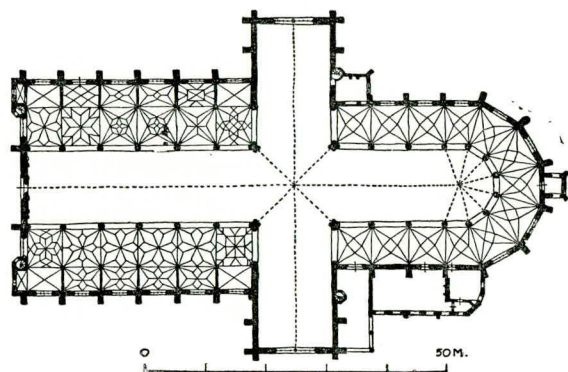
For reasons easy to understand the buildings represented have been given priority. Therefore all the representations of one building were placed together, regardless of their dates. In doing this the following rules have been applied:

1. alphabetical order of the place-names.
2. per place first the churches also in alphabetical order, then the profane buildings.
3. the description begins where possible with the exterior from west to east and continues with the interior from east to west. The principal parts are dealt with first, the details last.
4. the works of art are treated in the order: painting - drawing - construction-drawing.

Literature and exhibitions frequently cited are given in abbreviation (see lists on p. 31 and 35).

With the consent of the State Service for the care of Historic Monuments, Messrs. van Kampen, publishers, Amsterdam, kindly put the blocks of the ground-plans of the following buildings at our disposal: Alkmaar, Great Church; Haarlem, Great Church; Utrecht, *Dom*, St. John's Church, St. Pieter's Church; Bois-le-Duc, St. John's Church. The ground-plan of St. Catherine's Church at Utrecht was provided by Ir. G. M. Leeuwenberg, Utrecht, that of the old Town Hall of Amsterdam by Ir. H. A. J. M. Weller, Amsterdam. The groundplans of the other buildings were put at our disposal by the State Service for the care of Historic Monuments, The Hague.

ALKMAAR, THE GREAT OR ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH



The Great or St. Lawrence's Church is a Late Gothic cruciform-basilica with wooden barrel-vaults over the nave, main choir and transept (see no. 2), and brick groined, star and net vaults over the aisle, side-chapels and ambulatory (see no. 5). The construction, started in 1470, was from 1497 till 1501 in charge of Anthonis Keldermans from Malines. It was consecrated in 1512. From a painted model of the church showing how it was intended, it is apparent that the construction of the originally designed west-tower was abandoned. After repairs in 1895 the church was completely restored from 1923 till 1927 and from 1937 till 1949. During this last restoration the vault-painting with the Last Judgment (1519, attributed to the Master of Alkmaar and Cornelis van Oostzanen) which in 1902 was transferred to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, was taken back again to the choir. It is so be regretted, however, that during the same restoration the walls of the interior were stripped of their plaster so that the interior is now totally different from Saenredam's period. Besides the Late Gothic choir-stalls, depicted by Saenredam, the church among other things still possesses a Late Gothic screen and a small organ from 1511 by Hans of Koblenz. On one of his paintings Saenredam depicted another organ about 1520 (see no. 6), which has now disappeared. The front of the big organ of 1641-1643 was designed by Jacob van Campen (see no. 8). A traverse-measurement of Saenredam may have been made as a preparation for this organ-construction (see no. 10). This is certainly the case with another drawing on which the column and pilaster-order of the organ-gallery (see no. 9) are shown. Pulpit and regents-benches date from 1655; the latter were designed by Jacob van Campen.

The building is the property of the Dutch Reformed Church.

1* Interior of the choir from the crossing

Pen on blue paper - 39,2 x 31,4 - signed, dated 30 May 1661

In this splendid choir with seven-sided apse and three traverses (these are only partly visible) the Classical Gothic tripartite vertical division is applied: the columns, with simple bases and double cabbage-leaved capitals, and the profiled separating-arches being naturally thinner in the polygonal enclosure; the triforium with its high wall-niches and the balustrade with three-sided edging; the skylights. The vaulting is of wood here with paintings; there are shafts between the windows descending on the capitals as is the case in the nave (see no. 2), but they support tie-beams instead of ribs. In between the columns the windows, walls, shafts and stone vaults of the ambulatory are visible. The floor of the choir itself is elevated, hiding from view the lower part of the bases. Along the apse-perimeter the Late-Gothic choir-stalls; in front of their centre the tomb of Count Floris V (see no. 7). A big chandelier hangs in the centre of the choir, a small one in the right-hand ambulatory; an unidentifiable tablet is fixed to a column.

Inscription: in the right bottom corner: *A°: 1661. in Maij den 30 dach dese tekeningh inde kerck tot Alckmaer geeijndicht van mijn Pieter Saenredam* (Ao. 1661. On the 30th day of May this drawing in the church at Alkmaar was finished by me Pieter Saenredam).

In the right bottom corner, apart from the big drawing, a small sketch is to be found picturing probably the substructure of a buttress and a wall with a round-arched doorway in front of which some figures are seated. The painting of the vault, representing the Last Judgment (1518-1519, probably by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostzanen and the Master of Alkmaar) is vaguely indicated.

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5706; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 40, 47, no. 212, pl. 33.

Pl. 6

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen,
Kupferstichkabinett

2* Interior of the nave to the west

Canvas - 207 x 276 - not signed, not dated (between 1661 and 1665)

The rather high space of the nave for which the two western crossing-pillars serve as repoussoirs, consists of six traverses, the north-wall shows the Classical tripartite division as in the choir. The space is covered by a wooden barrel-vault on heavy tie-beams supported by the shafts which themselves rest on the abaci of the capitals of the columns; the presence of the shafts shows an anticipation of stone vaulting. Against the west-wall the big organ stands on a 17th century substructure (see also no. 8); the sloping pews are directed to the pulpit against the south-wall. From the vault three big chandeliers are suspended, while mourning-tablets are scattered over the whole interior. To the left and to the right there is a view on the aisles, which have a covering with stone star-vaults, and on the connecting chapels. On the west-wall of the southern transept the form of the triforium is clearly to be discerned. As filling-in four stray figures.

Inscription: none.

The attribution is based on the exact similarities with the drawing no. 3. The date can undoubtedly be placed between 1661 and the year of Saenredam's death. If this painting has really been executed by Saenredam, this is the only one known he painted on canvas.

Provenance: 1786 in the *Prinsesael* of the Town hall; 1875 transferred to the newly founded museum.

Exhibitions: Malines, *Toren en Keldermans*, 1952, no. 23; *Haarlem* 1961, no. 68.

Literature: SIX, p. 24; *Catalogus der schilderijen en oudheden aanwezig in het Stedelijk Museum te Alkmaar*, s.l., 1911⁴, no. 12; *Catalogus der verzameling schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum te Alkmaar*, Alkmaar, 1932⁵, p. 17, no. 94, pl. XI; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 61, no. 227, pl. 35.

Pl. 1

Alkmaar, Municipal Museum

3* Interior of the nave to the west

Pen, washed and watercolour - 23,5 x 35,2 - signed, dated May 1661

The drawing is in agreement with the painting no. 2, for which it served as a preparatory work, except with respect to the organ

on the west-wall shown here with closed shutters and the absence of any filling-in. Furthermore, the painted decoration of the wooden barrel-vault can be better discerned on the drawing than on the painting.

Inscription: on the plinth of the pews to the left: *Anno 1661. in de Maent Maij, heb ick Pr. Saenredam dese teeckening tot Alcmaar inde kerck gemaect* (Anno 1661, in the month of May I, Pr. Saenredam, made this drawing at Alkmaar in the church).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SIX, p. 24; HENKEL, p. 63; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 61, no. 210, pl. 34.

Pl. 2

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

4* Interior of the northern aisle and of the connecting chapels from the nave

Panel - 45 x 36 - signed, dated 1635

The columns of the nave on their heavily profiled separating-arches support the north-wall, in which on the right upper part a piece of the triforium is to be seen. Two relatively small, unidentifiable statues of saints on Gothic consoles decorate the wall-space over the columns under finely chiselled canopies. The aisle having no direct illumination is covered with stone star-vaults; part of its complicated rib-play is to be seen. The row of three-quarter columns also supports the vault-ribs of the chapels built between the buttresses. In the first of them to the left, stands a rather modest altar kept in Classical style; between the columns, supporting the pediment crowned with three statues, there is a big painting of the Crucified Christ; the altar rests on three steps and is decorated with a richly embroidered antependium, the pattern of which is repeated on the candle-bench, on which four low candlesticks and two flower-vases in front of three niches left open. To the left a small part of the undecorated window is visible; another window is seen in the next chapel. Two chandeliers, a mourning-tablet and an escutcheon constitute the rest of the decoration of the interior. As filling-in a kneeling figure in front of the altar and to the right a walking one.

Inscription: on the frame of the triforium: *P. Saenredam fecit Anno 1635*

Following the date in the inscription there is an illegible indication. The altar and the statues in the nave were no longer present in 1635 (SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 92, no. 78). In comparison with painting no. 2 and drawing no. 3 the disposition of the chandeliers has been changed. The separating arches are here presented as rounded arches while on the painting and drawing referred to, they are pointed.

Provenance: from St. Jozef's Church, Haarlem.

Exhibitions: Zaandam, *Zaanlandsche Oudheden en Merkwaaardigheden*, 1874, no. 1540; The Hague, *Herwonnen Kunstbezit*, Mauritshuis, 1946, no. 56; Bolsward, *Haarlemse kunstenaars uit 5 eeuwen*, Town hall, 1958, no. 75; Bordeaux, *La découverte de la lumière des Primitifs aux Impressionistes*, 1959, no. 120; Recklinghausen, *Polarität*, Städtische Kunsthalle, 1961, no. A 36, repr.

Literature: *Gids in het Bisschoppelijk Museum*, Haarlem, 1878, p. 45, no. 281; J. J. GRAAF, *Gids in het Bisschoppelijk Museum*, Haarlem, 1888, p. 65, no. 281; J. J. GRAAF, *Gids in het Bisschoppelijk Museum*, Haarlem, 1913⁵, p. 201, no. 37; REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 9, 10, pl. 6; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 19, 52, no. 78, pl. 31; reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1958.

Pl. 4

Haarlem, Episcopal Museum

5* Interior of the southern-aisle and ambulatory from the southern aisle

Panel - 76,2 x 54,6 - signed, dated 1637

The aisle and ambulatory are like one long room, only interrupted by the transept-arm in which the triforium is visible. In the aisle the columns with their double cabbage-leaved capitals support the richly decorated star-vaults, at the left they form a seemingly closed row, at the right they are placed at greater distances with the chapels in between. The ambulatory has simple cross-ribbed vaults; one sees in the distance the polygonal enclosure of the choir-head where one of the two windows is partly boarded up. Under the lower vaults it remains a little dim; the chapels and the transept-arm on the contrary are steeped in full light. In the aisle a funeral procession is approaching; a train of black-dressed people carry and surround the bier while in front on the left a man is cautiously and quickly withdrawing. Three chandeliers hang from the vaults, three mourning-tablets on the columns. In the front on the right a grave-digger, a woman and a child looking on.

Inscription: on the balustrade of the triforium: *Pieter Saenredam fecit. Anno 1637.*

At the exhibition *Dutch Pictures*, London, 1952-1953, no. 527, the inscription remained unnoticed; the attribution to Saenredam is doubted by Van Gelder (*Editorial, Dutch Pictures at the Royal Academy*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p. 34, no. 527), who dates this painting, if the attribution would be right, about 1635. Gudlaugsson (p. 68, note 16) drew the attention to the signature; with regard to the filling-in this author could not decide whether it may be by the hand of Saenredam himself or by Pieter Post.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: London, *Dutch Pictures 1450-1750*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1952-1953³, no. 527, pl. 22.

Literature: J. G. VAN GELDER, *Dutch Pictures at the Royal Academy*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p. 34, note 527; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 69, pl. 13.

Pl. 3

England, Private collection

6* Vista on the arcade under the library from the southern ambulatory

Panel - 59 x 40 - signed, dated 1661

Between the first traverse of the southern ambulatory and the southern transept-arm a library for the benefit of the Latin School of the church was built in the 16th century, consisting of a small arcade of two traverses and a porch on the ground-floor upon which the library-room proper is situated, accessible by means of stairs in the porch.

This panel presents a vista from the first traverse of the ambulatory to the ground-floor of the library. The big double doorway between church and porch is open; the porch situated behind it is a rather dark space with a flat wooden ceiling, resting on the outer wall, in which the outer doorway under a big barred niche. Behind it run the two traverses of the arcade of which the two columns and the abutments of the rib-vaults are visible. In the background a fence with a tree and a building on the other side of the square.

In the church itself over the doorway hangs the case of an organ closed with painted shutters. To the right the three-quarter column between choir-wall and transept where two men stand talking. Against this column hangs a mourning-tablet and in the corner a decoration of two long narrow strips ending in a point on which a mask-like head is attached.

Inscription: on the two central panels below on the organ-wings: *Ick pieter Jansz. saenredam heb dit geteeckent in de groote Kerck tot Alckmaer ofte St. Laurens. 1661. en dese doen oock gheschildert* (I, Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, have drawn this in the Great Church at Alkmaar or St. Lawrence's. 1661 and then painted it too).

The organ hanging over the door was probably built about 1520 by Hans van Koblenz who also made the still existing organ in the northern ambulatory (VENTE, p. 49 and 52). Of the one represented here the pipes were used partly to complete the big organ against the west-wall, partly probably for the small organ in the northern ambulatory so that the case was empty at the moment Saenredam painted it; only in 1690 this case was removed and the doorway between the storey of the library and the organ-gallery bricked up (H. VAN DRUNEN, *Studie van de Grote Kerk te Alkmaar*, typewritten, 1946, p. 13, church office, Alkmaar).

Provenance: Countess Balny d'Avricourt collection, Paris; Landry collection, Paris; 1936 purchased from Landry collection and presented by W. van der Vorm.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 5, pl. I; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 5, pl. I; *Zürich* 1953, no. 192.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 215, pl. 30; *Jaarverslag Museum Boymans*, 1936, repr.; J. G. VAN GELDER, *Een nieuwe aanwinst in het museum Boymans*, in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLVI, tome 91, 1936, p. 277; C. VETH, *Pieter Saenredam in museum Boymans*, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XV, 1938, p. 59, 60, pl. p. 60; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155, pl. p. 154; BREMMER, no. 38; M. A. VENTE, *Bouwstoffen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Orgel in de 16e eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1942, p. 131; *Gids, Schilderkunst en Beeldhouwkunst*, museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1951, p. 55, no. 400 a, pl. 22; LEYMARIE, p. 150, repr.; A. B. DE VRIES, *Pieter Saenredam, St. Laurens Kerk, Alkmaar*, in *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, I, 1957, no. 1, repr.; D. BRUNZEMA, *Die Gestaltung des Orgelprospektes im friesischen und angrenzenden Nordseeküstengebiet bis 1670 und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart, Abhandlungen und Vorträge zur Geschichte Ostfrieslands*, XXXV, Aurich, 1958, p. 15, 66, pl. 8; VENTE, p. 52; *Afbeeldingen schilderijen*, museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1959, pl. 50; BRINKGREVE, p. 41, pl. 16; PLIETZSCH, p. 124, pl. 212.

Pl. 5 Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

7* Tomb of Floris V

Pen and watercolour - 12,8 x 21,6 - signed, dated 30 May 1661

This wooden tomb of the Early Renaissance, in which the

actual tomb-stone is placed, is shaped as a simple rectangular sarcophagus resting on four short round feet; only one long side is visible. The surface painted in relief-imitation has in the middle a medallion, ornamented interiorly along the border with leaf-tendrils, and containing the coat of arms of the Counts of Holland. To the left hand right of the coat of arms two putti dancing on intertwined foliage have been depicted; the two outer ones hold a festoon hanging all over the breadth in between, the inner two serve as shield bearers. Between the simple profiles along the upper and lower side of the monument at both ends a buttress has been drawn, executed partly in an archaic-looking Late Gothic manner, partly covered with Renaissance intertwined foliage.

Inscription: at the top under the border of the sheet: *Hier boven op leijt een Marmorsteen, daer oock dusdanijgen leeu en wapen op gehouwen is, ende daer int ronde oock letteren in gehouden sijn, als volght, Hier onder is 'tingewant van Grave floris van Holland, verslagen wort van H. Gerrit van Velsen. Anno 1296 den 27 Junij.* - under the tomb: *Ao. 1661. Den 30 Maij. heb ick Pr. Saenredam tot Alckmaer inde kerck geteeckent.* (Here on top lies a marble stone, on which a lion and a coat of arms have been chiselled, and around which also letters have been chiselled in this manner. Under it are the intestines of Count Floris of Holland slewn by Heer Gerard van Velsen, June 27th anno 1296. - under the tomb: May 30th Ao. 1661 I, Pieter Saenredam, drew this in the church at Alkmaar).

The tomb is still to be seen in the church and stands at present in the ambulatory.

Provenance: J. Masson, Paris; purchased at a Paris sale, 17 November 1926.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no 34 b; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 34 b.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 7 Paris, F. Lugt collection, Institut néerlandais

8* The big organ against the west-wall

Pen, washed and watercolour - 33,5 x 22 - signed, dated 27 and 28 May 1661

This drawing, probably a detail-study for no. 2, shows the big organ frontal. Within a rather simple architectural construction,

of the wall. The slight elevation in the middle with three steps is undoubtedly meant as a space for the console. On both sides follow, symmetrically, a column, a doorway crowned with a pediment and two columns placed near to each other (the outer one is in reality a pilaster) and supporting the main case. The lancet-arch in the middle possibly connected with the case or decoration to be executed cannot be explained. The two circle-segments also to be found on the painting no. 2 and on the drawings no. 3 and no. 8 indicate the shape of the consoles supporting the entablature of the big case. On top of the drawing a scale-division; some measurements are inscribed.

Inscription: right, at the top next to the scale: *voeten Rijnlantse maet* (feet Rijnlant-measure) - in the elevation for the console: *dit is binnen 'torgel ende Aldus gemaect om dat Monsr. van Campen de wapens en festoenen te beter op sijne ordere sal kunnen stellen. dits opde voetmaet etc.* (this is inside the organ and made in this way so that mr. van Campen will better be able to put the arms and festoons as he wants, this is the foot-measurement etc.).

The attribution to Saenredam is based on the handwriting and the contents of the inscription. The measurement was made by Saenredam for the benefit of Jacob van Campen, who at restoration of the old organ had been entrusted with the general design (SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 76). On account of this the drawing was dated approx. 1638-39 (SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 149; VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 189). At the bottom of this drawing the traces of a former drawing clearly appear.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 178, 188-189; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 11, no. 149, pl. 39; VERMEULEN, *Handboek I*, p. 92-93; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 76.

Pl. 8 The Hague, Netherlands State-Service for the
Protection of historical Monuments

10* Three measurements of the elevation

Pen - 32,3 x 24,4 - not signed, not dated (approx. 1636-1638?)

- a. Left on the sheet: an undefined traverse-wall, consisting of the schematically drawn and undetailed columns, separating-arch,

triforium with two wall-niches in which decoration with four-sided edging and balustrade consisting of four parts, a big upper-window. Everywhere the measurements are inscribed.

Inscription: right, next to the triforium: *van beneeden tot de balcken is 90 10/12 voet* (from the bottom to the beams is 90 10/12 feet) - right, next to the separating-arch: *hoogte van de boog* (height of the arch).

- b. In the centre: a column shaft without base with profiled astragal, only left part drawn. Inscribed measurements; over it calculations.
- c. Right on the sheet: partial measurement of a first side of the polygonal choir-partition (connecting with the normal traverse-wall of the choir), consisting of one column, the biggest part of a separating-arch, the triforium with the two bays in each wall of which a four-sided edging and a balustrade consisting of two parts. To the right of it three details. Several inscribed measurements and some calculations.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam is based on the similarity of the handwriting. According to Vermeulen (*Bulletin*, p. 178) the measurements were probably made in connection with the construction for the new organ-front (see no. 9); based on this the drawing is dated approx. 1636-1638, as a preparatory study for Jacob van Campen's designs. As it seems there exists no direct relation between these traverse-walls and the west-wall though the triforium in the last traverse-walls and the west-wall also consists of two times three trilateral edgings. The drawing on the right half of the sheet is easy to identify by the typical form of the triforium.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 178; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 225, pl. 38.

Pl. 10 The Hague, Netherlands State-Service for the
Protection of historical Monuments

ALKMAAR, THE CHAPEL CHURCH

Originally this church was called the St. John's Chapel, founded in the middle of the 15th century by the Malthese Knights. It consisted only of a nave and a north-aisle of the same length but lower, owing their present dimensions to an enlargement undertaken in the years 1536 till 1540 (see nr. 11 and 12). In 1707 this Late Gothic buildings was renewed and extended with a nothern transept. After a fire in 1760 such radical repairs were executed as to give the interior an aspect totally different from the time of Saenredam. Restored in 1955-1956. The church is the property of the Dutch Reformed Church.

11* Interior from the west to the east

Pen and watercolour - 38,9 x 51 - signed, dated 1 and 2 June 1661

This modest church constructed in a simple Late Gothic style consists only of two parts: a nave and an aisle along the north-side. The absence of a choir makes west- as well as east-wall straight. In the east-wall there is a big window; the wooden painted vault is divided into three shields, borne along both sides by a corbelling, because of which a tripartite apseform comes into being, at least in the vault, completely free from the walls. The separation between both aisles consists of a row of columns without capitals, with high eight-sided bases; the separating-arches come down on octagonal abaci. Both aisles are covered with a pointed wooden barrel-vault supported by heavy tie-beams. In the south-wall of the nave several high windows are fitted letting in a lot of light. The blind windows in the wall of the aisle still show the tracery of the window-jamb. Of the furnishing first of all the pulpit with the big sound-board against the centre of the south-wall strikes the eye; in front of it a liturgical space enclosed with a low balustrade. On the left and the right of it, as well as against the east- and north-wall pews are placed. Two brass chandeliers and some candle-arms form the only decoration.

Inscription: at the bottom left: *A°: 1661. Den 1 Junij heb ick Pieter Saenredam dese teeckeningh inde kapel binnen Alckmaer begonnen te teeckenen ende deselve op den 2 dito voor de mid-dachs tot Dus verre gebracht. (Anno 1661, the 1st of June*

I, Pieter Saenredam, begun this drawing in the Chapel in Alkmaar and finished it on the 2nd ditto before the afternoon).

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 34 a; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 34 a.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5341; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 214, pl. 37.

Pl. 11 Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

12 Interior from the east to the west

Pen, brown ink and watercolour - 38,3 x 49,6 - signed, dated 31 May and 1 June 1661

With regard to its architecture this drawing is in mainlines the same as the preceding one. Above the separating-arches runs a row of low blind windows, every time two to a traverse. In the nave on the tie-beams there is to the left a gangway and on the next to last beam to the west-side some sort of balustrade is fixed; every panel is decorated with a big festoon over which a curtain hangs on a rail as enclosure. Inscription on the balustrade: OMNIS HALITVS LAVDET DOMINVM. In the centre of the west-wall in front of a blind window is a small richly decorated Baroque-organ with opened shutters. A big window provides at the west-side the illumination of the aisle.

Inscription: under the pew in the front: *Anno 1661, Den 31 Maij heb ick Pr. Saenredam deese teeckeningh inde Capel binnen Alckmaer begonnen ende den 1 Junij voldaan.* (Anno 1661 the 31st of May have I, Pr. Saenredam, begun this drawing in the chapel in Alkmaar and finished it the 1st of June).

The organ, transferred from the Great Church to the Chapel Church in 1542, was built in 1528, probably by Hans Koblenz from Amsterdam, who also built the other organs of the Great Church. In 1651 it was rather drastically repaired by Jacobus van Hagerbeer; it is quite possible that the outward appearance of this originally Gothic organ was changed on that occasion and brought into the state in which Saenredam represented it.

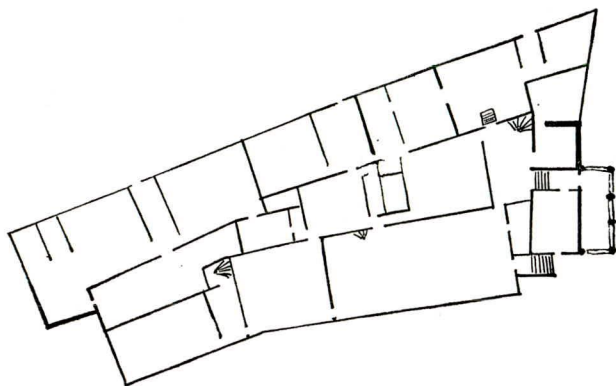
Provenance: purchased 1854.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HIND, p. 45, no. 93, pl. XXVII (3); SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 213, pl. 36; VENTE, p. 52, pl. 17.

Pl. 12 London, the British Museum, Printroom

AMSTERDAM, THE OLD TOWN HALL



On January 28th 1639 the burgomasters of Amsterdam deliberated with the town-council over the building of a new town hall - *also het Stadthuys vry wat bouwvalligh is tot veele plaatsen* (as the town hall is rather dilapidated in many places). Two years later Pieter Saenredam made a *grootte en nette teeckeningh naar 't leeven selver* (big and clear drawing from life itself) (see no. 14) of the town hall for which he worked six days long on the *Dam* as he mentions *van smorgens tot savonts naerstich daeraen besig weesende* (from morning till evening diligently working at it) (see no. 15). He leaves no doubt about the fact that the whole complex of mediaeval constructions at that moment was in a rather dilapidated state; it is also clear from the shape that the complex must have come into being in different times, adapted to an ever-growing government, because of which especially the oldest part, to the right of the tower, must have been rebuilt many times. The *eerste fundamentsteen* (first foundationstone) of the new town hall, now the palace, was laid on October 29th 1648 for which the back part of the old town hall had been pulled down; the front part, for the time being still in use until the construction of Jacob van Campen was far enough advanced, burned down completely one Sunday morning in 1652 with the result that only little of the old inventory was left; the four small wooden statues on the iron railing of the tribunal - the small square Gothic building - were among other parts saved, as well as the bird's-eye view of the plan of the town, painted by Cornelis Anthonisz. The old town hall of Amsterdam concerning its white plastered façade and its turret ranged with the west-side of *Kalverstraat* (Calf's Street) and *Nieuwendijk* (New Dike). The side of the house *De vergulde Ploeg* (the gilded Plough), half visible on the left hand side of the painting, was the first house of *Kalverstraat*. The arcade of the tribunal was built about 10 feet over the alignment. The width of

the façades took about one third of the width of the present palace. The history of the construction of the complex is uncertain as far as the dating of the different constructions is concerned. The oldest part, completed about 1400 - the white façade - had originally a top with wide stairs and corner-pinnacles, of which the left abutment is still visible on the painting. The council-hall with four big cross-windows was in the first storey. The former entrance is still recognizable in the centre, behind the added stalls, while on the right at the corner the pillory is still visible. The whole was built on the site of St. Elizabeth's hospital for which the town was to pay *eenwyghe renten* (eternal rents) annually. The first small town hall probably stood completely in the façade-wall. In 1418 a small street was made at the northside, *Claes Scickerssteghe*, later called *Waagsteeg* (Weigh-house Lane) and finally *Vogelsteeg* (Bird's Lane), for which purpose a house was pulled down; at the south-side land was purchased for the addition of the tower and the tribunal. On April 23rd 1421 the town hall burned down with a great part of the town. It is not certain that, at the date, the tower already existed. After the fire the tower and the tribunal may have been built, when the old town hall was modernised. In this period the New Church, too, was being constructed, so that we probably owe the sudden refinement of the tribunal to the skilled stone-cutters of the builder's sheds of the New Church. According to Cornelis Anthonisz's plan in bird's-eye view the tribunal had a stone balustrade, which is no longer to be found on later drawings. On the painting the roof-termination on the walls consequently passes into a formless slab of lead. The administration of justice was exercised behind the iron gates, while the people could look on under the arcades. Consequently the whole formed a prototype of the later tribunal of Quellinus in the new town hall. In the first storey the office of the Trustees of the Orphanage was situated. With the second big town-fire in 1452 the town hall burned down again. The two centre columns may have been renewed on that occasion; they are slenderer and of another character than the others, while the square bases do not stand against, but on the platform. The columns were connected with each other by tie-bars from which in 1536, after the rising, the Anabaptists were hanged. Over the arcade under the left window a whalebone hangs down from a chain as a precious trophy, for the rest for unknown reasons. In 1492 St. Elizabeth's Hospital was connected with St. Peter's Hospital, because of which event the buildings became empty for the enlargement of the town hall. The chapel of the hospital, situated along *Gasthuissteeg* (Hospital Lane), now *Paleisstraat* (Palace Street), at the left visible on the painting, was fitted up as *die nyewe zale* (the new hall) and used for big meetings; the hall behind it was taken into use as *raetkamer* (council-chamber), *Gasthuissteeg* was then not much wider than the present small alleys off *Kalverstraat*. In the same year the old town hall got another extension at the back, along *Vogelsteeg*, namely the town-kitchen where the caretaker got his house. In this way a court-yard came into being

between the two wings, in which about 1500 the administration-room was built by constructing a roof on the existing walls. The main entrance of the town hall was made through the tribunal on the spot where on the painting a man enters the building; from there one came into the administration-room in which on the right a newel-staircase gave entry to the former council-chamber. By further purchases the two wings of the town hall were continually lengthened backwards in the second half of the sixteenth century; in these extensions the prison and the warden's house were accommodated. The number of governing authorities kept on increasing especially after the fall of Antwerp and the change in government when trade and tourist traffic rapidly increased in the free town. In 1609 the Exchange-bank was founded and accommodated in the front-part of the oldest part of the town hall; the entrance at the front was bricked up and a new one was made in the wall at the side of *Vogelsteeg*; stalls were built at the front which could be rented from the town. The stall against the tower was already of older date (1563) which explains the difference in colour and the form of the yokes. The turret in which the Burgomasters had their own council-chamber was the first motive for demolition of the whole complex. Already in 1601 the spire started inclining in a dangerous way, but was then righted with great pains by Staets, the town-carpenter; in 1615, however, the spire had to be removed because of a danger of collapsing. The chimes disappeared, but the bells were put on the extant tower-stump, evidently as a temporary solution.

13* Exterior seen from the Dam

Panel - 64,5 x 83 - signed, dated 1657

The town hall was composed of three different parts: at the left the Tribunal, in the middle the tower, at the right the oldest part, of which the exact destination is not known, and which underwent a great number of changes in the course of time. This, for that matter, can be observed by the irregular arrangement of the windows of the first floor closed with shutters above which two rows of cross-windows each indicating a floor, separated from each other by a water-drip. Under the gable behind which the roof appears, one more small window. On the ground-floor of this building the discount-bank was established since 1609; in its low wooden out-building several persons have a lively conversation. At the right of this building was *Vogelsteeg* (Bird's Lane) while at the left and connected with a small building in between the tower rises, of which only two tiers are completely visible. Along the side of the *Dam*

between two Gothic blind traceries, the upper-floor has a big cross-window and a time-piece; a dial is also visible on the other side, for the rest practically blind. This floor is finished off by a balustrade above which till 1615 the elegant spire rose, which had to be removed in that year for reasons of stability.

The lower floor, separated from the upper one by a water-drip, has also a cross-window between two Gothic traceries under a pointed arch. To the left of the tower the Tribunal projects; its ground-floor, one step higher than the square, consists of a column-substructure (a square of three arches), only partly closed with walls and bars, with the result of a more open hall in which some persons sit on a bench. The floor, clearly outlined by the high roof and the water-drip has three cross-windows with in between a rich plastic decoration along the side of the *Dam* corresponding with the rhythm of the arcade. Above the left arch of the front hangs the jaw of a whale. Along the side of the tribunal, which is in *Gasthuissteeg* (Hospital Lane), the same arcades, windows and water-drip are to be found; a high chimney is fixed to the roof by means of tie-bars. Connected with it in the alley is the St. Elizabeth's or Holy Ghost Hospital, which in 1492 was made part of the town hall because of a shortage of room for municipal institutions. A staircase leads to the higher situated door above which in the façade several windows have been spared out. On the corner there is a small out-building like a bay-window. Otherwise only the spire astride the dormer, some chimneys, buttresses, windows and a small awning of this building are to be discerned. At the left of this alley a small fragment of the richly decorated façade of the corner-house is still to be seen. In the alley itself some people walk.

Inscription: on the step of the tribunal: *Dit is het oude Raethuijs der Stadt Amsterdam, welck afbrande int jaer 1652[?] den 7 julij in 3 uren tyts sonder meer* (this is the old Town hall of the town of Amsterdam, which burned down in the year 1652 the 7th of July in three hours time without more [houses]). - on the awning above the discount-bank: *Pieter Saenredam, Heeft dit eerst naer 't Leeven Geteekent met al sijn Coleuren int Jaer 1641. En dit geschildert int jaer 1657.* (Pieter Saenredam has first drawn this from life with all its colours in the year 1641. And painted this in the year 1657).

This painting was bought on the 30th of July 1658 by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam for f 400.— from the painter to be hung in the (new) Burgomasters' chamber as is clear from the inscription on the sketch no. 15.

Provenance: 30 July 1658 purchased by the town of Amsterdam from the artist.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 3, pl. VI; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 3, pl. VI; *Brussels* 1946, no. 93; Paris, *Le paysage hollandais au XVII^e siècle*, Orangerie des Tuileries, 1950, no. 83, pl. 8.

Literature: A. HOUBRAKEN, *De groote Schouburgh*, I, Amsterdam, 1718, p. 138; JANTZEN, p. 86, no. 416; SIX, p. 24; C. G. 'T HOOFT, *Het oude Raethuijs door Pieter Saenredam*, in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, XII, 1914, p. 207-210; MARTIN, p. 278; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 12, no. 204, pl. 41; BREMMER, no. 6; H. GERSON, *Het tijdperk van Rembrandt en Vermeer*, The Hague, 1952, no. 158; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 13; R. HINKS, *Peepshow and roving eye*, in *The Architectural Review*, CXVIII, 1955, p. 162, no. 4, pl. 4; E. HÜTTINGER, *Holländische Malerei im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Zürich, 1956, p. 123-124, pl. 69; LEYMARIE, p. 155; *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen in het Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam, 1956, no. 2099 A-1; N. POSTHUMUS MEYJES, *Karakter en schoonheid van de Noordnederlandse schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1957, p. 18; *Catalogue of paintings*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1960, p. 273, no. 2099 A-1; PLIETZSCH, p. 124, pl. 211; BRINKGREVE, p. 35, pl. 7; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 113.

Pl. 13

Amsterdam, 's Rijksmuseum,
on loan from the town of Amsterdam

14* Exterior seen from the Dam

Pen, brown ink, watercolour with some grey - 37 x 49 - signed, dated 15 up to and including 20 July 1641

This sketch represents practically the same view as painting no. 13. The house on the painting at the left, still with a part of its façade visible, is lacking here while the filling-in is confined to two small figures in a little shop.

Inscription: on the balustrade of the tower: *Raethuijs der stad Amsterdam Ao. 1641* (Town Hall of the town of Amsterdam Ao. 1641) - on the step of the tribunal: *Int tJaer 1652 den 7 Julij is dit oude Statshuijs binnen Amsterdam afgebrant in 3 uren tijts, sonder meer* (in the year 1652 the 7th of July this old Town Hall in Amsterdam has burned down in three hours time without more [houses]) - on the awning above the little shops: *Pieter. Saenredam dit geteeckent.op den 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 Julij 1641* (Pieter Saenredam drew this on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th of July 1641).

This sketch is mentioned on drawing no. 15. Undoubtedly the inscription on the step of the tribunal was added by Saenredam later on.

Provenance: possibly Johan Enschedé collection, Haarlem (cf. inscription on no. 228) and Johan Enschedé sale, Haarlem, 30 May 1786; D. Versteegh sale, Amsterdam, 3 November 1823, port. Z, no. 2^x; Verstolk van Soelen sale, 1846; Louis Splitgerber collection.

Exhibitions: Amsterdam, *Historische tentoonstelling*, Rijksmuseum, Stedelijk Museum, 1925, no. 372; Rotterdam 1937, no. 37, pl. XV; Amsterdam 1938, no. 37, pl. XV.

Literature: C. G. 'T HOOFT, *Het oude Raethuijs door Pieter Saenredam*, in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, XII, 1914, p. 209, repr. as frontispiece; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 155, pl. 40; MARTIN, p. 278; PLIETZSCH, p. 120; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 113.

Pl. 14

Amsterdam, Municipal Archives

15* Sheet with an etching of the exterior of the old town hall and a view on the New Church

Pen and watercolour - 22,5 x 16,7 - not signed, not dated (June 1641?)

In the centre of the sheet a reclining rectangle is outlined, in which the same representation of the town hall is shown as on the painting no. 13 and the drawing no. 14. At the top to the left a corner of the town hall, a row of houses with crow-stepped gables and a part of the New Church (nave and transept with spire astride the roof) have been sketched. The rest of the surface for the greater part, namely in the upper right-hand corner and under the drawing of the town hall, has been filled in with inscriptions over the whole width.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner: *dit geteeckent uijt het boeck de beschrijvingh van Amsterdam hier neffens gemelt* (this drawn from the book, the description of Amsterdam, mentioned along side - on the roof of the New Church: *De nieuwe kerck tot amsterdam* (the New Church at Amsterdam) - on the corner of the town hall: *stadthuijs* (town hall) - in the upper right-hand corner: *de outheyt dunckt mij dat ick eenighsints affneeme uijt de beelden, de welcke boven de tralien vande vierschaar staen Willem de 6 van dien name inde orden der graven der 17. Item Jacobam ende phillps, toegenaemt de goede, met sijne huijsvrouw verthoonen. van de welcke phillps, van zijne nichte Jacoba int Jaer 1428 het graeffschap van Hollandt, ofte immers het stadthouderschap des graeffschaps ontfangen hebbende, heeft getrouwt sijn derde huijsvrouw Isabelle, Johannis des Coninx van portugaels Dr int Jaer 1430: soo datmen hier uijt lichtelijck vander outheyt van dit gestichte lichtelij* [this word scratched out]

gissinge maecken kan. Dit uijt de beschrijvingh der stadt Amsterdam, gedrukt bij Jodocum Hondicum aldaer inde Calverstraat inde wakende hont wonende in Jaer 1614 met privilegie. (I mean to deduce the antiquity from the Statues standing above the bars of the tribunal: William VI of that name in the sequence of the counts of 17. Also Jacoba and Philip, named the Good, with his wife. Philip who, after having received in the year 1428 from his niece Jacoba the county of Holland and for always the stadholder-ship of the county, married his third wife Isabella, daughter of John, king of Portugal, in the year 1430; so that from this the antiquity of this foundation can somewhat be guessed at. This from the description of the town of Amsterdam, printed by Jodocum Hondicum living there in "Calf's street" in the "watching dog" in the year 1614 with privilege) - above the drawing of the town hall (between two little arrows): *het paneel daer ick dit op schilderde was lanck 3 voet en een halff duym, kermer voetmaet* (the panel on which I painted this, was 3 feet and a half inch long, kermer foot-measurement). - at the left of this drawing: *breet 2 voet 4 duym en 1/6 deels duym* (wide 2 feet 4 inches and 1/6 inch) - under this drawing: *Deese schets teeckeningh heb ick gemaect nae een grootte ende nette teeckeningh, die ick naer 'tleeven selver hadde geteekent met alle sijne Coleuren aangeweesen soo perfect mijn mogelijke was op een mediaen vel pampier hoogh sijnde 15½ duymen kermer voetmaet ende breet eeven 20 duymen derselve maet, Int Jaer 1641 opden 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. ende 20 Julij. van smorgens tot savonts naerstich daer aen besigh weesende. Item int Jaer 1652 opden 7. Julij, is dit voors. oude stadthuys affgebrant inden tijt van 3. uren, sonder eenighe andere huijsen meer. Item int Jaer 1657. heb ick naer mijn nette teeckeningh een stuck schilderij gemaect op een paneel van 2 stucken en grote als hier boven. Ao. 1658. Den 30 Julij hebben de Heeren Thesauriers der stadt Amsterdam Johan Huijdekoper, en Dr. tulp, door last vande E. Heeren Burgemeesteren, dit stuckje schilderij aengenomen ende betaelt hebben [this word scratched out] op den 31 Julij dito, aen handen van Monsr. karel godin ter somme toe van 400 gulden in alle min en vrindelyckheijt neffens beloften van mijn int toecomende meerder te sullen gedencken; ordonneerende dit stucken op de E. Burgemeesters kamer te sullen blijven hangen.* (This sketched drawing I made from a big and clear drawing, which I had drawn from life with all its colours as perfectly as possible on a medium paper, high 15½ inches kermer foot-measurement and wide about 20 inches of the same measurement in the year 1641 on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th of July from morning till night working on it assiduously. In the same year 1652 the 7th of July the afore-mentioned old town hall burned down within 3 hours, without any other houses. In the

same year 1657 after my clear drawing I made a painting on a panel of 2 pieces size like above. Ao. 1658. The 30th of July the lords Treasurers of the town of Amsterdam, Johan Huydekoper and Dr. Tulp, on the order of the lords Burgomasters, have accepted this painting and have paid (scratched out) on the 31st of July by the hands of Mr. Karel Godin the sum of 400 guilders in all courtesy and friendliness with promises to remember me in the future; ordering this piece to be hung in the Burgomasters' chamber).

The attribution is based on the similarities concerning the manner of drawing and the handwriting, strengthened by the fact that the inscription itself mentions panel no. 13 and drawing no. 14 clearly, as well as other circumstances like the purchase. From the words, *Ao. 1658. Den 30 Julij* the text has later been added. The Municipal Archives at Amsterdam possess a copy of it, (see no. 212). The description of the town of Amsterdam meant here, is the *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijs beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam* (Historical description of the very widely known merchant-town of Amsterdam), translated in 1614 by Petrus Montanus from the Latin work of Johannes Isaac Pontanus (1611), and published in the same year by Jodocus Hondius (for the description of this old town hall see this work, 11th chapter, p. 141-142).

Provenance: Joh. Enschedé collection, Haarlem, 1780.

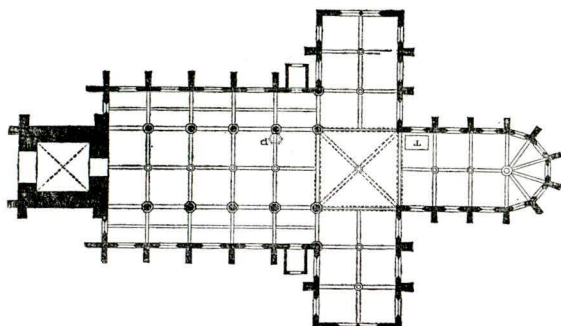
Exhibitions: Amsterdam, *Historische Tentoonstelling*, Rijksmuseum, Stedelijk Museum, 1925, no. 373 a and b; Rotterdam 1937, no. 38; Amsterdam 1938, no. 38.

Literature: H. J. SCHOLTEN, *Catalogue raisonné des Dessins des écoles française et hollandaise*, Haarlem, 1904, p. 87, no. 78; C. G. 't HOOFT, *Het oude Raethuijs door Pieter Saenredam*, in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, XII, 1914, p. 209; REGISTEREN ALTENA, p. 8-9; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 21-22, no. 205, pl. 42; SWILLENS, *Domtoren*, p. 41; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 113.

Pl. 15

Haarlem, Teyler's Foundation

ASSENDELFT, ST. ODULPHUS' CHURCH



This Late Gothic cruciform church consists of a three-aisled pseudo-basilican nave (see no. 19), a far projecting transept and a choir, all covered with wooden barrel-vaults. To improve the entrance of light the long façades of the aisles were supplied with gables so that high windows became possible, a method often applied in Late Gothic in the Western Netherlands (see no. 16). The west-tower (probably without or with only low buttresses) showed the stiff decoration with shallow niches customary in the northern part of Holland. The church, already depicted by Pieter Saenredam's father Johannes, though not quite accurately (peasant-dance around the church, engraved by C. Visscher 1596; Amsterdam, State Printroom), is mainly known by the drawings and paintings of Pieter. The differences between these pictures can probably be explained by extensive repair-works executed in the years 1642-1645 according to preserved bills. The reliability of Saenredam's drawings and paintings concerning the exterior of the church can be tested by comparing them with a drawing from the north-east by C. Pronk (1728; Zaandijk, Archaeological collection „Jacob Honig”) when we compare it with the one from the south-west by Saenredam.

In later years the church decayed more and more, in 1740 the state of the building was already very bad. In 1852 the church was pulled down with the exception of the tower. Though already shortened for a second time, it was preserved as part of a new church. It got lost, however, in 1813, when the whole building was destroyed by fire as the result of its being struck by lightning.

16* View on Assendelft

Pen and watercolour - 23 x 38,5 - signed, dated 15 August 1633

Above a long, horizontal belt of trees, shrubs, farms and barns with low wooden substructures and high, broad, thatched roofs rises the high, stone, Late Gothic parish church as seen from the south-west. The massive, heavy tower, of which only the two storeys have been decorated with blind-tracery, is closed off on top with a low balustrade and crowned by a not very tall spire. The aisles have been extended almost up to the west front of the tower. The shape of the uninterrupted roof placed upon nave and southern aisles is the typical one of a hall-church; the interiors (no. 19 and no. 22), however, make it clear that it is a pseudo-hall-church. The southern aisle, nevertheless, has two dormer windows. Of the southern arm of the transept the two west-windows, separated by a buttress, and the large gable window are visible. The foreground consists in a wide, arid plain with only to the farthest left a tree and grass.

Inscription: at the top in the middle against the edge: *Assendelft*-below at the left: *Den 15: augustij. 1633. van mijn pieter Saenredam tot Assendelft, naer 'tlevven geteeckent.* (the 15th of August 1633 drawn by me Pieter Saenredam at Assendelft from life).

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5704; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 63, pl. 43.

Pl. 17

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

17* Interior from the nave to the east

Lead-pencil - 15,1 x 28,7 - signed, dated 9 August 1630

From the westmost traverse of the nave, to the right of the longitudinal axis of the church a view is given on the columns, separating-arches and wooden vaults of the aisles, on a part of the northern transept and on the choir. In the pentagonal enclosure bays and windows are placed, above which the painted wooden barrel-vault. Over the crossing lies a wooden crossribbed-vault. Other typical elements of the building, like the pseudo-basilican character, the elevated choir-floor and the tie-beams and parts of the furnishing such as the pulpit against the northern nave-wall, the chandeliers scattered through the space and the tomb of the

lords of Assendelft in the left corner of the choir, are present here, while to the left in the choir against the wall a steeple-shaped small building is to be found, the function of which can not exactly be explained.

Inscription: in the right bottom corner: *Pr. Saenredam, dese gedaen inde Assendelver kerck Den 9. augustij. 1633.* (This done in the church of Assendelft, the 9th of August 1633).

On this drawing the proportions are compact and taken more widely than on no. 18; the bases of the columns, too, are lower and otherwise profiled.

Provenance: J. Baer, Frankfurt; Sir Robert Witt collection, London, no. 67.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 44, 64, no. 62, pl. 44.

Pl. 22

London, Clifford Duits collection

18* Interior from the nave to the east

Pen - 36,5 x 64 - not signed, dated April 1634

This "strictly businesslike perspective construction" (VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 182) is made from a view-point chosen somewhat more to the west than in the drawing no. 17; on the whole there is more to be seen - partly too because of the absence of the pulpit - except of the vault. Furthermore the details like profiles of bases and capitals are completely worked out.

Inscription: on the base of the first left column: *Anno 1634. Dit in April geteijckent. ende in Julij dit geschildert. dus groot. dit is naer de kerck gemaect in t'Dorp Assendelft in hollant.* (This drawn in April and painted in July, just as big. This is made after the church in the village of Assendelft in Holland). - in the left bottom corner: some measurements inscribed, illegible, however - in the right bottom corner: *Assendelft.*

It is attributed on the ground of the way of drawing and of handwriting. The horizon lies at about 1/3 of the height of the drawing; in the bay under the right apse-window the optical point is indicated. The back is blackened, the inklines are traced. Several

other auxiliary lines are visible. The word *Assendelft* in the right bottom corner is by another hand. The paper is damaged at the bottom in different places. From the inscription it is clear that Saenredam made a painting after this drawing, this painting, however, has not come down to us.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 178; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 64, no. 68, pl. 45.

Pl. 23 The Hague, Netherlands State-Service for the
Protection of historical Monuments

19* Interior from the choir to the west

Panel - 50 x 76 - signed, dated 2 October 1649

From the choir on a higher floor level than that of the nave, the eye is directed through the transept to the nave and to the two aisles. In the choir-walls there is to the left hand side a pew and on the right the tomb of the lords of Assendelft. The nave numbers five traverses, has no direct illumination and is covered by a wooden barrel-vault supported by a heavy tie-beam-construction, in its turn leaning on the undecorated capitals; the same vaulting-form has been made in the transept and in the choir, where some of the supporting beams also rest on consoles. In the west-wall a high narrow passage, closed off with a wooden wall in which a little door, connects the church with the west tower; over the doorway a likewise closed-off opening. The half column to the left against the west-wall is partly hidden behind a wooden fence. The aisles are considerably lower and narrower than the nave. The first aisle-traverse, against the transept, has a high bay and a blind window, and is covered with a wooden barrel-vault. The next traverse, separated from the first by a lowered transverse arch consolidated with tie-bars, shows a big window, partly bricked-up in conformity with the dormer-windows outside (see no. 16); to leave the window completely free this space is covered with a diagonal barrel-vault likewise in wood. This disposition is repeated in the fourth traverse while the remaining two traverses are similar to the first except that their window-openings are somewhat smaller. As the main pieces of furnishing there is to the right in the nave the pulpit in which, under a steeple-shaped crowned sounding-board, a minister preaches to the congregation sitting in the pews and on the floor and

listening attentively. Two chandeliers hang in the nave on the columns of which also candle-arms are fixed. Against the northern choir-wall hang two mourning-tablets, one in a blind window-niche. Between the big tiles of the choir-floor lies the tombstone of Jan Saenredam, Pieter's father, with the inscription: IOHANNIS SAENREDAM SCVLPTORIS CELEBERRIMI PETRI DE IONGE XLIV ANNOS ASSENDELPHI PRAETORIS. GERARDI DE IONGE FILII I.V.D. ET ADVOCATI IACET HIC QVOD FVIT.

Inscription: below on the pew in the choir: *dit is de kerck tot Assendelft, een dorp in Hollandt van pieter saenredam, dese geschildert int jaer 1649. den 2 October.* (this is the church in Assendelft, a village in Holland by Pieter Saenredam, this painted in the year 1649, the 2nd of October) - on the upper edge of the tomb: *dit is de TOMBE ofte begraefplaats vande heeren tot Assendelft* (This is the tomb or burying-place of the lords of Assendelft.) - below on the tomb still legible: *...kerck Assendelft een ...p in Hollant ...Saenredam 1649 volSchildert*

On the analogy of the painting in Turin (no. 22) it is sometimes assumed that A. van Ostade saw to the filling-in; Gudlaugsson (p. 66, note 14), too, attributes the figures to Ostade, Plietzsch, however, to Saenredam himself (p. 122). The tomb-stone in front is executed by Saenredam in another way than the original preserved in the town hall at Assendelft (SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 184.)

Provenance: Jeronymo de Bosch sale, Amsterdam, 6 April 1812; Jeronymo de Vries collection, 1848; A. van der Hoop collection, Amsterdam; 1854 bequeathed to the town of Amsterdam; since 1885 on loan to the Rijksmuseum.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 46; Rotterdam 1937, no. 6, pl. VII; Amsterdam 1938, no. 6, pl. VII; Haarlem, *Haarlemsche Meesters uit de eeuw van Frans Hals*, Frans Halsmuseum, 1946, no. 118.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 2; SIX, p. 24; JANTZEN, p. 84, no. 412; VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 179-181; MARTIN, p. 281, pl. 162; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 10, 35, 50, 66, 67, no. 174, pl. 47; BREMMER, no. 4; H. GERSON, *Het tijdperk van Rembrandt en Vermeer*, The Hague, 1952, no. 157; *Catalogus tentoongestelde schilderijen*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1956, p. 182-183, no. 2100; E. HÜTTINGER, *Holländische Malerei im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Zürich, 1956, p. 122, pl. 68; LEYMARIE, p. 150, repr.; *Catalogue of paintings*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1960, no. 2100; PLIETZSCH, p. 121, pl. 207; BRINKGREVE, no. 17.

Pl. 19

Amsterdam, 's Rijksmuseum, on loan from the town of Amsterdam

20* Interior from the choir through the nave to the west

Pen, brown ink, black chalk, heightened with white - 24,4 x 41,8 - not signed, dated 31 July 1634

This sketch, a preparatory study for the painting no. 19, represents the same interior as the afore-mentioned painting and drawing no. 21, differing so far that the artist went nearer to the transept with the result that the effect of depth in the nave was somewhat shortened. The left half column against the west-wall is here completely hidden behind the fence, on the painting it is partly visible.

Inscription: on the sepulchral monument to the right: *Den 31. Julij 1634.*

Attributed on account of the similarities in the way of drawing and of the connection with painting no. 19 and drawing no. 21. Saenredam's tomb-stone is absent in this drawing; the paper however is probably cut off at the bottom.

Provenance: purchased Anton W. M. Mensing sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 29 April 1937, no. 635.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 36; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 36; *Cologne, Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen, Handzeichnungen aus dem Museum Fodor, Amsterdam*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 1955, no. 78; *Tel Aviv, Master Drawings from the Fodor Collection*, 1959, no. 78; *Jeruzalem (New City), Master Drawings from the Fodor Collection*, 1960, no. 78; *Recklinghausen, Polarität*, Städtische Kunsthalle, 1961, no. A 38, repr.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 65; SWILLENS, *Historia*, p. 334, pl. p. 333; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 14.

Pl. 20 Amsterdam, Municipal Museum, Fodor collection

21* Interior from the choir through the nave to the west

Pen - 74,5 x 50,7 - signed, dated 9 December 1643

Except for the absence of filling-in this interior completely agrees with the presentation on the painting no. 19 for which it was made as a construction drawing. On the tomb-stone the same inscription as on the painting.

Inscription: in the right-hand wall-niche: *Dese ordonnati is te sien in de kerck tot Assendelft een dorp in Hollandt. Deese aldus met teijcken en voleijndigt op den 9den dach December int Jaer*

1643. *Dese even groot als dese teeckening is geschildert, op een paneel van een stuk, ende die schilderij voldoen op den 2den Dach van de maent October int jaer 1649, van mijn Pieter Saenredam.* (This construction is to be seen in the church of Assendelft a village in Holland. This drawing finished in this way on the 9th day of December in the year 1643. This painting same size as the drawing, is painted on a panel of one piece, and has been accomplished on the 2nd day of the month of October in the year 1649 by me, Pieter Saenredam.)

From the words *Dese even groot* in the right hand wall-niche this inscription is in a darker colour and a somewhat bigger handwriting. The reverse is blackened, the lines are traced, the edges have traces of folding and at regular distances little nail-holes. The horizon has been drawn at about 1/3 of the height; on it the optical point in which converge the (still visible) auxiliary-lines, is also marked.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 178, 179, 182, pl. I; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 23, 66-67, no. 158, pl. 46.

Pl. 21 The Hague, Netherlands State-Service for the
Protection of historical Monuments

22 Interior from the southern transept-arm to the north

Panel - 46 x 64 - signed, not dated (approx. 1640-1645?)

In the left front-plan the eye, between the columns and separating-arches is directed through the whole length to the first nave-traverse; in the wall of the northern aisle is the high wall-niche above which the horizontal cornice juts out; and the blind window above which the wooden barrel-vaults starts. Between the columns at the utmost left a narrow edge of the window in the second traverse is visible. The northern transept-arm has a big window along the north-side, the lower part for a third being bricked up; above the window the big wooden barrel-vault. The east-wall has four windows of which only two are partly open. Under these transept-windows a horizontal cornice runs on into the choir of which, besides the plinth and the tomb of the lords of Assendelft, one window and the abutment of the wooden vault are visible. Of a second window only a part

is discernable. Of the vault on the crossing likewise in wood only a small part of the abutment can be seen in the north-east corner. To the right on the painting is a part of the wall of the south-east crossing-corner, over which the horizontal cornice runs on. Light enters; especially through the south-window of the choir the north-wall of the transept, too, is bright while the vault-space above it like the aisles remains rather dark. Besides the already mentioned tomb there are two mourning-tablets in the choir and three chandeliers. On a pulpit against the east-wall of the northern transept-aisle the theme of the minister with the congregation, sitting in the transept-arm and in the crossing, has been repeated as filling-in.

Inscription: on the base of the south-western crossing-column: *Pieter Saenredam fecit.*

The word *fecit* of the signature is very hard to read. A date does not seem to occur on this painting. Generally this panel is dated 1649 (i.a. PLIETZSCH, p. 122); Swillens, however, (*Saenredam*, p. 64-65) on compository and coloristic grounds proposes an acceptable date of approx. 1640-1645. In this interior Saenredam introduced some voluntary changes: here the column standing in the foreground of the drawing is left out; the profile and height of the bases in comparison with painting no. 24 and with drawing no. 23 have been altered and elevated; the tie-beams have been left out like the pews which on painting no. 19 fill the space. During the time Saenredam was working in Assendelft, however, the church underwent some changes (VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 184; see also no. 24). The filling-in which gives the pulpit a much simpler outlook than on painting no. 19, is attributed to Adriaan van Ostade (MARTIN, p. 281; PLIETZSCH, p. 122; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 14). This interior was engraved by G. Silvani.

Provenance: Principe Eugenio di Savoje, Vienna.

Exhibitions: Rome, *Mostra di Capolavori della Pittura Olandese*, 1928, no. 108.

Literature: E. JACOBSEN, *Holländische Bilder im Ferdinandeum*, in *Oud-Holland*, XV, 1897, p. 218; JANTZEN, p. 85, no. 420; VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 184; P. ROH, *Holländische Malerei*, Jena, 1921, pl. 114; G. PACCHIONI, *La regia Pinacoteca di Torino, Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, Rome, 1932, p. 45, repr.; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 50, 53, 64, 65, no. 218, pl. 49; MARTIN, p. 281; G. KNUTTEL, *De Nederlandsche schilderkunst van Van Eyck tot Van Gogh*, Amsterdam, 1938, p. 219, repr.; *Ventiquattro capolavori della Galleria Sabauda di Torino*, Turin, 1951, p. 66.

Pl. 24

Turin, Galleria Sabauda

23* Interior from the southern aisle through the nave and transept to the north-east

Pen, watercolour and tips of red chalk - 18,2 x 19,4 - signed, dated 19 August 1633

This drawing considered as a preparatory study for the preceding painting (no. 22) is, however, made from a somewhat different angle of vision, namely more to the west. Because of this the steeple-shaped construction against the north-wall of the choir is also visible. The column in the centre of the drawing hides two blind windows in the east-wall of the northern transept-arm while the south-east corner of the crossing falls off in this drawing.

Inscription: on the base of the column in the centre: *Ao: 1633 den 19 Augustij dit van mij Pr. Saenredam in de Assendelfse kerck geteeckent.* (Ao 1633 the 19th of August this drawn by me Pr. Saenredam in the church of Assendelft).

On this drawing the pulpit stands in its normal place and the tie-beams are present; the pews, however, are left out of the aisle-space. The column in the centre, the constructive function of which cannot be observed and which forms a somewhat disturbing element in the composition, is not executed on the painting. Between the two blind windows in the northern choir-wall hangs an escutcheon.

The proportions of this drawing are compacter in comparison with the painting.

Provenance: de Visser collection, 1881; purchased 1888.

Exhibitions: *Zürich* 1953, no. 194.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 183, pl. IV; HENKEL, p. 62, pl. XLIX; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 44, 64-65, no. 64, pl. 48.

Pl. 25

Amsterdam, State Printroom

24* Interior from the north-east crossing-angle on the southern transept-arm and southern aisle

Panel - 40,5 x 37 - not signed, not dated (14 July 1655)

On the left part of this painting the right-half of the southern transept-arm is pictured. Under the wooden barrel-vault in the south-wall the big window can be seen, in the lower part partly bricked up, under the chamfering of which the horizontal cornice runs, continuing under the two smaller windows along the

west-side of the transept-arm. Under the second window a door is cut out. The separating-arch between transept and southern aisle rests on one side on a three-quarter column, on the other side on the crossing-column dividing the painting in two halves. Only two columns of the nave are pictured; on these rests the separating-arch of the first traverse while of the second separating-arch only its abutment is visible. In the southern aisle the wall-niche, the blind window and the vault of the first traverse, as well as the big window of the second traverse (bricked-up at the bottom) can be observed. The flooring consists of big flag-stones. In the transept as filling-in two men talking together.

Inscription: none.

The attribution is based on style-critical grounds and on the construction-drawing (no. 25) which makes the date ascribed to the painting a certainty: *ende Den 14 Julij, met schilderen gedaen int Jaer 1655. op een Paneel even soo groot als deese teeckeningh is* (and July 14th finished the painting in the year 1655 on a panel same size as this drawing is).

As this inscription is made on the north-eastern crossing-column and as it is apparent from the text that the panel is as big as the drawing one may almost certainly assume that this painting was cut at the right side. On this painting the tie-beams and pews are again left out. The bases of the columns have another form than on the works dated 1633 and 1634 (see no. 23 and no. 20). From the archives it seems, however, that during the time of Saenredam's activity this church underwent several changes (VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 184).

Provenance: Duits Ltd., London, 1946; Messrs de Boer, Amsterdam; F. Mont Inc., New-York; purchased 1948 from F. Mont Inc., New-York.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 201; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 14; *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1955, p. 58.

Pl. 26

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Juliana Cheney Edwards collection

25* Interior from the north-eastern crossing-angle on southern transept-arm and southern aisle

Pen - 51 x 45 - not signed, dated 4 July 1654

This drawing, construction-drawing of painting no. 24, represents

the same view in the church with the only difference that to the right the other crossing-column and a part of the second traverse of the southern aisle are visible (see for this also no. 24).

Inscription: on the column to the right: *Anno 1654. den 4. Julij. dese teeckeningh vande Assendelftse kerck, aldus mette pen gedaen ende voleijndicht, ende den 14 Julij, met schilderen gedaen int Jaer 1655. op een Paneel even soo groot als dese teeckeningh is* (Anno 1654 the 4th of July this drawing of the church of Assendelft, done and completed in this way with the pen and finished with painting the 14th of July in the year 1655 on a panel as big as this drawing). - under the drawing a scale division with measurements. - in the lower right-hand corner: *Assendelft.*

The attribution is based on the ground of the similarities in the handwriting and in the way of drawing. From the words *ende den 14 Julij* the inscription continues in a darker colour of ink; this part is added after the completion of the painting. The auxiliary-lines drawn with pencil are still visible. The horizon runs at $\frac{1}{2}$ height of the sheet; on the margin to the left of the sheet under the window of the transept-façade the optical point is partly visible. For the form of the bases, see remark under no. 24. The reverse is blackened, the ink-lines are traced.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 178; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 67, no. 196, pl. 50.

Pl. 27 The Hague, Netherlands State-Service for the
Protection of historical Monuments

26* Elevations of the three inside-walls of the southern transept-arm

Pen and watercolour - 10 x 27,3 - not signed, not dated (1633 or 1654?)

The left part of the sheet is taken up by the elevation of the eastern transept-wall. At the left linking up with the choir above the wall-façade there are succeeding each other, a completely blind window, a console as support of the tie-beam, two half-bricked-up windows in between which an approximately identical console with girder. Above it a part of the wooden barrel-vault. Under this elevation the section of this wall has been drawn in the same

proportion (the upper small line is the outside). In the centre of the drawing the south-façade of this transept-arm is represented; above the lower-wall the big window, about half of it bricked-up, and the wooden barrel-vault. The right side of the drawing presents the west-wall of the southern transept-arm. Besides the two windows a door is broken out into this wall giving access to a small room outside the church as is clear from the ground-plan indicated at the bottom. Furthermore the supports bearing the separating-arch between aisle and transept with the abutment of the vault in the nave. Under this drawing the ground-plan.

Inscription: under the east-wall: *De oost zijde van het Zuijder kruijswerck ende* (the east-side of the southern cross-work and) - under the ground-plan of the east-wall: *Dit den gront van dien* (this the groundplan of it) - under the south-wall: *de geevel van het Zuijder kruijswerck ende* (the façade of the southern cross-work and) - under the ground-plan of the south-wall: *dit den gront van dien* (this the ground-plan of it) - under the west-wall: *de westzijde van het zuijder kruijswerck, ende* (the west-side of the southern cross-work and) - under the ground-plan of the west-wall: *dit den gront van dien* (this the ground-plan of it) - below right against the edge: *Voorts alle andere maetten als die van het noorder te maecken* (furthermore all other measurements like those of the north to make).

Attribution on account of way of drawing and handwriting. The drawing is dated 1633 by Swillens (*Saenredam*, no. 67). Yet the possibility remains that this drawing has originated as preparation of the drawing of 1654 (see no. 25) in or before this year, especially because of the fact that the form of the base of the columns is the same as those on painting no. 24. At the lower right-hand corner the word *kruijswerck* (cross-work) is filled in with lead-pencil. The upper edge and the lower left-hand corner of this drawing are damaged.

Provenance: unknown.

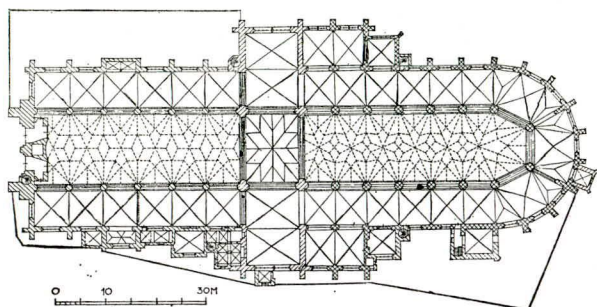
Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 42, no. 67, pl. 51.

Pl. 18

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

HAARLEM, GREAT OR ST. BAVO'S CHURCH



In the fire of 1328 which swept the town, (old) St. Bavo's Church was so badly damaged that a rebuilding was decided upon. As appears from a bull of Pope Bonifacius IX the choir (with ambulatory) was in course of construction in 1397 and finished about 1400; the architect of the works was probably master Engelbrecht. The ambulatory of this church, big, nevertheless, has no radiating chapels (see no. 52); it was, however, contrary to the choir covered with stone cross-ribbed vaults. From 1445 till 1456 the transept was built, narrower than the choir and for the present also lower. It was brought to the right height when, between 1472 and 1481, the nave and the aisles were erected; of those only the aisles were immediately given a stone vaulting completed in 1483 (see no. 63). The direction of these proceedings rested with master Evert Spoorwater, town-architect of Antwerp. The choir rests on compact capitalless columns with high heavy bases (see no. 35), while the columns in the nave decorated with double cabbage-leaf capitals are slenderer (see no. 29). The vaulting of the clerestory was started by placing a stone star-vault on the crossing in 1500 (see no. 59).

Two years later the construction of a stone crossing-tower was begun under the guidance of Cornelis de Wael, architect of the Cathedral at Utrecht; the crossing-columns, however, could not support the heavy burden and in its place a wooden tower covered with lead was constructed (1519-1520) (see no. 28). It is remarkable that apparently with this church no west-tower was planned. The vaulting of choir and nave, anticipated as appears from indentations for elevated arches and traces in the interior, was not made of stone, probably as a result of the experiences with the tower. In its place the wooden star-vault in the choir was constructed from 1529-1531 (see no. 33) after which, between 1535 and 1538, the nave was provided with a similar vault (see no. 59). During the construction several chapels were added while possibly some out-buildings of the former church were taken up in the new complex. In 1593 Lieven de Key modernised the Vont-chapel at the south-side

while in 1658 Salomon de Braij erected the vestry and deacons-rooms at the southeast-side of the choir in Gothic forms (see no. 27). The transept got its vaulting in 1891-1892. Since 1876 several restorations were made. From the still existing inventory Saenredam has known the choir-screens (1509-1517), the choir-stalls (1512), the brass lectern (1499) and a panel with the representation of St. Bavo's Church (probably an unexecuted design from the beginning of 16th century which van Mander says to have been painted by Geertgen tot St. Jans; recently attributed to Pieter Gerritz.) are worth mentioning. The church is the property of the Dutch Reformed Church.

27* Exterior from the south-east

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 15,8 x 23,6 - not signed, not dated (shortly before or in 1628)

Almost the whole width is taken up for the representation of the big church rising in the background, seen from the south-east at the height of the apse. Of the nave only the upper-windows of the two last traverses, a tower staircase and three of the chapels, built against the southern aisle, of which the Grave-Diggers' chapel projects, are visible. The southern transept-arm supported at the corners by heavy buttresses, has a big front-window above which a row of three small windows and a gable decorated with a big and two small niches rise; in the east-wall of the same transept-arm there are four skylights under which in the middle of the most southern traverse another big window has been placed. On the crossing rises the elegant tower, of which the details can better be discerned on drawing no. 28. The upper-structure of the choir is linked to this tower with its six windows and trilateral apse; between the windows the indentations for the unexecuted flying buttresses are visible. The roof of the nine-sided ambulatory of which only the windows appear between the buttresses, is lower. In the corner against the transept-arm stands the Brewers' chapel each of the two traverses of which has its separate roof and a window abundantly filled with tracery. The sacristy with storey (now ministry-room) is somewhat receding, while the sexton's house, also supplied with a storey, is built against the apse. At a little distance from the choir rises the belfry, a detached wooden tower, in which the bells hung; against it a group of houses with crow-stepped gables are attached to it. Along the south-side of the church a long row of small houses and shops have been erected, so that the church is partially built in. The square in the foreground to the left is po-

pulated by walking ladies and gentlemen, and playing children; at the right a long funeral-procession approaches, headed by a man carrying a mourning-tablet; then follows the coffin under a shroud decorated with escutcheons and carried by a great number of men in long coats, followed by a procession of persons identically clothed.

Inscription: in lower right-hand corner of the picture: *P. Zaenredam, Invent. J. V. Velde, sculp.* - under the picture a Dutch poem of three stanzas, each of four lines:

*Dit is dat Groote Vat, door 't gantsche land gepresen,
So schoon en stout geboud, als ergens Kerk mag wesen,
Een ere vande Stad, een wonder van het Land,
En schier een meerder werk dan van een menschenhand.*

*Siet gy de Kerke aen, of siet gy op den Toren,
'T moet fluks dijn oog en hert bevangen en bekoren,
Wat is het over al, wat is het int geheel,
Van boven tot beneen, een kostelijk juweel.*

*Wie sag oyt vaster werk, als uyt een rotz gehouwen,
So zierlijk ook daer by! o paerle der gebouwen!
Waer vind men dijns gelijk? Gy gaet ook waer gy gaet,
Geen Toren als by ons die op een Kerke staet!*

(This is that Big Barrel, praised in the whole country,
Such a beautiful and daring building as ever a church was made
A credit to the town, a miracle of the country,
and almost a greater work than made by human hand.

Look at the church or look at the tower,
it must quickly move and enchant your eye and heart,
What is it all over, what is it on the whole,
From top to bottom, a precious jewel.

Who ever saw more solid work hewn as if out of rock;
So elegant too! Oh pearl of buildings!
Where to find its equal? Wherever you go,
No tower exists like this on our church).

This etching serves as an illustration in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, after p. 40, which more or less settles the date. Nowadays the church is still partially built in along the south-side. The belfry was erected about 1470 as a temporary provision for the bells of the Great Church, then under construction; because of the lack of an original bell-tower this wooden construction was maintained till the beginning of the 19th century; then it was pulled down, but at the end of the same century, almost on the

same site and almost in the same shape, it was erected again in brick by Messrs. Enschedé. The Municipal Archives at Haarlem possess some other records and replicas of this representation. In S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, between p. 502 and 503 a ground-plan by the surveyor P. Wils, executed by J. van de Velde, is inserted, which mentions the names of the outbuildings in Saenredam's time. For the different records and copies, see FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 116, no. 4.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 166, no. 4; PETERS, pl. 211;
SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 7, 54, no. 28, pl. 52.

Pl. 28

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

28* The tower at the crossing, seen from the south-east

Pen - 30,9 x 18,2 - not signed, not dated (shortly before or in 1628)

This drawing is most probably a preparatory study for the etching in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, (see no. 27). Over the schematically outlined roofs of the choir and the southern transept-arm rises the octagonal, decorated crossing-tower which, with its four receding articulations and pear-shaped, open-worked crowning, obtains a striking slenderness in spite of the rather massive lower tier.

Inscription: in the left-hand corner below: *de kerk Toorn van Haerlem* (The church Tower of Haarlem).

The attribution is not only based on the technique of drawing, but also on the fact that on the preceding etching the tower is seen from practically the same angle. The publication of Ampzing also gives the approximate date. The inscription is of a later date.

Provenance: 1874 purchased from the Suermondt collection, Aachen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 44; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 44.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 3219; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 7, 59, no. 12, pl. 53.

Pl. 29

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

29 Interior of choir and nave from the west to the east

Panel - 82,9 x 110,5 - signed, not dated (about 1635)

On this painting the majestic character of the big church is shown to its full advantage. An imposing space has been created between the rhythm of the columns with high eight-sided bases and double cabbage-leaf capitals and the dark wooden star-vaults. Above the profiled separating-arches between nave and aisles runs a ledge serving as horizontal outline for the upper tiers, namely the triforium with its hexapartite balustrade worked into the high window-niches and above it the rather small windows. Between the windows the shafts with small capitals, which at the height of the ledge rest on consoles, support the wooden ribs of the vault, of which the dark part supported by shafts, is interrupted by the stone starvault of the crossing, and finishes, in the choir, against the apse illuminated by three windows. Under these windows there is a large wall-surface, in which the triforium has been spared out with a simpler form than that of the nave. Between the rather large separating-arches of the choir hangs the former big organ on the left and behind the numerous filling-in figures in the nave the brass Renaissance choir-screen stands forth. In the aisles the half columns bearing the wall- and separating-arches, and the big chamfered windows with their High Gothic tracery are to be seen. The two arch-openings in the wall of the northern aisle open on the Dogwhippers' chapel, which is rather dark, though illuminated by two windows. Near the southern aisle is the Font chapel, closed off from the church by the iron screen from 1429; it is a shallow room of one traverse with a big window. More to the east under a window, for the greater part bricked-up, is the door opening on the Holy Ghost chapel, and the painting from the beginning of the 16th century presenting an unexecuted design of the church.

Inscription: at the left of the first column right: *P. Saenredam.*

The choir-screen is still present in the same place in the church (see also no. 41) just as the enclosure of the Font chapel (see no. 63). The painting now hangs in the southern ambulatory; for the attribution see cat. exhibition *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 92, no. 94. The big organ in the choir, however, has disappeared (See M. A. VENTE, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het vroegere grote orgel in de St. Bavo en zijn bespelers tot 1650*, in *Nederlandse Orgelpracht*, Haarlem, 1961, p. 22). The filling-in has

probably been executed by Pieter Post (GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 41, 56, 61, 63, no. 79, pl. 61;
GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68, pl. 12; *Book of Illustrations*, John G. Johnson
Collection, Philadelphia, 1953, pl. p. 149.

Pl. 30 Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art
John G. Johnson collection

30* Interior of the choir and the nave from the west to the east

Pen and watercolour - 14,3 x 23,5 - not signed, dated 1627

This drawing is made from the same view-point as the painting no. 29. It represents the same picture except for a few details. Besides the absence of filling-in, the door of the Holy Ghost chapel in the southern aisle, the painting and the Font chapel are missing; instead of the latter there is a big window, under which, however, the break in the wall has been marked with lead-pencil. On both sides the last separating-arch is further extended than on the painting with the result that a bigger part of the outside-walls, too, is visible on the drawing. The play of the ribs on the vault is only very vaguely marked here. Besides the choir-screen some pews, the pulpit with its early 16th century sound-board, at the left front the orphan-chest and an enclosure before the Dogwhippers' chapel have been arranged in the space.

Inscription: in the upper right-hand corner: *dit geteijckent 1627.
inde grote kerck binnen Haerlem, naer t'leeven.* (this drawn in
1627. in the great church in Haarlem, from life).

The attribution is based on the manner of drawing and the handwriting. The horizon is indicated at the height of the under-part of the choir-enclosure, with the optical point in the centre. The inklines are scratched in, the reverse is blackened in. This drawing served as a preparation for the etching in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge* (see no. 31) the measurements of which practically correspond. The enclosure of the Dogwhippers' chapel is no longer present; the orphan-chest is now in the southern transept-arm; the other pieces were left in their places.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 7, 45, 56, 62, 63, no. 11, pl. 59.

Pl. 31

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

31* Interior of the choir and the nave from the west
to the east

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 13,9 x 23 - signed, not dated
(before or in 1628)

Except for the filling-in this interior corresponds with the
former drawing (no. 30).

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner of the picture: *P.
Zaenredam. inuent. I. v. velde. sculps* - under the picture a
Dutch poem of three stanzas, each of four lines:

*Hier wordt u onse Kerk van binnen voorgedragen,
So ziereyk een werk, als oyt uw ogen sagen,
Ja als ze kunnen sien! versadigt uw gesicht,
vermoegt verlust uw hert door 't sien van dit gesticht.*

*Ey siet de werken toch eens wyt malkandren wassen!
Ey siet de werken toch eens op malkandren passen!
De stylen, het verwelf, de bogen, al de rest,
'T hout, steen en koper-werk is al te mael om best!*

*Gewis! Dit is vrij veel en niet gering te achten:
Maer dat wy daer voor God sijn heylgen dienst betrachten,
En datmen daer sijn woord gezond en suyver leerd,
Daer door word dese Kerk eerst recht en meest geeerd.*

(Here the inside of our Church is presented,
Such an elegant work as your eyes ever saw,
Yes if they can see! satisfy your look,
Revel, delight the most you can in this building.

Aye see how things grow out of each other!
Aye, see how things fit!
The pillars, the vault; the arches, all the rest,
The wood, the stone-and brass-work they are all the best.

Certainly! This is rather much and not to be despised:
But because we practise there God's holy service,
And also teach there His word sound and pure,
For that this church is rightly and mostly honoured).

This picture serves as an illustration for S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, after p. 501, through which the date is almost fixed. The Municipal Archives at Haarlem possess some other engraving referring to this picture.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 168, no. 10; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 29, pl. 60.

Pl. 32

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

32* Interior of choir and nave from the west to the east

Panel - 56 x 51 - signed, dated 1660?

As representation the interior is practically the same as the preceding number. It is only seen a little bit more to the right of the longitudinal axis of the church. Even the filling-in is for the greater part the same.

Inscription: in the left bottom corner: *P. Saenredam Ao 1...*

Of the inscription (up till now hidden under the frame) only the name is distinctly legible; the date following the name has become very vague, but very probably has to be read 1660. Name and date have been executed in different handwriting, neither of which is with certainty to be recognized as Saenredam's. Besides it is to be noticed, after comparing it with the preceding works, that the perspective and even more the reproduction of the space have been treated in a less exact way than Saenredam usually did; this immediately strikes the eye because of the disproportion existing between the height and the width of the nave. The way of drawing, too, appears weaker than Saenredam's technique. Because of these reasons we presume to doubt Saenredam's own hand with regard to this painting, though no. 31 was undoubtedly used as an example.

Provenance: Seguer collection; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 7-10 March 1905; Prof. Jonkheer Dr. J. Six collection, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1957.

Pl. 33

Laren, Jonkheer Ir. Six van Wimmenum collection

33 Interior of the choir

Panel - 70,5 x 54,8 - signed, dated 1660

Here the position of the painter was in the fourth choir-traverse (counting from the crossing). The squat undecorated columns with a heavy angular scalariform constructed base (see also no. 35), support the wide separating-arches, the profiling of which above a thin half-round bar simply originates from the column. The white plastered wall-surface is only interrupted by the horizontal ledge, by the opening of the quinquepartite low triforium decorated with trilaterals, the middle opening of which is bricked up, by the shafts resting on consoles and supporting the wooden vault on their small leaf-capitals and by the relatively small quadripartite windows. The cross-ribbed vault, the half column and the high windows of the ambulatory are also clearly visible. The floor in the apse is on a little higher level than the one in the choir and consists of regular flag-stones. Furnishings are depicted along both sides a row of choir-stalls: the choir-screens between the columns, a classicistically constructed memorial-table in the axis of the apse, a simple pulpit, the brass choir-lectern, a triple chandelier, an escutcheon and a mourning-tablet. Three figures stand in the apse while a man is looking on through the triforium opening at the right top.

Inscription: on the bottom skirting of the right choir-stall: *het choer vande kerck tot haerlem van mij pieter saenredam 1660 dus gheschildertt* (the choir of the church at Haarlem thus painted by me Pieter Saenredam 1660).

The inscription is very unclear; the text probably goes on but is illegible. Possibly there was also an inscription on the skirting of the left choir-stall.

Provenance: Dr. Glitza collection, Hamburg; Garschagen collection, Baarn, 1948; D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam, 1951; purchased 1951 from D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: Baarn, *Baarns Kunstbezit, tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid van het gouden Regeringsjubileum van H.M. de Koningin*, 1948, no. 67, pl. p. 76.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 85, no. 417; SIX, p. 24; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 208, pl. 66; G. L. STOUT, *A Church Interior*, in *Worcester Art Museum News Bulletin and Calendar*, XVI, 1951, p. 33-34, repr.; S. L. FAISON, JR., *Guide to the Art Museum of New England*, Worcester, 1958, p. 192, pl. 20.

Pl. 34

Worcester, Worcester Art Museum

34* Interior of the choir

Pen, and black chalk - 31 x 40 - not signed (?), not dated (?)
(1635-1636)

This drawing represents practically the same interior as the panel no. 33; it shows a little more of the choir-stalls and the choir-walls so that also the mourning-tablets hanging on the left pillar can be seen; of the vault on the other hand only the abutments of the ribs are visible.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: has become illegible.

The attribution is based on the stylistic characteristics and the connection with painting no. 33. The date can be placed in the years Saenredam made the other sketches in the Great Church; because of the wiping out of the inscription no exact result about signature and dating can be given; attribution and date are to be taken for almost certain. Probably the sheet was cut off at the upper-part.

Provenance: Jacob de Vos collection.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 89, pl. 65.

Pl. 36 Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen im Schlossmuseum

35* Interior from the southern ambulatory through choir and northern ambulatory

Panel - 34 x 28 - signed, dated 1635 (15 October)

Standing under the separating-arch of the eastern traverse of the Brewers' chapel (opening on the southern ambulatory), at both sides of which a fragment of the pillars is to be seen, the painter gives a view towards the north, on the heavy columns bearing the vault of the ambulatory, on the second traverse of the choir-space (counted from the crossing), on the northern aisle and on the connecting east-traverse of the Christmas chapel with an elegant window in the outside-wall. Besides the columns with their typical bases, also the decoration of the triforium in the northern choir-wall clearly shows up here. On this wall the (former) big organ has been built in, depicted here with closed shutters, to the right of which another group of pipes is placed above a column. At the utmost right there is a fragment of the choir-screen, in the middle of the painting a double chandelier;

at the utmost left the separating-arch between the northern ambulatory and the transept-arm are just visible. As filling-in there are two standing figures in the middle, a woman seated and a playing child at the right in front of the column.

Inscription: over the whole length above the visible part of the triforium: *Anno Pieter Saenredam fecit 1635.*

From the inscription on the construction-drawing (no. 37) it is clear that this painting was finished on 15 October 1625. Comparing it with drawing no. 36 it is clear that the three small ships of the Skippers' guild, present on the other one, have been left out on this painting.

Provenance: Polish National Museum in Rapperswil, Switzerland.

Exhibitions: Warsaw, *Collections of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil*, 1928, no. 18.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 57, no. 84, pl. 78; P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Pieter Saenredam als Teekenaar*, in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLV, tome 90, 1935, pl. 2; M. WALICKI-I. STARZUNSKI, *Katalog galerii malarstwa obcego*, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warsaw, 1938, no. 224; I. MICHATKOWA, *Holenderskie i flamandzkie malarstwo rodzajowe, XVII, Wieku*, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warsaw, 1955, no. 52; I. BIALISTOCKI-M. WALICKI, *Europäische Malerei in polnischen Sammlungen*, Warsaw, 1957, no. 341; PLIETZSCH, p. 121.

Pl. 38

Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe

36* Interior from the southern ambulatory through choir, northern ambulatory and nave

Pen, black chalk, heightened with white - 26,6 x 38,3 - not signed, dated 11 October 1634

This drawing serving as a preparation for the painting no. 35 represents on its right half the same interior except for the three small ships of the Skippers' guild, hanging on the separating-arch, and the lack of any filling-in. The left half of this drawing, however, is present neither on the painting mentioned nor on the construction-drawing no. 37. It gives a view from the Brewers' chapel - the pillar of which, bearing the separating-arches of the two traverses, together with a half column and a name-tablet, stands in front - on the separating-arch between transept and southern ambulatory and on the north-walls of the nave and of the northern aisle.

Inscription: on the name-tablet against the pillar of the Brewers' chapel: *Den 14 october anno 1634 dit geteijckent* (the 14th of October anno 1634 drawn this).

The attribution to Saenredam cannot be doubted considering the technique of drawing, the form of the handwriting and the similarities to the signed painting. The three small ships still hang in the same place in the ambulatory until to-day.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Haarlem* 1961, no. 64.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 47, no. 72, pl. 76; P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Pieter Saenredam als Teekenaar*, in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLV, tome 90, 1935, pl. 1.

Pl. 39

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

37* Interior, from the southern ambulatory through the choir and the northern ambulatory

Pen and watercolour - 37,6 x 39,1 - not signed, dated November 1634

This construction-drawing made as a preparation for the painting no. 35 gives in a practically identical way the same view on the church. It only differs with regard to the filling-in, here consisting of three small walking figures, and with regard to the absence of the chandelier, while somewhat more is to be seen of the two pillars of the Brewers' chapel and the vault of the ambulatory.

Inscription: above the chamfering on the pillar at the right: *Dit aldus geteijckent in November int Jaer 1634. is een gesicht inde grootte kerck binnen Haerlem* (this so drawn in November in the year 1634 is a view in the Great Church in Haarlem) - on the chamfering: *ende is even dus groot geschildert* (and is just as big painted) - under the chamfering: *Dit volleijndt ofte ghedaen met schilderen Den 15. october 1635* (This finished or done with painting the 15th of October 1635).

The attribution to Saenredam cannot be doubted considering the technique of drawing, the handwriting and the connection with the preceding painting and drawing. From *Dit volleijndt* the inscription is added later. The reverse of the sheet is blackened in, the inklines are traced. On the column under the organ the outline of a filling-in figure is still vaguely visible. The horizon runs at about 1/6 of the height; on it under the window of

the Christmas chapel the optical point is indicated; the auxiliary-lines are partly visible.

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 448.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 73, pl. 77; P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Pieter Saenredam als Teekenaar*, in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLV, volume 90, 1935, p. 377, pl. 3.

Pl. 40 Laren, Jonkheer Ir. Six van Wimmenum collection

38 Interior from the southern ambulatory through choir and northern ambulatory with the big organ

Panel - 95,5 x 57 - signed, dated 1636 (15 April)

From the third traverse of the southern ambulatory (counting from the crossing; this view is consequently one traverse more to the east than the three preceding numbers) this panel gives a north-eastern vista on the choir, the northern ambulatory and the two chapels opening on it, namely the Christmas chapel and Our Lady's chapel. The two heavy columns, the typical characteristics of which (beginning of arches and ribs, form of the bases) appear to their full advantage, serve as repoussoir and frame to the rest of the interior; the clever contrast of dark columns with a clear space behind them, intensifies the effect of depth. Through the two separating-arches of the northern choir-wall with the wooden vaults, small windows, big white wall-surface with low triforium-openings and the choir-organ, to the left the Christmas chapel, to the right Our Lady's chapel are visible behind the vaults of the northern ambulatory. The Christmas chapel behind the arch under the choir-organ consists of two traverses; these are as high as the ambulatory but only the abutments of the cross-ribbed vaults and one window are to be seen; the latter is partly hidden from view by the pillar supporting the two separating-arches (between chapel and ambulatory) and, on a small column with undecorated capital, the ribs and arches of the ambulatory-vault. Our Lady's chapel, connected along the east, is accessible from the ambulatory through a rather low segment-arch resting on consoles; on the wall-surface above it in a shallow blind niche a small organ with gallery has been placed; in the chapel itself only a part of the quadripartite wide window can be discerned. The two organs are striking pieces of furniture. The painted shutters of the choir-organ, for a great part Late Gothic, (see no. 66) with steeple-shaped crownings over the main-case,

are open; on the right wing the Resurrection is represented (see M. A. VENTE, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het grote orgel in de St. Bavo en zijn bespelers tot 1650*, in *Nederlandse Orgelprijs*, Haarlem, 1961, p. 80; painted by Frederik Hoon, about 1464-67). The wings of the likewise open back-positive have no figurative decoration; the gallery runs into a polygonal substructure ending in a masklike head with long hair and beard. Legible parts of the inscriptions on the balustrade are: on the upper plinth E ORGEL PSALM, on the lower plinth NDE ZANGEN EN GEESTELYCKE LIEDEKENS (hymns and spiritual songs). Five bass-pipes on a console and under a canopy are placed over the following spandril. The small organ in the ambulatory, above a gallery with fine tracery, is also decorated with three turrets and with open painted shutters. Other ornaments of the interior are a double chandelier and some mourning-tablets. The filling-in consists of different stray figures and two persons in the triforium at the right.

Inscription: on the lower ledge of the gallery of the small organ: *P. Saenredam. 1636.*

On the construction-drawing (no. 40) is stated that this panel had been finished on April 15th 1636. The two organs are no longer present (see M. A. VENTE, *op. cit.*, p. 1-34 *passim*); the present organ in the northern ambulatory is old, but was only in the 19th century placed on the same spot as the earlier one.

Provenance: 1808 National Museum, The Hague; 1885 transferred to the Rijksmuseum; from 1925-1959 on loan to the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam 1937*, no. 10; *Amsterdam 1938*, no. 10; Haarlem, *Haarlemsche Meesters uit de eeuw van Frans Hals*, Frans Halsmuseum, 1946, no. 117.

Literature: WEISSMAN, p. 134, pl. 51; JANTZEN, p. 82, pl. 33, no. 404; H. JANTZEN, *Hollandsche kerkportretten*, in *Onze Kunst*, VIII, 1909, p. 141-142, pl. 1; J. W. ENSCHEDÉ, *Het Oude Groote Orgel in de Sint Bavokerk te Haarlem*, in *Feestbundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden*, I, Amsterdam, 1915, p. 25, 31, 35; OZINGA, p. 25; SWILLEN, *Saenredam*, no. 95, pl. 81; BERNT, no. 717; *Catalogus Frans Halsmuseum*, Haarlem, 1955, no. 534, pl. 39; *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen in het Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam, 1956, no. 2096; E. HÜTTINGER, *Holländische Malerei im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Zürich, 1956, p. 121, pl. 67; VENTE, p. 12, pl. 1; PLIETZSCH, p. 121, pl. 204; *Catalogue of paintings*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1960, no. 2096; M. A. VENTE, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het vroegere Grote Orgel in de St. Bavo en zijn bespelers tot 1650*, in *Nederlandse Orgelprijs*, Haarlem, 1961, p. 19, pl. 2; reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1961.

Pl. 41

Amsterdam, 's Rijksmuseum

39* Interior from the southern ambulatory through choir and northern ambulatory with the big organ

Pen, washed, black chalk, heightened with some white on blue paper - 42,5 x 27,5 - not signed, dated 30 August 1635

Except for the filling-in and some details this drawing agrees completely with the painting no. 38, serving as a preparation for it. It must, however, be noted that its effect of depth is less great than on the panel. On the skirting of the gallery of the big organ the inscription is partly visible: ...NDE ... ZANGEN (hymns) ... EESTHEYCKE LIEDEKENS (songs). On the frieze over the back-positive: ...ORGE...PSA...

Inscription: on the base of the column to the right: *Den 30 August ... anno 1635.*

Based on manner of drawing, handwriting and connection with the painting no. 38 the attribution to Saenredam is established. On the base of the pillar on the right the optical point is marked. The drawing is certainly cut off at the right side, probably also at the top.

Provenance: 1874 purchased from the Suermondt collection, Aachen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 47; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 47.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 3218; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 82, pl. 79.

Pl. 42

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

40* Interior from the southern ambulatory through choir and northern ambulatory

Pen and watercolour - 43 x 42 - not signed, dated end of November 1655

This construction-drawing, preparation for painting no. 38, shows, besides the filling-in and the parts missing on account of cutting, the same interior as the above-mentioned panel and the drawing no. 39. The filling-in consists here of six persons and a small dog.

Inscription: on the upper base-plinth of the column on the right:

Dese geteijckent int wtgaen vande maent november 1635 ende dus groot geschild[rt] is een gesicht in de grot[e] kerck binnen Haerlem (This drawn at the end of the month of November 1635 and just as largely painted, it is a view in the Great Church in Haarlem) - on the plinth under it: *Deese gheeyndicht ofte voldaan met schilderen den 15 April. 1636* (This finished or completed with painting the 15th of April 1636) - on the left of this the optical point and: *oogh* (eye).

On the ground of the similarities in the way of drawing and handwriting as well as on account of the connection with painting no. 38 and its being mentioned, this drawing can undoubtedly be put to Saenredam's name. In the inscription some letters are missing on account of the cutting of the sheet. The sky-line is at about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the height of the sheet; on this the optical point is indicated, in which the clearly visible auxiliary-lines meet. The reverse is blackened, the inklines have been traced. The drawing has been cut at the top, almost half of it, and at the left (see SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, pl. 80).

Provenance: Joh. Enschedé collection, Haarlem; Mr. G. W. van Oosten de Bruyn collection, 1786; Armand Sigwalt collection; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 11-14 June 1912, no. 961, pl. 81; Mrs. J. Vuyk collection, Paris; Dr. A. Welcker collection, Leyden; purchased 1937.

Exhibitions: Leyden, *Kersttentoonstelling*, Museum de Lakenhal, 1949, no. 69; Amsterdam, *De verzameling van Dr. A. Welcker, Nederlandse tekeningen der zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1956, no. 104.

Literature: J. W. ENSCHEDÉ, *Het Oude Groote Orgel in de Sint Bavokerk te Haarlem*, in *Feestbundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden*, I, Amsterdam, 1915, p. 26; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 58, no. 85, pl. 80.

Pl. 43

Leyden, State University, Printroom

41* Interior from the Brewers' chapel through choir and southern ambulatory

Panel - 48,8 x 36,5 - signed, dated 1636 (23 May)

As repoussoirs the two pillars of the eastern traverses of the Christmas chapel are used here. The rather dark cross-ribbed vault of the northern ambulatory like its profiled separating-arches comes down on one of the columns so characteristic of the Haarlem choir. The southern wall of the choir appears in broad daylight; above the separating-arches the horizontal ledge, a part of the shaft and the triforium are repeated. In the

distance lies the southern ambulatory of which two traverses are partly visible. At the left this construction is illuminated by a high window; at the right there is the (third) organ of the church, completely Gothic of appearance, with closed shutters; under it is the door of the (former) sacristy. The floor consists of big flag-stones and burying-stones. The choir-screen with the big tablet in the middle is very clearly reproduced; in front of it stands a long pew, on which two men are talking with a small standing figure; at the left of them a man is seated in a high pew; above him hangs a big name-tablet. In the foreground two children play with marbles; through the triforium at the right one small walking figure. On the pillar left and on the column in the middle a mourning-tablet.

Inscription: on the base of the small column at the right: *P. Saenredam, fecit. Ao. 1636.*

The construction-drawing (no. 42) mentions in its inscription the exact date the painting was finished. The organ in the southern ambulatory was altered in 1636, was moved to the southern aisle (see the painting by Van Nickele, no. 231 of this catalogue) and was transferred to the New Church at the end of the 18th century. All Saenredam's drawings represent this organ in its old state; the alterations of 1636 he did not put into his construction-drawings and his paintings of later date.

Provenance: Aug. Janssen collection, Amsterdam; J. en D. sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 27 November 1906, no. 24.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, *Kersttentoonstelling*, museum Boymans, 1929-1930, no. 13, pl. X; *Rotterdam 1937*, no. 8, pl. IV; *Amsterdam 1938*, no. 8, pl. IV; The Hague, *Herwonnen Kunstbezit*, Maurits-huis, 1946, no. 56; *Utrecht 1953*, no. 82.

Literature: JANTZEN, no. 405; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 97, pl. 92; LEYMARIE, p. 150; PLIETZSCH, p. 121.

Pl. 35

Paris, F. Lugt collection, Institut néerlandais

42* Interior from the Brewers' chapel through choir and southern ambulatory

Pen and watercolour - 48,2 x 37 - not signed, dated 3 January 1636

This construction-drawing for painting no. 41, except for the filling-in of four small walking figures, is practically completely similar to the representation on the panel.

Inscription: in the middle of the pillar left: *Dit geijndicht met teijkenen den 3. Januarij 1636 ende geijndicht met Schilderen den 23 maijus Int Jaer 1636. Dito even dus groot ende is een gesicht inde grootte kerck binnen Haerlem* (Finished drawing this the 3rd of January 1636 and finished painting the 23rd of May in the year 1636. This is as big and is a view in the Great Church in Haarlem) - at the right of the base of the small column at the height of the profiling: oog[h] (eye).

Though this drawing is not signed, its attribution to Saenredam is without doubt considering manner of drawing, handwriting and similarity to the statement in the same handwriting of the executed panel. The right side is slightly cut off with the result that the *b* of *oogh* is partly missing and the mark of the optical point has altogether gone. From *even dus* the ink has a lighter colour. The reverse is blackened in; the inklines are traced. On the column in the middle and on the pillar at the right the outlines of a filling-in figure are still vaguely visible. In the centre the sheet is marred by a horizontal fold. In the lower left-hand corner of the reverse a stamp TEYLER is placed.

Provenance: probably Teylers Foundation, Haarlem.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 48 a; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 48 a; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 133.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 94, pl. 91.

Pl. 37

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

43* Interior from the northern ambulatory through choir, southern ambulatory and southern transept-arm

Panel - 59,5 x 81,7 - not signed, not dated (beginning of May 1637)

The space as represented on this painting is seen from the third traverse (counting from the crossing) in the northern ambulatory. In the foreground three heavy columns with wide eight-sided bases, in the centre one of which hangs an escutcheon. The vista to the left is on the southern choir-wall on which the abutments of the wooden star-vaults between the small windows and the big wall-surfaces, divided by the shafts and interrupted by the

triforium, are seen again. Through the central separating-arch the pillar bearing the vaults of the two traverses of the Brewers' chapel as well as a part of the chapel itself, is visible. Under the left separating-arch appears the small organ; under the right one a narrow strip of the façade-window of the southern transept-arm and also a part of the separating-arch between ambulatory and transept. The right half of the painting shows a part of the southern transept-arm, i.e.: in the west-wall of this part of the building a rather deep niche closed off by the triforium-balustrade; under it the horizontal ledge running around the whole church, and the profiled separating-arch between transept and southern ambulatory. In this arch the first traverse is visible with the beginning of the cross-ribbed vaults on a half column, the window, the ledge running under the window and over the half column, and a small door. At the corner stands a crossing-pillar. The left half column bears the separating-arch between crossing and transept-arm with a abutment for the stone vault, renewed in the 19th century; it is lower (as the transept was lower than the choir and the nave) than the half column between transept and nave; the bases of both half columns are more elegant than those of the choir-columns while their capitals were decorated with two rows of cabbage-leaves. Some figures, one of them in a pew against the column in the front to the left (same pew as on no. 41), as well as a series of mourning-tablets, a few escutcheons and a chandelier enliven the interior. The floor mainly consists of big tomb-stones.

Inscription: none.

Though the panel is not signed the attribution to Saenredam should not be doubted on the ground of style-critical similarities to his other works; the date is given by the inscription on the construction-drawing (no. 45).

Provenance: Arthur Kay collection, Glasgow; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 27 April 1909, no. 143, repr.; George Salting collection, London, 1909; 1910, Salting Bequest.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 81, no. 421; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 57, 58, no. 143, pl. 84; *National Gallery Illustrations, Continental Schools*, London, 1937, pl. p. 331; *National Gallery Summary Catalogue*, London, 1958, no. 2531; *National Gallery Catalogues, Dutch School*, Plates, II, London, 1958, pl. p. 311; BRINKGREVE, no. 8; PLIETZSCH, p. 121, pl. 203; N. MACLAREN, *The Dutch School, National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1960, p. 381-382.

Pl. 44

London, the National Gallery

44* Interior from the northern ambulatory through choir, southern ambulatory and southern transept-arm

Pen, black chalk, heightened with white on blue paper - 46,3 x 38,3 - signed, dated 29 May 1636

On this sketch one notices the same interior as on painting no. 43; it actually served as a preparation for it. The perspective, however, has somewhat changed here, to be noticed in the position of the column in the foreground at the right hand side and in the first traverse or the southern aisle. The two columns in the foreground are completely outlined while on the southern choir-wall the vault reaches a little higher. At the top to the right a fragment of the gallery of the choir-organ is indicated a part of which was wiped out. The filling-in is completely lacking.

