

# The Utrecht Way



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Centraal Museum Utrecht

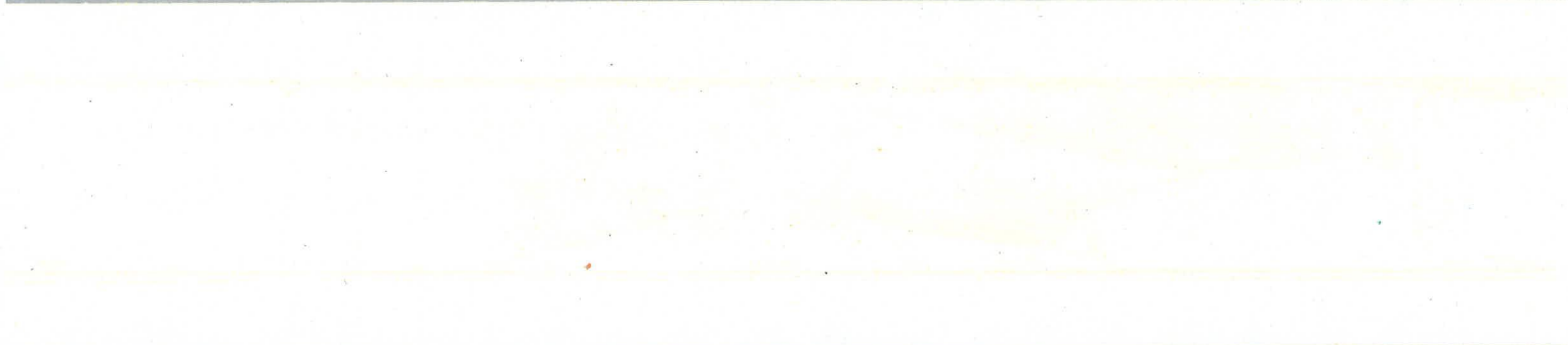
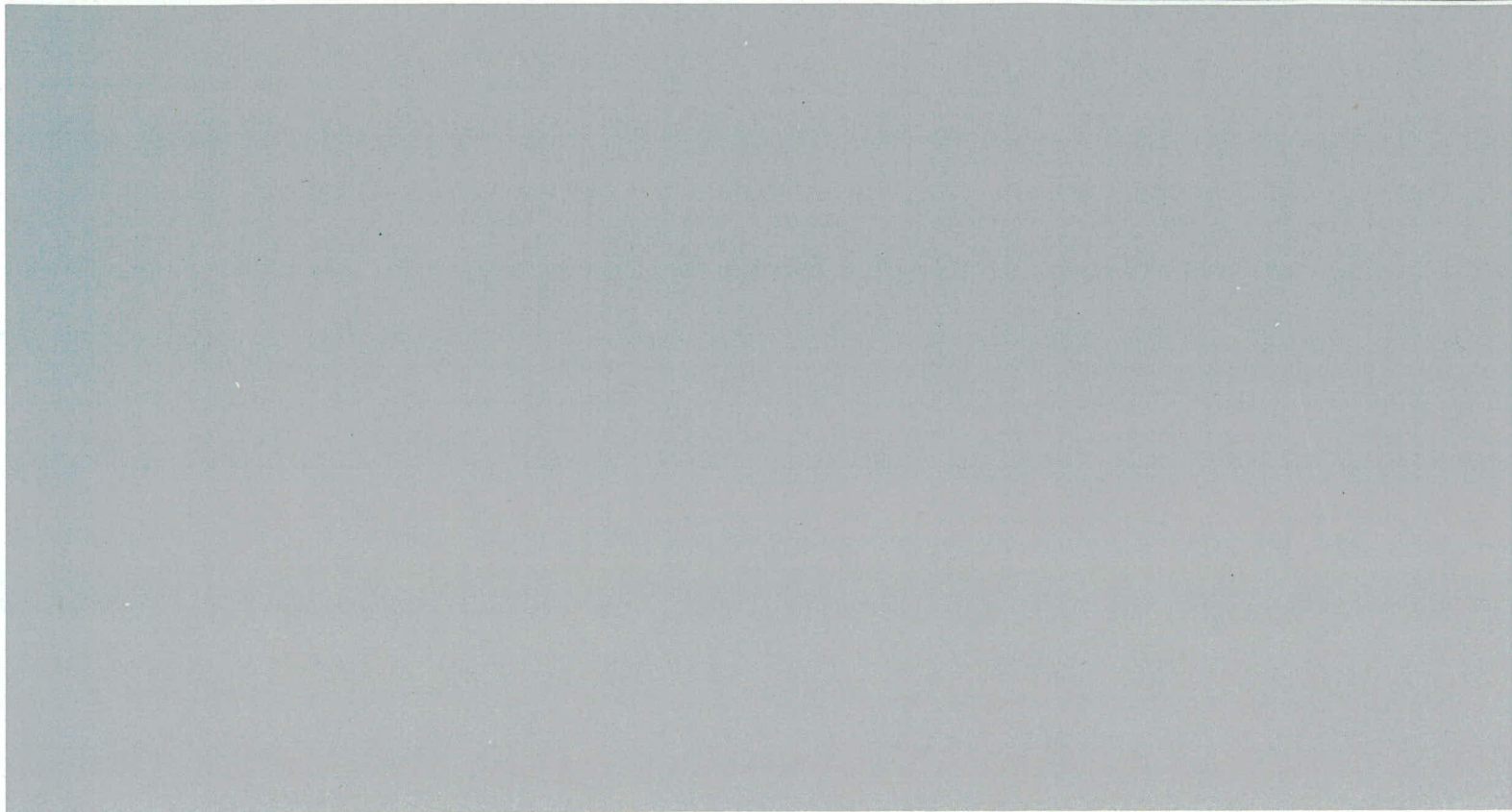
from Van Scorel to Rietveld and Koch