Inscription: on the base of the column on the left: *A° 1636. den 29en Maij. Deese voleijnt met teijckenen van mijn Pr. Saenredam inde groote kerck binnen Haerlem naer het leven* (A° 1636, the 29th of May. This finished drawing by me Pr. Saenredam in the Great Church in Haarlem from life). - above this inscription: *oogh* (eye) with indication of the optical point.

The upper-part (a strip of 19,1 cm high) of this drawing has been added later on; the ink of this part has a paler colour, the drawing and the shades are less polished.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 46; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 46.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 98, pl. 82; N. MACLAREN, *The Dutch School, National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1960, p. 381-382.

Pl. 45

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

45* Interior from the northern ambulatory through choir and southern ambulatory

Pen and watercolour - 58,2 x 39,2 - not signed, dated 21 November 1636

The interior reproduced on this construction-drawing, except for the mourning-tablets and filling-in, corresponds completely with the left half of painting no. 43. The filling-in consists of a richly dressed man and a little dog between the two columns in

front, two small figures in the Brewers' chapel and two vaguely discernible personages at the right in the choir.

Inscription: on the base of the left front column: *Deese ordon-
nantij Is geteijckent inde groote kerck binnen Haerlem ende
geeijndicht met teijckenen int Jaer 1636 den 21en november
ende geeijndicht met schilderen int begin vande maent maij 1637.
dus groot* (This construction is drawn in the Great Church in
Haarlem; finished drawing on the 21st of November 1636 and
finished painting at the beginning of the month of May 1637,
this size).

Based on the way of drawing, handwriting and similarity with
drawing no. 44 as well as with painting no. 43, the attribution is
beyond doubt. The inscription from *geeijndicht met teijcke-
nen* up to and including *november* is in a paler ink; under the
word *groot* is the indication of the optical point. The auxiliary-
lines in black and red are still vaguely visible. There are vague
traces of another inscription inserted at a later date and again
wiped out?) above the two small figures in the Brewers' chapel;
in front of the little dog in the foreground some small lines of
another filling-in figure. On the base of the two columns in the
foreground there are traces of circles. The reverse is blackened
in, the inklines are traced. Down below a horizontal and at the
right a vertical fold over the whole sheet. At the top a strip
(4,8 cm high) is pasted on of which Swillens (*Saenredam*, no.
141) assumes that it has been bigger. In comparison with the
painting, however, this is not evident; it is clear, indeed, that the
right half of this construction-drawing was cut off.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 45; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 45.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 58, 66, no. 141, pl. 83; N. MAC-
LAREN, *The Dutch School, National Gallery Catalogues*, London,
1960, p. 381-382.

Pl. 46

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

46* Interior from the Christmas chapel through northern ambulatory, choir and southern transept- arm

Panel - 43 x 37,5 - signed, dated 1636 (9th of May)

In the foreground to the left is a baseless pillar with a three-
quarter column which the painter uses as repoussoir. At the right
one discerns the pilaster built against the wall of the northern

transept-arm. In the second plan two separating-arches end against the massive north-eastern crossing-pillar: at the left, strongly profiled, the arch between ambulatory and choir; at the right, rather wide and flat, the arch separating ambulatory and northern transept-arm; between the two arches a rib starts from the first traverse of the ambulatory remaining rather in the dark. At the left of this crossing-pillar are the south-eastern crossing-pillar as well as a fragment of the separating-arch of the first traverse of the southern ambulatory with a few triforium-openings above it. In the background at the left one can see just a little of the Brewers' chapel, at the right the big window in the southern transept-façade. In the west-wall of the southern transept-arm the high niche with balustrade and the separating-arch between transept and southern aisle appears again; so do the half column and the separating-arch between transept and crossing. Three chandeliers and a mourning-tablet serve as decoration. In the floor many big tomb-stones are incorporated. As filling-in a woman with two children and a little dog sit in the foreground while several figures, one of them in the triforium of the transept, are dispersed in the space. On the pilaster at the right a few children's drawings under which the signature decorated with flourishes has been placed.

Inscription: on the pilaster at the right: *P. Saenredam fecit. A° 1636.*

From the inscription on the construction-drawing no. 48 the right date is known on which this painting was accomplished.

Provenance: Messrs D. Katz, Dieren (Netherlands), 1934; Dr J. H. Smidt van Gelder collection, Arnhem; purchased 1955.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 7, pl. V; *Arnhem, 17e eeuwse Meesters uit Gelders bezit*, Gemeentemuseum, 1953, no. 57.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 96, pl. 87; SWILLENS, *Historia*, pl. p. 331; *Katalog der Sammlung Emil G. Bührle*, Zürich, 1958, no. 77, pl. 21.

Pl. 47

Zürich, Sammlung E. G. Bührle

47* Interior from the Christmas chapel through the northern ambulatory, the choir and the southern transept-arm

Pen and black chalk, heightened with white - 26,7 x 19,2 - not signed, not dated (1634-1635)

The interior of this sketch, a preparation for painting no. 46,

agrees with the latter, except for the filling-in and the somewhat terse perspective of the west-wall of the southern transept-arm.

Inscription: none.

The technique of drawing gives sufficient evidence for an attribution to Saenredam; the date is without doubt to be placed in 1634-1635, years in which Saenredam worked in Haarlem and certainly before 22 December 1635, the date on which he made the construction-drawing no. 48. The dating about 1650 which Vermeulen (*Bulletin*, p. 193) suggests, is not very probable, especially as this drawing belongs, in Saenredam's style-evolution, to the series of works in which he always applies the same system of depth-effect by placing very high columns and pillars in the foreground (PLIETZSCH, p. 121). Swillens (*Saenredam*, no. 70) supposes that a part has been cut off at the right together with the signature and the date. On the base of the left pillar is the indication of the optical point.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 178, 189, 191; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 58, no. 70, pl. 85; SWILLENS, *Historia*, p. 329, pl. p. 331; *Katalog der Sammlung Emil G. Bührle*, Zürich, 1958, p. 69.

Pl. 48 The Hague, Netherlands State-Service for the
Protection of historical Monuments

48* Interior from the Christmas chapel through the northern ambulatory, the choir and the southern transept-arm

Pen and watercolour - 53,3 x 27,8 - not signed, dated 22 December 1635

This construction-drawing reproduces the same picture as the painting no. 46 and the drawing no. 47. Here the filling-in consists of two playing children in the foreground and two little figures in the depth of the southern transept-arm. The chandelier and the mourning-tablet are absent.

Inscription: on the column-shaft against the left pillar: *Dit is een gesicht inde grootte kerck binnen Haerlem. ende is effen dus groot geschilderd* (This is a view in the Great Church in Haarlem and is painted just as big) - on the point of intersection of the horizon and the corner of both planes of the pillar to the left: *oogh* (eye) (very vague) - under the picture over the whole width

a scale-division - under this scale: *t'afstant 20 voeten* (distance 20 feet) - *Deese gedaen met teijckenen den 22en December 1635, ende met het schilderen deesen voleijnt den 9.en dach in Maijus 1636.* (finished drawing this the 22nd of December 1635, and finished painting this the 9th day of May 1636).

The attribution to Saenredam is certain considering the technique of drawing, the handwriting and the connection with painting no. 46. The horizon runs at about 1/6 of the height of the sheet. The reverse is blackened, the inklines are traced. In the foreground in the centre the outline of a wiped out figure is vaguely to be discerned.

Provenance: de Vos collection; 1874 purchased from the Suermondt collection, Aachen.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 380; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 88, pl. 86; SWILLENS, *Historia*, pl. p. 331; *Katalog der Sammlung Emil G. Bührle*, Zürich, 1958, p. 68.

Pl. 49

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

49* Interior from the choir through the southern ambulatory and the Brewers' chapel

Panel - 41 x 37,5 - signed, dated 1630

Standing under a triumphal arch the spectator looks towards the southern choir-wall; at the top the partly bricked up triforium, the horizontal ledge and two shafts; the separating-arch at the utmost left is also bricked up and on this wall under an es-cutcheon, decorated with festoons, hangs a marble slab with the (faded) inscription: *Doctrina vera, Et Sanctitas non mitra nec pedum notant Episcopum, quem gloria aeterna, post mortem manet*, while at a little distance from this wall a marble tomb is to be found on which a kneeling bishop with mitre and crosier is depicted. Through the two other separating-arches at the left the small organ as well as the vault of two traverses of the ambulatory are discernable while at the right behind the first traverse of the ambulatory a vista on the Brewers' chapel is given. Utmost right there is the south-eastern crossing-pillar. The floor completely consists of small tiles. As filling-in a small group of people talks underneath the organ while two small figures are placed in the Brewers' chapel and three others in the triforium.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner: *P. Saenred fe. A° 1630.*

On this painting, dated rather early, Saenredam took the liberty to close off a separating-arch and to place a tomb which was never present in the church. For the organ see cat. exhibition *Haarlem* 1961, p. 157, no. 21.

Provenance: Daniël de Jong sale, 12-14 March 1810; D. A. Koenen collection, Nieuwer-Amstel, 1894; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 15 November 1904; Prof. Jonkheer Dr. J. Six collection, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: Utrecht, *Tentoonstelling van Oude Schilderkunst*, 1894, no. 423; Laren, *Kunstbezit rondom Laren*, Singer Museum, 1958, no. 128 a.

Literature: MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 203; SIX, p. 20; JANTZEN, p. 81, no. 401; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 51, no. 42, pl. 74.

Pl. 51 Laren, Jonkheer Ir. Six van Wimmenum collection

50* Interior from the choir through the southern ambulatory and the Brewers' chapel

Black chalk, heightened with white on blue paper - 32,6 x 27,8
- not signed, dated 1629

On this sketch the same interior as on painting no. 49 is depicted in broad outlines, differing in this respect that the bricked-up separating-arch is missing, but that on the other hand the crossing-pillar over its whole width and a strip of the southern transept-arm can be seen.

Inscription: on the base of the crossing-pillar: *int Jaer 1629 dit geteijckent inde grote kerck binnen Haerlem*. (in the year 1629 this drawn in the Great Church in Haarlem).

The attribution is on basis of technique of drawing and handwriting. On this sketch only the separating-arches, columns and the vaults of the ambulatory are completely worked out. Probably the sheet was cut off at the left side. On the reverse of this sheet there is a rough sketch of an animal in red chalk. In the transept one perceives the wooden roof which only in the 19th century was replaced by a stone vault.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, no. 39, pl. 72.

Pl. 52 Haarlem, Municipal Archives

51* Interior from the choir through the southern ambulatory and the Brewers' chapel

Pen and watercolour - 27,8 x 38,4 - not signed, dated July 1629.

Except for the missing part above the separating-arches, the absence of the inscription over the bishop's grave and the filling-in consisting here of three figures under the organ and two in the Brewers' chapel, the interior is the same as on painting no. 49 for which this construction-drawing was made.

Inscription: on the pedestal of the tomb: *In Julijus 1629 is deese teijckening [g]emaeckt, ende 1630 geschildert soo gr[o]ot als deese teijckeningh is. Is een gesicht inde groote kerck binnen Haerlem in Hollant* (In July 1629 this drawing was made and in 1630 painted as big as this drawing is. It is a view in the Great Church in Haarlem in Holland).

On style critical grounds there exists no doubt about the attribution to Saenredam while also the handwriting of Saenredam is clearly recognizable. Because of a little tear in the paper the letter *g* of *gemaeckt* and *o* of *groot* are illegible. On the base of the crossing-pillar the optical point is indicated. At the top the drawing is cut off for 1/3. The reserve is blackened in, the ink-lines are traced.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Haarlem* 1961, no. 65.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, no. 40, pl. 73.

Pl. 50

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

52* Interior from the southern ambulatory to the east

Panel - 46 x 35 - signed, dated 1635 (20th of June)

The southern ambulatory is seen here from the transept-arm. Along both sides of the painting runs the wide flat separating-arch into capitalless pilasters, left against the crossing-pillar, right against the Brewers' chapel. Of the latter a part of the two separating-arches can be noticed of which the profiling passes into the undecorated planes of the pillars, which are clearly illuminated along the chapel. In the first of the three following traverses there is the small organ. Three sides of the nine-sided choir-

enclosure with their big windows close off this interior in the distance. The cross-ribbed vaults rest along the outer-walls on three-quarter columns; these have a very high and narrow eight-sided base and an undecorated capital of the same shape while a horizontal ledge runs at the height of the window-sills. Along the choir the ribs and transverse arches are intercepted by the heavy columns. Two mourning-tablets and two chandeliers form the decoration. As filling-in „the Presentation in the temple” is depicted: in the Brewers’ chapel the high priest in full pontificals waits for Mary and Josef, who are preceded by Simeon carrying the Child; Anna the prophetess comes out of the choir while in the background a little figure is just turning around the corner.

Also on this painting we admire the refined light-effects especially in the vault-shield, on the choir-columns and the wall-surface.

Inscription: on the skirting of the organ balustrade: *P. Saenredam fecit.* - at the bottom to the right on the pillar: *A° 1635.*

The exact date of completion is mentioned in the inscription of the construction-drawing no. 54. For the organ see cat. exhibition *Haarlem 1961*, p. 157, no. 21.

Provenance: Suermondt collection, Aachen; from 1887-1939 on loan to the Staatliche Galerie, Halle.

Exhibitions: Oslo, *Fra Rembrandt til Vermeer*, Nasjonalgalleriet, 1959², no. 66, repr.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 81, 83, no. 403; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 50, 51, no. 80, pl. 90; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde des Kaiser Friedrich Museums und Deutschen Museums*, Berlin, 1931, p. 642, no. 898 B; *Verzeichnis der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13. bis 18. Jahrhunderts im Museum Dahlem*, Berlin, 1958, p. 77, no. 898 B.

Pl. 53

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Gemäldegalerie

53* Interior from the southern ambulatory to the east

Pen, brown ink, watercolour, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper - 33,8 x 23,8 - not signed, not dated (1634-1635)

Besides the filling-in this sketch represents the same picture as painting no. 52. It is to be noted that Saenredam in this sketch has especially worked out the light-effects.

Inscription: none.

This drawing is attributed to Saenredam on basis of stylistic relation with his other drawings and connection with painting no. 52; the date is undoubtedly to be placed in the years 1634-1635 as Saenredam was then working in the Great Church at Haarlem, and this sketch was probably made before the completion of the painting (20 June 1635).

Provenance: Arnal collection; Arnal sale, Sotheby's, London, 24 February 1925; Sir Robert Witt collection; 1952 bequeathed by Sir Robert Witt, and passed to the Courtauld Institute with the Witt collection.

Exhibitions: London, *Dutch Drawings XVI to XVIII century*, Oxford Arts Club, 1929, no. 12; London, *Drawings from the Witt Collection at the Courtauld Institute of Art*, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1953, p. 33, no. 99; London, *Drawings from the Witt Collection*, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1958, no. 2.

Literature: SWILLEN, *Saenredam*, no. 69, pl. 88; *Handlist of the Drawings in the Witt Collection*, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1956, p. 113, no. 2010.

Pl. 54

London, Courtauld Institute of Art
Witt collection

54* Interior from the southern ambulatory to the east

Pen and watercolour - 55 x 42,3 - not signed, dated November 1634

On this construction-drawing for painting no. 52, the filling-in of two small groups of talking people and two playing little dogs is practically the only difference existing between the two works as regards their presentation.

Inscription: in the left margin of the sheet: *Dit aldus geteijckent in November 1634. is de Zuijder gangh vande groote kerck binnen Haerlem in Hollant. Dit gedaen met schilderen Den 20. Junij Ao. 1635. even dus groot geschildert* (This so drawn in November 1634 is the southern corridor of the Great Church at Haarlem in Holland. Finished painting this the 20th of June Ao. 1635 painted just as big).

Considering the technique of drawing and the handwriting the attribution is without doubt. At the top-edge over the whole width a formerly torn off strip of about 3,5 cm. high has been pasted on. Under the upper vault-key there are blurred traces of

an inscription in lead-pencil; black and red auxiliary-lines are still partly visible. The reverse is blackened in, the ink-lines are traced.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Haarlem 1961*, no. 63.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 38-39, no. 74, pl. 89.

Pl. 55

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

55* Interior from the northern transept-arm through the choir, the crossing and the southern transept-arm

Panel - 37 x 46 - signed, dated 1628

The centre of this painting is taken up by the crossing of which the painted stone star-vault is supported by the triumphal arch and the separating-arch coming down in their turn on the crossing pillars. Along the side of the southern transept-arm (as is also the case along the north) the vault rests on a wall-arch; the wall-surface and the separating-arch underneath as well as its span point to the fact that the transept is lower and narrower than the clerestory. The south façade of this aisle is interrupted by a big Late Gothic stained-glass window above which there are three smaller ones; at the left in the east-wall the passages to the ambulatory, the triforium and a few shafts attached to the column are to be seen. Between the two crossing-pillars along the choir-side on which an imitation of tapestries is painted, the vista is directed towards the first traverses of the southern ambulatory, the Brewers' chapel, the triforium, and towards the upper-window of the choir representing the Virgin clothed with the sun and the vault-abutments against the southern choir-wall. Under the separating-arches between northern ambulatory with northern transept-arm and choir, the same construction-parts appear again; at the utmost left two fragments of the choir-screen are also depicted. At the right of the painting the first traverse of the northern aisle with its beautifully profiled separating-arches lies between transept and nave; along the transept-side the arch comes down on a console with cabbage-leaf decoration, along the nave-side on a double cabbage-leaf capital. The floor is made of numerous small flag-stones alternating with some tomb-stones. As filling-in there are three little figures, some mourning-tablets and four chandeliers.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner: *P. Saenredam, fecit 1628.*

When the panel was cleaned in 1952 several small figures added about 1830, were removed. This painting is the earliest dated of the known church-interiors by Saenredam. In the transept the doors, present on the drawings no. 56 and no. 57, are left out.

Provenance: A. Schloss collection, Paris; Schloss sale, Charpentier's, Paris, 5 December 1951, no. 51, repr.; sold to D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam, 1952; purchased 1952.

Exhibitions: Arnhem, *17e eeuwse Meesters uit Gelders bezit*, Gemeentemuseum, 1953, no. 57; *Utrecht*, 1953, not in catalogue; *Zürich* 1953, no. 186; *Milan* 1954, no. 139; *Rome* 1954, no. 136; *Rotterdam* 1955, no. 113; Arnhem, *Collectie J. C. H. Heldring*, Gemeentemuseum, 1958, no. 27, pl. 22; *Utrecht, Collectie J. C. H. Heldring*, Centraal Museum, 1960, no. 32, pl. 26.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 80, no. 400; REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 1; SWILLEN, *Saenredam*, p. 6, 55, 56, no. 33, pl. 64; MARTIN, p. 280; D. HANNEMA, *Catalogue raisonné of the Pictures in the Collection of J. C. H. Heldring*, Rotterdam, 1955, no. 27, pl. 10; G. ISARLO, *Les indépendants dans la peinture ancienne*, Paris, 1956, p. 150-151, pl. p. 82; LEYMARIE, p. 150, repr.; PLIETZSCH, p. 119, pl. 201.

Pl. 56 Oosterbeek, J. C. H. Heldring collection

Sale: Sotheby's London 17.3.1963
to E. Speelman for 360.000

56* Interior from the northern transept-arm through the choir, the crossing and the southern transept-arm

Pen, washed and black chalk - 17,4 x 26,3 - not signed, dated 1628

The same interior is represented as on painting no. 55 for which this sketch actually served as a preparation. A difference to be noted is that the three doors in the transept are open and that the filling-in is much richer.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner: *Ao. 1628.*

General stylistic similarities and connection with painting no. 55 justify the attribution to Saenredam. On the reverse of this sheet stands the sketch with the printing-press (see no. 189).

Provenance: de Grez collection, Brussels; presented by Mme la Douairière de Grez approx. 1911.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Inventaire des dessins donnés à l'Etat belge par Mme la Douairière de Grez*, Brussels, 1913, no. 3119; SWILLEN, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 58, no. 31, pl. 62.

Pl. 57 Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts

57* Interior from the northern transept-arm through the choir, the crossing and the southern transept-arm

Black chalk, washed and a little watercolour - 38,4 x 41 - not signed, not dated

The interior of this construction-drawing, a preparation for painting no. 55 agrees with that panel and with the sketch no. 56, of which even the filling-in is identical.

Inscription: none.

This drawing, in Swillens' book by mistake headed as construction-drawing (SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 32), diverges, especially as regards width, from the measurements of the panel (no. 55). Although style-critical arguments seem to point to Saenredam, the attribution remains uncertain. Presumably this drawing was touched up by a later hand.

Provenance: F. A. v. S. sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 11-14 June 1912, no. 230.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SIX, p. 22; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 58, no. 32, pl. 63; *Catalogus van schilderijen uit de 15e tot 18e eeuw, benevens een keuze uit de tekeningen van die periode*, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Muller, Otterlo, 1959², p. 62, no. 112.

Pl. 58

Otterlo, 's Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller

58 Interior from the choir through the crossing and nave

Panel - 172,7 x 142,2 - signed, dated 27 February 1648

The third traverse, counting from the crossing, in the choir against the northern choir-wall was chosen as view-point here. Of the latter two columns and the crossing-pillar can be perceived; the upper-wall is covered by the big choir-organ (see also no. 66) with opened shutters so that the formation of the pipes in the back-positive and the main case are partly visible; in the lowest skirting of the gallery only a part of the inscription is visible because of receding and projecting parts: ZANGEN EN GEESTLYCKE LIEDEKENS (hymns and spiritual songs). Above the organ in the corner the abutment of the wooden starvault is borne by the triumphal arch which comes down on the crossing-pillar at the southern choir-wall; of this wall the abutment of the vault, a small part of the triforium

and the first separating-arch are depicted. Through the arch a vista is given toward the west-wall of the southern transept-arm with a partly bricked-up window and triforium; in this same wall the southern aisle emerges, a part of the first two traverses of which still appears, above the separating-arch the triforium runs into the big wall-niche above which, in the corner to the right, the end of a tie-beam of the wooden vaulting is visible. The separating-arch between this arm of the transept and the crossing is lower than the big painted star-vault of the crossing which, with its wall-arch, rests on the wall over the separating-arch; to this star-vault an hour-hand is attached. The bright space of the nave is covered by the dark contrasting wooden star-vault. In this aisle along the south-side one notices again the order of windows, shafts, triforium, horizontal ledge, separating-arches and slenderer columns; the west wall, in front of which no tower was erected, became almost a complete glass wall; at the height of the upper-windows a very large façade-window and under it two smaller ones. Besides the already mentioned organ the furnishing consists of the pulpit against the south wall of the nave, a great number of pews filling the nave and five chandeliers. Besides a few filling-in figures some mourning-tablets, escutcheons and candle-arms were placed in this space. Under the first window in the southern aisle the painting with the unexecuted design of the Great Church is put up. The floor consists of small flag-stones and big tomb-stones in relief.

Inscription: on the base of the left choir-column. *Dit is de Cathedrale grote kerck van Haerlem in Hollandt. Pieter Saenredam, dese met schilderen voleijnt, den 27 february 1648.* (This is the Cathedral Great Church of Haarlem in Holland. Pieter Saenredam, finished painting this, the 27th of February 1648).

The exact date this painting was completed is also mentioned in the inscription of the construction-drawing no. 60.

Provenance: formerly in the Royal Collections (Charles II, James II); during two centuries in the Neave collection, Essex; Messrs Asscher and Welcker, London, 1934; the Marquess of Bute, 1936.

Exhibitions: unknown. *1464. The Group of Houses, London.*

Literature: *A catalogue of the collection of pictures belonging to King James II*, London, printed for W. Bathoe, 1758, p. 7, no. 71; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 171, pl. 71; D. MAHON, *Notes on the Dutch gift to Charles II*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCI, 1949, p. 349, no. C; D. MAHON, *Notes on the Dutch gift to Charles II*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, p. 239.

Pl. 60 Mount Stewart, the Marquess of Bute collection

59* Interior from the choir through crossing and nave

Pen, black chalk, heightened with a little white and yellow on blue paper - 54,6 x 38,8 - signed, dated 25 August 1635

This sketch, though a preparatory study for painting no. 58, was made nearer to the crossing with the result that it does not completely represent the interior of the panel along both sides. Better than on the panel can be seen here the abutments of the vaults of a projected but never executed gallery between the bottom-windows of the west-façade. The scene depicted in the big west-window, bishop George of Egmond together with his patron Gregory the Great in adoration before the Holy Trinity, is more detailed than on the painting; the filling-in, however, is missing.

Inscription: at the top under the edge of the sheet: *De Cathedrale, En Parochiale, Grootte-kerck, Binnen Haerlem, oock gheheten Sinte-Baudo* (The Cathedral, and Parochial Great Church in Haarlem, also called St. Bavo's) - on the capital of the north-eastern crossing-pillar: *Den 25 augustij anno 1635. Pieter Saenredam* (the 25th of August anno 1635. Pieter Saenredam).

The inscription under the top edge of the sheet is very probably by another, a later hand. On the right-hand side of the first pew on the right the optical point is indicated. On the left over the small window of the left west-façade an *A* is written, on the opposite side twice a reversed *N*, both letters on small horizontal lines, possibly indications for measurements or for a section. The remnants of the cartoon of the window-pane attributed to Bernard van Orley and dated 1541 are now kept in the State Printroom in Amsterdam (see the reconstruction in P. J. H. CUYPERS-C. J. GONNET, *De St. Bavokerk te Haarlem*, Haarlem, 1894, opp. p. 18).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 48; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 48.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 39, 61, no. 81, pl. 67.

Pl. 61

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

60* Interior from the choir on the southern transept-arm

Pen and watercolour - 49,2 x 35,7 - not signed, dated 15 December 1635

This construction-drawing represents the left part of painting no.

58 and of the sketch no. 59 on the understanding that the upper-part of the drawing, the chandelier and the escutcheon are missing and the filling-in here consists of a running man and two jumping little dogs between choir and ambulatory, two men talking in the transept and two persons greeting each other with a little boy in the aisle.

Inscription: on the upper-part of the column-base left: *Dit geeijndicht met teijckenen den 15 december 1635. ende is een gesicht inde grote kerck binnen Haerlem met schilderen voleijndicht den 27 february 1648.* (finished drawing this the 15th of December 1635. and is a view in the Great Church in Haarlem finished painting the 27th of February 1648) - on the broad skirting under it: *Het paneel daer dese ordonnanti op geschildert staet is breed vijff voet en 2 duijmen ende is hoogh 6 voet ende 3 duijmen. naer kermer ofte kennemer voetmaat.* - (the panel on which this construction was painted is five feet and 2 inches wide and 6 feet and 3 inches high, after "kermer" or "kennemer" footmeasurement) - at the right of it: 30 with indication of the optical point.

The attribution based on style, handwriting and connection with painting no. 58 cannot be doubted. The red and black auxiliary-lines are still discernible. This sheet is the lowest left part of a big drawing the upper-part of which was cut off a little less than half and the lowest right part of which is included in this catalogue as no. 61; in Swillens (*Saenredam*, pl. 69 bis) the reconstruction is made. This sheet consists of four pieces irregularly pasted on one another the edges of which are clearly visible.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 39, 60, 61, no. 87, pl. 68.

Pl. 62

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

61* Interior from the choir through the crossing and the nave

Pen and watercolour - 49 x 36 - not signed, not dated in its present form (15 December 1635)

This construction-drawing also represents a fragment, at the right below, of painting no. 58 and of sketch no. 59. As filling-in

serve two small groups of talking persons and a few stray figures.

Inscription: none.

For attribution, date and mutual connection see drawing no. 62, with which this sheet formerly formed one. The optical point is indicated at the right on the west-façade next to the group of persons in the background.

Provenance: Vincent van Gogh sale, i.a., de Vries's, Amsterdam, 16-17 July 1930, no. 162; J. M. C. Hoog collection, Haarlem.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 39, 60, 61, no. 86, pl. 69.

Pl. 63

Maastricht, Private collection

62 Interior from the crossing through the nave

Pen, brown ink, washed and watercolour - 12 x 16,3 - signed, dated 16 October 1630

Between the two crossing-pillars along the nave there is a rhythm of columns, towards-arches, triforium and windows to the west-façade with its structure of one big and two small windows. The wooden vault and the upper-parts of the crossing-pillars are cut off. On the place of the separating-arch of the southern aisle (vaguely indicated), the artist has drawn a high tomb with a half-reclining mitred bishop.

Inscription: on the wall above the tomb: *Pieter Saenredam dit Ao. 1630, den 16. october, Inde Haerlemse kerck gedaen, maer dese tombe niet.* (Pieter Saenredam; Ao 1630 the 16th of October this done in the church of Haarlem, but not this tomb).

On the west-wall the optical point is indicated; the auxiliary-lines are clearly visible. As becomes evident from the inscription the tomb was not present in the church and is consequently an imaginary addition by Saenredam (see REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 11.)

Provenance: Leembruggen collection; Malcolm collection; purchased 1895.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HIND, p. 45, no. 4; REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 11, pl. 7; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 23, 46, 51, no. 44, pl. 75.

Pl. 59

London, the British Museum, Printroom

63* Interior from the southern aisle to the west

Panel - 42,8 x 33,6 - signed, dated 1633

From the third traverse (counting from the crossing) a part of the vault of which is still visible on the painting, a vista is given through the last three traverses of the southern aisle on to the west-wall in which a quadripartite, strongly profiled and chamfered window is placed. The cross-ribbed vault rests at the right on the columns and separating-arches between aisle and nave, at the left on the wall-arches and small half-columns fitted with capitals and bases in the same shape as those of the nave-columns. Under the window-sill in each traverse there is a horizontal ledge. The big arch at the left decorated with tendril-work gives access to the Font-chapel which is better illuminated than the sober but rather dark aisle; behind the opened iron screen from 1429 stands a priest, dressed in surplice and stole, and a layman; they are waiting for the baptism-procession which approaches through the aisle, preceded by a little boy; a woman carries the child receiving baptism and is followed by two richly dressed ladies. The only decoration is a chandelier.

Inscription: on the threshold of the Font-chapel: *P. Saenredam fecit anno 1633.*

The panel is covered by a thick layer of yellow varnish. This design was engraved by Vandermeer.

Provenance: J. B. P. Lebrun collection, Paris, 1792; W. Euing collection; 1874 bequeathed by W. Euing.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 9.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, p. 144; JANTZEN, p. 81, no. 402; BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 13862; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 33, 46, 51-52, 56, 57, no. 61, pl. 94; BREMMER, no. 1.

Pl. 64

Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum

64* Interior from the southern aisle to the west

Pen and watercolour - 40,2 x 31,6 - not signed, not dated

This sketch completely reproduces the same scene as painting no. 63 including the filling-in.

Inscription: none.

This drawing can be attributed to Saenredam on basis of style-similarities with his other drawings and of the connection with painting no. 63 and drawing no. 65. Striking is, however, the filling-in, on both works identical concerning even the smallest detail, though it is more roughly executed on the drawing.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 65

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

65 Interior from the southern aisle to the west

Pen and black chalk on blue paper - 42,4 x 33,3 - not signed, dated 11 October 1631

Besides the absence of the filling-in here, this construction-drawing as regards the interior agrees completely with the sketch no. 64 and the painting no. 63 serving as a preparation for it.

Inscription: at the top under the edge of the sheet in the middle: *Anno 1631, den 11 october dit geteijckent ende Anno 1633 geschildert* (Anno 1631 the 11th of October this drawn and anno 1633 painted).

Attribution on basis of style of drawing and handwriting. The horizon is marked at about 1/6 of the total height. On the west-wall at the height of the bases of the columns and next to them the optical point is indicated. The auxiliary-lines can still clearly be followed up. One may assume that the reverse was blackened in and the inklines traced. This drawing was destroyed in May 1945 by military action.

Provenance: 1874 purchased from the Suermondt collection, Aachen.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 13862; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 33, no. 46, pl. 93.

Pl. 66

formerly Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

66* View on the choir-organ

Pen, lead-pencil and watercolour (brown, yellow and blue) - 30,7 x 17,2 - not signed, not dated (between October 1634 and December 1635?)

This drawing was made near the northern choir-wall standing diagonally under the instrument. Above the columns between the first and the second choir-traverse (counting from the crossing) the gallery rests on a wooden five-sided substructure of which the ribs are converging into a carved-out head. In the gallery itself the case of the back-positive has been inserted along the front; the skirting constructed as an entablature with three parts, follows in its outline the grouping of the pipes; on the frieze the inscription is to be read: ...ZANGEN EN GEESTLYCKE LIEDEKENS (hymns and spiritual songs); under the back-positive is a decoration of six polygonal soffits ending in points; the shutters of the back-positive are open. The parapet two sides of which are visible, consists of beautiful wood-carving; three fluted pilasters between which there are two blind arches, carry a balustrade of exquisite small baluster-columns. The main case on a wooden substructure, rising above the back-positive, starts at the height of the triforium; to reproduce more of its shape the artist has left out the shutters so that the disposition of the pipes of the mainwork and some parts of the steeple-shaped crowning are still visible. Around the organ the architectural lines of the building are schematically sketched, by which, among others things, the separating-arches, the crossing-pillars, the star-vaults of the crossing and, more vaguely, the wooden vault of the choir are indicated.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam finds its evidence in the manner of drawing and in the fact that this drawing undoubtedly forms a detail-study for the reproduction of this organ on painting no. 58 on which it can be seen from exactly the same angle. As the organ got this shape only in 1633 (M. A. VENTE, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het vroegere grote orgel in de St. Bavo en zijn bespelers tot 1650*, in *Nederlandse Orgelpracht*, Haarlem, 1961, p. 22) and the construction-drawing (no. 60 and no. 61), made for painting no. 58, just mentioned, on which as we may assume also the organ was present, is dated December 15th 1635, this drawing is to be dated between 1633 and 1635. Furthermore we know that Saenredam developed his great activity in St. Bavo's from October 1634 onwards so that one may accept that this drawing was accomplished between October 1634

(date of drawing no. 36) and December 15th (date of drawing no. 60). For the history and the outward appearance of this organ, see M. A. VENTE, *Bijdragen, op. cit.*, p. 19-23. Swillens dates the drawing after August 1634 ("when the instrument was used again after a restoration of the front", *Saenredam*, p. 60) and before May 1636 (because *Saenredam* "has not drawn in the Great Church anymore afterwards as far as we could see", *ibid.*, p. 60).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 557; Brussels, *De Jérôme Bosch à Rembrandt*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1937-38, no. 49, pl. XXXIII.

Literature: C. DODGSON, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, in *Old Master Drawings*, III, London, 1928, p. 45, pl. 37; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 60, no. 75, pl. 70; M. A. VENTE, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het vroegere Grote Orgel in de St. Bavo en zijn bespelers tot 1650*, in *Nederlandse Orgelpracht*, Haarlem, 1961, p. 19-20, pl. 3.

Pl. 67

Paris, F. Lugt collection, Institut néerlandais

67* Measurements of three traverses of the southern choir-wall.

Pen - 20,2 x 18,2 - not signed, not dated (1628-1629?)

On the right, meeting the south-eastern crossing-pillar, of which the abutments of the arches can be seen, follow three traverses of the choir-wall executed without many details. In the lowest tier three heavy columns bear the separating-arches; above it run the horizontal ledge and the low triforium, quinquepartite in each traverse. This is alternated by shafts outlining the big wall-surfaces with their small windows and supporting the wooden star-vaults.

Inscription: under the windows over the whole width: *De Suijdt Zijde vande kerck vande middel aff naer het oost eijnde toe / streckende aende noort sijde eenen alleens* (the south-side of the church from the centre to the east-end / the same length on the north-side / one only).

The attribution is based on the similarity of the handwriting and on the fact that *Saenredam* usually made measurements for the exact execution of his construction-drawings. At it is very probable that these measurements were made as a preparation for

the construction-drawing no. 51 dated July 1629, it can be dated either 1628 or 1629.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 92.

Pl. 68

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

68* Measurements of a transept-arm

Pen - 26,5 x 18 - not signed, not dated (1628?)

Under the separating-arch between crossing and transept-arm, probably the southern one, a small part of the flat wooden covering still appears at the top. In the façade of this transept there is moreover a row of three small windows with traceries; under it the big façade-window is only indicated in its main-lines. Under two small openings the wall to the left shows the big wall-niches with the balustrade of the triforium and below to the left the separating-arch between ambulatory and aisle. Three shafts, attached to columns, with small capitals bearing the abutments of ribs and arches point to the vaulting meant to be carried out in stone. Some measurements are inserted.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam can not be proved for certain though his custom of making measurements to work out his construction-drawings in an exact way, points toward his direction. This sketch, however, of which the lower part is cut off, very much agrees with the southern transept-arm reproduced on painting no. 55 and the drawings no. 56 and no. 57 so that the supposition is justified that these measurements are the bases of the working-out of these three pieces. On the ground of this, too, 1628 (date of panel no. 55 and of sketch no. 56) could be maintained as the date of these measurements.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 91, pl. 54.

Pl. 69

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

69* Measurements of a part of the southern wall of the nave and of a fragment of the southern aisle

Pen - 19,3 x 23 - not signed, not dated (between 1634-36)

At the left on the sheet is the south-western crossing-pillar. To the west there follow three traverses with their columns, separating-arches, horizontal ledge, triforium, small windows and shafts with the abutments of the wooden vaults. Right at the top another window, but narrower than the other ones, has been sketched. Between the separating-arches the shafts attached to the columns and the abutments of the aisle are indicated with a few small lines. This fragment is separated from the detail following below to the right by a vertical strip between ledge and level-line. This is the doorway to the font chapel, clearly recognizable by its decoration with tendril-work in the separating-arch and the iron screen; to the left of it another shaft, attached to a column, and the abutments of the vault of the aisle have been sketched. Besides the few inserted measurements there are some letters referring to the subscription.

Inscription: under the level-line: *B De suijder sijde vande kerck* [va]nde midden aff tot het West eynde toe (B the south-side of the church [fr]om the centre to the west-end) - under this: *CC en vande middelste pijla[er vande kerc]k daer de toren opstaet* (CC and from the middle pillar of the church on which the tower stands) - behind these two lines a brace and: *aende noort syde enen alleens* (at the north-side one only) - behind this a vertical stroke and: *A mande werck van yser, inde Suijdt sijde ofte wandelghangh naer het west eynde vand[e] ke[rck]*. (A basket-work of iron in the south side or ambulatory to the west end of the church).

The attribution is mainly based on the handwriting undoubtedly by Saenredam. At present there is no painting or drawing known for which these measurements directly would have served; because of this the drawing cannot be dated more exactly than between the years 1634-1636. The edges of the sheet are much damaged with the result that down below some letters of the inscription are missing; at the right top the torn-off part of the drawing has later been added again.

Provenance: unknown.

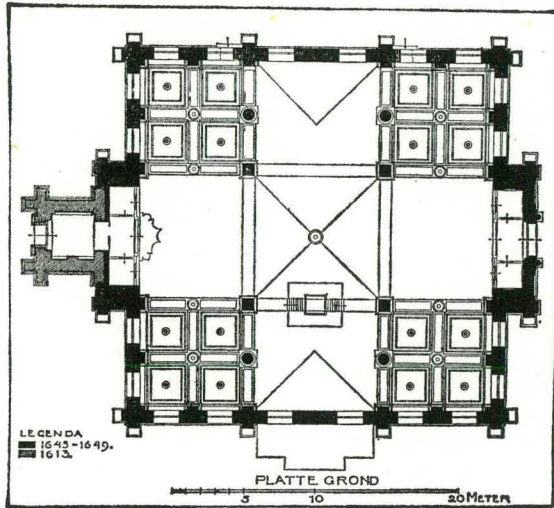
Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 93; P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Pieter Saenredam als Teekenaar*, in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLV, tome 90, 1935, p. 337, pl. 4.

Pl. 70

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

HAARLEM, NEW CHURCH



Next to the mediaeval St. Anne's chapel the present tower was built by Lieven de Key in 1631 for the time-indication in the weavers'-quarter (see no. 71). This chapel was, however, too small so that the town-corporation in 1645 decided to demolish it and to build a church next to the existing tower.

For this construction several architects among whom Salomon de Braij, drew up plans, which were apparently all put aside for a design by Jacob van Campen.

From 1646 till 1649 the latter erected a church linking up with the tower and showing in ground-plan an inscribed Greek cross. The arm-squares have a wooden barrel-vault coming down on an architrave; on the four corners of the centre-square covered with groined-vaults the vaults are supported by an Ionic pillar (see no. 72); the southern and northern arm-squares also show an Ionic column along both sides, anticipated in both the other arm-squares, but for the sake of cheapness not executed there (see no. 77), though Saenredam nevertheless reconstructed them in some of his works (see no. 74). The four lower corner-bays are covered by a flat coffer-ceiling supported by Ionic pilasters against the wall. Between the tower and the church as well as at the east-side there is a slightly projecting risalite building, at the outside protruding above the roof of the church-space and finished with an entablature (see no. 70). The decoration, inside as well as outside kept sober and elegant, is like the plan itself done in the spirit of the Italian High Renaissance.

In the same spirit van Campen had drafted the space around the church

as a rectangular square with plantation and surrounded by an adapted street and building-plan, imparting the greatest possible aesthetical effect to the church (see no. 84 and no. 85). This reorganisation in the town-planning came to a stop, however, in its execution.

The detached pulpit, a new model, is probably a design by Jacob van Campen (see no. 81).

70* Exterior along the south-side

Pen and watercolour - 30,2 x 31,8 - signed, dated 8 July 1650

At the left of the drawing is the big tower. The first and second tiers have blind walls and are separated by three water-drips running between the heavy buttresses which are covered with turned-up consoles. The third tier is receding; between the wide corner-pillars and the thinner centre-pillars, at the top linked with rounded arches, louver-holes were placed in the upper half of the wall. This tier is closed with a projecting balustrade, on the corners of which obelisks stand connected by way of a small flying buttress with the receding tower needle, which is eight-sided and extremely richly decorated as against the square sober substructure of the tower, causing a striking effect of consists of eight arched openings between Tuscan pilasters, linked underneath by volutes with projecting cornice. A cornice, projecting just as far, makes a sharply horizontal separation from the next one; this latter is made of wood covered with lead and consists of eight arched openings between Tuscan pilasters, underneath linked by volutes with projecting cornice. A cornice, projecting just as far, makes a sharply horizontal separation with the tower-spire which consists successively of a swollen eight-sided cushion, a balustrade, a tempietto and above this a big open-worked obelisk with cross and weather-vane. Against this tower, built in 1613 by Lieven de Key, Jacob van Campen between 1645 and 1649 constructed the present building to replace the existing church. Between the tower and aisles there is an addition in the shape of a centre-risalite, a flat wall closed with an entablature, which separated the two construction-parts. This wall links up with the south-side of the church; the vertical outline of the buttresses clearly indicates the division of the three parts (south-western corner-bay - southern arm-square - south-eastern corner-bay) all showing the same system of a flat wall with two windows between wheeled-in buttresses and crowned with an entablature of which the cornice is projecting rather far. Of the

roofing only a small part is to be seen. In front of the southern arm-square is a small outbuilding, the deacons-room.

Inscription: on the base of the tower: *1650 den 8 julij. Pr. Saer-dam ft.* - in the lower left-hand corner: *de oude St. Anna thoren int Jaer 1613 gemaekt* (the old St. Anne Tower made in the year 1613) - on the plinth of the church: *de Nieuwe St. Anna kerck Ao. 1649 volleijnt van dese kerck is Monsr. Jacob van Campen Architect geweest.* (the New St. Anne's Church Ao. 1649 completed; of this church Mr. Jacob van Campen was the architect).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 41; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 41.

Literature: A. W. WEISSMAN, *Jacob van Campen*, in *Oud-Holland*, XX, 1902, p. 125; EISLER, p. 163, note 1, p. 168; OZINGA, p. 63, pl. 24 A; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 13, no. 181, pl. 96; J. M. STERCK-PROOT, *De historische schoonheid van Haarlem, Heemschutserie*, 13, Amsterdam, 1942², p. 75, pl. 14; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 155.

Pl. 72

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

71* Exterior of the tower along de south-west

Pen and watercolour - 32,7 x 20,3 - signed, dated 7 July 1650

Besides the east-wall of the tower described under no. 70 and the steeple drawn in foreshortening also the west-wall of the tower is here to be seen. On the ground floor this wall has a round arched porch closed off by an entablature. On the first floor a big round arch on pilasters, covered with a cut-off half-round pediment, practically takes up the whole wall-surface; in this opening two crowned lions hold the city-arms of Haarlem; they stand on a profiled pedestal on which the date 1613, year of foundation of this tower. Here, better than on the preceding drawing, the shape of the high separating-wall between tower and church can be determined. To the right of this the west-façade of the south-western corner-ridge, likewise with two windows and on the upper part an entablature with projecting cornice on which the roof is resting.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *1650 den 7 Julij van mij Pieter Saenredam gedaen.* (1650 the 7th of July done by me Pieter Saenredam).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 40, pl. XIII; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 40, pl. XIII.

Literature: EISLER, p. 151, 168; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 180, pl. 95; BREMMER, no. 15.

Pl. 73

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

72* Interior from the west to the east

Panel - 65,5 x 93 - signed, dated 23 May 1652

The four Ionic pillars with their high bases, two in the foreground, two in the back, support on their wide separating-arches the groined vault of the centre-square, decorated with painted ribs and with clock-and band motifs on the vault-escutcheons. Behind this central part lies the eastern arm-square the separating-arch of which rests on the two crossing-pillars; the barrel-vault, painted with the Haarlem coat of arms and motto-band VICIT VIM VIRTUS is furthermore on both sides supported by an Ionic column and pilaster. The same arm-square runs into the eastern risalite (counterpart of this construction-part against the tower) with a window in which the richly decorated city-arms are repeated; on the banderolle VICIT VIM VIRTUS; under this the big east-door flanked by two straight-closed niches above which a festoon. To the left and to the right the barrel-vaults of the northern and southern arm-squares likewise decorated with coats of arms are supported in the same way; the same supporting-system is also applied to the two corner-bays, covered with coffer-ceilings. At the right of the painting is the detached pulpit with big sound-board; in the northern arm-square, right opposite and along both sides of the pulpit, a high pew. Each of the stained glass windows contains some family-coats of arms (see no. 83). Two big chandeliers hang down from the vaults. Many persons are moving about, serving as a copious filling-in.

Inscription: on the base of the pillar at the right: *Pr. Saenredam fecit. A° 1652, den 23 May.*

On this painting Saenredam, probably in view of the symmetry in the ground-plan, reconstructed the Ionic columns in the eastern arm-square though they were not really executed there.

Provenance: 1879 presented by Mr. A. J. Enschedé, Haarlem.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 11; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 11; *Haarlem* 1946, no. 119.

Literature: *Catalogus van de schilderijen op het Museum der Stad Haarlem*, s.l., 1886, p. 55, no. 151; A. W. WEISSMAN, *Jacob van Campen*, in *Oud-Holland*, XX, 1902, p. 125; JANTZEN, p. 84, no. 413; EISLER, p. 168; *Catalogus Frans Halsmuseum*, 1924, no. 258, p. 92; OZINGA, p. 64; *Catalogus der schilderijen en tekeningen in het Frans Halsmuseum der Gemeente Haarlem*, Haarlem, 1929, no. 258, p. 103; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 34, 36, 45, 54, 55, no. 190, pl. 101; J. O. KRONIG, *Guide to the Frans Halsmuseum*, Haarlem, s.d., p. 93, pl. p. 86; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 76

Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum

73* Interior from the west to the east

Pen and watercolour - 50,5 x 67,6 - not signed, dated 31 July 1651

This construction-drawing on which the auxiliary-lines are still partly visible, served as a preparatory study for painting no. 72. Therefore it represents the same interior except for a few details like a double number of chandeliers and the filling-in consisting in this case of a vague figure in the foreground at the left, five in the background and two between the pulpit and the right hand pillar.

Inscription: on the shaft of the pillar at the right: *Anno 1651 den 31 Julij heb ick deese teyckeningh ten einde gebracht om op een paneel te schilderen, dat even soo groot, als dit begriip is ende is een gesicht te sien inde nieuwe St. Anna kerck binnen Haerlem. Anno 1652. den 23 maij heb ick deese mettet schilderen volbracht* (Anno 1651, the 31st of July, I have completed this drawing to paint it on a panel as big as this drawing, and it is a view to be seen in the new St. Anne's Church in Haarlem. Anno 1652, the 23rd of May I finished painting).

The inscription on the shaft of the pillar at the right is from the words *Anno 1652* in a different kind of ink. On the base-plinth of the right-hand pillar marks of a wiped out handwriting now illegible. The drawing is cut at the left and at the top. The reverse is blackened in and the ink-lines are scratched in. On the reverse at the left below a stamp of TEYLER.

Provenance: presumably presented by Teylers Foundation.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: EISLER, p. 168; OZINGA, p. 64, pl. 24 C; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 13-14, no. 188, pl. 100.

Pl. 77

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

74 Interior from the south-west to the north-east

Panel - 86 x 103 - signed, dated 16 August 1653

This interior represents practically the same view as painting no. 72, only the artist's view-point was somewhat more to the south, with the result that the southern wall is better visible, but the pulpit not so well discernable. Under the coat of arms of the town of Haarlem: VICIT VIM VIRTUS

Inscription: on the base of the pillar at the right: *Pr. Saenredam fecit Anno 1653 8/16.*

On this painting, too, Saenredam kept the symmetry of the Ionic columns. The pulpit here is surrounded by a fence between the bars of which a basketwork decorated with festoons is made. The filling-in is probably from I. van Nickele (GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 15).

Provenance: Esterhazy collection; purchased 1817.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: TH. VON FRIMMEL, *Kleine Galerie Studien*, I, Bamberg, 1892, p. 172, 178; A. W. WEISSMAN, *Jacob van Campen*, in *Oud-Holland*, XX, 1902, p. 125; WEISSMAN, pl. 144; JANTZEN, p. 78, 85, no. 414; H. JANTZEN, *Niederländische Malerei im 17. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 83; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister*, Museum der bildenden Künste, Budapest, 1913, p. 201, no. 491; VERMEULEN, *Bulletin*, p. 193; OZINGA, p. 65, note 2; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 55, 57, no. 191, pl. 99; MARTIN, p. 272, 273, pl. 157; BERNT, no. 716, repr.; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 15; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 80

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum

75* Interior from the south-west to the north-east

Pen and watercolour - 30,6 x 39,7 - signed, not exactly dated (June 1650?)

This sketch served as a preparation for painting no. 74 and therefore represents practically the same picture. It was made, however, a little nearer to the pulpit. The columns in the eastern arm-square as well as the fence around the pulpit are left out, so that two small pews against the south-wall become visible.

Inscription: on the base-plinth of the pillar in front: *Pieter Saenredam gedaen* (made by Pieter Saenredam) - on the base of the

pillar on the right: *A^o 165... de 21 J... mette... gedaen... inde me... kerck bi... Haerl... (A^o 165... the 21st J... done... with... in the ne... church at Haarl...).*

The drawing is cut off at the right side, with the result that an important part of the inscription fell out, namely the exact date. Possibly the date could have been the 21st of July 1650, the time Saenredam made drawings in the New Church as appears from the date the 14th of June on drawing no. 79.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 81

Amsterdam, Six collection

76 Interior from the south-west to the north-east

Pen and watercolour - 49,3 x 101,8 - signed, dated 26 August 1651

This construction-drawing served as a preparation for the painting no. 74 and gives an identical view in the church. Only the filling-in is restricted here to three small figures while a sun shade hangs from the big east-window.

Inscription: on the shaft of the pillar af the left: *Anno 1651, Den 26 dach vande maent Augustus, heb ick deese Teijckeningh aldus voleijndt, om even soo groot te schilderen op een paneel, ende is dit een gesicht in de Nieuwe hermaeckte Sint Anna kerck te sien binnen de stadt Haerlem in Hollandt. Item 1653. Den 16e Augustij heb ick Pr. Saenredam dese schilderij met schilderen gedaen ende voleijndicht op Saterdach. (Anno 1651, the 26th day of the month of August I have finished this drawing in this way to paint it same size on a panel, and this is a view in the New remade Sint Anne's Church to be seen in the town of Haarlem in Holland. Item 1653. The 16th of August I, Pr. Saenredam, have finished the painting of this painting and completed it on Saturday).*

The upper quarter of the drawing is cut off with the result that a part of the wooden barrel-vault is missing (see no. 74). The drawing got lost in May 1945 owing to military action.

Provenance: unknown.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 13864; OZINGA, p. 64, note 2; SWIL-
LENS, *Saenredam*, p. 13-14, no. 189, pl. 98.

77 Interior from the north-east to the south-west

This drawing shows the same parts and elements of the interior as the preceding one though the view-point is situated more to the north-side. Between the crossing-pillar in the centre of the drawing and the Ionic column the eye is directed through the southern arm-square to the north-western corner-bay where the construction with crossing-pillar, column and pilasters show up clearly; so do the coffer ceiling and the two west-windows. Against the northern wall a pew for the elders and deacons. On the left half of this drawing the abutment of the crossing-vault, the western arm-square with the doorway to the tower as well as the south-western corner-bay are shown. Because of the difference in view-point three of the windows in the south-wall of the church are to be seen as compared with former drawings and, before the pulpit, the lower lectern stands completely free.

Provenance: van Eyndhoven collection; W. Pitcairn Knowles sale, 25 June 1895, no. 578.

Literature: HENKEL, p. 62-63; OZINGA, p. 64, note 2; SWILLENs, *Saen-redam*, p. 14, no. 177, pl. 103.

78* Interior from east to west

The centre here again is taken up by the centre-square, resting

on the four Ionic pillars; the decorations of the groined vault with painted ribs and clock- and band motifs come back, too. In the background the western arm-square - on both sides the Ionic columns are left out - with the extension of the pavilion. On the groundfloor a doorway flanked by two niches over which a simple festoon-decoration, leads to the tower. To the right and to the left on the drawing respectively the northern and southern arm-square with the adjoining corner-bays the coffer-ceiling of which likewise rests on entablature, pillars, columns and pilasters. In the glass windows the row of coats of arms (see no. 83) is continued. To the left, in the southern arm-square is the pulpit; the small lectern in front of it is hidden by the pews placed through the whole building in the direction of the pulpit. Against the north-wall at the right a pew for the elders and deacons decorated with a festoon.

Inscription: on the pew in the lower left-hand corner: *Den 18 Junij dese mette Pen geijndicht te teijckenen 1650 Inde Nieuwe Kerck in Haerlem. van Mij Pieter Saenredam* (the 18th of June finished drawing this with the pen 1650 in the New Church at Haarlem by me Pieter Saenredam) - near the optical point in the doorway towards the tower: $3\frac{1}{2}$: v. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ feet).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 50 a; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 50 a.

Literature: HENKEL, p. 62-63; OZINGA, p. 64, note 2; PETERS, p. 115, pl. 254; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 14, no. 179, pl. 102.

Pl. 79

Amsterdam, State Printroom

79* Interior from the north to the south

Pen, watercolour and some red chalk - 37,4 x 50,5 - signed, dated 14 June 1650

From the northern arm-square, of which to the right the column and the crossing-pillar are visible this interior is viewed through the crossing towards the southern arm-square; the wooden barrel-vault, as in other places in the church, is painted with a row of coats of arms, and the big windows in the south-wall also show identical motifs. The pulpit consists of a high tub decorated in front with a festoon. On both sides here is a stair with banisters, forged in the form of volutes. Four small Corinthian columns bear the sound-board the lower part of which is decorated with caskets. Before the pulpit there is a lower plat-

form with a lectern. To the left is the south-eastern corner-bay with the supporting system, mentioned before, along the side of the northern arm-square without column - and the coffer-ceiling; in each of its walls there are also two big windows with coats of arms. In the partly visible eastern arm-square half the barrel-vault comes into view with, on the banderole: VIM VIRTUS; the space along this side is partly filled with pews. To the right on the drawing a narrow strip of the west-wall with the doorway to the tower.

Inscription: on the upper plinth of the column-base at the right: *Den 14 Junij 1650 dit mette pen geteeckent in de Nieuwe St. Anna kerck in Haerlem.* (The 14th of June 1650 this drawn with the pen in the New St. Anne's Church at Haarlem) - below on the same base: *Aldus van mij Pieter Saenredam gemaect* (so made by me Pieter Saenredam).

It is possible that this pulpit, too, was designed by Jacob van Campen (OZINGA, p. 64-65).

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 449.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 83 's Graveland, Jonkvrouwe H. M. A. F. Six collection

80* Interior with the pulpit from the south

Pen and watercolour - 38,5 x 30,5 - signed, dated 18 June 1650

Here the pulpit along the back is very clearly to be seen. On a high straight base the tub is erected; underneath there is a simple profile, the panel is decorated with a big festoon; on the upper part outlined by a richly profiled border rest the four Corinthian columns, supporting the coffer-ceiling and the cornice slightly jutting out. The banisters also resting on a high skirting start on vases and end in an elaborate volute-form filled with leaf-work. To the right of the pulpit is the big south-eastern crossing-pillar; between it and the edge of the sheet there is still a small strip of the east-wall discernable. Above the pulpit the vault of the centre-square; behind the pulpit the northern arm-square. To the right of it the lower corner-bay and the barrel-vault of the eastern arm-square. Behind the south-eastern

crossing-pillar a special pew for the elders and deacons; for the rest the space is filled with ordinary pews.

Inscription: underneath on the base of the crossing-pillar: *Ao. 1650 den 18 Junij met de pen geteeckent, van mij Pr. Sardam; inde nieuwe kerck binnen Haerlem.* (Ao. 1650, June 18th drawn with the pen by me Pr. Sardam; in the New Church in Haarlem). - on the base of the pulpit: *3½ voet* (3½ feet); above this an indication of the optical point.

Two other optical points, on the shaft of the pilaster against the north-wall and under the window next to it respectively.

Provenance: A. J. van Eindhoven collection, 1885.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 49; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 49.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 176, pl. 104.

Pl. 84

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

81* Interior from the south-east to the west with a view on the pulpit

Panel - 43,5 x 35 - signed, dated 1655

From the south-eastern corner-bay where to the right on the drawing the crossing-pillar and to the left the column stand, the eye is directed through the south-square into the first traverse of the south-western corner-bay. Besides the crossing-pillar of the bay a part of its wall with window and two coffers of the flat ceiling are to be seen. The pulpit to the right is seen from the side, so that the volute-form of the banisters, the festoon-decorations of the tub, the fluted Corinthian columns and the casket-division of the sound-board clearly come out. In the background to the right the west-wall with clock and doorway to the tower. Left against the south-wall between the windows are the pilasters supporting the architraves. As filling-in two figures in the south-western corner-bay.

Inscription: on the base-plinth of the crossing-pillar at the right: *Pieter Saenredam. Anno 1655.*

Provenance: Christie's, London, 4 February 1927; sold to Douwes art gallery, Amsterdam; F. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen door Oud-Hollandsche en -Vlaamsche Meesters der Firma D. Katz, Dieren*, Rotter-

damsche Kunstkring, 1935, no. 78; Rotterdam 1937, no. 12; Amsterdam 1938, no. 12; Delft, Kersttentoonstelling, Nederlandse Meesters uit Particulier Bezit, museum Het Prinsenhof, 1952, no. 65; Almelo, Oude Kunst uit Twents Particulier Bezit, Kunstkring de Waag, 1953, no. 43, pl. 24; Rotterdam 1955, no. 115.

Literature: SIX, p. 24; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 203, pl. 97; *Beeldende Kunst*, XXIV, 1938, no. 73; A. HEPPNER, *Saenredam's „nieuw realisme” in de XVIIe eeuw*, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XVI, 1939, p. 117; reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1956; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 85

Rijssen, Mrs. G. van Heel collection

82* The pulpit seen from the south-west

Pen and watercolour - 35,7 x 29,1 - not signed, not dated (between 1650-1655)

The back of the pulpit, visible here between a column and a pilkar, corresponds as view with drawing no. 80. In the background one notices the eastern arm-square with vault and the open entrance in front of which two men stand talking, and the east-wall of the north-eastern corner-bay with two windows.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *J. Bosboom*.

A date between 1650-1655 is acceptable as in this period Saenredam has drawn and painted the New Church, just completed in 1649-1650. Touched up at a later date and provided with the signature: *J. Bosboom*. Most of the outline-lines are scratched in, the reverse is blackened. Probably the drawing has been cut on the four sides.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 58, no. 185, pl. 105.

Pl. 86

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

83* Drawing with twenty coats of arms, delineated from the stained-glass windows in the New Church

Pen and watercolour - 38 x 24,2 - not signed, not dated (between 1650-1655)

On this sheet a vertical rectangle is outlined in which five rows of four coats of arms each are drawn. These are grouped

together per window in horizontally and vertically outlined small bays. In the margins between the edge of the sheet and the rectangle each group of coats of arms is given its place in the church-windows; under the coats of arms the names and functions of the persons concerned are indicated, together with the date 1647, the year in which these window-panes were placed.

In the first row two coats of arms stand in one bay:

1. Johan Damius, ex-burgomaster.
Parted per pale, I Argent, two swords crossed azure, hilts or; Azure, two bars gemel argent; with subscription: *Johan Damius, out Burger meester, 1647.*
2. Quirijn Damst, ex-burgomaster.
Azure, a lion rampant argent; with subscription: *Quirijn Damst, Out Burgermeester, 1647* (This coat of arms is not present in J. B. RIETSTAP, *Armorial Général*, Gouda, 1884²).

With these two coats of arms goes the inscription in the left margin at the top: *Deese. 2. eerste staen aen 't west eijnde, ende aen de noort zijde vande Thooren* (These two first stand at the west-end and at the north-side of the tower).

The following coats of arms stand in the first row, but as a whole go with the second row:

3. Johan Colterman, ex-burgomaster.
Quarterly, I and IV sable, an arm dexter embossed fesseways, in armour, garnished or, in hand a sickle erect proper; II and III parted per pale; argent, a mill-wheel sable, dexter; argent, a lion rampant sable, sinister; with subscription: *Johan der Camer, out Burgermeester, 1647.*
4. Johan van der Camer, ex-burgomaster.
Gules, a chevron between two mullets of six points in chief and a crescent-moon or in base; with subscription: *Johan van der Camer, out Burger meester, 1647.*

In the second row:

5. Cornelis Backer, ex-burgomaster.
Gules, a chevron argent, in dexter chief a decrescent argent, in sinister chief a sun in splendour; in base cross-moline argent; with subscription: *Cornelis Backer, out Burgemeester, 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, the sun is not in splendour and the small cross is coupé).
6. Johan de Wael, ex-burgomaster.
Azure, a lion rampant argent decollated and squirting streams of blood, in chief dexter a rose gules; with subscription: *Johan De Wael, Out Burger meester, 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *Supplément*, in voce *de Wael Malefijt*, the rose is described or or gules).

7. Johan Loo, ex-burgomaster.
Azure, a lion rampant argent; on shield a wheel sable; with subscription: *Johan Loo, Out Burgermeester, 1647.*
8. Willem Warmont, burgomaster.
Or, a lion rampant langued azure, over breast bended label of four points argent; with subscription: *Willem warmont, Burger-meester, 1647.*

With these six coats of arms goes, in the left margin, the inscription: *Deese. 6. stux staen alle, aen de Noort zijde vande kerck.* (These six pieces all stand at the north-side of the church).

The third row consists of two bays of two coats of arms each. The left two:

9. Ouwel Akersloot, burgomaster.
Gules, a herring naiant, between in chief two acorns or and in base one acorn; with subscription: *Ouwel Akersloot, Burgermeester, 1647.*
10. Johan Schatter, sheriff.
Quarterly, I and IV, or, a lion rampant azure; II and III, argent, in a bend sinister or saltires gules, three in chief and three in base; in escutcheon: per pale, argent, dexter mill-wheel sable, argent, sinister a lion rampant sable; with subscription: *Johan Schatter. SCHOVt 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, II, the field is azure and in the first and fourth quarter the field is argent and the lion sable and in the second and third quarter the bend a normal one).

With these two goes the inscription in the left margin: *Deese. 2. stux staen, aent oost-eijnde vande kerck, ende aen de noort zijde vande Middel kerck.* (These two stand at the east-end of the church and at the north-side of the nave).

In the right-hand bay:

11. Pieter Olykan, burgomaster.
Parted per pale, I, sable, an ostrich argent holding in its beak a horseshoe argent, II, per fess: in chief, argent, a magpie sable and argent, in base, argent a pitcher or, two-eared; with subscription: *Pieter Olijkan, Burger meester, 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, the bird in II is called a duck sable and in II base the field is azure and the pitcher argent).
12. Cornelis Guldewaghen, burgomaster.
Gules, three ears of big wheat, stalked and leaved erect in cornucopia argent between two mullets of six points in penchant; with subscription: *Cornelis Guldewaghen, Burger meester, 1647.*

With these in the right margin the inscription: *Item deese. 2. stux die staen aent oost-eijnde vande kerck, ende aen de zuijt*

zijde vande Middel kerck (Item these two pieces stand at the east-end of the church and at the south-side of the nave).

In the fourth row:

13. Willem Buys, alderman.

Quarterly, I and IV, argent, three mullets of six points or, in chief two in pendant, between three magpies sable breasted argent, in chief one and two demi-escutcheon; II and III, gules, three lilies argent; with subscription: *Willem Buijs, Scheepen, 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, the birds in the first and fourth quarter stand two and one and the mullets one and two and the field is azure, while the birds are argent).

14. Mr. Jacob Druijvesteijn, alderman.

Gules, nine lozenges conjoined in three bars argent; with subscription: *Mr. Jacob Druijvesteijn, Scheepen, 1647.*

15. Cornelis van der Tin, alderman.

Quarterly, I and IV, or, three chevronels gules, in dexter chief a decrescent gules; II and III, or, a passion cross gules, between in second, third and fourth quarter an annulet gules; with subscription: *Cornelis van der Tin, Scheepen, 1647.* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, the cross in the second and third quarter is an anchor).

16. Hendrik van den Hove, alderman.

Argent, a housemark sable, between two letters H sable; with subscription: *Hendrick van den hove. scheepen, 1647* (this coat of arms not in RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*)

The following two coats of arms, in the fifth row, go with the preceding ones:

17. Cornelis Coningh, alderman.

Per fess, I, Argent, three sceptres erect and crowned or in chief; II, Azure, a bear sejant erect and turned in base; with subscription: *Cornelis Coningh, Scheepen, 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, in voce *Koning*, the bear is sable and chained to a stone argent).

18. Mr. Mattheus Steyn, alderman.

Or, a chevron sable between two ducks in chief and one in base sable; with subscription: *Mr. Matheus Steijn, Scheepen, 1647.*

With this bay goes the inscription in the left margin: *Deese. 6. stux staen alle aen de Zuijt zijde vande kerck.* (These 6 pieces all stand at the south-side of the church).

Likewise in the fifth row, in a separate little bay on the right the following two coats of arms:

19. Cornelis van Gelder, alderman.

Or, a fess wavy azure, in chief a fleur-de-lis between two swans gules, in base one swan gules; with subscription: *Cornelis van Gelder, Scheepen, 1647.*

20. Florens van der Hoeff, alderman.

Argent, three mullets of six points fessed or, in chief two bones bended, dexter and sinister, in base one bone erect; with subscription: *Florens van der hoeff, Scheepen, 1647* (In RIETSTAP, *op. cit.*, the fess is azure).

With these the inscription in the right margin: *Deese. 2. laetsten staen, aent' westeijnde vande kerck ende aen de Zuijdt zijde vanden thooren.* (These last two stand at the west-end of the church and at the south-side of the tower).

Inscription: at the top of the drawing across the width of the sheet: *Deese wapens staen Alle in de Nieuwe St. Anna kerck binnen der stadt Haerlem, daerse Anno 1647. Inde Glaesen doen gestelt zijn* (These coats of arms are all in the new St. Anne's Church in the town of Haarlem where they were placed in panes anno 1647).

The attribution to Saenredam is based on the handwriting. For the date the time between 1650-1655 can be assumed when Saenredam worked in the New Church. This drawing gives the impression that the artist took the blue of some panes for white.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: OZINGA, p. 62, note 6; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 14, no. 175.

Pl. 87

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

84* Situation-plan before the construction of the New Church

Pen and watercolour - 20 x 31,3 - not signed, not dated (between 1645-1650?)

This drawing reproduces the situation of the lay-out of the streets and the buildings on the south - for both a series of names are inscribed - before the construction of the New Church the position of which with regard to this situation is marked. At the top of the sheet the ground-plan of the future building is partly sketched. From this it is clear that the available space taken up by the former building and tower by Lieven de Key, was too small for the design by Jacob van Campen, not only for the practical erection of the church - the room of the deacons

would link up with the houses and furthermore would only leave narrow passages on the south-western and south-eastern corner - but above all for the aesthetical effect van Campen was aiming at (see OZINGA, p. 65-66). The dotted line running from the *Corte Houdtstraet* (at the right against the edge of the sheet) right across the drawing over the *Kalck Hock*, presents the new building-line; the houses situated on this line would consequently have to be demolished to obtain the necessary space for the church.

Inscription: street-names: from the left-hand edge to the right-hand: *Nieuwe raemstraat*; *De Ouwte Doel straedt*; *tKalck Hock*; *de tHuys straedt*; *St Anne straedt*; *Nieuwe Kerck straedt*; *Corte Houdtstraedt* - names of buildings: in the ground-plan of the church: *De Nieuwe Kerck*; *Deiaken Camer* - against the south-western corner of the church: *tschool* - names of inhabitants of the houses, which were to be demolished (at the south-west of the church): *9 Claertgen gerrits weede van Pr Maerten tot Rotterdam*; *3 Pieter bruijnsten*; (at the south-east of the church): *2 Joost Jans van gemert*; *1 David de watijn* - below against the edge of the sheet: *tkerk Hoff* (church-yard).

Swillens (*Saenredam*, no. 173) attributes this drawing to Saenredam on account of the handwriting; the attribution, however, is not convincing because only the names of the inhabitants are written in running hand, possibly even some time after the origin of this plan and by another hand - and not completely in agreement with Saenredam's handwriting. The date of origin lies probably between 1645 in which year the rebuilding was decided upon and Jacob van Campen designed his plans, and 1650, date of plan no. 85 in which van Campen put his lay-out around the church on paper.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: EISLER, p. 148, 157, 158, pl. E; M. EISLER, *Die Geschichte eines holländischen Stadtbildes*, The Hague, 1914, p. 186, repr.; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 14, no. 173, pl. 106.

Pl. 74

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

85* Copy of Jacob van Campens' design of the lay-out of the streets with the position of the New Church

Pen and some red - 40,7 x 33,3 - not signed, dated 22 March 1651

This situation-plan gives a complete picture of the surroundings

of the New Church as Jacob van Campen drafted this lay-out; from the inscription it is very clear that this drawing was copied straight from the design of the architect on the supposed date 24 May 1650. Almost in the middle of the sheet the ground-plan of the big church is laid out in broad lines. The dotted lines around the church mark the square the architect imagined as space in front of his building; on these dotted lines the planned plantation is marked in red. The dotted lines above and below the church square present the northern and southern alignment for the houses surrounding the square. The full lines indicate the existing buildings and lay-out of the streets. It appears from the comparison with the preceding sketch (no. 84) how unobstructed the church was to be and how it was to answer to the position indicated by the architect.

Inscription: down below in the centre of the sheet: *rijnlantse Maet 1650 5/24 - voor van Campen dese Caert ghecopieert 1651 den 22 Maert* (Rijnlant measure 1650 5/24 - this map copied for van Campen 1651 the 22nd of March) - to the right: *Nieuwe raem straet - De oude doel straet - Nieuwe doel straet - de Wale iHuys straet - St. Anna Steeg - Nieuwe Kerck straet - Corte hout straet.*

The attribution is based on the handwriting; furthermore we know that Saenredam has helped several times with drawings for constructions. In the left-hand top corner and in the two bottom corners indications of later date.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: EISLER, p. 117, 148, 160-165, pl. before p. 155; M. EISLER, *Die Geschichte eines holländischen Stadtbildes*, The Hague, 1914, p. 187, repr.; OZINGA, p. 65-66, pl. 24 B; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 14, no. 187, pl. 107; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 143-144, 180.

Pl. 75

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

HAARLEM, TOWN HALL

In Haarlem at the end of the 13th century Count Floris V ceded his property to the Dominicans for the construction of a monastery. About a century later in front of this monastery the building was founded which, with its crenellated walls and high roof still forms the clearly recognizable centre of the town hall. According to the tradition this building has served as a palace of the Count; yet it seems more probable that this building was meant to be the town hall right from the beginning.

In the course of the 15th century some out-buildings were added at the front and the north-side; among those at the front is the Tribunal. Probably at the end of the century the slender tower was added which, after having been pulled down in 1772, was rebuilt in 1912 in its old form. After the Reformation the Dominican monastery was taken into the complex while the church was pulled down in 1580. The cloister, *het Pand* (the Pledge), remained while in the monastery-buildings some guildrooms and a residence for the stadtholder, the *Prinsenhof* (Prince's Court), was accommodated. The *Prinsenhof* served later (till in this century) as a meeting place for the States and now, among other things, contains the town-council room.

In 1598 Lieven de Key altered the staircase of the town hall (the present staircase dates from the 18th century and has been shortened in this century) and the entrances and a window on both sides. In 1625 he built a new wing along *Zijlstraat* in which the prison was downstairs; upstairs were some *heerlijke cameren* (rooms for the regents), i.e. the town-council room, now the chamber of burgomaster and aldermen (see no. 86).

In 1630, by adding a Gothic building, the architecture of this wing was continued towards the market-place, while under the direction of Salomon de Braij both annexes at the front were changed.

At the same time the windows of the main buildings got a new form and the main-entrance was provided with a new frame above which a town-crier's stool.

Property of the municipality of Haarlem.

86* Exterior along the front

Panel - 38,5 x 49,5 - not signed, not dated (1630?)

The town hall is represented in its state before the alterations made by Salomon de Braij in 1630. The crenellated building is the old 14th century centre; this façade is divided into two tiers. The ground-floor in front of which Lieven de Key added the flight of steps is only interrupted by some windows. The

façade of the main-floor is divided into five traverses with shallow niches, closed off on top with a segment-arch; in the centre of these niches, very simple windows have been cut out across half of the total width of the niche and over the whole height; on the narrow wall-surfaces, rising between the edge of the niche and the windows, a console is bricked in. This situation is only clear in the traverse on the north-east corner (on the left); in the second traverse is the entrance, a double round arched door decorated along both sides and on top with a statue; the remaining three traverses are for the greater part hidden by later additions. A crenellated wall serves as a cornice on the north-east corner enlivened by a small turret; along the west-side rises the octagonal late 15th century tower, which in its wooden crown displays its rejuvenated and richly decorated tiers. In the rather steep roof two rows of dormer-windows are inserted alternately arranged, while on the ridge two stork-nests were placed. On the right in front of the façade there are two out-buildings. The first stands between the third and fourth traverse of the main-building: the ground-floor shows a round arch resting on columns, with a window; on the corners the storey is closed off by two high buttresses, decorated with a turret; the roof is built against it, flattened on top, with a straight part framed between two buttresses resting on consoles; these divide the façade into three planes; the middle one has a wide cross-barred window and over it an oculus under a wider trilateral niche. The second out-building, the Tribunal, juts out much more with its beautiful crow-stepped decorated gable with small trilaterals; the ground-floor consists of three traverses with round-arches under which big windows; the storey is again divided in three shallow round-arch niches: in the middle one is the door, giving entry to the scaffold resting on five supports, a window and a statue; in both sides a window over which another trilateral as decoration; a very high chimney stands in the centre of the roof. On the right follows a third Gothic addition; the two tiers are again divided in three traverses in which the motifs (round arches on the ground-floor; shallow niches with windows and trilaterals in the storey) are repeated under the ridged roof. On the utmost right, in *Zijlstraat* stands the new wing added by Lieven de Key in 1625; of this only the roof and the high chimneys can be discerned. On the left of the painting one perceives another later out-building with big cross-barred windows in the storey, and chapels with windows and crow-stepped gable on the roof. In front of the town hall a large square, in which a procession of the citizen soldiery is enacted with horsemen and pedestrians who are watched by personalities on the scaffold and by interested citizens.

Inscription: none.

On the ground of the technique of painting and the similarities with the etching in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, after p. 48, the attribution to Saenredam is generally accepted (see i.a. cat. exhibition *Collectie J. C. H. Heldring*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1960, no. 33 and GUDLAUGSSON, p. 67). According to E. Plietzsch (written communication) who thinks like Gudlaugsson the filling-in to be by Pieter Post, the figures are painted in such a way in the architecture and connected with it that the distinguishing of two different hands becomes difficult. Other authors, however, are of the opinion that the filling-in is unjustly attributed to Pieter Post and presume that it is by Saenredam himself (cat. exhibition *Brussels* 1961, p. 36, no. 33). The presumed date of this panel is based on the inscription *Afbeelding van 't Stadhuis te Haarlem* (Representation of the Town Hall in Haarlem) *Ao 1630. Pr. Saenredam Pinx. Hk. Spilman fecit 1749*, on a drawing Hendrik Spilman (1721-1874) made from this painting (in the Municipal Archives in Haarlem). The outward appearance of the building in any case is of before 1630, when Salomon de Braij modernised the façades of main and out-buildings in Classical style. On the etching in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, after p. 48, too, the old situation is represented so that it can reasonably be assumed that the sketches and possible other preparatory studies i.a. no. 87) which have led to the painting, have been made between 1627 and 1630. The date with Spilman, however, does not give sufficient guarantee, so that this work, too, could have been made later, i.e. after the rebuilding, with the help of the preparatory sketches. In the Michaelis Collection in Cape Town there is a painting of the rebuilt state attributed to Saenredam (SWILLEN, *Saenredam*, p. 127, no. 209); the style, however, is completely different from Saenredam's (see no. 223). The same applies to an 18th century painting with the building in the same form which is recorded to be by Saenredam in M. EISLER, *Die Geschichte eines holländischen Stadtbildes*, The Hague, 1914, p. 52.

Provenance: Johannes Enschedé sale, Haarlem, 30 May 1786, no. 11; van Leyden sale, Paris, 10 December 1804, no. 81; C. S. Roos sale (anonymous), 24 April 1838, no. 50; Mazière Brady, Bart. collection, 1871; H. G. Bohn collection, London, 1885; H. L. Bisschoffsheim collection, London, 1903; P. Lugt collection, Brussels; Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, on loan from P. Lugt, 1933-1945; J. R. Bier art gallery, Haarlem; M. Frank collection, New York, 1949-1951; Messrs Wildenstein, New-York; purchased from Messrs Wildenstein, New-York, 1959.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of a selection of Works by early and modern Painters of the Dutch School*, Guildhall, 1903, no. 140

(as Berckheyde); *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 4; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 4; London (Canada), *17th century Dutch Masters*, University of Western Ontario, 1954, repr.; Oslo, *Fra Rembrandt til Vermeer*, Nasjonalgalleriet, 1959², no. 65, repr.; Utrecht, *Collectie J. C. H. Heldring*, Centraal Museum, 1960, no. 33, pl. 27.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 59, no. 226, pl. 56; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, no. 159, p. 155; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68, pl. 11; reproduced in *Weltkunst*, 15 September 1960, p. 8.

Pl. 88

Oosterbeek, J. C. H. Heldring collection

*sale: D. H. B. 1/2 London 17-5-1963
fl. 120.000 -*

87* Exterior along the front

Pen and watercolour - 17 x 26,5 - not signed, not dated (between 1627 and 1630)

This drawing undoubtedly served as a preparation for painting no. 86; it gives, besides the filling-in, the same picture with the addition of some façades at the north-side of the market.

Inscription: none.

The attribution is based on the ground of the technique of drawing. The date very probably lies between 1627 (preparation for etching no. 88) and 1630 (in which year Salomon de Braij modernised the façade; see also the remarks under no. 86).

Provenance: C. J. Fodor collection, Amsterdam, 1860; 24 December 1860 bequeathed to the town of Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 42; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 42; Cologne, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen, Handzeichnungen aus dem Museum Fodor*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 1955, no. 77, repr.; Vancouver, *International Festival, The changing Landscape of Holland*, The Fine Art Gallery, no. 69; Tel Aviv, *Masterdrawings from the Fodor Collection*, 1959, no. 79, repr.; Jerusalem (New City), *Masterdrawings from the Fodor Collection*, 1960, no. 79, repr.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 39, no. 13, pl. 55; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 31.

Pl. 89

Amsterdam, Municipal Museum
Fodor collection

88* Great Market with the Town Hall

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 16,1 x 23,6 - signed, not dated (1627 or 1628)

In the background the market is enclosed by the town hall as

described under no. 86. The north-side of the market (on the right) and the south-side are formed by big houses and shops with crow-stepped gables; at the corner at the utmost left stands the *Vleeshal* (Meat hall), built in 1602-1603 by Lieven de Key. A large group of people has assembled along the south-side of the market opposite the meat-hall, another group on the right next to the scaffold against the town hall while some horsemen and pedestrians are scattered in the market and the streets.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *P. Goos excudit* - in the lower right-hand corner: *P. Zaenredam Inuent*, and *J. v. d. Velde sculp.* - under the presentation a Dutch poem of three stanzas, each of four lines:

*Hier siet gy dat Paleys, dat Willem Graef en koning
Heeft tot zijn Hof gesticht, en Koninklijke woning:
Gelijk soo voor als na het Grafelijke Hof
Te Haerlem is geweest tot onser eer en lof.*

*Nu is het Raed-buys hier, daer van der Stede wegen,
Der Raeden besig zijn om goeden raed te plegen,
Daer 't recht gewesen word wanneer der twist ontstaet,
En daer die word gestraft die sich te buyten gaet.*

*Hoe kan een Land bestaen, al waer de goede seden
Al waer der wetten-tucht met voeten word getreden
Gelijkerwys de siel het lijf is 'slevens band:
So is gerechtighet het leven van een land.*

(Here you see the palace that William Count and King
has founded as his Court and Royal house:
Like before and after the Court of the Count
has been in Haarlem to our honour and praise,

Now the Town Hall is here, where for the town
the councils are busy giving good advice,
where justice is done when a quarrel originates
and where he who indulges too much is punished.

How can a country exist where all the good morals
where all the discipline of the laws is trampled upon.
Like the soul the body is the bond of life
so is justice the life of a nation).

This representation serves as an illustration in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, after p. 48, which approximately gives the date. The Municipal Archives in Haarlem possess the same representation

(VS XVII 29) with in the lower left-hand corner: *Ian Kraalinge Excudit*. For the different records and copies, see FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 166-167, no. 5.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 166, no. 5; S. A. WALLER ZEPER, *Het Auckamahuis, eertijds te Leeuwarden*, in *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, IV, 1924, p. 261, pl. 3; VERMEULEN, *Handboek II*, p. 246; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 54, no. 20, pl. 57; J. M. STERCK-PROOT, *De historische schoonheid van Haarlem, Heemschuts- serie*, 13, Amsterdam, 1942², p. 11, pl. 1; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 31; PETERS, p. 219, pl. 203.

Pl. 90

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

89* An improvised façade for the town hall

Pen and watercolour - 12 x 16 - not signed, not dated (approx. 1630?)

The town hall is conceived here as a broad rectangular wing closed off at the corners with square towers rising above the roof. The towers have a door on the ground-floor, two storeys with a high window flanked on both sides by a statue, at the top a half storey with low window and two niches crowned with crenellated wall and pointed helmet. Next to the towers appears a narrow wall with statue and crenel as high as those of the main-building. The latter is divided in four traverses by means of niches, in the shape as it existed in reality (see no. 86). The outermost two have a door on the ground-floor, in the storey a high window next to which again statues have been placed. The two centre-traverses with small windows under the niche-arches, show in a second shallow arch a door above which a small statue has been placed; the entry to these two doors is by means of a flight of stairs counting eighteen steps. Each wall between the traverses is decorated with a statue at the same height with the others. Above the crenellated wall is the steep roof with two rows of dormer-windows and on the ridge two stork's-nests. Small groups of people talking stand in the market-square; some walk on the stairs of the town hall.

Inscription: none.

From the typical traverse-division in niches, the windows and the sculptural decoration may be concluded that this building

represents the town hall of Haarlem; it used to pass for "The third Town Hall in Leeuwarden, formerly the old Auckama-house used for that purpose from 1618-1715. After a drawing by P. Saenredam (1655)" (P. L. MULLER, *Onze Gouden Eeuw*, II, Leyden, s. d., p. 220, and PETERS, p. 409, pl. 407), which mistake was rectified by E. A. WALLER ZEPER, *Het Auckamahuis eertijds te Leeuwarden, in Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, IV, 1924, p. 258-262. On the reverse of the sheet is with lead pencil in 17th century handwriting the date 1655 7/4; this is, however, not in Saenredam's handwriting (the shape of the 6 differs totally from the manner in which Saenredam draws this numeral. Gudlaugsson (p. 68) supposes that the filling-in may be by Pieter Post; the figures, however, were drawn at the same time as the building on the sheet. Nor can the style of drawing quite be called Saenredam's (compare with no. 8 and no. 103). The attribution as well as the date are still open to discussion.

Provenance: S. Feitama, Amsterdam, 16 October 1758, Kb. I, no. 53; P. Calkoen Wzn., Amsterdam, 10 September 1781, Kb. F, no. 446, sold to Nijman; Abr. de Haas, Amsterdam, 8 November 1824, Kb. F. 10, sold to Hulswit; H. van Cranenburgh, 26 October 1858, Port. F. 142, sold to Wilm; J. Camberlijn, Paris, 24 April 1865, no. 388; Donker and Wigtersma, Amsterdam, 11 March 1919; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 2-5 December 1941, no. 64.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: S. A. WALLER ZEPER, *Het Auckamahuis, eertijds te Leeuwarden, in Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, IV, 1924, p. 258-262 passim, pl. I; VERMEULEN, *Handboek I*, p. 479; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 64-65, no. 14, pl. 58; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68; P. L. MULLER, *Onze Gouden Eeuw*, II, Leyden, s. d., p. 220, repr.; PETERS, p. 409, pl. 407; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 30.

Pl. 91 Amsterdam, Mrs. P. de Boer collection

90* View on the Great Market

Pen and watercolour - 12,7 x 19,4 - signed, dated 1629

A view is given on the north-east side of the market. The house on the utmost left is the "Main Guard", situated at the corner *Markt-Smedestraat*; Saenredam represented it still in its early 17th century state, with high stone stairs, three storeys and attic under the crow-stepped gable in which radical changes were made later on (see G. H. KURTZ, *De Geschiedenis van ons Vereenigingsgebouw „De Hoofdwacht”*, in *Haarlem, Jaarboek der Vereeniging Haarlem*, 1942, p. 33). The other houses built along this side of the market have not yet been completely identifiël; especially the

castle with crenellated tower (on the right) puts us before great difficulties. They all have elegant, more or less decorated crow-stepped gables, several storeys usually outlined by horizontal ledges while the ground-floor was used for a shop. Two houses were apparently of wood, namely the left one, partly hidden by the Main Guard, and on the right the next to last house before the residence. In the foreground on the right is a part of the covered *Vismarkt* (Fish-Market) which in the 17th century was bigger than now and which ran in an arch over the market along the north-side of the Great Church. As filling-in there are playing children, a horseman, some persons walking and a market-stall with tradesmen and buyers.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner: *P. Saenredam fecit.*
A° 1629.

This drawing is to be found in the *Album Amicorum* of P. Scriverius, professor in Leyden, f° 153.

Provenance: Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 1872; purchased at Nijhoff's, The Hague, 1939.

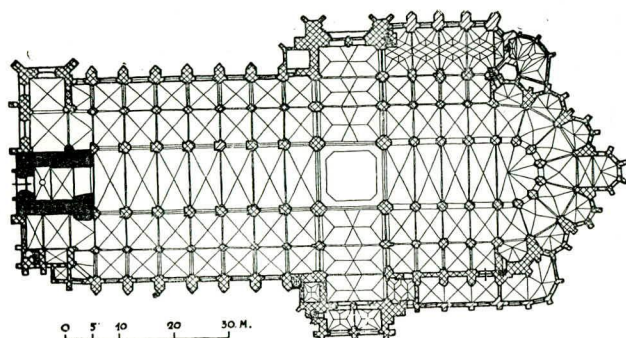
Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: D. J. H. TER HORST, *Het Album Amicorum van Petrus Scriverius*, in *Het Boek*, 1938-39, p. 289; J. G. VAN GELDER, *De schoonheid van ons land, Prenten en tekeningen*, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 27, pl. 55.

Pl. 71

The Hague, Royal Library

(*'s Hertogenbosch*)
BOIS-LE-DUC, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH



This church, originally a parish church, since 1366 minster, was erected on the site of the older Roman church of which the 13th century Roman-Gothic west-tower along the present west-façade was saved. The construction of the present church had started with the choir and the radiating-chapels about. 1350 and had probably been completed for the greater part before 1415. The plan was inspired by the cathedrals of Cologne and Amiens, making of St. John's church one the creations of the Classical Gothic. This (first) church was for the greater part destroyed in the big town-fire of 1419; in the same year Willem van Kessel started a new building on the place of the present choir, following in the main the old plan in which, however, important changes and extensions were made by the successive architects. Thus a five-aisle cruciform-basilica (nave about 1470 till the beginning of the 16th century) in which the Roman west-tower is preserved, with a sharply accentuated transept (both arms 2nd half 15th century), a big lantern-tower on the crossing (started approx. 1500 by Jan Heyns), a seven-sided choir with double gallery and seven radiating-chapels (of which the axis-chapel has one traverse more), the different annexes against transept and choir of which the chapel of the Illustrious Women sisterhood, situated north of the choir, is the most important; (for silhouette see no. 93). This chapel was erected between 1480-1496 by Allard Duhamel who directed the works from 1478 till 1495 and gave the church its present shape. Though inspired by the French examples St. John's shows typical Brabant-peculiarities like the shape of the triforium that runs on in the spandrels over the separating-arches (see no. 94). In this respect the church is related to St. Rombout's in Malines St. Gomarus' in Lier, St. Peter's in Louvain and Our Lady's in Breda; however, in plan and elevation as well as in decoration it is 'the best of the group of churches which are considered to belong to the Brabant-Gothic. The crossing tower was struck by lightning in 1584

and restored between 1591-1597. Since 1860 the church has been continuously in restoration; in 1871-1874 the west-tower was walled with machine-made bricks; the plastic decoration was replaced by too arbitrary changes; the weather-beaten outside-layer of stones was for the greater part renewed. The interior, too, was not spared and in Neo-Gothic freedom numerous renovations were made, i.a. images of saints against the pillars. Thereby the rich church-furniture lost two of its most important pieces: the high altar of Hans van Mildert (1616-1620) (see no. 94) and the rood-screen of Coenraad van Norenburgh (1611) (see no. 96). The church, however, still possesses beautiful 15th century choir-stalls (see no. 94) and other pieces of great quality. It is now the Roman-catholic cathedral of the bishopric Bois-le-Duc; the church is the property of the Roman-catholic parish of St. John, the Evangelist; the tower is the property of the municipality of Bois-le-Duc.

91* View on the fortress from outside the town

Pen - 5,2 x 26,8 - not signed, dated 23 July 1632

At the left in a landscape, indicated with a few small lines, a section of a fortress-part is clearly recognizable consisting of a tower and a platform on which a piece of ordnance; a soldier looks over the parapet. At the right of the drawing a group of houses with a Gothic church of which the incompleeted west-tower, the nave and the aisle, with turret astride on the roof, and the polygonal choir are clearly discernible. Between the two some groups of houses are a little more conspicuous. They have been drawn very unclearly and are small in outline, to be identified by way of the inscriptions.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner: *Een hoeckjen der stadt 's hartogenbosch in brabant* (a corner of the town of Bois-le-Duc in Brabant). - above the groups of houses (from left to right): *schans - Engelen - crevekeur - bommel - orten* - under the third group of houses from the right: *Den 23 Julij 1632*.

This drawing, which is not very clear, is attributed to Saenredam mainly on the strength of the handwriting. *Schans* and *Crevekeur* are two fortresses of the line of defense; *Orten* is the village at the north-east of Bois-le-Duc.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 55; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 55; Bois-le-Duc, *Zo zagen zij Brabant*, 1961, Kab. 3.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 57, pl. 108.

Pl. 92

Bois-le-Duc, Provincial Society
of Arts and Sciences in North-Brabant

92* Panorama of the town from the south-west

Pen, washed and watercolour - 4,8 x 37 - signed, dated 7 July 1632

In the foreground runs a side-branch of the Dommel which, together with the projecting lunette, forms part of the town-fortifications. Behind it rises the compact mass of the town in a long-drawn silhouette, in the middle completely dominated by St. John's Church, and to which many churches, monasteries, turrets and wind-mills give a whimsical aspect.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Pr. Saenredam* - in the middle against the bottom edge: *shartogenbos* - in the lower right-hand corner: *1632 den 7 Julij*

The word *shartogenbosch* is presumably added by another hand.

Provenance: Jonkheer van de Bogaerde van Terbrugge collection, Heeswijk; purchased at Casino sale, Bois-le-Duc, 23 September s.d. (1902-1903) under direction of Fr. Muller's.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 54; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 54; Bois-le-Duc, *Zo zagen zij Brabant*, 1961, Kab. 3.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 51, pl. 109.

Pl. 94

Bois-le-Duc, Provincial Society
of Arts and Sciences in North-Brabant

93* View on the town from the north, in the neighbourhood of St. John's Church

Pen, brown ink and watercolour - 13,7 x 39,9 - signed, dated 19 July 1632

The whole foreground is taken up by a big court-yard with a tree on the left; in front are three tree-stumps and some bits of a tree-trunk are spread around. To the left the court-yard is closed with some small wooden barns and a fence with a big covered gate, to the right by a brick wall, at the back by a low roofless building with many square small windows, a long wall in front of which a water-drawing figure, two gates and a row of small low stone-buildings. Behind it is the nunnery of the Sisters of Orthen, a rather heterogeneous complex of buildings the church of which built in conformity with the known type of the mendicant orders, is easiest to recognize with its turret astride

of the roof. To the right, on the background, behind some roofs and trees rises St. John's Church being rather accurately detailed in its construction with buttresses and flying buttresses and in its decoration of roof-banister on the nave, northern transept and two towers.

Inscription: on the small wall in the middle: *Het Orter-Klooster in S'hartogen-Bosch* (The Orter Nunnery at Bois-le-Duc) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Ao 1632 den 19 Julij. Pr. Saenredam fecit.*

Provenance: J. de Vos collection; de Grez collection, Brussels; presented by Mme la Douairière de Grez approx. 1911.

Exhibitions: Brussels, *De Jérôme Bosch à Rembrandt*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1937, no. 48, pl. XXXII; Paris, *Le paysage hollandais au XVII^e siècle*, Orangerie des Tuileries, 1950, no. 160; *Utrecht 1953*, no. 132; *Zürich 1953*, no. 193; Rotterdam, *Oude Tekeningen van Vlaamse en Hollandse meesters uit de verzameling de Grez*, museum Boymans, 1954, no. 39, pl. 15.

Literature: *Inventaire des dessins donnés à l'Etat Belge par Mme la Douairière de Grez*, Brussels, 1913, no. 3120; J. MOSMANS, *De St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch*, Bois-le-Duc, 1931, p. 467, 490, pl. 273 and pl. 281; L. VAN PUYVELDE, *Meisterzeichnungen aus den königlichen belgischen Museen der schönen Künste zu Brüssel*, Frankfurt, 1937, no. 17; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 56, pl. 110.

Pl. 93

Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts

94 Interior of the choir

Panel - 128,8 x 87 - signed, dated 1646

Standing next to the north-eastern crossing-pillar the painter has depicted the splendid choir of this cathedral with its rich furnishing. Along both sides the capitalless clustered pillars shoot upwards; their profiles merge into the ribs, separating-arches and wall-arches. Only in the seven-sided apse the vault-shields are completely visible; their ribs meet in the coping-stone exactly at the upper-edge of the painting. Under it follows the light-articulation of the choir, in the apse composed of naturally narrow windows with one jamb, and in the choir-side - only to be seen at the right - quadripartite windows, all with Late Gothic tracery. Lower down around the whole building runs the typically Brabant triforium: vertically the window-division is continued by slender balusters between which at the top are fixed a decoration of two rows of trilaterals, at the bottom an open-worked balustrade of trilaterals mounted

in a circle. The walls above the separating-arches between choir and ambulatory are also completely covered with sculptured traceries. The profiling of the separating-arches themselves runs on into the capitalless attached supports of the clustered pillars; between them there is a view along the right side on the ambulatory and on the radiating-chapels of which, however, only some windows and construction-elements are visible. The floor consists of big flag-stones, with sculptured tomb-stones in between. The painter paid much attention to the furnishing and decoration. To begin with the eye is caught by the Baroque high-altar built by Hans van Mildert between 1616 and 1620. On three steps the altar table stands with candle-bench; on it are four candlesticks and two small flower baskets. Over the whole width a big black marble base is erected, in the centre of which between two small columns a niche is placed holding a crucifix; along both sides a representation in relief. On this base at the left and the right stand white marble Corinthian columns framing the big altar-piece by Abraham Bloemaert, the Adoration of the Shepherds. These columns support an entablature with cutt-off segment-pediment; on these segments along both sides, a seated figure is placed, of whom only the one on the right, representing Justice can be identified. Between both pediment-segments there is a small black marble chapel: two small white marble Corinthian columns on an entablature support a profiled segment-arch; in the lower niche stands a white marble statue of St. John the Evangelist; a cartouche with a representation of the Holy Ghost and with two festoons connected with the entablature, decorates the space between the niche and the arch. In the middle this arch is crowned with a white marble statue of the Virgin on a small pedestal while along both sides an angel made of the same material is kneeling. Behind this altar against the triforium in the polygonal choir-enclosure, hang two escutcheons, at the left that of Philip II of which the inscription, except for the date 1598 in the centre, is illegible, at the right that of Albert of Austria with at the top the inscriptions ALBERTO AVSTRIA CO, the date 1621 in the middle, and underneath PATRI PATRIAE SILVA - DVCIS DICAT CONSECRAT; both tablets display several painted coats of arms and are embellished with pennants and shields. Against several pillars images of saints stand on consoles and under canopies and also two small mourning-tablets. Left and right in the choir are the Late Gothic choir-stalls (first half 15th century); Renaissance-screens with brass spikes partition off the choir-space from the ambulatory. Behind the left choir-stall stands the sepulchral monument of bishop Masius (see no. 97) with the sedilia straight opposite. The effects of light on this painting give an in-

timate peaceful atmosphere; the windows and the vaults of the apse and the north-wall of the choir are softly illuminated while the rest, except for the clear windows of the chapels deep within, remains in a quiet half-darkness.

Inscription: on the cheek of the left choir-stall: *A° 1646 Pieter Saenredam dit geschildert de Sint Jans kerck in SHartogenbosch* (A° 1646 Pieter Saenredam painted this, St. John's Church at Bois-le-Duc).

The furnishing, which had severely suffered during the iconoclasm (1566) and in the years 1629-1649, was partly replaced by Neo-Gothic pieces in the 19th century, among other things the images of saints against the pillars and the high-altar (see for this C. F. X. SMITS, *De kathedraal van 's-Hertogenbosch*, Brussels-Amsterdam, 1907, p. 227-231 passim). The painting by Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651), made in 1612 and removed from the altar in 1629 to be hung elsewhere, is now in the Louvre (SWILLEN, *Historia*, p. 335; L. DEMONTS, *Catalogue des Peintures*, III, *Ecole Flamande, Hollandaise, Allemande et Anglaise*, Paris, 1922, p. 99, no. 2327, from Milliott collection, 1793, measurements 360 x 200). According to J. MOSMANS, *De St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch*, Bois-le-Duc, 1931, p. 443-444, the altar-piece by Bloemaert represented the Holy Trinity with the Virgin Mary Mediatrix, dated 1620; the canvas was taken to Belgium in 1629 and came back to St. John's in 1845 where it was hung in the baptistery. The two large escutcheons were burned in 1795 (C. F. X. SMITS, *De Grafzerken, wapenen rouwborden der St. Janskerk van 's-Hertogenbosch*, s.l., 1912, p. 339). The tomb of bishop Masius, the choir-stalls and choir-screens are still present to-day. At the moment Saenredam made the sketch (no. 95, dated 1632) the altar-piece had already been removed: on the drawing a closed curtain hides the (possibly present?) painting from view. Perhaps Saenredam used a sketch by Abraham Bloemaert to fill in the missing painting; perhaps he saw the painting somewhere else. The two separating-arches on the right give the impression to be round instead of pointed.

Provenance: parish-church of Ixtassou near Bayonne, possibly presented by a Mr Papenbroek (wine merchant?) from Amsterdam, 1696; D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam, 1938; Messrs Wildenstein, New-York after 1945; purchased from Messrs Wildenstein, New-York, 1954.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 13, pl. VIII; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 13, pl. VIII; New York, *Dutch Paintings, The Golden Age*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1954, no. 74, pl. 74.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Historia*, p. 335, pl. p. 334; A. HEPPNER, *Saenredam's „nieuw realisme” in de XVIIe eeuw*, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XVI, 1939, p. 118, pl. 3; E. MICHEL, *Catalogue raisonné des peintures flamandes du XVme et du XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1953, p. 12; *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, National Gallery of Art, s.l., 1956, p. 160, no. 62, pl. p. 161; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 96 Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
Samuel H. Kress Foundation

95 Interior of the choir

Pen, brown ink, watercolour, and black chalk - 40,8 x 32 -
signed, dated 1 July 1632

This drawing, a preparatory sketch for no. 94, represents practically the same view. The effect of depth is less great here; instead of the altar-piece there hangs a closed curtain, while the altar-table is stripped of its decoration. The choir-stall to the left is more projecting; both the right choir-stall and the vault-shields are missing, perhaps because the drawing was cut at the top and at the right.

Inscription: on the choir-stall left below: *de St. Jans, ofte grote, kerck, in s'Hartogenbosch, in brabant, van mij Pr. Senredam 1632 den 1 Julij aldus naar tleeven geteeckent* (St. John's or great church at Bois-le-Duc, in Brabant, by me Pr. Saenredam 1632 the 1st of July drawn like this from life).

Provenance: Robinson collection; Malcolm collection; purchased 1895.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HIND, p. 45, pl. XXVI (1); SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 49, pl. 113.

Pl. 97 London, the British Museum, Printroom

96 View on the rood-screen

Pen, brown ink, watercolour and black chalk - 25,3 x 39,4 -
signed, dated 3 July 1632

In front of the sketchily indicated choir and ambulatories stands the monumental rood-screen constructed in white and black

marble erected by Coenraad van Norenborch between 1611 and 1613 on the site of its dilapidated predecessor. It is built up of three traverses, the so-called rhythmic traverse borne by coupled columns in between which four statues are displayed. The banister is composed of a succession of niches with heraldic figures, the presentation of the three divine virtues on consoles and panels elaborated in the upper-part, cut in relief in the lower-part. Four pair of candle-sticks serve as a crowning. At the right on top of the screen there is a small organ with opened shutters. The door in the middle of the screen-space is half opened; through the opening a part of the high altar is visible in the distance. To the left and right of it a niche with an altar block in front.

Inscription: on the base of the left column: *1632 den 3 Julij Pr. Saenredam* - on the step of the rood screen: *Dit is Het kostelijke ockzael van de St. Jans kerck in S'hartogenbosch* this is the precious screen of St. John's Church in Bois-le-Duc).

The organ was built 1616-1617 by Jan Jansz. van Weerd (VENTE, p. 113-114). This screen was pulled down in 1866 and sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London where it is still to be found. The inscription on the step of the screen is probably by another, a later hand.

Provenance: purchased Jacob de Vos sale, 22 May 1883.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HIND, p. 45, no. 2, pl. XXVI (2); HENKEL, p. 62; SWIL-LENS, *Saenredam*, no. 50, pl. 112; STEPPE, p. 282, note 64; VENTE, pl. 42.

Pl. 99

London, the British Museum, Printroom

97* The tomb of bishop Gisbert Masius

Pen and watercolour - 20,7 x 21,3 - not signed, dated 30 June 1632

The tomb is seen in front. It rests on a rectangular undecorated stone in the form of a rather simple sarcophagus. On the epitaph, framed by two profiled horizontal bands and at the right by a vertical frame in the shape of a hiproof (missing at the other side), the following text is to be read: *GISBERTVS MASIVS Hic iacet: quem bommelia mundo protulit, ducis Silua insula excepit, mors virtutibus Canisq[ue] autem* [this

word scratched out] *auctum intercepit. quid hic triumphas germana somni? ille ibi reddidit quod debuit; et quod non debuit in patriam transtulit, obiit ii. iulii. Ao. M.D.C. XIV.* Over it the broader tomb with profiled coping-stone; in the middle a skull under which the device of the bishop OMNIA MORS AEQVAT. At the top left on the tomb the bishop is kneeling on a hassock, turned to the right, dressed in a heavily draped cope, decorated with embroidered shield and bands. His sharply outlined head is bald on top, the face framed by a short pointed beard. In his folded hands he holds a crosier. In front of him on a cushion is his mitre, covered with jewels, against a kneeling-stool, which shows along the front a profile of two volutes; the side bears the episcopal coat of arms under a festoon; on the stool lies a book.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand-corner: 1632 6/30 - at the right next to the base of the tomb: *aen de ander zijde was oock soo een punt als dit is; is bij mijn versuym te maecken* (at the other side is also such a point like this one; is forgotten by me to make).

Based on the way of drawing and the handwriting the attribution is practically without any doubt. The tomb of this fourth bishop of Bois-le-Duc is probably executed by Hans van Mildert in or shortly after 1614, the year of the bishop's decease. It is a good example of an early 17th century tomb. It is one of the few pieces of furniture that, though it changed places and was damaged several times (on painting no. 94 and drawing no. 95 it stands against the north-wall of the choir), was preserved in the church (C. F. X. SMITS, *De kathedraal van 's-Hertogenbosch*, Brussels-Amsterdam, 1907, p. 227-231 passim; IDEM, *De Grafzerken, wapen- en rouwborden der St. Janskerk van 's-Hertogenbosch*, s.l., 1912, p. 324) and now stands in the southern ambulatory. The statue is now placed the other way around on the pedestal so that the bishop is on the right and the kneeling-stool on the left; crosier, mitre, beard and coat of arms are missing, whereas a crucifix has been placed on the kneeling-stool.

Provenance: purchased Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 11-14 December 1906.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam 1937, no. 52; Amsterdam 1938, no. 52; Bois-le-Duc, *Zo zagen zij Brabant*, 1961, Kab. 3.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 48, pl. 115.

Pl. 98

Bois-le-Duc, Provincial Society
of Arts and Sciences in North-Brabant

98* Groundplan and measurements

Pen and a little watercolour (red and yellow) - 34,2 x 51,1 - not signed, dated 29 June 1632

This drawing gives a schematic representation of the ground-plan of the church, on which all the important construction-parts are indicated: the five-aisled nave with the built-in west-tower, the transept with its heavy crossing-pillars, the choir with ambulatory and chapels, as well as the place of the rood-screen (see no. 96) and that of Our Lady's chapel. However, details like the composition of the clustered pillars, the position of the windows and such are left out. Several measurements are inscribed, some parts are elucidated by name.

Inscription: at the top under the edge of the sheet: a long horizontal line ending in two vertical small stripes and under it: *Dis Is de grootte vande voet. waer meede deese kerck is gemeeten. Den 29 Junij 1632.* (This is the size of the foot with which this church was measured. June 29th 1632) - in the chapel north of the tower: *kapel vande zilveren. St Jan.* (chapel of the silver St. John) - in the tower: *onder de Tooren* (under the tower) - south of the tower: *twont* (the Font) - in the crossing: *Nota. Dit bij verswym te wijt geteijckent moet zijn alst getal wtwijst.* (Note. This by mistake drawn too big should be as the number shows) - in the southern transept-arm: *Nota. Dit als Boven meede naer de cijfer getal.* (Note: this like above conform the number) - in the axis chapel: *lieu Vrous Capel* (Our Lady's Chapel) - left under the aisle: *Grondt teijckeningh vande St. Jans, (ofte grootte) kerck. staende inde stadt van S'Hartogen bosch. in brabant.* (Ground-plan of St. John's (or great) Church, standing in the town of Bois-le-Duc in Brabant) - under the ground-plan over the whole width of the sheet a scale-division.

The attribution on base of the handwriting cannot be doubted. The line at the top stating *Dit Is de grootte vande voet* (this is the size of the foot) is exactly 24,6 cm. long which measurement one can also find on the ground-plan of St. Peter's Church (see no. 102). The auxiliary-lines are still visible. The colours have been added later on.

Provenance: Jonkheer M. A. Snoeck collection; Jonkheer Mr. M. W. Snoeck collection, Zwolle.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 47, pl. 114; P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Pieter Saenredam als Teekenaar, in Elsevier's Geillustreerd Maandschrift*, XLV, tome 90, 1935, p. 377, passim, pl. 5.

Pl. 95

The Hague, Jonkheer Mr. M. A. Beelaerts van Blokland collection

('s Hertogenbosch)
BOIS-LE-DUC, ST. PETER'S CHURCH

The former St. Peter's Church on Ortheneinde was built as a memento of a visit to Rome by some citizens of Bois-le-Duc on the occasion of the Holy Year 1450. Elevated to parish church in 1569, the church was withdrawn from the Roman Catholic cult in 1629. In 1646 it was demolished. Shortly before the pulpit and the wooden vault, painted with episodes from the lives of the apostles Peter and Paul, were transferred to the St. Anne's chapel, which was then used by the Walloon Church. In 1819 this chapel was also demolished. The pulpit was preserved and in 1847 it was placed in the new church of the Walloon Reformed Church in *Verwerstraat*, since 1958 in use by the Evangelic-Lutheran Church.

99* Interior from the nave to the east

Panel - 40,5 x 55,5 - signed, dated 1632

From the second traverse of the nave which has only simple capital- and baseless pillars and rib-supports connected to the pillars and above which at the left a part of a blind window is still to be seen, the eye is directed to the somewhat projecting northern transept-arm and to the choir. In the north façade of the transept there are two wall-niches and a big window; in the east-façade up to the rood-screen above the profiling of a blind window, a part of the painted vault is seen while underneath there is still a wooden altar-baldachin. The triangular enclosed choir has five windows; in three of them the figures on the stained glass windows are indicated between the Late Gothic tracery. The rest of the choir-space is hidden from the eye by the late 15th century screen placed on a small elevation of one step and composed of five traverses. Its centre-arch is round and undecorated and wider than the four others showing accolade-arches with high finials. The columns, in this case marble, have remarkable cushion-shaped capitals. On the straight upright planes between the arches, consoles and small canopees are attached, meant as places for images of saints while the spandrels are filled with leaf-ornament. The balustrade consists of four panels, each with trilateral-niches, while in the centre a bay-shaped pulpit projects ending into a drip-vault decorated with a rosette; of the decoration of figures of this screen nothing is present. In the utmost left and right traverses is an altar block above which a wall-niche surrounded by delicate columns. In

the three remaining traverses the doorway to the choir is closed by an Early Renaissance choir-screen with brass spikes the left wing of the wide centre-door of which is opened. To the left on the rood-screen stands a late 16th century small organ with opened shutters and steeple-shaped crowning. The wooden barrel-vault over choir and nave is divided in bays showing painted scenes from the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul. The floor consists of big tiles with a few tomb-stones spread in between.

Inscription: on the cross-vault under the pulpit: *P. Saenredam* 1632.

On comparing this painting with the drawing of 13 July 1632 (see no. 100), we notice that the big tie-beams above the nave, the pulpit, the pews and the tie-bars of the rood-screen arches are left out; furthermore the separating-arch between the first traverse of central- and northern aisle is round on this painting. This rood-screen is only known from this painting and the next drawing. The organ was probably built by Hendrik Niehoff about 1550.

Provenance: private collection, Pau; Duits Ltd., London, 1958; purchased from Duits Ltd., London, 1959.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 100

London, Private collection

100 Interior from the nave to the east

Pen, brown ink and watercolour (grey, light-brown and red-brown) - 27,5 x 37,5 - signed, dated 13 July 1632

This drawing represents about the same view as painting no. 99, except for the addition of the pulpit, the pews, tie-beams above the nave and the tie-bars of the rood-screen.

Inscription: on the right pew: *Pieter Saenredam fecit* - in the lower right-hand corner: *Ao. 1632. den 13 Julij. de sinte pieters kerck, binnen S'Hartogenbosch in brabant.* (Ao 1632 the 13th of July, St. Peter's Church in Bois-le-Duc in Brabant).

The view-point from where this was made slightly differs from that of the painting no. 99, so that the steeple of the dividing arch between the first traverse of nave and northern aisle has been preserved, above it the blind window is also completely visible, but a small part of the painted barrel-vault is omitted.

This drawing is present in facsimile, the original being given as a loan to the exhibition *Holländische Zeichnungen der Rembrandtzeit* in Hamburg.

Provenance: purchased at Jacob de Vos Jbzn. sale, 22 May 1883, no. 476.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 51; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 51; Hamburg, *Holländische Zeichnungen der Rembrandtzeit*, Kunsthalle, 1961, no. 34.

Literature: E. W. MOES, *Teekeningen van de Hollandsche en Vlaamsche School in het Rijksprentencabinet te Amsterdam*, II, The Hague, 1905-06, no. 70; A. O. F. VAN SASSE VAN YSSELT, *De voorname huizen en gebouwen van 's Hertogenbosch*, I, Bois-le-Duc, 1911, p. 69; HIND, p. 45; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 54, pl. 116; STEPPE, p. 113, pl. 136; VENTE, p. 185, pl. 41; PETERS, p. 55, pl. 204.

Pl. 101

Amsterdam, State Printroom

101* Copy of a glass-window with the picture of Bishop Gisbert Masius

Pen, washed and watercolour - 39,4 x 24,8 - not signed, dated 9 July 1632

A chamfered undecorated Gothic window is divided by two window-jambs in three parts the two outside ones of which have a round arch at the top. Three saddle-bars form, by their horizontal partition, nine equal squares. In front of a vast and deep landscape with mountains and ships the bishop is seated, seen in front and dressed in alb and cape, kneeling with folded hands on a carpet upon which to his left his crosier and mitre are placed; underneath the carpet on a narrow band: POSITVS. IN. MEDIO. QVO. ME. VERTAM. NESICIO. In a garland of clouds and an aureole trimmed with winged angel-heads there appear before him on the right Christ on the cross with on a banderole the words HINC PASCOR A VVLNERE and to the left the Mother of God, over her a banderole with the words HINC LACTOR AB VBERE. In the top of the window in the middle the arms of the bishop with the motto OMNIA MORS AEQVAT is displayed, surrounded at both sides by a flying angel. Under the window runs the inscription: REVERENDI SIMVS DOMINVS GHISBERTVS MASIVS EPISCOPVS BVSC ODVCEN ANNO 1597.

Insription: in the upper right-hand corner: *In St. pieters kerck binnen S'Har. . . . bosch.* (In St. Peter's Church in Bois-le-Duc) - in the upper left-hand corner: 1632. Den 9 Julij.

The attribution is based on style of drawing and handwriting; furthermore Saenredam was in that time active at Bois-le-Duc. The letters *ogen* of *S'Hartogenbosch* have been cut off. It is not known where the glass-window was situated. The edge of the sheet is damaged at the bottom.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: Bois-le-Duc, *Zo zagen zij Brabant*, 1961, Kab. 3.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 52, pl. 117.

Pl. 102

Bois-le-Duc, Provincial Society
of Arts and Sciences in North-Brabant

102* Groundplan and measurements

Pen and watercolour (red and yellow) - 18,5 x 32,8 - not signed, dated 13 Juli 1632

The ground-plan immediately shows the very simple character of this church, of which the south-wall is longer than the north-wall. The west-façade stands diagonally on the longitudinal axis of the church. The aisles are considerably narrower than the nave. A transept in the proper meaning of the word is not present. Against the pillars of the nave the erection of the rood-screen is indicated along the choir-side (see no. 99). The aisles end at the start of the choir in a straight wall. The choir itself is rather wide in comparison with its depth and has a three-sided enclosure. Detailing of parts has not been executed. Several measurements are inscribed.

Inscription: next to the choir: *De gront vande Ste. Pieters kerck. binnen S'Hartogen bosch in brabant. van mijn gedaen den 13.en Julij 1632.* (ground-plan of St. Peter's Church in Bois-le-Duc in Brabant, done by me the 13th of July 1632) - next to the west-façade: *Dit is de Orterstraat* (This is *Orterstraat*) - over the whole length of the sheet a scale-division - under it a long horizontal line ending in two small vertical lines and under it: *Dit is de grootte vande voet daer deese meede gemeeten is.* (This is the size of the foot with which this has been measured).

The attribution is based on the handwriting. The length of the line indicating the foot-measure is 42,6 cm, see also no. 98. The auxiliary-lines are still discernible. This sheet is pasted on a

('s Hertogenbosch)
BOIS-LE-DUC, TOWN HALL

Basing our opinion on the age of the Maria clock in the present-day tower the middle part of the town hall drawn by Saenredam, must date from about 1370. In 1463 the town hall was seriously damaged by fire. From 1529 to 1531 drastic rebuildings took place. The façades of the town-hall (left), in 1515 fitted up for that purpose by the municipality, and of the guild-house St. Nicholas of the pedlar's-trade (right), which became the property of the town only in 1599, were then adapted to the extant middle part. The platform resting on pillars in front of the building, which had to be buttressed in 1632 as a result of decay, as well as the crypt date from that period. For the façade the architect Jan Darkennis carved the statues of Charles V, the duchess Johanna of Brabant (1355-1406), her consort Wenzel of Luxemburg and of Emperor Maximilian, who was a great friend of Bois-le-Duc. In 1607 the façade was decorated with brass weather-vanes and some simple shell-motifs in Renaissance style. In 1670 a complete rebuilding followed which gave the town hall a totally different look inside as well as outside. Only the cellars with the beautiful central crypt were preserved in their old form.

103* Exterior along the front

Pen and watercolour - 46 x 31 - signed, dated 10 July 1632

The façade of the original *Raethuijs* (town hall) is the narrow high wall with the crow-stepped gable in front of which in 1529-1530 the beautiful Late Gothic portico was erected. This latter one was placed in front of the basement of the main-building and consisted of an arcade of three arches, each one traverse deep, covered with cross-ribbed vaults of which the abutments are still visible; in the outside traverses a double gate-way opens to the basement. The upper side of the portico is framed by a balustrade with basket-work, in which escutcheons are mounted; this spot was probably used for announcements as well as executions. Behind it is the main-floor of which the upper part of the entrance and of the leaded windows remains visible. Above the main-entrance the water-drip decorated with rosettes is interrupted by the sculptured arms of the town held by two lions. The next floor has three cross-windows and is decorated with the statues of Charles V, Johanna of Brabant, Wenzel of Luxemburg and the Emperor Maximilian, on leaf-panels. A little higher, in the axis of the cross-windows there are

three small round windows, the middle one of which is bigger and contains a time-piece; above it the chimes *de perdekens* (the little horses) have been placed; between round-window and projecting decoration the date 1607 is still legible. The otherwise flat and undecorated wall has finally got another small round-window corresponding with the attic; above it the date 1533, the year in which the building was finished by Jan Derkennis, is carved into stone. The crow-stepped gable is decorated with shells, put there in 1607, small columns serving as pedestals for putti, and small lions holding shields and, on top, a weather-vane. Behind it appears the spire of the tower astride on the roof; three big chimneys like the small lions and putti are kept upright by tie-bars. The façades of the town-tarhouse (left) and of the Guildhouse St. Nicholas (right) both present an almost identical outlook. Entry to the cellar of the town-tarhouse is given by a stair-case at the left; the awned ground-floor with two windows and in the middle an open door, in front of which two men stand, serves as substructure for the storeys; at their height the façade is divided in three traverses by buttresses; in its lower part there are three very high windows, crowned with rounded arches; for the rest the bays are blind and only enlivened by rounded arches. Across the whole width at the top the house is closed off by a low wall enlivened by three bay-windows and two shells, on which the motifs of the town-hall, such as weather-vane and small columns are repeated. Of the St. Nicholas house the ground-floor is for the greater part hidden by the portico. Here, however, the façade is divided into four narrow traverses as can already be seen on the ground-floor but above all in the storeys. The windows are distinctly separated from each other; the decoration of this façade for the rest corresponds with its counterpart. At the right against this house follow the façades of two considerably lower shops.

Inscription: at the top: *RAET-HVYS binnen der stad S'Hertogenbosch* (Town Hall in the town of Bois-le-Duc) - right, at the top: *ANNO 1632 7. maent. 10 dach.* (1632, 7th month, 10th day) - below, in the middle traverse of the portico: *Pr. Saenredam fecit.*

This town-hall was replaced by the present building in 1670-1679; some parts such as the cellars were conserved. It is, however, better to speak of „a drastic transformation of an old complex, especially in decorative-architectonic respect than of a free new building” (M. D. OZINGA, *Het Stadhuis te 's-Hertogenbosch en zijn bouwmeester*, in *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, VII, 1938, p. 21). For conformity concerning measurements and di-

vision of the old and the new building, see M. D. OZINGA, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

Provenance: Jonkheer J. Groll van Franckenstein collection, 1833; C. Rolas du Rosey collection, 1864; C. Ploos van Amstel collection, 1880; K. E. von Liphart collection, 1898.

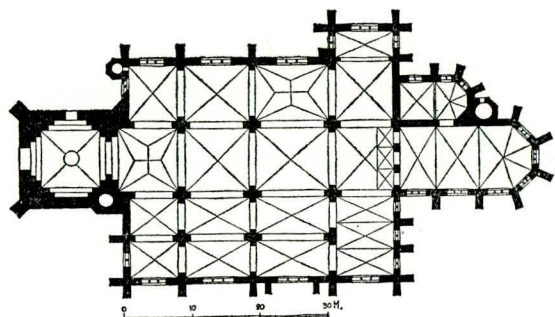
Exhibitions: Amsterdam, *Hollandsche Teekenkunst der Gouden Eeuw*, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1935, no. 50; Rotterdam 1937, no. 53, pl. XX; Amsterdam 1938, no. 53, pl. XX; Brussels 1961, no. 34.

Literature: C. F. X. SMITS, *Het Stadhuis te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, 2e ser., I, 1908, p. 213, 226; J. PH. VAN DER KELLEN DZN., *Afbeeldingen van de belangrijke prenten en teekeningen in het Rijksprentenkabinet*, IV, Amsterdam, 1908, no. XXIV; J. MOSMANS, *Het voormalige Stadhuis te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Het Huis Oud en Nieuw*, VII, 1909, p. 52, 53-61 passim; A. MULDER, *Het stadhuis te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, 2e ser., II, 1909, p. 28; VERMEULEN, *Handboek II*, p. 51, 53, pl. 375; HENKEL, p. 62; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 53, pl. III; M. D. OZINGA, *Het stadhuis te 's-Hertogenbosch en zijn bouwmeester*, in *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, VII, 1938, pl. I and note 1; PETERS, p. 288, pl. 313; VERMEULEN, *Handboek III*, p. 239.

Pl. 104

Amsterdam, State Printroom

RHENEN, ST. CUNERA'S CHURCH



This building is a Late Gothic hall-church, brick-vaulted, with a transept and an imposing west-tower. Because of its relics of St. Cunera, Rhenen became an important place of pilgrimage and probably thanks to this the church-tower is one of the most monumental of our country (see no. 103). Choir and transept are the oldest; they probably date from the first half or the middle of the 15th century. The nave which in its older basilican form matched the cruciform better than it does now, was enlarged to its present size in the second half of the 15th century (1451: indulgence for the benefit of the "construction decoration, enlargement and improvement" of the church). On that occasion every two of the older traverses were joined together to one big one. In this way a large hall-church arose without a clearly accentuated axis-direction; another peculiarity is the double southern aisle which is somewhat wider than the northern one (see no. 105 and no. 106). The splendid tower, constructed from 1492 till 1531 is related to the *Dom* tower of Utrecht (1321-1382) and Our Lady's tower at Amersfoort (second half 15th century). The original crown was replaced after a fire in 1897 by another, deviating in form. The church, too, was restored then. A new restoration of the tower was started in 1934. After the roof of the church had been burned down in the same year the whole building was taken in hand. The heavy war-damage of 1945 has now for the greater part been repaired. Because of all these events the drawings of Pieter Saenredam also as documents have become of inestimable value. The form of the original tower-crown and of the traceries can be very well judged thanks to these drawings. In the interior the very important Renaissance rood-screen, depicted by Saenredam, is still present. This beautiful work, executed about 1550, showing the style of Colijn de Nole was mutilated during the iconoclasm; already in Saen-

redam's time the scenes with figures on the low panels of the parapet were hewn off (see no. 105).

The tower is the property of the town of Rhenen, the building of the Dutch Reformed Church.

RHENEN, *Koningshuis* (KING'S PALACE)

This "Palace of the Winter-king" was built in the years 1630 till 1631 to the order of the States of Utrecht for the King of Bohemia (1619-1620), Frederick V of the Pfaltz, cousin of the Stadtholders Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, who was driven out of his countries. The palace was built on the site of St. Agnieten-nunnery, a little way north-west of St. Cunera's church. It was planned by the architect Bartholomeus van Bassen who was also concerned in the construction of the Stadtholder's palaces Honselaarsdijk near Naaldwijk and Ter Nieuwburg near Rijswijk. The building consisted of a central part with two connected receding wings, and an addition with a stairwell in the middle of the back of the central part, situated on a higher level. The long front on the northside was provided with pillars while curved triangular and broken pediments crowned the windows (see no. 103 and no. 104). In contrast with the beginning Classicism of the front-tiers reminiscent of Jacob van Campen (Coymanshouse in Amsterdam) the ends of this front were fitted with lively decorated gables in the spirit of the Dutch Renaissance. After the death of the Winter-king in 1632 the palace fell more and more into disuse. In the 18th century the Elector of Hannover inherited it; he had the building, already much dilapidated, measured and restored by this "Oberlandbaumeister" of Bonn (the measurements are now in the State-Archives in Hannover); but nevertheless the disrepair continued till the house was pulled down in 1812.

In some parts of Rhenen, fragments originating from the palace are still to be found which have been incorporated in other buildings. Together with two fragments of a sculptured frieze in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht they are the only remnants of the building.

104* Exterior of St. Cunera's Church and of *Koningshuis* (King's Palace) from the south-west

Pen and watercolour - 35,3 x 46,4 - signed, dated 27 and 28 June 1644

In the centre of the drawing rises the heavy west-tower, designed after the model of the tower of Utrecht Cathedral. The heavy and closed character of the lowest tier is only broken by the

projecting support-system of the porch and the section of a few blind windows. The first floor as large as the ground-floor has a big window flanked by a blind lancet between the buttresses at the corners; at the top it is covered by a balustrade with pinnacles, forming the transition to the projecting second-floor which is higher than the other tiers and also more richly decorated at the corners; it has a small blind window at both sides of the big louver-holes and is crowned with a balustrade. Unlike the floors, all square, the lantern is octagonal, open worked all over and richly decorated; above its balustrade a bell-shaped helmet on which a small lantern with cross. To the right of the tower is the churchbody: the three traverses of the southern aisle, with their gables, balustrade and windows, the slightly projecting transept with the small tower astride on the roof, and the choir-end are clearly discernible. To the left of the tower *Koningshuis* (King's Palace) is seen with big centre-risalite and two wings with crow-stepped gables. In the slightly undulating foreground several rows of trees, some pedestrians and a hay-wagon drawn by two horses.

Inscription: at the right on the wall: *Pieter Saenredam dese gemaect den 27 ende 28 Junij int Jaer 1644*. (Pieter Saenredam made this the 27th and 28th of June in the year 1644).

Provenance: C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen; Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot collection, The Hague; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 19 January 1904, no. 326.

Exhibitions: The Hague, *Tentoonstelling van Teekeningen van Oude Hollandsche Meesters uit de verzameling van Dr. Hofstede de Groot*, Haagsche Kunstkring, 1902, no. 139; Rotterdam 1937, no. 57, pl. XVII; Amsterdam 1938, no. 57, pl. XVII; Utrecht 1953, no. 144.

Literature: HOFSTEDÉ DE GROOT, no. 27; J. C. OVERVOORDE, *Het slot van den Winterkoning te Rhenen*, in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, IV, 1902-03, p. 74-78, pl. p. 76; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 161, pl. 119; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 29, 82; PETERS, p. 106, pl. 242.

Pl. 106

Haarlem, Teyler's Foundation

105* Tower of St. Cunera's church and *Koningshuis* (King's Palace) as seen from the north-west

Pen, washed and watercolour - 51,5 x 39,5 - signed, dated 29 and 30 June 1644

Of the tower only the second and third storey with the crowning piece are visible; compared with no. 104, the details of the

decoration and the construction of the tracery are better to be discerned here, but the proportions on the whole are much less slender. *Koningshuis*, too, is more accurately detailed, especially in the north façade (at the left), whose structure with horizontal as well as vertical division of the façade by means of pilasters and cornices is clearly perceptible, just as the decoration with alternating triangular and curved pediments above the windows of the ground-floor, and the volutes and crowning piece of the crow-stepped gable; the west-side, on the other hand, is plain, lacking decoration. Two dilapidated walls fence off the garden planted with trees and shrubs. In the foreground on the right two standing figures and a reclining one.

Inscription: on a wall at the left: [S]*aenredam dit geteijkt den 29 en 30 Junij 1644* (Saenredam drew this on June 29th and 30th 1644) - in the lower left-hand corner: [Ker]*ckx thoren der stadt Rheenen, ... Conincx van Bohemen zijn Hoff.* (Churchtower, of the town of Rhenen, the court of the King of Bohemia). The inscription in the lower left-hand corner is by a later hand. The drawing is cut along the left side; because of that a small part of the signature is missing. The filling-in in the foreground is attributed to J. de Moucheron (1667-1744) (sale-cat. G. Schaak, 1748, Kunstboek D no. 28).

Provenance: Gerrit Schaak sale, Amsterdam, 28 October 1748, Book D no. 28; J. W. Barchman Wuytiers sale, Utrecht, 17 September a.f.d., Book A no. 44; C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen; Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot collection, The Hague; René della Faille de Waerloos sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 19 January 1904, no. 325.

Exhibitions: The Hague, *Tentoonstelling van teekeningen van Oude Hollandsche Meesters uit de verzameling van Dr. Hofstede de Groot*, Haagsche Kunstkring, 1902, no. 138; Rotterdam 1937, no. 58, pl. XIX; Amsterdam 1938, no. 58, pl. XIX.

Literature: HOFSTEDÉ DE GROOT, no. 28; J. C. OVERVOORDE, *Het slot van den winterkoning te Rhenen*, in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, IV, 1902-03, p. 74-78, pl. 76; WEISSMAN, pl. 66; X., *De toren van Rhenen*, in *Beeldende Kunst*, VII, 1920, p. 62-63, pl. 50; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 162, pl. 120; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 29, 82.

Pl. 105

Amsterdam, State Printroom

106 Interior through the nave from the west to the east

Pen and watercolour - 38,1 x 53,3 - signed, dated 4 July 1644

In the nave the character of the hall-church is clearly expressed both by the fact that the cross-ribbed vaults of the three aisles (in the northern aisle and in the nave against the tower) are of the

same height, and by the absence of skylights in the nave. In the nave the disproportion, originating from the rebuilding about 1450, between the height of this nave and the span of its separating-arches, strikes the eye. Most of the clustered pillars in these three aisles have very simple bases; only the bases of the two pillars to the utmost left and right on the drawing are somewhat higher and more richly profiled; the separating-arches run directly into the capitalless arch-supports attached to the pillars, while the shafts under the transverse-arches and the ribs show small leaf-capitals also to be found on the consoles. Between the pillars of the nave the eye is directed towards the choir and the rood-screen. This is one of the first Renaissance rood-screens in the Netherlands and can be dated about 1550. The three traverses with somewhat elevated round-arcades support a balustrade, composed of a series of Ionic pilasters with panels in between which are blind in the lower-part, and which have tracery in the upper-part. Between the arches and in the spandrels sculptured figures are indicated. The choir-wall of the rood-screen has in the centre-traverse a window, which is surrounded by small half-columns and a pediment; on both sides of it is a doorway closed with sculptured doors likewise between small columns which bear entablature and pediments. Above the rood-screen appear the three windows of the apse and the vault ribs of the choir. Through the aisle on the right, - a double one as appears, along the transept-side, from the clustered pillars and the two separating-arches, lower than the separating-arch along the northern transept-arm - a part of the transept-arm one step higher and consisting of three traverses, is visible. Here two profiled, sharply chamfered windows appear as well as a corner-shaft coming down on a console and a horizontal ledge under the window-frames. The left side of the drawing shows a part of the northern transept-arm in which the vault is also caught by a shaft resting on a console; in the profiled window a stained glass window is sketched.

In the narrower northern aisle the star-vault and the draught-porch under the window can be seen. The floor in which are a few big tomb-stones, is sketchily indicated. As decoration in this space there are two chandeliers, two mourning-tablets and two name-tablets of which one on the south-western crossing-pillar, and one in the southern transept-arm.

Inscription: on the name-tablet on the south-western crossing-pillar: *15 voet afstant* (15 feet distance) - under the window in the wall of the rood-screen the optical point and: *3 v[oe]t* 9 *d[ui]m* - in the lower left-hand corner: *Ste Cunere kerck binnen Rheenen* (St. Cunera's Church in Rhenen) - on the base of the pillar at the right: *Pr. Sardam den 4 Julij 1644.*

Provenance: C. Ploos van Amstel J. Czn sale, Amsterdam, 3 March 1800, a.f.d., Book S no. 24; bought by Roos; M. W. J. Royaards van den Ham collection, Utrecht; Royaards van den Ham sale, Beyers', Utrecht, 19 January 1899, no. 2544; René della Faille de Waerloos sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 19 January 1904, no. 326.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 56, pl. XVIII; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 56, pl. XVIII; *Brussels* 1961, no. 36, pl. XI; Hamburg, *Holländische Zeichnungen der Rembrandtzeit*, Kunsthalle, 1961, no. 36, pl. XI.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 31; WEISSMAN, pl. 65; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 164, pl. 123; S. J. FOCKEMA ANDREAE-E. H. TER KUILE-M. D. OZINGA, *Duizend jaar bouwen in Nederland*, I, Amsterdam, 1948, p. 292; STEPPE, p. 247, pl. 86.

Pl. 109

Amsterdam, State Printroom

107* Interior of the nave and aisles from the south to the north

Panel - 50 x 69 - signed, dated 30 April 1655

From the double southern aisle this panel gives a view through the first traverse of the nave and of the northern aisle covered with a star-vault. In its wall a stained-glass window is placed in the richly traced window under which the rectangular portal gives entry to the church by some steps. To the left the traverses of the three aisles link up; in the background two windows of the northern aisle. To the right a vista on the transept with the rood-screen and on the first choir-traverse. The character of the hall-church is very apparent here because of the light parts which receive direct lighting and of the nave, which remains in the dark especially under the vaults. As decoration there are two chandeliers and two mourning-tablets as well as three small figures. The floor in contrast with all the other drawings of this church is completely marked here; three big tomb-stones lie in the foreground; on the middle one a chiselled epitaph on which signature and date are placed.

Inscription: in the middle in front on the tomb-stone: *Reen-sche kerck. pieter saenredam. dit met schilderen vollejnt den 30 april 1655* (Rhenen's church. Pieter Saenredam, finished painting this the 30th of April 1655).

The rood-screen is reproduced here in a very simplified shape without decoration (cf. no. 106 and no. 108). In former days the painting was copiously filled in with numerous figures; it even showed a pulpit against a pillar of the nave; these (probably) 19th century additions were removed in 1938-1939 when the painting was cleaned.

Provenance: before 1887 von Aretin collection, Schloss Haidenburg; von Aretin sale, 15 February 1887, no. 118; Innsbruck, museum Ferdinandeum; 1938 removed from the museum; Messrs Cassirer, Vienna; purchased from Feilchenfeldt art gallery, Zürich, 1950.

Exhibitions: London, *Dutch pictures 1450-1750*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1952³, no. 491, repr.; Zürich 1953, no. 190; Milan 1954, no. 142; Rome 1954, no. 139.

Literature: E. JACOBSEN, *Holländische Bilder im Ferdinandeum zu Innsbruck*, in *Oud-Holland*, XV, 1897, p. 217-218, repr.; JANTZEN, p. 85, no. 415; *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung*, Museum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, 1928, no. 679; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 17, 32, no. 200, pl. 125; H. GERSON, *Pieter Saenredam, interieur van de Cunerakerk te Rhenen*, in *Verslag van de Vereeniging Rembrandt over het jaar 1950*, s.l., s.d., p. 16-17, repr.; BRINKGREVE, no. 13; PLIETZSCH, p. 120, pl. 205; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 30; reproduced in *Weltkunst*, 1 December 1961, p. 13.

Pl. 107 The Hague, Royal Picture-Gallery „Mauritshuis”

108* Interior of the nave and aisles from the south to the north

Pen and chalk on blue paper - 30,5 x 39,7 - signed, dated 7 July 1644

This drawing represents practically the same view of this church as the painting no. 107, serving as a preparation for it.

Inscription: on the base of the pillar on the left: at the top: *Pr. Saenredam* - at the bottom: *den 7 Julij. Ao: 1644* - on the right of the same base: *6 voet afstant* (six feet distance) - down below in the middle against the edge of the sheet: *Ste Cunerekerck, binnen Rhenen* (St. Cunera's Church in Rhenen) - on the step of the porch in the northern aisle: *4 v[oet]* (4 feet).

Here the rood-screen is presented in its normal shape as described in no. 106. The drawing is cut at the left, probably also at the right.

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 451.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 29; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 166, pl. 124; H. GERSON, *Pieter Saenredam, interieur van de Cunerakerk te Rhenen*, in *Verslag van de Vereeniging Rembrandt over het jaar 1950*, s.l., s.d., p. 16, repr.; STEPPE, p. 247, note 6.

Pl. 108 Laren, Jonkheer Ir. Six van Wimmenum collection

109* Interior through three aisles from the south-east to the north-west

Pen and watercolour - 40,8 x 44,5 - signed, dated 5 and 6 July 1644

To make this drawing the artist posted himself under the outmost separating-arch between the southern transept and the transept-arm linking up with it. Between the southern wall (left) in which the first window with the draught-porch underneath is visible, and the first row of clustered pillars, runs the outmost part of the southern aisle; in its west-wall, under the big window with Late Gothic filling, there is, besides the horizontal ledge under the window-frame, a wall-niche in front of which, in the corner, a stone staircase with banisters leading to the storey of a small out-building. Between the two rows of pillars lies the most inside-aisle connected with the nave in the west-wall of which a part of the window-tracery is also to be seen. The nave itself, the vaults of which remain in the dark because of the hall-church construction, links up with the west-tower; in the doorway between them an organ-gallery is erected on which the back-positive and main-case, both with opened painted wings. In the corner to the right next to the organ the west-wall and a part of the last traverse of the northern aisle are visible. Here, too, the rich window-tracery is present. On the floor a few tomb-stones are indicated; a double Gothic chandelier hangs further down in the nave.

Inscription: below on the draught-porch: 1644. *Pr. Saenredam den 5 en 6 Julij* - between the bottom-edge of the wall-niche and the draughtporch: 3 v[oet] 10 d[uym] (3 feet, 10 inches) - on the base of the pillar at the right: *Ste Cunerekerck binnen Rheenen* (St. Cunera's Church in Rhenen).

The small out-building, mentioned above, which does not exist anymore (see ground-plan of the church), situated slightly projecting, between the two most western buttresses of the south-wall, was therefore rather shallow and communicated with the aisle on the ground-floor by way of a narrow door as appears from a ground-plan from 1864 (State Archives, Utrecht, topographical atlas of the province, no. 450). On a photo from 1934 (State Service for the Protection of historical Monuments, The Hague, negat. no. 14357) the presence of the former roof-line on the masonry shows that there was a storey on this building in former days; this roof can be seen on drawing no. 104 on the same height as on the photo. The function of this small building is as yet unexplained, probably neither sacristy because

of its site, nor library because of its small dimensions, nor baptistery because of the way it was connected with the church and because of its storey.

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 450.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 556; *Amsterdam 1938*, no. 85; Rotterdam, *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen 1400-1800*, museum Boymans, 1938, no. 350.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 30; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 165, pl. 121; BRINKGREVE, no. 14.

Pl. 110 Paris, F. Lugt collection, Institut néerlandais

110* Interior of the outmost southern aisle from the east to the west

Pen and watercolour - 31 x 16,7 - signed, dated 1644

This drawing represents part of the southern aisle seen as in the preceding drawing no. 109, though here the painter took up his position nearer to the draught-porch.

Inscription: below on the draught porch: 1644. *Pr. Saenredam*.

Provenance: J. C. Spengler collection.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 163, pl. 122; E. FISCHER-J. STHYR, *Seks Aarhundreders europaisk Tegnekunst*, Copenhagen, 1953, p. 109, reproduced as frontispiece.

Pl. 111 Copenhagen, The Royal Museum of Fine Arts
Department of Prints and Drawings

ROME

111* View on Santa Maria della Febbre and St. Peter's Church under construction

Panel - 37, 8 x 70,5 - signed, dated 1629

In the hilly and woody landscape at the left on the painting, next to a sandy road and sharply outlined against the light sky, the rather complicated building-complex is visible, composed of three parts. Santa Maria della Febbre is at the left behind the obelisk; it is a small round structure of which the higher centre rises above the windowless circuit; the flat dome is borne by solid buttresses between which windows have been hollowed out in the walls. At the right of this a part of the new construction of (present) St. Peter's is visible, namely the south-eastern crossing-pillar and, under it, the separating-arch connected with the façade of the sacristy; both arches are decorated with coffers. The buildings at the right enclose the chapels, built along the southern aisle of St. Peter's; on the wall of the latter a papal coat of arms is discernible. The slender obelisk in front of Santa Maria della Febbre is the Vatican obelisk (*agulia Sancti Petri*) standing on a small pedestal in the grass. Beside the road some construction fragments are scattered between the overgrown piles of earth. In the foreground a carriage drawn by two horses in which a cardinal is seated; he is attended by two armed servants.

Inscription: on the stone at the bottom of the obelisk: *P. Saenredam. fec. Ao. 1629.*

This painting, belonging to Saenredam's earliest works is based on a drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck (G. HÜLSEN-H. EGGFR, *Die Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, II, Berlin, 1916, p. 7 and fo 72 r). With regard to the buildings the drawing was faithfully copied; for Saenredam, even if he should have been in Rome, would never have seen the situation represented as it had already completely changed by the completion of St. Peter's Church at the end of the 16th century. Only along the left side of the painting a few small buildings were replaced by the vista on the landscape, one of the few Saenredam painted. Santa Maria della Febbre, demolished for the construction of the new St. Peter's Church, was a Roman mausoleum probably of the 2nd century A.D., known during the Middle Ages under that name or as the church of St. Andrew's; it may have been the intention to take up this central-construction

into the new complex as sacristy (T. MAGNUSON, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, Stockholm, 1958, p. 190); the statue of Sancta Maria della Febbre is in the present sacristy of St. Peter's Church.

Provenance: collections of King Frederic the Great of Prussia; Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 25 November 1924, no. 60, pl. 60; sold to Ant. W. M. Mensing; Ant. W. M. Mensing sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 15 November 1938, no. 96, repr.; sold to D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam; Jonkheer J. A. G. Sandberg collection, Wassenaar, 1950; D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam, 1951; purchased 1954 from D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 1, pl. 1a; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 1, pl. 1a; Paris, *Le paysage hollandais au XVII^e siècle*, Orangerie des Tuileries, 1950, no. 82; Leyden, *Kunstbezit van Oud-Alumni der Leidse Universiteit*, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 1950, no. 47, pl. 6; Delft, *Antiekbeurs*, 1951.

Literature: REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 2, 3, pl. 2; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 8, 27, 28, no. 38, pl. 28; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155; BERNT, no. 715, repr.; *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, National Gallery of Art, s.l., 1956, no. 61, pl. 159; PLIETZSCH, p. 123; *Art Treasures for America, an Anthology of Paintings and Sculpture in the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, London, 1961, p. 156-157, pl. 149.

Pl. 115 Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Samuel H. Kress collection

112* Interior of the portico of the Pantheon

Panel - 57,7 x 38,1 - signed, dated 1643 or 1653

The portico forms the hall and entrance to the big domed temple, built about 120 A.D. by Emperor Hadrian. Its rectangular ground-plan links up with the central-building with a long side. By means of columns and fluted pillars, between which two small apses have been hollowed out in the heavy buttresses of the building, it is divided into a broad nave and two narrower aisles. The painting gives a view from the right aisle along the longitudinal axis through the three aisles. The big doors at the right give entrance to the temple-space. The columns and pillars with their (somewhat heavy and deformed) Corinthian capitals support a massive architrave upon which two rows of arches bear the vault. The row of columns at the left form the open main-entrance. In the centre two persons dressed in togas stand talking.

Inscription: on the freeze under the arch at the top on the left:
P. Saenredam fecit 1643 (or 1653)

This painting is based on two drawings by Maerten van Heems-

kerck from the sketch-books in Berlin (G. HÜLSEN-H. EGGER, *Die Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, II, Berlin, 1916, p. 34 and fo 2 r, and p. 27 and fo 39 r).

Provenance: Vitale Bloch collection, Paris; private collection, Copenhagen.

Exhibitions: Kunsthaus Zürich, 1958-59.

Literature: X., in *The Burlington Magazine*, December 1959, pl. IX; PLIETZSCH, p. 123.

Pl. 112

London, E. Speelman Ltd.

113 View from Santa Maria d'Aracoeli to the south

Panel - 26,5 x 47,5 - signed, dated 1633

On the mountain, overgrown with bushes and plants, an obelisk stands in front of a sloping wall: on a profiled base stands a weathered substructure on the corners of which recumbent lions bear the tapering needle, ending in a point. Some construction-fragments lay about among the bushes. Behind the wall a series of buildings rise out of the depth of which the Colosseum (see also no. 114) and at the right the arch of Titus are easy to recognize. In the background the Albani-mountains.

Inscription: on the left part of the substructure of the obelisk: *Pr. Saenredam fec. A. 1633*

This painting is an exact imitation of a drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck, in his sketch-book in Berlin (G. HÜLSEN-H. EGGER, *Die Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, I, Berlin, 1913, pp. 7-8 and fo 11 r). Basing himself on this fact Van Regteren Altena could rectify the wrong theory of Saenredam having been in Italy (REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 2; see also PLIETZSCH, p. 123). The painting was destroyed in 1940 owing to military action.

Provenance: Paul Fourché collection, Orléans; presented by Mr. Fourché in 1904.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 2.

Literature: *Catalogue de la collection Paul Fourché*, Orléans, 1908, no. 244; REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 3, 4, pl. 4; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 8, 27, 28, no. 60, pl. 29; H. GERSON, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Haarlem, 1942, p. 98; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 113

formerly Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts

114* View on the ruins of the Colosseum

Panel - 42,5 x 72 - signed, dated 1631

The Colosseum, the large amphitheatre, built in the 1st century A.D. under the Flavian emperors, is represented in the dilapidated condition in which it was during the 17th century after having been used for centuries as a quarry. A part of the big outer-wall has disappeared so that on the left of the painting the ruined and bushy inner structure of the building appears. In the centre of the painting a small part of the outside shows the rigid structure and sober decoration. The ground-floor and the storeys are sharply divided from one another by a large entablature, borne by a series of built-in columns succeeding one another in a rather quick rhythm, in which the system of the superposition of the Classical Roman order is applied. In the first storey a few of the arcades between these columns have been bricked up. The upper-tier, i.e. the wall from which the velum was stretched out, is blind and only decorated with Corinthian pilasters. To the right of the Colosseum there are some other ruins. In the foreground between the partly overgrown ruins and hillocks a cavalry engagement takes place while a coach drawn by horses quickly takes to flight.

Inscription: at the bottom left: *Ao. 1631 P. Saenredam fecit*

A drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck served as an example for this painting (G. HÜLSEN-H. EGGER, *Die Skizzenbücher von Maerten van Heemskerck*, II, Berlin, 1916, p. 29 and fo 47 r). The filling-in is by the hand of Pieter Post (PLIETZSCH, p. 123).

Provenance: Swiss private collection, approx. 1880; Schulthess art gallery, Basel, 1958; Fr. Mont, Inc., New-York, 1959; Swiss art market.

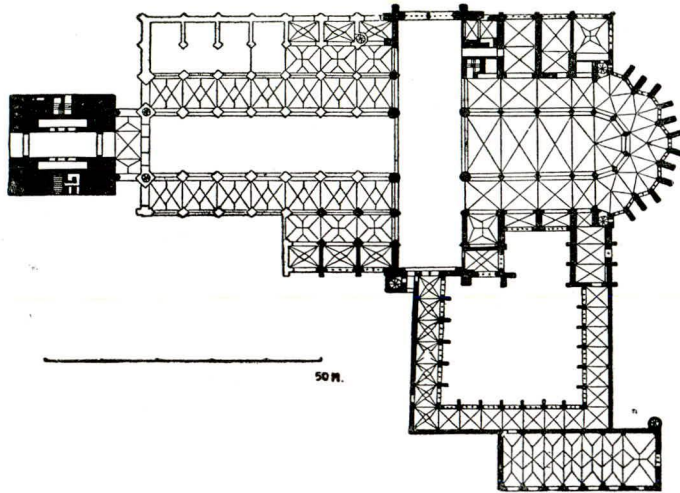
Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: PLIETZSCH, p. 123, pl. 209.

Pl. 114

Kettwig-Ruhr, Dr. Herbert Girardet collection

UTRECHT, CATHEDRAL (*Dom*) and CATHEDRAL TOWER



The most important Gothic cathedral (St. Martin's) of the Netherlands, was started in 1254 after the former Romanesque Cathedral had been seriously damaged by fire. The design is directly related to the Classical French Gothic. In the 13th century the ambulatory was finished. In the beginning of the 14th century the principal choir followed with the two aisles, according to somewhat altered plans. In 1321 a start was made with the monumental tower, which had been almost completely detached from the very beginning. Seen against the background of 14th century tower-structure its design is most original (see no. 116). Accordingly it served as an example for the construction of numerous Dutch towers of later date. Saenredam's interest for the exceptional design is made clear in the drawings no. 120 and no. 121. After the completion of the tower in 1382 work on the church was continued. The choir-lantern obtained its full height, its stone vaults and its flying buttresses. A beginning was also made with the cloisters. In the 15th century the transept and the west-wing of the cloisters followed. The former was finished in 1479, but remained unvaulted. Immediately afterwards the nave was started, which in 1517 was roofed in. This, too, remained unvaulted as is visible on drawing no. 197, our best documentation of this nave, which was destroyed in the hurricane of the first of August 1674. At the end of the 19th century transept and transept-crossing were provided with wooden sham-vaults which hide from view the wooden ceilings depicted by Saenredam. The building is the property

of the Dutch Reformed Church and a restoration is being prepared; the tower is the property of the municipality (according to the Land registry).

115* View on the *Dom*-tower and the old Town Hall from the *Oude Gracht* (Old Canal)

Pen and watercolour - 51,2 x 38,5 - signed, dated 15 October 1636

From the north-west, standing between the *Ganzenmarkt* (Goose-market) and the *Oude Gracht* (Old Canal) running at the right on the drawing, a view is given on two important buildings, namely the town hall and the cathedral-tower. The latter rises in the background dominating everything. On the (not visible) ground-floor rest two equally big square tiers with deep niches, which are closed off on the second joint with a partial open-worked balustrade. A likewise open-worked parapet between pinnacles forms the transition to the following, receding tier with its square ground-plan; the very high louver-holes are placed between two slender blind niches with tracery; a projecting ledge and a second balustrade with tracery form the upper enclosure. The eight-sided lantern in its turn receding is for the greater part translucent with beautiful tracery in its openings; the buttresses between and the gables over the arches as well as the upper balustrade crowned with small pinnacles, are very minutely drawn. The rather short spire bears a cross and a weather-vane. The tower is flanked by the nave destroyed in the hurricane of 1674; a small stair-tower, the balustrade on the gutter and the traceries of the windows are clearly drawn. The houses closely against the Cathedral-tower are not exactly discernable. The eight houses with their wooden façades and projecting storeys skirt the *Vismarkt* (Fish-Market); several of them are shops. On the corner of the town hall bridge, opposite which a big stone house with a beautiful crow-stepped gable and weather-vane is visible, lies the old town hall consisting of the houses *Hasenberch* at the corner and *Lichtenberch*. In 1546 Willem van Noort to whom the construction of a new town hall was entrusted levelled *Hasenberch*, standing in the *Oude Gracht* with its old façade, to the building-line of *Lichtenberch* so that it had to get a new façade. This was erected in Renaissance style and has three tiers, which were separated and closed off at the top by accentuated cornices, while the vertical traverse-division was made by pilasters with superposition of the orders. In this way on

each tier five traverses arose, having on the ground-floor an arcade, in the storeys cross-barred windows crowned by triangular pediments. In the centre on the roof stands a big dormer with richly decorated window: above it rises the turret from 1582, which under its slender pear-shaped helmet in its open-worked eight-sided upper-part accommodates a time-piece and chimes. Next follows *Lichtenberch* of which only the flat and undecorated elevated part of the mediaeval façade is visible; in the second storey a town-crier-stool was made; the doorway on the ground-floor was also designed by Willem van Noort in 1546 and built against the old façade (C. M. DE LEUR, *Het Utrechtsche Stadhuis en omgeving*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1933, p. 138-140). On account of the fanciful course of the street several other houses are hidden by the monumental residence *Het Keizerrijk* (The Empire). This house, built by Gerrit de Keyser about 1410 was in Saenredam's days town-property and contained the Weigh-House and offices (J. W. C. VAN CAMPEN, *Jan de Beyers teekening van de Ganzenmarkt te Utrecht*, 1767, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1947-1948, p. 92). On its ground-floor with a wide awning and a porch three storeys have been built, outlined by a projecting ledge. Each counts four big cross-barred windows, in a shallow niche over which a decoration with Gothic leaf-work. In the centre of the first storey a stone statue is displayed while a crenellated wall runs on top, of which the lower part is decorated with small trilateral suspended arches; on the right of the drawing a part of the *Oude Gracht*, as well as the town-crane is still visible.

Inscription: on the left on the roof of the porch: *Pieter Saenredam fecit.* - on the left on the awning: *Int Jaer 1636. den 15. October dese binnen uijtrecht volteijckent* (In the year 1636 the 15th October this finished in Utrecht).

The houses *Hasenberch* and *Lichtenberch* were pulled down in 1824 for the construction of the present town hall; some building-fragments are in the Centraal Museum (*Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der Stad*, Utrecht, 1928, no. 346 and no. 347). The *Keizerrijk* on the corner of *Oude Gracht* and *Ganzenmarkt* forms now one whole with the town hall and has lost its former outlook on account of rebuilding.

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 61, pl. XXI; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 61, pl. XXI; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 143; *Zürich* 1953, no. 203, pl. p. 87; *Ghent* 1958, no. 14.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 113; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 4; WEISSMAN, pl. 20; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *De eerste omloop van den domtoren in de XIVe en XVIe eeuw*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud Utrecht*, 1934, p. 75, 77, 78; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 131, pl. 126; BREMMER, no. 11; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *De Spijs van den Domtoren*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1938, p. 29-30, pl. 1 and 2; A. HEPPNER, *Saenredam's „nieuw realisme” in de XVIIe eeuw*, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XVI, 1939, p. 118, pl. 5; J. Q. VAN REGTEREN ALTENA, *Holländische Meisterzeichnungen des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Basel, 1948, p. 9, no. 11; J. Q. VAN REGTEREN ALTENA, *Dutch Master Drawings of the seventeenth Century*, London, 1949, p. XVI, pl. 11; SWILLENS, *Domtoren*, p. 40.

Pl. 116

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

116* The *Dom*-tower from the west

Pen and watercolour - 50,9 x 29,4 - not signed, not dated (September 1636?)

The front of the Cathedral tower is seen here from the west, from St. Martin's bridge. On the drawing the groundfloor can be seen with its almost undecorated walls and the passage, with the window of St. Michael's chapel framed in one richly decorated arch; the structure of the other tiers corresponds with the view represented by drawing no. 115. Here one can better see the fanciful form of the balustrades on the second and third tier (i.e. the Egmond-chapel) and the big one on top of the louver-hole. In the lantern hang the bells of the chimes while the ribbed vault, too, is visible through the traceries. The spire is omitted because of the short distance from which the drawing was made. At the foot of the tower a few houses are sketchily indicated as well as (on the right) the garden-gate of the Bishop's court. On the right in the background a few traverses of the southern transept-arm are sketched.

Inscription: on the left houses: *ST MAERTENS DOMS TOORN* (St. Martin's Cathedral Tower) - on the right house: *BINNEN UTRECHT* (in Utrecht) - in the lower left-hand corner: N° 29 [this scratched out] *Tour de l'Eglise de St. Martin, Cathédrale d'Utrecht*.

Both inscriptions are not by Saenredam's hand. The attribution to Saenredam is doubted because of the somewhat weak drawing of the small outbuildings around the foot of the church. (F. LUGT-J. VALLERY-RADOT, *Inventaire général des dessins des Ecoles du Nord*, Paris, 1936, no. 228; a letter from Mr. Vallery-

Radot.. Swillens on the other hand is in favour of the attribution (*Domtoren*, p. 35-44). If the attribution is right, the drawing will certainly have been made in 1636, very probably in September. According to Swillens (*Domtoren*, p. 37) the statement *stant teijckeningh* (situation-drawing) on the measurement (no. 120) would refer to this drawing of the Cathedral tower.

Provenance: Gaignières collection; 1714 in the Bibliothèque Royale.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: C. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, *Eine verschollene Handzeichnung Pieter Saenredams*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, 1899, p. 170; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 123; F. LUGT-J. VALLERY-RADOT, *Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord*, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris, 1936, no. 228; H. BOUCHOT, *Inventaire de Gaignières*, no. 6219.

Pl. 117

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

117* Interior of nave and choir from the west

Pen and watercolour - 54,4 x 42,2 - signed, dated 3 September 1636

This interior was made from the northwest corner of the most western traverse of the (then still existing) nave against its north-wall. Because of this the division of the south-wall only can be followed: very complicated capitalless clustered pillars with high bases support the separating-arches between nave and aisle; the quadripartite triforium-balustrade runs under the high windows; between these one perceives the abutments for the unexecuted cross-ribbed vaults borne by small fine capitals of which the shafts attached to the pillars run down to the bottom and are taken up in the base of the pillars. At the very top against the edge of the sheet a small strip of the wooden ceiling, provisionally replacing the vault, is still to be seen; the same covering is marked in the crossing, where the pillars support the abutments for stone vaulting. The choir with its three traverses and seven-sided enclosure has been drawn in all its details and shows like the nave the classical French construction of three tiers; only the pillars between apse and ambulatory, of which a few windows can be seen, have small capitals; the triforium in the apse is bi-articulate and naturally the skylights are narrow and high with High Gothic tracery over which cross-ribbed vaults. In the southern aisle, through the separating-arches, some fragments of vaults, ribs, transverse arches and shafts attached to pillars and a window are to be discerned. The furnishing consists of some pews, the choir-enclosure with the pulpit and, hardly visible against the southern choir-wall, the choir-stalls.

Five big chandeliers, a few escutcheons and the imitations of tapestries painted on the pillars form the decoration of this interior. On the floor some tomb-stones are indicated.

Inscription: on the base of the third pillar on the right: *Int Jaer 1636 den 3 septembr Pr. Saenredam.* (In the year 1636 the 3rd of September Pr. Saenredam) - at the bottom in the middle: *Den Ste. Maertens Dom kerck binnen uijtrecht.* (St. Martin's Cathedral in Utrecht).

The optical point is situated on the choir-enclosure next to the north-eastern crossing-pillar.

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 63, pl. XXII; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 63, pl. XXII; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 139; *Zürich* 1953, no. 200; *Utrecht* 1959, no. 45.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 562; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 1; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 40, 47, no. 120, pl. 157; BREMMER, no. 13; BERNT, no. 514, repr.; BRINKGREVE, no. 2; reproduced in *Weltkunst*, 1 December 1961, p. 13.

Pl. 118

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

118* Interior of the choir to the west

Pen and black chalk, heightened with white, red and light-brown - 38,1 x 31,2 - signed, dated 17 September 1636

This High Gothic choir, seen from the centre choir-traverse to the apse-wall is constructed according to the Classical French division. The separating-arches between choir and ambulatory are caught in the apse by small capitals; in the choir-traverses, however, they run without transition into the pillars, which also support consoles and canopies for statues of saints. Above the small wall-spaces follow the rather deep triforium with its trilateral-ornament and blind niches against the back, the windows with their tracery, and over it the vault of the apse, the ribs of which are caught by slender colonets. Between the arches of the lowest tier vaults and windows of the ambulatory and the chapels opening on the latter can be seen. On the left and right in the choir stands a row of double Renaissance choir-stalls, dating from 1563; between the pillars in the apse the tomb of bishop George of Egmond (1549) was built; in the centre, hidden behind a pulpit, is the Holy Sepulchre (1501-1507). On the left stands a Late Gothic staircase the function of which is still not completely explained. The floor of the apse

lies three steps higher than that of the choir. A triple chandelier and painted imitations of tapestries on the pillar decorate the interior.

Inscription: on the right choir-stall: across the whole length of the front: *Pieter Saenredam* - on the slanting connection-part: *den 17 Septem[ber]* - on the skirting on top of the back of the lower row: *Int Jaer ghe* [these three letters scratched out] 1636 - in the niche on the right indication of the optical point and 6 *voet* (?) (foot) - at the bottom in the middle above the edge of the sheet: *Ste Maertens Doms kerck, Binnen uijtrecht* (St. Martin's Cathedral, in Utrecht).

As the result of cutting some letters of the inscription got lost; the indication 6 *voet* is very difficult to read. The vault of the apse has been drawn in a more flattened plane than is the case on drawing no. 117. The staircase in the apse, which according to S. MULLER (*Oud-Utrechtische Vertellingen*, Utrecht, 1905, p. 19), led to the "sky-high tabernacle", has probably had another destination, because of its unusual place in the church and also because of its measurements; the same author states furthermore (*De Dom van Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1906, p. 16) that the tabernacle stands in the fourth traverse. In 1507 Jan van Schaijdijck (S. MULLER, *De Dom*, *op. cit.*, p. 16) made a wooden winding staircase; this could have been the staircase depicted on the drawing. It could have served to reach a gallery built on the Holy Sepulchre, existing in reality or designed only, for which, however, no date are at our disposal. This gallery, consequently would have risen above the high-altar. Possibly an important relic (maybe of St. Martin?) was exhibited or shown on it, as was the custom in other big churches (i.a. the cathedral at Cologne). On an engraving by H. Winter, dated 1668 (Municipal Archives, Utrecht) representing a graduation-ceremony in the *Dom*, a gallery on the Holy Sepulchry can be seen on which the city-trumpets stand. On the engraving this gallery can be reached by way of the above-mentioned staircase. In reality this would have been impossible because of the direction and the shape of the staircase of which two steps are still present (measurements and communication from architect Th. Haakma Wagenaar, Utrecht).

Provenance: Munnicks van Cleeff sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: *Utrecht* 1953, no. 140.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 2; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 47, no. 126, pl. 156; PETERS, p. 84, pl. 229.

Pl. 119

Her Majesty the Queen

119* Interior from the southern transept-arm to the north

Pen and chalk on blue paper - 38,5 x 52,5 - signed, dated 15 September 1636

Standing in the southern transept-arm close to the south-western crossing-pillar the artist has primarily given a view on the transept. In the middle of the sheet rises the crossing-pillar. Past this pillar the attention is drawn towards the background on the big north-wall of the northern transept-arm in which a big profiled and chamfered façade-window is placed, decorated with High Gothic tracery; in the panes the pictured subjects are vaguely sketched. A little higher than the centre in front of this window is a passage, supported by a slender colonet and with an iron parapet, connecting the triforia of the west- and the east-wall of this transept-arm. The last mentioned wall is partially occupied by the big late 16th century organ pictured with painted open shutters. The back-positive is worked into the Renaissance gallery; on a decorated substructure rests the main case, which as usually is crowned with three translucent eight-sided and rejuvenated turrets; on the skirting of the main case under the righthand shutter ET ORGANO of the inscription is legible. A wooden baldachin, painted with coats of arms, serves as a protection of the organ; it is fixed on the dividing-line of triforium (just visible behind the turrets) and skylights. Higher up there are some parts of the window-jambs. Next to the organ opens the northern ambulatory with its separating-arch on colonets; over it is again the triforium which runs on into the choir at the right next to the north-eastern crossing-pillar. Through the first separating-arch a part of the vaults of the first and second traverses as well as of a chapel are visible. The left half of the drawing shows the nave, of which the capitalless pillars with continuous separating-arches, the colonets and especially the form of the triforium are represented; this triforium placed lower on the drawing than that in the choir, but in reality of equal height, has another, later decoration and shows again the blind niches corresponding with the balustrade in the back-wall. The double chapels have star-vaults, of which the ribs and arches are caught by corresponding colonets against the pillars; the two blind walls form the enclosure where the northern aisles had not yet been completed. The interior is richly furnished; besides the already mentioned organ there are a double choir-screen with a pulpit, a pew for elders and deacons with richly sculptured wainscot against the south-western crossing-pillar, a choir-stall in the northern transept-arm, four big chandeliers, several

escutcheons, one of which, against the north-eastern crossing-pillar, bears Emperor Charles's motto PLVS OVLTRE and the date 1546. Further decoration is to be found in the painted imitation of tapestries on the pillars. The floor is very schematically indicated.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Den 15.en September int Jaer 1636 Pieter Saenredam geteijckent* (the 15th of September in the year 1636 drawn by Pieter Saenredam) - above the bottom edge of the sheet on the right: *Ste. Maertens Doms kerck binnen uijtrecht* (St. Martin's Cathedral in Utrecht).

The optical point is indicated on the wainscot against the south-western crossing-pillar on a small line marked on both sides with an *A*. The furniture has disappeared from the church; the organ, built by Peter Jansz. de Swart with his helpers from 1569 till 1571 and of which Salomon Vredeman de Vries and Adam Willaerts in 1602-1603 painted the shutters, was demolished in 1824-1825 (see cat. exhibition. *Haarlem 1961*, no. 61). The escutcheon of Charles V was placed in remembrance of the chapter of the Golden Fleece, held in the Cathedral in 1546.

Provenance: Munnincks van Cleeff sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam 1937*, no. 62; *Amsterdam 1938*, no. 62; Washington, *Dutch Drawings*, 1958, no. 54; *Haarlem 1961*, no. 61, pl. 31.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 566; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 3; S. MULLER, *De Dom van Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1906, pl. XIV; H. D. COSTER, *Het koperen bek van het altaar van St. Maarten in de Dom te Utrecht*, in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, 2e ser., II, 1909, p. 212, 214, pl. 5; G. VAN KLAVEREN, *De Dom van Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1926, pl. VII; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 40, 47, no. 124, pl. 155; VENTE, pl. 19.

Pl. 122

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

120* Sheet with three ground-plans of the *Dom*-tower

Pen and watercolour - 41,3 x 27,7 - signed, dated September 1636

This sheet shows the ground-plan and the measurements of the ground-floor and the first two storeys of the tower with the necessary measurements and explanations. Starting at the bottom there are pictured:

a. Plan of the ground-floor, mainly indicating the heavy mass of the walls with two stairs on which the whole weight rests; all

measurements are inscribed, also those of the shafts attached to the pillars which (on the left) had to bear the vault of the connection with the nave situated on the first floor. The following inscriptions belong to it: at the left: *Oost* (east) - below: *N° J en Noordt* (N° J and north) - at the right: *West* (west) - in the passage: *Doorgangh vande tooren beneeden op straet* (passage of the tower below on the street) - along the west-side: *Hier aen de westzijde staet in drie steenen utgehouden dit naervolgende geschrifte ter gedachte*. (Here on the west-side is carved out in three stones this following inscription in memoriam).

*doen men schreef M.cccxx ende een
leijtmen van mij den eersten steen
daer na M.ccc ende twe en tachtich
was ic volmaect somen siet warachtich.*

*Mc ter x bis. semel. i.
festo paulique Johannis
Turris Adaptatur qua
Traiectum decoratur.
Renovatum 1599.*

*Johan van den doem was zijn naem
die mij began aldus bequaem
begraven in de selue doemkerken
alsmen aldaer claer mach mercken.*

(When Mcccxx and one was written
my first stone was laid
after that in Mccc and eighty two
I was completed as one truly sees.

*MC ter x bis. semel. i.
festo paulique Johannis
Turris Adaptatur qua
Traiectum decoratur.
Renovatum 1599.*

John of the *Dom* was his name
who very cleverly started me,
buried in the same Cathedral Church
as one can there clearly see).

b. Plan at the level of St. Michael's chapel, on which the structure with the numerous niches can clearly be followed. Along the upper edge in two niches a small black rectangle and an *A* are indicated. Besides the inscribed measurements there belong

to it: on the place of the altar: *St. Michiels Altaer* (St. Michael's altar) - under the plan: *Dit is de Grondt van N° -2- ter plaetse van de onderste nisse (ofte eerste Solderingh vande Tooren)* (This is the ground-plan N° -2- on the place of the bottom niche or first ceiling of the tower) - at the top on the right: *A A sijn 2 gaten daermen eertijts de luijden in kerckerde, waren wel 33 voeten diep.* (A A are two holes in which in former days people were incarcerated, they were 33 feet deep).

c. Plan a the level of the Egmond chapel with inscribed measurements and precise representation of the structure of this floor. Under it the explanation is written: *Deese Grondt van N° -3- is vande tooren daer inde stant teijckeningh tselve staet aangeweesen (te weeten) aen den eersten ommegangh.* (this ground-plan of N° -3- is of the tower where in the situation-drawing the same is indicated, namely the first gallery).

On the left of the drawing is a scale-division not further described.

Inscription: at the top under the edge of the sheet over the whole width: *Eenijghe Gronden in Platte forme; vande Ste: Maertens Doms-Tooren, binnen vtrecht, Soo alsse van Mijn Pieter Saenredam: sijn ghemeeten Inde Maent September des Jaers 1636* (Some ground-plans in flat form: of St. Martin's Cathedral-tower in Utrecht, as they were measured by me Pieter Saenredam in the month of September of the year 1636) - along the right-hand side of the sheet a scale-division with underneath: *Een kennemer, ofte kermer voet, verdeelt in elff duijmen: met welcke grootte van voeten deesen in alles is ghemeeten* (A Kennemer or Kermer foot, divided in eleven inches: with which foot measurement all this is measured).

The left-hand scale-division is 14,15 cm long, the right-hand one 27,5 cm.

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 635; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 5; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *De eerste omloop van den domtoren in de XIVe en XVIe eeuw*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1934, p. 75; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 41-42, no. 121, pl. 158; SWILLENS, *Domtoren*, p. 35-44, pl. 2; J. W. C. VAN CAMPEN, *De Opschriften van den Domtoren*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1951, p. 45-62 passim.

121* Sheet with three ground-plans of the *Dom-Tower*

Pen and watercolour - 41,3 x 27,5 - not signed, not dated (September 1636)

As a sequel to the preceding drawing no. 120 the ground-plans and measurements of three other tiers are given, namely from bottom to top:

a. At the level of the first receding tier with inscribed measurements under which: 4. Between this and the next ground-plan a scale-division with the explanation: *kennemer, ofte kermer, voete grootte Als vooren gemeeten etc.* (Kennemer or kermer foot measurement, measured as before etc.).

b. At the level of the foot of the eight-sided lantern, with inserted measurements and in a rectangle indicating the room, with the keyboard of the chimes: *speelhuijs ofte Sitplaats daer men op de klokken Baijert*; (playhouse or seat where one rings the bells); under the drawing: 5. Between this and the next drawing a scale-division.

c. At the level of the upper balustrade (under the spire) with some measurements; under the drawing: 6; above it: 457. *Trappen de hoogte vande derde tot hier toe etc.* (Stairs from the height of the third up to here etc.).

Inscription: at the top under the edge of the sheet: *veruolgh vande Gronden: vanden Dom voorseijd* (Sequel of the ground-plans: of the afore mentioned Cathedral).

There can be no doubt about attribution and date when we consider their connection with the preceding drawing no. 120 and the similarity of the handwriting. The scale-line between 5 and 6 is 14,05 cm. long; the one between 4 and 5 measures 27,4 cm.; consequently there is a slight difference in length with the preceding number.

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

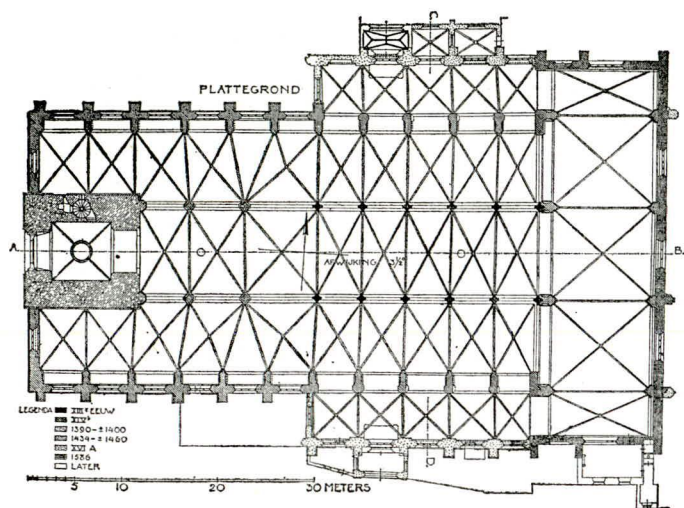
Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 635; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 5; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 41-42, no. 122, pl. 159; SWILLENS, *Domtoren*, p. 35-44, pl. 3; J. W. C. VAN CAMPEN, *De Opschriften van den Domtoren*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud Utrecht*, 1951, p. 45-62 passim.

Pl. 121

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

UTRECHT, *Buur* CHURCH



This is the oldest parish church of the town; few data about the first Romanesque church are known, however, After a fire in 1253 the present church was started, originally designed as a Gothic cruciform basilica of classical French design. Twelve clustered columns of the east-part of the nave still date from this 13th century design. About the end of the 14th century a start was made with the massive west-tower (the upper tier of which was never completed). Around 1400 the nave was extended in a western direction as far as this tower. In the meantime also a new choir had been built. In the 15th century the church was changed into a vaulted hall-church by enlarging the aisles. In the beginning of the 16th century another broadening followed by erecting second aisles (drawing no. 122 is taken from such a second aisle). In 1586, after the Reformation the choir was pulled down. After this the building underwent no more radical changes, so that the drawings by Saenredam represent a situation corresponding with the present one. Especially on no. 125 and no. 126 the baseless clustered columns still belonging to the 13th century design are clearly distinguishable (the bases are below the level of the floor). The building is the property of the Dutch Reformed Church, the tower belongs the municipality.

122* Interior through the nave from the south to the north

Panel - 58,8 x 41,6 - signed, not dated (anymore) (between 1650-1655?)

This interior is seen from the third traverse (from the crossing) lying on the right next to the southern entrance in the exterior aisle, and runs over the whole width of the church to the north-wall; under the big window, completely in the background, an arch opens on a chapel added at a later date in which the bottom-part of the window remains visible. Thus one gets successively: the outer southern aisle right in the foreground in front of the two rectangular pillars on the left and on the right of the panel; between these pillars and the following two baseless clustered pillars with small capitals lies the inner southern aisle; behind it, also supported by pillars of the same shape, the nave; next the inner northern aisle, of which the vault is supported by rectangular pillars on which also the vault of the outer northern aisle rests. On the left and on the right the other traverse of this partly five-aisled pseudo-hall church; in the nave there is a wall between separating-arches and vault-escutcheons in which, however, no windows are placed; consequently the whole church is illuminated through the windows of the outer aisles, of which some can be seen in the background. In the left-hand corner of the outer southern aisle one can just see the window in the wall where this aisle (not built over the whole length of the nave) ends. The floor mainly consists of big tomb-stones. A chandelier and a pew built around a clustered pillar serve as furniture. A big board on the right and a few mourning-tablets as well as three small figures decorate the space.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner: *Pieter Saenredam Dit gemaect... buer...* (Pieter Saenredam. This made.... buer...).

The inscription is partly scratched out with the result that the date has disappeared. This panel was probably made in the same years as no. 123 (dated 1654) and the construction-drawings no. 125 (dated 1653) and no. 126 (dated 1653), from which it appears that Saenredam in those years occupied himself especially with the working-out of this interior of the *Buur* Church. The style-similarities with painting no. 123 also point to this. Together with the painting mentioned before and another work, unknown at present, this panel forms the working-out of the interior to be found on drawing no. 124, split up in three paintings.

Provenance: van Winter collection, Amsterdam, until 1822; Six-van Winter collection, Amsterdam, until 1847; Jonkheer Dr. J. P. Six collection, Amsterdam, until 1899; Prof. Jonkheer Dr. J. Six collection, Amsterdam, until 1926.

Exhibitions: Utrecht, *Tentoonstelling van Oude Schilderkunst*, 1894, no. 175; Amsterdam, *De verzamelde schilderijen en Familieportretten van de Heeren Jhr. P. H. Six van Vromade, Jhr. J. Six en Jhr. W. Six wegens verbouwing in het Stedelijk Museum van Amsterdam*, 1900, p. 27, no. 130; Rotterdam 1937, no. 16, pl. II; Rotterdam 1955, no. 114.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 83, no. 419; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 59, no. 221, pl. 169; reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1955.

Pl. 129 's-Graveland, Jonkvrouwe H. M. A. F. Six collection

123* Interior through the nave from the south to the north-west

Panel - 40,7 x 33,5 - signed, dated 21 April 1654

Together with the interior of the preceding painting it forms the painted reproduction of the left half of drawing no. 124. The two pillars to the left and to the right, the left one of which is decorated with shallow wall-niches, stand in front of the traverse with the southern entrance. Between the clustered pillar in the middle and the one which, with a colonet, is just visible on the right of it, lies the nave, the vaults of which remain rather dim. On the left of these pillars follow, in the southern aisle, the windows of respectively the third and the second traverses (counted from the west-façade) between which there stands, with a colonnet, a supporting-wall decorated with a niche; between these supporting-walls shallow chapels have been built. On the right of the centre-pillar a similar supporting-wall and chapel with window are repeated. Three groups of two figures, a seated woman and a barking dog form the filling-in.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Pr. Saenredam f. A° 1654 4/21.*

The filling-in has been added later on.

Provenance: W. A. Coats collection, London; Christie's, London, 4 February 1927, no. 34; Messrs Asscher and Welcker, London; purchased 1936.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 57, no. 195, pl. 168.

Pl. 126 Esch, Dr. F. H. Fentener van Vlissingen collection

124* Interior through the nave from the south to the north

Pen and chalk on light-gray paper - 30,1 x 40 - signed, dated 2 August 1636

This drawing has been made from the traverse on the right of the porch in the outer southern aisle. It depicts in its entirety a representation set at an angle a little more than 90°. Through the pillars in the foreground standing between the two southern aisles the drawing is split up in three parts. The left-hand and the centre part are worked-out with a few differences on paintings no. 122 and no. 123; the painting of the right-hand part, of which the construction-drawing still exists (no. 126) is now unknown. Along this side one looks through both aisles and the nave into the corner of the northern transept-arm, where the vault of the small traverse against the wall is supported by consoles. Several chandeliers and tablets are suspended in the church.

Inscription: in the upper right-hand corner: *Pieter Saenredam geteijckent den 2 augustij A°. 1636.* (Pieter Saenredam drew this the 2nd of August A° 1636) - in the centre above the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Buijer kerck binnen utrecht* (Buur Church in Utrecht).

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 73; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 73; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 136; *Zürich* 1953, no. 197.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 21; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1148; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 111, pl. 165; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *Bouwgeschiedenis van de Buurkerk te Utrecht*, Rotterdam, 1936, p. 296, pl. 117.

Pl. 127

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

125* Interior through the nave from the south to the north-west

Pen and watercolour - 43,2 x 33,6 - signed, dated 7 November 1653

This construction-drawing is the direct preparation of painting no. 123; it consequently represents the same interior, except for the filling-in.

Inscription: in the middle of the pillar on the right in front: *Dit gedeelte vande buur kerck binnen Utrecht heb ick aldus om te schilderen voleijndt met teecken en op den 7 November 1653 ende den 21 April 1654, heb ick dese met schilderen gedaen op een Paneel van grote als dese teecke[n]ing* (on the 7th of November, 1653, I have completed drawing this part of the Buur Church in Utrecht in this way in order to paint it and on the 21st of April, 1654, I have finished painting this on a panel as big as this draw[ing]) - above the horizon-line on the left: *d'afstant 20 voet* (distance 20 feet).

The inscription, very difficult to read, was deciphered with the help of a quartz lamp. From *ende den 21 April* was later added by Saenredam; the blue-gray colour was later applied. The horizon-line, on which the optical point is indicated, lies approximately 1/5 of the height of the sheet. The reverse is blackened in, the inklines are traced.

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1150; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 34, 57, no. 192, pl. 166.

Pl. 128

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

126* Interior through the nave from the south to the north-east

Pen and watercolour - 42,2 x 32,3 - not signed, dated 8 November 1653

This construction-drawing served for the making of a painting after the right-hand part of drawing no. 124, dated March 21, 1654, but at present unknown. It represents an interior, better detailed than on the drawing, seen from the outer southern aisle to the northern transept-arm. As filling-in two figures and a dog.

Inscription: under the niche in the pillar on the right in front: *Dit gedeelte ofte gesicht van de buur kerck binnen utrecht heb ick aldus geyndicht mette pent te teecken en omme soo groot op een paneel geschildert te werden. Int Jaer 1653. den 8. November ende dit gedaen met schilderen op den 21 maart 1654.* (this part or view of the Buur Church in Utrecht I have finished drawing with the pen in this way the 8th of November in the year 1653 to be painted as big on a panel and finished painting

this on the 21st of March 1654) - with the optical point on the pillar on the right at the back: *afstant 15 v.* (distance 15 f.).

The attribution based on the style of drawing and handwriting is not doubted. The horizon-line on which the optical point is indicated lies approximately $1/5$ of the height of the sheet; several auxiliary-lines are still visible. The blue-gray colour was later applied. The reverse is blackened in, the ink-lines are slightly traced.

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht* no. 1153; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 34, no. 193, pl. 167.

Pl. 130

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

127* Interior through the nave from the north to the south-west

Panel - 60,1 x 50,1 - signed, dated 1644

Standing under the transverse arch between the third and fourth traverse (counted from the crossing) in the outer northern transept one perceives, against the porch on the right, the broad pillar decorated with shallow niches between the fourth and the fifth traverse of the two northern aisles. On the two baseless clustered pillars come down the separating-arches of the fourth, fifth and sixth traverses between aisle and nave, of which also the vault-ribs are partly visible. On the left in the background the west-wall with chamfered window of the outer southern aisle, which was not extended along the whole length of the church. In the middle the space is delimited by the southern aisle between buttresses onto which also shallow chapels were built, illuminated by big windows bricked up at the bottom. The floor consists of flag-stones and tomb-stones. A mural painting, representing Moses with the Tables of Commandment, decorates the bottom-niche of the pillar to the right, on which furthermore an escutcheon and a mourning-tablet are fixed. In the southern aisle hangs a big 16th century guild board. Besides the group of three men in Oriental costume, a small figure in the left aisle and a dog in the background, the filling-in consists of a boy playing with a dog and another boy drawing caricatures on the pillar on which already the four

sons of Aymon on the horse Bayard have been pictured. To the right of this, in white, a drawing of a woman.

Inscription: on the slanting side of the pillar in front right: *de buer kerck binnen utrecht aldus geschildert int Jaer 1644 van Pieter Saenredam* (the *Buur* Church in Utrecht painted in this way in the year 1644 by Pieter Saenredam).

This painting agrees with the right-hand half of drawing no. 124. The inscription is in white except the name itself, which is executed in black. Though W. Stechow attributes all the figures to Jan Both, N. Maclaren (*The Dutch School*, London, 1960, p. 380) thinks he discerns in the figures in the background another hand, probably that of Saenredam himself. This painting was engraved by C. Ploos van Amstel (N. MACLAREN, *op. cit.*, p. 381, note 14).

Provenance: van der Pot collection, Rotterdam; 1824 or 1825 purchased by Charles Galli, Edinburgh; 1866 Alexander Allan collection, Edinburgh; Alexander Allan sale, Edinburgh, 11 January 1896, no. 39; sold to William B. Patterson, Glasgow; Arthur Kay collection, Glasgow; 1902 presented by Mr. Kay.

Exhibitions: Edinburgh, Royal Institution Rooms, 1826, no. 35; York, *Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition*, 1866, no. 502; London, Royal Academy, 1902, no. 225; Birmingham, Museum and Art Gallery, 1950, no. 54.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 22; JANTZEN, no. 411; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 160, pl. 171; *National Gallery Illustrations, Continental Schools*, London, 1937, pl. p. 331; *National Gallery Summary Catalogue*, London, 1958, p. 216, no. 1896; *National Gallery Catalogues, Dutch School*, Plates, II, London, 1958, pl. p. 310; N. MACLAREN, *The Dutch School, National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1960, p. 379-381; reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1962 (wrongly as *Dom-Church*).

Pl. 125

London, the National Gallery

128 Interior through the nave from the south to the south-east

Panel - 58,4 x 49,5 - signed, dated 1645

This painting corresponds with the preceding and represents the left half of drawing no. 129. Consequently one sees again the two pillars between the northern aisles in the foreground, behind it the clustered pillars bearing the vaults of the nave, on the left in the background in the southern transept-arm the big chamfered window with its Late Gothic tracery, at the bottom partly bricked-up, and on the right two smaller windows in the exterior southern aisle; in the window-pane of the right-

hand one is an escutcheon with two crossed keys. Under the latter two windows big shallow wall-niches have been spared out. In the nave hangs a big chandelier. As filling-in four small figures are scattered through the space.

Inscription: at the bottom in the niche of the pillar in front left: *pieter Saenredam 1645 dit geschildert na de buer kerck, van utrecht* (Pieter Saenredam 1645 painted this of the *Buur* Church of Utrecht).

The filling-in is very probably by a later hand.

Provenance: Mrs. Whatman sale, Christie's, London, 16 June 1900, no. 63; Miss L. E. Whatman collection, Maidstone, 1937; 1951 inherited from Miss Whatman by Alexander James Trousdell, Meopham, Kent.

Exhibitions: Canterbury, *Old Masters from Houses in Kent*, Tower House, 1937, no. 24.

Literature: N. MACLAREN, *The Dutch School, National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1960, p. 381.

Pl. 123

Owner unknown

129* Interior from the north to the south

Pen and chalk on blue paper - 26,7 x 41,7 - signed, dated 16 August 1636

This drawing, made under the transverse arch between the third and the fourth traverse of the outer northern aisle is the sketch that served as a basis for the two preceding paintings no. 127 and no. 128, picturing respectively the right-hand and the left-hand half. The pillar standing here in the middle of the foreground and dividing the drawing in two halves has been omitted on the panels. Except for the filling-in, the interior pictured here agrees with that of the paintings.

Inscription: on the pillar on the left in the front: *Den 16. augustij int Jaer 1636. P. Saenredam* - on the pillar in the middle in the front: *BUIER KERCK, binnen utrecht* (*Buur* Church in Utrecht).

Provenance: unknown.

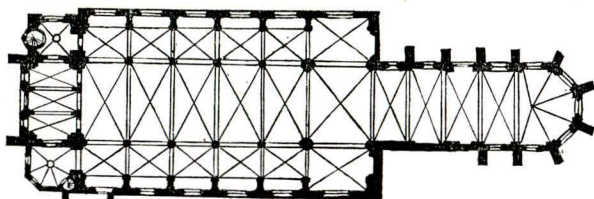
Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 74.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 794; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 21; JANTZEN, no. 411; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 115, pl. 170; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *De bouwgeschiedenis van de Buurkerk te Utrecht*, Rotterdam, 1936, p. 243, pl. 98.

Pl. 124

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

UTRECHT, ST. CATHARINE'S CHURCH



Around 1470 founded as a church for the monastery of the Carmelite Order. In 1529 church and monastery with hospital were transferred to the knights of St. John, who completed the nave in 1551. The church is a simple cruciform-basilica, with cross-ribbed vaults. The interior of the building was changed in 1860-1861 in Neo-Gothic style by adding many profiles in plaster and a complete polychromy. In 1898 a traverse was added at the west-side against which at the same time a tower was built. The top of the new façade became a copy of the old one. Until a few years ago, because of these changes, the interior did not bear any resemblance to the state depicted by Saenredam. Since 1955 a restoration has been going on, in which the Neo-Gothic additions are being removed as much as possible and the drawings by Saenredam for example no. 133 are used as a starting-point for the shape of the window-traceries. As a result the interior, for the time being with the exception of the choir, has regained its 17th century character (see no. 130). Since 1853 this church has been the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the diocese of Utrecht; the building as well as the tower are the property of the Roman Catholic parish of St. Catharine.

130 Interior from the nave to the choir

Panel - 116,8 x 95,8 - not signed, no dated (after 1636)

Standing in the south-west corner of the nave against the southern wall first of all the construction of the northern nave-wall can be followed. Three simple profiled separating-arches between nave and northern aisle are caught by slender columns - against the crossing-pillar by a half pillar with eight-sided profiled bases and double cabbage-leaved capitals, on which the shafts, which help to bear the cross-ribbed vaults, also rest. Over every arch is a high shallow wall-niche lined at the bottom with a horizontal ledge interrupted by the shafts; at the top one third of this niche is taken up by quadripartite windows; on the

wall-surface beneath the jambs, at their upper parts connected by trilaterals, finish off on small slender bases; in the centre between these jambs on half the height are two openings enclosed in trilateral form. Of the vaulting in the nave only one vault is completely visible, linking up with the crossing-vault which is supported along the nave-side by two capitalless pillars, along the choir-side by two three-sided baseless half pillars, worked into the wall, with profile (instead of capital). Behind it follow two traverses of the choir, where the cross-ribbed vaults come down on buttresses, and three narrow high windows in the apse; under the windows there are wide, low wall-niches. Of the south-wall of choir and nave only the rhythm of the constructive elements can partly be observed. Two traverses of the northern aisle covered with cross-ribbed vaults can be seen through the separating-arches; along the north-wall the vaults come down on the buttresses decorated with rather flat niches and between which shallow chapels were built. Through the aisle a view is given on the somewhat projecting northern transept-arm, in which only a part of an unprofiled chamfered window strikes the eye. The furnishing consists of a double choir-enclosure, in which, under the triumphal arch, a pulpit has been built, and of two choir-stalls in the choir. As decoration, besides the mourning-tablets, can be noted, the vault-decoration and the (no longer legible) inscription on the arches of the crossing. Several figures have been placed in the space of whom in the lower left-hand corner two men are probably outlining a tomb-stone. The floor consists of big flat stones, a few tomb-stones and small flag-stones.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam is on account of style-characteristics and similarities with drawing no. 131. The shape of hats points to the fact that the filling-in was applied between 1665 and 1670; it is possible that I. van Nickele executed this filling-in and perhaps completed the painting (SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 61), which fact would explain the absence of date and signature. Gudlaugsson (p. 66, note 15), too, thinks he sees the hand of Van Nickele in the filling-in.

Provenance: Steyn Schepen sale, 28 April 1911; Drouot's, Paris, 1928, no. 717; sold to W. E. Duits art gallery, Amsterdam; sold through J. Goudstikker to Second Viscount of Bearsted; 1948 presented by Lord Bearsted, with Upton House.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 72; Manchester, *Dutch old Masters*, Art Gallery, 1929, no. 44; London, *The Bearsted collection*, Art Gallery, 1935, no. 24; London, *17th century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1938, no. 153; London, Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1955, no. 27.

Literature: E. A. VAN BERESTEYN, *Geschiedenis der Johanniter Orde in Nederland tot 1795*, The Hague, 1934, pl. 5; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 53, 61-62, no. 222, pl. 177; *Catalogue of Pictures and Porcelain at Upton House*, London, 1950, p. 30, no. 128; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 66, note 15.

Pl. 131

Banbury, Upton House (National Trust)

131* Interior from the nave to the choir

Pen, chalk and a little watercolour - 37,7 x 50,7 - signed, dated 2 October 1636

This drawing, which Saenredam made as a preparation for painting no. 130, shows practically the same interior. There is no filling-in; along the upper-edge less is to be seen of the vaults; between the columns tie-bars are made and on the right one perceives some parts of vaults and buttresses of the southern aisle.

Inscription: on the base of the column at the right: *Pieter Saenredam* - under it: *Int Jaer 1636 den 2en october* (In the year 1636 the 2nd of October) - in the middle at the bottom: *Ste. Catrine kerck, binnen uijtrecht* (St. Catherine's Church, in Utrecht).

Against the north-western crossing-pillar the half pillars catching the first separating-arch are very vaguely indicated so that the (half) capital gives the impression to remain without support.

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 81; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 81; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 142; *Zürich* 1953, no. 202.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 887; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 25; WEISSMAN, pl. 69; E. A. VAN BERESTEYN, *Geschiedenis der Johanniter Orde in Nederland tot 1795*, The Hague, 1934, pl. 3; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 128, pl. 176; *Catalogue of Pictures and Porcelain at Upton House*, London, 1950, p. 30.

Pl. 132

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

132* Interior from the northern aisle to the southern transept-arm

Pen and chalk (black, white and a little yellow) - 30,3 x 40,1 - signed, dated 20 October 1636

For this interior the artist chose as view-point the third

traverse (from the crossing) in the northern aisle from which he directed himself towards the south-eastern crossing-pillar. On the left, between the wall and the two columns runs the northern aisle, opening on the transept, of which the separating-arch partly disappears in the crossing-pillar. In the northern transept-arm the east-wall with its niches is vaguely visible. Through both separating-arches of the northern aisle the eye is directed towards the south-wall of the choir with its niches, short shafts attached to pillars on consoles and vault-abutments. The triumphal arch and the separating-arch of the southern transept-arm come down on the three-sided south-eastern crossing-pillar. Against the east-wall of the southern transept-arm the organ is placed; above a five-sided gallery, of which the parts are decorated with a carved pilaster- and arch-order, rises the main case crowned with three turrets on a beautifully decorated substructure; the painted shutters are closed; the organ has no back-positive. At the utmost right on the drawing, between the front column and the edge of the sheet a fragment of the south-wall of the nave is just visible as well as a part of two traverses of the southern aisle with a window, a buttress and some vault-ribs. Pieces of furnishing worth mentioning are the choir-enclosure with a barely visible part of the sound-board of the pulpit, and one pew for elders and deacons in each transept-arm.

Inscription: on the tomb-stone in the centre in the front: *Int Jaer 1636 Pieter Saenredam den 20en October* (In the year 1636 Pieter Saenredam the 20th of October) - at the bottom in the centre above the edge of the sheet: *Ste. Catrijne kerck binnen uijtrecht* (St. Catherine's Church in Utrecht).

The organ must have been built about 1550, possibly by Cornelis Gerritsz. or by Pieter Jansz. de Swart; in later years it disappeared (cat. exhibition *Haarlem* 1961, p. 167, no. 59).

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 80; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 80; *Haarlem* 1961, no. 59, pl. 30.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 26; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1248; E. A. VAN BERESTEYN, *Geschiedenis der Johanniter Orde in Nederland tot 1795*, The Hague, 1934, pl. 2; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 133, pl. 178; VENTE, pl. 18.

Pl. 133

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

133* Interior through the transept from the south to the north

Pen, black and white chalk, and a little watercolour - 30,2 x 39,3
- signed, not dated (1636, October?)

From the south-western crossing-pillar, on which a mourning-tablet hangs, the centre of the sheet shows the crossing and the northern transept-arm. The latter one consists only of one traverse of which two vault-ribs and the separating-arch, along the side of the crossing, are caught by a heavy column on the left, and on the right by a baseless three-sided half pillar, worked into the choir-wall; the two other ribs come down on small consoles in the corners; in the north-wall there is a window with Late Gothic filling and a stained glass window; under it, above a pronounced horizontal ledge, hangs a small escutcheon. In the north-wall of the choir two high narrow tripartite windows are visible, because the south-eastern crossing-pillar has been left out. The lower part of these windows has been bricked up; in the upper part an unidentifiable subject is depicted. In the nave the vault-ribs and transverse arches are supported by shafts standing on the columns with cabbage-leaved capitals; in the window-niches only the upper part is supplied with glass while the jambs are traced over the blind surface to the bottom where they rest on narrow bases. In the northern aisle one perceives some more ribs coming down along the wall-side on a three-sided pilaster, and a few windows.

Inscription: at the bottom of the shaft of the column on the left: *P. Saenredam* - at the bottom of the north-wall of the transept-arm the optical point is indicated and: *6 voet* (6 feet) - at the bottom right, above the edge of the sheet: *De Ste. Catryne kerck, binnen uijtrecht* (St. Catherine's Church in Utrecht).

As date 1636, the year in which Saenredam worked in Utrecht, can undoubtedly be accepted; judging from the dates of the drawings no. 132 and no. 133, this sketch was probably made in October.

Provenance: purchased 1900.

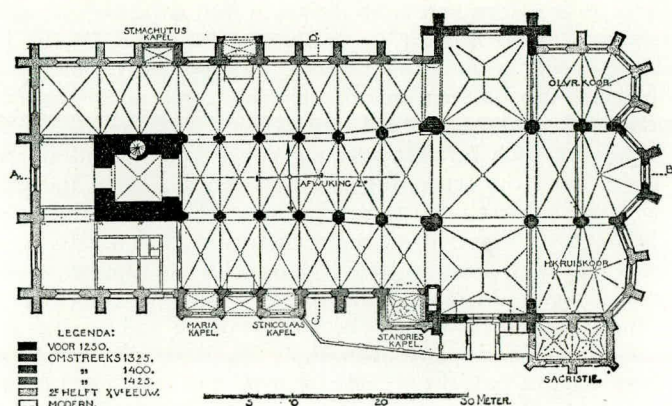
Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 82; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 82.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1250; E. A. VAN BERESTEYN, *Geschiedenis der Johanniter Orde in Nederland tot 1795*, The Hague, 1934, pl. 4; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 132, pl. 179.

Pl. 134

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

UTRECHT, ST. JAMES'S CHURCH



In former days one of the four parish churches, designed in the 13th century as an early Gothic cruciform basilica with west-tower. At the end of the 14th century a new transept was built with a central choir and two small side-choirs against it. In the beginning of the 15th century new aisles were made with the same measurements as the nave with the result that the church became a hall-church. Around 1460 these aisles were lengthened to the west along and past the tower. Because of the space produced in between at the westside of the tower, it was built in from that moment. At the end of the 15th century the small side-choirs were replaced by bigger ones; first the southern, the choir of the Holy Cross, and then the northern, Our Lady's choir. Mainly this part of the choir has been depicted by Saenredam (see i.a. no. 134). At present it is practically just as it was in the 17th century except for a removal of the beautiful brass screen (see no. 136) to the east end on account of a redecoration in 1882 - from this date several additions to the furniture in Neo-Renaissance style. The Late Gothic screens for the side-choirs date from 1516-1519 and were made by Jan van den Ende of Malines; the Early Renaissance screen from 1566 is by Jan de Clerck of Antwerp. The building is the property of the Dutch Reformed Church; the tower which got a new spire in 1953 is the property of the municipality.

134 Interior through the choir from the south

Panel - 55,3 x 45,7 - signed, dated 1642

The choir is seen here from the south-west corner of the southern choir-chapel (the Holy Cross choir). The pillar on the left in the painting is the south-eastern crossing-pillar: on its composite parts, as can be seen on this painting, come down three broad, flat and soberly profiled separating-arches: on the left the separating-arch between crossing and southern transept-arm; in the middle the separating-arch between the same transept-arm and the Holy Cross choir; on the right the separating-arches between the traverses of main choir and Holy Cross choir. On this last arch rests a wall which helps to support the cross-ribbed vault. In the middle stands a baseless, composite pillar supporting the vaults of the choir-traverse and of the apse of the Holy Cross choir as well as the separating-arch between both choirs, which is very narrow but reaches up to the vault. On the right behind this, still in the Holy Cross choir, is a part of the choir-enclosure, with vault and window. Under the window-sill runs a horizontal ledge; at its height the profile of the separating-arch starts between both apses. Only the crossing-pillar shows imposts; the other arches run directly into their supports; every vault-rib in this choir is caught up on a small console. In the space of the main-choir the same architectural elements are repeated; the vault-ribs rest on small leaf-capitals in their turn supported by rib-supports attached to pillars which are borne either by an incomplete or by a later cut-off colonet as on the pillar (rather a support-wall) in the background. In the apse-wall two profiled High Gothic windows (approx. 1400) and two wall-niches are to be perceived. Behind the main-choir lies the northern side-choir, the north-wall and an apse-wall of which both with big window, can be seen through the separating-arches. On the left in the front stands a part of the beautiful Late Gothic choir-screen, made between 1516-1519 by Jan van den Ende from Malines (frontal view on drawing no. 137). Over this screen in the distance one sees some ribs of the transept. As decoration serve four big escutcheons: in the background the arms of the Quellenborg family; on the pillar to the left that of the Byler family, on which, besides the signature, also can be read *obiit quarta decem... 1628*; on the right next to it an escutcheon of the Meerenborg family on which can be read *D.O.M. obiit 19. Junij 1631*; against the wall on the right a second escutcheon of the Byler family on which *obiit 27. Januari A° 1636*. As filling-in a man in Oriental costume accompanied by a dog looks at an escutcheon. Inscription: on the left-hand escutcheon against the pillar in the

Holy Cross choir: *Pieter Sardam int Jaer 1642*. A part of one of the Gothic choir-screens is still kept in the Centraal Museum (*Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der Stad, Utrecht, 1928, no. 1437*).

Provenance: untill 1933 in the "fürstbisschöfliche Galerie", Würzburg, no. 157 (as Anthonis de Lorme); purchased 1933.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam 1937*, no. 21, pl. III; *Amsterdam 1938*, no. 20, pl. III; *Zürich 1953*, no. 188, pl. 6; *Milan 1954*, no. 140, pl. 6; *Rome 1954*, no. 137, pl. 8.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 65, no. 157, pl. 173; *Alte Pinakothek München, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Bilder*, Munich, 1957, p. 91-92, no. 6622.