1495

1995

Centraal Museum Utrecht







# The Utrecht Way

Agterberg  
Begeer  
Bloemaert  
Brom  
Ter Bruggen  
Franciscus  
Gletcher  
De Graaff  
Van Heukelom  
Van Honthorst  
Jonkers  
Klaarhamer  
Koch  
Kocken  
Kuik  
Van Leersum  
Van Leusden  
Maas  
Mengelberg  
Moesman  
Moreelse  
Van 't Net  
Van der Puyl  
Van Ravesteyn  
Rietveld  
Savery  
Van Scorel  
Stigters  
Teister  
Tepe  
Van Vianen  
Wagenaar  
Wichman  
Wtewael







# The Utrecht Way

1495  
from Van Scorel to Rietveld and Koch  
1995

*Hanneke Adriaans*

*Marja Bosma*

*Renger de Bruin*

*Roman Koot*

*Jos de Meyere*

*Ida van Zijl*

Centraal Museum Utrecht, 1994.







VSB FONDS

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**From Jan van Scorel to Rietveld and Koch**

Down through the centuries the city of Utrecht has been a home to artists. But not until the late fourteen-hundreds do we know their names and where they lived. For the past hundred-and-sixty years the city has bought its native art and placed it in civic collections. And for seventy-five years now the municipal Centraal Museum Utrecht has been actively collecting and organizing shows. What I actually wanted to say first of all, was that - if things are as they should be - no museum is like another. Utrecht's Centraal Museum resembles no other museum in that its collection has been built up out of the cultural riches of the city - and Utrecht had its own artists from the Middle Ages on who contributed to this splendid legacy. Thus the museum has a collection with a long history, unparalleled in its variety and riches.

It is tempting to hang up exhibitions around resounding dates. In the present case we had other reasons to choose for the period that spans The Utrecht Way. The show arose out of questions connected with the museum's identity and the history of the collections. Although over the years inventories have been drawn up and divisions have been made for various Dutch municipal museum collections - think of Amsterdam or The Hague - in Utrecht's Centraal Museum the many different collections live happily together under one roof. Indeed, art objects rub shoulders with the city's history. Works of art were placed together in a certain context so that the collection came to reflect five centuries of urban life. Now the time has come to examine the results of this enduring coexistence.

But fifty thousand objects is too much for any show. So we made some restrictions. Work by this city's artists has been collected for the past hundred-and-sixty years. Many people have contributed to the collection - it was almost as if a general consensus arose regarding what should be preserved. The idea behind the parade of artists in The Utrecht Way was to make a show involving everyone from Van Scorel onwards, who goes to form this Utrecht mythology, that is, the consensus. So we drew up a genealogy of Utrecht artists, from Jan van Scorel in the fifteenth century to Frans Franciscus in the twentieth. A review of the troops, a kind of talent show. An exhibition dedicated to the bastions of art in this ancient Dutch city.

The catalogue of The Utrecht Way presents a chronological account, a parade of artists who are placed in the context of the city's history. There are short monographs describing some of



the major artists and placing them in the context of the collection. Then there is the exhibition. Like an exciting book, waiting to be read. Are there really connections between these artists, can you really speak of an Utrecht Way? All the artists of Utrecht knew about the work of their predecessors, each new talent added something to the ever-changing story. In this sense, the artists add up to make the collection - but it remains to be seen what exactly the sum amounts to. As teacher, Van Scorel was an inspiration to many; the painter Van Honthorst brought back the Caravaggist chiaroscuro from Italy; while the artists Bloemaert and Ter Brugghen in their dramatic scenes gave their imaginations free rein. Although erotic and imagined themes are always apparent in the art of Utrecht we wondered if they were of such importance as to constitute the key theme of the city's art. Do they reflect five centuries of urban life? The story of Utrecht and her artists is that of a city whose heart originally lay closer to Rome than to the cold waters of the North Sea. A thriving place that nursed such talents as Van Scorel, Bloemaert and Van Honthorst. When in the mid-seventeenth century the umbilical cord was snipped and all roads no longer led to Rome, Utrecht seemed to lose its life-line. It became a boring provincial place, illustrated in inimitable manner by the too too decent painter Van der Puyl. It became a city from which at the beginning of the nineteenth century the brand-new king of Holland, Louis Napoleon, rapidly departed with court and courtiers, in favour of swinging Amsterdam.

The municipal government of Utrecht, as tempting bait for king Louis, had refurbished certain edifices in the city for his use. One such was the Artillery Building. Today it forms the setting for *The Utrecht Way*. The respectable bourgeois cosy-home culture dominated nearly two centuries ago. Art was relegated the same role as the decorative indoor plant. From an art-historical perspective, Utrecht seemed to be sealed inside a bell jar.

And then, during the first decades of the twentieth century, in the wake of a neo-Gothic architectural wave, alternative sounds issued out of unseen caverns and obscure vaults. Like ghosts rising from the grave waters of Utrecht's two canals, a band of shapes appeared, opposing the boring decent bourgeois moderation, the dead-end way of life according to the city's sluggish system. They had apparently swallowed enough bitter canal water to know exactly what was wrong with Utrecht. So the arts revived, thanks to such figures as Wichman, Moesman, and Pyke Koch. Each in his own way, they fulminated against the bourgeois mentality, the dullness, the hyper-decent lack of discrimination. They chose different modes - one futurist, one



surrealist, the third aristocratic - but all three felt the need to rediscover the old way (two of them literally, the road to Rome) - the glory that had been.