Pl. 135

Munich, Alte Pinakothek

135* Interior through the choir from the south

Pen and chalk on blue paper - 36,6 x 24 - signed, dated 12 August 1636

This sketch was a preparation for painting no. 134; it consequently represents the same subject. Only the filling-in is missing while in the main choir there is a chandelier and the escutcheons and mourning-tablets are numbered.

Inscription: in the middle above the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Ste. Jacobs kerck binnen uijtrecht* (St. James's Church in Utrecht) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Den 12. August[ij] in 'tjaer 1636 Pr. Saenredam* (the 12th of August of the year 1636, Pr. Saenredam).

The drawing is cut off on the right; because of this a few letters of the inscription are missing. The inscription below in the middle is in a darker colour of ink than the other. The optical point is indicated on the north-wall of Our Lady's chapel next to the crossing-pillar.

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam 1937*, no. 78, pl. XXVII; *Amsterdam 1938*, no. 78, pl. XXVII.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 24; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1173; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 65, no. 113, pl. 172; BRINKGREVE, no. 15.

Pl. 136

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

136* Interior through the transept from the north to the south

Pen and watercolour on blue paper - 27 x 42 - signed, dated 14 August 1636

Standing in the northern transept-arm one has a view through the whole transept and at the same time into the choir and nave. The crossing-vault with its arches rests on the four crossing-pillars, of which only those along the choir have a simple chamfered base. The southern transept-arm is covered with a (cut-off) star-vault; in the south-façade a big window and under it a wall-niche have been made. In this transept-arm the Holy Cross choir is open, of which three windows and several vault-abutments can be seen above the choir-screen. On the left under the triumphal arch lies the main choir, only part of the vault of which and of a window can be observed. On the right of the drawing a vista on the nave with its six-sided pillars; the character of hall-church is apparent from the absence of skylights. Altogether in the background and scarcely discernible through the separating-arches, are the ribs and two windows of the southern aisle. Besides the mourning-tablets and escutcheons on the crossing-pillars and four chandeliers (two in the transept, two in the nave) especially the Late Gothic organ must be noted, which stands with closed shutters and three-tower-construction on a gallery in the south-west-corner of the southern transept-arm, and the choir-screens; for both side-choirs they have been executed with their brass spikes in Late Gothic form, for the main choir Jan de Clerck from Antwerp in 1566 made a Renaissance-enclosure with brass baluster-columns.

Inscription: on the left of the wall-niche in the southern transept-arm: *den 14. augustus int Jaer 1636.* - on the tablet against the north-eastern crossing-pillars: *Ste. Jacobs kerck, binnen uijtrecht Pieter Saerdam* (St. James's Church, in Utrecht Pieter Saerdam).

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 453; sold to Beets art gallery; 1928 F. Koenigs collection, Haarlem; 1935 on loan to the Boymans museum, Rotterdam; 1940 or 1941 D. G. van Beuningen collection and presented to the Boymans museum by Mr. van Beuningen.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, *Nederlandsche Teekeningen uit de verz. Koenigs*, Museum Boymans, 1934, no. 63, pl. XXII; Rotterdam 1937, no. 77; Amsterdam 1938, no. 77.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 24, note; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 114, pl. 175; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155, repr.

Pl. 137

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

137* Interior through the southern aisle, transept-arm and side-choir from the southern aisle

Pen, watercolour and chalk (black, white and red) - 38,7 x 50,7 - signed, dated 8 August 1636

From the third traverse (counted from the transept) in the southern aisle one sees on the left two of the composite pillars between nave and aisle as well as the south-western crossing-pillar. Against this last one the flat separating-arch of nave and aisle runs uninterruptedly downwards. The separating-arch between aisle and southern transept comes down on a narrow impost against the crossing-pillar to be borne further by a three-sided pillar, along the south-wall of the aisle it is caught up by a flat pilaster. Against the first traverse of the aisle St. Andrew's chapel was built (2nd half 15th century) the profiled separating-arch, ribs and rib-supports of which attached to the pillars, are visible. In the following bay between cut-off rib-supports attached to the pillars a window has been placed. The shape of the cut-off star-vaults on the southern transept-arm and the side on which this vault is carried, show clearly that this church was built in various periods. In the background lies the Holy Cross choir the vault-ribs and the window-traceries of which can be followed well; in the window-pane of the left-hand apse-window an escutcheon is sketched representing a head on a plate with inscription *S IAN*; in the centre another one with two crossed keys and *S. Piet.* Moreover one perceives through the separating-arches of the aisle, the vaults of the nave and of the other choirs as well as a few windows. All the vaults lie at the same height; consequently in the nave no sky-lights are present, which points again to the character of a hall church. With regard to furnishing and decoration the attention is drawn to the choir-screens seen in front here, to the pulpit and the pews in the nave, to the organ in the southern transept-arm the construction of which and its decoration with sculptured panels in the ballustrade are very well visible, to the pew against the south-wall, to the genealogical tree painted on the east-wall of St. Andrew's chapel and to the chandeliers, mourning-tablets, escutcheons and guild-tablets.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Desen den 8en Augus-*

tus. 1636 van mijn Pieter Saerdam geteijckent (On the 8th of August 1636 this was drawn by me, Pieter Saerdam) - in the middle above the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Ste. Jacobs kerck: binnen vtrecht* (St. James's Church in Utrecht) - on the spike next to the left-hand door of the choir-screen indication of the optical point and: *6 voet hoog* (6 feet high).

The organ was built about 1550 by an unknown master and pulled down about 1650 (cat. exhibition *Haarlem* 1961, no. 62).

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

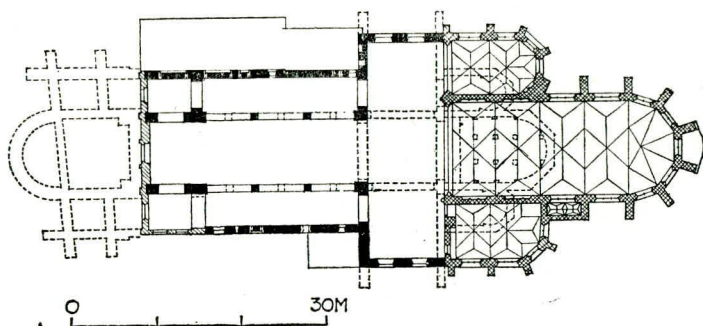
Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 79; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 79; *Haarlem* 1961, no. 62.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 814; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 23; WEISSMAN, pl. 68; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 112, pl. 174.

Pl. 138

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

UTRECHT, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH



Founded about the middle of the 11th century it forms the northern arm of bishop Bernoldus' (1027-1054) cross of churches around the *Dom*. Originally a cruciform basilica flatly covered with wood, showing a strong similarity with St. Peter's. A rich western part probably added shortly after the construction, consisting of a west-choir closed off by an apse and flanked by two towers has since long completely disappeared. A last remnant was the south-west tower, demolished in 1681. In the years 1508-1539 the Roman choir was replaced by a tall Gothic choir and like its predecessor provided with two side-chapels (see no. 140). In 1657 the interior of the nave was mutilated by the pulling down of every other pillar. In no. 138 and no. 139 the situation of before this time is still to be seen. St. John's Church never had columns like St. Peter's Minster possesses. In 1683 the former St. Anthony's chapel (see no. 141 and no. 142) situated north of the nave of the church was replaced by the extant Main Guard-house. In 1947 and the following years the choir underwent a radical restoration. The church is the property of the Dutch Reformed Church.

138* Interior from the nave to the choir

Panel - 65,5 x 83,4 - not signed, not dated (about 1650-1655?)

The Romanesque nave is seen from the most western traverse and depicted in its state before the changes of 1658: the pillars with simple square bases (except the one in front) and imposts bear the separating-arches and walls in which over each arch a small chamfered window is placed as can best be seen on the south-wall. Above it a wooden net-vault spans the crossing on to

the triumphal arch which is supported by Gothic clustered pillars. The beautiful sixteenth century choir has a five-sided enclosure with high windows in which the figures of the panes were sketched in between the traceries; the stone net-vault is borne by short shafts on consoles; on a shield of the first traverse the date 1539 (completion of the choir) is placed. On the left of the painting, in the northern aisle, which had no direct illumination because of annexes, a part of the flat ceiling with beams is visible; the same kind of ceiling used to span the nave, through the separating-arch the eye is directed towards St. Anthony's chapel with the sepulchral monument of Dirk van Wassenaar (see no. 141). On the right through the separating-arches the wall of the southern aisle is visible. Under the triumphal arch a sixteenth century Renaissance choir-enclosure is erected in stone because of which half the choir is hidden; in the middle a pulpit is erected, of which the sound-board is decorated with a steeple-shaped crown and two mourning-tablets; along both sides a door between pilasters and under a pediment with a high shell-shaped niche over it, opens on the choir; the wall-surfaces between the pilasters against the crossing-pillars and these doors, are decorated with a shallow round-arched-niche; into the pilasters against the south-eastern crossing-pillar an unidentifiable statue is worked in; in front of the pulpit stands a long high wooden pew and a smaller one between the pillars of the first traverse on the left. Under the imposts in the nave along both sides runs a beam on which some escutcheons have been placed. Along the west against the north-wall of the nave a wooden gallery rests on a beam-construction under which a mourning-tablet and an epitaph hang; two epitaphs are built in other pillars of the same wall. The floor consists of some very big tomb-stones.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam on basis of the technique of painting and the pictorial qualities is not to be doubted. The dating, however, is less easy. According to Plietzsch (p. 120), who, however, does not quote any sources nor supplies any proofs, the painting was made in 1646. On the other hand the possibility exists that it could be a late work by Saenredam; the lack of figures and of a signature could point to the fact that this work was not completely finished (*Gids, Schilderkunst en beeldhouw-werk*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1951, p. 55, no. 400). In fact the painting can be placed much nearer to later work such as the interior of Rhenen church (The Hague, Mauritshuis, dated 1655, see no. 107) and that of St. Peter's Church in Utrecht (Aerdenhout, J. W. Nienhuys collection, dated 1654, see no. 171).

than to the works of about 1640-1645. The chest in St. Anthony's chapel on drawing no. 139 is not present on this painting.

Provenance: Dr. E. Kulenkampf collection, Bremen; A. Pauli art gallery, Amsterdam; 1930 bought at A. Pauli art gallery, Amsterdam and presented by D. G. van Beuningen, A. J. M. Goudriaan and F. Koenigs.

Exhibitions: Bremen, Kunsthalle, 1904, no. 310; Rotterdam 1937, no. 19; Amsterdam 1938, no. 19.

Literature: G. PAULI, *Gemälde alter Meister im Bremischen Privatbesitz, eine Erinnerung an die Ausstellung in der Kunsthalle zu Bremen*, Bremen, 1905, p. 51, pl. 12; JANTZEN, no. 425; *Jaarverslag Museum Boymans*, 1930, p. 2-4, repr.; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 44, 59-60, no. 224, pl. 161; BREMMER, no. 2; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155, repr.; A. HEPPNER, *Saenredam's „nieuw realisme” in de XVIIe eeuw*, in *Maandblad voor beeldende kunsten*, XVI, 1939, p. 117-118, pl. 2; *Gids, Schilderkunst en Beeldhouwkunst*, museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1951, p. 55, no. 400, pl. 21; N. POSTHUMUS MEYJES, *Karakter en schoonheid van de Noordnederlandse schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1957, p. 20-21; *Afbeeldingen schilderijen*, museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1959, pl. 49; PLIETZSCH, p. 120, pl. 202.

Pl. 139 Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

139* Interior from the nave to the choir

Pen and little watercolour (gray, yellow, blue, pink, lightbrown)
- 38,4 x 49,5 - signed, dated 15 September 1636

This drawing represents the same interior as painting no. 138 for which it served as a preparation except for the following points: above the separating-arches of the nave and of St. Anthony's chapel there is a painted band-decoration, in St. Anthony's chapel there is a chest also to be found on drawing no. 142; as filling-in two small figures stand talking in the nave.

Inscription: on the base of the pillar in the front left: *Bij mijn Pieter Saenredam. den 15 September Int Jaer 1636*. (By me, Pieter Saenredam, the 15th of September in the year 1636). - in the lower left-hand corner: *De St. Jans kerck: binnen Vtrecht* (St. John's Church in Utrecht).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: Zürich 1953, no. 201.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 9; WEISSMAN, pl. 7; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 125, pl. 160; BERNT, no. 513, repr.

Pl. 140 Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett

140* Interior from the northern aisle on choir and northern side-chapel

Pen, black and a little coloured chalk - 30,8 x 37,8 - signed, dated 7 October 1636

Under the separating-arch of northern transept-arm and northern aisle, of which on the left the wall and on the right the pillar stand, the northern side-chapel and the choir open behind the transept in which only a small part of the north-façade, of the wooden barrel-vault and of the tie-beams are visible. Under a solidly profiled separating-arch, running without interruption into simple bases, the eye is directed towards the northern side-chapel. The star-vaults, decorated with vaguely indicated paintings, start from consoles between the windows filled with Late Gothic tracery and resting with their chamfering on a rather high wall. The entrance to this chapel is closed partly by a piece of wall and partly by a gate supplied with spikes in which a door can be reached by two steps. Over this enclosure and about half of the arch-opening a heavy profiled beam is fixed. On the right of this chapel stands the north-eastern crossing-pillar with rather flat cabbage-leaf capitals; in this part of the building it does not support an arch, because the arch was (probably) pulled down with the vaulting of the choir, while on the transept the wooden vaults were laid; along the choir, however, it catches the triumphal arch. In the choir itself appear the net-vaults with their numerous carved-out bosses and the windows above the choir-enclosure. Here better than on the preceding painting and drawing the delicacy of the door-frame with pilasters, entablature, triangular pediment and shell-niche can be followed as well as of the entablature running over the whole enclosure. Against the crossing-pillar stands another somewhat simpler pilaster of the same structure; in its shaft a Romanesque statue of John the Baptist is placed. In the wall-surface only the outline of a shallow niche can be followed. Two mourning-tablets are suspended there; in the floor a few tomb-stones are sketched.

Inscription: on the beam in the side-chapel: *Pieter Jansz. Saerдам deese gheteijckent* (Pieter Jansz. Saenredam has drawn this) - on the entablature of the choir-enclosure: *int Jaer 1636: den 7en october* (in the year 1636, the 7th of October) - at the bottom left above the edge of the sheet: *de St. Jans kerck, binnen wijtrecht* (St. John's Church in Utrecht).

The late 12th century statue of John the Baptist belonging to the Romanesque St. John's is nowadays preserved in the Centraal

Museum (*Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der Stad, Utrecht*, 1928, no. 1329). On the base of the crossing-pillar the optical point is indicated.

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 75; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 75.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 10; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1031; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 130, pl. 162; BREMMER, no. 14.

Pl. 141

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

141* Interior of St. Anthony's chapel

Panel - 42 x 34 -signed, dated 1645

St. Anthony's chapel founded along the northern aisle by Dean Dirk van Wassenaar († 1465) is seen here from the west to the east. On the left is the wide north-wall of the building with high sharply chamfered windows. The two big separating-arches on the right are borne by undecorated pillars through which parts of the northern aisle and of the nave are visible. The covering consists of a half-round wooden barrel-vault; in the floor some big tomb-stones are scattered. Against the east-wall stands a simple altar with niche-shaped construction in which a crucifix; three persons are kneeling in front of it. Around the altar there are two mourning-tablets and a bricked-in Late Gothic sepulchral monument crowned with three pinnacles and carrying the coat of arms of the founder of the chapel.

Inscription: at the bottom on the right on the base of the pillar: *Pieter Saenredam dit gemaect int Jaer 1645. dit is inde St. Janskerck binnen aldus te sien tot vtrecht* (Pieter Saenredam made this in the year 1645, this is in St. John's Church, in this way to be seen in Utrecht).

The part of the inscription *binnen aldus te sien* is possibly of another later hand. On this painting the sepulchral monument on the pillar on the right and the chest in the corner on the left, propably for baptism- or funeral-registers, which are present on drawings no. 139 and no. 142, are missing. This chapel was rebuilt into the Main Guard-house in 1681.

Provenance: Mr. A. J. Labouchère collection, Zeist; 1924 on loan to Centraal Museum; purchased 1949.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 20; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 20; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 84; *Zürich* 1953, no. 189; *Milan* 1954, no. 141; *Rome* 1954, no. 138; *Ghent* 1958, no. 10; *Haarlem* 1961, no. 66.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 52-53, no. 169, pl. 164; BREMMER, no. 3; *Catalogus der Schilderijen*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1952, no. 239; LEYMARIE, pl. p. 152; PLIETZSCH, p. 121, pl. 206.

Pl. 142

Utrecht, Centraal Museum

142* Interior of St. Anthony's chapel

Pen and chalk on blue paper - 28 x 41,5 - signed, dated 6 October 1636

The interior this drawing represents as a preparation for picture no. 141, corresponds with that painting on most points. But the altar is undecorated, in the corner on the left next to the altar stands the chest, on the right against the wall hangs a bell, and the vista on the rest of the church is more detailed; furthermore the filling-in is missing and in the pillar at the right in front a sepulchral monument is bricked in belonging to the typical products of Utrecht sculpture.

Inscription: on the step of the altar: *St. Jans kerck. Binnen Vtrecht.* (St. John's Church in Utrecht) - under the epitaph of the sepulchral monument: *int Jaer 1636 den 6 october* - on the pillar at the bottom to the right: *Pr. Saenredam geteijckent* (Pr. Saenredam drew [this]).

On the left of the altar-table the optical point is indicated. Possibly the drawing was cut at the top. A sepulchral monument like the one fixed in the pillar is still kept in the Centraal Museum (*Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der Stad*, Utrecht, 1928, no. 1387). Compare with this interior the same representation by D. A. Rosemale (1681; *Catalogus Schilderijen Centraal Museum*, Utrecht, 1952, no. 237).

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 452; sold to Beets art gallery; 1928 F. Koenigs collection, Haarlem; 1935 on loan to the Boymans museum, Rotterdam; 1940 or 1941 D. G. van Beuningen collection and presented to the Boymans museum by Mr. van Beuningen.

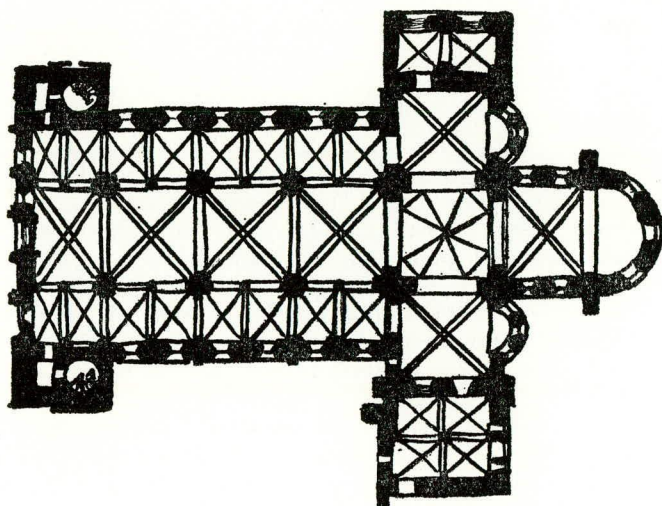
Exhibitions: Rotterdam, *Nederlandsche Teekeningen uit de collectie Koenigs*, museum Boymans, 1934, no. 64, pl. XXIII; Rotterdam 1937, no. 76; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 76.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT no. 11; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 129, pl. 163.

Pl. 143

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

UTRECHT, FORMER ST. MARIE'S CHURCH



After it had already been mutilated in 1577 at the Siege of the *Vredenburg* and in the beginning of the 18th century, the most curious Romanesque church of Utrecht was unfortunately pulled down during the 19th century in two stages: between 1813-1816 and in 1844. Undoubtedly the drawings by Saenredam form the best documentation we possess with regard to this church founded so as to complete the cross of churches around the Cathedral, built in the latter part of the 11th century, but mainly in the 12th century. It was a completely stone vaulted (see no. 149) cruciform-basilica in metrical system with two west-towers standing wide apart, one of which had already disappeared in Saenredam's time (see no. 145 and no. 146), and a dome over the crossing. Above the aisles there were again galleries with groined vaults (see no. 162). Because of this feature it was related to several North-Italian churches, in particular to St. Ambrogio's Church in Milan. Later on (beginning of the 16th century) the original choir was replaced by a Gothic choir (see no. 147 and no. 148).

143* The *Mariaplaats* (St. Mary's Square) and St. Mary's Church from the west

Panel - 110,5 x 139 - signed, dated 1663

The *Mariaplaats* planted with two trees is enclosed by rather

monotonous a high wall at the left, along the east-side in the background by some houses and at the right by St. Mary's Church, in its state of before the hurricane of 1674. The west-façade is very wide, towers having been built at the sides of its three aisles. With the width and the height of the nave conforms everything that is to be found under the triangular gable decorated with small diaphragm arches; the aisles lie behind the sloping part between the gable and the straight corners on the site of the towers, with a square ground-plan. The façade is divided in three tiers. On the ground-floor in the centre stands a rather small west-entry, a door placed in a shallowly corbelled porch above which there is a Romanesque window with Gothic filling, flanked by two columns; these columns - a third still stands left against the left tower - supported the vault of the east-wing of the atrium which in former days must have stood against the church and which along this side presumably had a storey; the blind arches and the pilasters, still present over the whole width of the storey clearly point to it (see S. J. FOCKEMA ANDREAE - E. H. TER KUILE - M. D. OZINGA, *Duizend jaar bouwen in Nederland*, I, Amsterdam, 1948, p. 157); above this arcade a rather small Gothic rose-window illuminates the nave (see the interior no. 158); above this again follows the Romanesque gable in which an open shutter. The left tower was shot off at the siege of the *Vredenburg* in 1577, so that here only a stump overgrown with shrubs closes off the façade; the right tower rises in the sky with its numerous tiers, decorated with small diaphragm-arches or with louver-holes, but it lacks a crowning. Against the centre-traverse of the nave the gallery is constructed higher, so that a pseudo-transept is formed (smaller in the three measurements than the real transept) of which the roof resting on a façade also decorated with small diaphragm-arches links up with the one of the nave (the intention, no doubt, was to help to intercept the pressure of the vaults on the nave; (see FOCKEMA ANDREAE, *op. cit.*, p. 156); against this façade a chapel of later date is built. Between this pseudo-transept and the northern transept-arm, which juts farther out and on which the motif of the small diaphragm-arches is repeated, lies a traverse of the aisle numbering two storeys each with two windows, and strengthened by a buttress. On the crossing a low, rather curious tower in the rare form of a four-armed central construction, decorated with small diaphragm-arches and crowned with a short octagonal turret, replaces the tower. Next to the church runs a wall with a railing, connected with the houses built against the transept-arm, the first of which is the best detailed with crow-stepped gable, windows and porch. In the background rise the towers of two other important buildings: in the centre the *Dom*-tower (see for this also no. 115 and no. 116);

on the left the tower of the *Buur* Church built at the end of the 14th century in brick but never completed and therefore supplied with a wooden roof changing from a square to an octagonal and which is crowned with a small lantern. In front of St. Mary's Church and scattered in the square are persons, children and dogs, in the background the Flight to Egypt(?), supplying the filling-in.

Inscription: on the arch over the west-door of St. Mary's Church:
Pieter Saenredam fecit 1662

In comparison with drawing no. 144 Saenredam left out a few disturbing elements like two trees and a small barn, hiding the west-façade; on this painting the south-western tower is higher than on no. 145; compared with no. 145 and no. 146 the façade here is less wide, higher, and slenderer.

Provenance: Röell-Hodshon sale, Roos's, Amsterdam, 25 April 1872.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 57; *Rotterdam 1937*, no. 14, pl. 10; *Brussels 1946*, no. 95, pl. 66; Utrecht, *Utrecht's kunst in opkomst en bloei, 650-1650*, Centraal Museum, 1948, no. 50.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 13; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 198-199; SIX, p. 19, 24, pl. 2; C. G. 'T HOOFT, *Het oude Raethuys door Pieter Saenredam*, in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, XX, 1914, p. 210; R. FRITZ, *Das Stadt- und Strassenbild in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1932, p. 54; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 216, pl. 128; MARTIN, p. 278, pl. 164; BREMMER, no. 9; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155; M. TER BRAAK, *Pieter Saenredam is geen genie*, in *Kroniek van hedendaagsche kunst en kultuur*, III, 1938, p. 106, repr.; A. HEPPNER, *Saenredam's „nieuw realisme” in de XVIIe eeuw*, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XVI, 1939, p. 117, pl. 1; E. H. TER KUILE, *Duizend jaar bouwen in Nederland*, I, Amsterdam, 1948, p. 156; SWILLENS, *Domtoren*, p. 35, pl. 40; *Gids, Schilderkunst en Beeldbouwkunst*, museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1951, p. 55, no. 399; LEYMARIE, p. 150; *Afbeeldingen schilderijen*, museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1959, pl. 48; PLIETZSCH, p. 120, pl. 210; BRINKGREVE, no. 5.

Pl. 144 Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

144* The *Mariaplaats* (St. Mary's Square) and St. Mary's Church from the west

Pen and watercolour - 35 x 50 - signed, dated 18 September 1636

This drawing, a preparatory study for painting no. 143, corres-

ponds with it except for the filling-in and the presence of two trees in front of the west-part of the church.

Inscription: at the bottom of the façade of St. Mary's Church on the right of the entrance: *Pieter Saenredam fecit* - in the right-hand bottom corner: *Int Jaer 1636, den 18en September naer t'leeuen gedaen binnen uijtrecht* (In the year 1636 the 18th of September made from life in Utrecht).

The filling-in is apparently made later, probably by Pieter Post (GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68).

Provenance: H. van Cranenburgh sale, Amsterdam, 26-27 October 1858.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 59, pl. XXIII; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 59, pl. XXIII; Paris, *Le Paysage hollandais au XVIIe siècle*, Orangerie des Tuileries, 1950, no. 161; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 141.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 13; H. J. SCHOLTEN, *Catalogue raisonné des dessins des écoles française et hollandaise*, Haarlem, 1904, p. 87-88, no. 79; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 198; VERMEULEN, *Handboek I*, p. 308, pl. 15; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 127, pl. 127; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *De Bouwgeschiedenis van de Buurkerk te Utrecht*, Rotterdam, 1936, p. 337, pl. 133; TH. HAAKMA WAGENAAR, *De Spits van den Domtoren*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1938, p. 30, pl. 3; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68; BRINKGREVE, no. 3.

Pl. 145

Haarlem, Teyler's Foundation

145* The west-façade

Panel - 65,5 x 51,5 - signed, dated 1662

The façade is practically seen in its outline; only the tower is also observed from the side. The structure and the tiers are the same as on painting no. 143, differing in the following respects: the façade is wider and squatter; the rose window is bigger and situated lower so that the central blind arch is painted smaller and disappears almost completely in the wall; the façade in front of the tower is almost completely depicted and shows two blind round arches on top of each other and a supporting wall standing at right angles to the façade-corner; the remaining surroundings of the church are not indicated and are replaced by some trees on the left; in front of the building in the square three small figures stand talking.

Inscription: under the upper ledge of the tower: *Pieter Saenredam fecit 1662*.

Provenance: Van Winter collection, Amsterdam, until 1822; Six-van Winter collection, Amsterdam, until 1847; Jonkheer Dr. J. P. Six collection, until 1899; Prof. Jonkheer Dr. J. Six collection, until 1926; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 42; A. Jurgens collection, London; private collection, England; Duits Ltd., London; 1952 purchased from Duits Ltd., London.

Exhibitions: Utrecht, *Tentoonstelling van Oude Schilderkunst te Utrecht*, 1894, no. 174; Amsterdam, *De verzamelde schilderijen en familieportretten van de Heeren Jhr. P. H. Six van Vromade, Jhr. J. Six en Jhr. W. Six, wegens verbouwing in het Stedelijk Museum van Amsterdam*, Stedelijk Museum, 1900, p. 27, no. 130; London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 47; Delft, *Kersttentoonstelling, Nederlandse Meesters uit particulier Bezit*, Museum het Prinsenhof, 1952, no. 66, pl. 6; Utrecht 1953, no. 86, pl. 28; Rome, *Il seicento Europeo*, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 1956, no. 269.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 12; SIX, p. 19, pl. 1; JANTZEN, no. 422, p. 82; C. G. 'T HOOFT, *Het oude Raethuijs door Pieter Saenredam*, in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, XII, 1914, p. 210; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 60, 65, 66, no. 219, pl. 132; BERNT, no. 714; PLIETZSCH, p. 124.

Pl. 146

Egham (Surrey), Fr. Jurgens collection

146* The west-façade

Pen and watercolour - 35,2 x 30,1 - signed, dated 30 August 1636

This drawing served as a preparation for painting no. 145, and consequently gives the same presentation. Only the filling-in is left out and against each corner a small barn with slanting roof is added.

Inscription: above the gable: *Ste Marijen kerck binnen uijtrecht* (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht) - at the bottom on the left-hand barn: *Int Jaer 1636. den 30. augustus van mijn Pr. Saenredam* (In the year 1636 the 30th of August by me, Pr. Saenredam) - under the barn on the left: *Den 12. ende* (the 12th and) - under the barn on the right: *13 September is (dese) schuer affgebrooken int Jaer* (September 13th this barn has been pulled down in the year).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam 1937, no. 68; Amsterdam 1938, no. 68; Zürich 1953, no. 199; Utrecht 1953, no. 138; Vancouver, *The changing Landscape of Holland*, The Fine Art Gallery, 1958, no. 68; Utrecht 1959, no. 49, pl. 22.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 744; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 12; SIX, p. 19; *Beeldende Kunsten*, IV, 1918, no. 26; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 65, no. 119, pl. 131; A. HEPPNER, *Saenredam's „nieuw realisme” in de XVIIe eeuw*, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XVI, 1939, p. 118, pl. 4.

Pl. 147

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

147* Exterior of St. Mary's Church from the north-east and the *Mariaplaats* (St. Mary's Square)

Panel - 44 x 63 - signed, dated 10 november 1659

The most important construction-part on this painting is the Gothic choir built in the beginning of the 15th century and completed in 1421. It has a five-sided enclosure with high narrow windows between the buttresses. On the longitudinal axis between the buttresses a small building was added which has an entry on the ground-floor while, in the storey partly hiding the choir-window, there is a painting with a church-interior (possibly St. Mary's Church itself?). On the left of the entrance there is between the buttresses a small penthouse. On the ridge of the choir stands a statue of Emperor Henry IV. Against the north-east corner of the apse a polygonal stepped-tower with sharp spire gives entry to the ceiling above the choir. The north-wall of the choir is completely occupied by chapels, the roofs of which run downwards under the choir-cornice so that the choir along this side does not get any direct illumination. The northern transept-arm and the crossing-crowning show again the typical Romanesque characteristics. Against the chapels and the arm of the transept small barns and houses have been built; a Romanesque porch was incorporated in the second house. Along the east-side of the church stands a low wall with a kind of awning from which clothes or hides hang down; against the wall lean two big mill-stones (?). As filling-in a woman is seated in the entrance to the church, two are busy in front of the wall (with the cleaning of fish? On the right hand side of the painting some figures are walking on the *Mariaplaats* planted with trees and bordered in the background by a gateway and by the wall of the immunity.

Inscription: on the wall above the awning: *De St. Maria kerck tot utrecht* (St. Mary's Church at Utrecht) - on the edge of the awning: *Pr. Saenredam fecit A° 1659. 11/10.*

The statue on the ridge of the choir in polychrome wood is probably made by the Utrecht woodcarver Rijck Hendriksz. van Beest

in 1563; at present it is kept in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (see P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Rijck Hendricksz. van Beest, beeldhouwer te Utrecht*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1950, p. 72-76; *Catalogus van Beeldhouwwerken in het Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam, 1904, no. 124).

Provenance: W. A. Coats collection, London; Christie's, London, 4 February 1927, no. 66; sold to Douwes art gallery, Amsterdam; F. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk.

Exhibitions: Brussels, *Cinq siècles d'art*, 1935, no. 770; Haarlem, *Oude Kunst*, Frans Halsmuseum, 1936, no. 37; Rotterdam 1937, no. 17, pl. XI; Amsterdam 1938, no. 17, pl. XI; Utrecht, *Utrecht's kunst in opkomst en bloei, 650-1650*, Centraal Museum, 1948, nr. 51; Paris, *Le paysage hollandais au XVII^e siècle*, Orangerie des Tuileries, 1950, no. 84; Utrecht 1953, no. 87; Zürich 1953, no. 191; Milan 1954, no. 143; Rome 1954, no. 140; Rotterdam 1955, no. 116, pl. 55.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, no. 207, pl. 130; BREMMER, no. 7; PLIETZSCH, p. 123.

Pl. 148

Aerdenhout, J. W. Nienhuys collection

148* Exterior of St. Mary's Church from the north-east and the *Mariaplaats* (St. Mary's Square)

Pen and watercolour - 35,2 x 48,7 - signed, dated 12 July 1636

As a preparation for painting no. 147 this drawing gives the same view; only the filling-in differs, on the left of the building are a few trees and the *Mariaplaats* is cut off a little more on the right.

Inscription: on the edge of the canopy: *Den 12 Julij: 1636. gedaen van mijn P. Saenredam, naer t'leeuen* (The 12th of July 1636, made by me P. Saenredam from life).

Provenance: Daniel de Jongh sale, Rotterdam, 14-18 March 1810.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam 1937, no. 67, pl. XXIV; Amsterdam 1938, no. 67, pl. XXIV; Utrecht 1953, no. 134; Zürich 1953, no. 195; Ghent 1958, no. 11; Utrecht 1959, no. 50.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 748; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 14; MULLER, *Mariakerk*, p. 199; WEISSMAN, pl. 8; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 107, pl. 129; P. T. A. SWILLENS, *Rijck Hendricksz van Beest, beeldhouwer te Utrecht*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1950, p. 72, note 4; BERNT, no. 512, repr.; BRINKGREVE, no. 4.

Pl. 149

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

149* Interior of nave and choir from the west

Panel - 121,5 x 95 - signed, dated 29 January 1641

Standing in the western traverse of the nave, against the south-wall one perceives first of all the heavy structure of the Roman nave. The articulated pillars bear the vaults of the nave, which rest on broad flat ribs. In the first and the third traverse (the latter is not visible) there is a small window in the upper-wall; under it follow the two arches for the gallery, closed off by a balustrade, and the two separating-arches between nave and aisle, of which the groundplan is executed according to the metrical system. The separating-arches rest on columns with eight-sided undecorated capitals - only on the gallery they have leaf-work and heavy profiled Attic bases. The centre-traverse is an exception: for the gallery has been executed as pseudo-transept (see no. 143) and gives better possibilities for illumination because of the shape of the diagonal vault in contrast with the rather dark aisles and nave. On the crossing the vault changes from square to octagonal by means of quinces. The Gothic choir separated from the church by a low blind wall with two doors and a wooden balustrade, forms a sharp contrast both in its structure with its slender Gothic windows and light cross-ribbed vaults, and in its illumination. As decoration tapestries have been imitated on the pillars and some escutcheons suspended. On the first pillar on the left is the partly visible presentation of a bull with a short subscription: *accipe posteritas quod per tua* [secula narres], *taurinis cutibus fondo solidata* [columna est]. As filling-in there are some figures looking at this drawing, two playing dogs in the nave and some people talking in the crossing. On the pillar at the right hand side two caricatures have been drawn between the signature. On the floor lie several tomb-stones.

Inscription: on the pillar on the right: *Dit is de St Mariae kercke binnen uijtrecht. Pieter Saenredam ghemaect ende voleijndicht den 29 Januarij int Jaer 1641* (This is St. Mary's Church in Utrecht, Pieter Saenredam made and finished it the 29th of January 1641).

The signature is painted white from *ende*. The bull on the pillar in connection with the legend that the church was built on hides, is at present kept as building-fragment in the Centraal Museum (*Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der Stad, Utrecht*, 1928, no. 1383). This painting is said to have been made as a chimney-piece for Constantijn Huygens' house (MARTIN, p. 281; PLIETZSCH, p. 122). The filling-in has probably been executed by Pieter Post (GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68). During the restoration in

1937 it appeared that the painting had been enlarged at the top and at the left-hand side; the added parts were removed; Swillens (*Saenredam*, pl. 133) gives the old situation.

Provenance: chimney-piece in Constantijn Huygens' house, The Hague; 1885 transferred from the „Nederlandsch Museum", The Hague, to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 15, pl. IX; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 15, pl. IX; Utrecht, *Utrecht's kunst in opkomst en bloei, 650-1650*, Centraal Museum, 1948, no. 48; Bolsward, Town hall, 1950, no. 50; Rome, *Il seicento Europeo*, Palazzo delle Esposizione, 1956, no. 268, pl. 31.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 15; SIX, p. 25; JANTZEN, p. 84, no. 410; WEISSMAN, pl. 9; G. J. HOOGWERFF, *Jan van Scorel, peintre de la Renaissance hollandaise*, The Hague, 1923, p. 89-90, pl. 62; VERMEULEN, *Handboek I*, p. 242, note 1; SWILLENS, *Saenredam* p. 12-13, 44, 53, 54, no. 151, pl. 133; MARTIN, p. 281, pl. 163; N. S. TRIVAS, *Pieter Saenredam*, in *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155; STEPPE, p. 342; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 68; *Catalogus tentoongestelde schilderijen*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1956, p. 182, no. 2099; *Catalogue of paintings*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1960, p. 273, no. 2099; BRINKGREVE, no. 12, p. 38; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 150

Amsterdam, 's Rijksmuseum

150* Interior of crossing and side-apses from the southern aisle

Pen and chalk - 30,4 x 39,9 - signed, dated 16 July 1636

This view was drawn under the transverse arch between the third and the fourth traverse (counted from the crossing) of the southern aisle. On the right runs the south-wall; against this stand half columns resting on a plinth which catch the arches and groins of the vault; on the left the separating-arches are supported alternately by the half columns against the pillars, and by a column with decorated capital and corner-flukes on its base. The south-western crossing-pillar strikes the eye because of its measurements and complicated structure; the separating-arch between aisle and southern transept-arm rests on two pilasters with impost. Through this part the eye is directed towards the shallow southern side-apse which has deep chamfered windows and is covered with a half cap. On the right of the drawing the same base can be seen in the east-wall of the northern transept-arm above which on the right is a blind window. Between the two eastern crossing-pillars stands the wall closing off the choir on which a balustrade. Besides a mourning tablet on the pillar on the left there is, on the column in the middle, a mural painting, presenting a female saint under a canopy; an epithaph (?) is

incorporated in the south-western crossing-pillar; in front of it a woman is kneeling. Between the flagstones lie some tombstones.

Inscription: on the base of the pillar on the left: *Den 16en July 1636 Pieter Saenredam fecit* - at the bottom in the middle over the edge of the sheet: *Ste Marijen kerck Binnen uijtrecht*. (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht).

On the wall of the northern side-apse the optical point is indicated.

Provenance: H. Busserus collection; 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 72; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 72; Washington, *Dutch Drawings, masterpieces of five Centuries, Exhibition of the Printroom of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*, 1958, no. 53.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 19; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1089; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 201-202; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 30, no. 108, pl. 147.

Pl. 151

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

151* Interior of the crossing and side-apses from the southern aisle

Pen, lead-pencil and red chalk - 72,2 x 66 - not signed, dated 2 May 1641

This construction-drawing presents the same interior as drawing no. 150; the painting for which it served is, however, not known.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Dit gesicht is aldus te sien inde sinte Marije kerck, binnen utrecht. Deese teijckeningh aldus volmaeckt met teijckenen, den 2 dach in de maent Maij, int jaer 1641. ende met schilderen voleijndicht opden 12 April 1647. op een paneel van 2 voet en 8½ duim hoogh ende 2 voet en 4 duym breed, kermer maet* (this view is in this way to be seen in St. Mary's Church in Utrecht. This drawing in this way finished drawing, the 2nd day in the month of May in the year 1641. and finished painting on the 12th of April 1647. On a panel of 2 feet and 8½ inches high and 2 feet 4 inches wide, kermer measurement) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Maria kerk binnen Utrecht* (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht).

The attribution is based on the manner of drawing and handwriting; the inscription in the lower right-hand corner, however, is of a later hand. From the word *Deese teijckeningh* the ink is

darker, from *ende met schilderen* paler again. The reverse is blackened in, the ink-lines are traced; the edges show the small holes of the fastening to the panel. The sheet is cut off on the left side; the inscription was pasted on. The horizon, on which the optical point is indicated, lies approximately $1/6$ of the height; the auxiliary-lines are clearly visible.

Provenance: presented by the directors of Teylers Foundation in Haarlem.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1091; JANTZEN, no. 410, p. 84, pl. 34; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 201-202; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 66, no. 152, pl. 148.

Pl. 152

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

152* Interior of the northern side-apse from the northern aisle

Copy by H. Tavernier - pen and gray watercolour - 50 x 47,5 - not signed, not dated (about 1784)

From the second traverse of the northern aisle, to the left of which stands the outer-wall, to the right the separating-arches with the nave, the northern side-apse is seen as well as a part of the choir-enclosure with its gallery. The shape of all these elements is the same as on drawing no. 150 except that the capital of the column on the right is undecorated.

Inscription: under the picture across the whole width: *Gezigt in de St. Marijen Kerk à Utrecht aan de Noordzijde of de Gang van dien* (View in St. Mary's Church at Utrecht on the north-side or its corridor).

The attribution to Tavernier and the date is based on the signature and the date 1784 of his other copies (i.a. of the nos. 216, 217, 218, 219 in the Royal Archives, The Hague) of drawing by Saenredam, now kept in the Municipal Archives at Utrecht. The original of the drawing in question is, however, no longer preserved; from the remaining copies it appears that Tavernier worked very minutely so that the representation can be considered trustworthy.

Provenance: Munnincks van Cleeff sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 104, pl. 142.

Pl. 153

Her Majesty the Queen

152a Interior of the north side-apse seen from the north transept

Panel - 47 x 36 - signed, dated 1651.

This painting, the existence of which did not come to light until after the exhibition was closed, represents the same interior as the copy described under no. 152, after a lost drawing by Saenredam. The panel, however, differs from the drawing by the less great impression of depth, by the presence of only one cornice in the apse and a slightly different arrangement of the blind windows and by the filling-in (two gentlemen and a dog in the foreground, one small figure on the extreme right).

Inscription: on the plinth of the base of the column on the right: *Pr. Saenredam fecit. A°:1651.*

The filling-in in the foreground is 18th century. In several places this piece has been painted over, while most contour-lines have been accentuated. The panel has been shortened along the left-hand side. This painting proves at the same time, that the copy by Tavernier (no. 152), with the exception of a few details, may rightly be considered as reliable.

Provenance: W. A. Coats collection, London; F. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 153a Bloemendaal, Mrs. A. C. R. van der Mandele-Vermeer collection

153* Interior of the transept from the north-east

Panel - 59 x 45 - signed, dated 1637

Between the north-eastern (on the left) and the north-western (on the right) crossing-pillars the crossing itself can be seen with its eight-sided vault on quinces. In the background is the southern transept-arm with cross-vault on heavy flat ribs and a lozenge-shaped window in the south-façade against which a Gothic gallery has been built; the latter consists of two arches which, starting from one column, come down on the side-walls; in the south-western corner the closed flight of stairs giving entrance to this gallery juts out; behind the balustrade decorated with niches two doors in shallow wall-niches. In the south-western wall one perceives the openings of the southern

aisle and gallery, and a small window. One traverse of the south-wall in the nave is also pictured together with two smaller traverses in which aisle and gallery are divided (metrical system) and on the top of the large wall-space a small partly bricked-up window; the windows in the aisle have Gothic fillings. The floor mainly consists of tomb-stones. A rather crowded filling-in is depicted in the crossing.

Inscription: under the south-side of the crossing vault: *Pr. Saenredam. Pinxit Anno 1637*

The quinch, executed correctly on drawing no. 154, is here perspectively badly painted. In comparison with the aforementioned drawing the balustrade of the choir-enclosure has been omitted and the decoration (tapestry-imitation, small canopies and capital-sculpture), too, is simplified. The filling-in has been added by a later hand.

Provenance: 1827 in Constantijn Huygens's house, The Hague; 1875 purchased from Mr. Colmette, Cahors; 1885 transferred from the "Nederlandsch Museum", The Hague, to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 83, no. 406; G. J. HOOGWERFF, *Jan van Scorel, peintre de la Renaissance hollandaise*, The Hague, 1923, p. 89-90; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 30, 53, no. 145, pl. 144; *Catalogus der tentoongestelde schilderijen*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1956, no. 2097; *Catalogue of paintings*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1960, p. 273, no. 2097; BRINKGREVE, p. 38, no. 10.

Pl. 155

Amsterdam, 's Rijksmuseum

154* Interior of the transept from the north-east

Pen, black and red chalk - 40,2 x 30,6 - signed, dated 22 July 1636

This drawing served as a preparatory study for painting no. 153 and consequently represents the same interior except for the filling-in and the decoration of the church. The quinch is here drawn in the right way.

Inscription: in the vault of the crossing: *Ste Marijen kerck binnen wijtrecht* (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht) - on the left next to the balustrade of the choir enclosure: *Hier moet noch een vrij tralijs aan soo dattet dan verder sal wtsteecken ende sijn als int leuen was want hier een tralijs vergeeten is* (Here should be another baluster so that it would stick out further as it was in reality because a bar was forgotten here) - on the side of

the skirting at the left: *Pieter Saenredam dese geteijckent* (Pieter Saenredam drew this) - in the lower left-hand corner: *den 22en Julij 1636*.

Provenance: C. Ploos van Amstel collection.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: MULLER, *Mariekerk*, p. 202; G. J. HOOGEWERFF, *Jan van Scorel, peintre de la Renaissance hollandaise*, The Hague, 1923, p. 89, pl. 64; BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 13863; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 30, no. 109, pl. 143.

Pl. 156

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

155* Interior of the transept from the north

Pen, watercolour and chalk on blue paper - 31,5 x 22,5 - signed, dated 7 July 1636

This drawing represents practically the same subject as the preceding one. It is only made a little nearer to the crossing so that the view on the nave is left out, but on the other hand the choir-enclosure with its balustrade and a Gothic window in the south-wall of the choir are visible. In the east-wall of the southern transept-arm a chamfered Roman window can be seen above the apse-opening and a small round window under the mural arch. The balustrade rests on volute-shaped consoles and consists of panels with tracery between pilasters. As filling-in there are some figures.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: [d]en 7 Julij. [S]ar-dam 1636

The inscription is partly cut off. The optical point is indicated in the transept on the entrance to the gallery.

Provenance: Six collection, Amsterdam; Six sale, Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1928, no. 454; sold to Beets art gallery; 1928 F. Koenigs collection, Haarlem; 1935 on loan to the Boymans museum, Rotterdam; 1940 or 1941 D. G. van Beuningen collection and presented by Mr. van Beuningen to the Boymans museum.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: G. J. HOOGEWERFF, *Jan van Scorel, peintre de la Renaissance hollandaise*, The Hague, 1923, p. 89, pl. 63; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 103, pl. 145.

Pl. 154

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

156* Interior of nave and southern aisle from the northern aisle

Panel - 40 x 50 - signed, dated 1637

In the front in the middle stands the column bearing the separating-arches of the first two traverses of the northern aisle; on the left the heavy crossing-pillar on which a mural painting representing the Virgin and Child, on the right the composite pillars between the first and the second traverse of the nave. Behind the crossing in the background a part of the southern transept-arm with its gallery is visible. The south-western crossing-pillar discernible through the left-hand separating-arch, links up with the ground-floor of the southern aisle, in which deep windows decorated with Gothic tracery, and with its gallery, in which the small Roman windows have been preserved. In the second traverse of the nave one perceives in the gallery the pseudo-transept shape with the transverse vault; on the ground-floor a gate in the wall closes off the entry to an unidentifiable space. On the floor between the flagstones some tomb-stones have been bricked in. Some figures move through this space, which is painted in rather dark tones except in the aisle and the gallery.

Inscription: on the pillar at the left under the mural painting: *Saenredam fecit A: 1637.*

After the restoration of the painting (1961) it was established that under the colour on the pillars and columns of the south-wall of the nave there was real gold-leaf. This was originally put on by the painter to elaborate minutely the tapestry pattern present on the same places as on painting no. 158; he has, however, changed his design during the execution and painted the pillar-colours over the gold (communication of the owner). During this restoration the figure of a woman, seated on the base of a column, was removed.

Provenance: 1730 Ant. Rutgers collection, Amsterdam; 1807-1815 in Paris.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: C. A. VON DRACH, *Briefe des Kunstsammlers Antonie Rutgers an den Landgrafen Wilhelm VIII von Hessen*, in *Oud-Holland*, VII, 1890, p. 187; MÜLLER, *Mariekerk*, p. 202; MÜLLER, *Authenticiteit*, p. 198, 200; JANTZEN, no. 407; G. GRONAU, *Erwerbungen der Kasseler Galerie 1912-1922*, in *Berliner Museen*, XLIV, 1923, p. 64; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 144, pl. 140; *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Kassel, 1958, p. 137-138, no. 427; BRINKGREVE, no. 9.

Pl. 157

Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie

157* Interior of nave and southern aisle from the northern aisle

Pen, white and black chalk - 30 x 40 - signed, dated June (1636)

This sketch represents the same subject as painting no. 156, for which it served as a preparatory study with this difference that here the tie-bars are visible between the column and pillars. The filling-in is also omitted here.

Inscription: on the base of the pillar on the left still legible: *Den... Juni* - on the base of the column in the middle: *Pieter Saenredam fecit.*

The inscription with the date on the left is partly cut off; nevertheless, the date can undoubtedly be placed in June 1636. In the first traverse of the southern aisle two optical points are indicated, of which the one in the window is scratched out.

Provenance: presented by Jonkheer Mr. V. de Stuers, The Hague, before 1878.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 70; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 70.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 753; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 100, pl. 139.

Pl. 158

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

158* Interior of the nave from the crossing

Panel - 62,5 x 93,5 - signed, dated 1638

The two crossing-pillars are used as repoussoirs to make the nave into an imposing space. The metrical system is shown very clearly here: in the aisles and on the gallery two (smaller) traverses correspond with each (big) traverse of the nave except on the gallery of the central traverse (pseudo-transept); of the supports the interchange of articulated pillars and columns is to be noted. The nave is illuminated by means of a sharply chamfered window in the upper-wall; the pseudo-transept is illuminated indirectly through the gallery. Of the vaults of the nave the flat broad ribs strike the eye. In the background in the west-part under the Gothic rose window stands a gallery of three arches corresponding with the entrance and the two windows; on this gallery is the organ, built by Gerrit Pietersz. about 1485 and removed about 1670 (VENTE, p. 50). On the right of the painting is the northern aisle with sharply chamfered windows into which Gothic fillings have been placed; above the aisle opens the gallery. The pillars and the spandrels above the columns

are decorated with imitation of tapestries, into which thistle-motifs and the Burgundian flint and steel have been inserted. On the south-western crossing-pillar along the crossing the following inscription is placed:

Origo fundati templi.

*Tempora cum causis templi venerabilis huius
Quisquis nosce cupis, metra te subscripta docebunt.
Henrico quarto Romani sceptrum tenente
Imperii, cum iam totam victricibus armis
Subderet Italiam, soli praecludere sola
Urbs Mediolanum portas est ausa rebelles.
Quam tandem captam, spoliis prius auctus opimis,
Evertit victor, nec templo flamme Mariae
Virginis abstinuit, candenti marmore structo.
Unde dolens, mentemque pio succensus amore,
Instaurare novam venerandi nominis aedem
Proposuit, quocunque solo solisve sub axe.
Tunc Traiectensis praesul, nutricius olim
Principis et duris semper comes acer in armis,
Nomine Conrardus, tulit hoc a Caesare munus,
Ut templum sublime loco fundaret in isto,
Turribus excelsis constructuraque perenni,
Adiutus donis et multo Caesaris auro,
Quale vides firmis subnixum stare columnis,
Fornice perpetuo fastigia summa tegente.
Hoc fanum praesul venerabilis ipse dicavit
Primus, et instituit praeendas canonicosque,
Canturos laudes tibi, virgo Maria! perennes.*

On the north-western crossing-columns under an escutcheon the story continues as follows:

*Post ubi sacrati ter sex ab origine templi
Fluxissent anni, fatalis venerat hora.
Pontificis sacri, miseranda coedi perempti.
Causa necis fuit haec, nam dum fundamina muro
Ipsius ecclesiae latomi perquirere tentant
Invenere lutum fluidum fixo sine fundo.
Hoc vitium tardabat opus, nemo sapientum
Huic morbo valuit quantalibet arte mederi.
Ars mendicat opem, miratur nescius artis
Artificum coetus, non artem posse iuvare.
Dum sic ergo rei spes esset nulla superstes,
En rudis hanc Friso solidare spopondit abijssum.
Pro quo dum pretium sibi posceret immoderatum.*

*Huic dilectus erat adolescens filium, illum,
 Accessit Praesul secrete, suadet ut artem
 Eliciat patri, promittit munera, patrem
 Filius auxilio genitricis inebriat, artem
 Elicit, elicitam Pastori clam patre pandit.
 Continuo surgebat opus, iam tempore longo
 Post positum, gaudent omnes super arte reperta.
 Ille sed irarum stimulis agitatus acerbis,
 Deceptumque dolo, tantus dolor vrget, ut ipsum
 Iam descendentem gradibus, missa celebrata,
 Pontificem ferro trux Friso necaret acuto.
 Eius in Aprili mortem dant festa Tiburti,
 Anno millesimo nonagesimo quoque nono.*

On the escutcheon is just legible: *OBYT XXIX. OCTOB. ANO 1632*

Numerous big tomb-stones have been laid into the floor. As filling-in there are three small figures in the nave, a group of talking men in the northern aisle; two persons are seated on the skirting in the northern transept-arm.

Inscription: on the base of the first column left in the nave: *Pr. Saenredam fecit A: 1638*

The filling-in has possibly been executed by Pieter Post (GUDLAUGSSON, p. 69).

Provenance: collection at Schloss Pommersfelden; Weber collection, Hamburg; 1912 presented by Mr. Ernst Zeyn.

Exhibitions: Schaffhausen, *Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Museum zu Allerheiligen, 1949, no. 156; Zürich 1953, no. 187, pl. 5.

Literature: MULLER, *Mariekerk*, p. 202; K. WOERMAN, *Katalog der Sammlung Weber*, Hamburg, 1907, no. 234; JANTZEN, p. 83, no. 409; E. GALL, *Die Marienkirche in Utrecht und Klosterneuburg*, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1923, p. 34, pl. 3; G. LABOUCHERE, *De bezoeken der Duitsche Koningen en Keizers aan de stad Utrecht gedurende de Middeleeuwen*, in *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht*, 1930, p. 50; *Katalog der alten Meister*, Kunsthalle, Hamburg, 1930, p. 136, no. 412; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 22, 39, no. 148, pl. 135; SWILLENS, *Domtoren*, p. 140; GUDLAUGSSON, p. 69; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 159

Hamburg, Kunsthalle
 Gemäldegalerie

159* Interior of the nave from the crossing

Pen and watercolour - 36,4 x 50,5 - signed, dated 18 June 1636

This drawing as a preparatory study for painting no. 158 represents the same interior, except that a part of the left-hand

crossing-pillar was left out and the tie-bars in the right-hand aisle are indicated. Both inscriptions on the crossing-pillar are missing; on the north-western crossing-pillar only the beginning *Post ubi* is indicated. The effect of depth of the drawing is less great, the vault-ribs and the arcades between transept and northern aisle are more compact.

Inscription: in the middle above the bottom-edge of the sheet: *De Ste: Marijen kerck, binnen uijtrecht* (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht) - on the base of the crossing-pillar to the right: *Pieter Saenredam dit voleijndt met teijckenen den 18en Junij. A°. 1636* (Pieter Saenredam finished drawing this the 18th of June A°. 1636).

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 60; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 60; *Utrecht* 1959, no. 51.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, nr. 750; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 152; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 39, no. 99, pl. 134; PETERS, p. 47, note 1, pl. 196; VENTE, pl. 15.

Pl. 160

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

160 Interior through nave and northern aisle from the southern aisle

Panel - 70 x 105 - signed, dated 1638 (20 April)

After a process, which Saenredam used before (see i.a. no. 156), the painting is divided in the middle by a column, in this case in the south-wall of the next to last traverse towards the west, seen from the southern aisle; the articulated pillars on the left and on the right. The vista on the right is on the corresponding traverses of the gallery and aisle into the latter of which the openings closed with a gate of a later added chapel with Gothic window and cross-ribbed vaults have been broken. On the left of the column lies the west-part of the church, of which the last traverse is narrower than the other. In this traverse also stands the gallery on which the organ, depicted with opened shutters, was built. The gallery-opening next to the organ is closed with a rather high railing. The last traverse of the northern aisle has in its west-façade a window remodelled in Gothic shape; along the northside in the wall under the niche a door leads to the stairs in the north-western tower. Of the decoration of the church must be noted: the imitations of

tapestries with flower- and thistle-motifs, an epitaph next to the tower-door and especially a mural painting on the pillar in the right front, representing St. Cyriacus under a canopy. On the articulated pillar in the distance at the right the relief with the bull is once more depicted (see no. 149) attracting the attention of some persons. Two more figures in the foreground in the middle, another one looking over the balustrade on the aisle-gallery. The floor consists of flag-stones and big tomb-stones.

Inscription: under the representation of St. Cyriacus: *Pieter Saenredam, Anno 1638*

The date 1638 is completed by the inscription on the construction-drawing (see no. 162), on which is mentioned *Den 20en. April 1638. heb ick dit volmaect met schilderen* (the 20th of April, 1638, I finished painting this). As appears from the measurements of the construction-drawing the panel was shortened broadwise approx. 15 cm. In the 18th century numerous filling-in-figures were added in nave and aisle-gallery; these were removed during a restoration in 1959.

Provenance: "von Reinicke Stiftung", Brunswick, 1868, no. 76.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: MULLER, *Mariekerk*, p. 197, 202; JANTZEN, p. 78, 83, no. 408; *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung im Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum*, Brunswick, 1932, p. 42, no. 424; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 40, 58-59, 66, no. 146, pl. 138.

Pl. 161

Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum
Gemäldegalerie

161 Interior through nave and northern aisle from the southern aisle

Pen and chalk - 30,3 x 40,3 - signed, dated 30 Juni 1636

The same interior as in painting no. 160 is repeated here on this preparatory drawing. It lacks filling-in; between the columns and pillars tie-bars are reproduced. Under the mural painting on the pillar to the right, which shows up better here than in the picture, the name CYRIACVS is added. The optical point is indicated on the gate at the right at the back of the northern aisle.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Pieter Saenredam den 30 Junij deese geijndicht met teijckenen A° 1636.* (Pieter

Saenredam the 30th of June finished drawing this A° 1636) - in the middle above the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Ste Marijen kerck binnen Uijtrecht*. (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 71; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 71; *Brussels* 1961, no. 35, pl. X; Hamburg, *Holländische Zeichnungen der Rembrandtzeit*, Kunsthalle, 1961, no. 35, pl. X.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 754; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 16; MULLER, *Mariekerk*, p. 197; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 200, repr.; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 40, no. 105, pl. 136.

Pl. 162

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

162* Interior through nave and northern aisle from the southern aisle

Pen and red chalk - 71 x 122,2 - not signed, dated 8 January 1637

This construction-drawing for painting no. 160 depicts the same interior and the organ-case in their purely architectural lines.

Inscription: on the lowest round-bar of the base of the half column against the pillar in the front left: *dit is een gesicht inde Sint Mariekerck binnen de stadt vtrecht* (this is a view in St. Mary's Church in the town of Utrecht) - under it: *Den 8en Januarij 1637 - is dese geijendicht met teijckenen. Den 20.en April 1638. heb ick dit volmaect met schilderen binnen Haerlem, dus groot* (The 8th of January I finished drawing this. The same size) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Maria kerk te Utrecht no. 1* (St. Mary's Church at Utrecht no. 1).

The attribution based on style of drawing and handwriting is not doubted. From *Den 20.en April* the inscription is in a darker colour of ink; the inscription in the lower right-hand corner is by a later hand. The horizon runs on approximately 1/4 of the height of the sheet; on the gate to the right at the back of the northern aisle the optical point is indicated on this frame, in which the auxiliary-lines, clearly to be followed in red chalk, converge. The ink-lines are traced; according to Swillens (*Saenredam*, p. 110, no. 142) the reverse is blackened, which at present can no longer be ascertained as the sheet is pasted on another paper for consolidation because of numerous torn folds and damaged spots.

Provenance: presented by the directors of Teylers Foundation, Haarlem.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: MULLER, *Mariekerk*, p. 197; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1094; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 162; SWILLÈNS, *Saenredam*, p. 40, no. 142, pl. 137.

Pl. 163

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

163* Interior through the west-part from the north to the south

Pen and chalk - 30 x 39,5 - signed, dated 3 July 1636

Across the whole width of the church the traverse of the nave and of the aisles can be seen from the northern aisle. The separating-arches of the latter come down, in the metrical system, on the pillar at the left, on a column in the middle against the west-wall, and on a half column at the right. In the nave above the door and the two windows, the organ-gallery with projecting Gothic balustrade and bay has been built; it consists of three traverses covered with groined vaults which along the nave-side rests on columns with cubic cushion capitals and Attic bases and at the right along the west-wall are supported by half columns. In the background lie the two traverses of the southern aisle; the wall with three bricked-in epitaphs in the left-hand traverse separates the aisle from the tower-space. On the right of the drawing the cut-off mural arch proves clearly that the originally smaller Romanesque window was enlarged in later years and on the occasion supplied with Gothic fillings. On the floor tomb-stones and flag-stones have been sketched. As decoration there is a mural painting on the pillar in the background; the figure itself cannot be discerned, but the inscription *Thom. aq.* makes identification possible.

Inscription: on the wall in the background under the centre-epitaph: *den 3 Julij 1636. Pr. Saenredam* - under it the indication of the optical point and: *5 voet hoog ruym* (ample 5 feet high) - in the middle above the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Ste Maryenkerck, binnen uijttrecht* (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht).

Provenance: B. Grahame collection, 1878; Sir Edward J. Poynter, London; Sotheby's, London, 25 April 1918, no. 293; sold to Messrs Boyers, Brown & Philips; Leicester Galleries, London; private collection, London.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 17; SWILLÈNS, *Saenredam*, no. 106, pl. 141.

Pl. 164

Paris, F. Lugt collection, Institut néerlandais

164* Interior of the northern aisle from the east to the west

Panel - 34,5 x 49,5 - signed, dated (date illegible, about 1640)

On this painting the northern aisle is seen in all its depth from underneath its separating-arch with the northern transept-arm. The heavy square groined vaults, borne by the corresponding separating and transverse-arches, rest along the north-wall on half columns with cubic cushion capitals standing on the unbroken skirting, along the nave on the specific supports of the metrical system, namely an articulated pillar, alternating with a column, of which the Attic base, rather coarsely interpreted, draws the attention. In the west-wall is the later enlarged window with Gothic tracery. Through the pillars and columns is a vista on the western part of the southern wall of the nave with its aisle-gallery and on the west-corner of the southern aisle. The floor shows a row of big tomb-stones between the flag-stones. The filling-in consists of a woman with child seated on a base of a column, three persons walking in the aisle, a dog and one small figure in the distance.

Inscription: on the plinth of the base of the first column left:
P.Sae...eda....

During recent cleaning of the panel which had severely suffered from overpainting, the greater part of the signature came to light, still legible to some degree; behind the name follows the date which is very difficult to read and can be interpreted 1637 or 1641. That this work must have originated about this time is proved by the similarity in style with some other paintings also depicting interiors of St. Mary's Church, "Interior of nave and choir" (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; no. 149, dated 1641), "Interior of the nave to the west" (Kunsthalle, Hamburg; no. 158, dated 1638), "Interior of the transept" (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; no. 153, dated 1637). Especially with regard to the colours and the effects of light there exist similarities. The tie-bars present on drawing no. 165 are omitted here.

Provenance: private collection, Ireland; bought by D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam; 1937 purchased from D. A. Hoogendijk art gallery, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam 1937, no. 22; Amsterdam 1938, no. 22; Utrecht, *Utrecht's kunst in opkomst en bloei, 650-1650*, Centraal Museum, 1948, no. 49; Utrecht 1953, no. 83, pl. 27.

Literature: C. H. DE JONGE, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, 1597-1665, Interieur van de St. Mariakerk*, in *Jaarverslag over 1937 van de Vereniging Rembrandt*, s.l., 1937, p. 28-30, repr.; SWILLENS, *Historia*, p. 335, pl. p. 332; *Catalogus schilderijen*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1952, no. 240; M. E. HOUTZAGER, in *Utrechtisch Nieuwsblad*, 15 November 1960, repr.

Pl. 165

Utrecht, Centraal Museum

165* Interior of the northern aisle from the east to the west

Pen and chalk - 39,9 x 30,1 - signed, dated 25 July 1636

In some points (absence of filling-in, addition of tie-bars between the columns, slenderer shape of the window in the west-wall) the interior on this drawing differs from the one on painting no. 164 for which it is a preparatory study.

Inscription: on the tie-bar in the separating-arch between aisle and northern transept-arm: *ST. MARYEN KERKCK, BINNEN UYTTRECHT* (St. Mary's Church in Utrecht) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Den 25. Julij A° 1636. Pr. Saenredam, geteijckent* (the 25th of July A° 1636. Pr. Saenredam drew this).

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 69; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 69; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 135; *Zürich* 1953, no. 196.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 20; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1086; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 110, pl. 146.

Pl. 166

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

166* Interior of the western travees of the southern aisle

Panel - 39 x 30 - not signed, not dated (about 1640)

As setting for this small corner of the church serve the transverse arch, the pillar and the half column in the foreground. Through the window in the west-wall (later enlarged and supplied with Gothic tracery) light enters in profusion so that the attention is drawn to the vault-parts. Just as in the northern aisle (see no. 163) the mural arch is cut off above the window. The groined vaults rest on broad transverse and separating-

arches, which are caught by their respective supports, pillars, columns and half columns. On the right between the columns a fragment of the window and the gallery of the nave can still be discerned. On the skirting, which runs along the walls all around the church, a seated man is listening to two standing figures. Against the south-wall one perceives a small epitaph. The floor of tomb-stones and flag-stones is very delicately illuminated by a sun-beam entering through the west-window of the nave.

Inscription: none.

For attribution and date the same grounds are present as for painting no. 164, with which this panel has many similarities in style and colour-treatment.

Provenance: A. G. de Visser collection, The Hague, 1885.

Exhibitions: Bordeaux, *La découverte de la lumière des Primitifs aux Impressionistes*, 1959, no. 121, pl. 20.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 83, no. 424; *Catalogus van schilderijen*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1934, no. 2098; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 34, 46, 59, no. 167, pl. 149; BRINKGREVE, no. 11, p. 38.

Pl. 167

Amsterdam, 's Rijksmuseum

167* Section of an articulated pillar

Pen, lead-pencil and red chalk - 49 x 29,9 - not signed, not dated (1636-1637?)

Within the outline of the base-plinth the composition, in section, is drawn of (a little more than) half of an articulated pillar, consisting of three half columns and two pilasters fixed in alternate succession against the core of the pillar. On the bottom-edge of the sheet a scale-division.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam based on the fact that he needed such sections for his construction-drawings is acceptable, seen in the entirety of his detail-measurements. The dating very probably is still to be placed in 1636, at the latest at the beginning of January 1637 as he undoubtedly used this section for his construction-drawings of St. Mary's Church, of which the earliest one definitely dated - at least of the ones at present known - has been completed January 8, 1637. All auxiliary-lines can clearly be followed. According to Swillens (*Saenredam*, p.

109, no. 138) this measurement was in former days, together with the following three numbers, pasted on construction-drawing no. 162 of this catalogue (in SWILLENS, *Saenredam, l.c.*, pl. 136 to be corrected in 137).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1104; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 200; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 138, pl. 150 b.

Pl. 170

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

168* Two measurements and a section of a column

Pen - 30,3 x 18,1 - not signed, not dated (1636-1637?)

On this sheet stand three details of a column with cubic cushion capital. At the top to the left (half of) a cubic cushion capital of which the profile is completely delineated with some inserted measurements. At the top to the right the same measurements for an Attic base. Under is a big section of cubic cushion and eight-sided capital.

Inscription: none.

The attribution to Saenredam in this case is more certain on the ground of the hand-writing. See for the date under no. 167. On the reverse of this sheet is no. 169.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1104; MULLER, *Authoriteit*, p. 200; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 42, no. 136, pl. 150 a.

Pl. 168

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

169* Sketch with measurements of three columns and a pilaster

Pen - 30,3 x 18,1 - not signed, not dated (1636-1637?)

On this sheet, being the reverse of the preceding number, there are roughly sketched four supporting-elements, of which the shapes point sufficiently clearly to those of St. Mary's Church; from left to right:

- a. a column with eight-sided capital and Attic base; most of the measurements inscribed.
- b. a pilaster with rough indication of impost; the height inscribed.
- c. a column with cubic cushion capital and Attic base, half of it drawn; the measurements of the base inscribed.
- d. a column with cubic cushion capital, without the base; the height inscribed.

Inscription: none.

See for attribution and dating under no. 167.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1104; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 42, no. 135, pl. 150 d.

Pl. 169

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

170* Two profiles and sections of a column-base

Pen - 18,5 x 7,7 - not signed, not dated (1636-1637?)

- a. In the front of this sheet at the upper-half stands a geometrical construction; at the bottom-half the profile of a column with Attic base, with the height inserted.
- b. On the reverse a detail of the same profile and its section.

Inscription: none.

For attribution and date see the remarks under no. 167. Under a. is represented a circle inscribed in a square, on the corners of which another circle has been constructed, in its turn inscribed in a second square. Since the Middle Ages (Villard de Honne-court) this system was applied for the doubling of a surface serving at the same time for the derivation of proportions. Because the diameter of the construction is bigger than that of the base, Saenredam probably tried to find out if this system of proportions was also applied in St. Mary's Church.

Provenance: unknown.

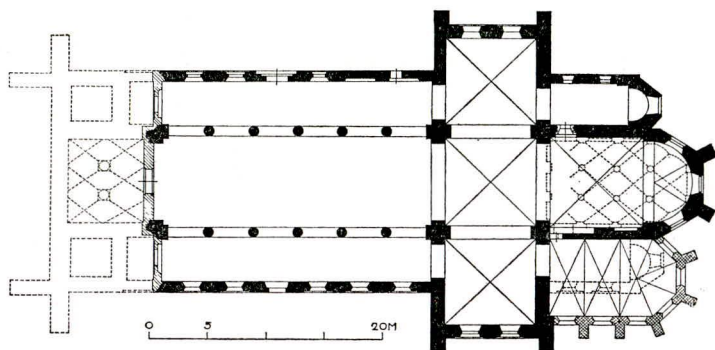
Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 1104; MULLER, *Authortiteit*, p. 200; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 137, pl. 150 c.

Pl. 171

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

UTRECHT, ST. PETER'S MINSTER



Before the middle of the 11th century founded as minster (consecrated in 1408); it forms the east end of the cross of churches around the *Dom* started by bishop Bernoldus (1027-1054). Originally it was a cruciform-basilica flatly covered with wood with two west-towers between which there was a gallery open to the nave (see no. 175). Because of the beautiful crypt the church possesses, the floor of the choir is considerably higher than that of the nave. The floor of the crossing was originally also some steps higher than that of the nave and the transept-aisles. At the end of the 13th century a vault was inserted above choir and transept (see no. 172); at that time the interior form of the apse was carved out from a half-circle to a half-hexagon. In the 14th century the south choir-chapel was enlarged and completely renewed in Gothic style (see no. 173). Serious damage was done by the hurricane of 1674; the whole west-part was destroyed. In its place a simple 17th century front was erected. The extant wooden barrel-vault over the nave was completely renewed. To know what the building was like the drawings of Saenredam are of great value, as they were made before this hurricane. Of old the most characteristic feature of St. Peter's minster was the splendid sandstone pillars, also shown to full advantage on these drawings. The building is the property of the Walloon Reformed Church and since 1956 in restoration.

171* Interior of nave and choir from the west

Panel - 50 x 72,5 - signed, dated 28 November 1654

The sober interior of this church in all its simple grandeur is

observed here from the west. The nave of which the covering is not visible, consists of two rows of columns with Attic bases (in reality much less finely executed) and cubic cushion-capitals on which the round separating-arches rest. These in their turn bear the horizontal upper walls slightly interrupted by a ledge in which small windows have been spared. The crossing-pillars on the crossing support the four heavy arches on which the rather high late 13th century cross-ribbed vault is resting. The same vault-shape is repeated in the choir-traverse; the three-sided apse is illuminated by later inserted Gothic windows. Along the right-hand side the half wooden barrel-vault of the southern aisles (the latter dimly illuminated by a small Romanesque window with Gothic filling and one big window), remains almost completely dark. Like the nave and the choir the southern transept-arm in which two small figures walk is much brighter; between the two crossing-pillars at this part of the church a part of a window of the southern side-chapel can just be seen. The floor of the church composed of big flag-stones and tomb-stones, is on the same level in choir, crossing and nave.

Inscription: on the base of the first column left: *Pr. Saenredam fecit A° 1654 11/28*

The way the church is pictured here, does not correspond with the state in which Saenredam saw it: on the floor he left out the differences in level between nave, crossing and choir as well as the enclosure; on the preparatory drawing no. 172 he observed them. After the cleaning of the painting especially the choir-part shows more to its full advantage.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, *Kersttentoonstelling*, museum Boymans, 1932-1933, no. 15, pl. VI; Haarlem, *Oude Kunst*, Frans Halsmuseum, 1936, no. 36; Rotterdam 1937, no. 18; Amsterdam 1938, no. 18; Utrecht 1953, no. 85, pl. 31; Haarlem 1961, no. 67.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 35, 44, 67, no. 198, pl. 152; BREMMER, no. 5.

Pl. 172

Aerdenhout, J. W. Nienhuys collection

172* Interior of nave and choir from the west

Pen and chalk on blue paper - 28 x 38,2 - signed, dated 27 August 1636

This drawing, though undoubtedly meant as a basis for painting

no. 171, represents the true aspect of the building except for the proportions, which are wider here and more compact. Where the general shape and construction of the building agree with the presentation on the panel, the drawing - completer and more truthful - shows the following elements: the wooden barrel-vault with tie-beams on the nave and the beams on the capitals of this space; in the southern aisle the (half) wooden barrel-vault and the tie-beams; in the northern aisle the same vaulting-elements and a shallow wall-niche; on the east-end of the nave between both crossing-pillars a small wall is erected to close off the nave from the transept which, however, can be entered by a small door with five steps (explained by the level-difference between nave and transept); in the right-hand aisle this enclosure consists of a wooden fence; above the small wall, at the height of the imposts of the pilasters a beam is fixed. In the matter of decoration, too, this interior is furnished more richly because of the mural painting, representing St. Bernoldus, builder of the church, with three church-models, flanked by St. Peter on the left, St. Andrew on the right; above St. Bernoldus the date *m.cccc.xc* is written and under it 1603; under the scene: *RENOVATVM A° M VIc iii*. On the capital of the first column on the right two sirens have been sketched. In the wall of the southern aisle a sepulchral monument is bricked in; in the southern transept-arm above the fence an escutcheon and the upper parts of a few epitaphs can be discerned. Between the two columns of the northern wall of the nave a fragment of a mural painting can be seen, picturing the Tree of Jesse (clearer on drawing no. 173).

Inscription: in the upper right-hand corner: *int Jaer 1636 Den 27en August[us] - on the small partition-wall: Ste. Pieters kerck. Binnen uijtrecht*. (St. Peter's in Utrecht) and indication of the optical point (on the left) with: *5½ voet (5½ foot)* - on the base of the first column on the left: *Pr. Saenredam*.

Provenance: Jeronymus Tonnemans collection, Amsterdam; 21 October 1754 purchased by the town of Utrecht.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 64, pl. XXVI; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 64, pl. XXVI; *Utrecht* 1953, no. 137; *Zürich* 1953, no. 198.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 686; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 6; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 40-41, no. 117, pl. 151; BREMMER, no. 12; A. M. VAN AKERLAKEN, *De Pieterskerk te Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1954, p. 31, 66, pl. III, p. 30.

Pl. 173

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

173* Interior from the southern aisle on choir and southern chapel

Pen, white and black chalk - 30,7 x 39,9 - signed, dated 28 August 1636

From the fifth traverse of the southern aisle, of which four columns and a fragment of the wooden barrel-vault are visible, the eye in the first place is directed towards the southern transept-arm, which, under the separating-arch of the aisle, is closed off by a wooden fence, of which the doors are open; between the crossing and this transept-arm, too, a small wall has been erected. In the east-wall of this transept is a shutter above the separating-arch between transept and southern chapel, which in the 14th century was replaced by the smaller Romanesque one; it has two traverses and a pentagonal enclosure of which some vault-ribs and two windows are visible. On some capitals decorations have been sketched. The bases of the columns are much nearer to reality than those on the preceding painting and drawing. Through the columns a small part, both of the choir, of the nave, of the crossing and of the enclosure-wall in between them, on which a big board in a sculptured frame has been fixed, can be seen. The steps in front of the door point to the considerable difference of level. On the east-wall of the northern transept-arm a mural painting depicts the Tree of Jesse: on a tree-trunk, which runs on towards the bottom (see on drawing no. 172) Mary stands, without child, however, surrounded by the kings of Juda, of whom only the heads have been depicted, sleeping Jesse is hidden by the choir-enclosure. On the floor some tomb-stones have been sketched.

Inscription: on the base of the column on the left: *Den 28en augustus int Jaer 1636. Pr. Saenredam* (the 28th of August in the year 1636. Pr. Saenredam) - at the bottom in the middle above the edge of the sheet: *Ste. Pieters kerck binnen uijtrecht* (St. Peter's Church in Utrecht) - the optical point is indicated on the fence between aisle and transept with: *4½ voet* (foot).

Provenance: 1899 purchased from the C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 65; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 65.

Literature: HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 8; *Suppl. Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 991; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 118, pl. 153; A. M. VAN AKERLAKEN, *De Pieterskerk te Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1954, p. 66, pl. IV, p. 32.

Pl. 176

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

174* Interior of the nave to the west

Panel - 59 x 111 - signed, dated 1644

From the first traverse (counted from the crossing) the whole nave is seen here with the west-part. It must, however, immediately be mentioned that the central part of this panel has been restored in such a way, with drawing no. 175 as example, that it should be considered as practically new while only the sides were left in their original state. The columns here got Tuscan capitals while the separating-arches show a compact shape. Against the west-wall between the two west-towers, lies the last traverse in which a gallery consisting of three arches and resting on two columns was placed; under these arches the west-entrance in the centre can be seen; on both sides a blind window. On this gallery the organ was placed; the back-positive, resting on a polygonal Late Gothic drip-vault in wood, is worked into the balustrade and on its open wings shows a prophet and another figure; the wings to the open main-case are painted, on the left with the vocation of St. Peter, on the right with the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. Under the left-hand wing the case with the bellows can be seen while behind the steeple-shaped crown the Gothic window in the west-wall appears. The southern aisle (on the left) with its half barrel-vault and tie-beams has an entrance-door and two Roman windows with Gothic tracery. In the arched niche over the door an epitaph has been inserted. In the northern aisle, too, the wooden vault, two blind windows and a half open entrance are visible, against the west-wall hangs a big painting representing the Last Judgment; the painting over the entrance can not be identified.

Inscription: on the sepulchral monument on the left above the door: *pieter saenredam heeft dit geschildert int Jaer 1644 de sinte pieters kerck* (Pieter Saenredam painted this in the year 1644 St. Peter's Church) - on the wall beneath: *binnen utrecht* (in Utrecht).

The organ was built about 1520 by Gerrit Petersz. and revised about 1550 by Cornelis Gerritz; it was destroyed because of the collapse of the west-part during the hurricane of 1674 (cat. exhibition *Haarlem* 1961, no. 260).

Provenance: Sundblom collection, Stockholm; Nesecker art gallery, Amsterdam, 1951; D. G. van Beuningen collection, Vierhouten; purchased 1958 with the Van Beuningen collection.

Exhibitions: Paris, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la collection D. G. van Beuningen*, Petit Palais, 1952, no. 118.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 174

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

175* Interior of the nave to the west

Pen, watercolour and chalk - 38,4 x 52,3 - signed, dated 22 August 1636

The drawing represents practically the same interior as painting no. 174 for which it served as a preparation. However, because of its complete authenticity, it is more trustworthy than the panel, which was partly touched up in accordance with this drawing. A typical detail, omitted on the painting, is the cannon-ball which was hung on the arch over the organ in remembrance of the siege of the *Vredenburg* in 1577 (A. M. VAN AKERLAKEN, *De Pieterskerk te Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1954, p. 60). The inscription on the arch over the organ: *AVG 24 accipe posteritas haec quae Fauere remota insaniente Sacrilegio lividus hostiliter mento hoc nabilia fregit ex pacis arce cantaber. december. 24*, is to be found only on the drawing.

Inscription: on the base of the first column on the right: *Den 22. Augustus 1636 bij mij Pieter Saenredam* (the 22nd of August 1636 by me Pieter Saenredam) - in the centre above the bottom edge of the sheet: *Ste Pieters Kerck binnen uijtrecht* (St. Peter's Church in Utrecht) - next to the optical point: *5½ voet* (foot).

Provenance: probably purchased at Jeronymus Tonnemans sale, Amsterdam, 1754.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 66, pl. XXV; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 66, pl. XXV; Dordrecht, *Mens en Muziek*, Dordrechts Museum, 1957, no. 124, pl. XV; *Utrecht* 1959, no. 40; *Haarlem* 1961, no. 60.

Literature: *Top. Atl. Utrecht*, no. 688; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, no. 7; WEISSMAN, pl. 5; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 116, pl. 154; A. M. VAN AKERLAKEN, *De Pieterskerk te Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1954, p. 45, 60, pl. V, p. 33; PETERS, pl. 193; VENTE, pl. 14.

Pl. 175

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

WARMOND

176* Copy of Salomon de Braij's design for Warmond Castle (façade and longitudinal section)

Pen and watercolour - 20,4 x 31 - not signed, dated 11, 12 and 14 August 1632

On this sheet, as appears from the inscription, Saenredam has drawn a copy on a smaller scale of the undoubtedly larger designs made in 1629 by Salomon de Braij for a new wing of Warmond Castle. The upper half of the sheet is taken up by the façade of which two different designs existed; he has drawn one half of both designs cut off exactly in the middle and touching each other. In broad lines the exterior of both parts is similar. The accent lies on the middle of the building around the entrance conceived as a pavilion; on the ground-floor this consists of a projecting balcony on Tuscan columns (see for this the diagonal section on drawing no. 177) and of four Tuscan pilasters bearing an entablature; on it rest four Ionic pilasters supporting a second entablature crowned with a triangular pediment. The left-hand design, somewhat lower and shorter than the right-hand one, has only one window-traverse in the pavilion (along both sides); the pediment, in which an oculus, is also lower. Between the pilasters windows are placed: above them on the ground-floor a second row of smaller openings, in the storey covered with (triangular or arched) pediments. On the right-hand design the superposition of the order, missing as rhythmical and decorative element on the left one which is much simpler, runs on. At the right it was also the intention to decorate the central pediment with statues (a triton and - indistinctly - Diana are indicated). In the wall-surface, exactly in the middle between the corner or corner-termination and the pavilion, a niche is made on both tiers in which a statue can be placed. Over these façades the roof is schematically drawn.

On the lower half of the sheet a longitudinal section is given on which are to be found: the division of this building in a big reception-room downstairs and upstairs and on the corners a smaller room, the doors, the window-openings of which some in the reception-room were meant as niches for statues, the construction of the ceiling and the roof, and on the right-hand design the place and the form of two big mantel-pieces. In two openings in the storey some measurements are inscribed.

Inscription: on the left half of the pediment: *S. Braij 3/6 1629*

- on the right half of the pediment: 3/6 maent/dach 1629 Jaer (- 3/6 month/day 1629 year) in the upper right-hand corner: *Anno 1632 den 11 Augustus ende [crossing in the text] heb ick dit werck met potloot deurgetrocken ende den 12 dito mette pen opgemaect voor Salomon de braij stont op anderhalff vel mediaen pampier was heel net ende moeilijck om naer te maecken Ick hadder wel ruijm anderhalven dach werckx aen. Heb het voor deese noch eens voor de braij gemaect* (Anno 1632 August 11th. And... I have traced this work with lead-pencil and the 12th dito drawn with the pen for Salomon de Braij. it stood on one and a half sheet of medium paper, was very neat and difficult to reproduce. It took me more than one and a half day. Had made a thing like this for de Braij before) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Den 14 Augustij dito heb ick dit voor de bray meede volmaeckt was oock heel net ende even groot als het voorseide hierboven/ende heb ick hier meede ruijm een dach werck aen gehad/ heb het meede noch eens gemaect als het voorseide* (the 14th of August dito I have finished this one, too, for de Braij, was also very neat and as big as the above mentioned and it took me more than a day, have made it once again like above mentioned).

The attribution to Saenredam is established on account of the handwriting. Formerly these drawings were taken for a design of a wing of the town hall in Haarlem (i.a. VERMEULEN, *Handboek III*, p. 168). This wrong conception was rectified by E. H. TER KUILE, *Salomon de Bray en het Huis te Warmond*, in *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken*, XLIII, 1951, p. 71-76, who brings forward convincing proofs and at the same time discusses the aesthetical and historical values of these subjects. Apparently the left design has been executed; however, after the modernising of the house in the 18th century, nothing of this state is left (E. H. TER KUILE, *op. cit.*, p. 73). The drawing is damaged at both upper corners. On the reverse of the sheet is drawing no. 177.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam 1937, no. 43; Amsterdam 1938, no. 43.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 16, 21, 63-64, no. 58, pl. 26; E. H. TER KUILE, *Salomon de Bray en het Huis te Warmond*, in *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken*, XLIII, 1951, p. 71-76 passim, repr. before p. 73; VERMEULEN, *Handboek III*, p. 168-169; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 32.

Pl. 177

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

177* Copy of Salomon de Braij's design for Warmond Castle (diagonal sections and situation-plan)

Pen - 31 x 20,4 - not signed, dated 15 and 18 August 1632, September 1632

At the top left a diagonal section of the central pavilion shows the interior structure and decoration of this wing. In this work especially the balcony resting on Tuscan columns, the construction and the crowning of the pediment, the simple decoration around the doorways, and the roof deserve attention. At the left is also indicated how this wing was linked to the existing older part. A big *A* points to the inscription. Somewhat lower at the right of the sheet a second diagonal section is given, made for the chimneys which are very minutely executed in their construction and in their decoration. The letter *B* points again to the accompanying text; some measurements are inscribed. At the bottom of the sheet, over the whole width, is rather elaborate a situation-drawing indicating the position of the house between moat and roads; among other things the place of the draw-bridge can be noticed (cf. the print of Jan van Lamsvelt from 1712, published by E. H. TER KUILE, *Salomon de Bray en het Huis te Warmond*, in *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken*, XLIII, 1951, p. 71-76). Under this situation-drawing a scale-division has been made.

Inscription: in the upper right-hand corner: *A Den 15 Augustij A° 1632 op een sondach dit voor Salomon de braij voort op gemaect / nademae [1] by sulckx met grootten ernst ende yver begeerde het stont op een mediaen halff vel pampier ende was meede heel net als de voorgaende aen deese ander sijde van dit blat. Somma Ick heb nu van verleeden dinsdach tot nu toe aen de braij sijn dinghen doende geweest.* (A the 15th of August A° 1632 on a Sunday this was quickly made for Salomon de Braij as he wanted this very seriously and anxiously it stood on a medium half piece of paper and was very clear like the preceding one on the other side of this sheet. Altogether I have been busy from last Tuesday till now with de Braij's things) - on the left at the height of the middle of the sheet; *B Den 18 augustij dito dit noch voor de braij gemaect als de drie voorgaende ende hoort meede aan hetselve. hebben een gantsche halven dach (ofte 6 uren) meede besich geweest. ende soude mijn dan in langhen tijt niet meer quellen om ijert te dubbleeren, als Ick hem nu doch voort hielp.* (B the 18th of August dito this also made for de Braij like the three preceding ones and it also belongs to the same. Have worked half a day (or 6 hours) at it and he would no longer bother me to copy something for a long time if I

would help him once again) - on the left above the situation-drawing: *Den 9 September 1632 heb Ick deese gront voor de braij gedubbelt ende gemaect naer een van hem geteijckent dat stont op anderhalff vel pampier in de langhde aen een gepapt; ende was omtrent een halven dach werckx aen voor mijn te doen* (the 9th of September 1632 I have copied this ground-plan for de Braij after one of his drawings which stood on one and a half piece of paper lengthwise pasted together; it was about half a day's work for me) - above the scale: *Rijnlantsche Roeden* (Rijnland decametres or roods).

The attribution is based on the handwriting. The reverse of the sheet shows the sketches no. 176.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, 16, 21, 63-64, no. 59, pl. 27; E. H. TER KUILE, *Salomon de Bray en het Huis te Warmond*, in *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken*, XLIII, 1951, p. 71-76 passim, repr. after p. 72; VERMEULEN, *Handboek III*, p. 168-169; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 32.

Pl. 178

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haarlem

(DESCRIPTION AND PRAISE OF THE TOWN OF HAARLEM.)

The author of this work is Samuel Ampzing (Haarlem, 24 June 1590 - Haarlem, 29 July 1632), a learned minister, at the same time poet and author of other works, with a great interest for history, especially that of Haarlem. In 1619 he was called as minister to Haarlem, and he probably started very soon to collect the material for this publication which was published in 1628 by Adriaen Rooman, the town-printer of Haarlem. From the title of the book the intention of the author is sufficiently clear: *BESCHRYVINGE ENDE LOF DER STAD HAERLEM IN HOLLAND: In Rijm bearbeyd: ende met veele oude ende nieuwe stucken buyten Dicht uyt verscheyde Kronijken/Handvesten/Brieven / Memorien / ofte Gebeugeniszen / ende diergelijke Schriften verklaerd / ende bevestigd. DOOR SAMVEL AMPZING, van Haerlem. Mitsgaders Petri Scriverii LAVRE-KRANZ Voor LAVRENS KOSTER Van Haerlem, Eerste Vinder vande BOEK-DRVCKERYE. De Voor-rede aan den Leser geeft enig onderwijs van onse Nederduytsche Sprake, ende Spellinge, in desen gebruykt, onder den Tytel ofte Opschrift van Nederlandsch Tael-Bericht: handeld ook een weynig van de Rijm-konste, tot nut ende lust der weet-gierigen.*

(Description and Praise of the town of Haarlem in Holland: made in rhyme: and with many old and new documents, not rhymed, from several chronicles, charters, letters, memoirs or remembrances and such papers explained and corroborated. By Samuel Ampzing, of Haarlem. Together with Petri Scriverius' Laurel-wreath for Laurens Koster of Haarlem, inventor of the art of printing. The preface to the reader gives some tuition in our Low German language and spelling used in this, under the title or heading of Dutch language-news; deals also a little with the art of rhyming to the advantage and pleasure of those eager to learn). Thus he sketches the history of the lords of Haarlem, the foundation and the development of the town, the most important buildings and curiosa, and the surroundings. Several pages are further devoted to cultural activities and scholars, to the character and psychology of the inhabitants of Haarlem, their means of support; at the end a separate part is added which deals with an important chapter of the history of Haarlem, namely *PETRI SCRIVERII LAVRE-CRANS Voor LAVRENS COSTER Van Haerlem, Eerste Vinder Vande BOECK-DRVCKERY* (Peter Scriverius' laurel-wreath for Laurens Koster inventor of the art of printing.) An important share for the illustrations was supplied by Saenredam with his drawings which were transferred on plate mostly by Jan van de Velde, but also by Willem Akersloot. The drawings Saenredam made cannot be dated exactly, but were accomplished not later than 1628, the year in which the book was published; some even will have been made already before or in 1626 as appears from the date of no. 190.

Three of these presentations, viz. the Great Church (no. 27 and no. 31) and the Town-hall (no. 88), which belong to the illustrations of this book, have already been treated with the buildings in question.

178* View of the town and surroundings

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 16,1 x 23,4 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

In the centre runs the Spaarne on which several boats are sailing, flowing towards the distant town where it forms part of the fortification-moat. Between two towers a bridge spans this river. Altogether in the background the town stretches out almost across the whole width of the print. Above the mass of houses which, as it were, are compressed by the ramparts provided with round turrets, numerous towers arise with the profile of the Great Church in the centre. On the left of the Spaarne lies a meadow, outlined by ditches, on which cows graze; in the foreground a small figure sits sketching on a hill while two others look at the landscape. On the right-hand bank of the river several houses have been built, and a few wind-mills stand in the wooded landscape. In the sky, taking up approximately half of the height of the picture, floats against the edge of the sheet a band with inscription: *HARLEMUM. Civitas Hollandiae per-vetusta, totiusque Kinleimariae. Metropolis, speciosa, nitida, ampla, frequens, solers, rara virtutis atque industriae, laude nobilis, situque ac natura loci longe omnium prima*. On the left of it the arms of Haarlem, on the right the arms with „the bare tree”, in a certain way also considered as the arms of this town.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *P. Zaenredam, Invent. J. v. Velde, sculp.* - under the picture a Dutch poem of three stanzas, each of four lines:

*Siet hier, een oude Stad, voor duysend jaer geboren,
En daer en boven noch wel honderd jaer te voren,
Het sy dat Ridder Lem, gelijk men meest so seyde,
Of liever 't Haerlemsch Huys' haer gronden heeft geleyde.*

*Hoe meen'ge schoone Kerk! hoe meen'gen hogen Toren!
Hoe menig heerlyk Huys! Te recht weleer verkoren
Om haer zieraed en roem, om haere deugd en lof,
En welgelegenheyde tot onser Graven Hof!*

*Wie isser die de Stad naer waerde kan beschryven,
K beken dat ik gewis te kort sou moeten blyven;*

*En kon ik so ik won, so ik genegen ben,
So is de plaetz te kleyen, de plaet houd mijne pen.*

(See here an old town, born thousand years ago,
and on top of that certainly another hundred years
of which either a knight Lem as is mostly said,
or rather the Haarlem House laid her foundations.

How many beautiful churches! how many high towers!
How many noble Houses! Justly formerly chosen
because of her ornament and glory, because of her virtue and
praise,
And a good site as court of our Count.

Who is he that can describe the town, according to her value
I confess that I certainly would fail,
And could I as I wanted, as I feel inclined
the space would be too small, the plate restraints my pen).

This representation precedes p. 1.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 165-166, no. 2; SWILLENS,
Saenredam, no. 19, pl. 18.

Pl. 179

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

179* Ground-plan in bird's-eye view of the town

Etching by Willem Akersloot - 16,2 x 23,8 - signed, not dated
(before or in 1628)

The town is seen here from the south. Its ramparts consist of a broad moat, which is crossed on the right below and at the top against the edge of the sheet by the Spaarne meandering through the town, and of a wall with towers and fortified gateways, to which bridges form the entry. Rather precisely detailed the streets can be followed and (thanks to the legend) the most important buildings be recognized, i.a. in the middle the Great Church, next to it the fish-hall and the town hall. Around the moat run the main roads to the town and lie the fields, meadows and some houses. Numerous ships sail on the Spaarne or lie moored alongside the quay. In the upper left-hand corner a little angel carries the arms of the „Bare Tree”, in the right-hand one the arms of Haarlem. Against the left-hand edge in the middle a compass-card indicates the north.

Inscription: in the middle against the upper edge of the sheet in a left open space: *HAERLEM* - in the lower right-hand corner of the scene in an outlined upright rectangle the following legend in two columns:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Groote Kerk.</i> | (1. Great Church). |
| 2. <i>Klock-huys.</i> | (2. Belfry). |
| 3. <i>Stad-huys.</i> | (3. Town Hall). |
| 4. <i>tSand.</i> | (4. tSand). |
| 5. <i>Prinzenhof.</i> | (5. Prince's court). |
| 6. <i>Sylkerk.</i> | (6. "Syl" Church). |
| 7. <i>Weeshuys.</i> | (7. Orphanage). |
| 8. <i>S. Ursel.</i> | (8. St. Ursula's). |
| 9. <i>Pesthuys.</i> | (9. Plague house). |
| 10. <i>S. Janskerk.</i> | (10. St. John's). |
| 11. <i>Fransche kerk.</i> | (11. French Church). |
| 12. <i>Bakenesser kerk.</i> | (12. "Bakenesser" Church). |
| 13. <i>Kamper kerk.</i> | (13. 'Kamper' Church). |
| 14. <i>S. Elisabeths Gasthuys.</i> | (14. St. Elizabeth's Hospital). |
| 15. <i>Oude Mannen huys.</i> | (15. Old men's home). |
| 16. <i>Nieuwe Doelen.</i> | (16. New shooting-range). |
| 17. <i>St. Annenkerk.</i> | (17. St. Anne's Church). |
| 18. <i>Werkhuys.</i> | (18. Work-house). |
| 19. <i>Ossemarkt.</i> | (19. Ox-market). |
| 20. <i>Oude Doelen.</i> | (20. Old shooting-range). |
| 21. <i>Sparen.</i> | (21. Spaarne). |
| 22. <i>Oudegraft.</i> | (22. Old Canal). |
| 23. <i>Bakenesser graft.</i> | (23. Bakenesser canal). |
| 24. <i>Burgwal.</i> | (24. Castle-moat). |
| 25. <i>Raemgraft.</i> | (25. Raem canal). |
| 26. <i>Volders graft.</i> | (26. Fuller's canal). |
| 27. <i>Sydgraft.</i> | (27. Side canal). |
| 28. <i>Raekx.</i> | (28. Raekx). |
| 29. <i>Beek.</i> | (29. Brook). |

as well as: *P. Zaenr. inv. W. Akersl. sc.* - under the scene a Dutch poem of three stanzas, each of four lines:

*Dit's Haerlem so sy leyt in haere vest besloten,
 Wiens deugden niemands mond noch penne kan begroten,
 Gelegen in een Land de wereld door vermaerd,
 En sy den meesten lof van alle steden waerd.*

*Oud, volk-ryk, schoongeboud, vol-timmerd, wel-gelegen,
 In 't midden van het Land, aen lieflyke wegen,
 Aen veld, aen bosch, aen duyn, aen meynen, aen de see,
 Vorwaer een Paradys en een volmaekte Stee!*

*Haer daden syn bekend voor veele honderd jaeren,
Als veele sieden hier noch ver te zoeken waeren,
Noem ik de Burgery, Raed, Wetten, Wetenschap,
Wat in en om haer is, is op den hoogsten trap.*

(This is Haarlem as she lies enclosed within her fortifications, whose virtues nobody's mouth nor pen can describe, situated in a country famous throughout the world, and worth the most praise of all cities.

Old, populous, beautifully laid out, well-built, well-situated,
In the middle of the country on lovely roads,
on field, wood, dune, lakes and the sea,
Truly a paradise and an ideal city!

Her deeds have been known for many hundreds of years,
when not many towns could yet be found here
I mention the citizens, councillors, laws, science,
what is in and around her, is of the highest standard).

This ground-plan follows the preceding number before p. 1.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: EISLER, p. 148, pl. c; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 27, pl. 22.

Pl. 180

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

180* Seal of the lords of Haarlem

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 15,9 x 12,1 - signed, not dated
(before or in 1628)

From a strip of imitated old parchment against the upper edge of the sheet hangs a tail on which the round seal is fixed. Within the legend: Sv. SIMONIS + DE HARLEM MILITIS + a knight in armour on horseback is pictured; with his left hand he holds his escutcheon before his breast; with the stretched right one a sword. The jumping horse carries a caparison; under the seal the tail is split in two; because of this the year 1261 is divided. Left above the seal is the coat of arms of Simon, lord of Haarlem with the legend: S. SIMON. VAN HAERLEM; right at the top that of Hendrik, lord of Haarlem with the legend: INRIC [scratched out ?] VAN HAERLE[M].

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the sheet: *Zaenre-*

dam, inuent, - in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet:
Velde, sculp. - between both under the scene a Dutch poem
of four lines:

*Dit plagt de Segel-ring van t'Haerlemsch Huys te wesen,
Waerdoor hun naem en roem wel dapper word gepresen:
En daerom word dit hier tot eer van dat Geslacht,
En lof van onse Stad, van mij in 't licht gebragt.*

(This used to be the seal-ring of the Haarlem House
through which their name and glory is considerably praised.
and therefore this here is as an honour to that family
and praise of our city made by me).

This representation faces p. 4.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 166, no. 3; SWILLENS, *Saen-
redam*, no. 18.

Pl. 190

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

181* View of Brederode Castle

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 16 x 23,9 - signed, not dated
(before or in 1628)

In the foreground lies a road along which a man, a woman and
a child walk from right to left, along a piece of land partly
enclosed by a fence on which two small rabbits frolic. Behind
it follows a meadow with grazing cows. Next on the second
plan against a higher sky rise the ruins of the probably 13th
century Brederode Castle. It consists of a compact, close mass,
crumbled off on top above which rises a small spire. It is sur-
rounded over the whole width by trees and houses. Against the
background some hills.

Inscription: in the left-hand corner of the scene: *P. Zaenredam,
inuent*, *J. V. Velde. Sculp.* - under it a Dutch poem of three
stanzas each of four lines:

*Hier siet gy Brederode geteykent naer het leven.
So aerdig als 't ons pen of stift sou konnen geven,
So 't tegenwoordig noch verwoest bedorven leyt,
Wat is' al 's menschen doen toch meer dan ydelheyt.*

*Gy siet wel aen 'tgewelt der mueren, ende steenen,
Dat dit Kasteel weleer wat wonders heeft geschenen,
Aen d'oever vanden Ryn van onsen Graef gesticht.
Waert' weder als' het was, waert weder op-gericht!*

*Gy siet met eenen ook een lange laen met bomen.
Eer dat gy hier aen 't huys van Bredero kont komen,
Die tot de Woning leyt van Burgermeester Loo,
Hard tegen aenden Duyn en dicht by Bredero.*

(Here you see Bredero drawn from life.
As nice as our pen or pencil could make it,
As it at present still lies destroyed
What is all people's doing more than vanity.

You see from the massiveness of the walls and stone,
that this Castle must formerly have been something wonderful
Founded by our Count on the bank of the Rhine.
That it were again as it was, that it were again erected!

You see at the same time a long avenue with trees
before you could arrive here at the House of Bredero,
which leads towards the House of Burgomaster Loo,
just against the dune and near Bredero).

This representation follows p. 76.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 167, no. 6; SWILLENS, *Saen-
redam*, p. 54-55, no. 22, pl. 20.

Pl. 183

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

182* View on the ruins of Assumburg Castle

Etching - 10,1 x 15,4 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

A landscape, far stretching along the right side shows on a overgrown hill on the left the ruins of *Oud-Haarlem* castle. Four wall-fragments, of which one is a little higher than the other, are the only remnants; on the left of it the spire of a church-tower stands out. On the second plan the towers and roofs of Assumburg Castle rise above a dense wood. Quite in the distance on the right a church with surrounding houses can still be perceived.

In the foreground stand or lie eight cows in the grass and amidst plants, at the utmost right, walks an angler with his rod. Above this landscape a clouded sky.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the picture: *P. Zaenredam, fecit* - under the picture a Dutch poem of two stanzas, each of our lines:

*Hoe pragtig staet dit Slot van Assumburg verheven!
Maer waer is 't oud kasteel van 't Haerlemsch Huys gebleven,
So oud als Haerlem is' naer Junius bericht
Heeft dese Stam dit Huys en onse Stad gesticht.*

*Eylaes! hoe heerlijk leyt dat heerlijk Slot geschonden!
Maer siet wat word daer by een nieu Kasteel gevonden!
Het Assendelfsche Huys is aen die Stam getrouwd,
Dies heeft die Stam haer Slot by dat Kasteel geboud.*

(How beautiful this Castle of Assumburg arises!
But where remained the old castle of the Haarlem Family,
As old as Haarlem is according to Junius
this family founded this House and our town.

Alas! How pitiful that precious Castle has been damaged!
But look what is found near it a new Castle!
The Assendelft House is married into that family,
Therefore that family built its Hall near that Castle).

This representation can be found after p. 80.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 54-55, no. 23, pl. 16.

Pl. 185

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

183* Exterior of Berkenro Castle

Etching - 10,2 x 15,5 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

In the wooded landscape and surrounded by a moat lies this castle, partly in ruins. It consists of an inner court surrounded by four wings with four corner-towers. Of the latter only the stumps are left in which cross-windows have been inserted; at the front the towers are screened by a roof; at the back they are overgrown with low shrubs. In the wing at the front there

are three windows; two of them have open shutters. Against the corner-tower on the right a small wooden outbuilding has been added forming the entrance, to be reached along a small wooden bridge across the moat. Two richly dressed ladies and several animals take up the foreground.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner of the picture: *P. Zaenredam, fecit* - under the picture a Dutch poem of two stanzas, each of four lines:

*Dit is een Graeflijk leen, 't Slot Berkenro geheten.
Het welk het Haerlemsch Huys van dien dag heeft beseten,
Dat Jan van Haerlem dat van onsen Graef ontving,
Aen wien van Velsens hand de vader-moord beging.*

*Daer woond die Stam noch op, door Berk'ro schier vergeten,
Hoe na is ook die Stam genoeg tot een versleten!
En 't slot is meest vernield! Ik wensch dan om dien dag,
Dat God die ed'le Stam, en sy 't Slot bouwen mag.*

(This is a fief of the count, called Castle Berkenro which the Haarlem Family owned from that day that John of Haarlem received it from our Count on whom van Velsen's hand committed patricide.

There the family is still living almost forgotten by Berk'ro
How much worn out is also that family all but one!
And the castle is mostly destroyed! I wish for that day
that God may built up that noble family and that they may
rebuilt the castle!).

This representation comes after p. 88.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 24, pl. 15.

Pl. 186

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

184* View of the ruins of Kleef Castle

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 15,9 x 23,5 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

Left in front of a hilly background the ruins of the castle, destroyed at the siege of Haarlem in 1573, are outlined against a cloudy sky. The heavy, broad keep is preserved best as far as its

crenels, on its left stand a few crumbled walls, on the right the low mass of a corner-part is left. The ruins stand, together with a farm, within a fence lined with trees which runs as far as an out-building; a wide meadow with cows is bordered by a ditch next to which in the foreground overgrown with plants three gentlemen have a look at the ruins.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner of the scene: *P. Zaen-redam inv. and J. V. Velde sculp.* - under the scene a Dutch poem of three stanzas each of four lines:

*Dit is het Huys te Kleef so 't huysden word gevonden,
In ons Beleg vernield, in ons Beleg geschonden:
Daer Frederico lag als hy de stad besloot.
Daer Frederico lag als hy de stad beschoot.*

*Wie dattet heeft gesticht kan niemand seker weten,
Maer hoe het is verwoest en is noch niet vergeten.
Foey Spanjaerd die ons' land soo deerlyk hebt geprangd'.
En foey hem die ook noch na syne komst verlangd!*

*Wat dit nu voor een huys mag syn geweest voor desen
Begrypt eenyder licht die op syn huysdig wesen,
En hoog en wyd begryp syn wacker oge slaet.
Waert soo weer opgeboud, het waer ons' lands zieraed.*

(This is Kleef Castle as it is at present,
in our siege destroyed, in our siege damaged.
There Frederico lay when he encircled the town
There Frederico lay when he fired at the town

Who founded it nobody knows for certain
But how it was destroyed is not yet forgotten.
Woe to the Spaniard who has oppressed our country so badly.
And woe to him who still longs for his arrival.

Whatever this house may have been before
everyone that looks with open eyes at its present state
and high and wide extension will easily understand,
if it were rebuilt, it would be an ornament to our country).

This illustration follows the preceding number before p. 89.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 167, no. 7; SWILLENs, *Saen-redam*, no. 21, pl. 19.

185* The siege of Haarlem

Etching by Willem Akersloot - 16,2 x 24,3 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

The town is seen here in bird's-eye view perspective from the north amidst the landscape surrounding it. The ramparts, the houses and most of the buildings are rather small and indicated without detail; the Great Church on the contrary rises as a hall-mark above the besieged town. The north-wall withstood in the siege the heaviest shocks; most of the towers have been shot down and in the Cross-gateway a breach has been made (see detail on drawing no. 197). Opposite this gateway numerous gun-positions are raised from where the town is harassed. The greater part of the Spanish army has also along this side set up their encampments, between the Spaarne (left) and Kleef Castle (in the lower right-hand corner). Troops march upon the town and cavalrists come riding across the Spaarne. On the right in the background lie along the border of the dunes part of the German troops; at the south of the town the other Germans and Walloons are encamped. In the left background a naval-battle is fought. The foreground is formed by a plateau overgrown with grass serving as repoussoir on which also tents are pitched; in the left-hand corner an outlined upright rectangle held by a putto, in which the explanation of the references. Between the horizon and the upper edge of the sheet in the middle a banderole with *TBELEG VAN HAERLEM* (Siege of Haarlem); on the left of it the arms of Holland, on the right the arms of Haarlem. In the Spaarne a compass-card is indicated.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner of the scene: *P. Zaen-redam invent.* - in the upper right-hand corner of the scene *W. Akersloot sculpt.* - in the lower right-hand corner of the scene the following legend in two columns:

1. *Afgescotene S. Ians.* 2. *ende Kruyz poort.* 3. *Overveen.* 4. *Walen onder Capres.* 5. *Eerste wachte.* 6. *Huys te Kleef, leger plaetze van Don Frederico.* 7. *Spaensch leger onder Noircarmes.* 8. *'t leger van Bossu.* 9. *Leprosen.* 10. *Reguliers.* 11. *'s vijands brugge overt sparen.* 12. *Lie.* 13. *Fuyk.* 14. *Scheeps strijt op 't Meyr.* 15. *Rustenburg.* 16. *'s vyands ander brugge.* 17. *Heemstede.* 18. *Duytschen onder Oversteyn en Walen ondr Liques.* 19. *Noch duytschen.* 20. *Spanpaerds de S. Liga.* 21. *Sandvoort.* A. *Prinzen schans.* B. *'s vyands schanze.* a. *gewesene hooge Molen.* b. *Schutterstoren.*

(1. Shot-off St. John's. 2. and Cross-gateway. 3. Overveen. 4. Walloons under Capres. 5. First guards. 6. Cleves House encamp-

ment of Don Frederico. 7. Spanish army under Noircarmes. 8. and the army of Bossu. 9. Lepers. 10. Regulars. 11. Bridge of the enemy across the Spaarne. 12. Lie. 13. Bow net. 14. Naval-battle on the Lake. 15. Rustenburg. 16. Other bridge of the enemy. 17. Heemstede. 18. Germans under Oversteyn and Walloons under Liques. 19. more Germans. 20. Holy League of the Spaniards. 21. Zandvoort. A. Redoubt of the Prince. B. Redoubt of the enemy. a. former high mill. b. Marksman-tower.) - under the scene a Dutch poem of three stanzas each of four lines:

*Siet hoe de Spanjaerds hier de Haerlemmers benouwen!
En hoe 't Haerlemmers so seven maenden houwen,
En dat vijandig heyr van hunne wallen slaen!
Noch most die vrome Stad door honger overgaen!*

*Gy hebt den Spaenschen arm voor uwe Stad gebroken,
o vrome Bataviers! en synen trotz gewroken,
En 't gantsche vaderland een seker heyl bereyd.
Die krone komt u toe voor uwe dapperheyd!*

*Gy weet wat Spanjen is, en wat wy daer verwachten,
Graveert dat in uw hert, en houd't het in gedachten,
Doet als' gy hebt gedaen, en sterkt uw moed, en hand,
En offert goed en bloed voor God, en 't vaderland.*

(See how here the Spaniards press the Haarlem people?
And how the Haarlem people keep up like this for seven months
and beat the enemy from their ramparts,
still this pious town had to surrender because of famine.

You have broken down the Spanish army in front of your town,
O pious Batavians! and avenged its pride,
and given all the native country a secure faith.
This crown is due to you for your valour!

You know what Spain is and what we can expect of her.
Engrave that in your heart and keep it in mind,
Do as you did and strengthen your courage and hand,
and sacrifice goods and blood for God and your country!).

This ground-plan follows p. 164.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 25, pl. 17.

Pl. 181

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

186* Ground-plan in bird's-eye view of the town after the siege

Etching by Willem Akersloot - 15,9 x 24,2 - signed, dated 1628

Practically the whole sheet is covered here with the ground-plan of the town; it is seen here from the south. In the main lines this representation agrees with etching no. 185; it is a little less detailed; the houses destroyed at the siege leave big open spots; also several gateways and bridges have disappeared and the surrounding land is completely bare. In the upper left-hand corner a small angel holds the arms of Holland, in the right-hand one the arms of Haarlem; under the angel at the left-hand side an open space with the legend: *HAERLEM Verwoest door Beleg, ende Brand: ten tydt als sy wederom gekomen was onder de Regeringe vanden Prinze van Oranjen A°. 1578.* (Haarlem destroyed by siege and fire in the time that she has come back under the government of the Prince of Orange A°. 1578).

In the lower right-hand corner an upright rectangle is outlined with references. The compass-card stands in the middle against the edge of the sheet.

Inscription: in the upper right-hand corner of the scene: *Eerst gedaen door Thomas Thomassen ende Johannes à Doetekum. Nu verkleynt door Pieter Zaenredam ende Willem Akersloot. A° 1628.* - (First done by Thomas Thomassen and Johannes à Doetekum. Now reduced by Pieter Zaenredam and Willem Akersloot. A° 1628) - in the lower right-hand corner of the scene the following legend in two columns:

1. Huys daer de Brand begon. 2. Halve maen. 3. Afgeschote kruys. 4. ende S. Ians' poort. 5. S. Cecilienkloos[ter]. 6. S. Ian Baptist. 7. S. Marien. 8. S. Nikolaes kerk. 9. S. Augustijnen. 10. S. Antonis. 11. Karmelyten. 12. Minrebroeders. 13. S. Claren. 14. S. Michiel. 15. S. Annen. 16. Doelen vande oude Schuts'. 17. Ramen. 18. Barvoete Susters. 19. Oud Pest huys. 20. S. Gangolfs afgebrande kerke. 21. Oud verbrand Gasthuys. 22. Velhuys. 23. Vroumorissen. 24. Jakobijnen. 25. Syl. 26. S. Katharijn. 27. S. Ursul. 28. Witte Heren. 29. S. Magdaleen. 30. Sinte Margariet.
- (1. House where the fire started. 2. Half-moon. 3. Shot-off cross. 4. and St. John's gateway. 5. St. Cecilia's nunnery. 6. St. John the Baptist. 7. St. Mary's. 8. St. Nicholas' Church. 9. Augustins. 10. St. Anthony's. 11. Carmelites. 12. Minorites. 13. St. Clara's. 14. St. Michael's. 15. St. Anne's. 16. Range of the citizen soldiery.

17. Windows. 18. Barefooted Sisters. 19. Old Plague-house. 20. St. Gangolf 's burned-down church. 21. Old burned Hospital. 22. Hide house. 23. *Vroumorissen* 24. Jacobines. 25. *Syl.* 26. St. Catherine's. 27. St. Ursula's. 28. White Canons. 29. St. Magdalen's. 30. St. Margaret's). - under the scene a Dutch poem of three stanzas each of four lines:

*Siet hier de goede Stad van Haerlem als gestorven!
Siet hier de goede Stad tot inden grond bedorven,
En heel en al verwoest door 'tbloedig swaerd, en vier!
Wat is de kryg een pest, en al-vernielend dier!*

*Maer sietze nu eens aen. O wat een heerlijk wesen!
Hoe isze uyt haer val en jammer opgeresen!
Besiet haer groei en bloei en loffelijken stand,
Door Godes segening en vaderlijke hand!*

*Maer laet des Heeren naem niet meer door onse sonden
Niet meer door onsen stank en grouw'len syn geschonden!
Het oude is genoeg: wy syn genoeg geleerd:
T is best dat wy den Heer en dat by ons ook eerd!*

(See here the good town of Haerlem as dead!
See here the good town ruined to the ground.
and totally destroyed by bloody sword and fire!
What a plague is the war, an all-destroying animal!

But look now again. What a delightful being!
How has she risen from her downfall and sorrow.
Look at her prosperity and bloom and high standard
by God's blessing and fatherly hand!

But let the name of the Lord no longer be soiled by our sins
neither more by our stench and atrocities
The past is enough: we have learned enough:
It is best that we honour the Lord and he also honours us!).

Illustration following immediately the preceding number,
before p. 105.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 8, no. 26, pl. 21.

Pl. 182

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

187* Interior of a printing-office

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 16 x 11,8 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

Behind a wooden trestle diagonally placed in the foreground, stands a printer wearing an apron who lays a just printed sheet of paper, divided in four pages, on a heap. He partly hides the press with which another printer is engaged, so that only the wooden upper structure attached to the ceiling by straining-beams, the lever, the double frisket and the form foundation remain visible.

Against the wall on the left stands a table whereupon among other things two ink-tampons are lying and the small wooden hammer to break in the form. Next to the table a barrel, containing soot, above the table on a shelf five jars with oil, ingredients serving for the ink-preparation in the printing-office. Against the back-wall, decorated with a landscape-painting and a few printed proverbs, stand under the window a series of type-cases, on which a compositor sitting on a chair is hard at work. In front of the left typecase a pile of paper lies ready on a low table.

Inscription: above the scene: *Boekdruckerije te Haerlem gevonden ontrent het Jaer 1440* (Printing-office found in Haarlem about the year 1440). - in the lower left-hand corner: *P. Zaenredam, inuent.* - the in lower right-hand corner: *J. v. velde sculpsit.* - underneath the picture in the middle a Dutch poem of four lines:

*Wat is de Druckery een konst wel hoog te roemen!
En wat is Haerlem ook wel over-waerd te noemen!
O ed'le wyse Stad, die dese konst eerst vond!
Wat schort hier Mentz de neus? Diefegge snoert den mond.*

(How high to praise is the art of printing!
And how well worth to talk about Haarlem too!
O noble wise town which as first invented this art!
What is wrong with the nose of Mainz? Thief, keep your
mouth shut!).

The remarkable thing is that about 1440 no wooden press of this model was used yet. From the division of the type-cases, little changed since then, it is very clear they are working here with loose cast letters. The etching stands opposite p. 376.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 167, no. 8; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 55, no. 16, pl. 3.

Pl. 189

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

188* Interior of a printing-office

Etching by Jan van de Velde - 16,1 x 12,5 - signed, not dated (before or in 1628)

The press is shown in front view and has practically the same model as no. 187. Only here the moment is pictured when the sheet of paper, under velt and under the frisket spanned with rough linnen, lies on the form which has been pushed in while the printer bracing himself on the small shelf under the press, with one short movement to the lever, makes the upper-foundation come down and so achieves the printing. The accessories (brush, correction-pincers, two gouges and a hammer) have been put on the press. On the left a printer divides the ink evenly over two tampons with which the form will be inked again; over his head a shelf with five oil-jars. On the right a type-setter is working.

Inscription: above the scene: *TYPOGRAPHIA HARLEMI PRIMVM INVENTA Circa Annum. 1440.* - in the lower left-hand corner of the sheet: *Zaenredam invent.* - in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet: *velde sculp.* and *P. Scriverius.* - underneath the scene a Latin poem of four lines by P. Scriverius:

*Currat penna licet, tantum vix scribitur anno,
Quantum uno reddunt praela Batava die.
Addidit inventis aliquid Germania tantis:
Hollandus coepit, Theuto peregit opus.*

This interior stands in the *Laure-crans* (laurel-wreath) opposite p. 100. The Municipal Archives at Haarlem possess a reverse of the same representation (except for a few small details) (no. VS XVII - 36), though not signed.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 168, no. 12; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 55, 189, no. 17, pl. 2.

Pl. 187

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

189* Study of a printing-press

Pen, water-colour and partly brush - 17,4 x 26,3 - not signed, not dated (before 1628)

This drawing is a preparatory study for etching no. 188 in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, representing the central part of it. On the right of the sheet a quick sketch of a compositor sitting in front of a type-case and a less distinct study of a printer pulling the lever. On the left of the sheet a sketch of a table whereupon (probably printed) paper lies. Left and right of the press a sketch of a part of the press.

Inscription: N^o 987 P. Zaenredam

The attribution is based on the way of drawing and on the fact that this sketch is without doubt a preparation for etching no. 188. The inscription *no. 987 P. Saenredam* inserted in the upper right-hand corner is by a later hand. The left edge of the sheet is damaged. On the reverse of this sheet is the interior of the Great Church of Haarlem (no. 56).

Provenance: de Grez collection, Brussels; presented by Mme la Douairière de Grez approx. 1911.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Inventaire des dessins donnés à l'Etat belge par Mme la Douairière de Grez*, Brussels, 1913, no. 3119; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 5, 55, no. 15, pl. 1.

Pl. 188

Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts

LOOSE ETCHINGS, ENGRAVINGS, AND THEIR PREPARATORY SKETCHES

190* The siege of the city of Haarlem

Engraving by Cornelis van Kittensteijn - 38,2 x 50,3 - signed, dated 1626

This representation of the town and surroundings from the north seen in bird's-eye view perspective during the siege, agrees for the greater part with those in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge* (no. 185). In the details it is, however, more precise and more polished. On the banderole on top: *TBELEG DER STAD HAERLEM Vande 11.en Decemb. 1572 totten 13 Iuly. 1573* (Siege of the town of Haarlem from the 11th of December 1572 till the 13th of July 1573). The rectangle with the references in the lower left-hand corner has a somewhat different decoration.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner of the scene the following legend in two columns:

Afgeschoten 1. St. Ians-. 2. Kruijs Poort. 3. Overveen. 4. Het Walses quartier aen Duijn onder Mr. de Capres. 5. eerste wachte. 6. Huys te Kleef 'tlogement van Don Frederico à Toledo soone van Ferdinando Alvar Hertog van Alba, onder wiens gouvernement de stadt belegerd was. 7. Het Spaensche Leger. 8. Het Walsch quartier onder Monsr. de Noircarmes; tot syn rechterhand leggende. Maximilianus Grave van Bossu Stadhouder van Holland. 9. Leprosen. 10. Reguliers. 11. s vyands brugge overt sparen. 12. Lie. 13. Fuyck. 14. Scheep-strijd opt Haerlemmer Meyr. 15. Rustenburg. 16. s. vyants andere Brugge overt Sparen. 17. Heemstede. 18. Het Duytsche Leger int Bosch, soo onder den grave van Oversteijn, als het Walsche Quartier onder Monsr. de Liques. 19. Deselve Duytsche aen Duijn. 20. Het Spaensche Quartier de S. Liga aen Duyn. 21. Santvoort ende de Noord Zee. A. Des Princen schanssen tot sekerbeyt ende bevrijdinge der Schepen opt Haerlemmer Meyr. B. sVyands Schanssen. a. de geweese hoge Molen. b. Ende Schutters Toren.

(shott off I. St. John's 2. Cross Gateway. 3. Overveen. 4. Walloon quarters against the dunes under Mr. de Capres. 5. first guard. 6. Kleef Castle, hostel of Don Frederico à Toledo, son of Ferdinando Alvar Duke of Alba, under whose government the town was besieged. 7. The Spanish army. 8. The Walloon detachment under Monsr. Noircarmes; on the right hand is quartered Maximilianus Count of Bossu Stadtholder of Holland. 9. Lepers. 10. Regulars. 11. The enemy's bridge across the Spaarne. 12. Lie. 13.

Bow-net. 14. Naval engagement on Haarlem Lake. 15. Rustenburg. 16. Other Bridge of the enemy across the Spaarne. 17. Heemstede. 18. The German army in the wood under the count van Oversteyn as well as the walloon detachment under Monsr. de Liques. 19. same Germans against the dunes. 20. The Spanish detachment of the Holy League against the dunes. 21. Zandvoort and the North Sea. A. The redoubts of the Prince for safety and liberation of the ships on Haarlem Lake. B. The redoubts of the enemy. a. the former high mill. b. and marksman tower. - under the legend: *P. Saenredam invent. C. van Kittensteyn sculpt. Gerardus Pas Excud. A°.* 1626.

This engraving is not in S. AMPZING, *Beschrijvinge*, but is directly connected with the representation inserted therein. Of special interest is the date 1626 which shows that already before that year Saenredam made the preparatory sketches which served both for this engraving and the illustration of the *Beschrijvinge*.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 7, no. 10, pl. 8.

Pl. 191

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

The following drawings are preparatory studies for the views of the town and of the siege of Haarlem. The attribution is mainly based on the style of drawing, with some of them also on the handwriting as well as on the obvious connection with the execution in print. Thus they can be put in the years preceding the publication of Ampzing's work, and, as appears from the date of the preceding engraving (no. 190), several must have been accomplished before or in 1626.

191* View of the town and surroundings from the north

Pen - 26,2 x 41,3 - not signed, not dated (about 1625-1627)

In the background in the middle the silhouette of the town stands out against the horizon; from here the Great Church with its tower can clearly be recognized. The whole foreground is

occupied by different agglomerations of churches and houses between which roads lead to the town. Fortifications are raised between these agglomerations and the town. Left and right in the background schematic indication of the landscape, boats on a river and houses.

Inscription: under the upper-edge of the sheet in the middle: *Haerlems Beleg* (Siege of Haarlem).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 39; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 39.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 62, no. 4, pl. 12.

Pl. 192

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

192* View of the town from the north

Pen - 18,4 x 21,7 - not signed, not dated (about 1626-1627)

In comparison with drawing no. 191 the town is seen closer by and from the west. Above the ramparts, in which a few breaches are made, rise the roofs of the houses and the towers of the churches of which the west-façade of the Great Church as well as the transept and tower are clearly recognizable. In the foreground again some parts of gun-positions and a few ruins have been sketched: in the lower right-hand corner indication of the leper house.

Inscription: in the middle above the Great Church: *Haerlem* - in the lower right-hand corner: *Leproosen* (Lepers)

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 26; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 26.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 62, no. 5, pl. 14; FR. DE WITT HUBERTS, *Haarlem's Heldenstrijd in beeld en woord*, The Hague, 1946, pl. 67.

Pl. 193

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

193* View of the town from the south

Pen - 22,5 x 19,7 - not signed, not dated (about 1626-1627)

The town lies in the background and is seen in bird's-eye view perspectively; it is very schematically indicated, except along the

front, the ramparts and the moat, into which the Spaarne debouches running on the right-hand side. In the foreground indication of several houses and battle-positions.

Inscription: under the upper edge of the sheet in the middle: *Haerlem* - in the bend of the river: *Spaeren* (Spaarne).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 25, pl. XII; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 25, pl. XII.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 62, no. 6, pl. 10; FR. DE WITT HUBERTS, *Haarlem's Heldenstrijd in beeld en woord*, The Hague, 1946, pl. 66.

Pl. 194

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

194* Groundplan with detail of the northern wall and the positions of attack

Pen - 41,9 x 56 - not signed, not dated (about 1625-1627)

Against the upper edge of the sheet lies the wall with towers and the fortifications around the Cross gateway (on the right) with the explanation of the parts. Between St. John's gateway and the Cross-gateway the Spaniards raised their battle-positions and supply-roads, which is also explained. In the upper left-hand corner runs the Spaarne and the canal. Numerous letters point to the explanation which fills almost the whole bottom quarter to the left of the sheet.

Inscription: explanation of the Haarlem fortifications (from left to right): *S. Catelyn - Ravelyn - verder Rondeel - St. Janspoort - Westwater - 'trondeel - Kruyspoort - de west - westwater* (St. Catherine's - Ravelyn - further round bastion - St. John's gateway - west - water - round bastion - Cross-gateway - the west - west-water) - explanation of the Spanish fortifications (from left to right and from top to bottom): *wacht - wacht gaten - wacht - wacht - wacht plaets - wacht - wacht op St. Jans wech en poort - de eerste schietplaats - wachtgaten - wachtgaten - wacht - galghe - Schanscorven - kruijswech*. (Guard - guard holes - guard - guard - guard-square - guard for St. John's road and gateway - the first gun-position - guard holes - guard holes - guard - gallows - gabions - Cross-road) - in the lower left-hand corner: *Al dat bruijn is, is opgeworpen aerde oft schanssen, en daerse wat dicht aen malcanderen coomen t' samen als L.H. en alle diergelijcken. Dat wit dat tusschen beyden gelaten is, waren die-*

pen grachten een man ruim diep. A dat sijn de mijn-gaten daermen tot onder de stadts vesten quam, en somtijts liet springhen. B het ravelijn d'oude stats rondeel. C Wolsacken daer t'groot geschut tusschen stont. D vestwater van outs. E de Cruijspoort met de brugh. F aerde over beyde sijden met een schans teegen d'water vande G inde vesten. H een muer die lancx d'water eertijts om t'rondeel liep, en was nu de aerde van buiten ontschooten. I trappen van wilghen rijs om op het rondeel te gaan want t'was soo hoogh als de stadts vestwalle. K sackxkens met aerd' gevolt daermen achter schuijld schietende de burgers ergens deurkijckende, L Wacht plaetsen met hoij en stroo. M een deel schans korven om t'rondeel te beschietten maer sij vielen om te vergeefs. N houtten poorten als galgen daer op lagen sacxkens met aerde om t'gesicht wt der stadt te beneemen als de wacht opquam. O hier wert t'wedemael t'geschut gestelt om t'craijenest te beschietten. P een galge daermen veerthien aen hinck op den dach doen Mr. quirijs t'nachts van binnen gehanghen wert met noch thien. Q Vervallen huijsen gewrocht inde schanssen. R daer t'geschut d'eerste reijse stont tusschen huijsen en schanskorven om Sint Jans poort ende de Cruijspoortte meede te destrueren S gaten in de aerde met stroo om in te... T de leste schietplaets den t'weeden Julij om... brugh tot... te vernielen.

V Sint Jans poort

brugge Y de cingel

Cruijspoort ande Leprosen

Leproosen huijs 5 aen schans b

tusschen de Cingel en de ve

om van de Leprosen terstont tot ande stadt te trecken geheel

Schoot vrij: soo hoogh als de man aen sijn schouderen.

alles ten getrouwsten ende perfectst gecopieert (ofte naerge-maeckt) naer de orijgenaele principale Quartte, doen door laste ende bijzonder bevel van grave van Bossu was doen maecken.

(All that is brown is thrown-up earth or redoubts and as they come rather near one another together like L.H. and all such things. The white left between both is deep canals a men's length deep. A are the mine-shafts with which one came under the town-fortifications and made the sometimes explode. B the ravelyn the old round-bastion of the town. C woolsacks between which the big ordnances stood. D old moat water E the cross gateway with the bridge. F earth over both sides with a redoubt against the water from the G in the moat. H a wall which used to run along the water around the round bastion and of which the earth at the outside was now shot away. I steps of willow twigs to ascend the round bastions for it was as high as the town-ramparts. K bags filled with earth, behind which the citizens

hid themselves when they were shooting looking through some holes. L Guard-positions with hay and straw. M a part of gabions to bombard the round bastion but they fell over in vain. N wooden gateways as gallows on which bags with earth were lying to hid the view from outside if the guard came up. O here the ordnance was put again to bombard the crow's nest P a gallows from which fourteen were hanged on the day when Mr. Quirijns was hanged inside at night with ten other people. Q Dilapidated houses inserted in the redoubts. R. where the guns stood the first time between houses and gabions to destroy St. John's gateway and the Cross gateway together. S holes in the earth with straw to T the last gun-position the 2nd July to destroy bridge.

V St. John's gateway bridge

Y the rampart

Cross-gateway and Lepers

Lepers House 5 near redoubt b

between the rampart and the ve

To get from the Lepers towards the town completely bullet-proof as high as the man at his shoulders.

Everything truthfully and perfectly copied (or imitated) from the original main map which was made by instruction and special order of count of Bossu).

This is (probably) a copy which Saenredam himself made from the copy of the original, designed as appears from the text by order of the count of Bossu during the siege of this section. From this and the following number is apparent how scrupulously Saenredam tried to get as near as possible to the historical reality.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 62, no. 9, pl. 9.

Pl. 195

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

195* Half-mooin fortification raised around the *Kruispoort* (Cross-gateway)

Pen and watercolour - 28,7 x 41 - not signed, not dated (about 1625-1627)

In the foreground a detailed view, from the town, on the forti-

fication which was raised in the town around the shot-off Cross-gateway in the northern town-wall. The defenders are very busy digging, supplying materials and parrying off the enemies harassing the town from their positions. In the background the Leper House and completely against the edge of the sheet Kleef Castle. The points of compass are indicated in the middle against the edge of the sheet, at the top north, right east, below south, left west. In the upper left-hand corner an explanatory text in an outlined reclining rectangle.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner: *Dit is die fortresse ofte starcte van die vrome ende vermaerde stadt Haerlem in Hollant, met die beleegheringe der spaengaerden, ende die straten, plaetsen, slooten, steeden, elck met een letter geteeckent, om te weeten wat het beduijt ende hoe den naem is, het welcke hier nae wort aangeweesen met A.B.C. Inden eersten beteyckent de A. het oude blockhuijs daer die vianden haer katte op gestaen heeft. Ten 2-B de plaetse daer de Cruijspoortte gestaen heeft. ten 3-C het nieuwe werck ofte halvemaen. ten 4-D het blockhuijs d'welcke de onse op het Craijenest gemaect hebben. ten 5-E het blockhuijs tegens sinter katrine clooster over. ten 6-F Craijenester Gbracht. ten 7-G der vijanden Schanssen. ten 8-H het siecken (ofte leproosen)huijs. ten 9-I het huijs te Cleeff. ten 10-K den pijn t'hoorn. ten 11-L die Cruijs straet. ten 12-M het blockhuijs op de plaetse van Sint Jans poortte. ten 13-N Sint Jans straet. ten 14-O des hartochs legher bij thujs te Cleeff. ten 15-P de Schanssen op Sint Jans wegh. geprent tot leijden bij mij Jan moijs Jacobsz. geswooren boeckprenter ende fijghuer snijder der C.M. 1573. aldus naer een caetje dat in houtgesneden was ende gedruckt dit geteijckent.*

(This is the fortress or fortification of the pious and famous town of Haarlem in Holland, with the siege-works of the Spaniards, and the streets, places, ditches, towns, each marked with a letter, to know what it means and what is the name, which is indicated after this with A.B.C. Firstly the A. Means the old blockhouse where the enemies put their cat; 2nd - B. the site where the Cross-gateway stood; 3rd - C. the new position or half-moon; 4th - D. the blockhouse which our people have made on the Crow's nest; 5th - E. the blockhouse opposite St. Catherine's nunnery; 6th - F. Crow's nest canal; 7th - G. The redoubts of the enemy; 8th - H. the hospital or Leper House 9th - I. Kleef Castle; 10th - K. the pine tower; 11th - L. the crossstreet; 12th - M. the block-house on the site of St. John's gateway; 13th - N. St. John's street; 14th - O. the army of the duke at Kleef Castle. 15th - P. the redoubts on St. John's road. Printed at Leyden by me Jan moijs Jacobsz. sworn book-printer

and figure-carver of the C.M. 1573. In this way drawn from a small map which was carved in wood and printed).

Some small figures have been added with lead-pencil.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 27; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 27.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 62, no. 7, pl. 13.

Pl. 196

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

196* Half-moon fortification raised around the *Kruispoort* (Cross-gateway)

Pen and watercolour - 25 x 33,5 - not signed, not dated (1626-1627?)

A part of the ramparts with bastions, shelters and entries can be seen in bird's-eye view; in the distance parapets, redoubts and gun-positions have been erected. In two villages encampments have been pitched. Over the whole representation troops are moving while there is shooting from different places. The points of compass are indicated against the middle of each edge of the sheet: above: *noordt* (north) - right: *oost* (east) - left: *west* - below: *zuydt* (south). Some letters point to a not present legend.

Inscription: none.

This drawing is very probably coloured by another hand.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 197

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

197* Detail of the fortification at the *Kruispoort* (Cross-gateway)

Pen and watercolour - 20,1 x 37,8 - not signed, not dated (about 1626-1627)

Picture of the half-moon fortification raised behind the destroyed Cross-gateway, with ramparts, casemates and entries. A few groups of houses stand near, while some ordnances are placed in position.

Inscription: under the upper-edge of the sheet in the middle: *Haerlemsche afgeschotene Kruijs-poort* (Haarlem's shot-off Cross-gateway).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 198

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

198* Print to belie the rumours about images found in an apple-tree

Etching by Cornelis Koning - 20,5 x 28 - signed, dated 1628

In the centre of the sheet two sections of branches of an apple-tree are represented one under the other, in the core of which a dark figure, more or less in the shape of a violin, is placed. Along both sides stand three rows of each two small dark figures separated by a small horizontal line, who are somewhat suggestive of persons wrapped in long, wide clothes.

Inscription: as heading under the top-edge of the sheet: *Waerachtige Afteykeninge der Beelden, buyten de Stad van Haerlem, tuschen de oude Grafelijke Huysen van Bloemendael, ende Brederode, op Kloeken-Hofstede, in eenen Appelboom gewassen, ende den 30.en ende 31.en December 1627 binnen Haerlem van eenen Mter Aertszen door de byle ende sage gevonden, tot bestraffinge, beschaminge, ende overtuyginge van sekere onlangsche valsche Afbeeldinge, ende onder halinge ende wederlegginge van den gestroyden Land-leugen tot onderrichtinge vande bedrogene Wereld. uyt liefde der waerheid uyt gegeven.* (The true picture of the images, grown in an apple-tree, outside the town of Haarlem, between the old Houses of the counts of Bloemendael and Brederode, on Kloeken-homestead and found the 30th and 31st of December 1627 in Haarlem by a Mr. Aertszen with ax and saw, as punishment, shame and conviction of certain recent false representation and with citation and refutation of the circulating lie in the country, as a lesson to the cheated world published of love for the truth) — on the left around the upper section: *De schyven syn seven, ter wedersyde alsier naer 'tleven vertoond* (here are seven disks shown on both sides here from life) - on the right around the upper section: *Dit is de omtreck der Beelden-schyven, eens pinks dichte door gesaegd.* (This is the contour of the image-disks sawn a little finger in thickness) - above the edge of the picture at the bottom left: *P. Zaenredam*

delineavit. C. Koning sculpsit - above the edge of the picture at the bottom right: *A Rooman excudit. A°.* 1628 - under the picture divided in two columns, the following elucidating text: *Also een yder ghenoegezaem bekend is wat voor een gerucht alhier te Haerlem opgegaen is van seker vermeynd Beelden-Myrakel op Kloecken Hoffstede tuschen de oude Graeflijke Huysen Aelbertsberg, ofte Bloemendael, ende Brederode, in het herte van eenen dorren ende onvruchtbaren Appelboom gewaschen ende hoe oock hetselve over al wijd ende breed in alle Landen is verstroyd ende uytgeblasen: so dat daeglijckx van alle kanten om't rechte bescheyd van dese beelden alhier word geschreven. Gemerkt ook een yder kennelijk is dat onlangs de voorsz. Beelden in Koper gesneden ende in't licht gegeven zijn welke niet naer waerheyd soo als sy zijn maer uyt den hoofde ende om de luyden te blindhocken met aensichten ende kledingen zijn gemackt ende opgepronkt waar door veele eenvoudige menschen worden bedrogen. So hebben wy de voorsz. Beeldekens ofte Schaduwen somense best mag noemen naer waerheyd ende soo alsse zijn aen den dag brengen willen op dat alle verstandigen mogen sien ende merken wat men van dese beelden ende schaduwen houden mag alsoomen ook veel-licht niet eenen Appelen ofte Kersse boom ende andere boomen de tacken sal aen stucken sagen of het Herte sal eenige schaduwe eeniger gelijckenisze van sich geven. So sullen dan ook de goede luyden wel lichtelijk kunnen bemerken wat een groot onderscheyd tuschen dese ende voorgaende Plate sij alsoo dese Plaete alleene met toelatinge van Mees Aertszoon eertijds Olijslager nu Vlas-koper ende geene andere daer naer oyt getekend, gesneden ende verbeterd is so dat ydereen bevinden sal daer niet een treckxken aen vergeten te wesen waer toe wy ook het getuygenisze versoecken van alle die het gesien mochten hebben gelijk het dan van veel duysenden so hier ter stede als elders is gesien ende noch kan gesien worden. Wat voorders dan eenighe mogen roepen van andere teecken en is niet naer waerheyd maer komt alsoo ick voor heenen al geseyd hebbe dat Kersse ende Appel oock andere boomen dat eyghen is dat het herte eenige schaduwe van gelijckenisse geeft 'twelck nu ter tijd eenige nieuwgierige hebben ondersocht ende bevonden waer te zijn maer daer de roep af opgegaen is daer van en zijn de beelden geene andere als dese ende konter oock anders niet in merken al ist schoon dat ghyse met eenen Kristalijnen Bril wel te degen besiet.*

(as is sufficiently known to everybody which rumour circulates here in Haarlem concerning a so-called image-miracle on Kloecken-homestead between the old houses of the counts of Aelbertsberg or Bloemendaal and Brederode, grown in the centre of a bare and barren apple-tree, and also how this rumour has spread and been exaggerated far and wide in all countries: so that

daily from all sides, they are writing for an exact report about these images. Moreover it is clear to everybody that recently the afore mentioned images carved in copper and published are not in reality like them but are made and embellished with faces and clothes for that reason to cheat the people because of which many simple people are deceived. Therefore we wanted to picture the afore-mentioned small images or shadows as they can best be called, truthfully and as they are so that alle prudent people can see and observe what to think of these images and shadows lest one may possible saw the branches of an apple or cherry-tree and other trees to pieces to see if the heart will give some shadow of a likeness. In this way moreover the good people can discover what big a difference there is between this and the preceding print as only this print is made with permission of Mees Aertszoon formerly oil-crusher, now flax-buyer, and no other after that has ever been drawn, carved and corrected in such a way that everybody shall find out that not a single line has been forgotten of which we also demand the testimonies of all who may have seen it, as well as of the many thousands here in town and elsewhere who have seen it or still can see it. Whatever some may say of other signs, is not true, but is the result of what I already said before: that cherry- and apple-trees as well as other trees can show in their core some shadows of likenesses which some curious people now have investigated and found out to be true and have therefore announced that there are no other images except these and they could not find any other. Although it is beautiful when you have a good look at them with crystal glasses.) - at the bottom above the edge of the sheet: *Gedruckt te Haerlem, by Adriaen Rooman, Ordinaris Stads-Boekdrucker, wonende in de Jakobijne-straet inde vergulde Parze, Anno 1628.* (Printed at Haarlem by Adriaan Rooman, general Town-Bookprinter, living in Jakobin-street in the gilded Press, Anno 1628).

This print was published to belie another almost identical representation (specimen of Municipal Archives, Haarlem, also exhibited), which had depicted the six "dressed figures" in very exaggerated shapes with the result that they could be interpreted as Roman-Catholic priests; the intention was to give the impression of a miracle in this way.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: F. D. O. OBREEN, *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis*, VII, Rotterdam, 1880-1890, p. 17; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 30.

Pl. 199

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

199* Portrait of Jan Willemsz Bogaert

Engraving without engraver's name - 11,7 x 13,8 - signed, dated 1629

Within a high oval medallion against a neutral dark background illuminated in the right top-corner, a half figure stands three-quarters right holding his gloves in his hands before his breast.

He is dressed in a fur-trimmed robe over a black doublet with a rather narrow turned-up fluted ruff. A long full beard frames the face, on the almost bald skull rather short hair, behind and above the ears. The medallion has as background a rectangular shaded cartouche; in its top corners: *POST TENEBRAS LVX* - circumscription in the medallion: *IOHANNES GVILIELMI BOGAERT EXSCHABINVS AMSTELODAMENSIS ETC. AETAT. LI. ANNO 1629.*

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the cartouche: *P. Zaerdam delineavit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the cartouche: *A. Roman exc.* - in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet: *S. Ampzing.* - under the scene a four-line Latin poem by S. Ampzing with Dutch translation underneath:

*Illius ora vides, quo saepe Ecclesia Christi
Quo simul usa viro Curia saepe fuit.
Vtrique addictus quid n̄ pro utraque laboret?
Amstelum testis Patria testis erit.*

*Hier siet gy eenen man, die in verscheyde staten
Voor 't land en Kerke Gods sich heeft gebruyken laten.
Soo bied hy allebey met yver noch de hand.
Tuygt dat ô Amsterdam! tuygt dit, ô Vaderland!*

Jan W. Bogaert was an alderman in Amsterdam and was banished in 1629 because of being the leader of the Contra-Remonstrants. The name of the engraver is not recorded here; the engraving is attributed to Jan van de Velde as part of this series of portraits (FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 27, no. 6).

Provenance: D. Franken Dzn. collection, Amsterdam, 1871.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 27, no. 6; SWILLENS, *Saen-redam*, p. 4-5, 8, no. 34.

Pl. 200

Amsterdam, State Printroom

200* Portrait of Carolus Leonardi

Engraving by Jan van de Velde - 17,5 x 13,9 - signed, dated 1629

Within a high oval medallion, against a neutral dark background illuminated at the left top, the figure is pictured at three-quarter's length sitting, three-quarters to the left and facing the spectator. The cloak is thrown over the chair-back in such a way that it covers the right upper arm while the right hand with signet-ring on the forefinger holds a glove in the lap. The left arm is bent in front of the breast, the hand hidden under the cloak. He is dressed in a black doublet with millstone-ruff and lace ruffles. The hair is cut short, with moustache and goatee. At shoulder height left his coat of arms is pictured. The medallion has a rectangular shaded cartouche as background with in the top corners: *PRO DEO ET PATRIA* - as circumscription: *CAROLVS LEONARDI, AMSTELODAMENSIS. + MEDICINAE DOCTOR, AETAT. XLII. ANNO MDC29 +*.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the cartouche: *P. Zaenredam delineavit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the cartouche: *J. V. Velde sculp. A. Roman excud.* - in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet: *S. Ampzing* - under the scene a four-line Latin poem by S. Ampzing with Dutch translation underneath:

*Sic Doctor Medicus, sic Carolus ora ferebat,
Vir Patriae et verae Religionis amans.
Quem Patria Cultusque Dei sacer ardor adegit,
Plus commune bonum quaerere, quam proprium.*

*Dits Doctor Karels Beeld, den man van vromen leven,
Met yver voor Gods Kerk en 't Vaderland ghedreven:
Die daer 't gemeyne Best voor Godt en 't land betracht.
En syn bysonder heyl en tydlijck goed verwacht.*

Carolus Leonardi, physician at Amsterdam was banished from the town in 1629 for being one of the leaders of the Contra-Remonstrants.

Provenance: D. Franken Dzn. collection, Amsterdam, 1871.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 32, no. 23; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 4-5, 8, no. 37.

Pl. 201

Amsterdam, State Printroom

201* Portrait of Petrus Goetthem

Engraving by Jan van de Velde - 13,3 x 13,9 - signed, dated 1629

Within a high oval medallion, against a neutral dark background illuminated at the left top, the figure is pictured half length sitting, three-quarters left and facing the spectator. The cloak is thrown over the right shoulder and wrapped from under the left arm around the body so that the right hand with signet-ring on the little finger resting on the cloak is partly visible. The left hand clutches the gloves. Underneath the cloak he wears a black doublet with a rather broad turned up white linen fluted ruff. Short hair, a square beard and twisted pointed moustache. The medallion has a rectangular shaded cartouche as background with in the top corners: *DOMINVS PROVIDEBIT* - and has the circumscription: *PETRVS GOETTHEM PRIMIPLARIS VEXILLI CIVIUM AMSTELODAMENSIVM. AETAT. LII. A° MDCXXIX* +.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the cartouche: *P. Saenredam delineavit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the cartouche: *J. V. Velde. Sculp. ARoman. excud.*

P. Goetthem was a captain of the Amsterdam citizen soldiery and was banished in 1629 because of advocating the Contra-Remonstrants. The space under the cartouche meant for a poem like the other engravings of this series, is left open. A second state of this engraving exists (FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 31, no. 18).

Provenance: D. Franken Dzn. collection, Amsterdam, 1871.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 31, no. 18; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 4-5, 8, 64, no. 36, pl. 24.

Pl. 202

Amsterdam, State Printroom

202* Portrait of Albert Harmensz. Dingsteden

Engraving by Jan van de Velde - 17,6 x 13,7 - signed and dated 1629

Within a high oval medallion against a neutral dark background illuminated at the left top, the figure is pictured, half length three quarters left and facing the spectator. The gloved right

hand grasps the cloak draped round the shoulder, in the front hanging down in the lap; the left hand, which holds the other glove, is put across the right one. Underneath the cloak he wears a black doublet with a rather broad linen fluted ruff. The hair is combed back at the temples to the ears, in the neck half long; with moustache and short square small beard. The medallion has a rectangular shaded cartouche as background with in the top corners: *POST TENEBRAS LVX.* and has the circumscription: *ALBARTVS HERMANNI DINGSTEDEN CIVIS AMSTELODAMENSIS. AETAT. XXV. ANNO MDCXXIX +.*

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the cartouche: *P. Saenredam delineavit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the cartouche: *J. V. Velde Sculp ARoman exc.*

A. H. Dingsteden was a prominent Amsterdam citizen banished in 1629 because of advocating the Contra-Remonstrants. The space under the cartouche, meant for a poem like the other engravings of this series is left open.

Provenance: D. Franken Dzn. collection, Amsterdam, 1871.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 30, no. 16; SWILLEN, *Saenredam*, p. 4-5, 8, no. 35.

Pl. 203

Amsterdam, State Printroom

203* Portrait of Pieter Bor Christiaensz.

Engraving by Jan van de Velde - 19,9 x 15,2 - signed, dated 1631

Within a high oval medallion, against a neutral shaded background the figure is pictured in bust, three-quarters left and facing the spectator. He is dressed in a black fur-trimmed robe over a black doublet with a rather narrow turned-up white linen fluted ruff. The hair thin in the front and on the skull is cut short; with moustache and goatee. In the medallion the circumscription: *PIETER BOR CHRISTIAENSZ. HISTORIE-SCHRIJVER GEBOREN TOT VTRICHT M.D.L.IX. OVT LXXII IAER, M.D. CXXXI +.* (history writer, born in Utrecht 1559, 72 years of age).

Inscription: in the top corners of the cartouche: *J. v. velde sculpsit* - in the lower corner of the cartouche: *P. zaenredam. Delineavit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet: *S. Amp-*

zing - under the cartouche a four-line Dutch poem by S. Ampzing:

*Hier siet gij Pieter Bor, die 't doen van onse Landen
En onsen vluggen tijd ons geeft in onse handen.
'T is billyck dat zijn beeld in dese plate leefd,
Die 't Land en synen naem een naem en leven geeft.*

(Here you see Pieter Bor who puts into our hands
the deeds of our countries and our quick time
It is right that his portrait lives in this plate
who gives fame and life to the country and its name).

Pieter Bor was a Dutch historian who especially earned a reputation with his three-volume work *Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (History of the Netherlands) published in 1621.

Provenance: D. Franken Dzn. collection, Amsterdam, 1871.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: FRANKEN-VAN DER KELLEN, p. 27, no. 7; SWILLENS, *Saen-redam*, p. 4-5, 8, no. 45, pl. 25.

Pl. 204

Amsterdam, State Printroom

204* Portrait of Laurens Janszoon Coster

Etching without engraver's name - 21,1 x 15,6 - signed, dated 1630

Dressed in a long cloak trimmed with fur and tied up by a girdle, L. J. Coster stands before a tree-stump with twigs sprouting from it. Full length he completely dominates as an impressive figure the surrounding landscape in the background of which the towers of the town of Haarlem rise. The face itself does not show the detailed features of a true portrait. The left hand is holding a letter A; the right hand is holding a board, which is also resting on his right foot, with the inscription: *M. S. Viro Consulari LAURENTIO COSTERO HARLEMENSI Alteri Cadmo et artis Typographicae circa Annum Domini MCCCCXXX Inventori primo, bene de Literis ac toto Orbe merenti hanc. Q.L.C.Q. Statuam quia aeream non habuit, pro monumento redam fecit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the scene: *A. MDCXXX.*

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner of the scene: *P. Saen-redam fecit* - in the lower right-hand corner of the scene: *A.*

Romanus excud. - in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet:
P. Scriverius - under the scene a Latin poem by P. Scriverius
with a Dutch translation on the right:

Vana quid archetypos & praela MOGUNTIA jactas!
HARLEMI archetypos praelaq; nata scias
Extulit hic, monstrante Deo, LAURENTIUS artem.
Dissimulare virum hunc, dissimulare Deum est.

Ments roemt van 't eerste boeck wyt hare pers ghesonden:
Tot Haerlem is nochtans de Druckery ghevonden.
Dees Laurens heeft de konst met Godt daer voort ghebraght:
Verswygt men desen Man, soo wordt oock Godt veracht.

The State Print Room in Amsterdam possesses the same representation executed by Pieter Casteleyn in another state.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 8, no. 41.

Pl. 205

Amsterdam, State Printroom

LOOSE DRAWINGS

205* Portrait of Jan Jansz. van Ermelo

Black chalk with a little red - 26 x 15,7 - not signed, dated 23 October 1636

The represented, verger of St. Mary's Church, Utrecht, from 1617 till 1640, is portrayed full face and full length, sitting in an armchair. He wears in a wide, high-collared coat, buttoned up under the chin and hanging open over the knees, fully showing the wide knee-breeches. A broad-brimmed hat shades the wrinkled, mildly smiling face. The hands lie crossed on his knees.

Inscription: at the top under the edge of the sheet: *De koster van de Sinte Marije kerck, Jan gheb* [crossing out in the text] *Jansz. ghebeeten. 1636. geteijckent den 23 october dito naer tleeven* (The verger of St. Mary's Church, named Jan (John) Jansz. 1636. drawn from life October 23rd of the same year) - in the upper right-hand corner by another hand: *Par Jacob Roman, Petry Jacoby filius, P. J. Roman.*

Attribution on the ground of the technique of drawing and of the handwriting. The name *Roman* is that of the printer in Haarlem for whom Saenredam made the portrait of Laurens Coster (see no. 204) (SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 66).

Provenance: A. Fiorini collection, Kassel.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 33, pl. XXIIa; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 33, pl. XXIIa.

Literature: HIND, p. 44; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 55, 66, no. 134, pl. 23; BREMMER, no. 10; W. BERNT, *Die niederländischen Zeichner des 17. Jahrhunderts*, II, Munich, 1958, no. 511, repr.; PLIETZSCH, p. 122.

Pl. 206

Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste

206* Study of rhubarb plant

Pen and watercolour - 13,9 x 16,6 - signed, dated 1630

From a lush rhubarb plant, with large sturdy leaves partly shading each other rises a long seed stalk to the right. Over the

vegetable as a detailed study, a grain of seed cut open (and enlarged) has been drawn.

Inscription: at each side of the grain of seed: *een saetjen allenich* (one single grain of seed) - underneath against the edge of the sheet: *Dese plant rhabarber van mij Pr. Saenredam aldus naer 'tleeven geteeckent A°. 1630.* (This rhubarb plant thus drawn from life by me, Pieter Saenredam A°. 1630).

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 32; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 32.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5708; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 9, no. 43, pl. 5; BREMMER, no. 18.

Pl. 207 Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

207* Study of four drawings

Pen, washed and watercolour; studies of trees: also brush - 13,2 x 18,1 - not signed, dated 1617 and 1625

a. At the top to the left: View on Leyden: Over the flat landscape, marked in the foreground by a few long rows of trees, rise at the left Hoogland's Church, in the middle the stone 14th century tower of the town hall with the upper-structure of 1599, at the extreme right the square tower of Gravestein, and St. Peter's Church, the lower articulation of which is hidden by the trees. In between these three monumental buildings the roofs of the houses, indicated by a few strokes, are hardly visible.

Inscription: at the top against the edge: *Leyden. gemaect a° 1625 varende met de schuyt op den Hage* (Leyden. made a° 1625 when going by boat on the Hague canal).

b. At the top to the right: (Linen)bleachers houses outside Haarlem. Along a wide road with bleaching fields at both sides lie several houses with small barns, encircled by trees and shrubs; one of them, in the centre, is larger than the others.

Inscription: at the top over the whole width of the drawing: *eenige bleyckers huijsen aende duijnkant buyte Haerlem 1617:* (a few bleachers' houses on the border of the dunes outside Haarlem 1617).

c. Below to the left: Tree study, consisting of the upper part of the trunk out of which sprout five heavy, leafless and bare branches.

Inscription: none.

d. Below to the right: Similar tree study, though furnished with numerous twigs and twiglets.

Inscription: none.

The attribution is based on the comparison of the technique of drawing and handwriting with those of no. 206.

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 29, pl. XVI; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 29, pl. XVI.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5707; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 5, 7, 62, no. 1 and 3, pl. 4; BREMMER, no. 17; PLIETZSCH, p. 118.

Pl. 208

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

208* Study of flowers and plants

Pen and watercolour - 15 x 19,2 - not signed, dated 1620 and 1641

On the upper half of the sheet from the left to the right:

- a. Twig of a rose-tree, with leaves, though without flower.

Inscription: above the twig against the edge of the sheet: *rooselaer* (rose-tree).

- b. Complete hemp plant with an indication of the earth in which it is rooted.

Inscription: over the plant against the border of the sheet: *hennep* (hemp) - under the plant: 1620

- c. Tendril of peas with a few leaves, though without pods.

Inscription: over the plant: *peulen* (pod-peas).

- d. Complete bunch of buttercups with several stalks, leaves and four flowers.

Inscription: to the right of the root of the plant: *botterbloemen* 1641 (buttercups).

On the lower half of the sheet from the left to the right:

- a. Twig of a bean shoot, with numerous small leaves.

Inscription: to the left of the drawing: *boonen* (beans) - under the stalk: 1620

- b. Buttercup in full bloom as seen from above into the cup with a short piece of stem.

Inscription: under the flower: *Botterbloem*. 1641. (buttercup).

- c. Detail of a buttercup plant, consisting in part of the stalk, three leaves and two half opened, drooping flowers.

Inscription: to the right at the foot of the stalk - *botterbloem* 1641 (buttercup).

- d. Detail of a buttercup consisting in an almost blown flower drooping from a short stem and two upright leaves.

Inscription: under the stem: *botterbloem* 1641. *inde maij* (buttercup 1641. in May).

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet: *Alsmen blommen ofte kruijt na t leven wil maken soo set het kruijt ofte blom eerst wat tijt tevoren int water, soo sal tschoonder ende rechter op staen*. (If wanting to do flowers or herbs from nature one should put the herb or flower first into water for a time, as it will be nicer and stand more erect).

The attribution is based on the comparison of the technique of drawing and handwriting with those of no. 206.

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 30; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 30.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5709; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 22-23, no. 2 and 153, pl. 6.

Pl. 209

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

209* Study of two plants

Pen and watercolour - 14,1 x 19,3 - not signed, not dated (about 1641?)

- a. Left: part of a buttercup plant, composed of two upright

stems with leaves, open flowers and flower-buds, a drooping leaf underneath.

Inscription: between stem and drooping leaf: *botterblommen met het kruyt* (buttercups with the plant).

- b. Right: a branch of an artichoke plant with five big leaves, an open flower and a bud between small leaves.

Inscription under the branch: *dese artisoch was verslenst* (This artichoke had withered) - at the top right: *d'se artisjoc bhoorden recht op t staen, want was verslenst* (this artichoke should be upright but had withered).

The attribution is based on the comparison of technique of drawing and handwriting with those of no. 206, the dating on the similarity with the handwriting and the drawings of plant-studies of 1641 (see no. 208). The last inscription is probably by another hand.

Provenance: 1902 purchased from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 31; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 31.

Literature: BOCK-ROSENBERG, no. 5710; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 154, pl. 7.

Pl. 210

Berlin-Dahlem, Ehemals Staatliche Museen
Kupferstichkabinett

COPIES AFTER SAENREDAM

There exist several copies of the works of Saenredam painted as well as drawn and engraved. The quality of most of them is average, while except for one exception, namely the copy of St. Mary's Church by Tavernier (no. 152) they do not get us better acquainted with Saenredam's works. Therefore it can suffice here to enumerate the following copies to supplement at the same time the list given by Swillens (*Saenredam*, p. 131-132):

210 Interior of the southern aisle to the west in the Great Church at Haarlem

Panel - 40 x 32

Copy of the painting in Glasgow, Art Gallery (no. 63).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *A descriptive catalogue of the Pictures in the Dulwich Gallery*, London, 1876, p. 158, no. 94 (attributed); *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich*, s.l., 1926, no. 59; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 131, no. 1.

London, Dulwich Gallery

211 Interior from the southern transept-arm to the north in the St. Odulfus' Church at Assendelft

Panel - 31 x 38,5

Copy of the painting in Turin, Galleria Sabauda (no. 22).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 131, no. 2.

Amsterdam, art market (October 1928)

212* Sketch with the exterior of the old Town Hall at Amsterdam

Pen, brown ink and watercolour - 22,6 x 17,2

Copy of the sketch in Haarlem, Teyler's Foundation (see no. 15).

The representation and the text are identically the same as the ones of the original. The technique of drawing, however, is more rigid and lacks in its small short lines the power of the original; the colours, too, are much weaker. Moreover, the hand-writing betrays another hand: the letters h, d, s, g, among other things, are shaped differently; as a measurement the foot-measurement of Holland is given whereas Saenredam uses the kennemer one. Probably an 18th century copy.

Provenance: L. Splitgerber collection.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 16

Amsterdam, Municipal Archives

213 Interior from the Christmas chapel through the northern ambulatory, choir and southern transept-arm of the Great Church in Haarlem

Pen and watercolour - 48,5 x 37 - dated 1844

Copy of the painting in Zürich, E. G. Bührle collection (see no. 46).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Voorlopige lijst der Nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, V 1, Utrecht, 1921, p. 130; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 132, no. 3.

Haarlem, Sacristy of the Great Church

214 Interior from the northern aisle on choir and northern side-chapel in St. John's Church at Utrecht

H. Tavernier - Indian ink and brown ink, watercolour - 30,7 x 28,5 - not signed, not dated (about 1784)

Copy of the drawing in Utrecht, Municipal Archives (see no. 140).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 132, no. 6.

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

215 Interior of St. Anthony's chapel in St. John's Church at Utrecht

H. Tavernier - pen and watercolour - 27,7 x 41,2 - not signed, not dated (about 1784)

Copy of the drawing in Utrecht, Municipal Archives (see no. 142).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 132, no. 5.

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

216 Interior of the transept of St. Mary's Church at Utrecht from the north

H. Tavernier - Indian ink - 58,3 x 36 - signed, not dated (about 1784)

Copy of the drawing in Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen (see no. 155).

Provenance: Munnicks van Cleef sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Her Majesty the Queen

217 Interior of the nave of St. Mary's Church at Utrecht seen from the crossing

H. Tavernier - Indian ink - 48,5 x 58,8 - signed, dated 1784

Copy of the drawing in Utrecht, Municipal Archives (see no. 159).

Provenance: Munnicks van Cleef sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Her Majesty the Queen

218 Interior through the west part of St. Mary's Church
at Utrecht from the north to the south

H. Tavernier - Indian ink - 47,8 x 59,1 - signed, dated 1784

Copy of the drawing in Paris, F. Lugt collection (see no. 163).

Provenance: Munnicks van Cleef sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Her Majesty the Queen

219 Interior of the northern aisle of St. Mary's Church
at Utrecht from the east to the west

H. Tavernier - Indian ink - 46 x 61,7 - signed, not dated
(about 1784)

Copy of the drawing in Utrecht, Municipal Archives (see no.
165).

Provenance: Munnicks van Cleef sale, 1860.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Her Majesty the Queen

220 Interior from the southern aisle on choir and
southern side-chapel in St. Peter's Church at Utrecht

H. Tavernier - pen and watercolour - 31 x 39,5 - not signed,
not dated (about 1784)

Copy of the drawing in Utrecht, Municipal Archives (see no.
173).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 132, no. 7.

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

WORKS WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED OR DOUBTFUL

Of the numerous paintings and drawings ascribed with more or less loose grounds to Saenredam, some are listed of which the attribution appears to be either doubtful, or uncertain or in distinct cases clearly untenable. The difficulty with this lies in the fact that certain works show rather close similarities with Saenredam's style.

Several wrong attributions were rectified by Swillens; therefore it can suffice here to refer to his remarks in *Saenredam*, p. 135-136.

221 Interior of the Old Church at Delft

Panel - 31 x 28

From the southern ambulatory, probably covered with a wooden vault, one looks through the northern transept-arm (with a big blind window over a niche in the west-wall) into the so-called Dikereeve's chapel. A gate closes off this chapel from the transept. In the transept-arm a big pew, a chandelier and three small figures.

Inscription: none.

The quality of this painting in the way of drawing and of painting and as regards its composition (especially the unlogical clustered pillar in the middle) is not good enough to justify an attribution to Saenredam.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: R. J. HEINEMANN, *Katalog der Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Lugano, 1958, no. 376a.

Pl. 211

Lugano, Thyssen collection

222 Interior of a Gothic church from the northern aisle through the nave and the southern aisle

Panel - 45,7 x 34,9 - signed, dated 1653

Through two columns with very high eight-sided bases of the northern aisle the attention is drawn to the nave, in which a

pulpit stands surrounded by an enclosure. Between two separating-arches and three columns between nave and southern aisle one can see on the latter a wooden barrel-vault and in the wall two windows filled with Gothic tracery. Between the two columns in the foreground stands a grave-digger in a pit talking with a man in the nave.

Inscription: on the base of the column to the right: *P. Saenredam* 1653.

The church is probably the *Oude Kerk* (Old Church) in Delft. Neither the signature nor the technique of painting are those of Saenredam.

Provenance: W. A. Coats sale, Christie's, London, 10 June 1927, no. 133; Messrs Asscher, London; Sotheby's, 7 December 1960, no. 71.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 212

London, Courtauld Institute of Art

223 The Great Market and the Town Hall in Haarlem

Panel - 80 x 110,4 - signed (?), not dated (about 1660?)

This panel represents approximately the same situation as etching no. 88; the Great Market is surveyed from the north (against the west-façade of the Great Church) so that the front of the town hall can be seen. To the left and to the right houses skirting the market-space. The square is crowded with filling-in figures; from the scaffold several gentlemen are addressing the crowd assembled in front of the town hall which is pictured in its shape after the changes made by Salomon de Braij in 1630.

Inscription: according to Swillens (*Saenredam*, p. 127, no. 209) there would be vaguely visible: *P. Saenredam*.

Already at first sight one can decide from the technique of painting that the attribution to Saenredam is wrong. According to D. Bax (*Hollandse en Vlaamse schilderkunst in Zuid-Afrika*, Amsterdam - Cape Town - Pretoria, 1952, p. 94-95) it could represent the treaty of Breda (1667), a subject Saenredam naturally never could have depicted; this author, not mentioning a signature, claims a possible attribution to Gillis Rombouts. Swil-

lens (*Saenredam, l.c.*) suggests a date about 1660; the third quarter of the 17th century remains indeed acceptable.

Provenance: Michaelis collection, Cape Town.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 60, no. 209; D. BAX, *Hollandse en Vlaamse schilderkunst in Zuid-Afrika*, Amsterdam-Cape Town-Pretoria, 1952, p. 93, 94, 95, pl. 47.

Pl. 213 Cape Town, Museum of Cape Town,
Michaelis collection

224* Interior of the New Church from the south to the north

Black chalk and lead-pencil - 47,4 x 62,8

Interior seen from the south-eastern corner-bay, with the bases of the columns and pillars and on the left the pulpit. The drawing is not completed.

Inscription: none.

Probably a retouched tracing: some elements such as the small figures in the background, the pillars against the wall on the right, the arches of the window and the lines of the coffer-ceiling were drawn twice next to one another. Compared with the (cut off) drawing no. 82 the pulpit is given here in reverse; the measurements approximately agree on the two drawings. It is not excluded that this tracing is a reversed copy of no. 82 in its original size.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 178.

Pl. 214 Haarlem, Municipal Archives

225* Column in the Great Church

Lead-pencil - 26,2 x 16,3

A column is detailed here, which stands between the northern ambulatory and the choir against the choir-screen. It is completely depicted with separating-arch and part of the vault of the

ambulatory. On the right in the vista on the choir a fragment of the choir-screen and of the triforium in the south-wall of the choir. Against the shaft a big name-tablet has been fixed; in front of the base stands a pew.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *Pieter Saenredam*.

The signature completely different from Saenredam's style of writing is by a much later hand. The column is the one which stands utmost left in front on painting no. 43. The manner of drawing, however, is rigid and hard. Probably a 19th century work with the intention to imitate Saenredam.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 215

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

226* View of the south-wall of the nave in the Great Church in Haarlem

Lead-pencil - 28,8 x 18,2

Rather careless and rough sketching of the upper half of several columns with capital, separating-arches and indication of the shafts catching the vault-ribs. The sound-board of the pulpit is also sketched.

Inscription: none.

The careless execution and the manner of applying the shadows make the attribution to Saenredam very doubtful.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 217

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

227* The pulpit in the Great Church at Haarlem

Black chalk - 31,9 x 11

The pulpit stands against the south-wall in the nave, against

the column between the second and the third traverse (counted from the crossing). Above the enclosure, standing around it, rise the tub and the sound-board with its whimsical steeple-shaped crown. The column itself is schematically indicated. Under the separating-arches is a view on the east-wall of the northern transept-arm with triforium.

Inscription: none.

Though certain similarities with Saenredam's style of drawing can be pointed out, there exist differences between this sketch and the signed drawings of this painter so that the attribution may reasonably be doubted. Probably the drawing is cut along all the sides.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 216

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

228* Tomb-stone of Pieter Saenredam

Pen - 25,3 x 13,5

The greater part of the sheet is taken up by a rectangle representing a design of the tomb-stone of P. Saenredam. Its borders have been outlined in such a way that squares at the corners, and bands along the four sides are formed for an inscription. The part within these bands is not filled in.

Inscription: at the top of the tomb-stone: *drie voeten* (3 feet) - in the upper margin: *Saenredam* - at the left under the name: *10 duijm scharp* (10 inches sharp) - at the right under the name: *10 duijm ruim* (ample 10 inches) - with small arrows between the two long borders the width: *20 duijmen* and *twee voeten* (20 inches) and (two feet) - between the short sides the length: *zes voeten* (six feet) - in the left-hand long border: *6 voeten ruim 2 duijmen* (6 feet ample 2 inches) - in the lower short border: *Nº - 90* - outside the tomb-stone along the long side right: *seven voeten* and *voeten van elf duijmen ofte kermer-voeten* (seven feet) and (feet of eleven inches or kermer-foot), under that a scale-division - between the drawing and the lower edge of the sheet: subscription of Joh. Enschede from 1780: *groote der grafzerk inde Groote kerk bovent graf van Pieter Zaanredam inde zuyder Trans, waarschijnlijk daar in begraven, Schoon Houbraken in zijn schilderboek er geen gewag van maakt van*

zijn overlyden, wanneer: maar wel meld hij vant stuck [?] schilderij, verbeeldend oude (afgebrande) Stadhuys van Amsterdam, waar van de Eerste Tekening berust onder Job: Enschede te Haarlem 1780. (size of the tomb-stone in the Great Church on the grave of Pieter Saenredam in the southern transept, probably buried there, though Houbraken in his painters'-book does not mention when he died, but he did mention the painting representing the old (burned down) Town Hall of Amsterdam of which the first drawing is kept by Joh. Enschede in Haarlem 1780).

The inscription under the tomb stone is by an 18th century hand. The attribution to Saenredam is based on the handwriting on the tomb-stone but like the date about 1665 it is based on rather loose grounds; there is not any proof of Saenredam having made this design himself. On the reverse the same tomb-stone is repeated, but only with the inscriptions *Saenredam* and *n° 90*.

Provenance: Johan Enschedé collection, Haarlem, 1780.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 218

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

229* Ground-plan in bird's-eye view of Haarlem and surroundings

Pen and watercolour - 22,6 x 32,3

In the centre of the sheet lies the town; very schematically the main streets and the complexes of houses, the Great Church and the ramparts are indicated. From the middle of the right-hand edge of the sheet the Spaarne flows through the town to the left where it debouches into Haarlem lake. Around the town the big roads and meadows are sketched between which some houses, wind-mills and a great number of encampments, redoubts and other fortifications have been built. On the horizon the dunes and the North sea, at the bottom against the edge of the sheet Spiering lake on which a number of battle-ships.

Inscription: above the town: *Haerlem* - above the horizon from left to right: *Santpoort*; *Noortzee* (North Sea) - in the dunes at the top: *Overveen*; *Brederode* - above the first (horizontal) road: *Pohvelder*; *dat duijtsche legber aen duijn*; *Hispa: de Sta Lijga*; *CAPRES*; *Monsr. de Capres* (Pohvelder; the German army

against the dunes; Hispa; the Holy League; Capres; Monsr. de Capres) - at the left between his road, the town and the Spaarne; *berckenrode*; Monsr. de Liques; *bosch*; *Heemstede*; *fronsberg*; *t'dijtsche leegher*; *Chivalx*; *Carabijns*; *thuijs*; *Barnadijten*; *le baron de chiureau*; *Bourginois*; *dat duijtsche leger Graeft von Overstyn*; *tspaer* (Berkenrode; Monsr. de Liques; wood; Heemstede; fronsberg; the German army; cavalry; carbines; the house; Bernardines; baron de Chiureau; Burgundians; the German army Count of Overstyn; the Spaarne) - at the right between the road the town and the Spaarne: *Sr. don Frederco de Toledo*; *Thuijs te Cleef*; *Scoten*; *Leprosen*; *Munitions des viueres*; *Camp de Hispaniola*; *Cont. de Bossu*; *reguliere artillerie*; *Sr. de Noircarmes*; *Tspaer* (Sr. don Frederico de Toledo; Kleef Castle; Schoten; lepers; stores of victuals; encampment of Hispanolia; Count de Bossu; regular artillery; Sr. de Noircarmes; the Spaarne) - at the left below between the Spaarne, the straight road and the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Haerlemmer Meer*; *camp de*; *der geusen Armeij*; *Stella*; *Corredon*; *Salvator*; *Sol*; *Luna*; *Goleta*; *fuijck*; *Spiering meer* (Haarlem lake, encampment; the army of the Beggars; stella; Corredon; Salvator; Sol; Luna; Goleta; bow-net; Spiering lake) - at the right at the bottom between the Spaarne the straight road and the bottom-edge of the sheet: *Mota*; *Rustenburch*; *Candil*; *d. Laghen Dijck* (Low Dike); *dit Nieuwe Vaert* (new canal); *Raming*; *Goming*; *Armeij du Roi* (army of the king) - in the lower right-hand corner: *Henri Masen Inuen*.

The attribution to Saenredam by Swillens (*Saenredam*, p. 76, no. 8) and because of it also the presumed date approx. 1626 are rather doubtful, as the handwriting cannot be recognized as Saenredam's. Herewith ought to be pointed out that Swillens himself (*Saenredam*, p. 62) has certain reserves as regards the attribution because of the lack of regular comparison-material from Saenredam's younger years.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: *Rotterdam* 1937, no. 28; *Amsterdam* 1938, no. 28.

Literature: SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, no. 8, pl. II.

Pl. 219

Haarlem, Municipal Archives

230* St. Peter's Church with St. Peter's Churchyard and *Gravensteen* at Leyden

Pen and watercolour - 19,3 x 35,5

On the right of the drawing the built-in west-façade of St.

Peter's, for the greater part a 15th century church, with two stepped turrets, the nave with southern aisle and added chapels and the southern transept-arm. In the background the *Gravensteen* the side of which along St. Peter's churchyard (House of Correction) with pilasters and pediment is monumentally depicted. The remaining sides are enclosed with houses. Along both sides of St. Peter's churchyard a row of trees; several figures as filling-in.

Inscription: several names of colours inscribed.

As regards the style of the buildings there is some similarity with Saenredam's way of drawing; the trees however, as well as the filling-in point to another hand. Probably a work in the style of Saenredam, later coloured. The colours and the way they are applied differ totally from those of Saenredam. The date is in any case after 1665, in which year the façade of the *Gravensteen* was built. The Municipal Archives at Leyden possess a drawing by M. P. Schouten (1747-1822) which agrees almost literally with this drawing, only the trees have been indicated in a summary way and there is no spire astride the roof; there are notes about the colours. Reproduced in *Oud-Leiden, veertien oude teekeningen*, Leyden, 1931 (communication by Mr. E. Pelinck, Leyden).

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 220

London, Clifford. Duits collection

231* Cloister of the *Dom* at Utrecht

Pen, black chalk, a little watercolour - 19,5 x 30,3

From the west-passage one looks over the inner court on the east-passage supported by buttresses with pinnacles. Above the arches are gables, decorated with relief, and on the height of the cornice a balustrade. The openings in the foreground are filled with fine and fanciful tracery. The southern arm is only indicated with a few lines.

Inscription: none.

Though the way of drawing very closely approaches that of Saenredam certain elements (like round arches instead of pointed

arches, the inaccurate finishing of the ribs and the transverse arch coming down on the columns between the two openings in the foreground) leave a reasonable doubt. The effect of this drawing is for the greater part destroyed by the later touching up with black chalk.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 221

Utrecht, Municipal Archives

232 National festivity

Pen and watercolour over a sketching in thin red chalk - 17,5 x 30,1

In a square surrounded by fair-booths and stalls a big crowd has assembled occupying themselves with all sorts of amusements. The background is formed by houses and trees, above which the church-tower rises.

Inscription: none.

This drawing is attributed to Saenredam on the ground of similarities "with the groups of figures on Saenredam's views of Haarlem in Ampzing's *Beschrijvinge* and the groups on the painting of the Market in Haarlem no. 86 which are unjustly attributed to Pieter Post by Gudlaugsson" (cat. exhibition *Brussels* 1961, p. 36). Herewith ought to be remarked that the attribution to Saenredam of the panel with the town hall mentioned above is not absolutely certain and that Saenredam was a middling drawer and painter of figures. The drawing is dated about 1630 (cat. exhibition *Brussels* 1961, *l.c.*).

Provenance: C. van Noorde collection, 1 November 1796, *Konstboek F*, no. 445.

Exhibitions: *Brussels* 1961, no. 33; Hamburg, *Holländische Zeichnungen der Rembrandtzeit*, Kunsthalle, 1961, no. 33.

Literature: H. J. SCHOLTEN, *Catalogue raisonné des dessins des écoles française et hollandaise*, Haarlem, 1904, p. 88, no. 80.

Pl. 222

Haarlem, Teyler's Foundation

233* *The Brittenburg* (Britten House) and surroundings

Canvas - 95 x 165 - dated 1627

On a wide beach closed off in the back-ground by high dunes with a small village in the distance, lie in the left front the foundations of the Brittenburg surrounded by the representation of different objects like statues, stoneware, coins, reliefs and construction-fragments discovered there. For the rest the beach is filled in with a series of genre-pictures like the "carrying into the sea", fishermen and boats, wagons, men on horseback, talking people and playing children. In the lower right-hand corner the rolling sea.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: 1627.

This painting is claimed by J. Q. van Regteren Altena as a possible early work by Saenredam (see p. 27, taking into consideration note 1); this hypothesis may perhaps not be excluded, but it ought to be observed that landscape and figures are rather smoothly painted and occupy a more important place on this painting than the archaeological finds while we know that Saenredam was only an middling figure-painter. As long as the depiction-system - by lack of comparison-material - is the only base for the attribution, the later remains weak. For the enumeration of the objects found and the years in which they were discovered, see inscription on painting no. 234.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: J. H. H[OLWERDA], *Afbeeldingen van de Brittenburg*, in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit 's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, VII, 1926, p. 8, pl. 7.

Pl. 223

The Hague, Jonkheer Mr. D. A. W. van
Tets van Goudriaan collection

234* *The Brittenburg* (Britten House) and surroundings

Canvas - 90,7 x 140

In contrast to the preceding painting the Brittenburg and the territory surrounding it is seen as a ground-plan, which, as it were, is built up in three registers. At the bottom the sea on which some ships. Next follows the beach; a little to the left of the centre of it lie the foundations of the castle outlined systema-

tically and surrounded by precisely arranged objects found there and summed up in the legend. On the right the "Mallegat" (new "vliet" [stream] of the Rhine dug towards the sea in 1571) and some ships. Between the beach and the land lie some dune-ridges. The upper half of the painting is taken up by a concise map on which is indicated i.a. the course of the Rhine, the town of Leyden, Kager Lake, and a series of villages or dwelling places. At the top to the left in an outlined rectangle a concise explanation of the history of the castle and the story of the objects.

Inscription: in the upper left-hand corner: *Dese fondamenten vanden zeetoorn ofte vierboet van thuijs te britten is bij den iiii Keyser Caius calegula an^o christi 40 begonnen ende by de V. keijser claudius voortgemaect tot een zeetoorn ofte vierboet gelijk als coninck philadelpho Inden mont vanden Nyl door den vermaerden architect sostrado gnide heeft doen maecken genaempt Pharaos alexandria welckentoorn soo hooch was dat hy 400 stadien verre inde zee lichten waarom voorsecker is dat die keyzers voorgenoempt deesen Zee toorn hebben doen Maecken om den schippers daer bij gelicht te werden die gins ende weer wt englant commende waren waer wt voorsecker blyckt dat deesen zeetoorn seer hooch geweest is, want de fondamenten syn 80 roeden int viercant alst gemeeten wert ontdeckt synde: De bouenste fondamenten die recht op gaen loopen onder die duinen, daer die princepale huijsinge ondergeleege is want aen desen Zee-toorn deede keyser Cadius een groote schoone huysinge Maecken twelck hij nomde den vierde ende was het tol huys daermen alle die goederen, den Ryn afcommende in de Zee aentolhuys vertolt werden welcken loop vanden Ryn anno christi 360 door een groote storm ende cracht vander zee verstoort werden ende doen vielen alle die boomen ende boschagien omme van Cattwijck tot Nieuwegen toe doen werde den Rijn verbij Vianen ende schoonhoven gebracht tot in die mase. voort 1520 waeren deese fondamenten door eenen storm ontdeckt doen werden daer gevonden VI steenen II met geschrift wit steen vier met beelden wit ende swerte steen met eenen groote sluetel alsoomen hier in dese Caerte siet zo als na tleuen gedaen An^o 1532 wast weder door storm so ontdeckt doen werter veel vremdicheijt gevonden ende duijssteen wt gebaelt An^o 1552 na pontian in ianuaris nat wonderlyck onweeder wert dien steen daer victoria voor opstaet ende aen deen syde letteren ende aen dander syde enen arent ende 40 groote duijszsteenen wt gebaelt elck vier voete lanck ende 3 voeten dick ende noch Medaelgen ect. tichelen scheruen van potten schootelen teylen kroesen van Root ende witte gebacken steen anno 1562 in ianuario ist weede ontdeckt geweest ende daer wert weeder gevonden als voorschreeuen is tichelen ende scherven ende plaveij steenen daer opston EX-GER-INF- voort twee cleijne*

coperen mannekens veel silueren ende cooperen medaelen ende men bracht veel duijsteens daer van. Maer men heeft geen sonderlinge groote steenen meer gevonden gelyc mer hier 8 siet So anno 1571 Als de nieuwe vliet van kattwijk op den Ryn tot die zee toe gegraven werd doen is by eenige grauers den 16 iuni gevonden veel verscheyden gebacken steen als groote plaveijsteenen met verscheyden letteren oock gootsteen bollestenen ende een steenen boeck oock steenkens rondt niet rechte ende verkeerde letteren alsomen hier siet - voort anno 1576 ianuo 23 doen was vande midnacht tot smorgens te 8 uren een groote geduerige storm van winde wt den Zuydtwesten door welcke storm de fondamenten van thuijs te britten weeder ontdeekt ende daer werden weeder veel silueren en de cooperen Medaelgen van Lucius, Septimius seuerus faustina augusta antoninus pius agustus antoninus brittannicus ende meer andere Imperatores.

(These foundations of the sea-tower or fire boat of the Britten House were started by the fourth Emperor Caius Caligula an°. christi 40 and completed by the fifth Emperor Claudius into a sea-tower or fire boat the same as King philadelphus had made in the mouth of the Nile by the famous architect Sostrado Gnide, named Pharos Alexandria which tower was so high that it threw its light 400 stadii far into the sea. Which is certainly the reason why those afore-mentioned emperors had made this sea-tower to light the skippers who went to and fro England from which it is certainly clear that this sea-tower must have been very high for the foundations are 80 decametres square, measured after discovery: the upper foundations go right underneath the dunes under which the principal house lay, for to this sea-tower Emperor Claudius attached a large beautiful house which he called the fourth and it was the custom-house where duties were put on all the goods coming down the Rhine to the sea which course of the Rhine was anno christi 360 changed by a big storm and power of the sea, and then all the trees and woods fell down from Katwijk to Nijmegen and the Rhine was brought past Vianen en Schoonhoven into the Maas. Before 1520 these foundations were discovered because of a storm; then were found VI stones II with inscription, white stone, four with images, white and black stones, with a big key like one sees them here on the map done from life. An° 1532 there were again things discovered because of a storm, a lot of strange things and tuff got out. An° 1552 after "St. Pontian" in January after a strange thunder-storm there were found the stone on which stands in front victoria and at one side letters and at the other side an eagle, and taken our 40 big pieces of tuff each four feet long and 3 feet thick and further coins etc., tiles, fragments of pots, saucers, pans, cups of red

and white baked stone. Anno 1562 in January again something was discovered and there were found again like afore-mentioned tiles and fragments and flag-stones on which was written Ex-GER-INF-, next two small brass puppets, much silver and brass coins and much tuff. But no strange big stones were found anymore of which one sees 8 here. When in Anno 1571 the new canal was dug from Katwijk on the Rhine to the sea, some diggers found on the 16th of June many different baked stones as well as big flag-stones with several letters also sink hollow stones and a stone book, also small stones round not square and wrong letters as one can seen here - next anno 1576 January 23rd there was from midnight till the morning 8 o'clock a big continuous storm wind from the south-west because of which storm the foundations of the Britten House were laid bare again, and there were again many silver and brass coins of Lucius Septemus severus, faustina augusta, antoninus pius augustus, antoninus brittannicus and many more emperors) - with most of the objects: the measurements, the year in which they were found and the inscription they carry - next to the Brittenburg above left: XX ROEDEN LANCK (XXDecametres long) - above right: TWINTICH ROEDEN BREET (twenty decametres wide), - left below: TWINTICH ROEDEN (20 decametres) - right below: TWINTICH ROEDEN LANCK (20 decametres long) - in the ground-plan: DIE FONDAMENTEN VAN THUYS VAN BRITTEN (the Foundations of the Britten House) - in the sea: MARIS GERMANICI PARS Die zee (the sea) - in banderoles the points of compass: left at the top: OOST (east) - at the top right: SVYDT (south) - left below: NOORDT (north) - below right: WEST.

For the attribution of this painting to Saenredam can again be cited the depiction-system, which has certainly more value here than in the preceding number; however, for this piece, too, it remains a very doubtful hypothesis. The inscription of this painting is copied by A. PARS for his description in *Catti. aborigines Batavorum dat is: de Katten De voorouders der Batavieren, ofte de twee Katwijken*, (the Catti. the ancestors of the Batavians or the two Katwijks) Leyden, 1686¹; 1745², p. 93-95.

Provenance: van Wassenaar collection, The Hague; 1750 Landgrave of Hessen; came to the Kassel museum between 1787 and 1795; purchased from the Kassel museum before 1925.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: J. H. H[OLWERDA], *Afbeeldingen van de Brittenburg*, in *Oudbeidkundige Mededeelingen uit 's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden*, VII, 1926, p. 1-13, pl. 1 and 2.

Pl. 224

Leyden, State Museum of Antiquities

235 Interior of a Gothic church-choir

Pen and watercolour - 37 x 23 - signed, dated 1640

From the southern ambulatory one looks between the columns with polygonal bases and very narrow leaf-capitals into the choir and northern ambulatory. In the choir stands a simple pulpit. From the tie-bars between the high columns and on the columns themselves hang numerous escutcheons and mourning-tablets. As filling-in a man in the foreground and some small figures in the background.

Inscription: on the base-plinth of the column left: *Pieter Saenredam 1640.*

Neither the signature nor the way of drawing are those of Saenredam. The British Museum possesses a drawing attributed to Saenredam, representing the interior of a Gothic church and engraved by Ploos van Amstel (HIND, IV, p. 46, no. 6) to which the above mentioned drawing is very closely related (cat. exhibition *Dutch Art 1450-1900*, London, 1929, no. 555). The attribution to Saenredam, however, has already been proved to be wrong by Swillens (*Saenredam*, p. 135). Sooner could be thought of a work by Houckgeest or by Van Vliet. Because of the typical form of the capitals this church may probably be taken for a rather free representation of St. Peter's Church at Leyden.

Provenance: Mayor collection; J. P. Heseltine collection, London; H. Oppenheimer collection, London; H. Oppenheimer sale, Christie's, London, 10-14 July 1936, no. 313; Schaeffer Galleries, Inc., New-York, 1956.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 555.

Literature: C. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, *Einige Betrachtungen über die Ausstellung holländischer Kunst in London*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, L, 1929, p. 141-142.

Pl. 225

New York, Schaeffer Galleries (1956)

DOCUMENTATION

236* Palace of Fantasy

Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527 - about 1606) - canvas - 137 x 164 - signed, dated (the date is illegible)

A paved inner-court in the centre of which a fountain has been built and an obelisk has been erected, is enclosed on the foreground on the left by a richly ornamented porch giving entry into a wing of a palace, in the background by a long colonnade with along both sides a simple arcade with a storey, and on the right by a dwelling-wing extending towards the distance, with a tower. Through the colonnade a gateway can be seen in the distance; in the gardens behind the arcades grow exotic plants. The whole is elaborately filled in with luxuriously dressed ladies and gentlemen, children, servants and birds. The architecture is garishly adorned with every possible specimen of the Renaissance ornamentation.

Inscription: on the plinth of the base of the fountain: *HANS VREM* [this word in monogram] *VRIESE INV*

Provenance: probably from the collections of Emperor Rudolf II.

Exhibitions: *Utrecht* 1953, no. 105, pl. 6.

Literature: *Wiener Inventar*, G 1612/18, no. 83; *JANTZEN*, no. 592, p. 22.

Pl. 227 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie

237* Palace of Fantasy

Hendrik van Steenwyck de Jonge (about 1580 - before 1650)
- copper - 47 x 70 - signed, dated 1614

On the foreground on the left hand side stands a Renaissance loggia dominating everything that gives a view on the other buildings in the distance. By a broad staircase on the right of this loggia one reaches a square situated at a lower level which on the right, again by way of a staircase, is connected with the forecourt of a building lying a little further back consisting of an arcade and two storeys of which the upper one is receding; the tiers are sharply outlined horizontally by entablature and balustrade. Next to this staircase and connected with the other building by an arcade lies an almost square house with Renaissance gables;

this in its turn is connected with a tower by means of an arcade with storey, running along the square. In the background rise several other buildings. The whole painting is richly filled in with all kinds of persons.

Inscription: at the bottom left on the wall: *H.V.S. 1614*

Provenance: Ewout van Dishoek sale, The Hague, 9 June 1745, no. 23; collections of Stadtholder William V, The Hague.

Exhibitions: *Utrecht* 1953, no. 94, pl. 21.

Literature: G. HOET, *Catalogus of naamlijst van schilderijen*, II, The Hague, 1752-70, p. 170; *Inventaris Paleis „Het Loo”*, 1763, no. 29; JANTZEN, p. 36, no. 457; *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen en Beeldhouwwerken*, Koninklijk Kabinet van schilderijen "Maurits-huis", The Hague, 1949, no. 171.

Pl. 228 The Hague, Royal Picture-Gallery „Mauritshuis"

238* Healing of the lame

Dirck van Delen (1605-1671) - canvas - 260 x 280 - signed, dated 1636

In a round hall the round-passage of which on the storey is supported by a colonnade and closed by a gallery, Christ is depicted surrounded by some apostles while healing the lame lying on the floor. A smaller round domed space links up with this hall where on the entablature two angles hold a laurel-wreath. In the distance the big hall extends where other patients await their cure in the water of the source.

Inscription: in the cartouche in the lower left-hand corner: *D. van. Delen. fecit/Ter liefden d'achtbaer Schilder kunst, En tot goe leeringh voor de Crancken, Heeft Jacques Orloogh uit goe Gunst. Dit Stuck vereert t' Gasthuijs ten dancke. 1636. Souckt godt voor d' Engelen.* (out of love for the honourable art of painting and as a good lesson for the sick Jacques Orloogh has presented the hospital with this piece, kindly and thankfully. 1636. Seek for God before the angels).

Provenance: presented by Jacques Orloogh to the "Godshuizen" (Charitable Institutions), 1636.

Exhibitions: *Utrecht* 1953, no. 34a.

Literature: JANTZEN, p. 161.

Pl. 229 Middelburg, Charitable Institutions

239* Imaginary church-interior

Bartholomeus van Bassen (?-1652) - canvas - 100,3 x 135,8 - signed, dated 1645

Diagonally across the foreground lies a choir containing on the left an apse with altar, separated on the right by Corinthian columns and a pillar from a space situated somewhat higher; two round arches, resting in the middle on coupled columns, make the view to the next space possible. This is divided in three traverses: the left hand one against the outer wall has the shape of a chapel with an altar; under the separating-arch of the centre one the succeeding chapels are visible while behind the right-hand traverse a series of groined vaults follows, ending in a dome-shaped space; here an organ stands on a gallery under which a smaller entrance leads further into the depth of the building. As filling-in some monks and a number of the faithful.

Inscription: on the left above on the cartouche: *omnia non... possimus omnes: B.V. Bassen 1645*

Possibly the filling-in was painted by C. van Poelenburgh.

Provenance: 1854 bequeathed by Archibald M'Lellan.

Exhibitions: *Utrecht 1953*, no. 7, pl. 18.

Literature: JANTZEN, no. 48, pl. 23; LEYMARIE, p. 150.

Pl. 230

Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum

240* Interior of nave and choir of the Great Church at Haarlem from the west to the east

Isaac van Nিকেle (?-1703) - canvas - 113 x 101,5 - signed, dated 1693

This painting represents the same view of the church as no. 29 painted by Saenredam. The space of the nave, however, is furnished with pews and pulpit, while in the southern aisle an organ is placed.

Inscription: on the lower right-hand corner of the pew on the right: *Isaac van Nিকেle 1693.*

Provenance: Dr. A. van der Willigen collection; purchased 1874.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Catalogus der schilderijen en teekeningen in het Frans Halsmuseum*, Haarlem, 1929, no. 223; *Beknopte Catalogus Frans Halsmuseum*, Haarlem, 1960, no. 223.

Pl. 231

Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum

241* Interior of the choir of the New Church at Delft

Gerard Houckgeest (about 1600-1661) - panel - 65,5 x 77,5
- monogrammed, dated 1651

From the second traverse of the northern ambulatory one looks into the apse, where the mausoleum of William the Silent stands, and also into the ambulatory behind the apse and into the southern ambulatory. The columns have high eight-sided bases and capitals ornamented with two rows of cabbage-leaves; the triforium and the upper windows of the choir are just visible between the tie-bars and the escutcheons. The sepulchral monument is partly hidden by the column in the foreground. Around the gate which protects the tomb, stand several small figures.

Inscription: on the base of the column in the foreground: *G. H.* [attached to one another] 1651.

Provenance: Lormier sale, The Hague, 4 July 1763; van Wouw sale, The Hague, May 1764; collections of Stadtholder William V, The Hague; 1795-1815 in Louvre, Paris; 1815 returned to the Mauritshuis.

Exhibitions: *Haarlem* 1961, no. 40.

Literature: unknown.

Pl. 232

The Hague, Royal Picture-Gallery „Mauritshuis”

242* Interior through the nave of the Great Church at Rotterdam from the south to the north

Anthonie de Lorme (about 1610?-1673) - canvas - 85 x 68
signed, dated 1669

View from the first traverse against the crossing (on the right in front the crossing-pillar) from the southern aisle through the nave and the northern aisle. The columns have eight-sided profiled bases and a capital ornamented with two rows of cabbage-leaves. In the nave above the separating-arches the remarkable shapes of the triforium and of the bottom-edge of the sky-lights arc to be observed. In the chapels built between the

buttresses of the northern aisle there are big windows with Late Gothic tracery. Only these chapels have a cross-ribbed vaulting; the aisles are covered with wooden vaults. As decoration a great number of escutcheons and mourning-tablets.

Inscription: in the lower right-hand corner: *A. de Lorme. 1669.*

Provenance: 1940 presented by W. van der Vorm.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: *Verslag museum Boymans 1939-1941*, Rotterdam, 1941, p. 40-41, repr.; G. VAN SPAAN, *Beschrijvinge der Stad Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1698, ed. by A. C. HAZEWINKEL, Antwerp, 1943, pl. opposite p. 53; reproduced in *Nederlandse Kunstagenda*, 1961.

Pl. 233

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen

243* Interior of the Great Church at Haarlem

Hendrik van Vliet (1611-1675) - panel - 61 x 55 - signed, dated 1666

From the northern aisle one looks through the nave-space into the southern transept-arm and the southern aisle with in the background a peep of the choir and the Brewers' chapel. On the right in the pulpit the minister addresses the congregation sitting around him on chairs. In the pews against the columns two pairs of gentlemen have taken their seats. In the foreground a grave-digger has stopped his work. Three big chandeliers and several mourning-tablets decorate the space.

Inscription: on the base of the column to the right: *H. van Vliet A° 1666.*

Some details, such as the form of the triforium and of the leaf-capitals of the nave, and also the passage to the Brewers' chapel, are not altogether correctly represented. This painting was formerly wrongly thought to represent the New Church at Delft.

Provenance: H. de Kat sale, Dordrecht; Paris sale, 7 May 1866, no. 88; purchased 1866.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, *Vermeer, oorsprong en invloed*, museum Boymans, 1935, no. 90, pl. 10.

Literature: *Jaarverslag museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, 1866, p. 2, no. 16; H. JANTZEN, in *Onze Kunst*, XV, 1909, p. 146; JANTZEN, p. 105, no. 541; *Gids, Schilderkunst en Beeldhouwkunst*, museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1951, p. 101, no. 488.

Pl. 234

Rotterdam, museum Boymans-van Beuningen.

244* Gothic church-interior

Emanuel de Witte (1617-1692) - canvas - 61 x 47,5 - signed, dated 1682

From a traverse of the southern aisle a view is given on the nave, on the northern transept-arm in which a triforium runs under the upper window, on the choir and the northern ambulatory against which chapels are built. The columns have high eight-sided bases and capitals with cabbage-leaf-ornamentation. Against the column, in the middle of the painting, stands the pulpit from which a minister addresses the congregation sitting in the pews around the pulpit. In the northern transept-arm a small organ is placed. A big chandelier and numerous escutcheons decorate the interior.

Inscription: in the lower left-hand corner: *E. de Witte f. 1682.*

Probably this interior represents the Old Church at Delft, though in a rather free interpretation.

Provenance: Edward Speyer of Ridgehurst collection, Shenley, Herts., 1929; J. Goudstikker art gallery, Amsterdam, 1930; H. J. M. Lips collection, Dordrecht, 1938; J. H. Borghouts art gallery, Utrecht, 1950; purchased from Borghouts art gallery, Utrecht, 1954.

Exhibitions: London, *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, 1920-1921, no. 14; London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 341; Rotterdam, *Nieuwe aanwinsten coll. J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam*, Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, 1930-1931, p. 39, no. 86, repr.; Rotterdam, *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen, 1400-1800*, museum Boymans, 1938, no. 164, pl. 132; Rotterdam 1955, no. 139, pl. 115; Arnhem, *Collectie J. C. H. Heldring*, Gemeentemuseum, 1958, no. 36, pl. 43; Utrecht, *Collectie J. C. H. Heldring*, Centraal Museum, 1960, no. 43, pl. 42.

Literature: H. SCHNEIDER-W. G. CONSTABLE, *The Paintings*, in *Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of Dutch Art*, Royal Academy, London, 1929, Oxford, 1930, p. 154, pl. LXXXII, right; D. HANNEMA, *Catalogue raisonné of the Pictures in the Collection of J. C. H. Heldring*, Rotterdam, 1955, no. 34, pl. 32.

Pl. 235

Oosterbeek, J. C. H. Heldring collection

PIETER SAENREDAM

245* H. Goltzius, *Les images presque de tous les Empe-reurs depuis C. Julius Caesar*

Text with coloured wood-carvings (*chiaroscuro*), partly with etched overprint in black, and some corrections with the pen - 30,8 x 22,7 - 1577

From a detailed ex-libris in the handwriting of Pieter Saenredam it appears that the book since it was probably presented to Maerten van Heemskerck by the author, had been in the possession of different artists (namely Jacob Rauwaert, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haerlem, Pieter Jansz. Begeyn) and was bought in 1639 by Saenredam himself. This passage reads like this: *Pieter Saenredam, Schilder, heeft dit bouck gekoft, van Pieter begijn voornoemt int Jaer 1639. ende wederomme t'selve inbinden laten, en versien, dat het voor meerder smette en vuilicheijt bewaert kan blijven.* (Pieter Saenredam, painter, has bought this book from Pieter Begeyn above mentioned in the year 1639 and had it bound again and seen to it that it would be saved from more spots and dirt).

From this it is clear with what great care Saenredam treated this work and which important significance it had for him.

Provenance: Maerten van Heemskerck; Jacob Rauwaert; Cornelisz. van Haerlem; Pieter Jansz. Begijn; Pieter Jansz. Saenredam; Paulus Vermeulen, painter; Paulus Vermeulen, "broodweger"; Isaac van der Vinne; Laurens van Oukerken; Dr. A. van der Willigen; Jonkheer Dr. J. P. Six, Amsterdam; Prof. Jonkheer Dr. J. Six, Amsterdam.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: REGTEREN ALTENA, p. 6-7 passim; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 23.

Pl. 226 Amsterdam, Prof. Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena collection

246 Portrait of Pieter Saenredam

Jacob van Campen (1595-1657) - black chalk - 26 x 18,2 - dated 1628

Within an oval the painter is represented half length, turned to the left, sitting on a chair, the head turned three quarters

to the spectator. The left arm hangs along the body, the right one lies over the back of the chair. He has an oval pointed face with high forehead, a sharp nose and tight-set, thin mouth. The rather long hair is smoothed back on the side; in the middle it is arranged a little to the front; on the chin the beginning of a beard. He is dressed in a tight-fitting doublet with fluted collar.