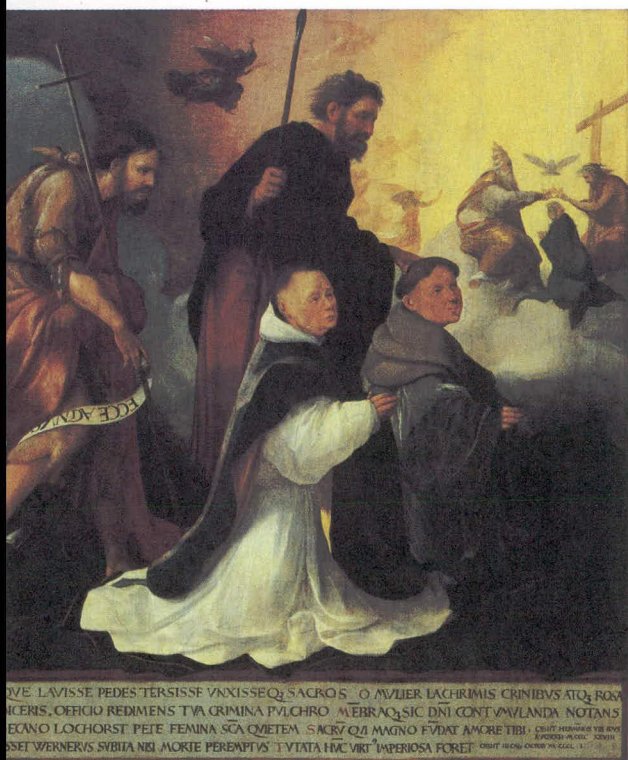
They were not really accepted in Utrecht - they were too recalcitrant, too controversial. And the same was true of younger generations of artists who followed them, who are represented in the exhibition by Teister, Kuik, Jonkers and Franciscus. They are troublesome eccentrics who are not keen to adapt to the Utrecht manners, not interested in the proper way to behave, or how things ought to be done in Art. Equally awkward and certainly not lights to set under a bushel were Utrecht's great sons, Rietveld and Van Ravesteyn - the former with his literal functionalism and the latter with his functional Baroque.

All these artists go to shape the mythology of Utrecht. The city may have tried to force them into a straitjacket but it was also a fertile ground where they could grow. It is again today. The mavericks and exiles do come home - I hope you will enjoy meeting them in The Utrecht Way.

*Sjaarel Ex*  
*Director Centraal Museum*







ill. 1

Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)  
*The Entry into Jerusalem, (outside of the side  
 panels of triptych) 1526/1527*

oil on panel,  
 each: 81,5 x 65,5 cm

Inv. no. 6078 a



The setting of The Utrecht Way is urban history. In the five centuries that separate Jan van Scorel from Frans Franciscus, the city has witnessed drastic changes - yet much has stayed the same. The silhouette of the Dom tower still dominates the landscape if approached from the western side, and although the water has temporarily disappeared its return is now imminent. The decision-making process is still as laborious and obscure as it was when Jan van Scorel was producing his first works of art - only then it was the bishop, council and guild who took the decisions. Much has changed but much has stayed the same; both continuity and discontinuity are to be seen in Utrecht's history. Artists that used to live in the city form an integral part of its history.

## Utrecht at the Time of the Bishops

When Jan van Scorel painted *The Entry into Jerusalem* - also known as the Lochorst triptych - the diocese of Utrecht was in the last stage of its history as an independent principality of the German Empire. ■ During the glorious years of the 12th century, the bishop of Utrecht was the emperor's most powerful liegeman in the territory now known as the Netherlands. In addition to the bishop's clerical authority in the diocese of Utrecht, he was also secular lord of the area called 'The Sticht', which covered the greater part of the present-day Netherlands north of the river Maas. For the emperors it was attractive to promote liegemen who had no heirs; in this way they could appoint a string of new confidants. After the Concordat of Worms, in 1122, the German emperors lost the right to appoint bishops - thus rendering these clerics useless as imperial pawns.

Without that role there was little reason for German emperors to continue supporting them. The crumbling power of the emperors meant that imperial support was proving increasingly ineffective anyway.

From that time on, the bishops of Utrecht were elected by the chapters which had by then developed into a force to be reckoned with. The large chapter churches (Dom, St Pieter, St Jan, St Mary and St Salvator) defined the cityscape. They were also the most important commissioners of work for sculptors, goldsmiths and silversmiths, painters and miniaturists, practitioners of the four branches of the visual arts which great-



ill. 1



ly flourished in medieval Utrecht. The five *Dombeelden*, sculptures from the Dom church now in the Centraal Museum, are evidence of this. The canons, who had seats in the chapter, formed a political elite of the first order. They dominated the ranks of the clergy, the First Estate in the States of Utrecht, becoming an important influence on the government from 1375 onwards. The Second Estate comprised the nobility. A number of noble families like the Van Hardenbroeks, the Van Lochorsts and the Van Lichtenbergs secured positions of power - often accompanied by fierce fighting among themselves. The Third Estate was formed by the cities, which took on an increased significance; the city of Utrecht being the most important by far. Within the city there was a constant power struggle between patriciate and guilds.