Inscription: under the picture: *Dit heeft Monsieur J. van Campen Naer mij Pieter Saenredam gedaen A° 1628.* (Mr. J. van Campen has made this of me, Pieter Saenredam, A° 1628).

From the inscription the author and the date are known. This is the only, trustworthy portrait of Pieter Saenredam known up till now.

Provenance: purchased 1854.

Exhibitions: unknown.

Literature: HIND, III, p. 65, pl. XXXIII; SWILLENS, *van Campen*, p. 23.

Pl. opposite fly-leaf London, the British Museum, Printroom

247* Sketch of five heads

Jan Saenredam (1565-1607) - black and red chalk; pen - 19 x 14 - signed, not dated (beginning 17th century)

On the left half of the sheet stand under one another three children's heads; the upper two - the second of which is drawn with the pen - are identical; on the right half two bearded men's heads. The two identical children's heads representing a small boy of approximately eight to ten years of age, could well have been a portrait of Pieter drawn by his father. Therefore these portraits could be dated 1605-1607. On the reverse of the sheet: *Saenredam*.

Provenance: P. Crozat collection.

Exhibitions: London, *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1929, no. 530; Brussels, *Van Jeroen Bosch tot Rembrandt, Hollandsche Teekeningen van de 16e tot de 18e eeuw*, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, 1937-38, no. 35, pl. XXIV.

Literature: H. SCHNEIDER-W. G. CONSTABLE, *The Paintings*, in *Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900*, London, 1929, Oxford, 1930, p. 184; E. K. J. REZNICEK, *Hendrick Goltzius als Zeichner*, Utrecht, 1961, p. 175-176.

Pl. 236 Amsterdam, Prof. Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena collection

248* Portrait of Pieter Saenredam

Unknown Dutch painter - pen and watercolour - 32 x 31 - 1st half 17th century

Saenredam is pictured against a neutral background, bustlength, three-quarters right, facing the spectator. He is dressed in a black doublet with a turned-down broad fluted ruff above which the black pointed beard and his lank hair covering the ears, make a sharp contrast. The portrait is set in a high oval medallion within a rectangular frame; the corners and upper and lower parts are filled in with mascarons, double volutes and fruit-festoons in imitation of relief. In the frieze below three seated putti personify architecture, the art of painting and the art of drawing, with as emblems: plummet and square, pallet and brushes, ruler and drawing-board.

Inscription: none.

The attribution is based on a tradition which wishes to recognize in this portrait Pieter Saenredam. Compared with the portrait Jacob van Campen made in 1628 of the painter when he was 31 years old (see picture opposite the fly-leave), a person of some 50 years is portrayed here. Though some likeness may be found in the features there is, nevertheless, a difference in the shape of the mouth; furthermore Saenredam at the age of 31 shows already a considerable loss of hair over his forehead and at his temples not to be found in that way on the Zaandijk portrait. The presence of the personification of architecture, possible pointing to an architect, is acceptable for a painter of architecture.

Provenance: unknown.

Exhibitions: Zaandam, *Zaanlandsche Oudheden en Merkwaaardigheden*, 1874, no. 1297.

Literature: J. HONIG Js.-J. J. HONIG, *Zaanlandia illustrata*, Zaandijk, 1917, no. 146; SWILLENS, *Saenredam*, p. 3, reproduced as frontispiece.

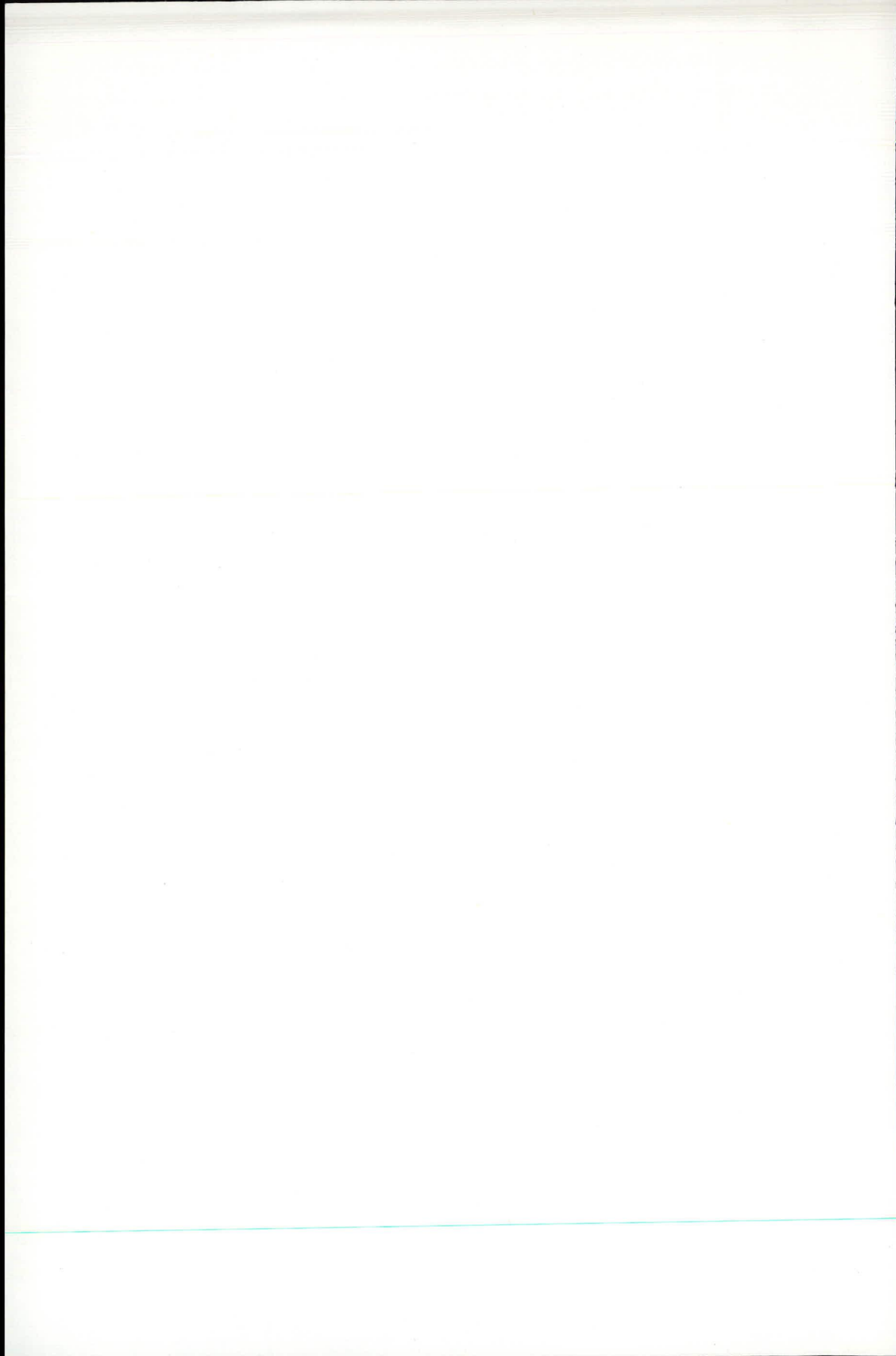
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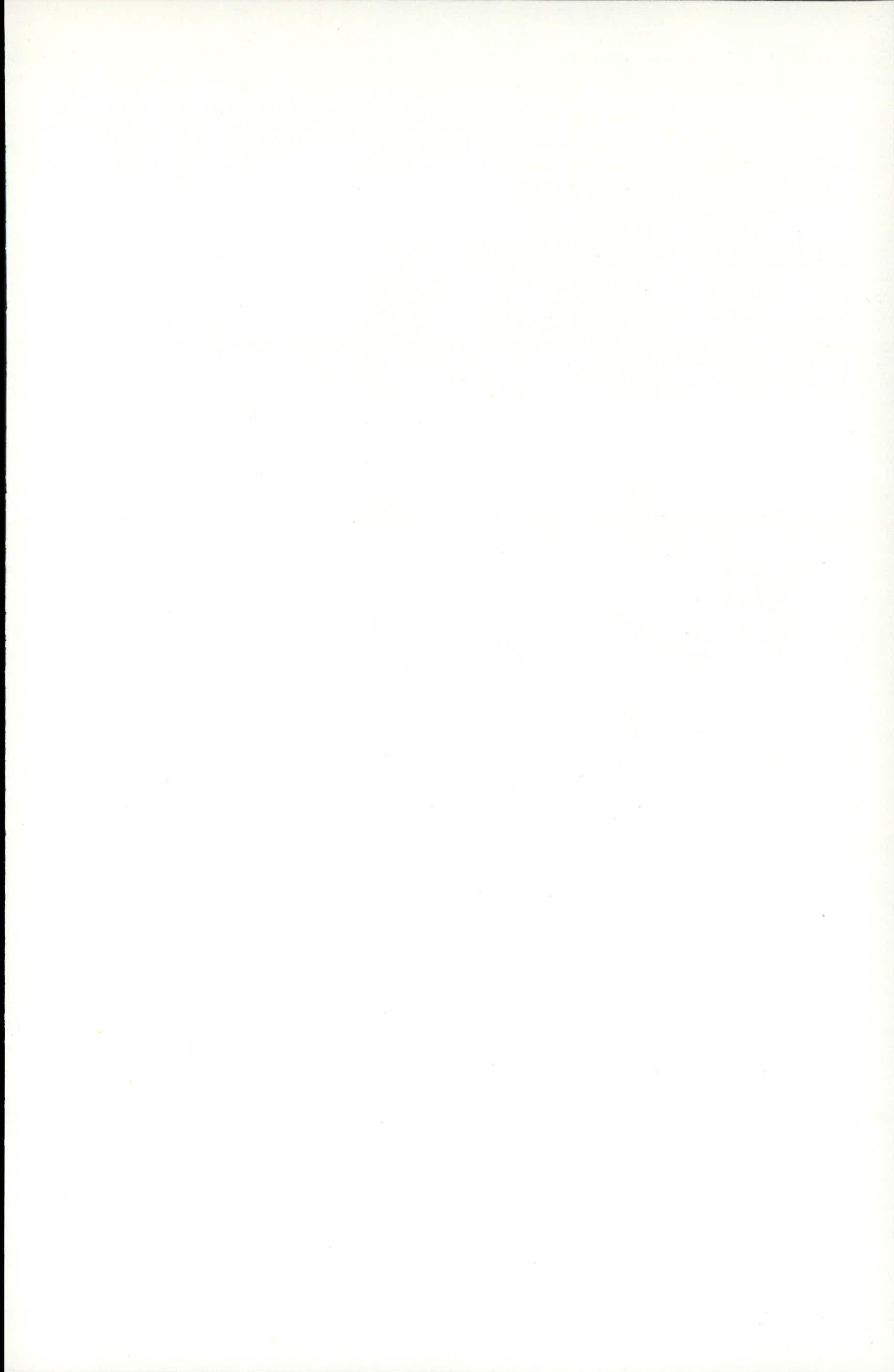
Zaandijk, *Zaanland* archaeological collection
Jacob Honig Js. Jr.

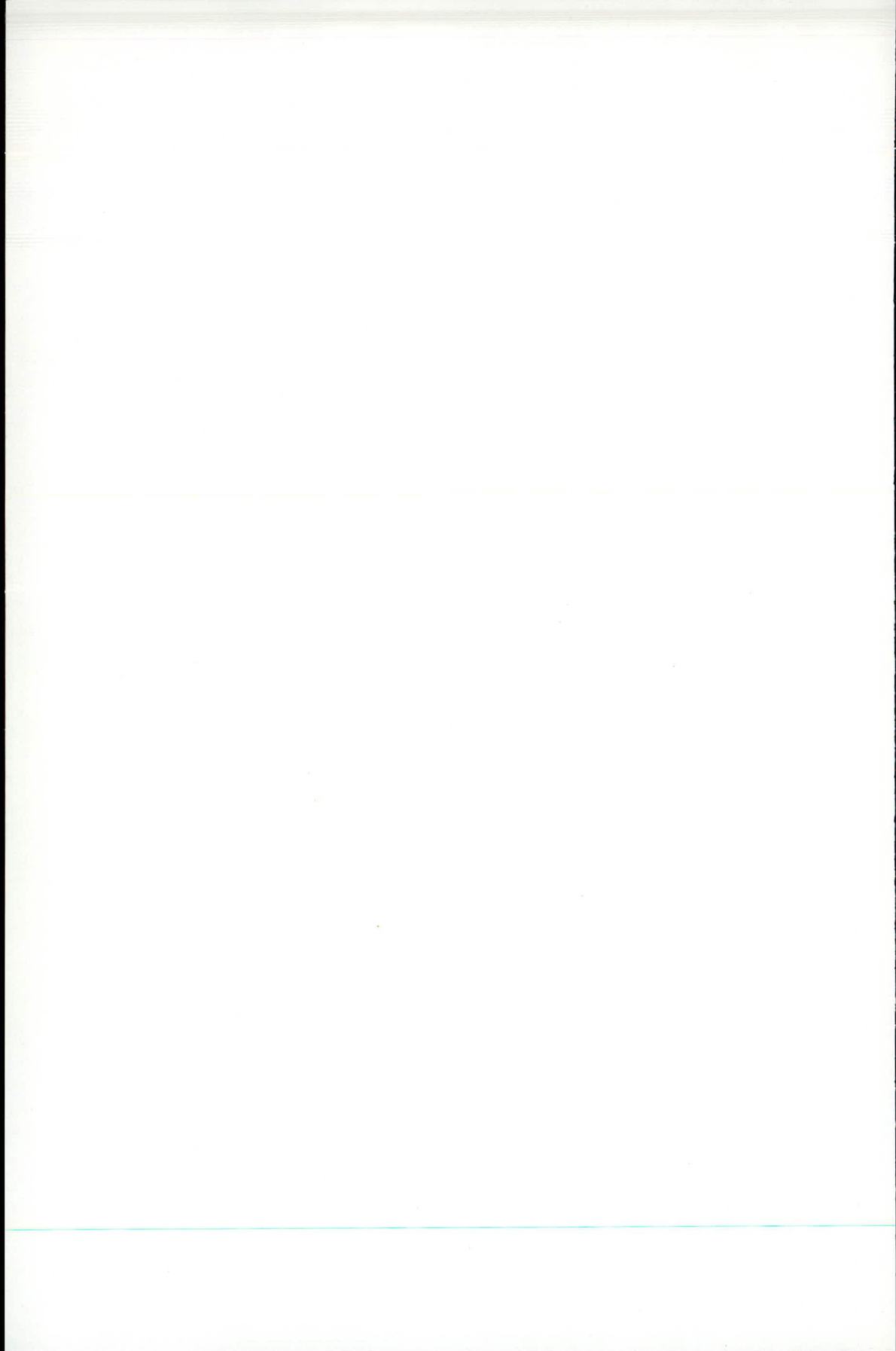
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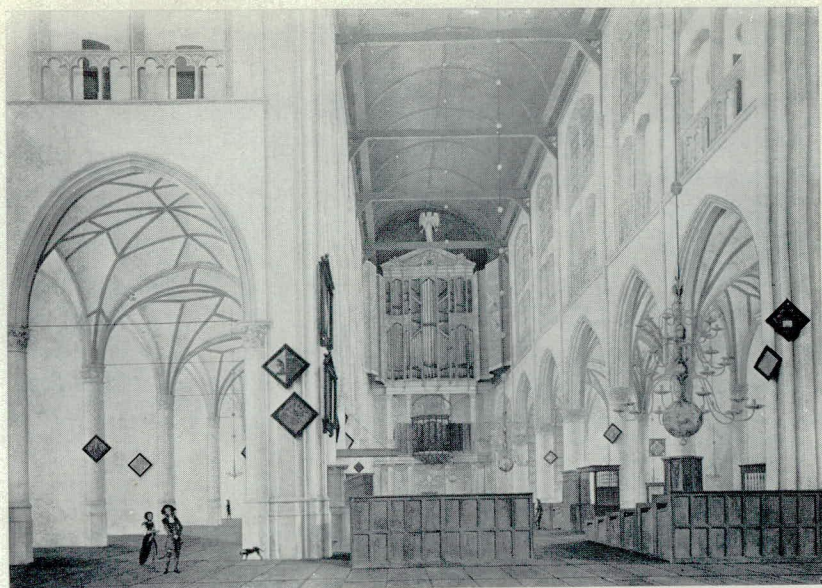
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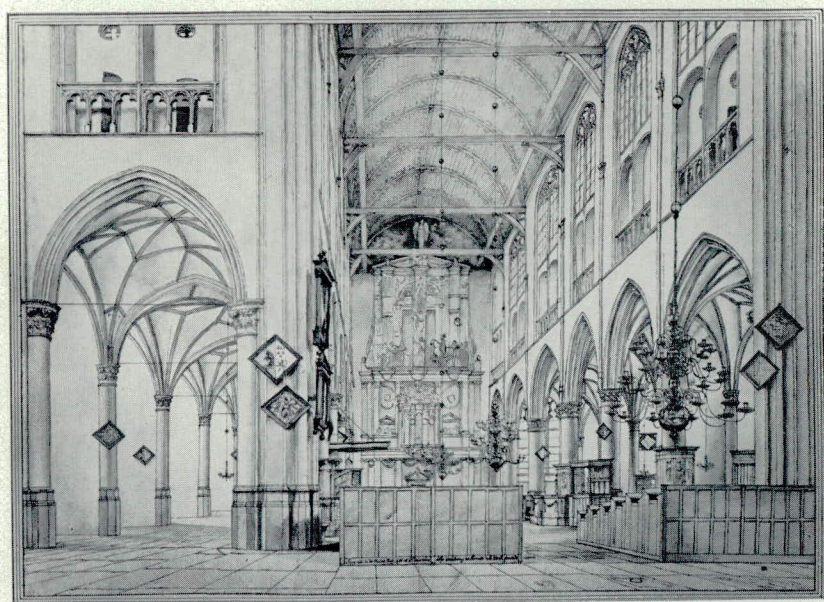




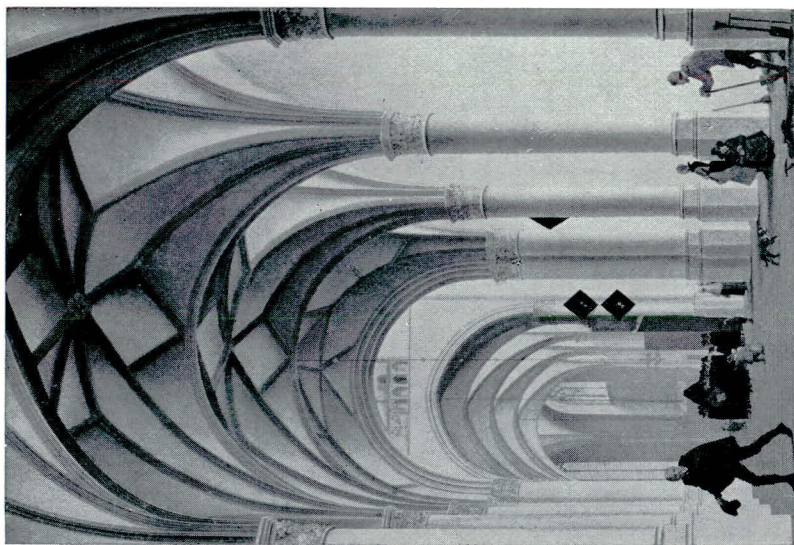




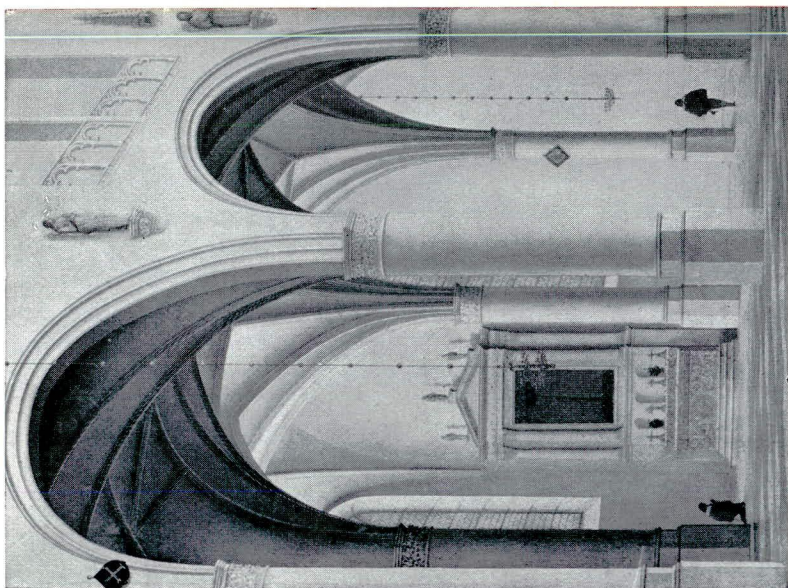
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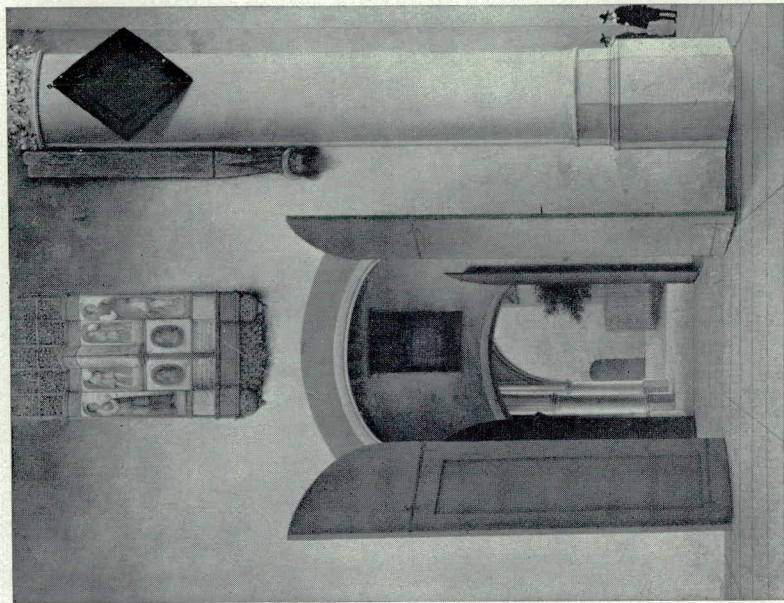
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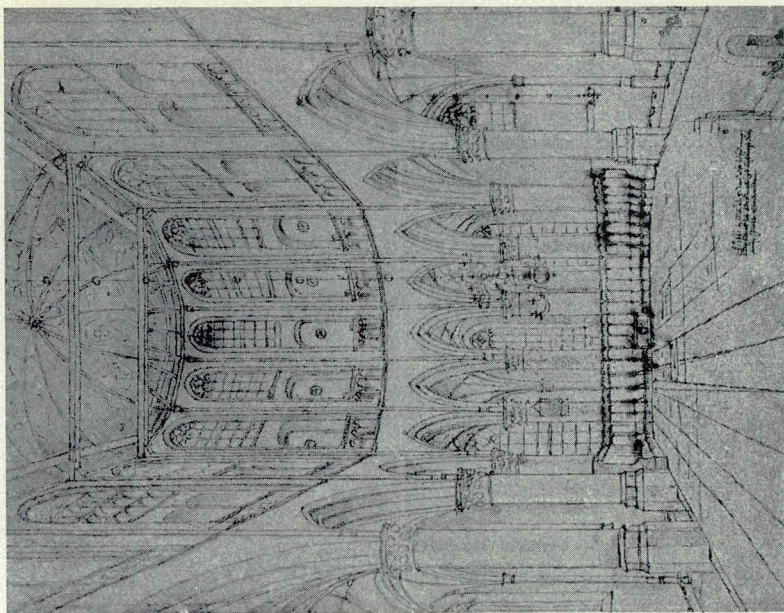
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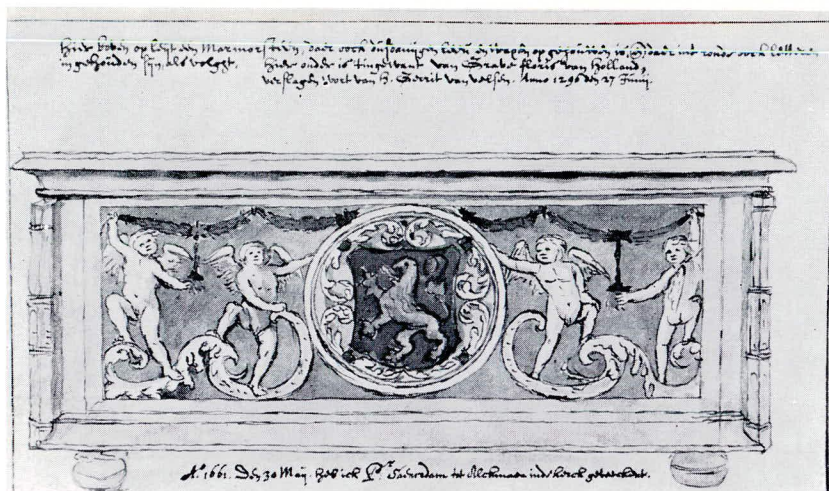
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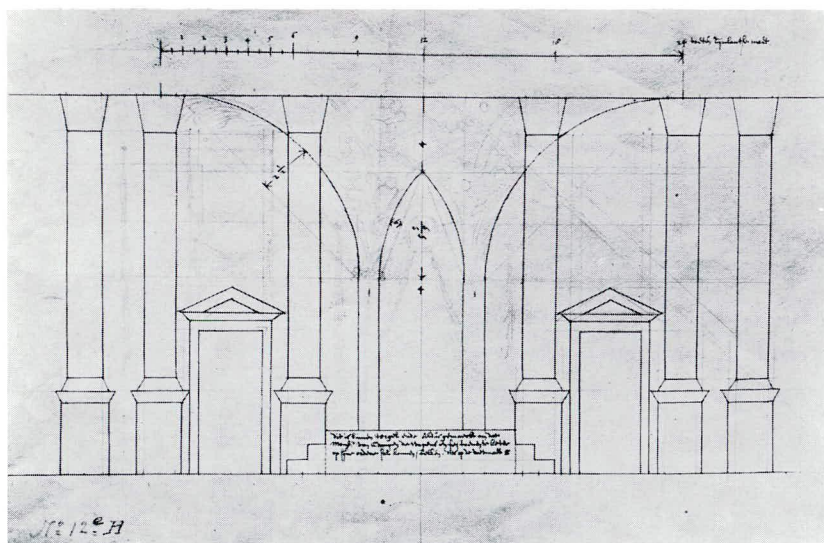
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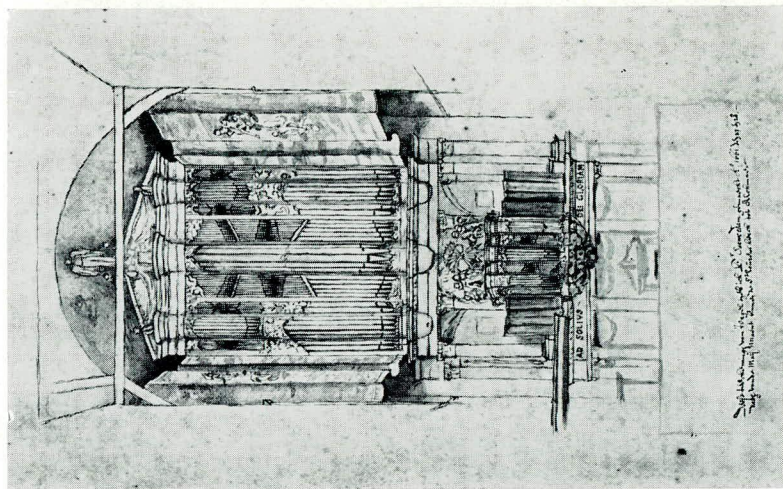
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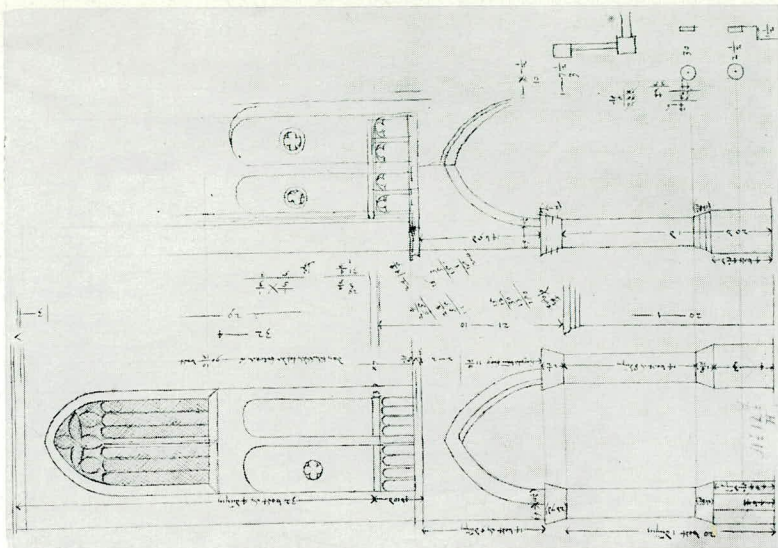
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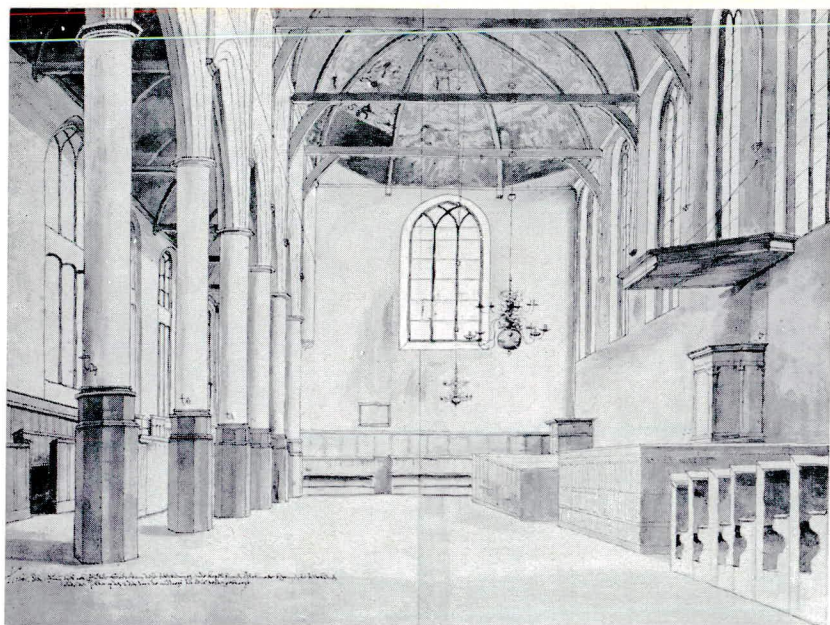
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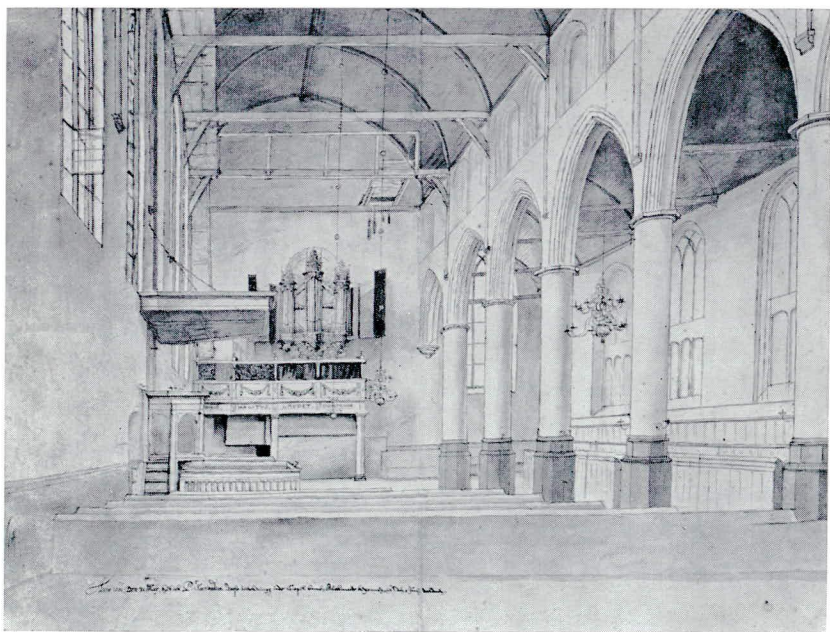
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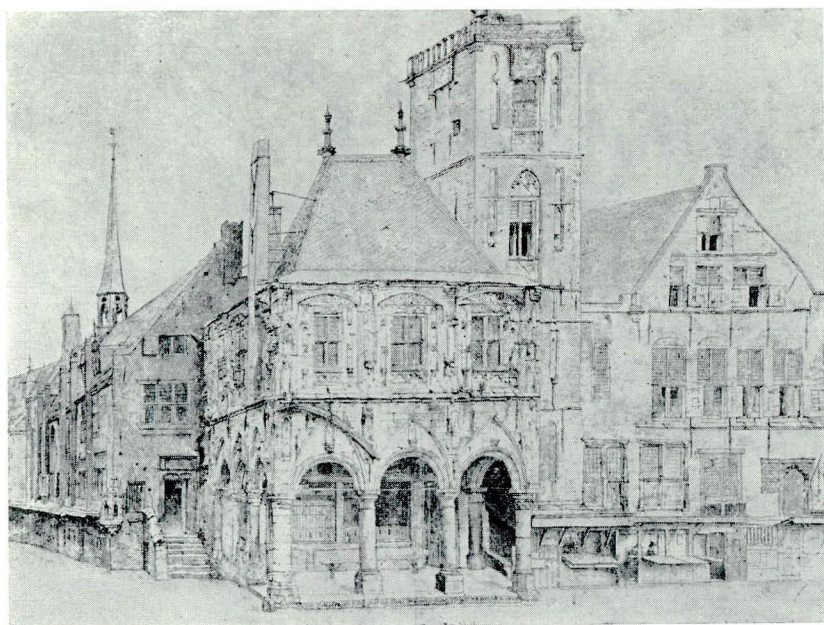
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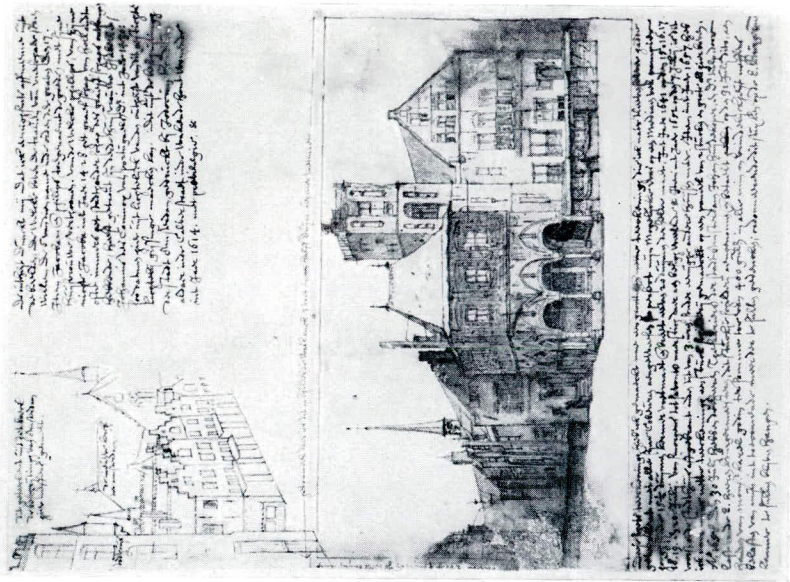
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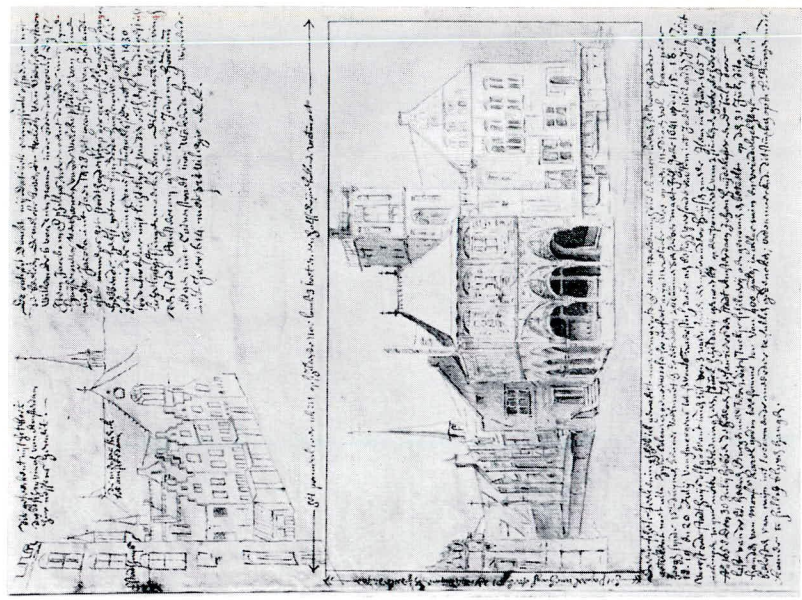
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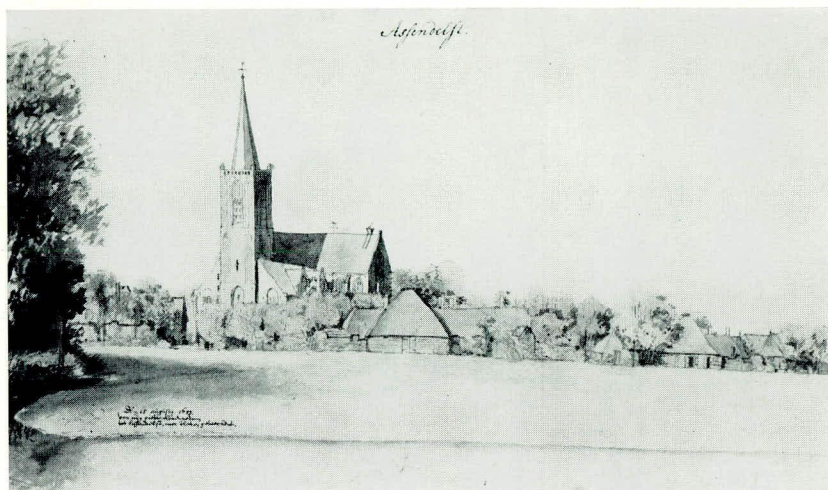
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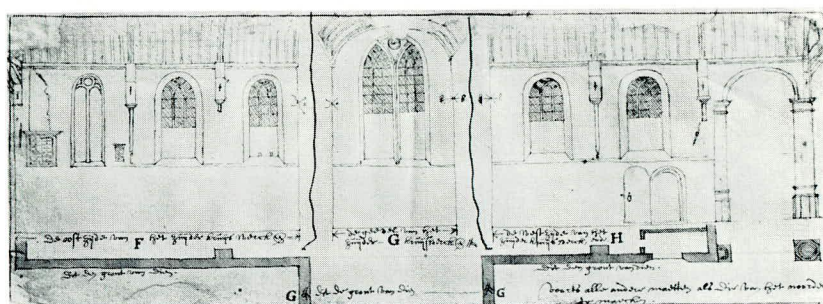
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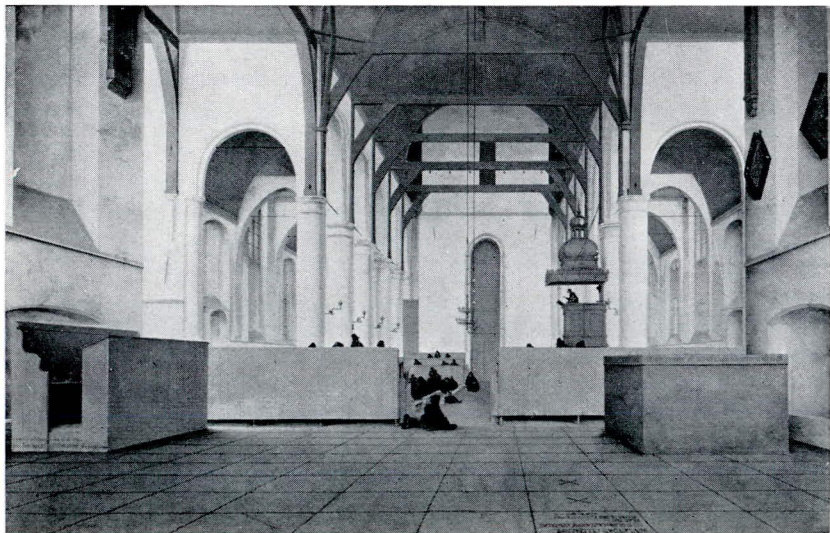
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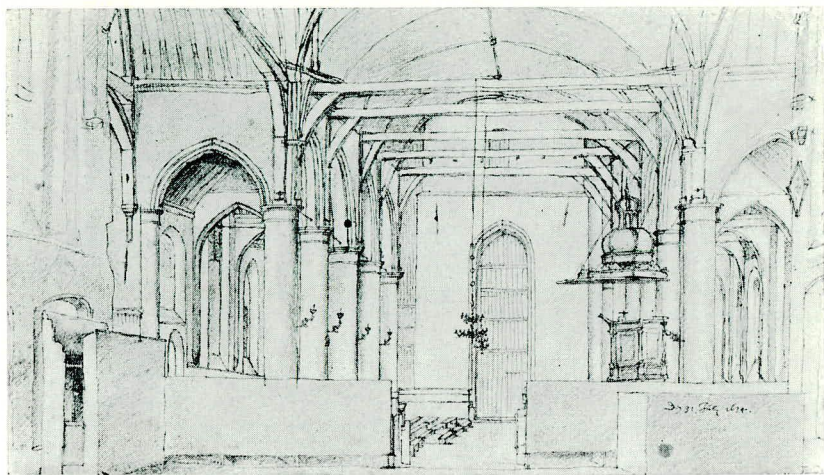


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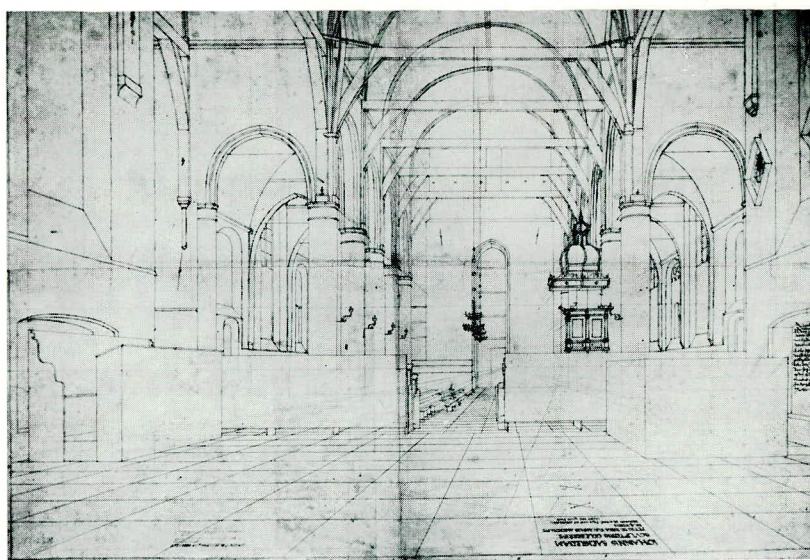


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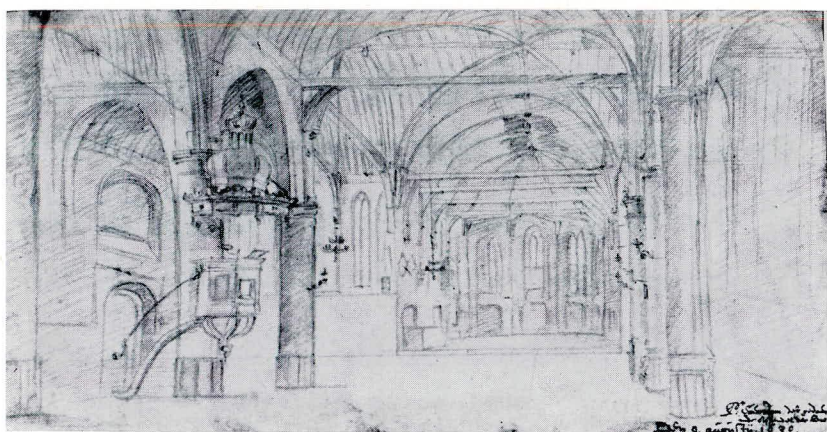




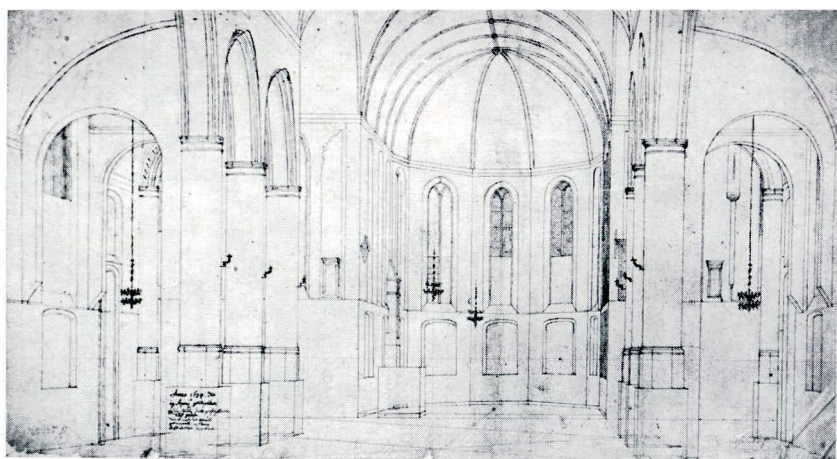
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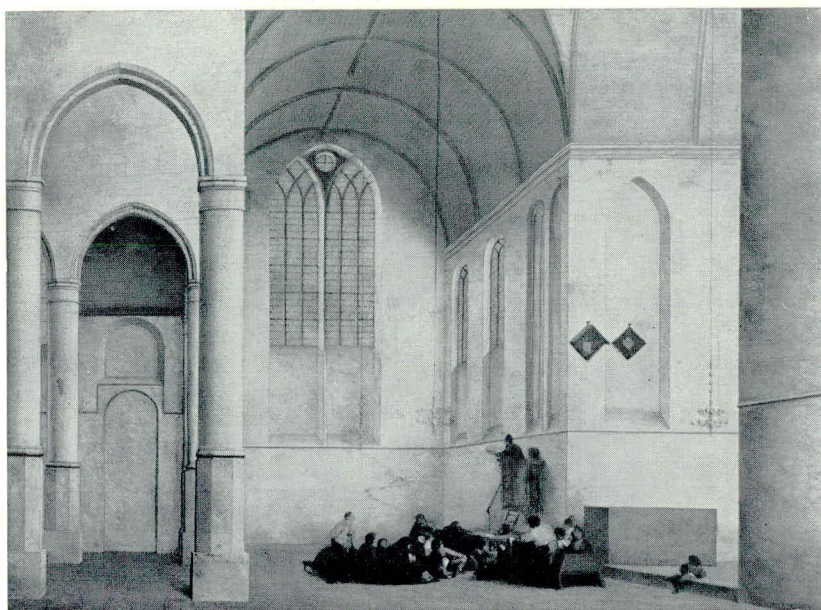
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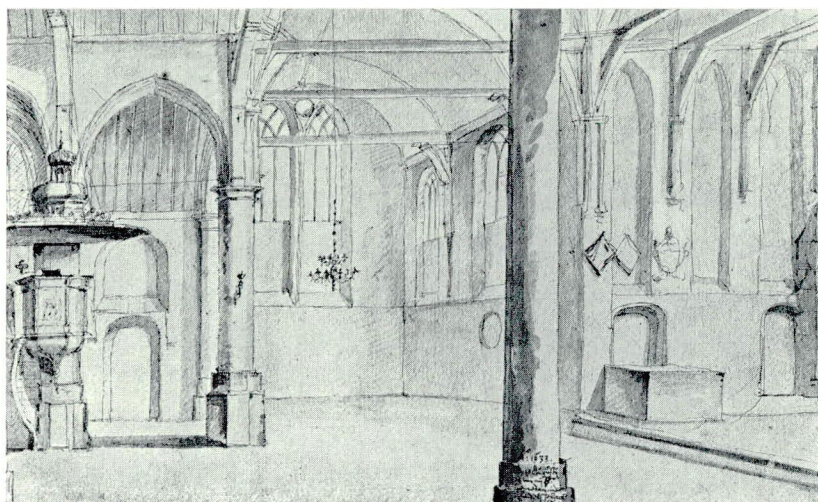
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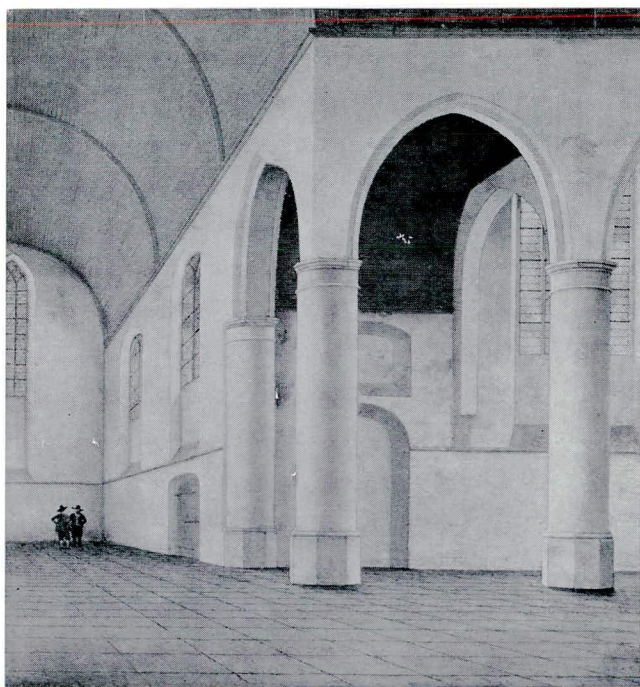
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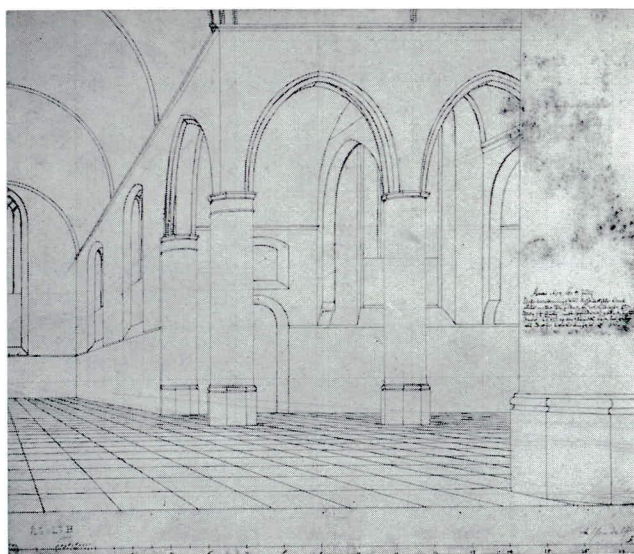
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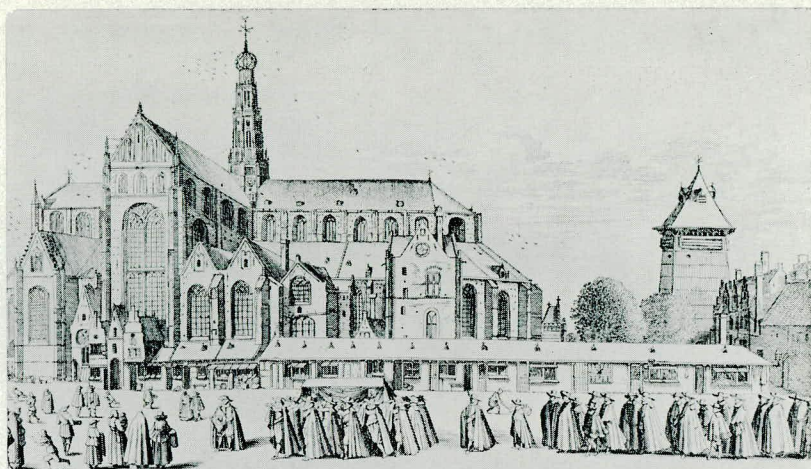
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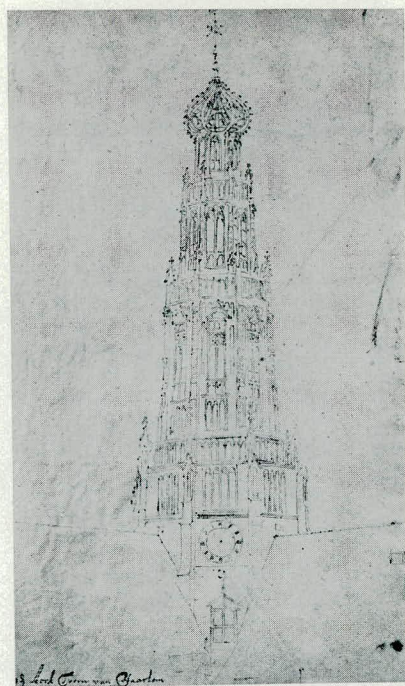


27 | Cat. 25



Dit is dat Grootste Vast door spantende land geprezen... Het groote kerke een afteet op onder deen... Overeen om te versterker werk alomt een tege...
 Da schone en eijnde geboude als eigene kerk en ingewonen... In het stads van dege in het vermaeren opstent... Se zoortlik we door by te gaerde der gebeden...
 Een ere minde stadt een wonder van het land... Het is het doer dat wat is het niet geprezen... Door minneprijde ghelekkelyc quaet fock waeren...
 En te ver een meeter wese dan van een minde land... Dan beven tot den een kasteelke nu veel... Geen stien als ghelekkelyc een kerke staet...

28 | Cat. 27



13. Leed. Toren van Chantel

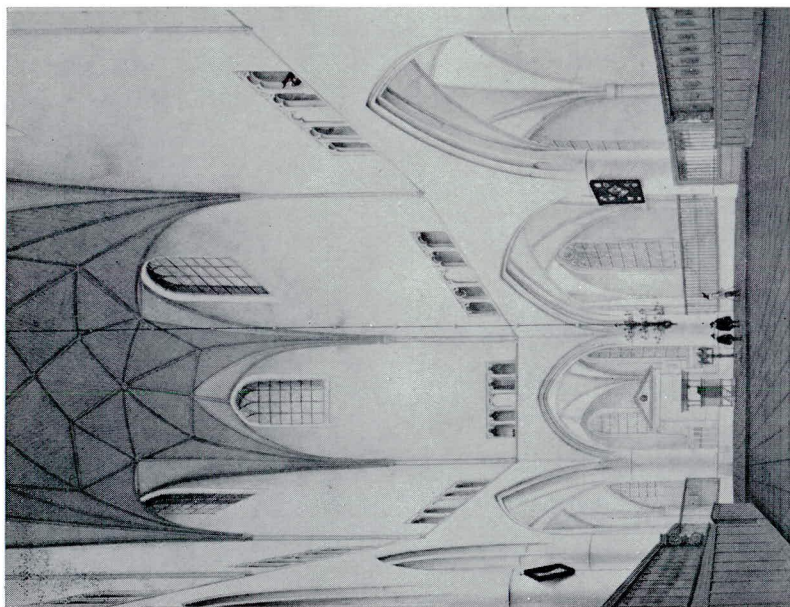
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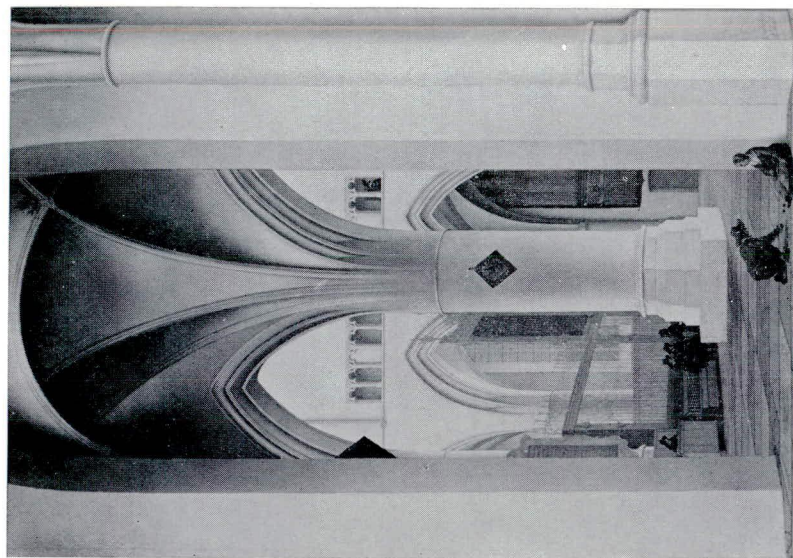
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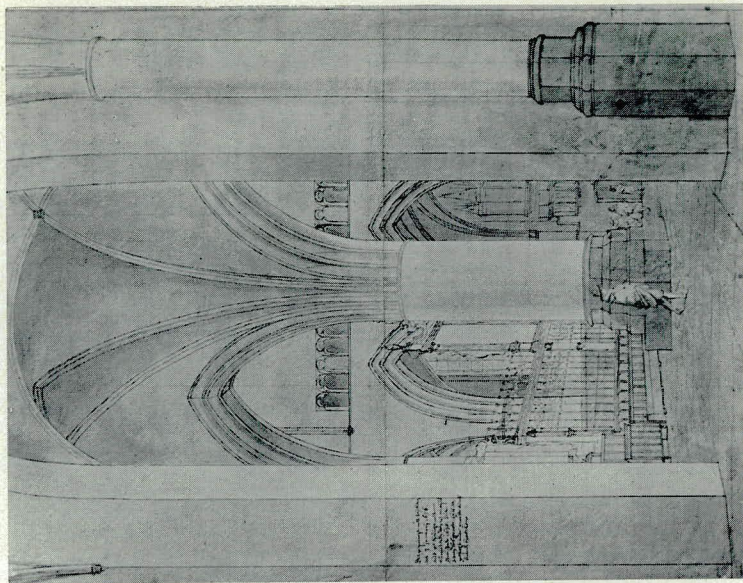
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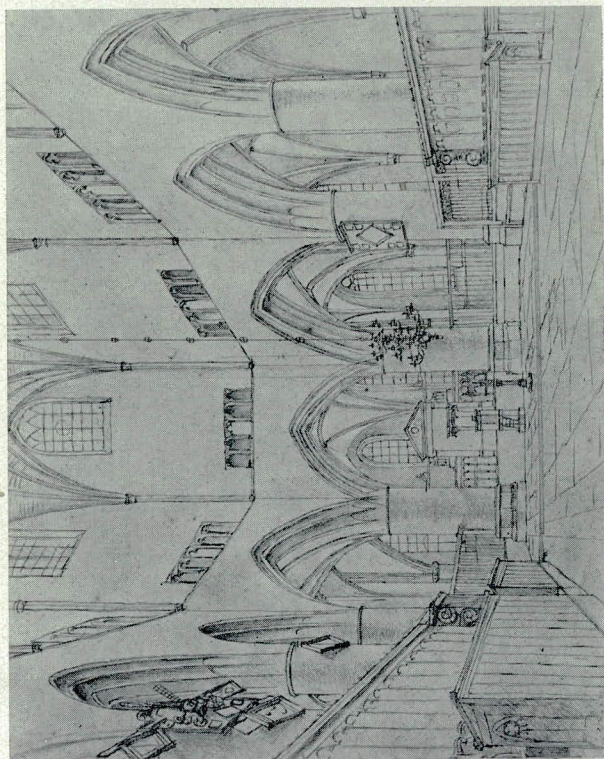
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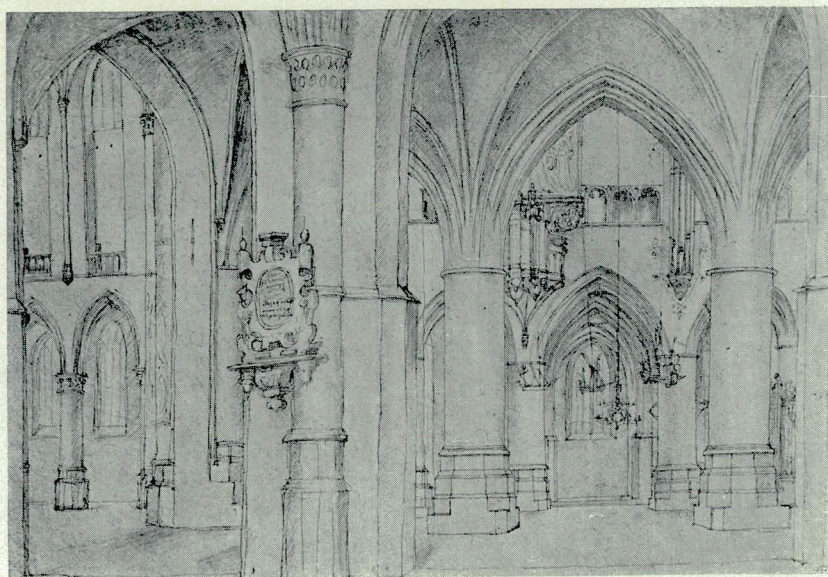


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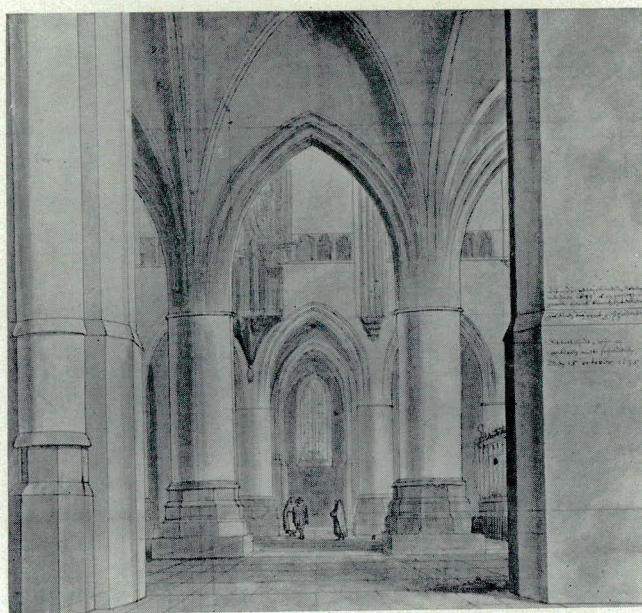


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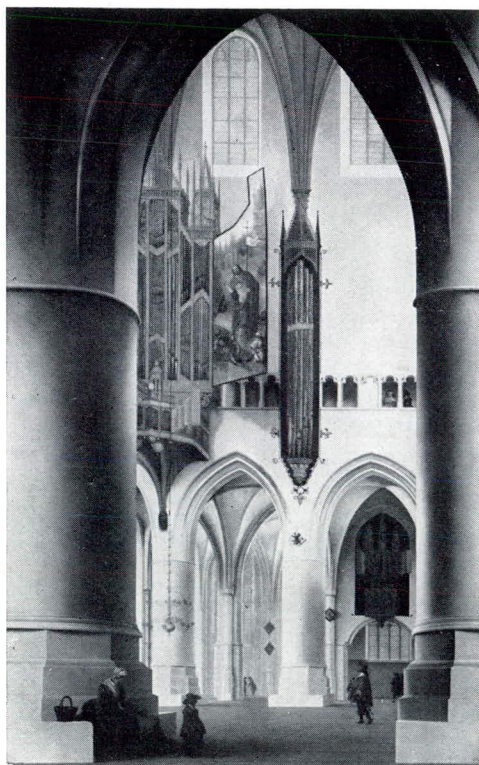


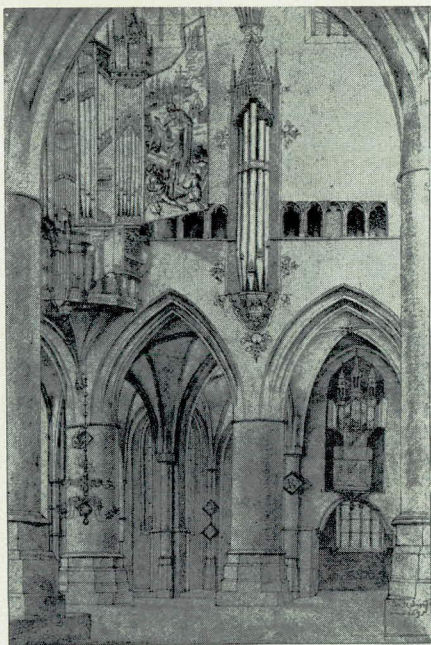


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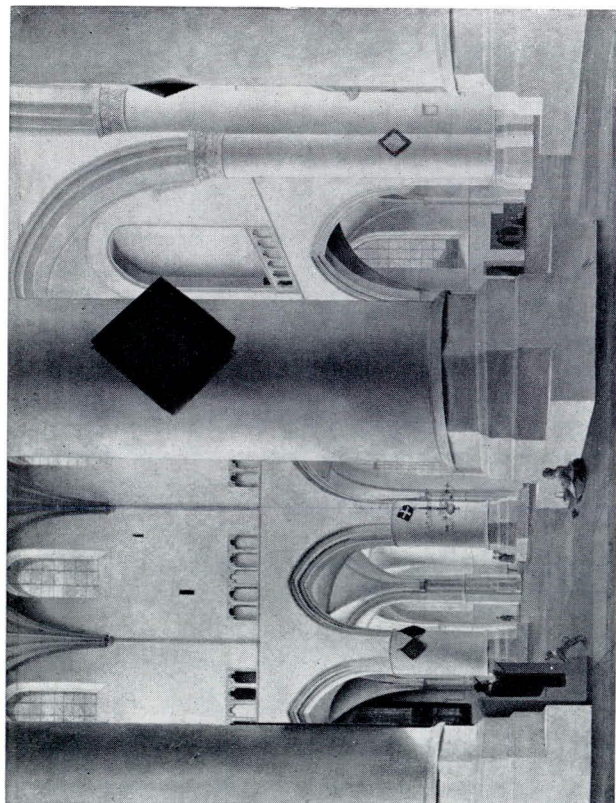




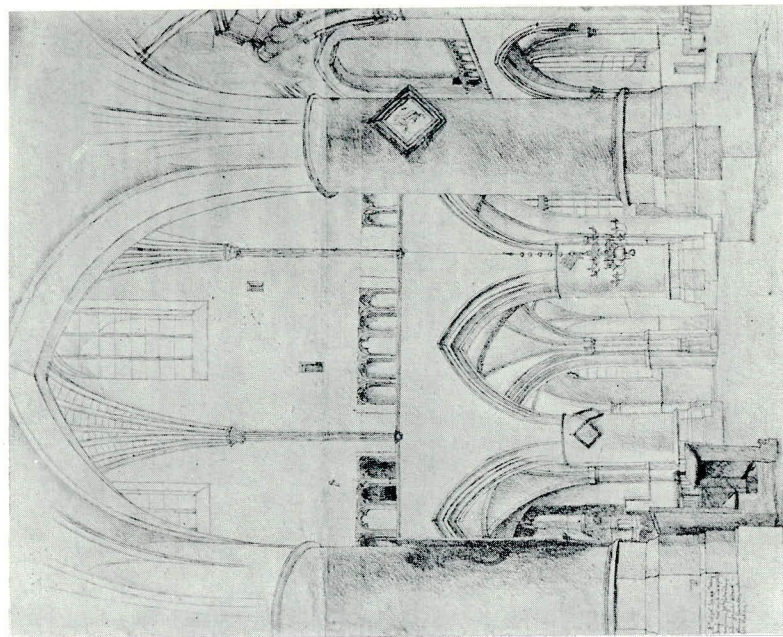
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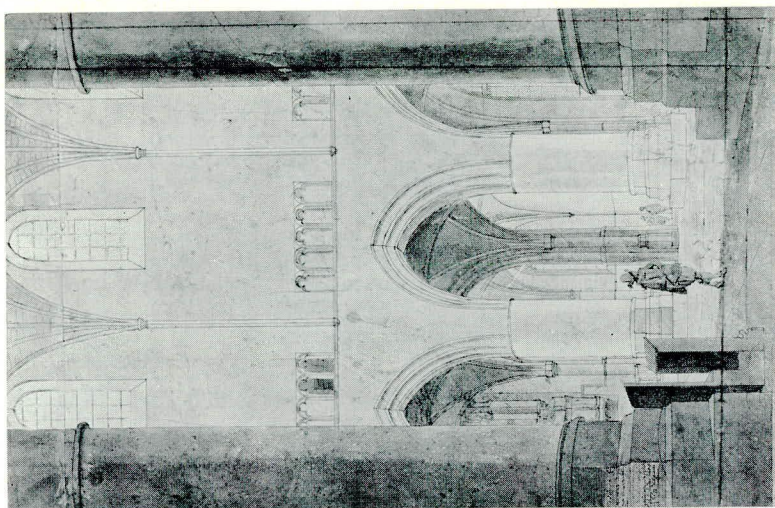
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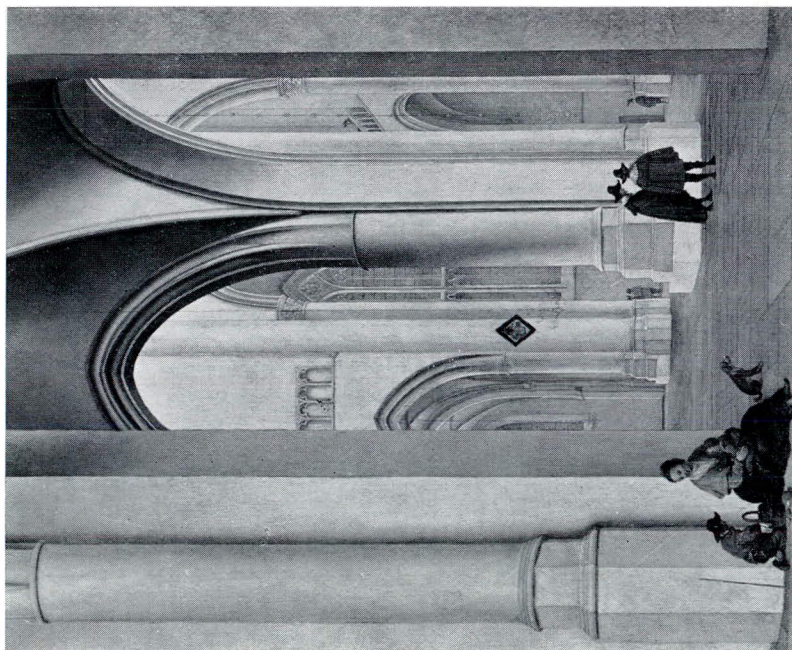
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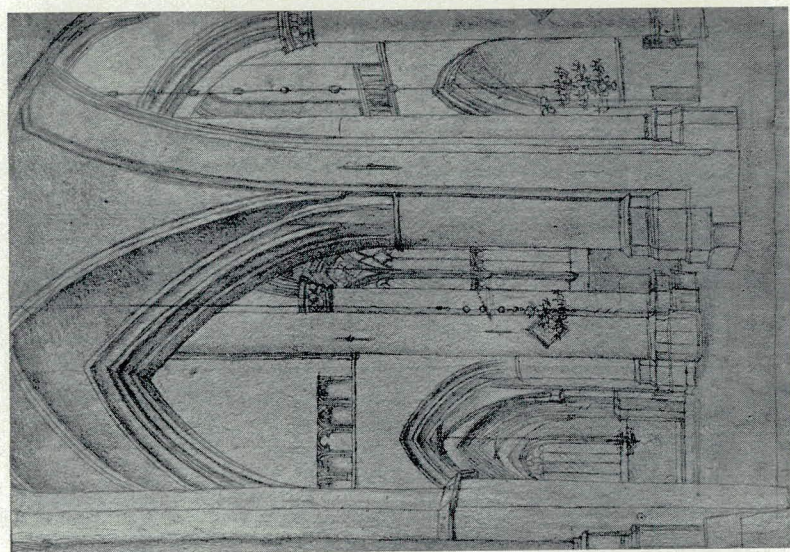


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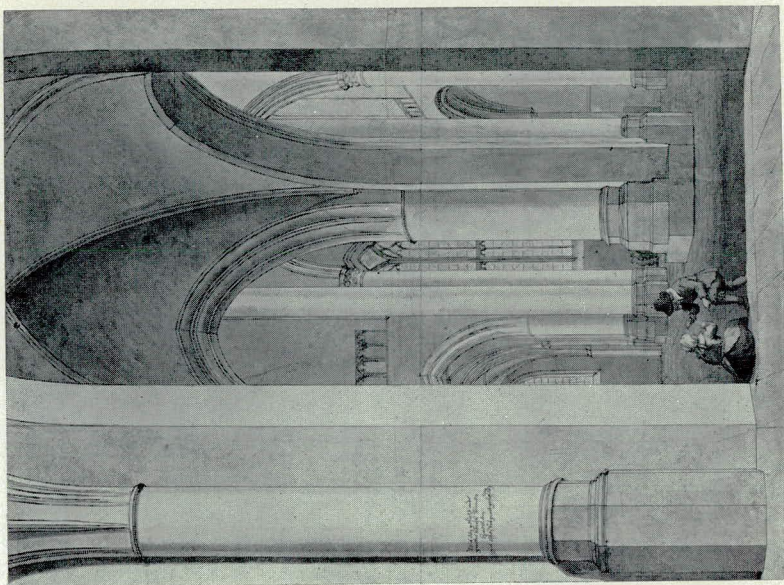


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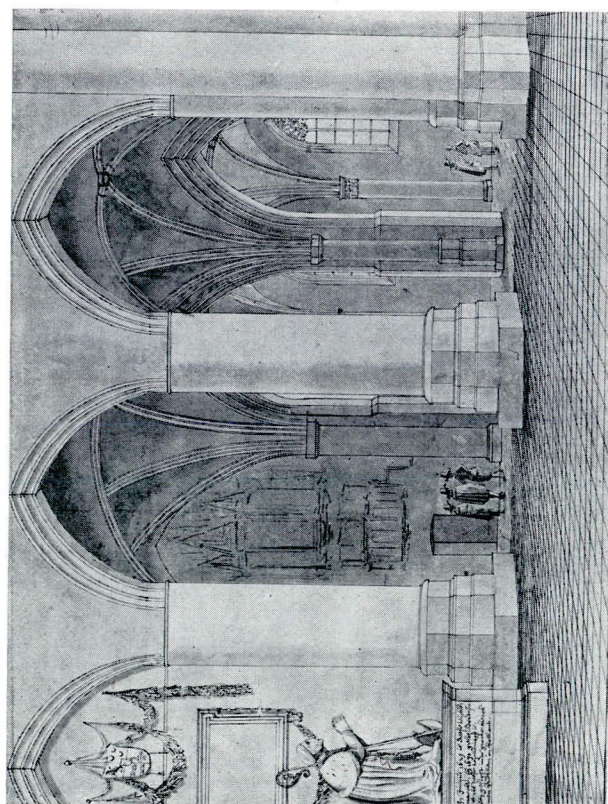




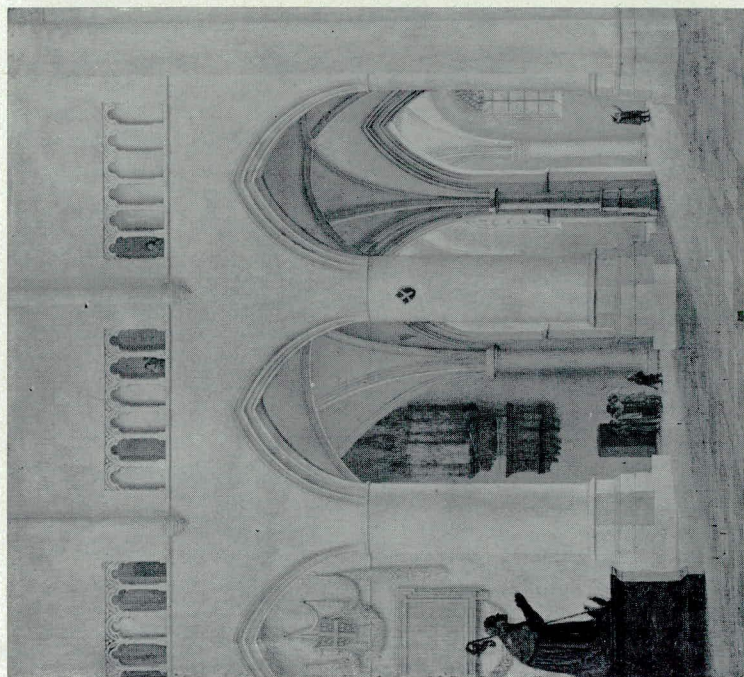
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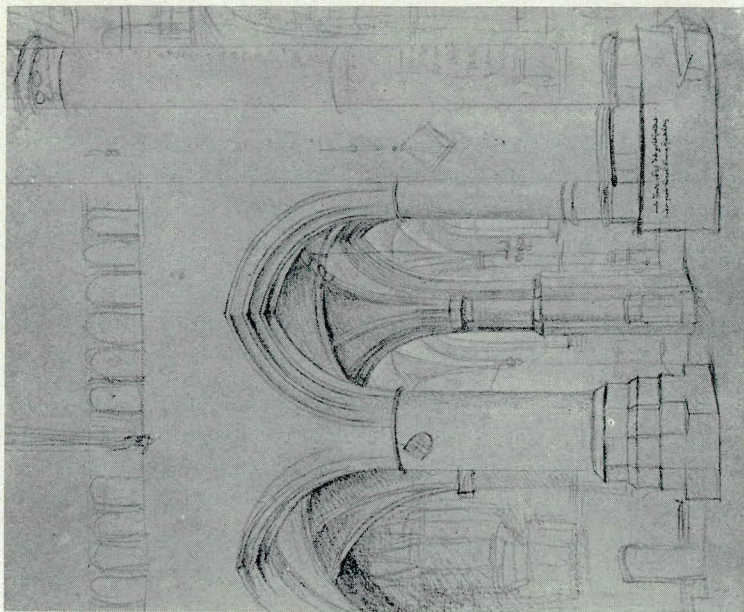
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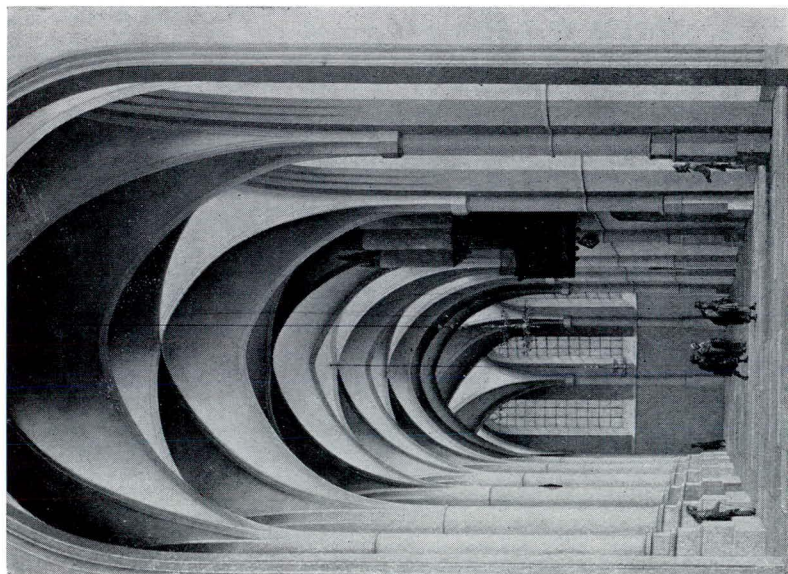
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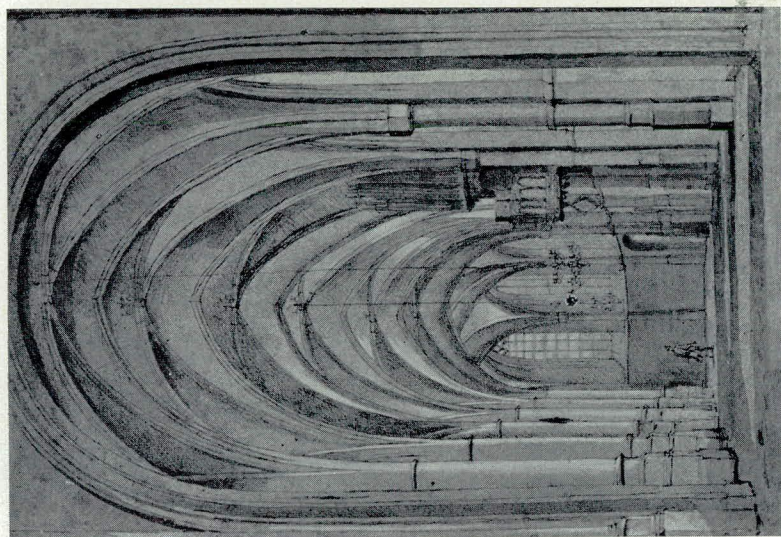


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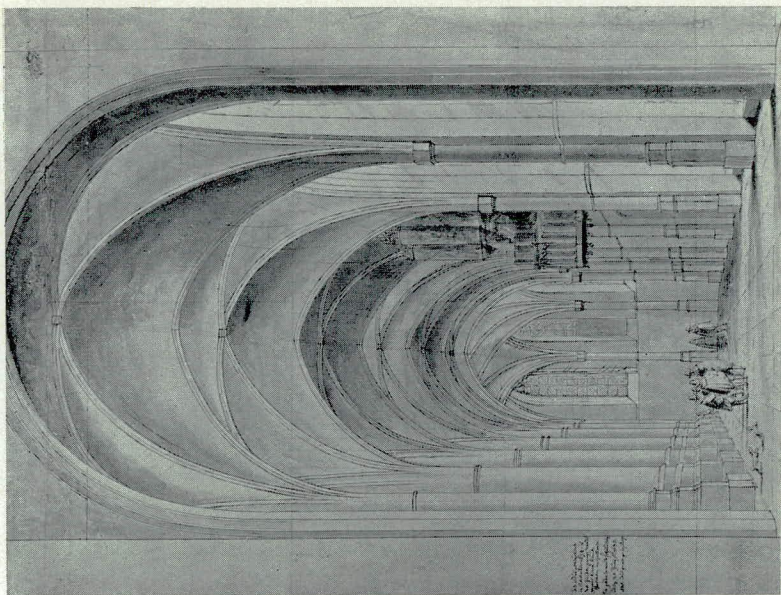


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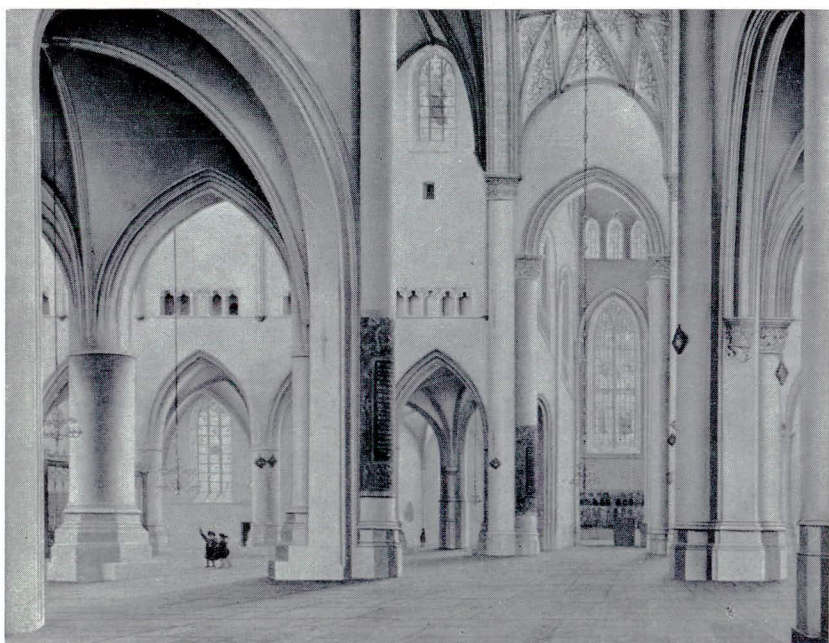




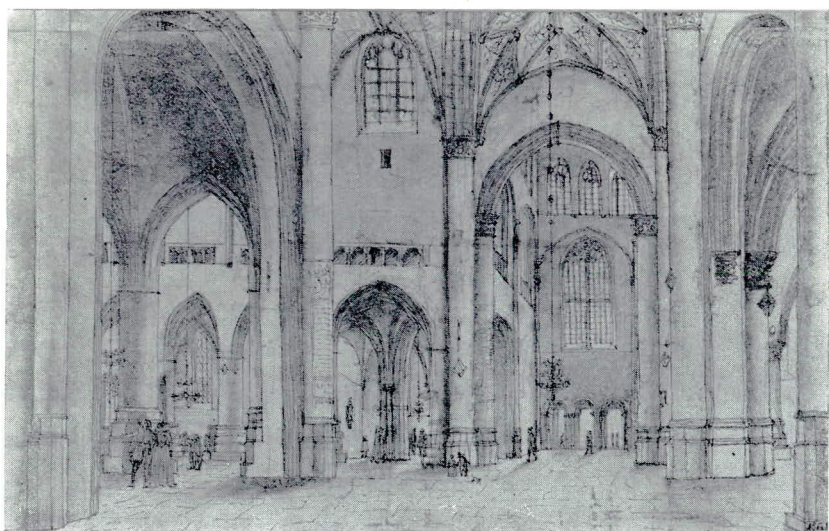
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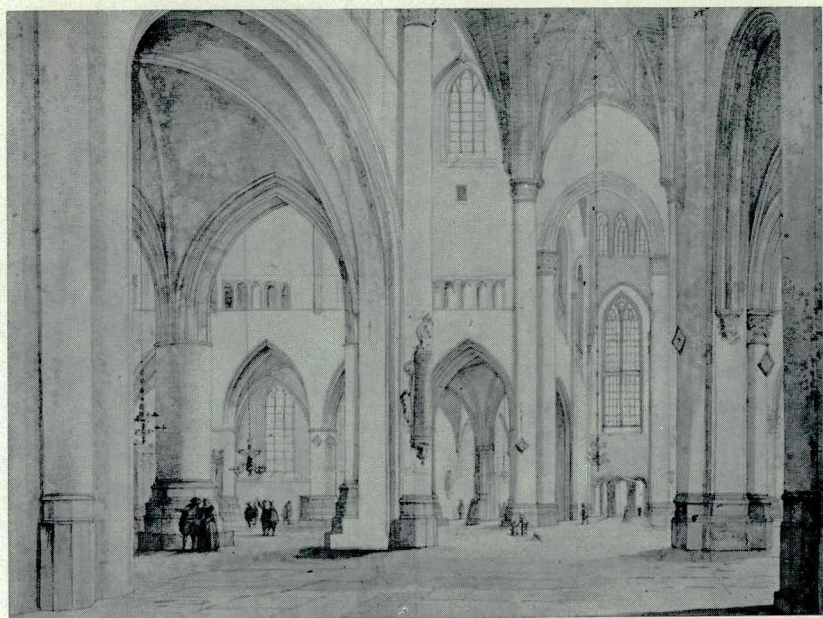
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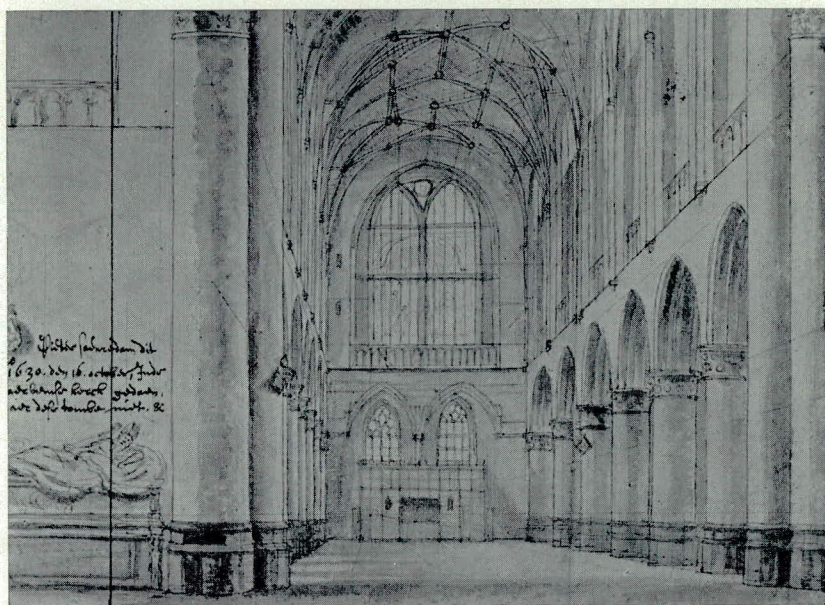
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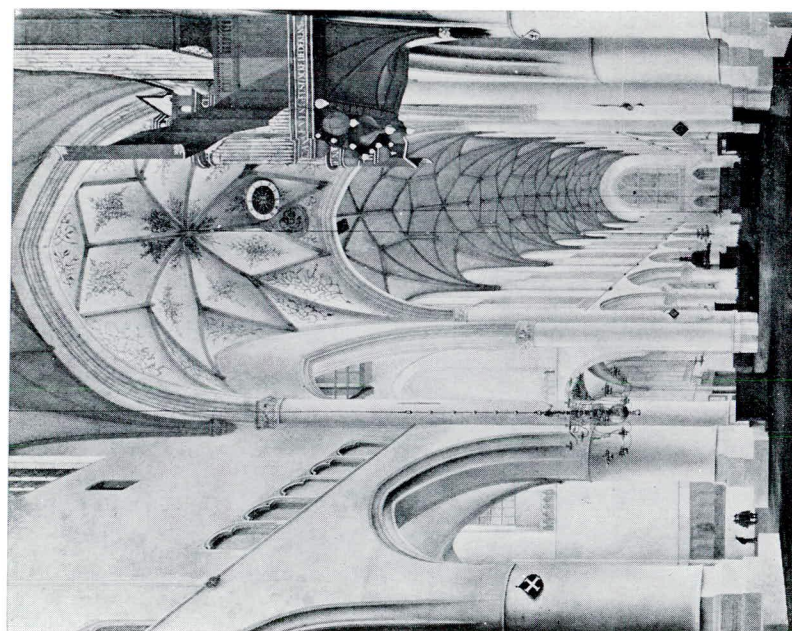
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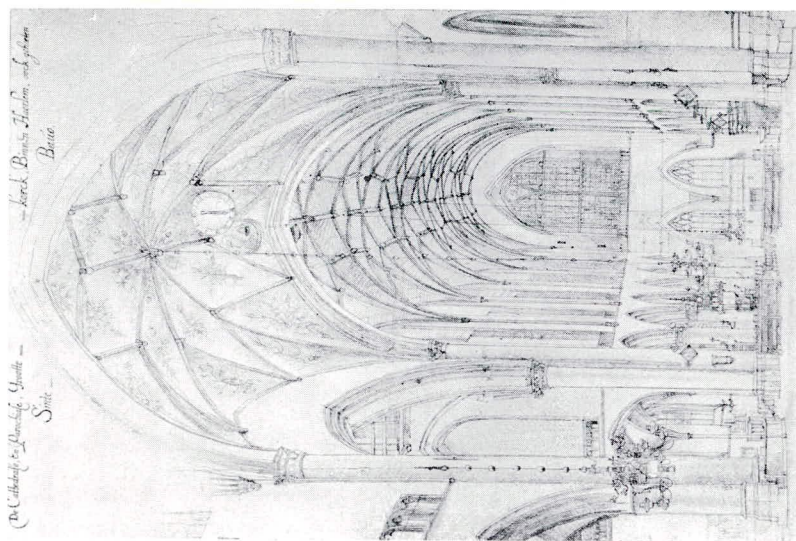
58 | Cat. 57



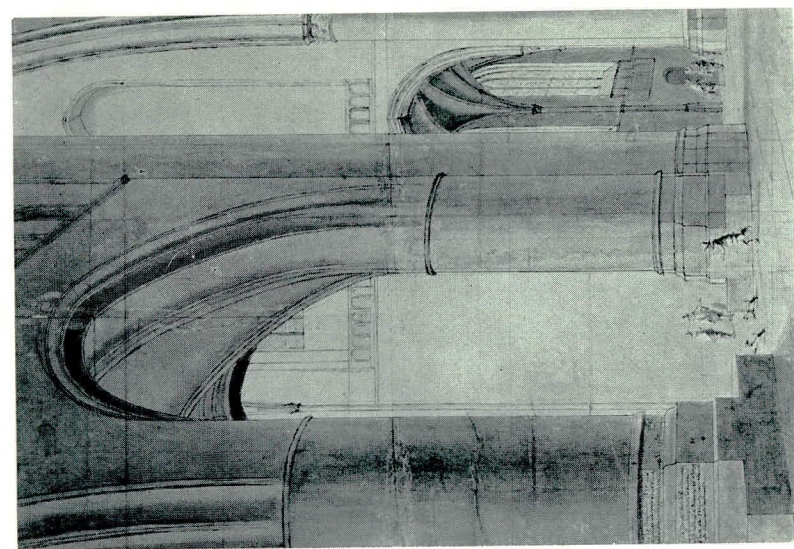
59 | Cat. 62



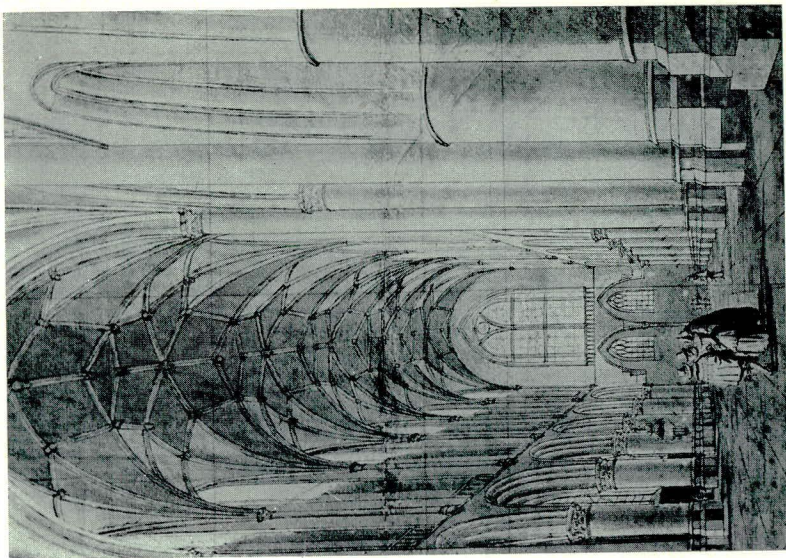
60 | Cat. 58



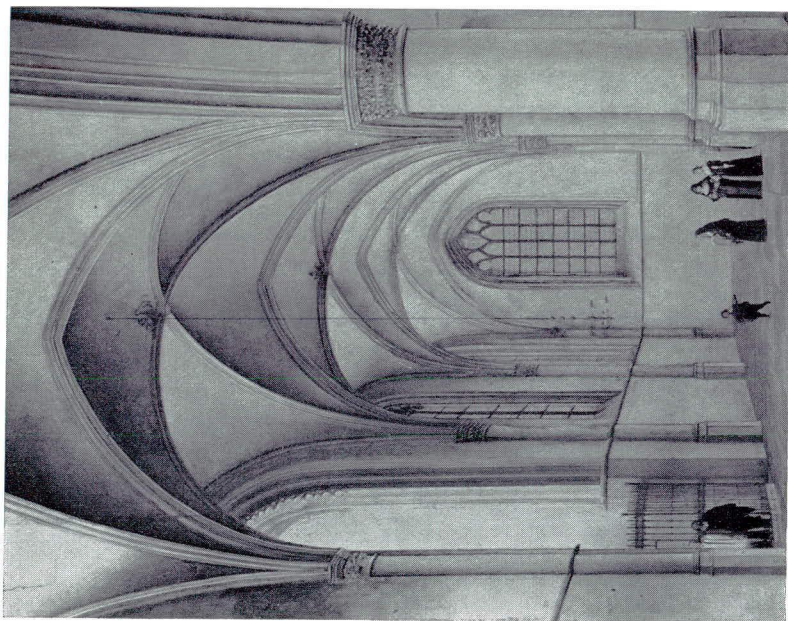
61 | Cat. 59



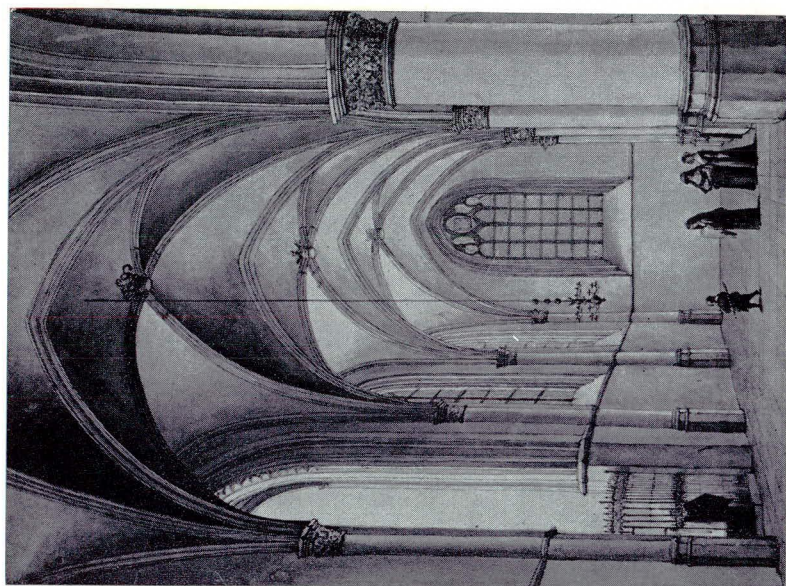
62 | Cat. 60



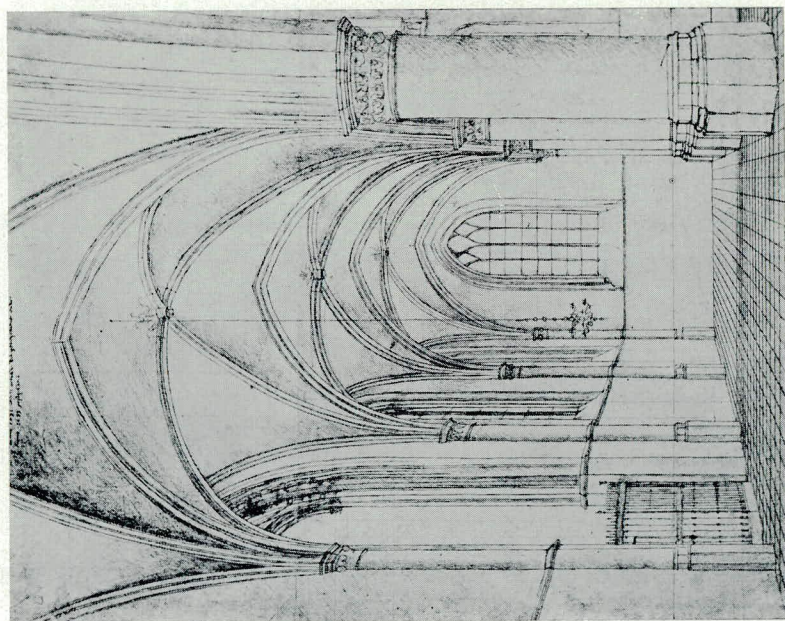
63 | Cat. 61



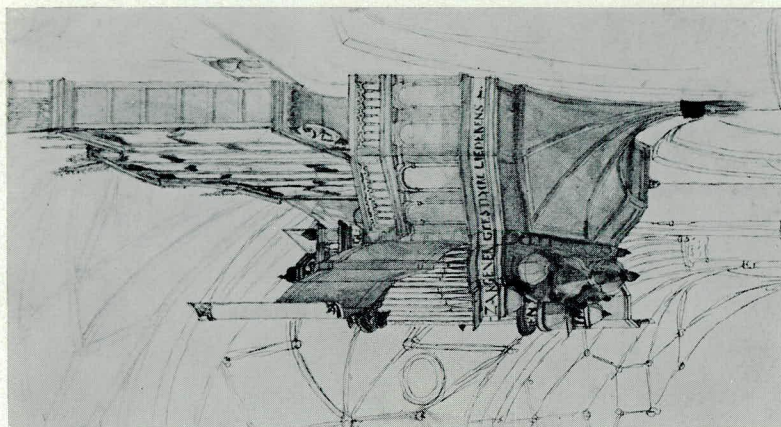
64 | Cat. 63



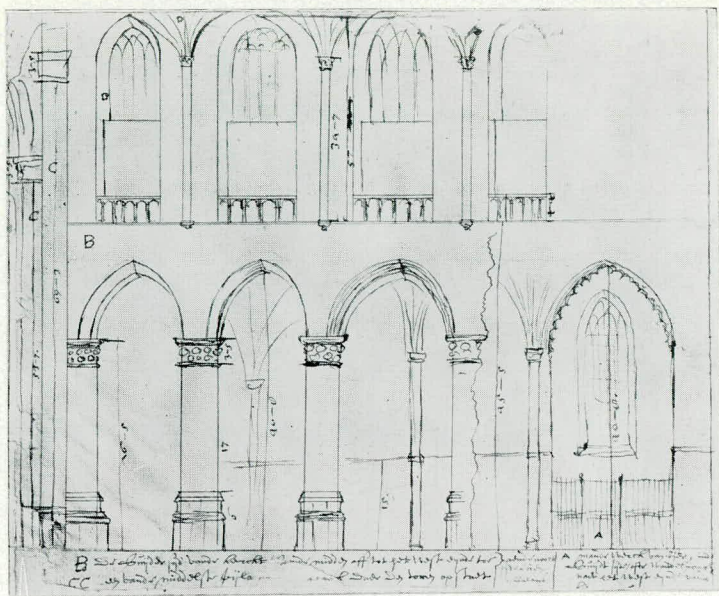
65 | Cat. 64



66 | Cat. 65



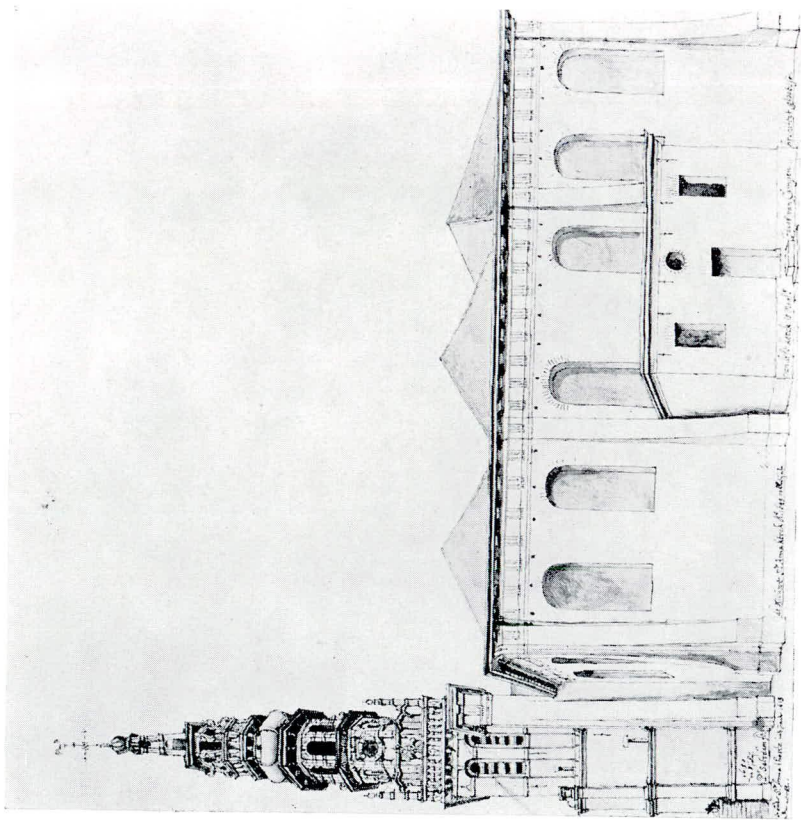
67 | Cat. 66



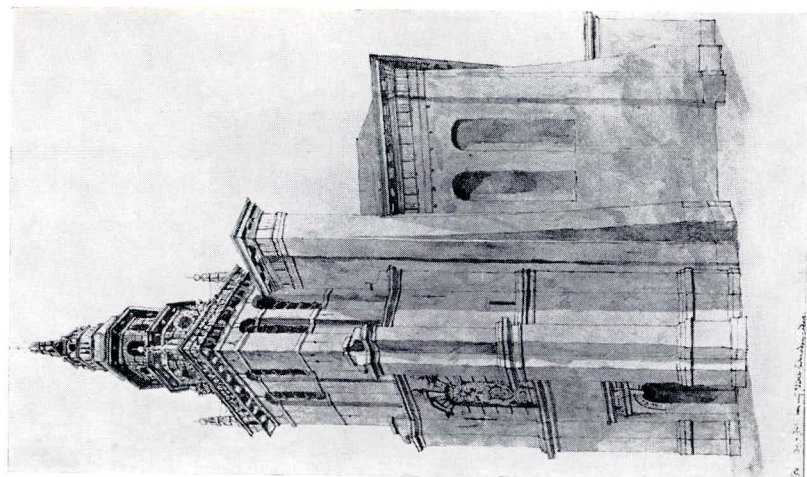
70 | Cat. 69



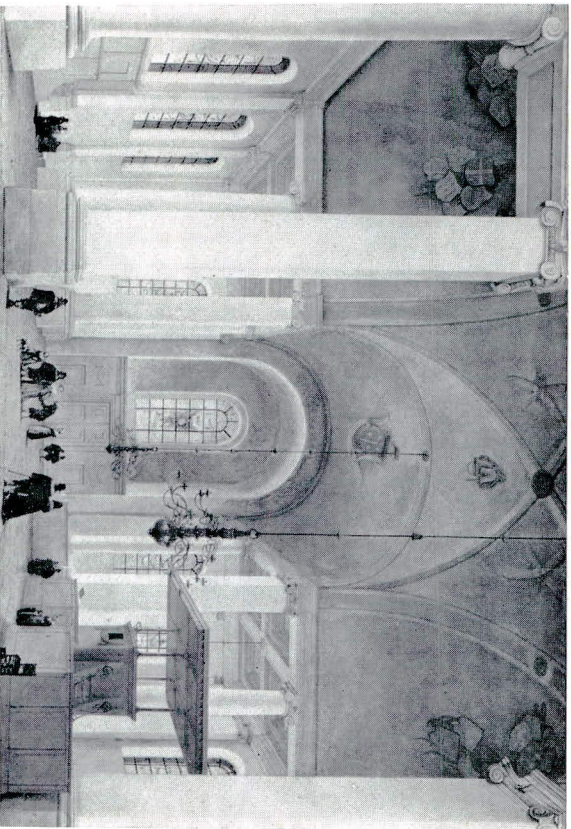
71 | Cat. 90



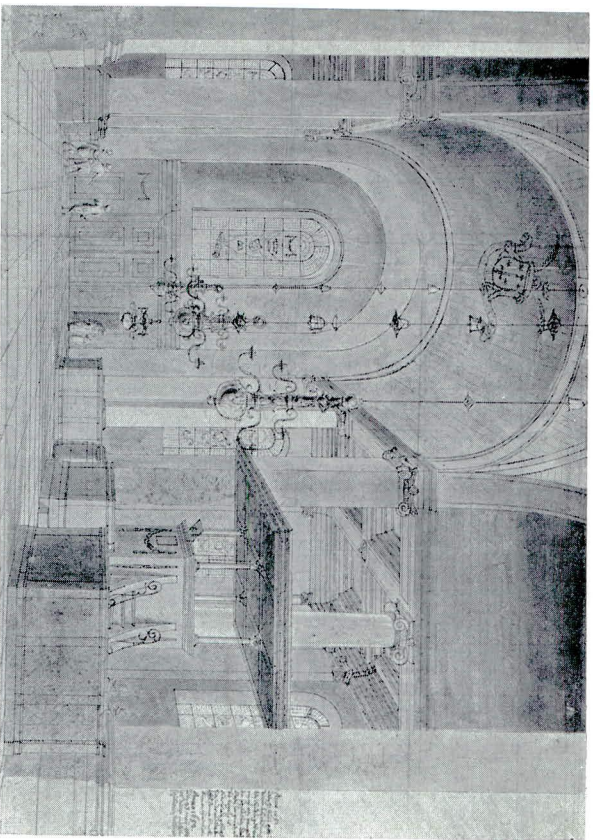
72 | Cat. 70



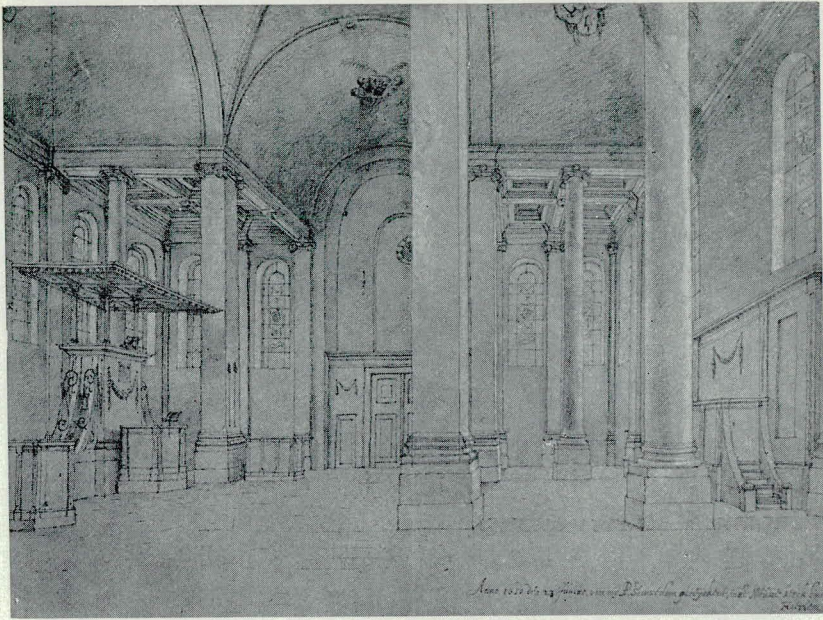
73 | Cat. 71



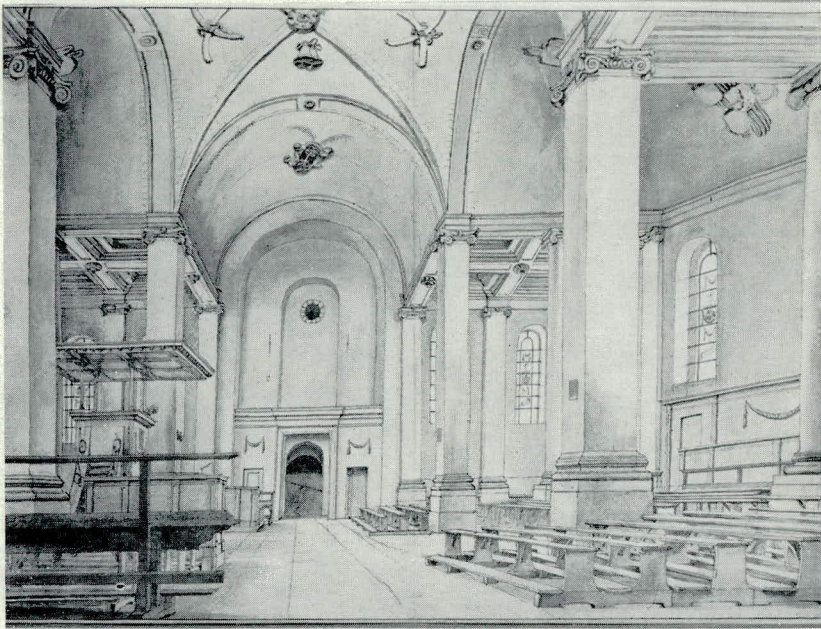
76 | Cat. 72



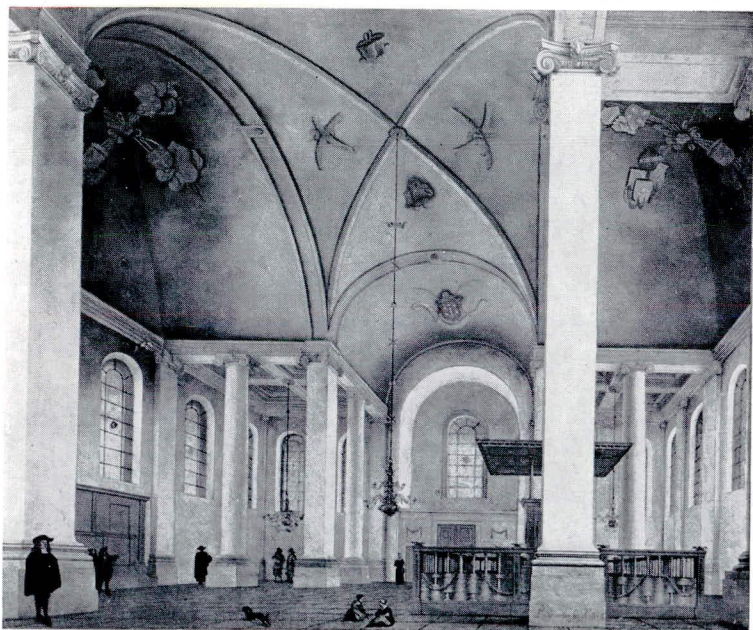
77 | Cat. 73



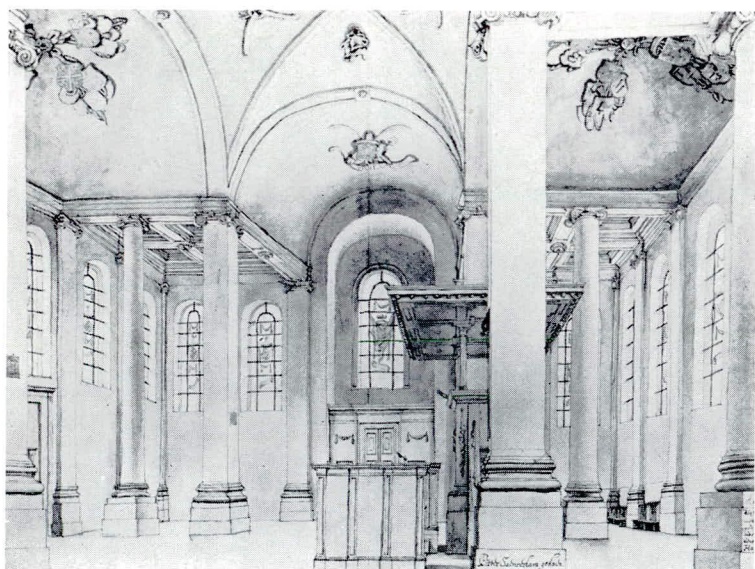
78 | Cat. 77



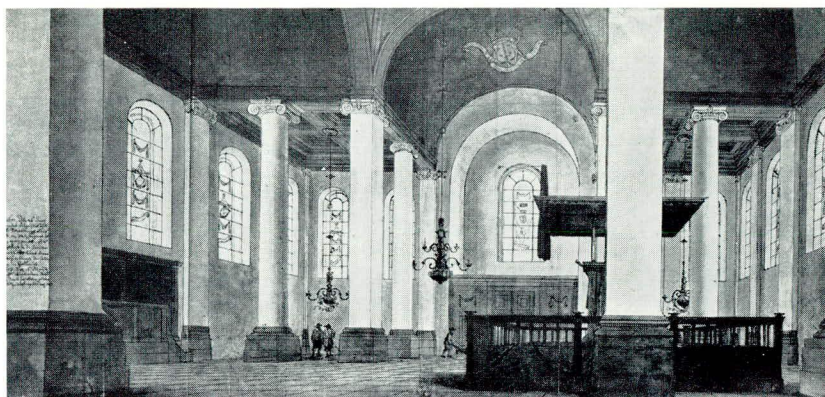
79 | Cat. 78



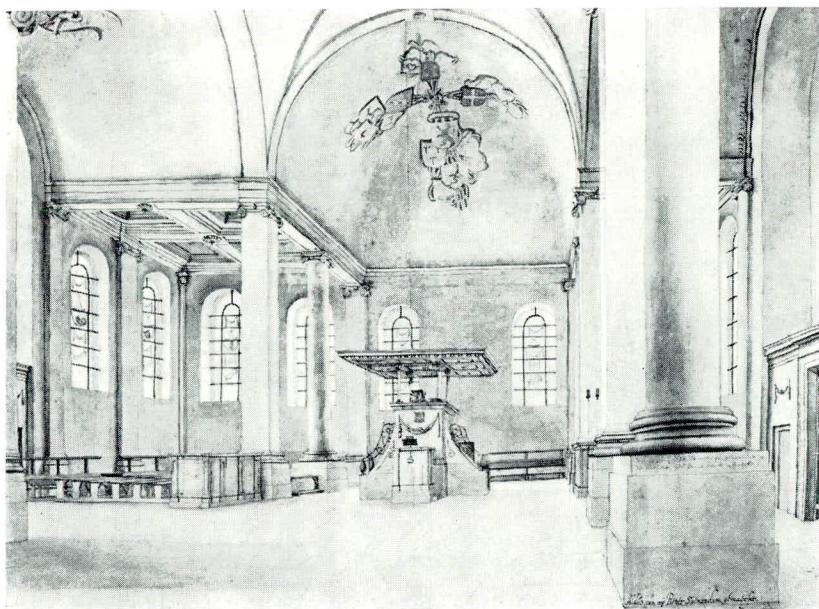
80 | Cat. 74



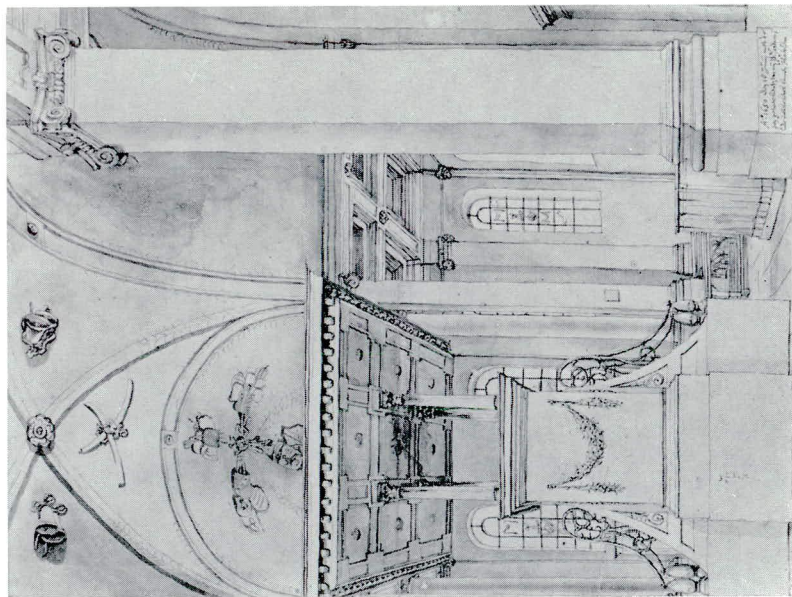
81 | Cat. 75



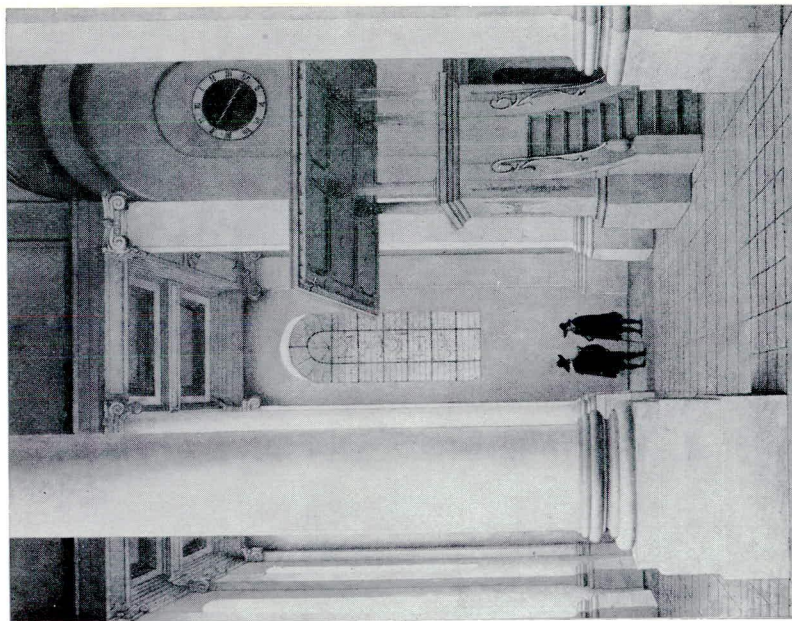
82 | Cat. 76



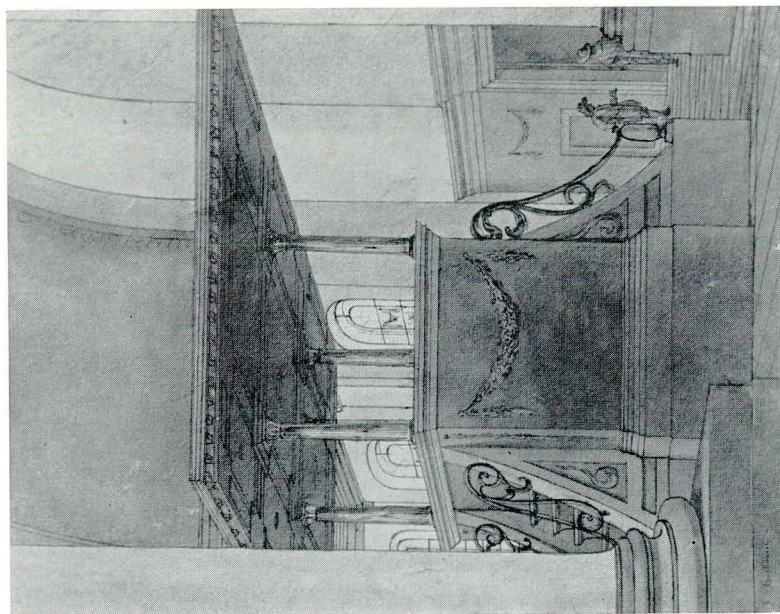
83 | Cat. 79



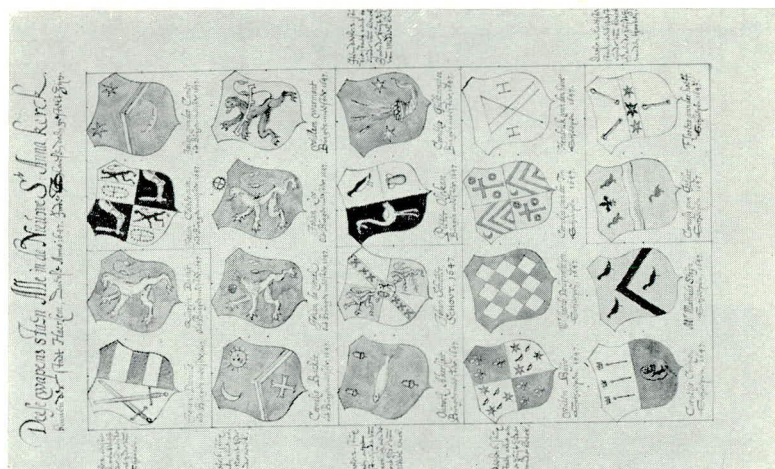
84 | Cat. 80



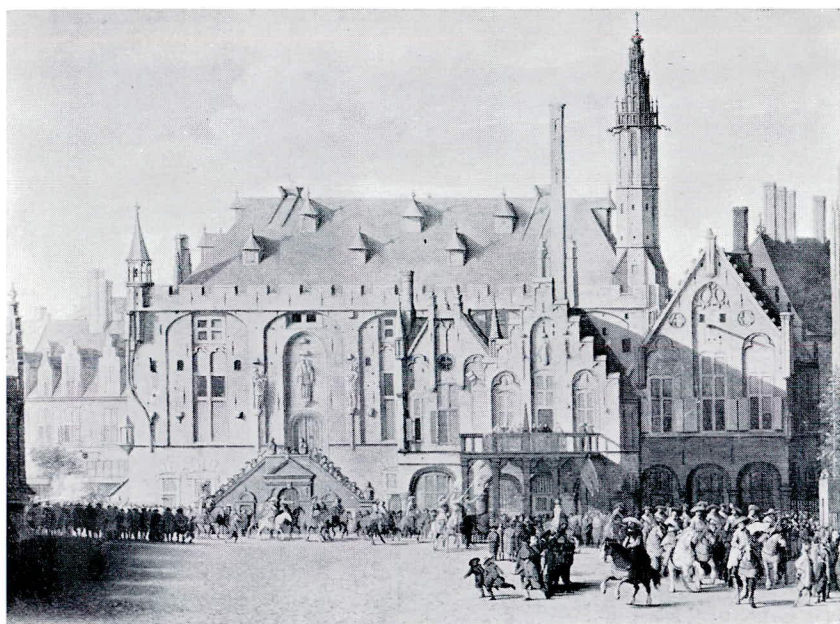
85 | Cat. 81



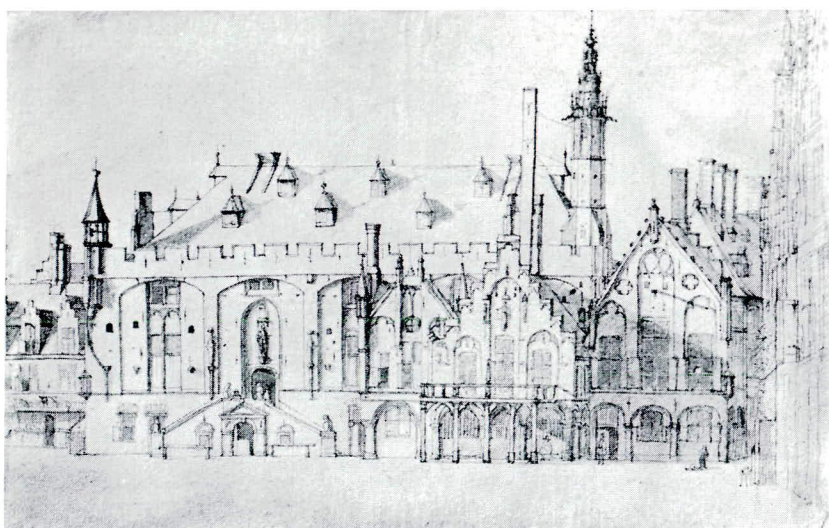
86 | Cat. 82



87 | Cat. 83



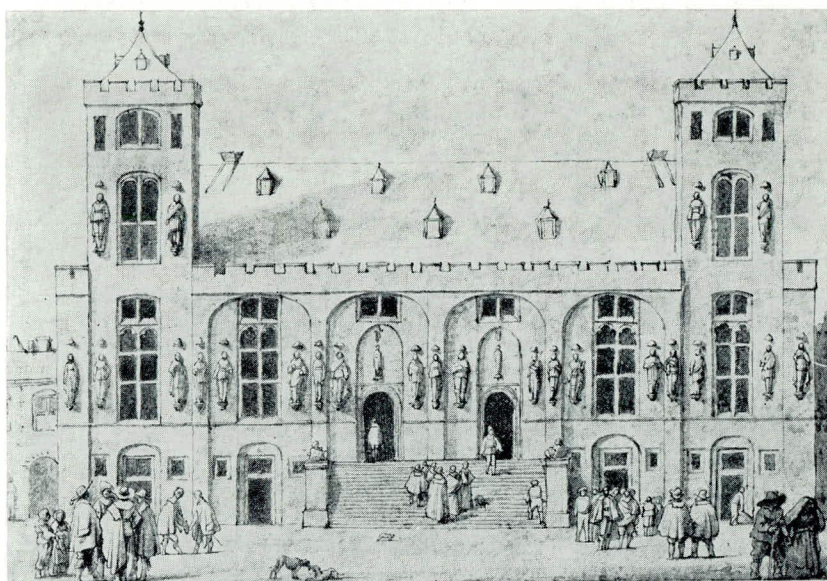
88 | Cart. 86



89 | Cart. 87



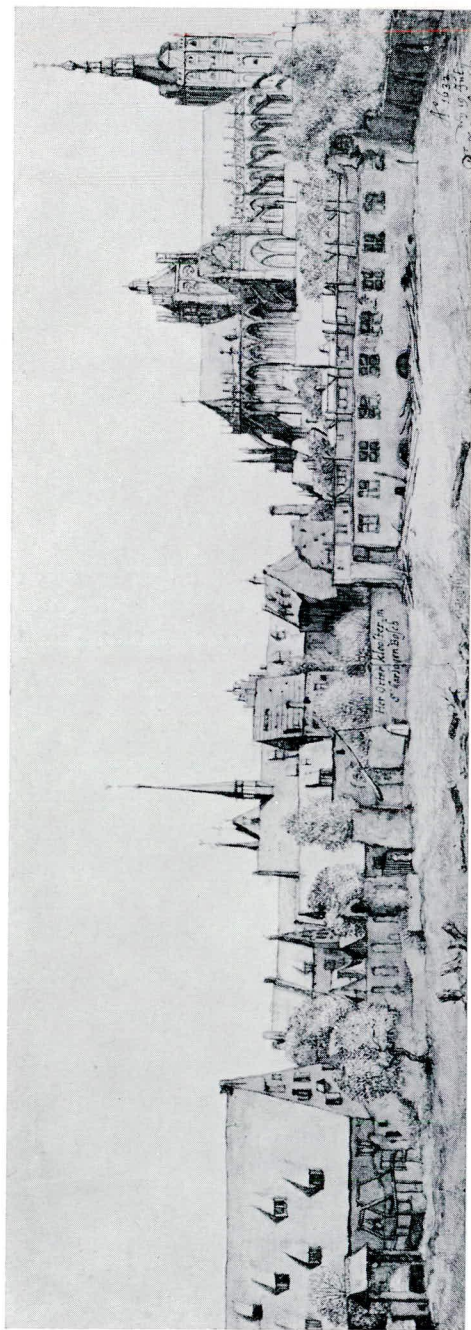
90 | Cat. 88



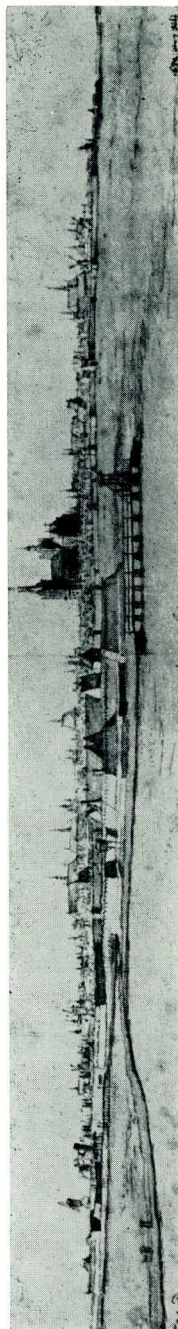
91 | Cat. 89



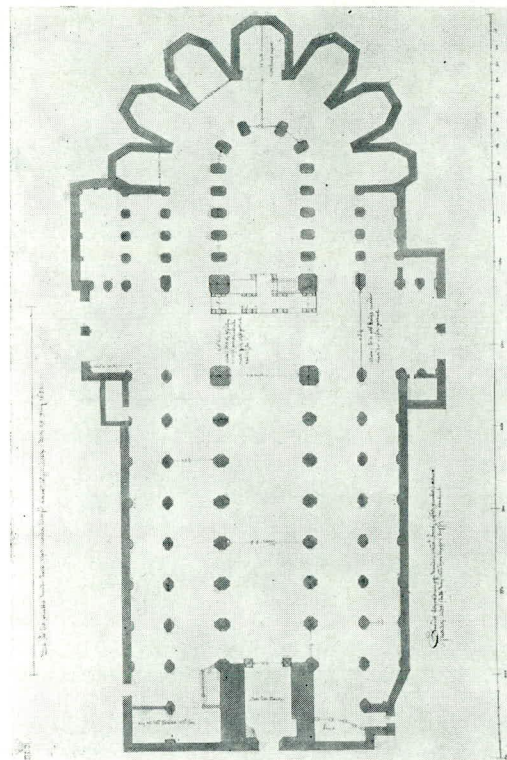
92 | Cat. 91



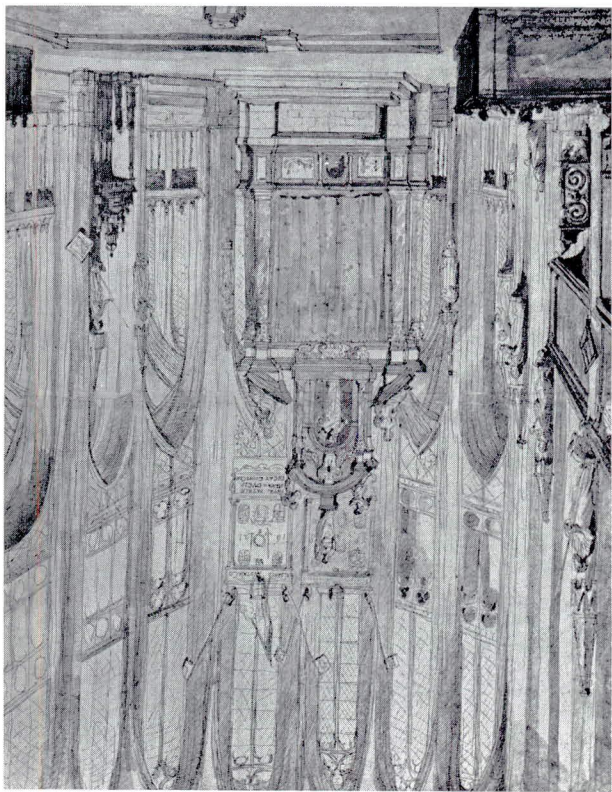
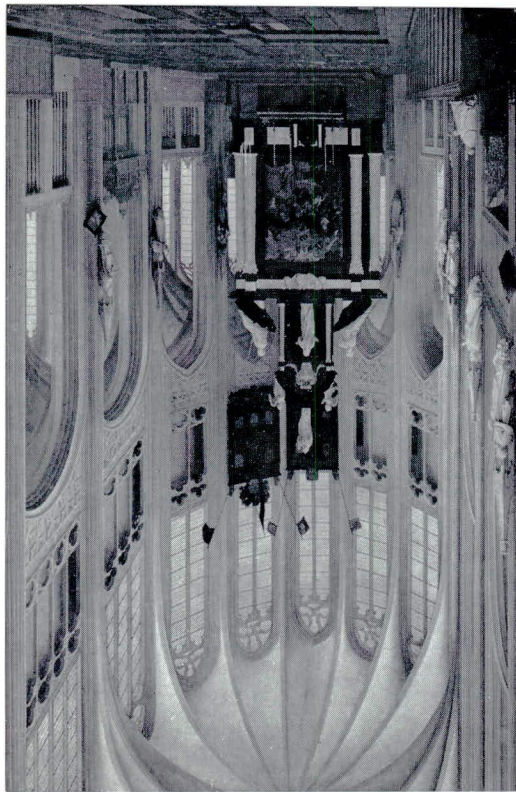
93 | Cat. 93

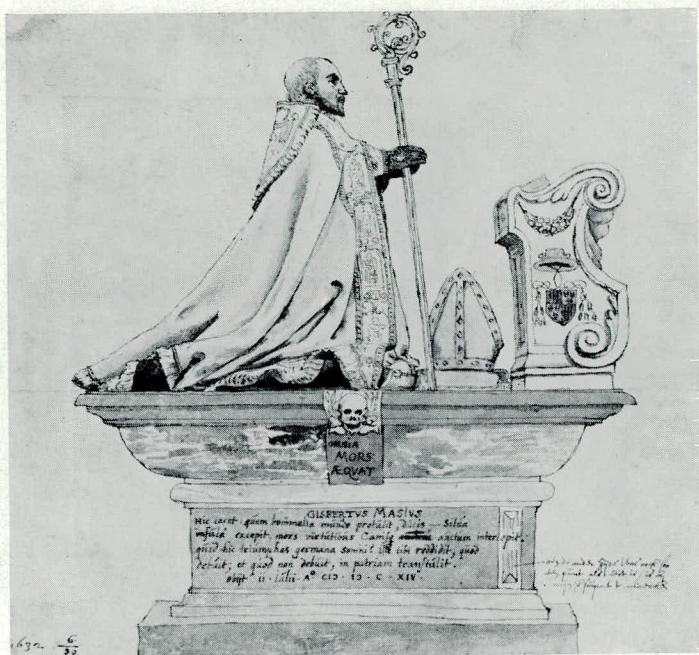


94 | Cat. 92

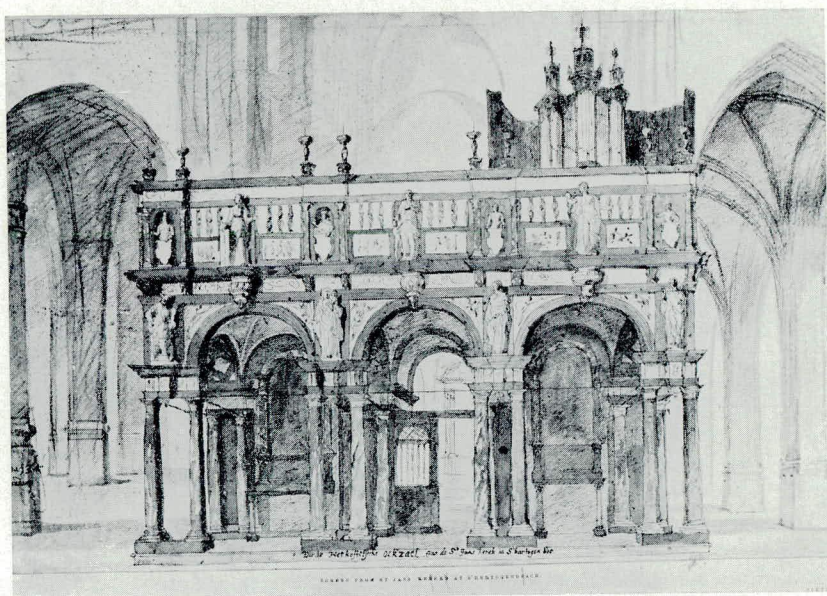


95 | Cat. 98

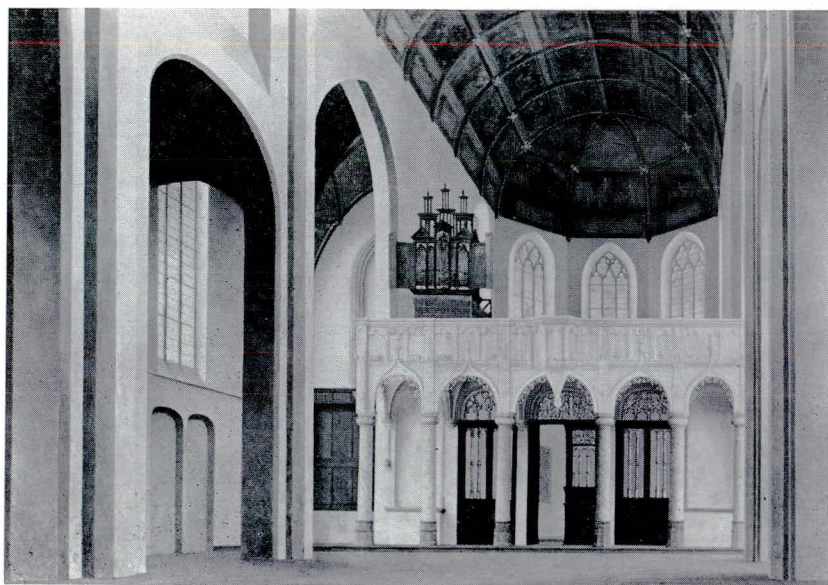




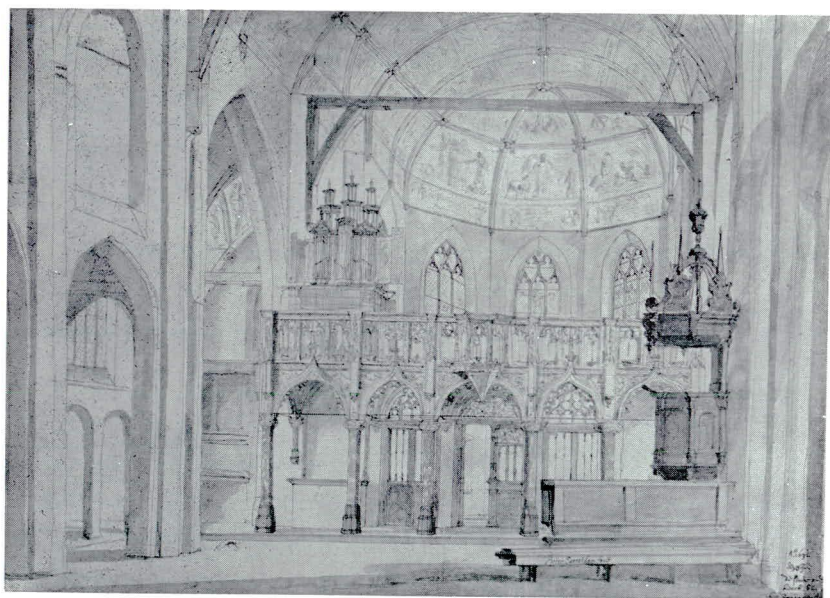
98 | Cat. 97



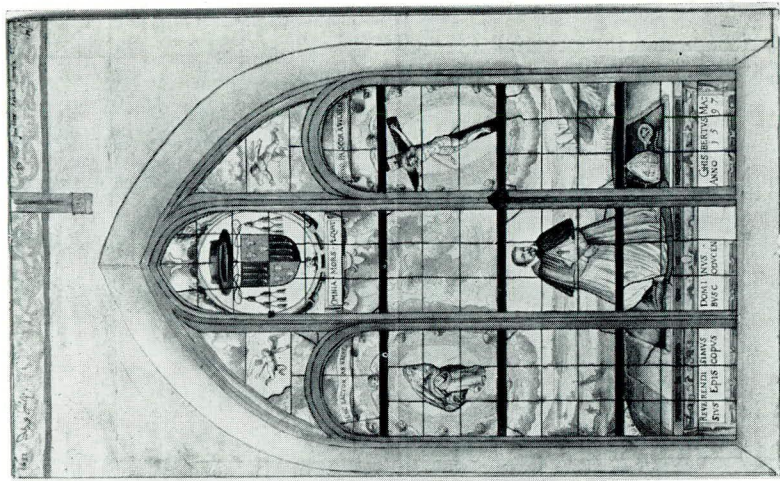
99 | Cat. 96



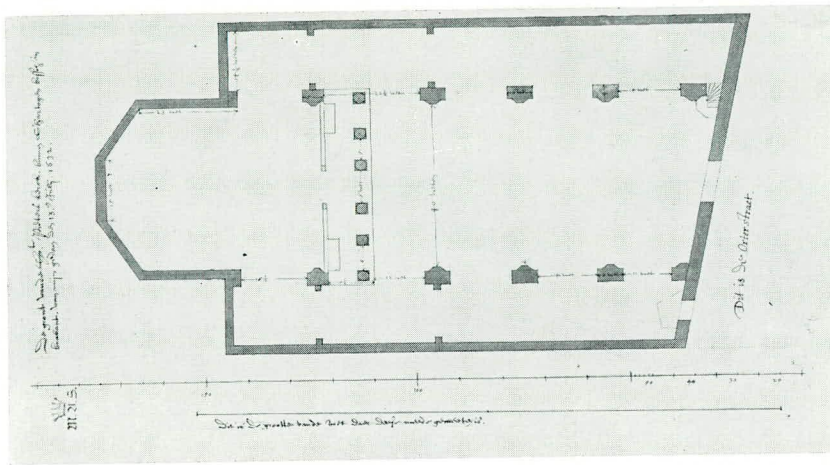
100 | Cat. 99



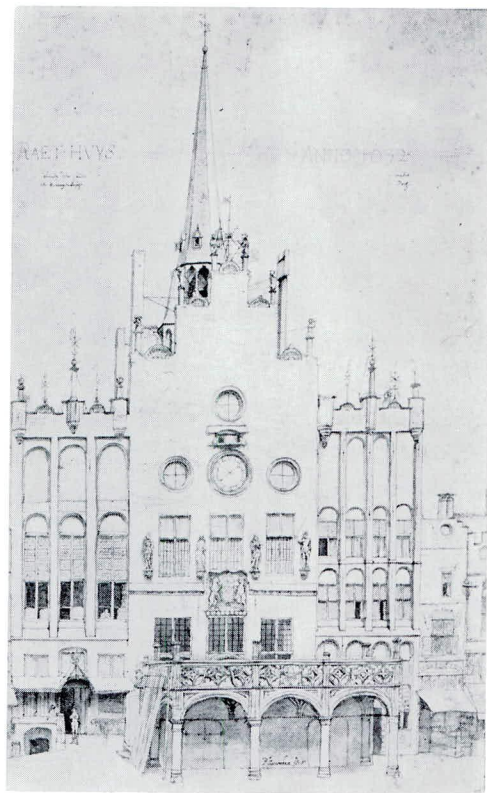
101 | Cat. 100



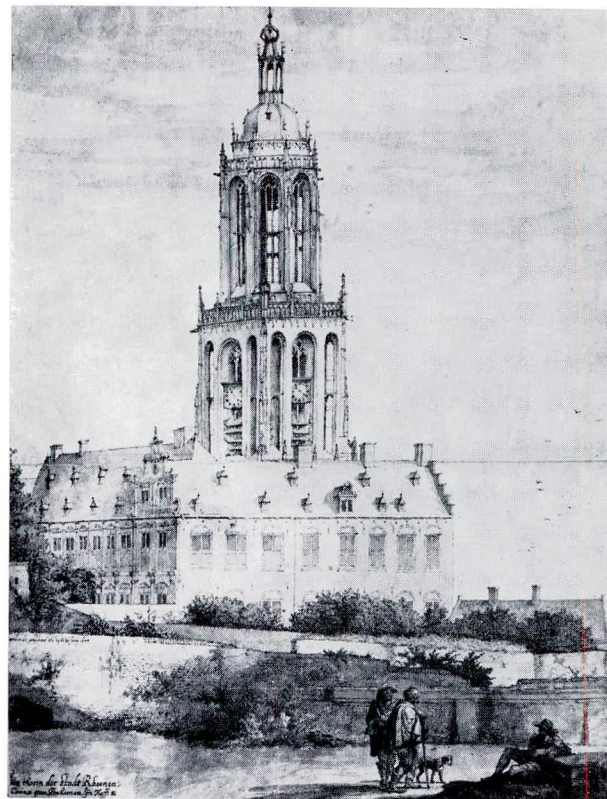
102 | Cat. 101



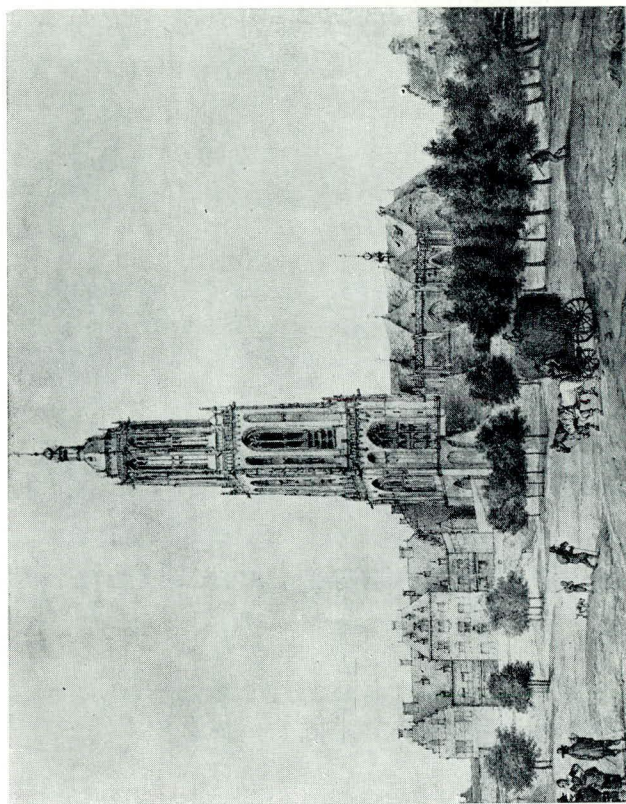
103 | Cat. 102

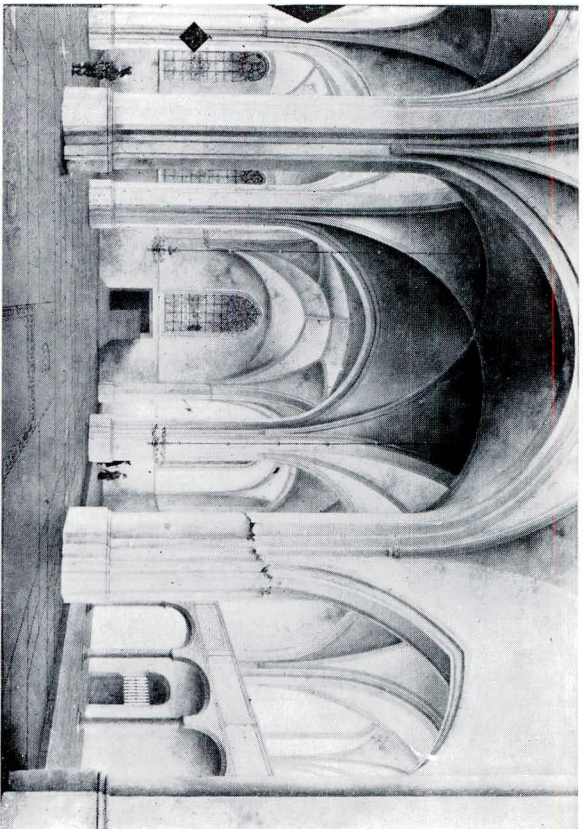


104 | Cat. 103

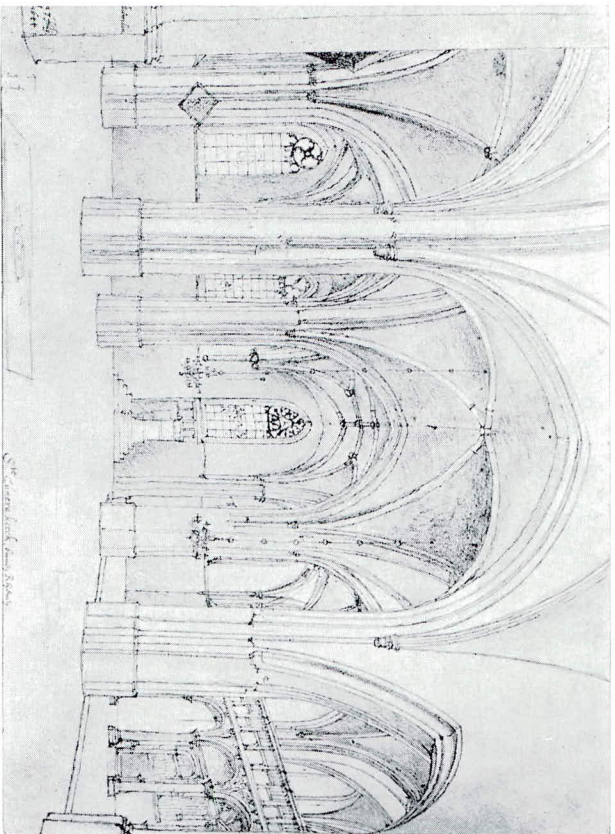


105 | Cat. 105

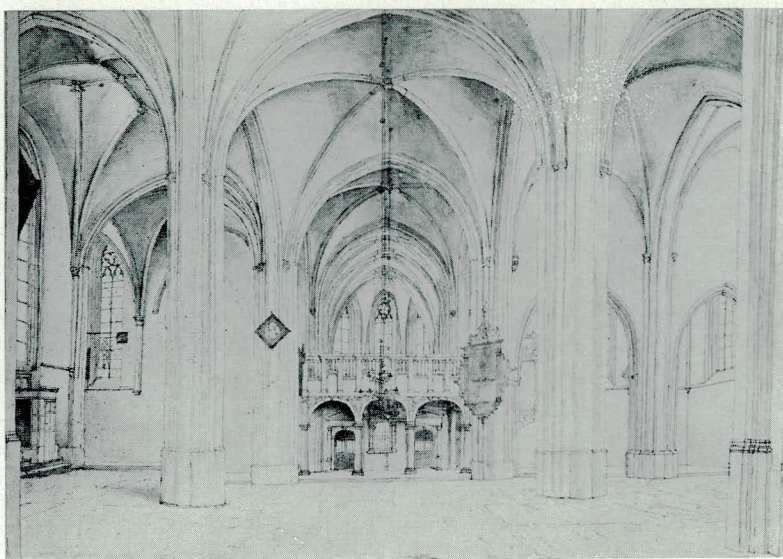




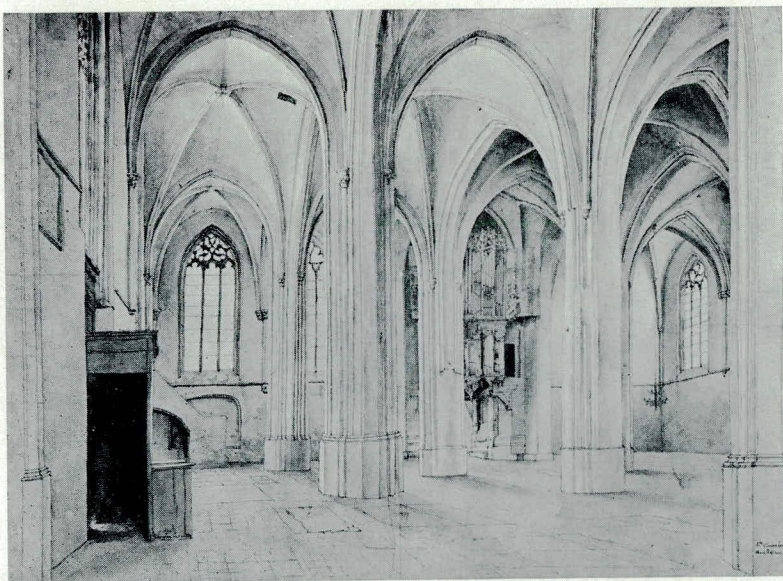
107 | Cat. 107



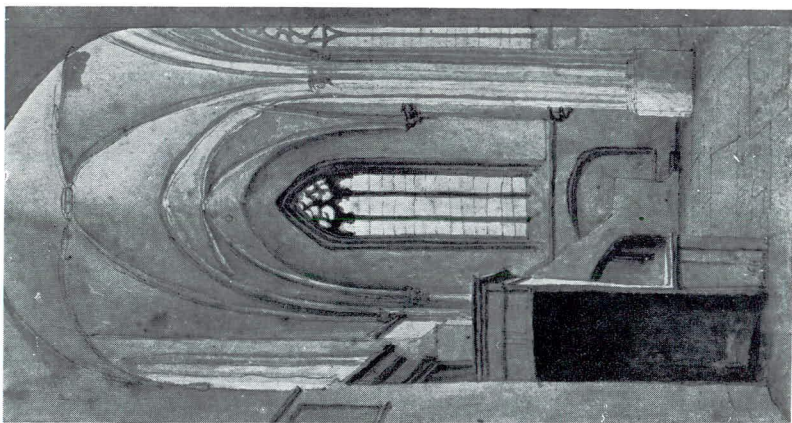
108 | Cat. 108



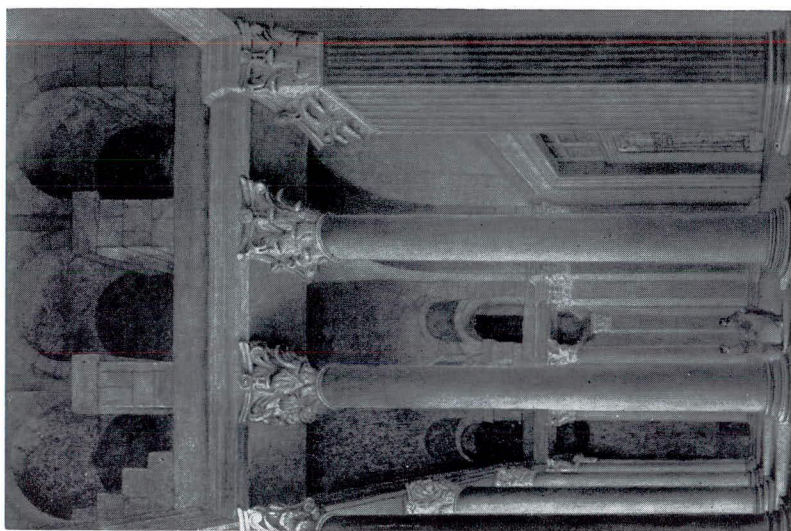
109 | Cat. 106



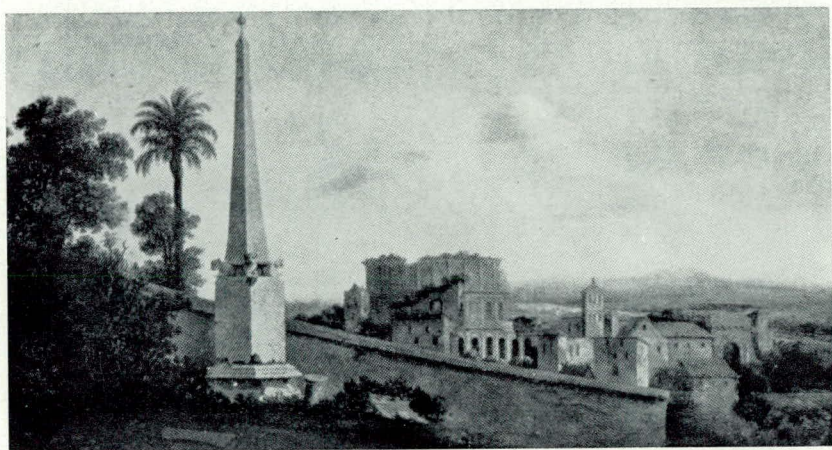
110 | Cat. 109



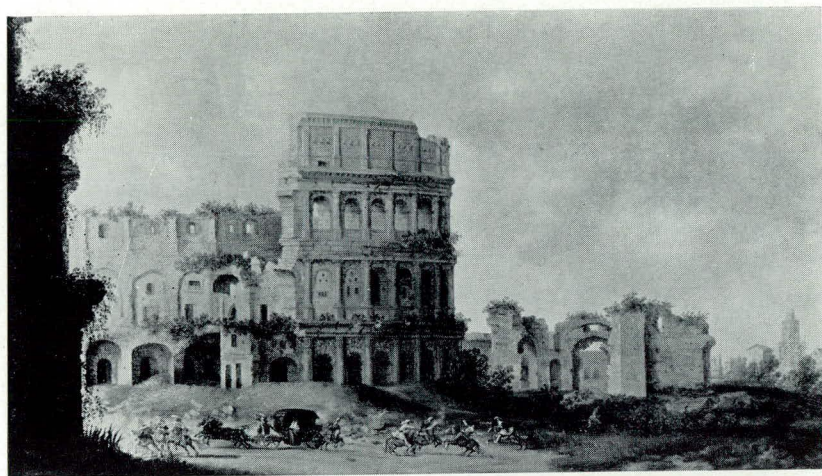
111 | Cat. 110



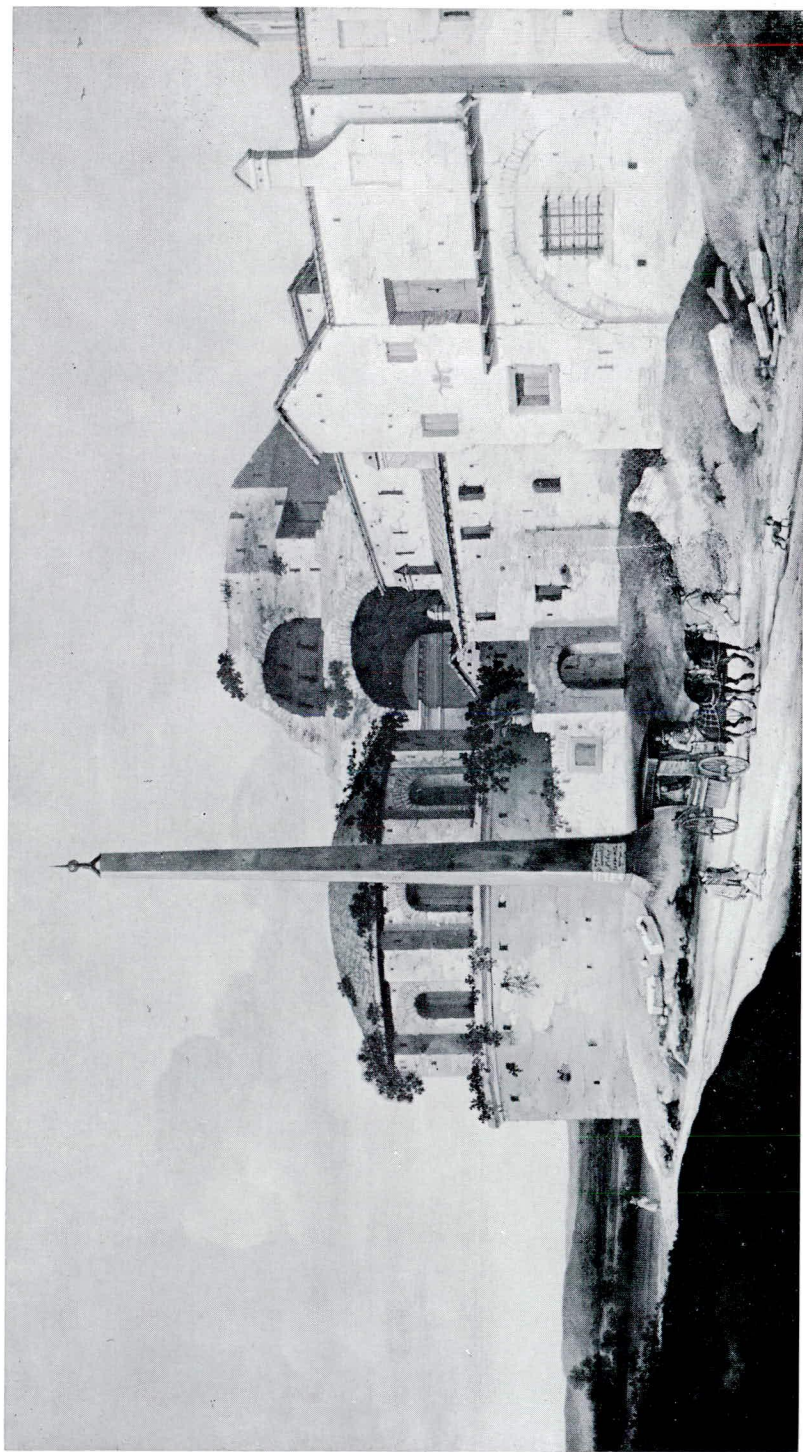
112 | Cat. 112

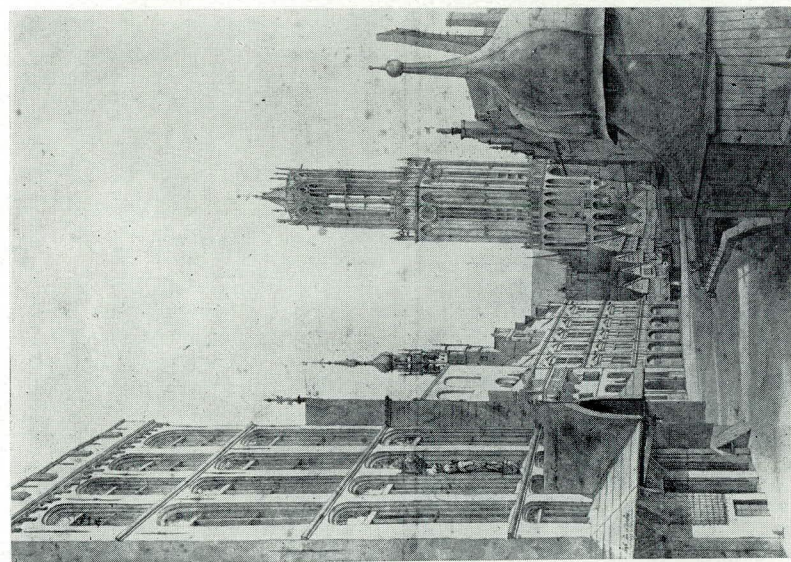


113 | Cat. 113

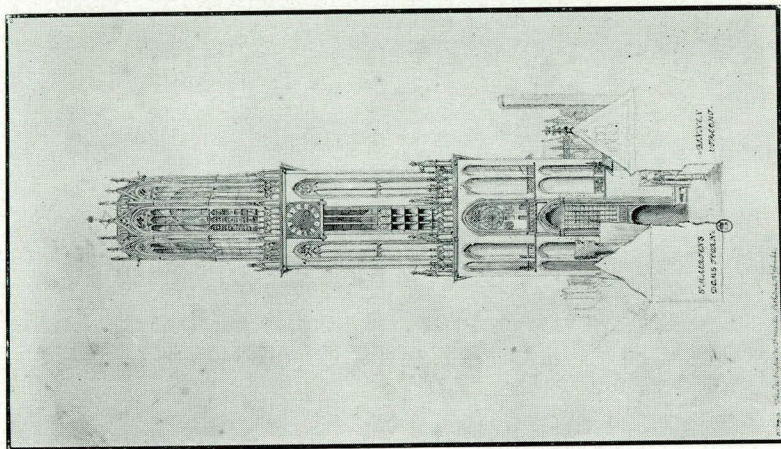


114 | Cat. 114

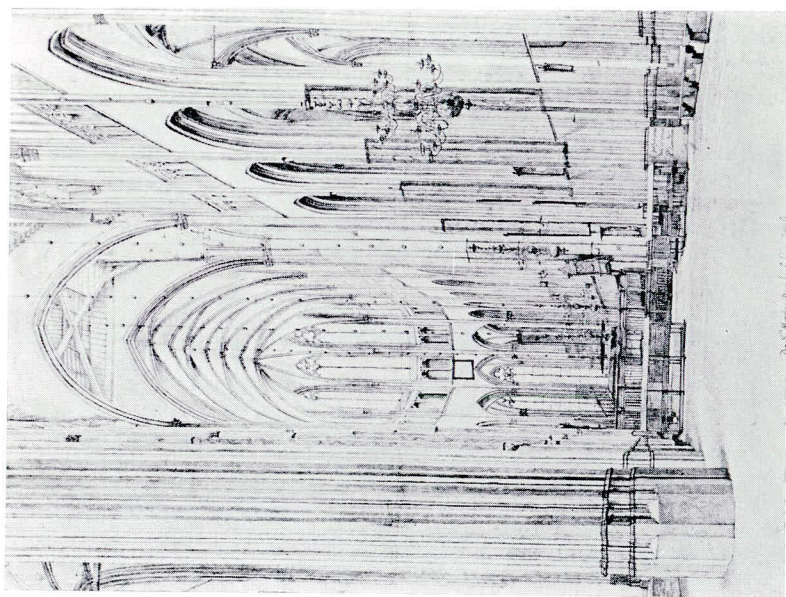




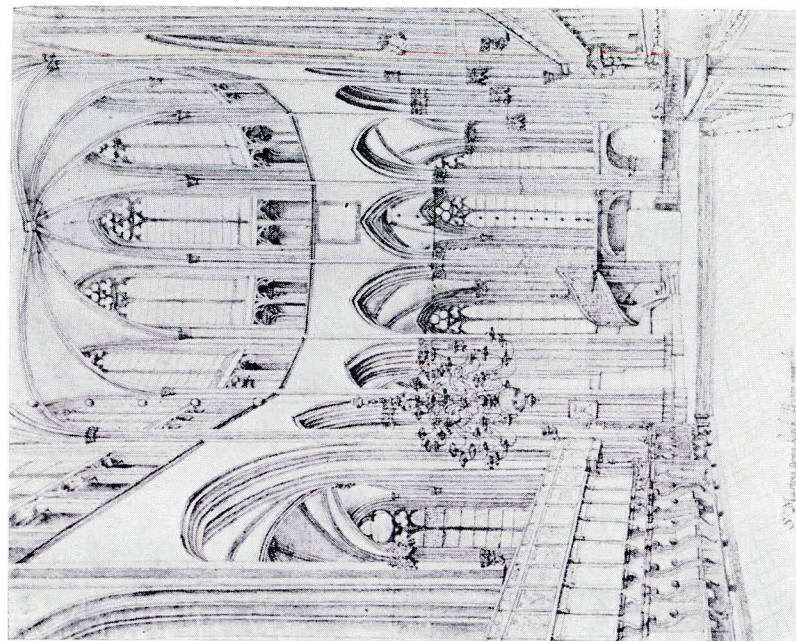
116 | Cat. 115



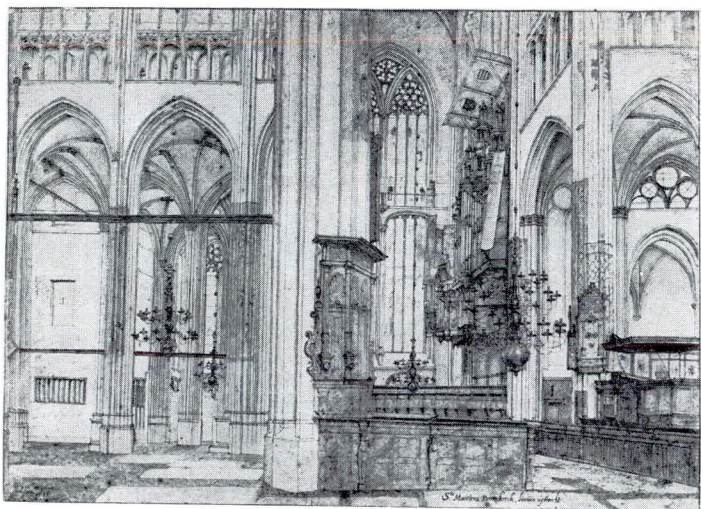
117 | Cat. 116



118 | Cat. 117



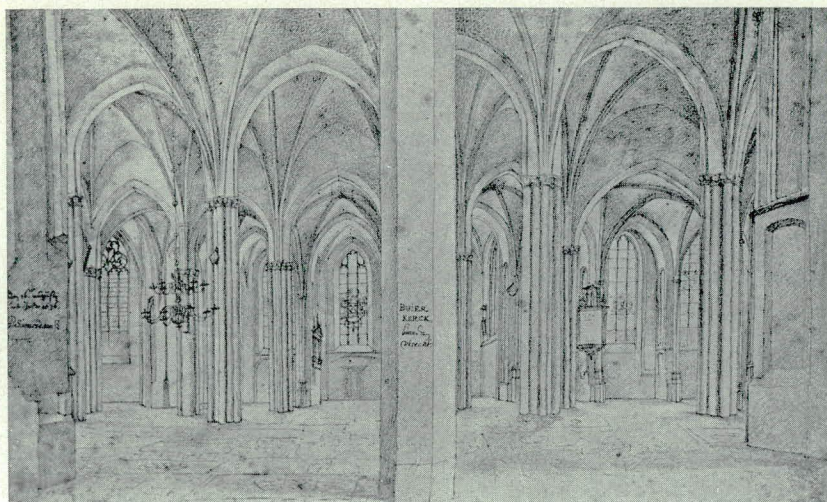
119 | Cat. 118



122 | Cat. 119



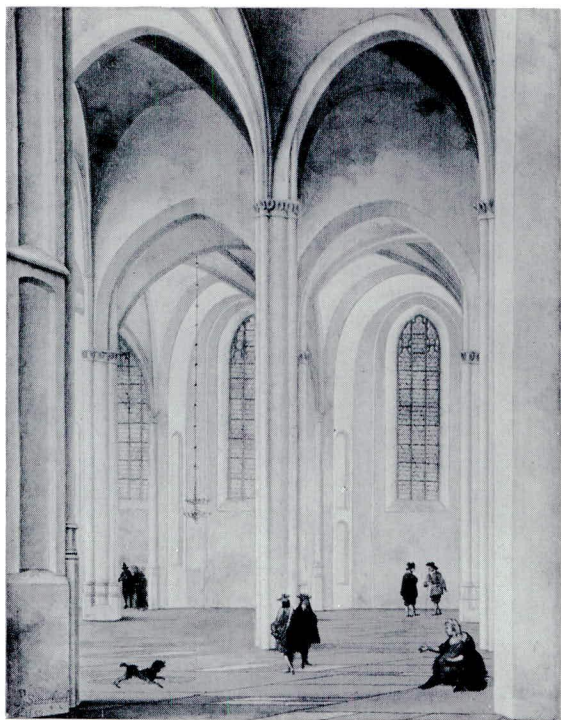
123 | Cat. 128



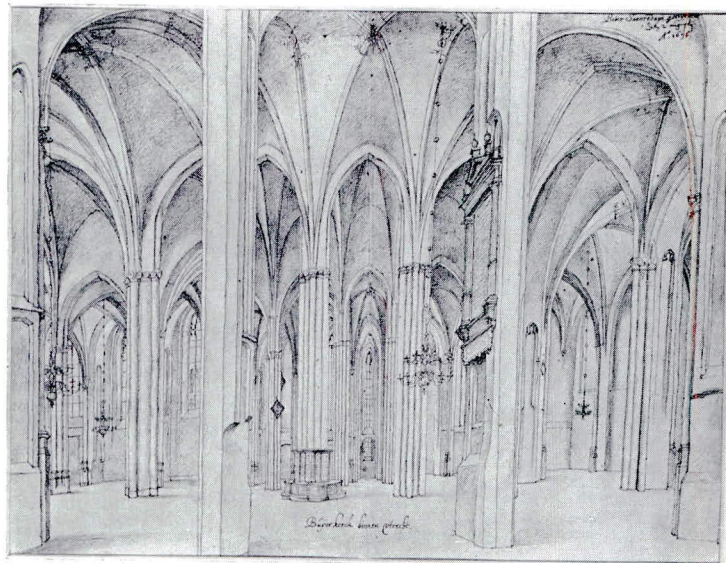
124 | Cat. 129



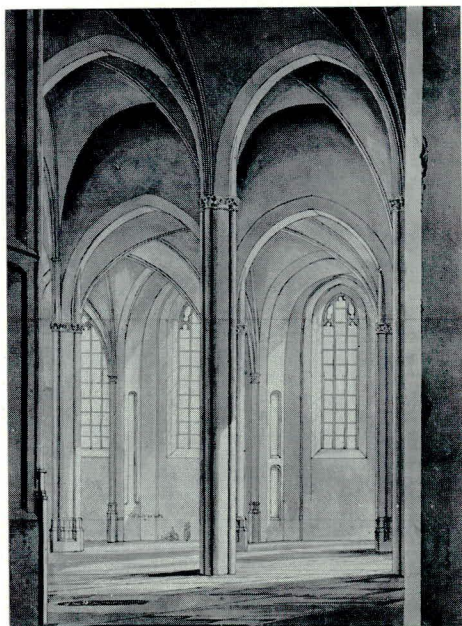
125 | Cat. 127



126 | Cat. 123



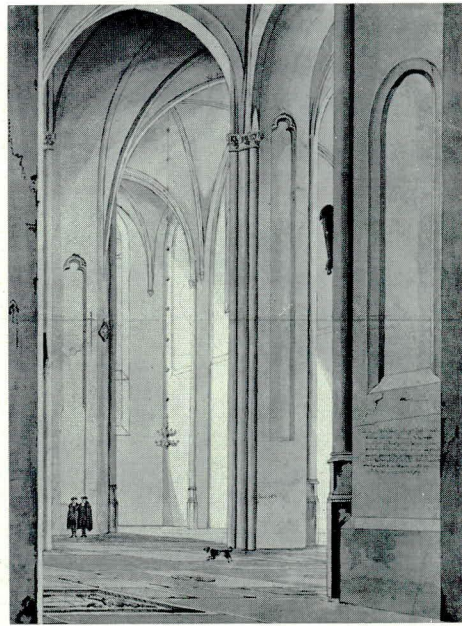
127 | Cat. 124



128 | Cat. 125



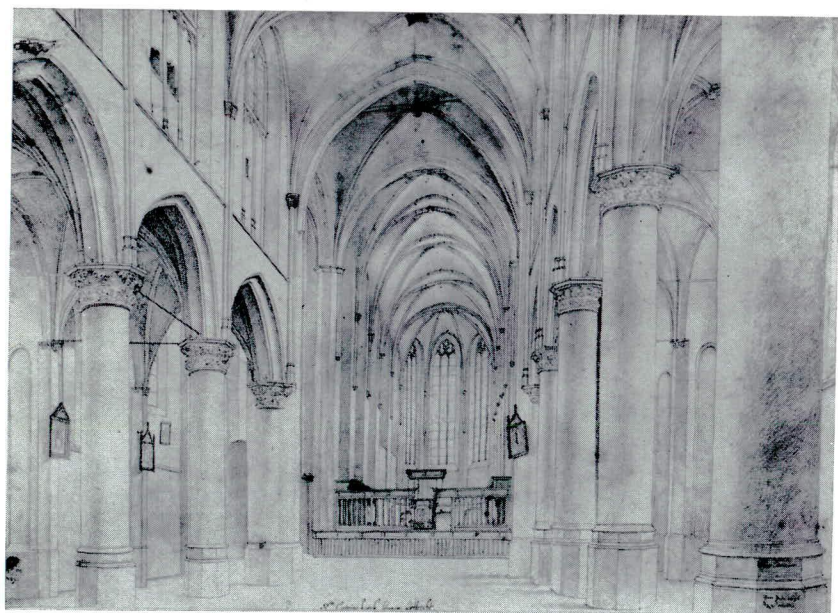
129 | Cat. 122



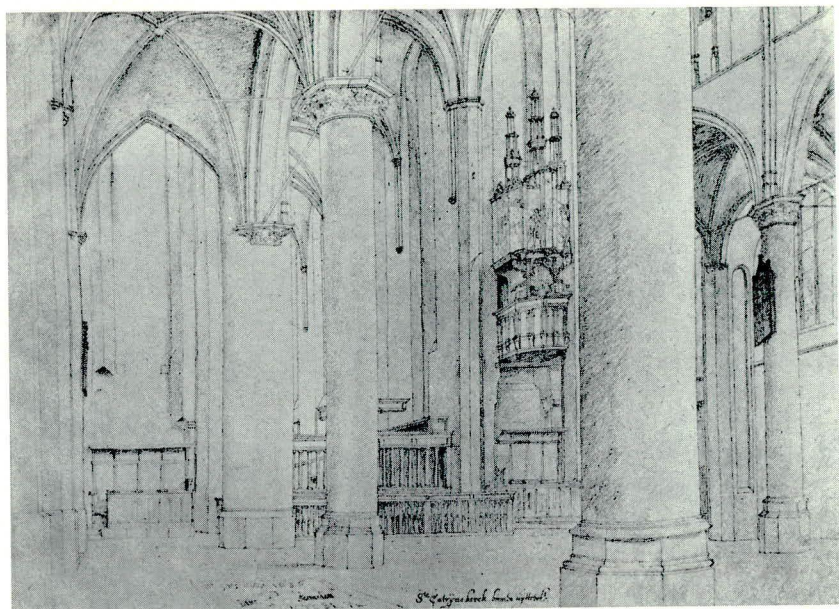
130 | Cat. 126



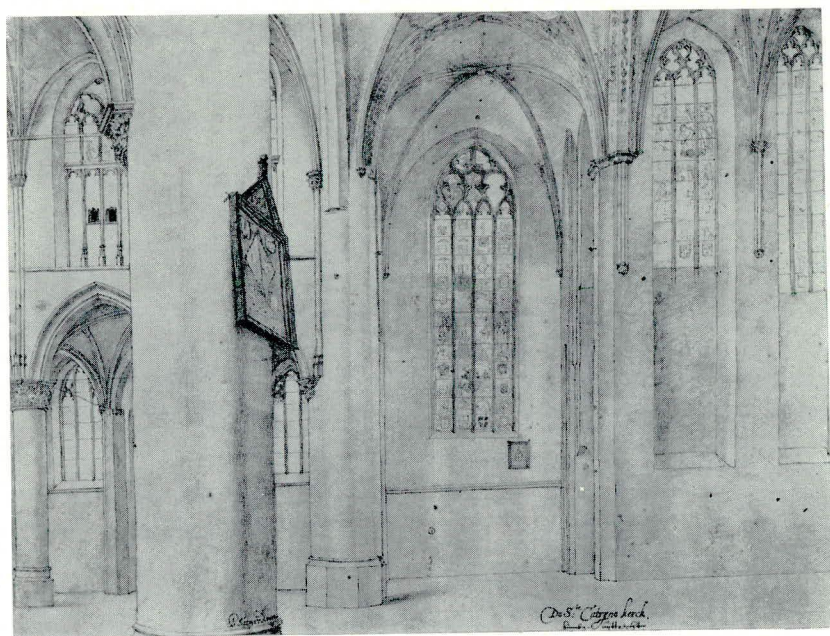
131 | Cat. 130



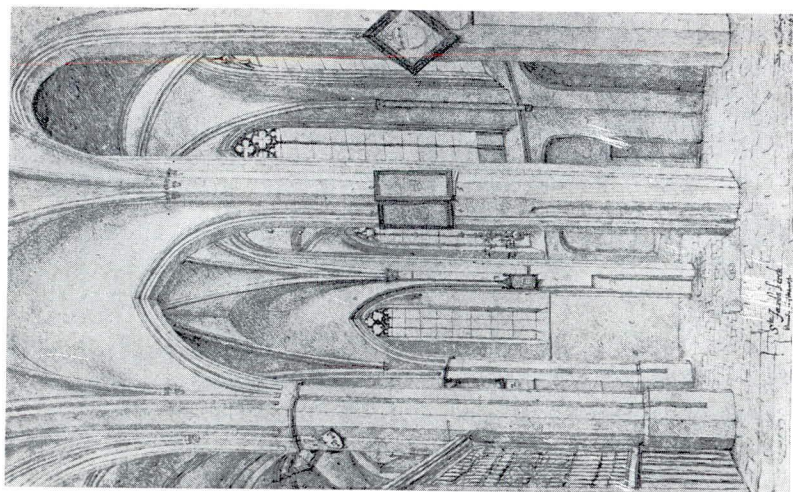
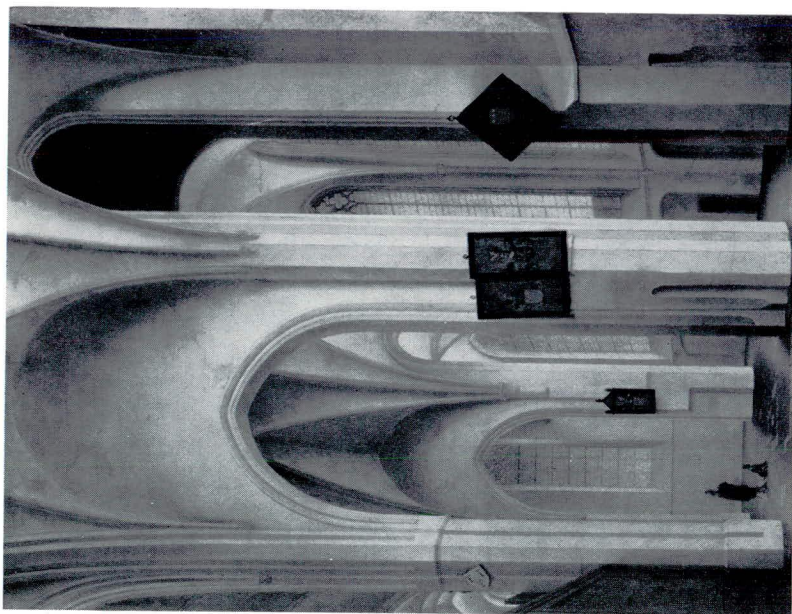
132 | Cat. 131

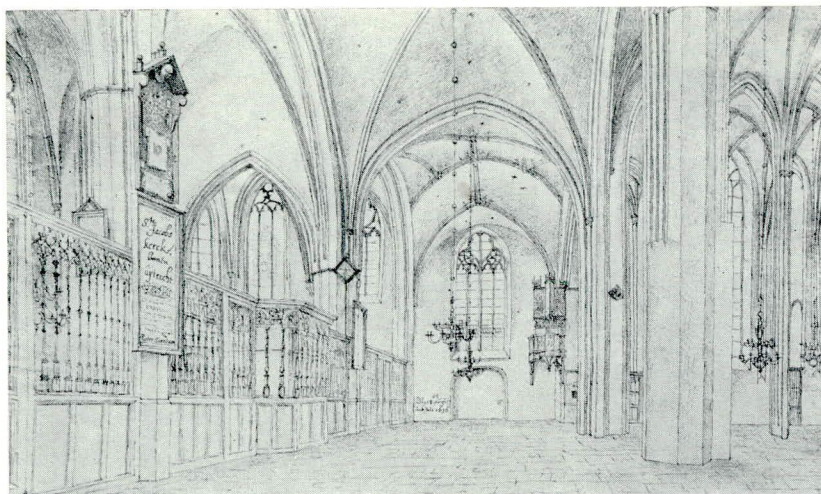


133 | Cat. 132

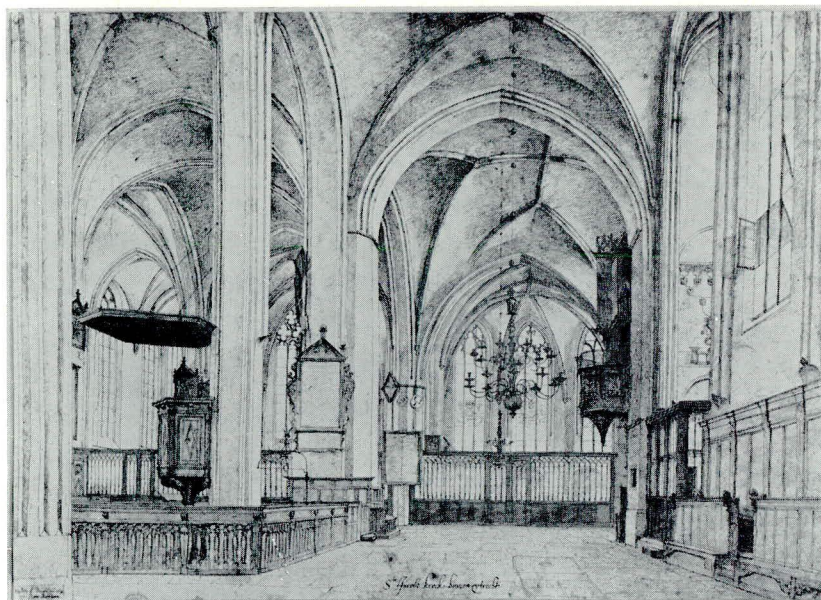


134 | Cat. 133

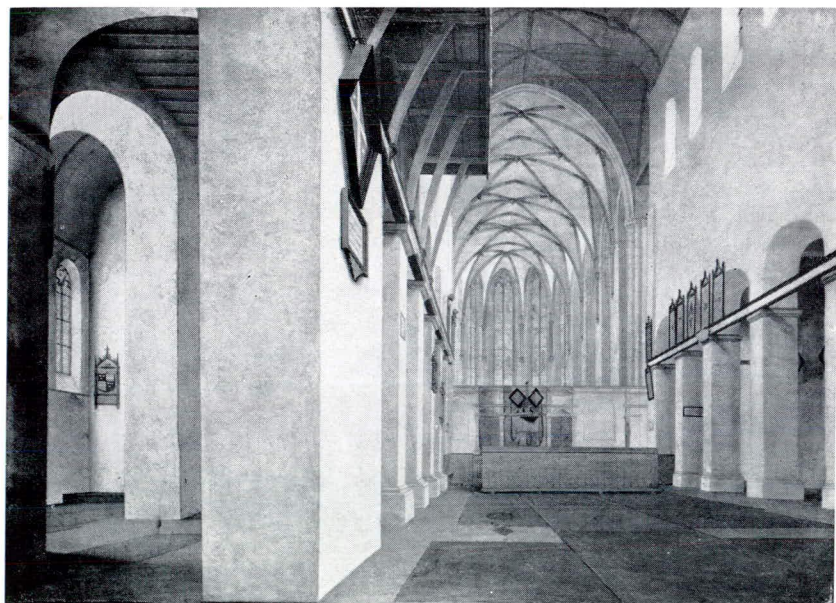


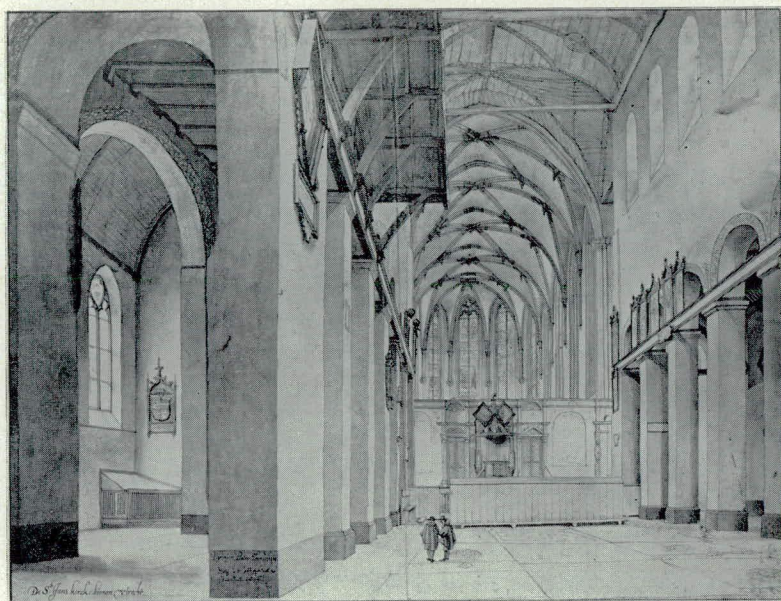


137 | Cat. 136

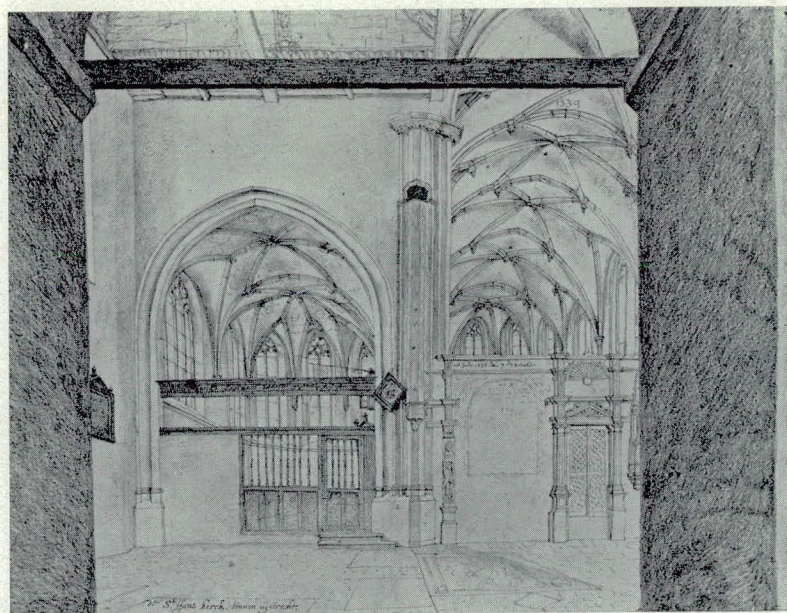


138 | Cat. 137





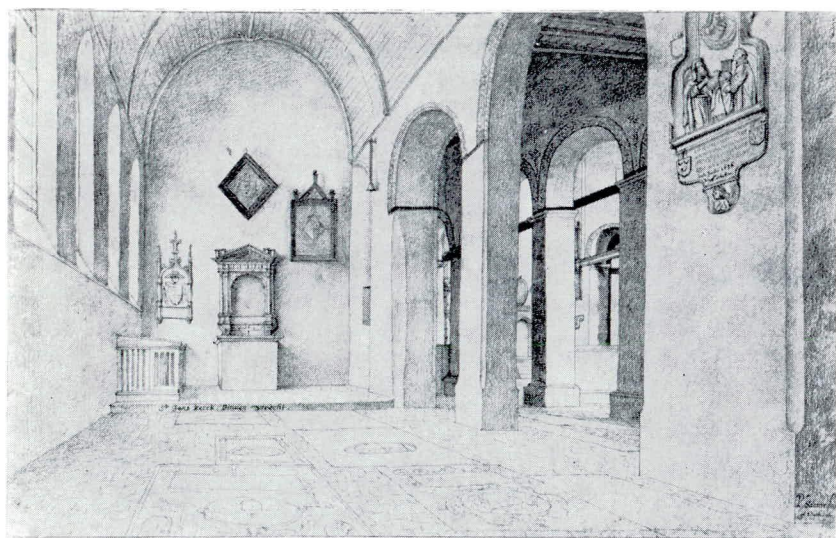
140 | Cat. 139



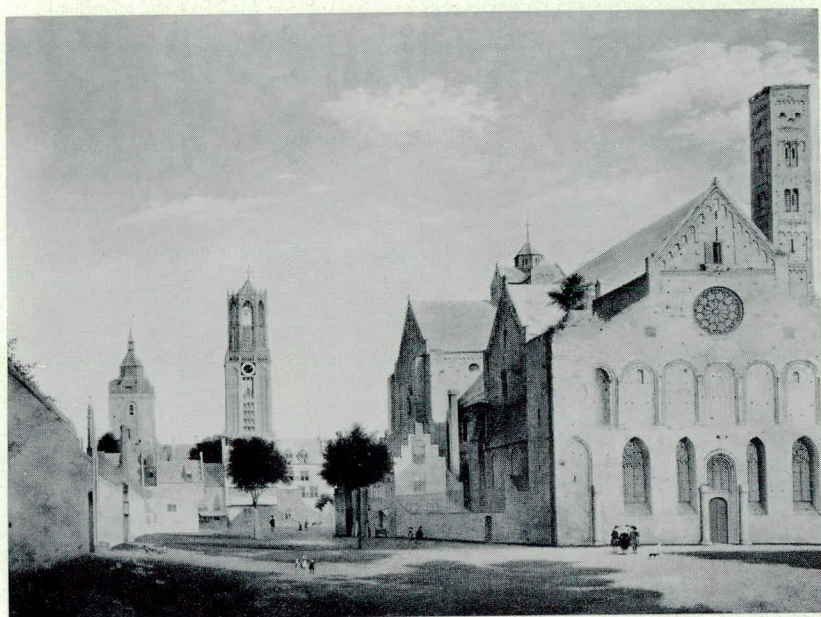
141 | Cat. 140



142 | Cat. 141



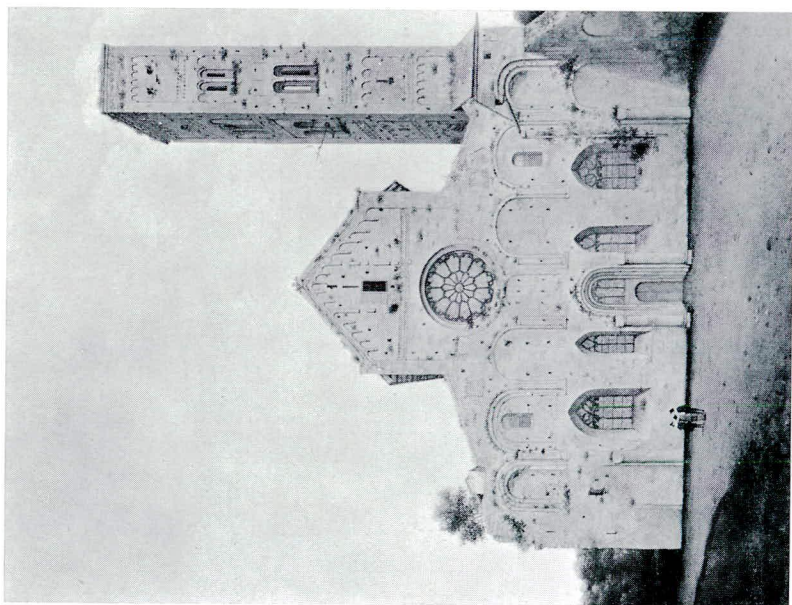
143 | Cat. 142



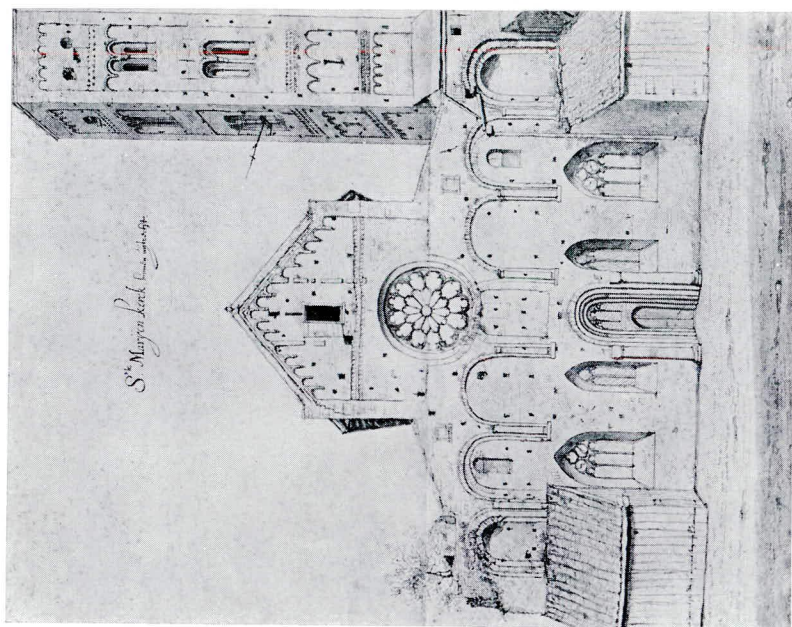
144 | Cat. 143



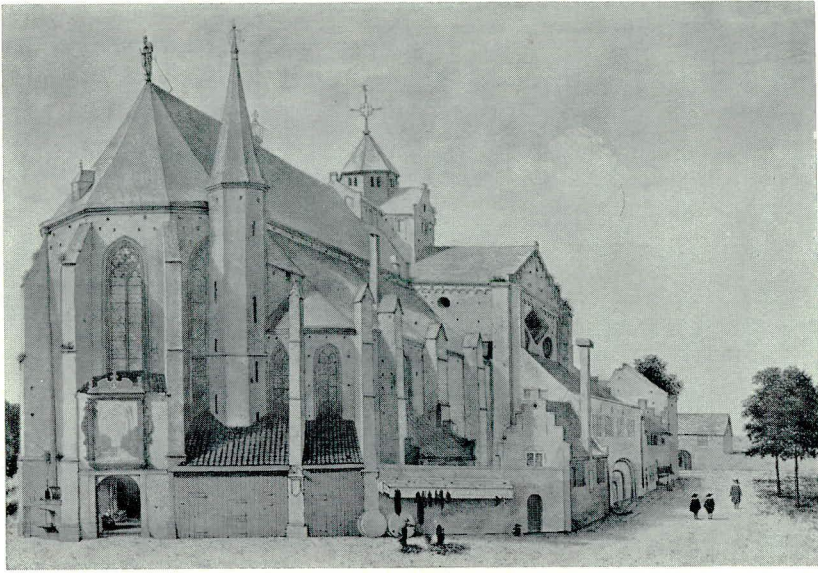
145 | Cat. 144



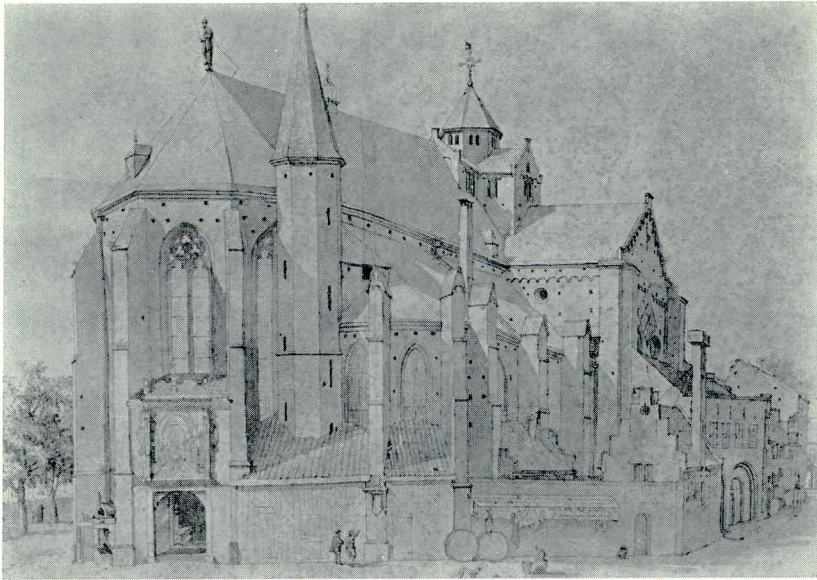
146 | Cat. 145



147 | Cat. 146

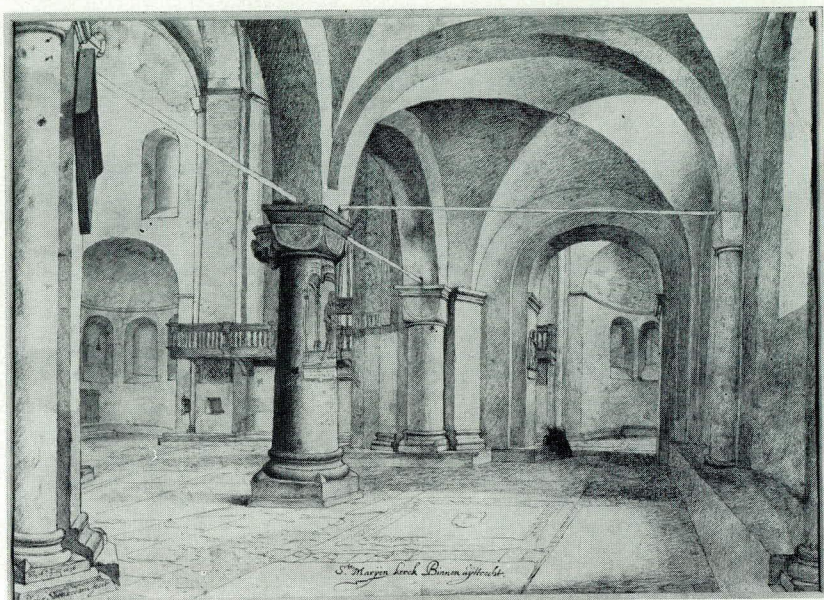


148 | Cat. 147

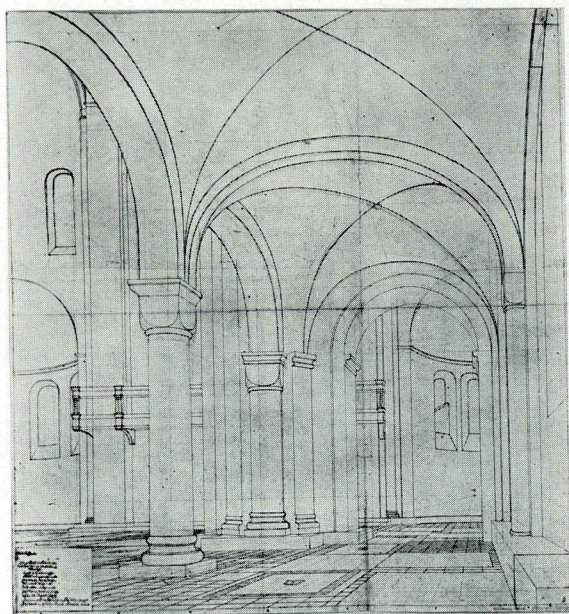


149 | Cat. 148

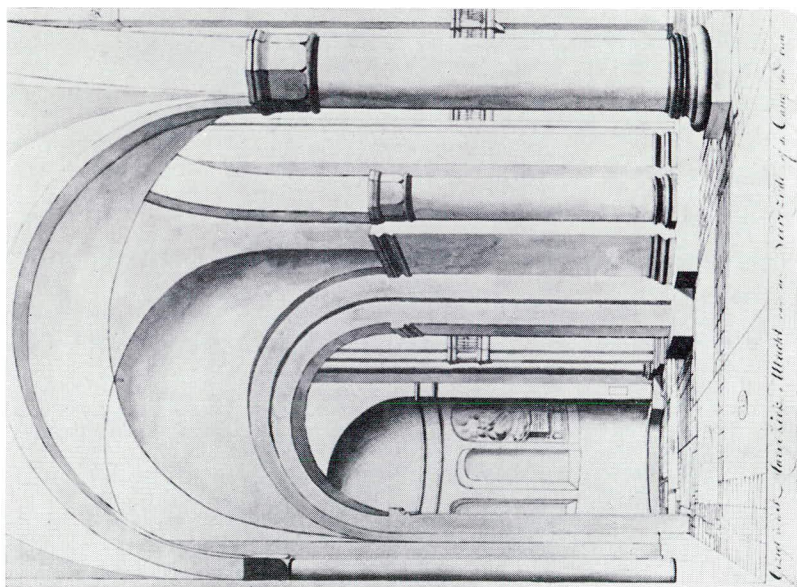




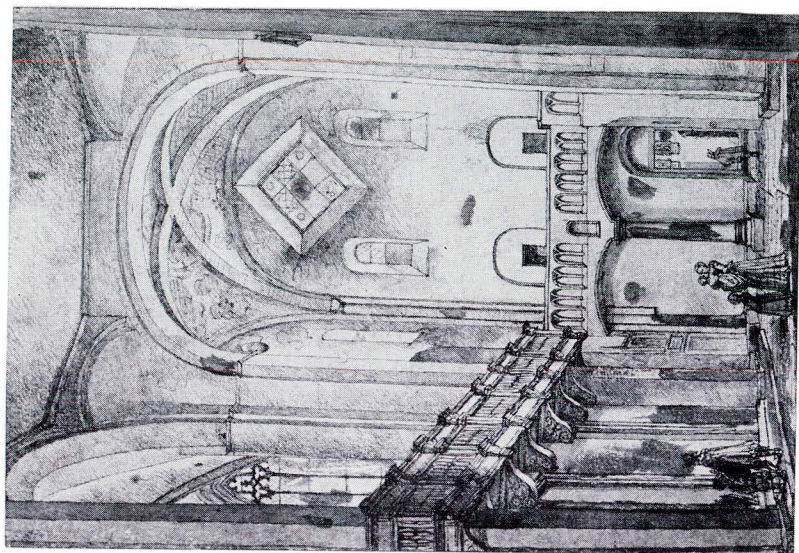
151 | Cat. 150



152 | Cat. 151



153 | Cat. 152



154 | Cat. 155



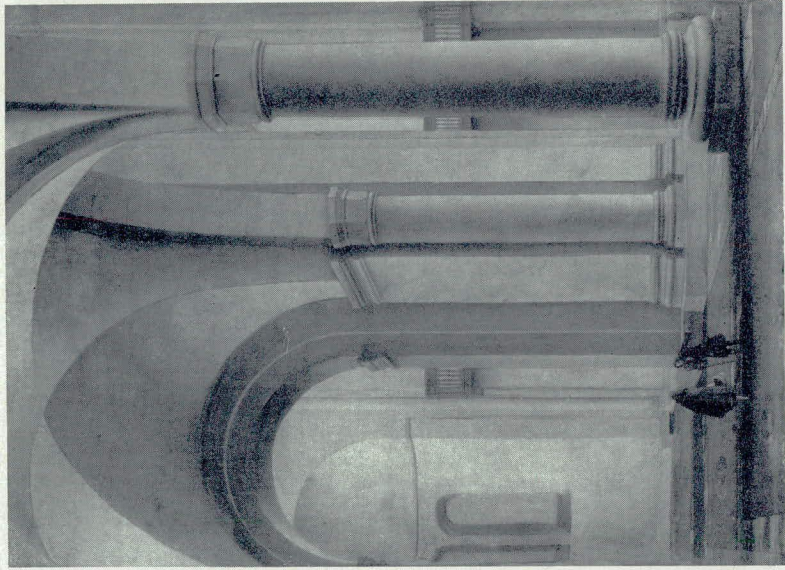
46. PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM. Paneel. 48 x 36. Zie pag. 14.

m. 46

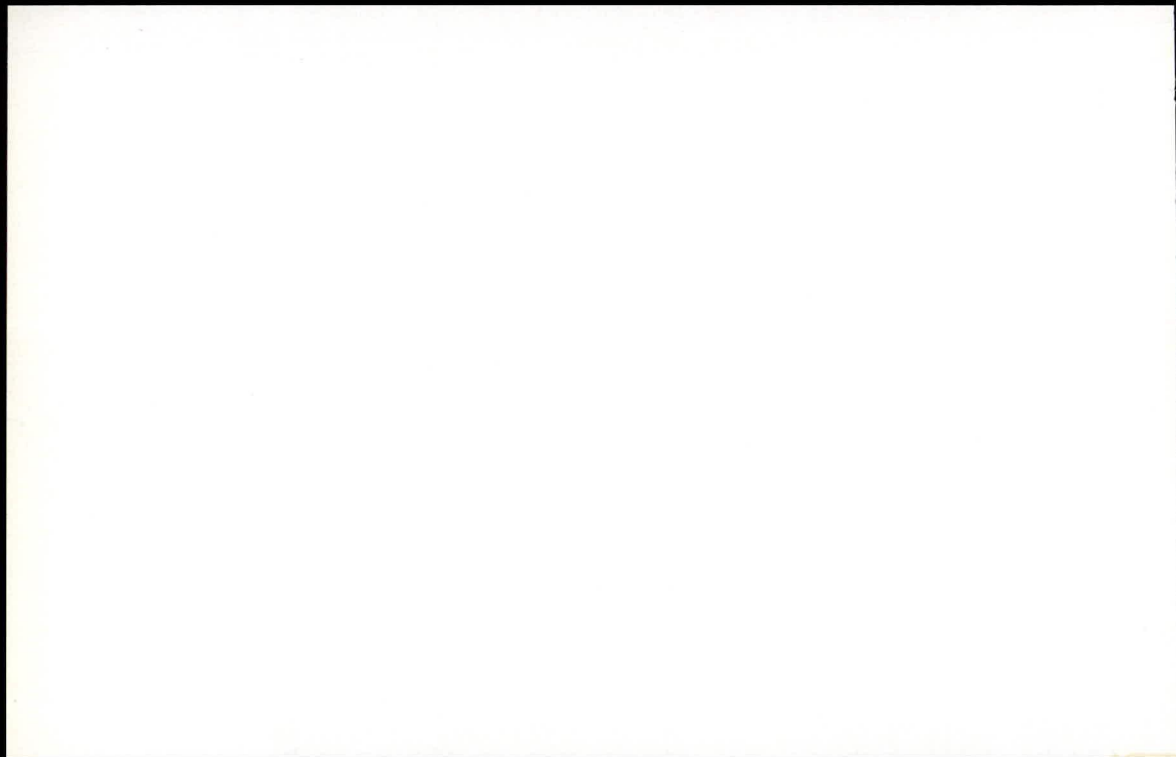
Verleng Sotheby Mah v. Waay
15-11-1976

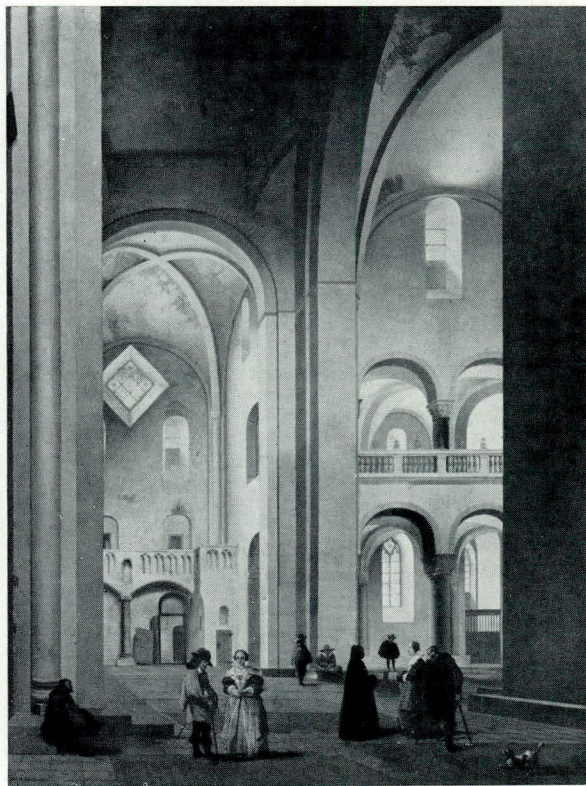
geen mon. schildery
beschiedt op gelapt



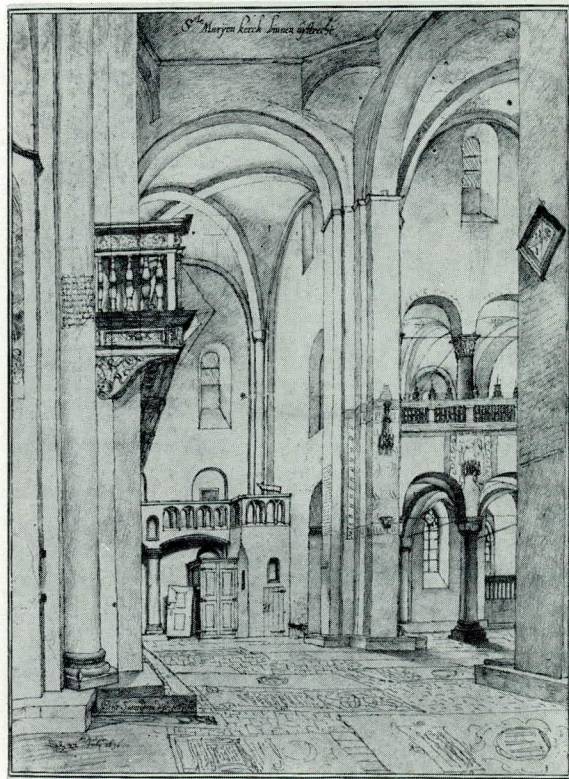


153 A | Cat. 152 A

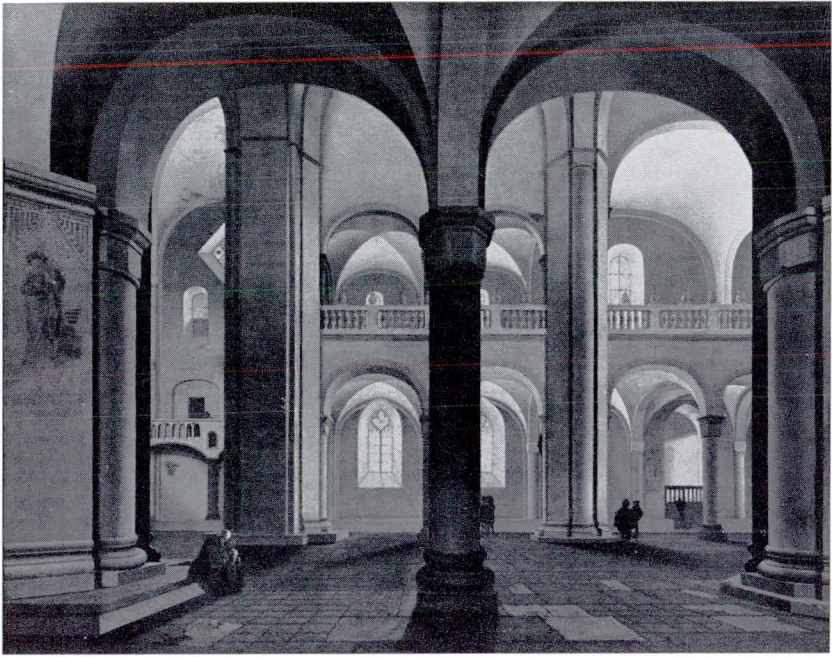




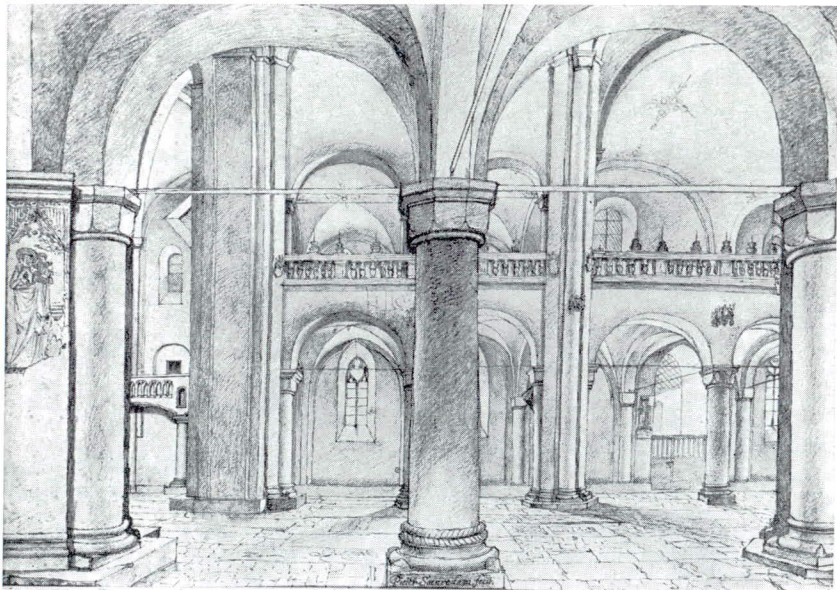
155 | Cat. 153



156 | Cat. 154



157 | Cat. 156



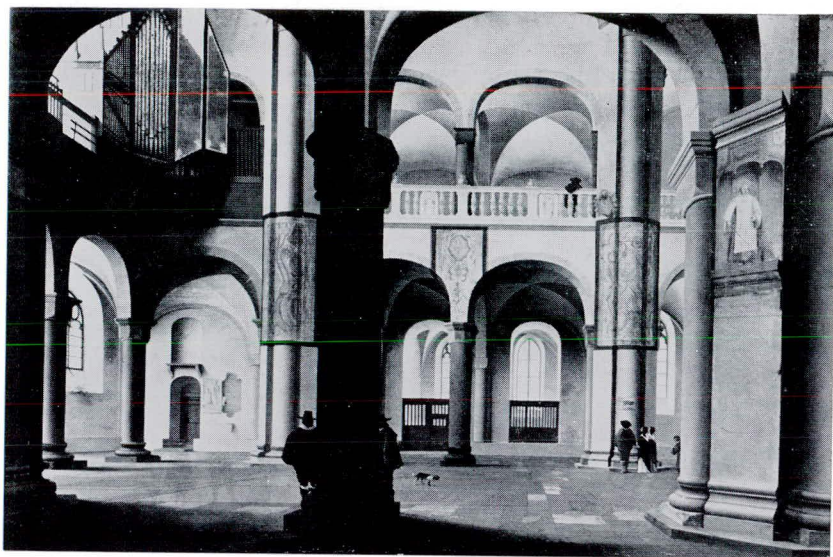
158 | Cat. 157



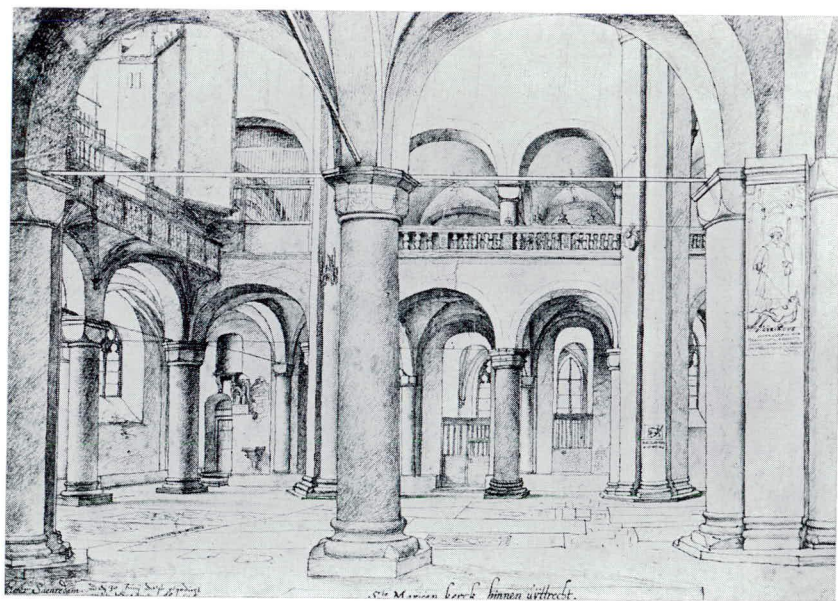
159 | Cat. 158



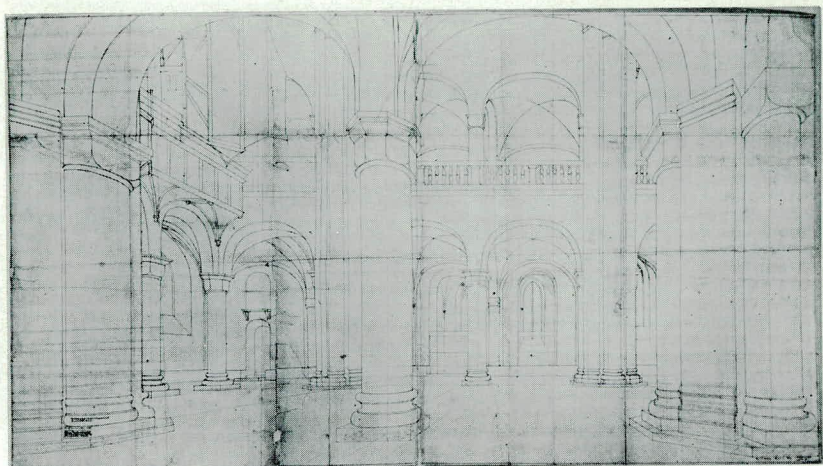
160 | Cat. 159



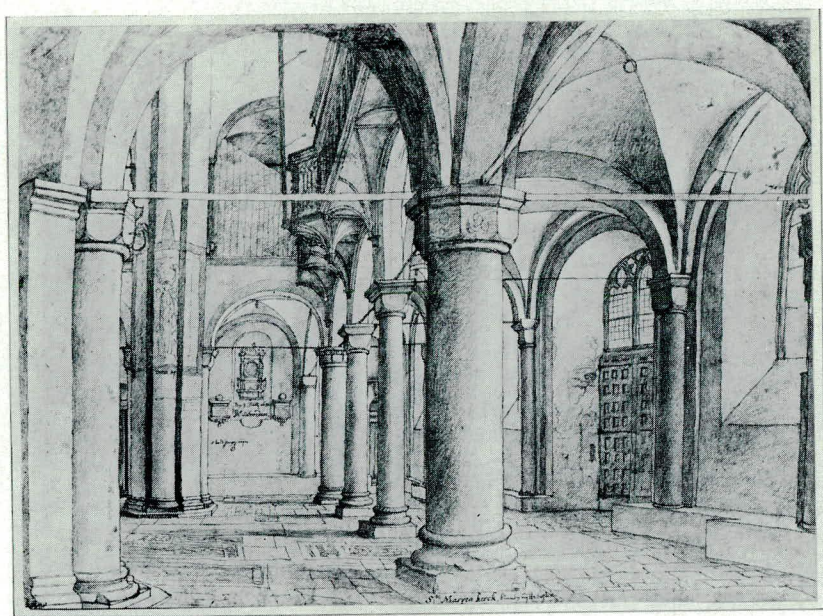
161 | Cat. 160



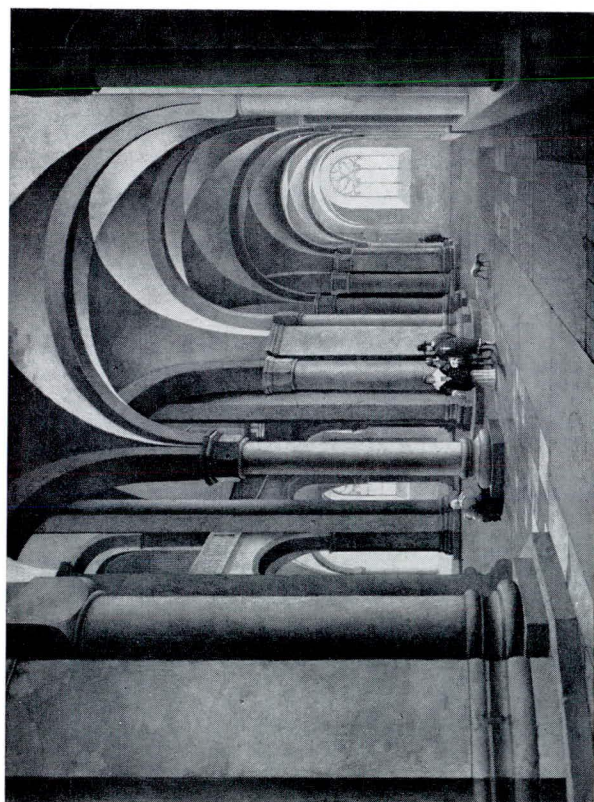
162 | Cat. 161



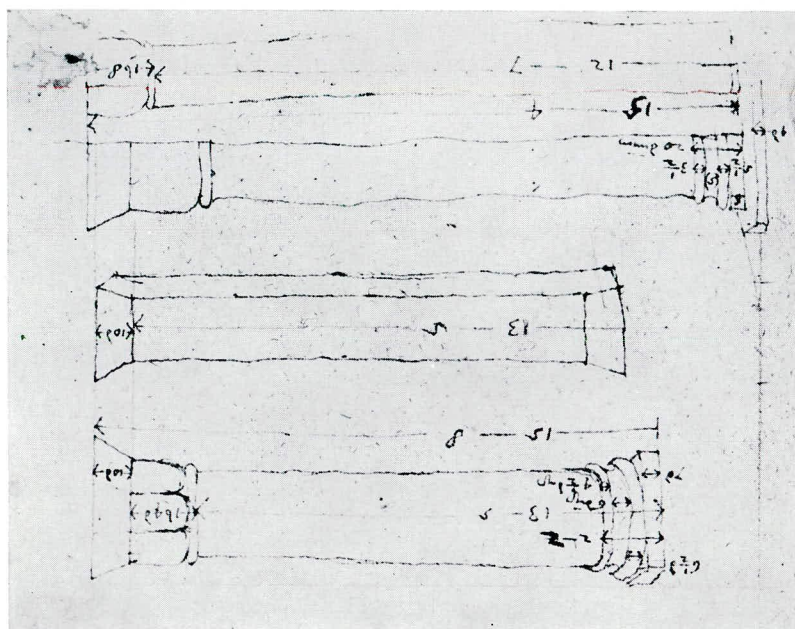
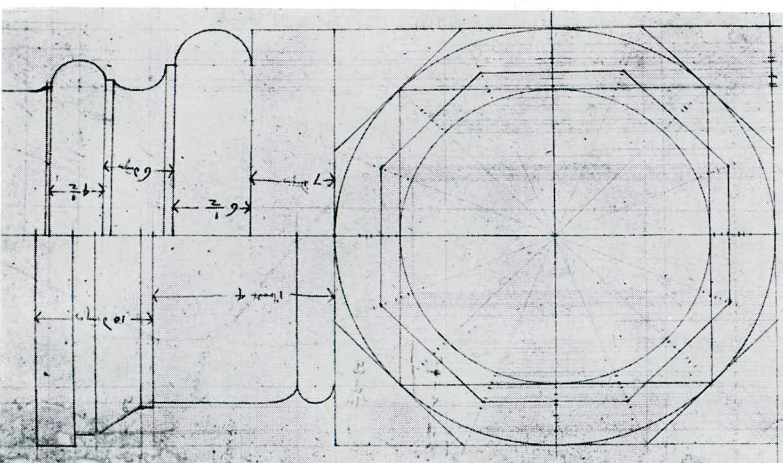
163 | Cat. 162

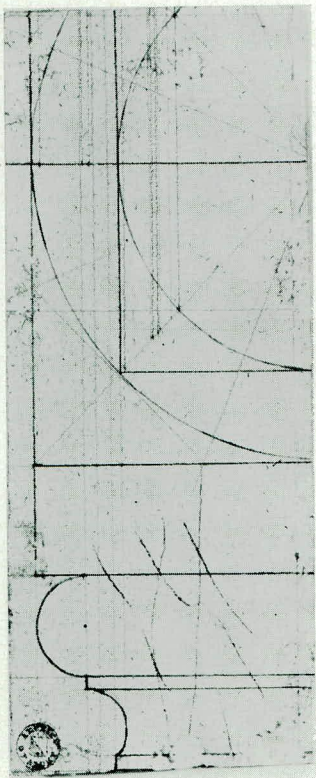
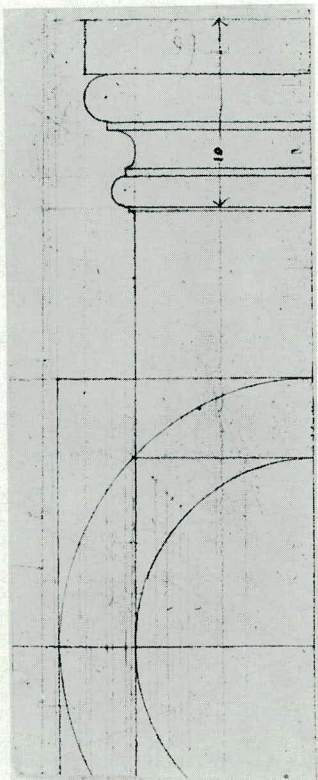
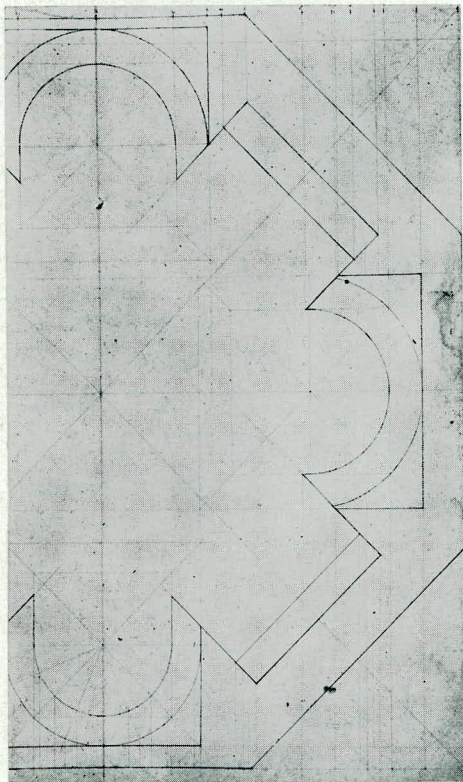


164 | Cat. 163



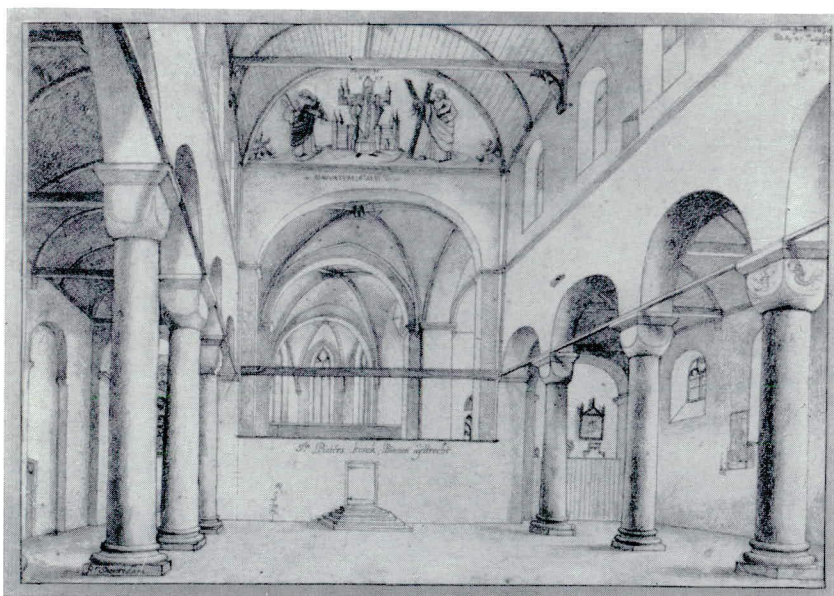
165 | Cat. 164







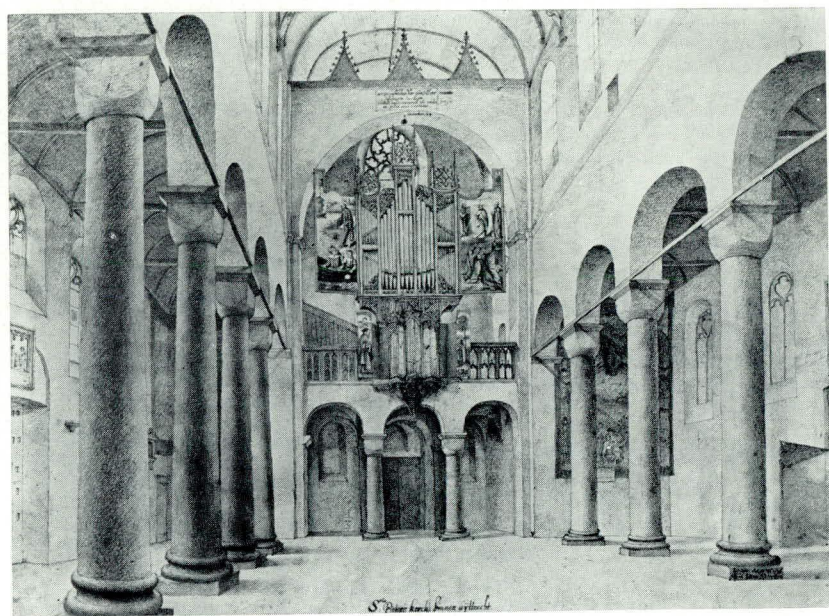
172 | Cat. 171



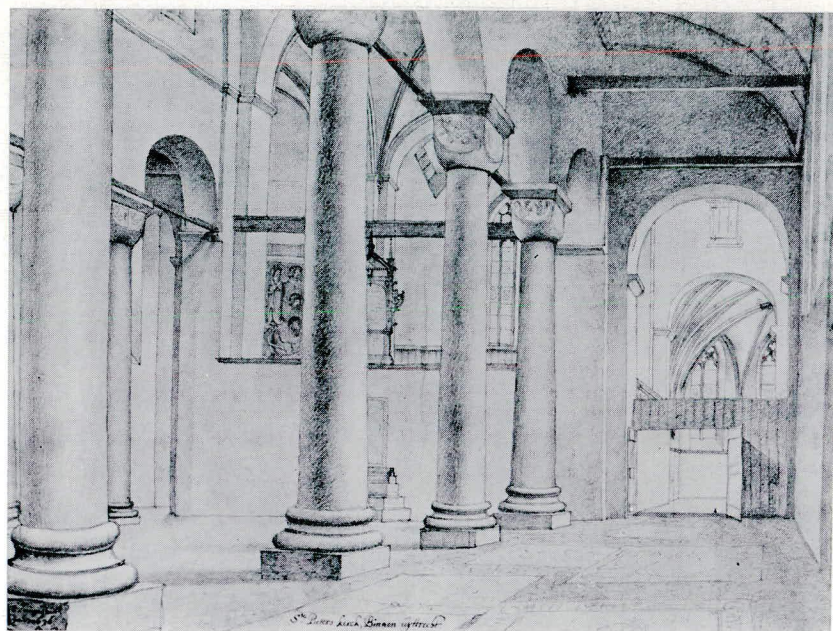
173 | Cat. 172



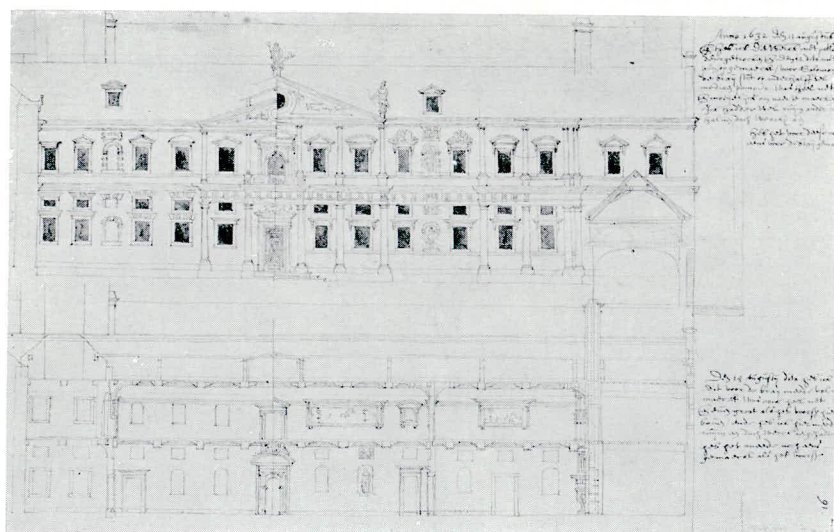
174 | Cat. 174



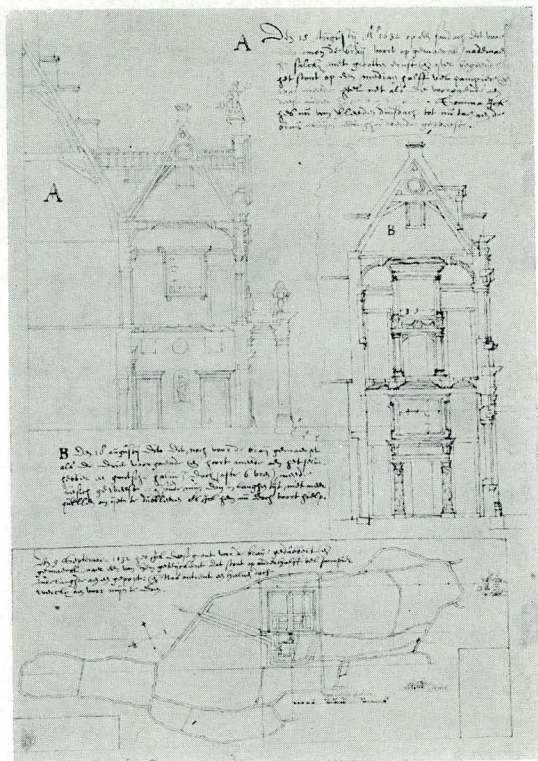
175 | Cat. 175



176 | Cat. 173

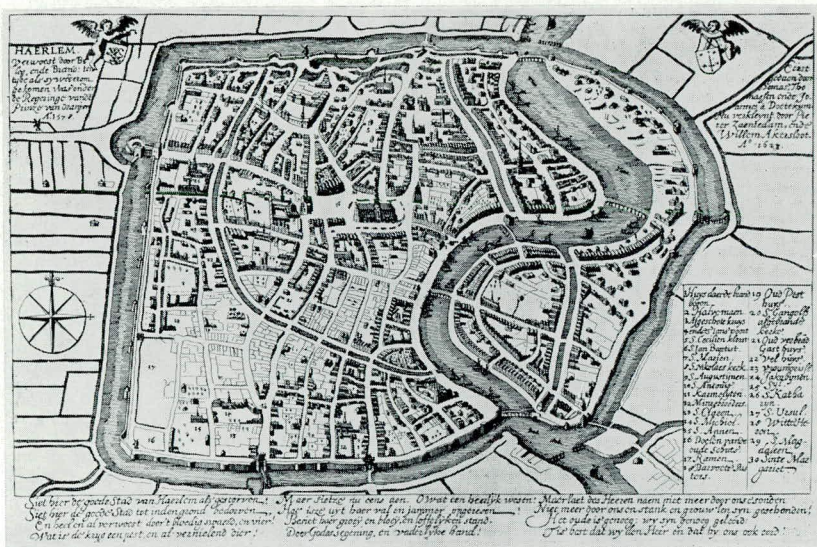


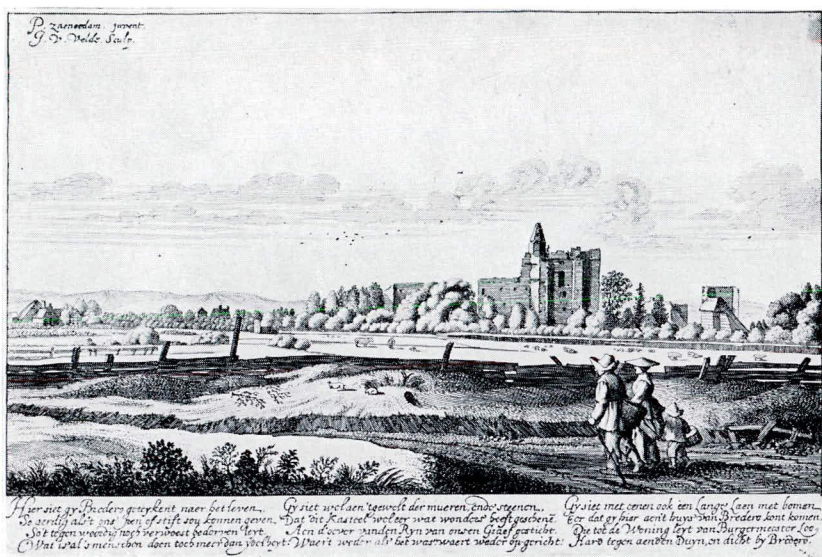
177 | Cat. 176

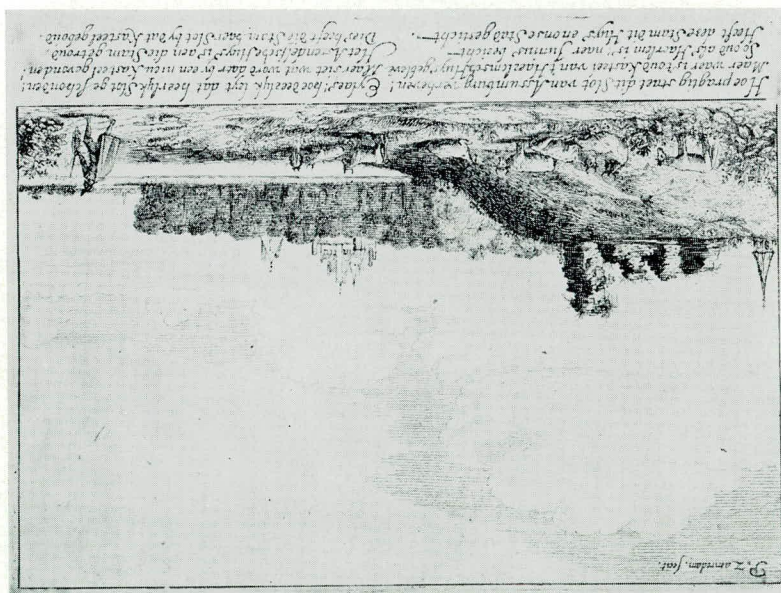


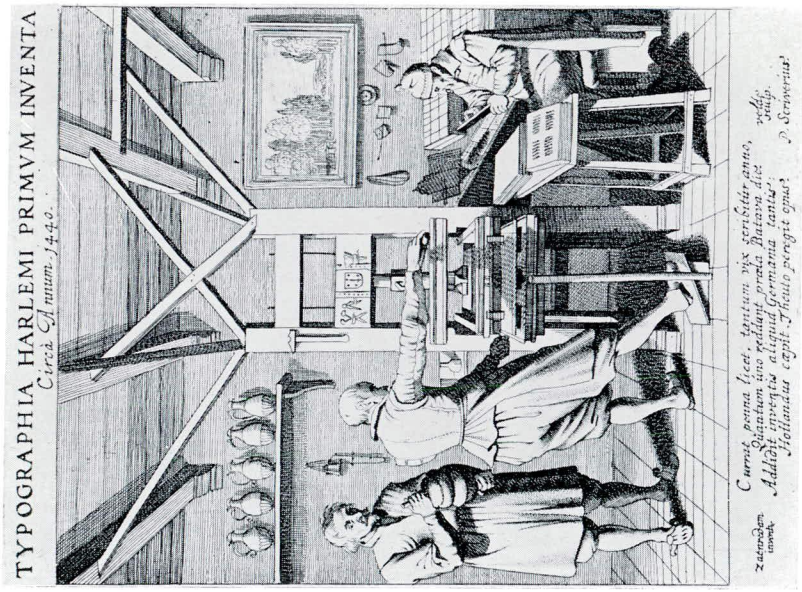


181 | Cat. 185

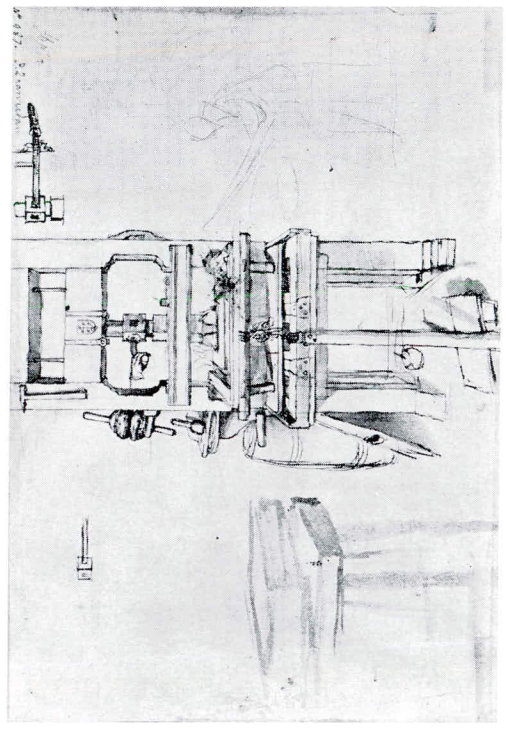






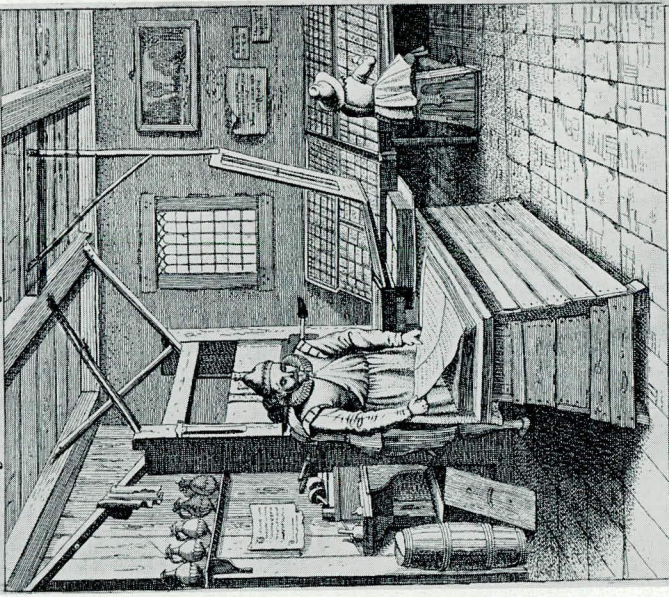


187 | Cat. 188

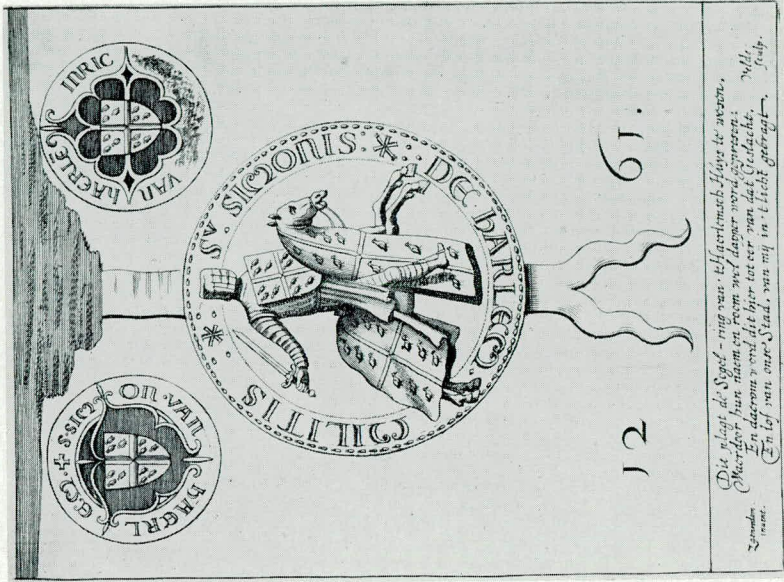


188 | Cat. 189

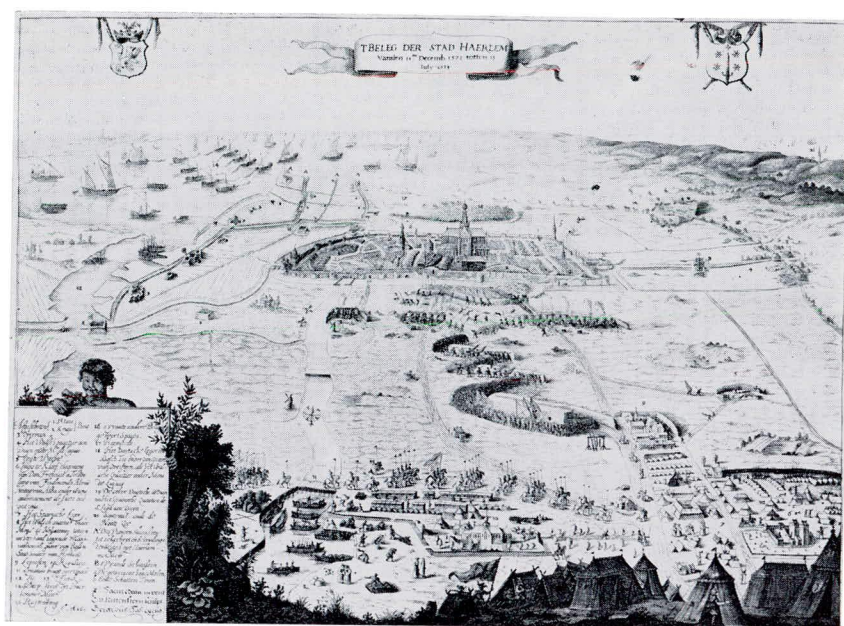
Bocdruckery te Haarlem gevonden ontreut het Jaar 1440



Op'te is die Druckery een kinet wel hooft te nemen!
 En wyl te Haarlem ook wel over-nemen te nemen!
 P. 2. 1440 den 1. Januarij
 Dat seker hier Mente de vuer? Die fage? meer den vuerd.

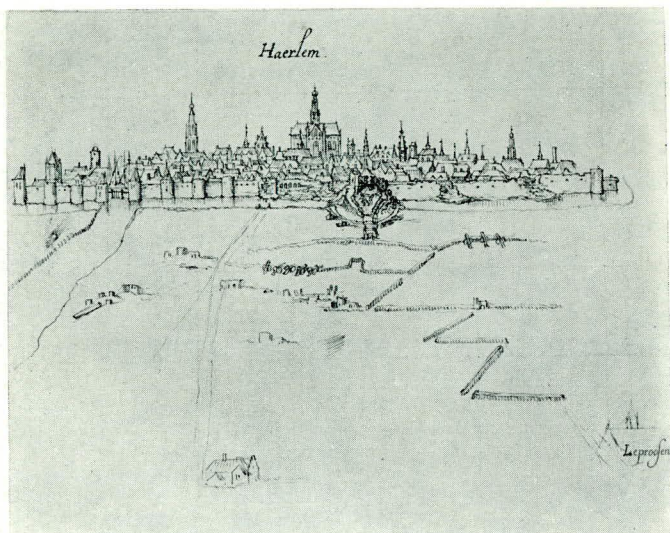


Die plaats de Sigel - ing van. Elftentemach. Sijne te weten,
 Haerfger hun naam en reem met daer in. Sijne te weten,
 En daerom v. en dit hier tot eer van de. Sijne te weten,
 En tel van. v. en. Sijne te weten, van mij in. Sijne te weten,
 Sijne te weten.



191 | Cat. 190





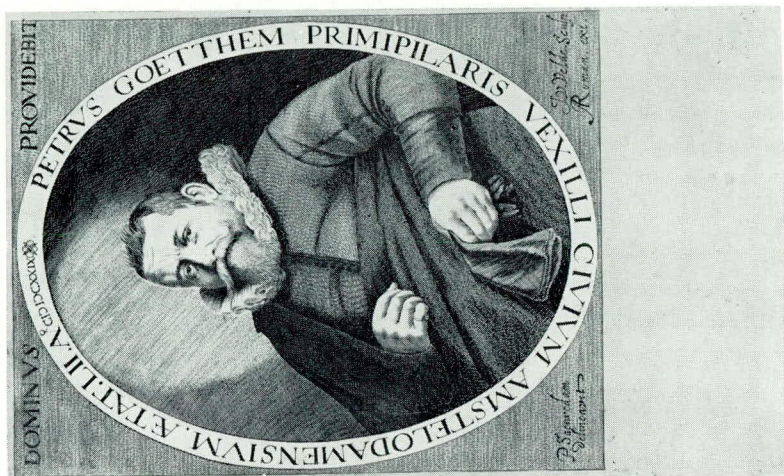
193 | Cat. 192



194 | Cat. 193



201 | Cat. 200



202 | Cat. 201

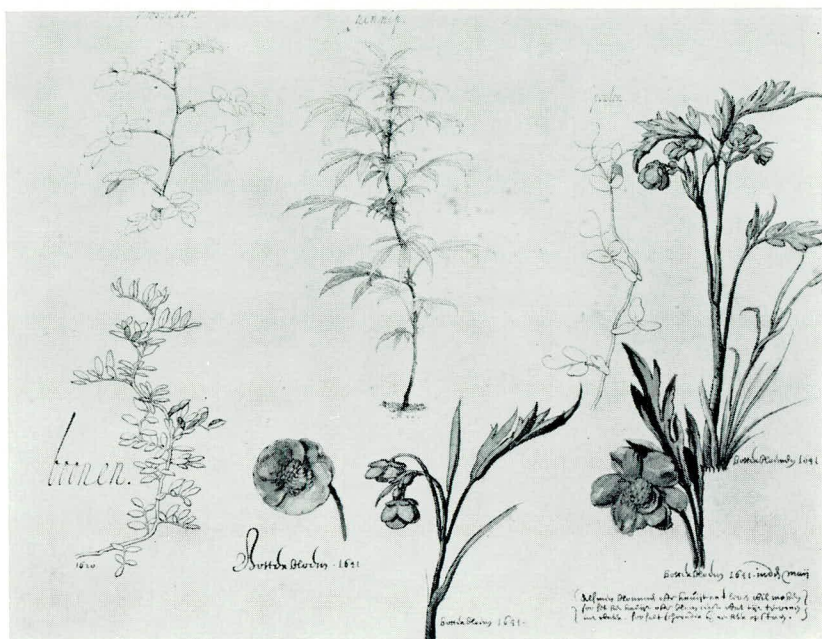




207 | Cat. 206



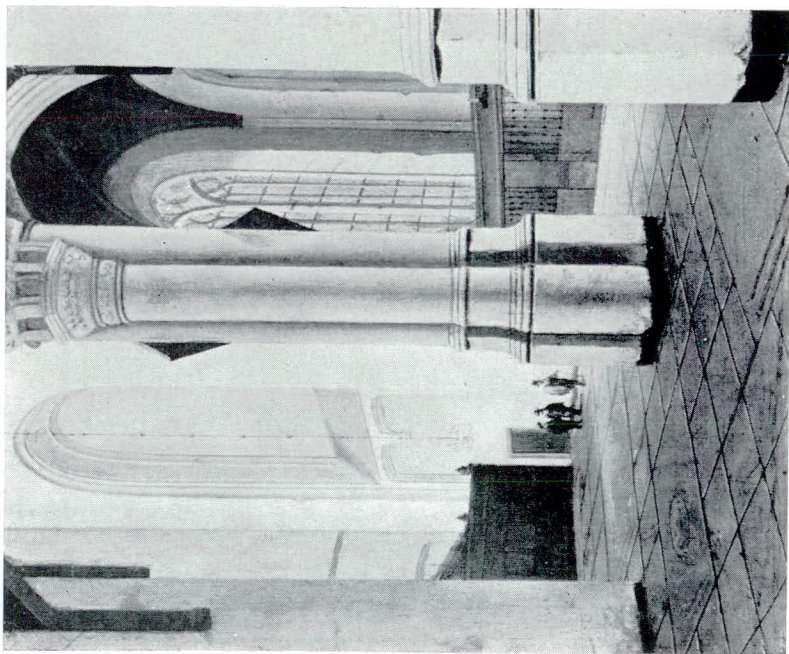
208 | Cat. 207



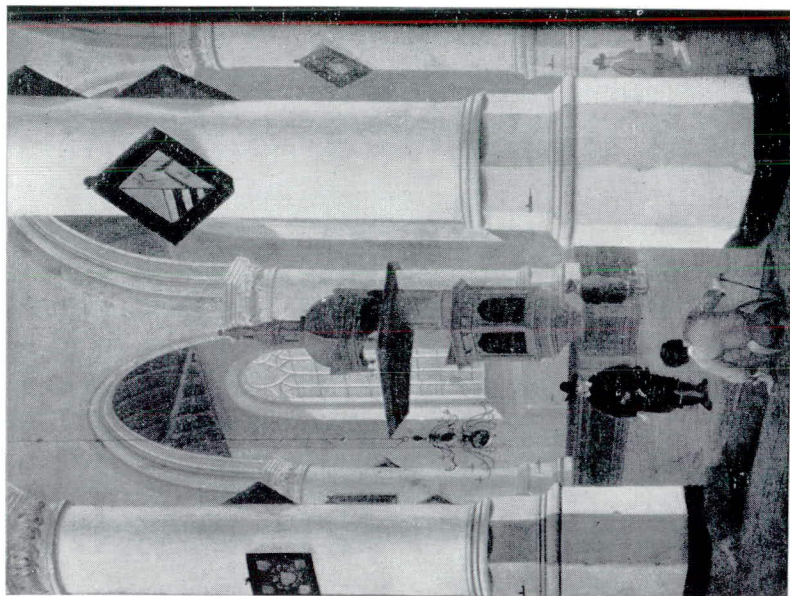
209 | Cat. 208



210 | Cat. 209



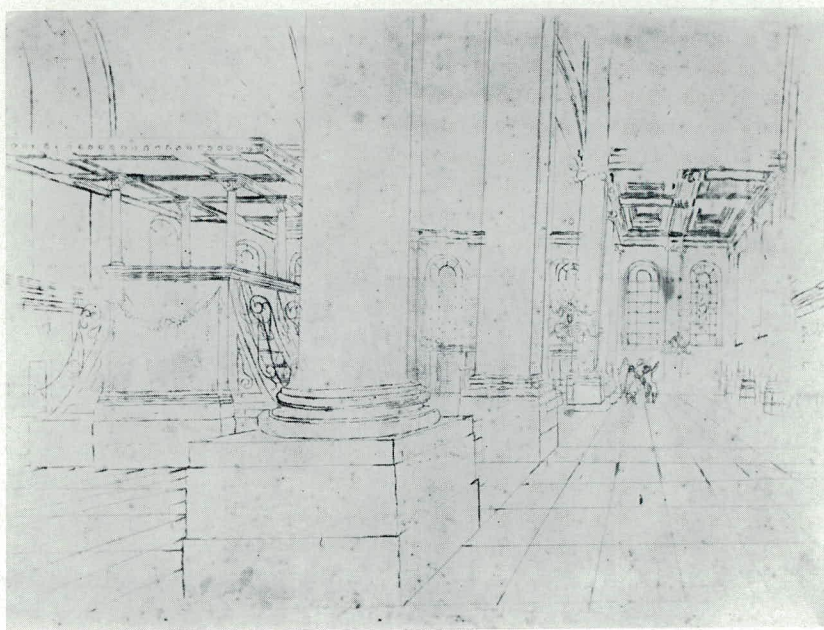
211 | Cat. 221



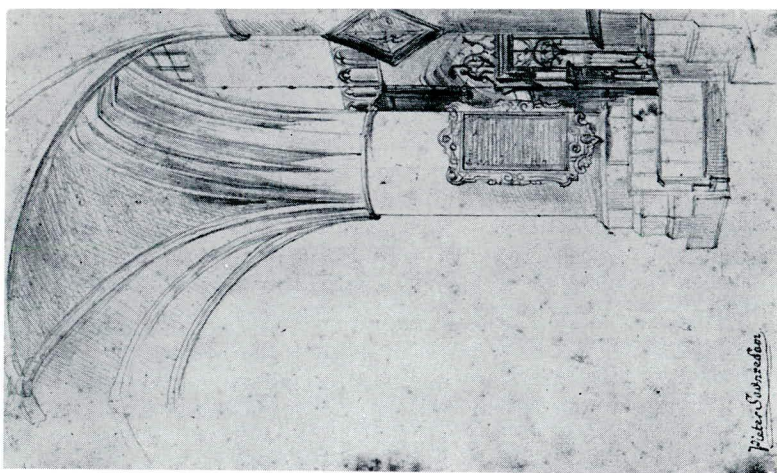
212 | Cat. 222



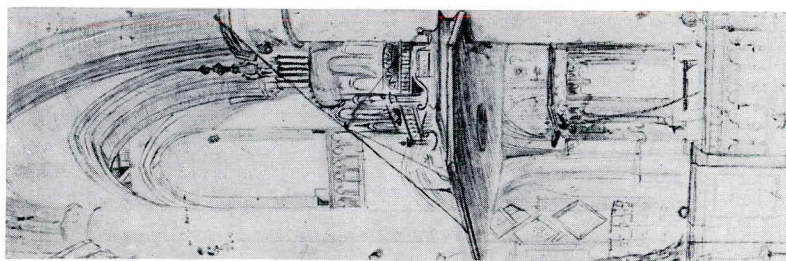
213 | Cat. 223



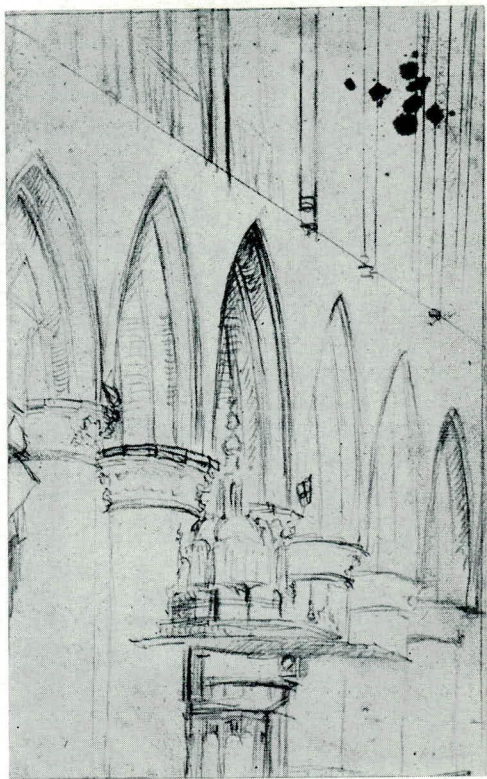
214 | Cat. 224



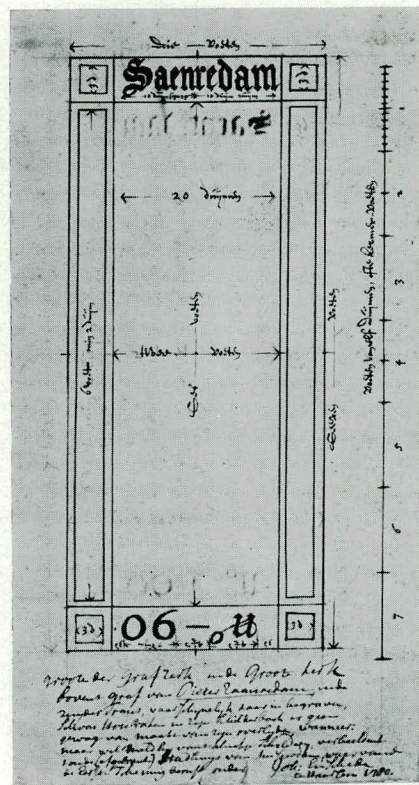
215 | Cat. 225



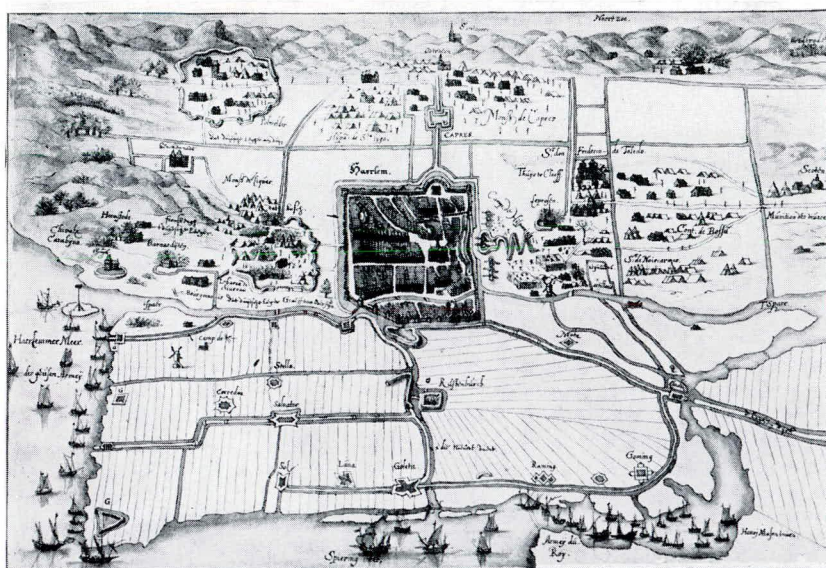
216 | Cat. 227



217 | Cat. 226



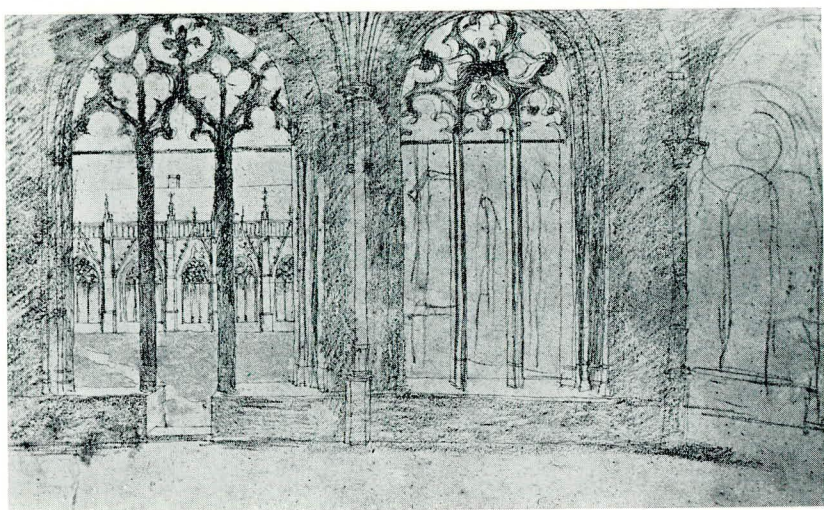
218 | Cat. 228



219 | Cat. 229



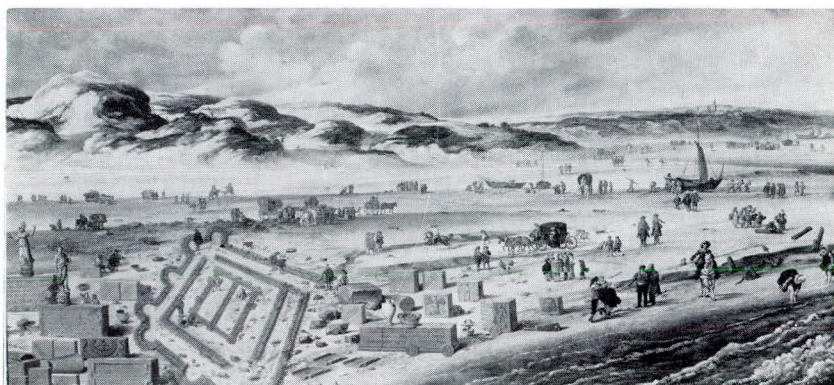
220 | Cat. 230



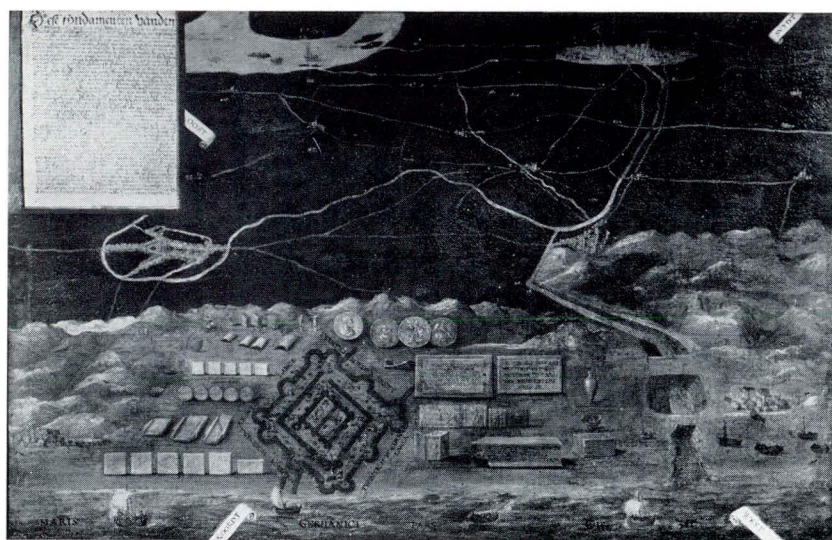
221 | Cat. 231



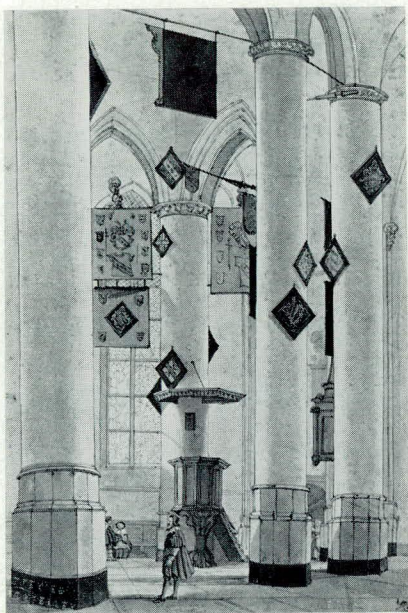
222 | Cat. 232



223 | Cat. 233



224 | Cat. 234

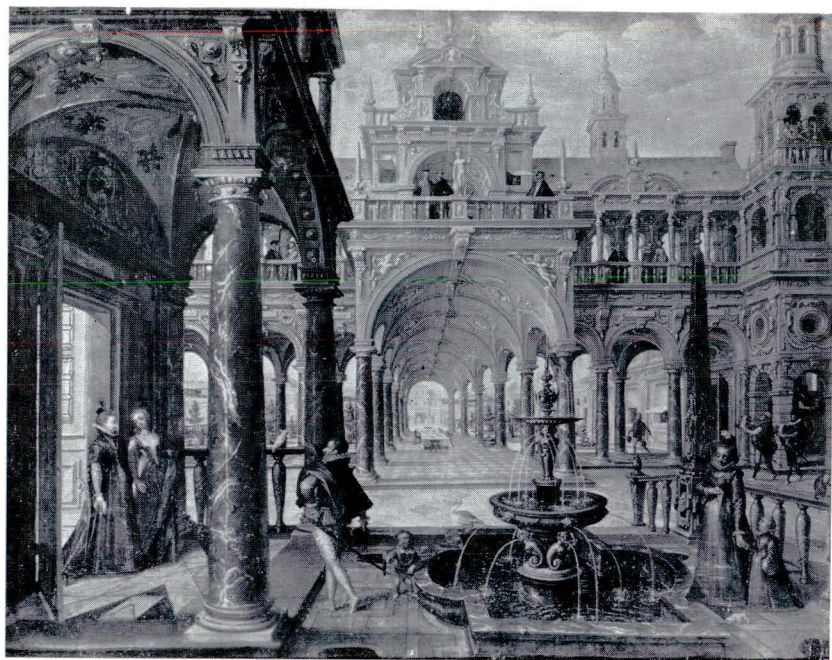


225 | Cat. 235

Gedenckenisse.

Gedenckenisse.
 Bij wat voor persoon, dit boeck, van hant,
 tot hant, deltoes is bewaert gebleeft. Het by-

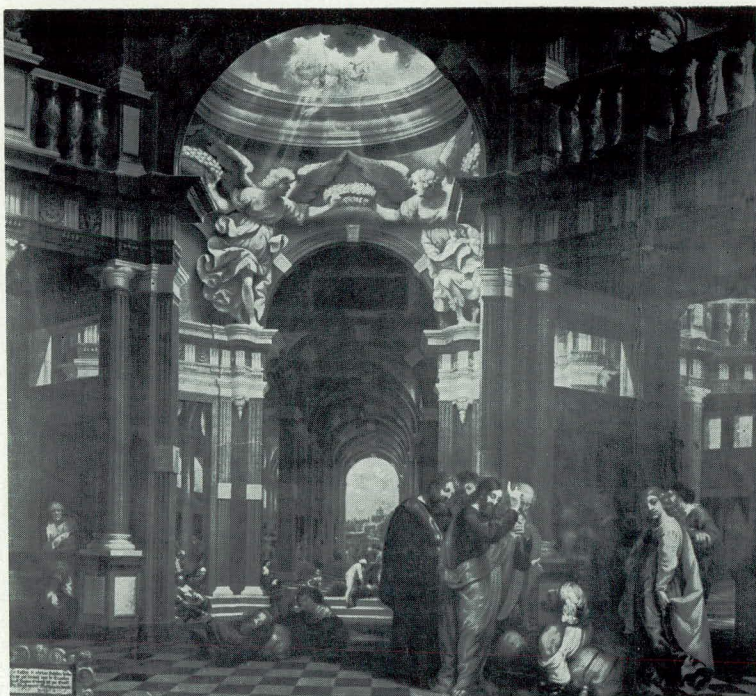
- Maerten Heemskerck, Schijff, Die-ſiet in Maerden geſchiedt, heeft
tot ſijner tijt ſaack toe, Noelck quam int Jaer 1574, op den dach naeg Octo Ber-
den geſchiet. Heemskerck 76 Jaers. Die is begraven tot Haerlem, niet grote ſcheck,
al Maer bij Noel 22 Jaers Naek kerck inden ſter geſchiet.
- Jacob Raüwaert, ſijnde Beſchoft en ſchilder des Loevelings, bij Haerlem kerck. Is
ſin groot luyf geſchiet toe. kerck. heeft dit boek naar ſijn met ſchick deſchijf geſchiedt, alſo
ſij ſchilderij geſchiedt. Naek ſijner kerck. bij bij Raüwaert tot d' in ſchiedt, die-
ſin ſin geſchiet. Die bij (met conſtant deſe magiſtraten) int d' ſiet Haerlem Noelck, geſchiet toe
Haerlem bij geſchiet. in den Jaer 1572 Naek 1573.
- Cornelis cornelisz Schilder, Van Haerlem, dit boek van Raüwaert voerſt to-
ken. Heemskerck. heeft ſchick met geſchick magiſtraten, die na. tot ſijner kerck, geſchiet, is hi boel geſchiedt.
Die Beſchoft tot toe in alſchick Maerden bij ſin dat hij noch te koop is toe, ſin lang. bij -
Laerſch, Haerlem ſij ſijnde nam met die ſchick Maerker 1638. int Wiſden 76 Jaers.
- Jeter ians, Begijn, Schilder, dieſe boek (geſchiet met d' Natie elck deſchoft van M^r
Cornelisz geſchiet doornom) is dit ſchick ingekocht bij deſchick. Die oek Wiſden 76 Jaers. met
naeg Noelck anders kerck. ſo en ſchick deſchick. ingekocht met geſchick. int Jaer 1639.
- Jeter Jaenredam, Schijff, heeft dit boek geſchiet van ſchick Begijn doornom
int Jaer 1639. Die Naekdoornom ſchick. in den dach naeg, dieſchick. Die hij toe in Maerden ſchick.
dieſchick. Beſchoft kerck. geſchiet.



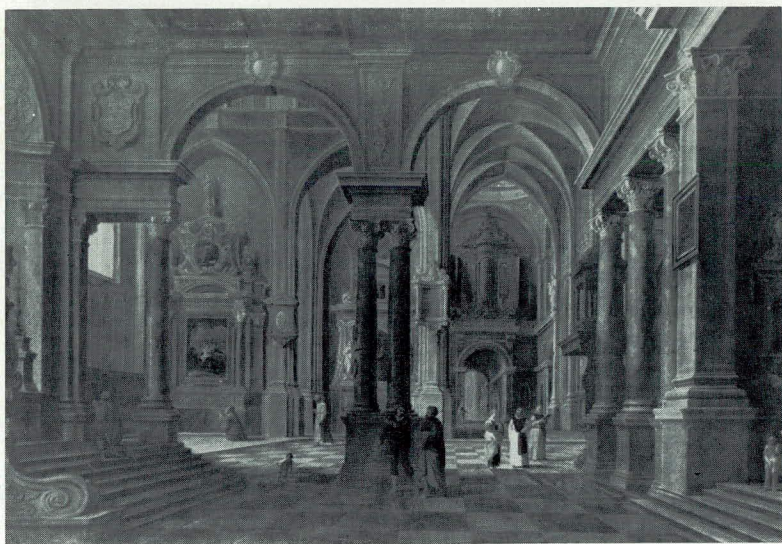
227 | Cat. 236



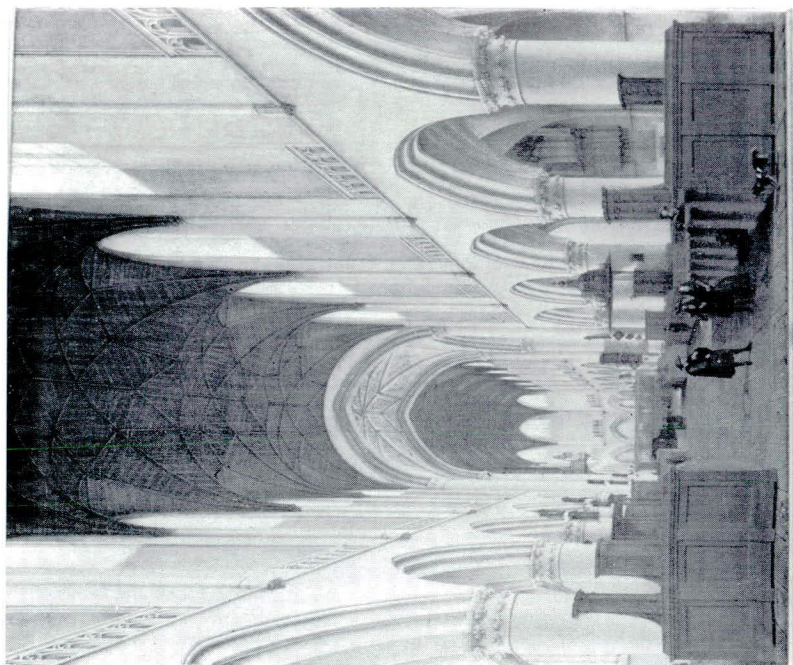
228 | Cat. 237



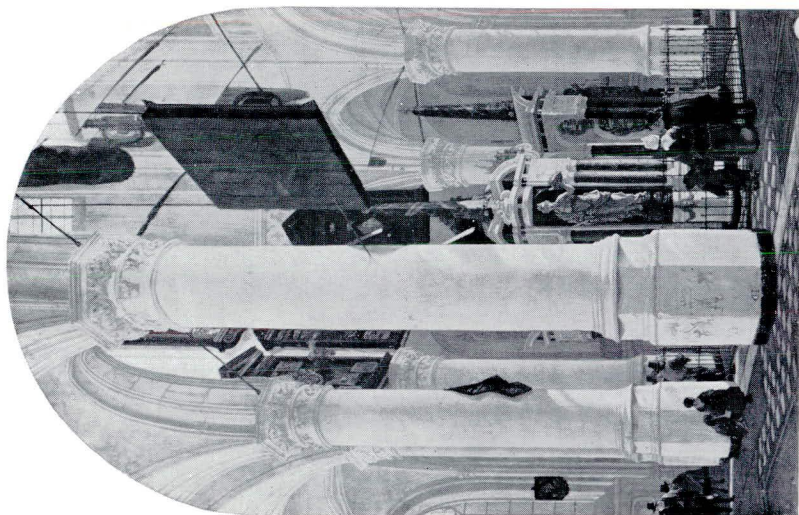
229 | Cat. 238



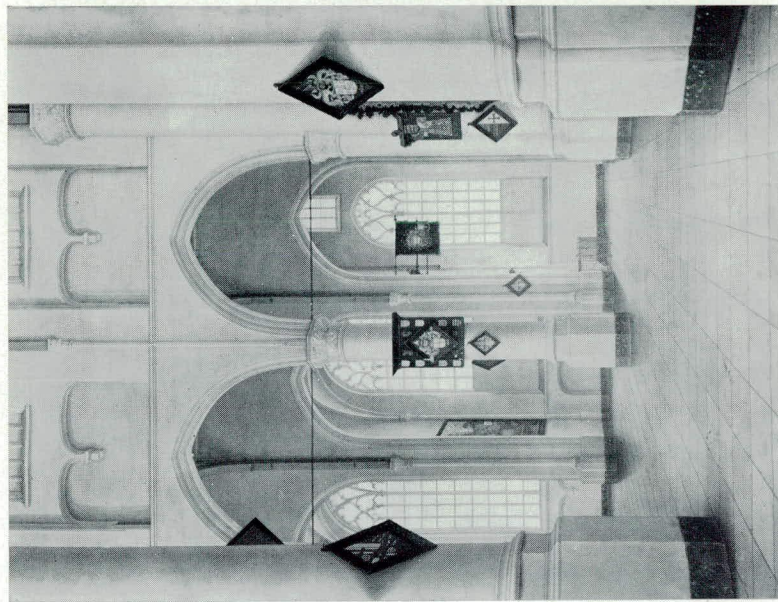
230 | Cat. 239



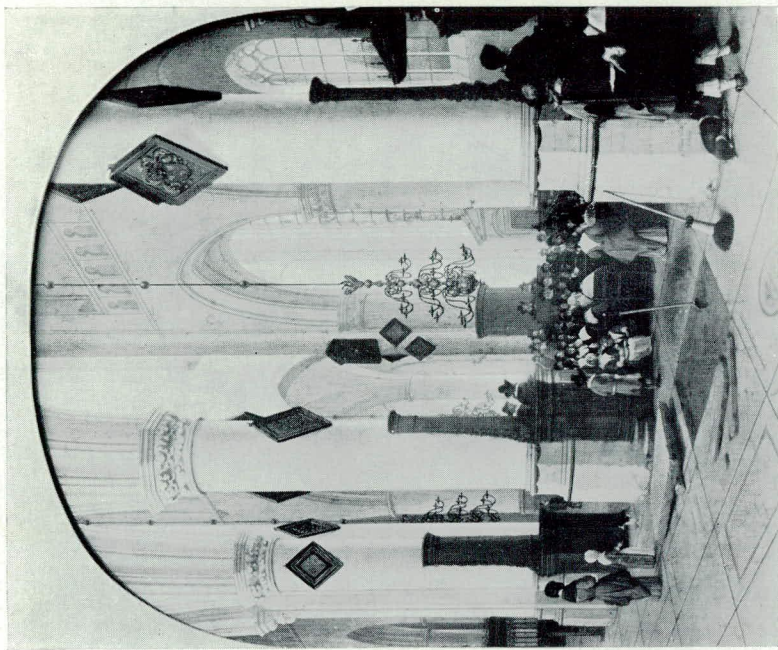
231 | Cat. 240



232 | Cat. 241



233 | Cat. 242

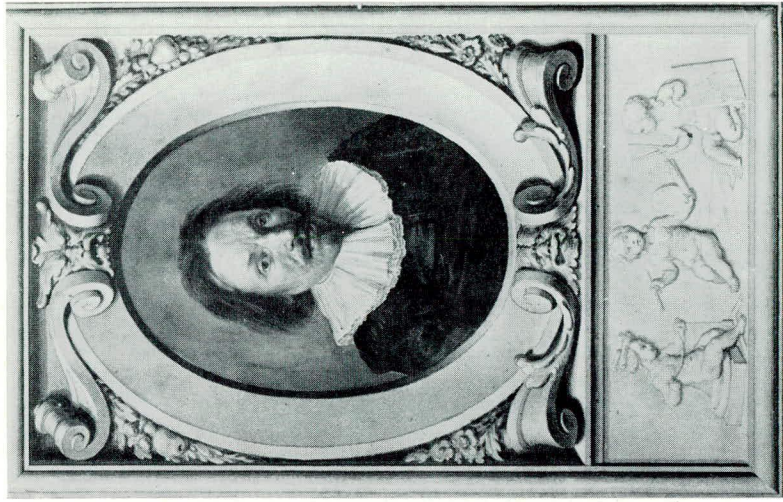


234 | Cat. 243

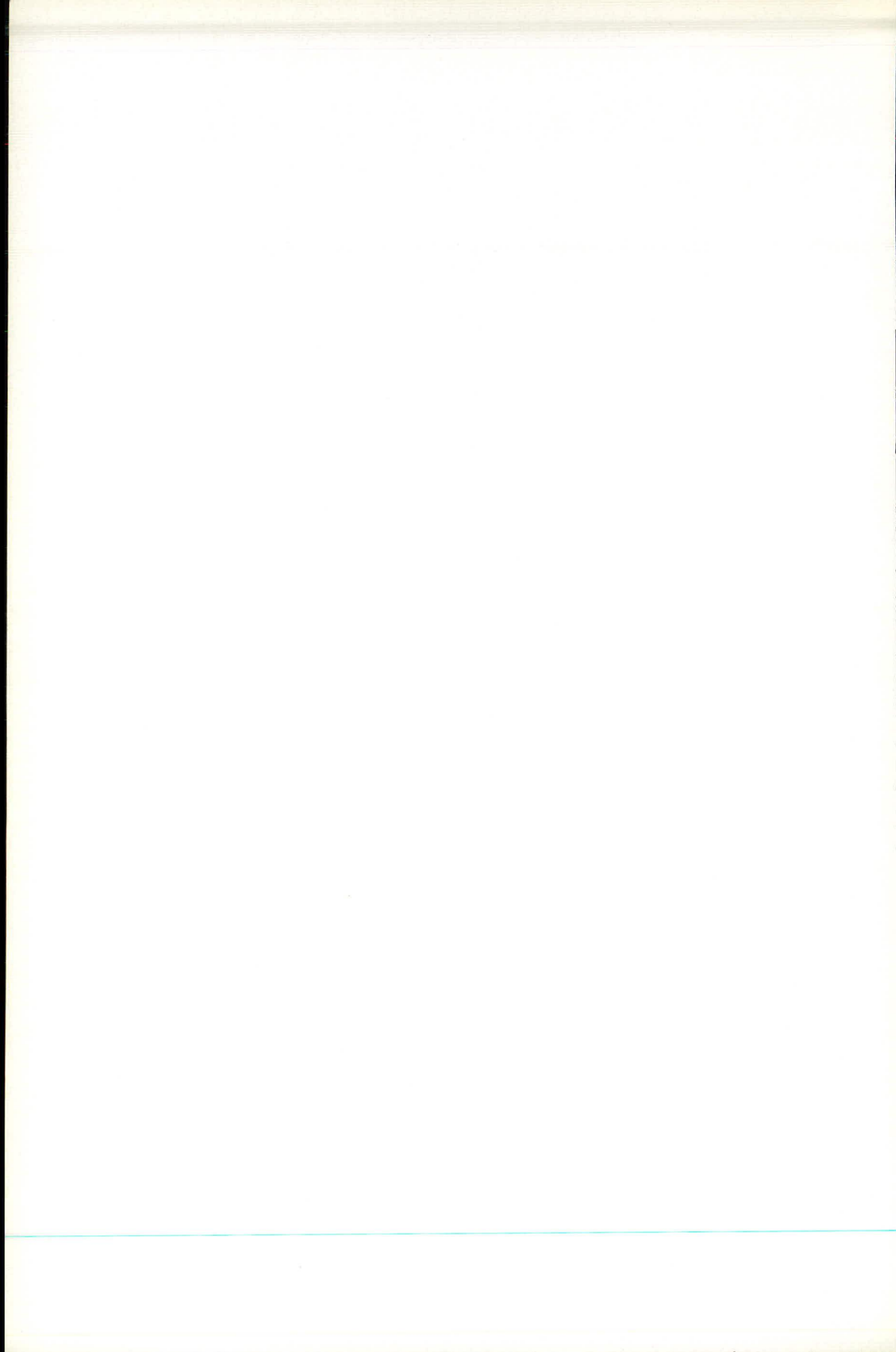




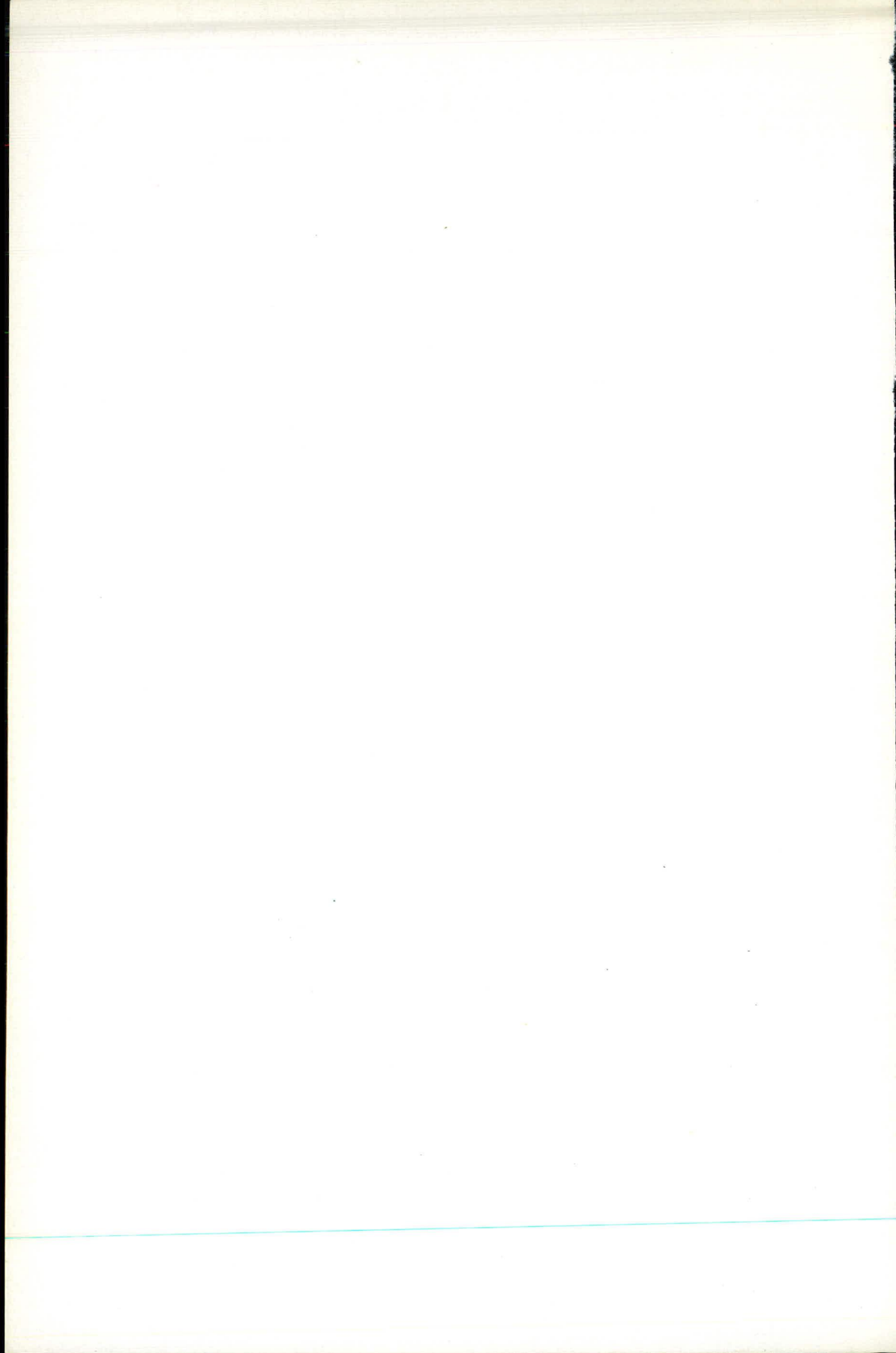
236 | Cat. 247

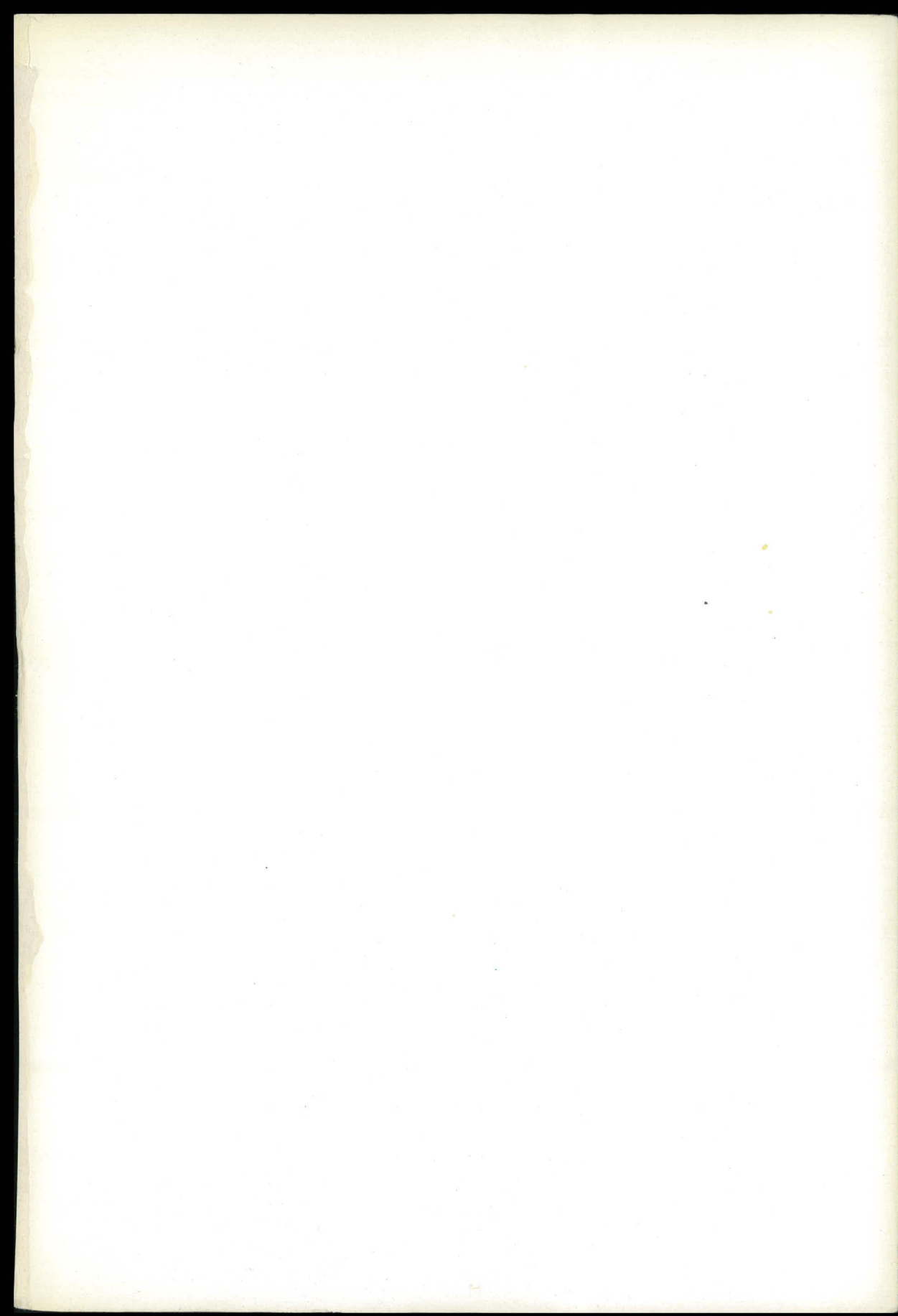


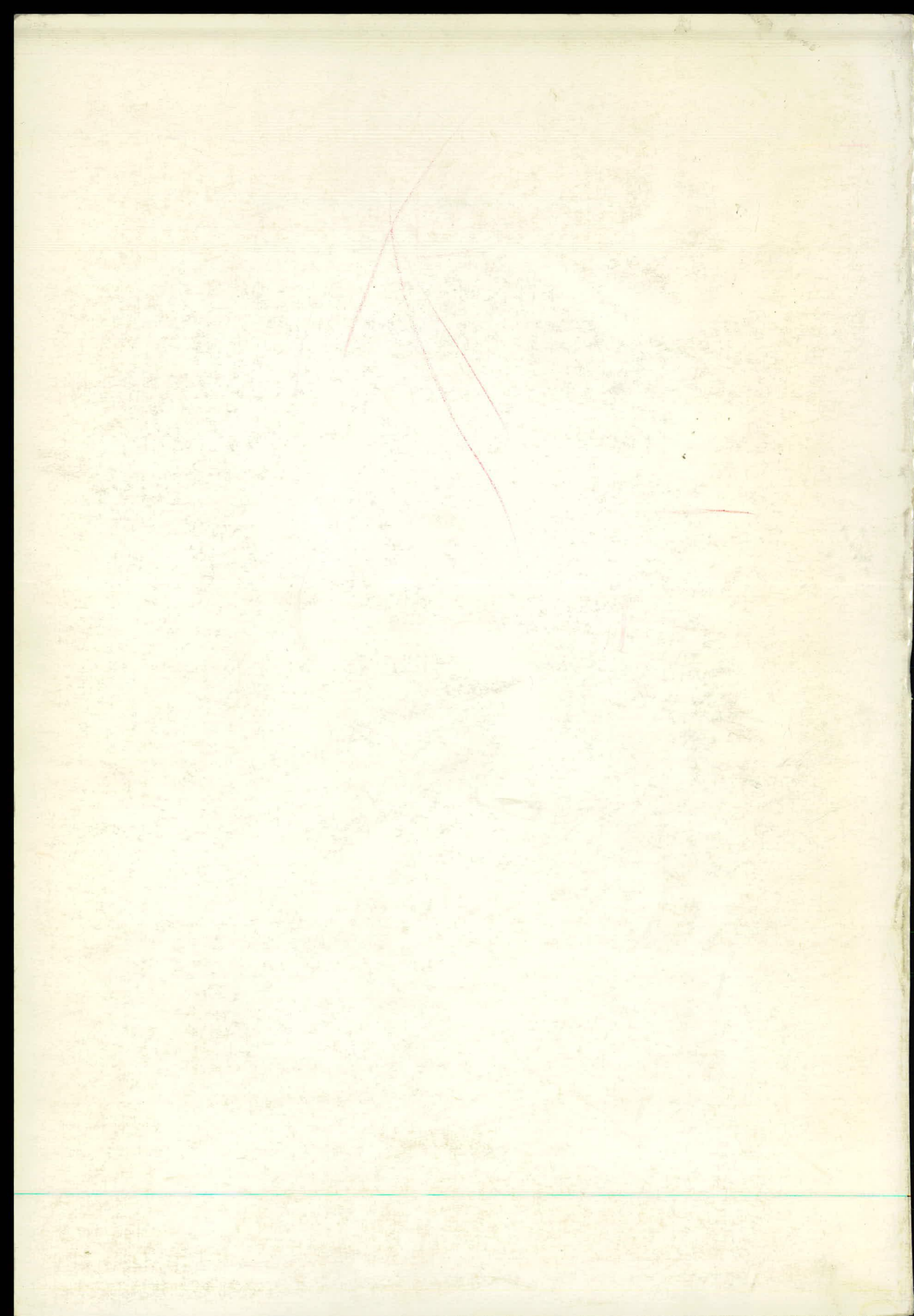
237 | Cat. 248



Typografie en druk: Kemink en Zoon N.V., Utrecht







PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM.

46

Interieur van de St. Maria kerk te Utrecht. De noordelijke zijabside gezien vanuit de noordelijke zijbeuk. Op de voorgrond twee elegante heren in gesprek met aan hun voeten een hondje. Een andere figuur rechts op de achtergrond.

Getekend en 1651.

Paneel. 48 x 36

Zie de afbeelding in kleur op pag. 45

Verondersteld wordt dat er enige XVIIIde eeuwse toevoegingen zijn.

Herkomst:

Mr. Alcott, Rugby.

W. A. Coats collectie, Londen.

Frits Lugt, Maartensdijk.

In 1927 gekocht door de huidige eigenaar van F. Lugt.

Tentoonstellingen:

Museum Fodor, Amsterdam febr/mrt 1938, buiten

Literatuur:

Catalogue Raisonné Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, Utrecht, Centraal Museum 1961, in de Engelse uitgave als no. 152a, afb. 153a.

Een copie door Hendrik Tavernier in pen en penseel in grijs bevindt zich in de collectie van H. M. de Koningin der Nederlanden, Koninklijk Huisarchief, 's Gravenhage; tentoongesteld Centraal Museum, Utrecht 1961, no. 152, afb. 153.

*Mr. A.C. van der Mandele
Vermeer, Bloemendaal,*

*Kunstveiling Sotheby Mah va Waay cat 267
15-11-1976 f230.000-*

nage en links de norvijver.
Getekend: Theodore Maas.
Zie de afbeelding op pag. 46.

Doek. 94,5 x 134

WILLEM VAN MIERIS (1662—1747)

- 37 De zelfmoord van Cleopatra.
Zie de afbeelding in kleur op pag. 39.

Paneel. 45,5 x 37

ANTOUNE MIROU (omgeving van)

- 38 Winterlandschap met kolfspelers en schaatsenrijders op een riviertje, zich slingerend tussen huizen omgeven door bomen en rechts een man met paard en wagen op een weg.
Getekend met initialen en 1618.
Zie de afbeelding op pag. 19.

Paneel. 33,5 x 55,5

JOOS DE MOMPER (1564—1635)

- 39 Berglandschap gezien vanaf een hoog punt met rechts een boogbrug en links een pad door een poortvormige rots en een kruis aan een rivier.
Zie de afbeelding op pag. 32.

Doek. 68,5 x 94

Saender Douke

op orgel: ZANGEN, EN GEGSTUUCKE LIEDERENS
IEN

L.O. op Zurevoet

Dit is de Cathedrale grote kerk
van Haarlem in Holland.

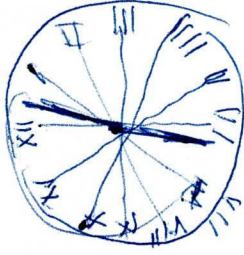
Nach Saenderen, ~~de~~ met 3 Schilderen

volleijnt, den 27 februarj 1648.

vergeft  xeer
beem
an
 de
prijnt

verguld op het orgel

Wapen reilde in de vanden



A Grand Metropolitan Hotel



Dud

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Op de kroon geslepen figuur of ring gene-
met zwaard in r. hand, weegschotel in l. hand,
figuur van de arm in de kroon. Vooraan