The withdrawal of imperial protection and the internal problems of the diocese offered the two most important principalities in the area, Holland and Gelre, the opportunity of extending their territory at the expense of The Sticht.■ At the beginning of the fifteenth century Holland came under Burgundian rule, only because Philip the Good was able to force countess Jacoba van Beieren to abdicate. Philip the Good continued in the same political tradition as his father and grandfather, building up his realm through marriages, acquisitions and conquests, which ultimately stretched from Dijon in France to Medemblik in Holland. Bishoprics were brought into their sphere of influence by appointing one of the illegitimate ducal sons as bishop. This is how David of Burgundy became bishop of Utrecht in 1456. He behaved like a trustworthy pawn in the power game played by his natural father, Philip the Good, and imitated a restrained version of his father's resplendent court ceremony in Utrecht. He held court at Duurstede Castle and, like a latter-day Maecenas, he stimulated a Renaissance-based cultural climate in Utrecht.■

After Charles the Bold, the successor of Philip the Good was slain in battle in 1477, the Burgundian kingdom fell into a serious crisis, for the duke had left a nineteen-year-old daughter, Maria, as sole heir. Utrecht was dragged into the conflicts too. The marriage which Maria entered into with Maximilian van Habsburg, the son of the German emperor, was to bring salvation but at the same time was to release Burgundian land into Habsburg hands. Through a coincidental series of deaths with their attendant legacies, the Netherlands were united into one Empire together with such territories as Austria, Milan, Naples and Spain. In addition, Charles V, grandson of the aforementioned Maximilian, was made emperor of Germany in 1519.

Utrecht would become a part of his Empire. After the death



ill. 2

ill. 3



■ ill. 2

Jan van Bijlert (1597/1598-1671)  
Emperor Henry IV,  
founder of the St. Mariakerk, 1641

oil on canvas,  
200,2 x 95,5 cm

Inv. no. 2552



■ ill. 3

Token coin portraying bishop David of Burgundy, 1488

brass, diam. 24 mm

A seated lion strikes a light using a tinder box,  
the inscription round the edge reads: AL. .IT. BEREIT. 1488.

(Token coins were used in calculating, somewhat like an abacus)

Cat. 1928/2850





■ ill. 4

Copy after Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)  
 Portrait of Pope Adriaan VI (1459-1523), 17th century

oil on panel,  
 91 x 72 cm

Inv. no. 2244

of David of Burgundy, three bishops ruled over The Sticht. One of them was Philip of Burgundy, also an illegitimate son of Philip the Good, who became bishop of Utrecht in 1517. He was a great art lover, with a retinue which probably included the painter Jan Gossaert and his pupil, the young Jan van Scorel. However, Van Scorel soon set off from Holland in a south-easterly direction. He visited several German cities, including Nuremberg, where he became acquainted with Albert Dürer. The latter's Lutheran sympathies did not suit Van Scorel at all and he therefore continued his travels heading towards Italy. In so doing, he chose sides very early in what was to become the greatest religious conflict in West European church history, a conflict which was to have far-reaching political consequences too. The journey took Van Scorel to Jerusalem by way of Venice. His visit to Jerusalem later earned him the right to join the Jerusalem Fraternity in Utrecht. From Jerusalem, Van Scorel took off for Rome, where he worked for Pope Adrian VI. Utrecht was Pope Adrian's birthplace, and in 1522 he was elected pope but died after only eighteen months in office. Shortly after these events, Jan van Scorel returned to Utrecht. There he worked for the Van Lochorst's. Several members of this noble family were prominent clergy and belonged to Pope Adrian's circle of friends. ■ Scorel's most important work from this period is the triptych *The Entry into Jerusalem*, which he was commissioned to paint by Herman van Lochorst, dean of the Salvator Church. On completion of this work, Van Scorel went to Haarlem to avoid the riots which had broken out in Utrecht. The guilds had started an uprising against Bishop Hendrik van Beieren, the successor of Philip of Burgundy. They were supported by Duke Karel of Gelre, who, faithful to tradition, hoped to profit from the unrest in the neighbouring country. Charles V supported the bishop, but on condition that he handed over his secular power and only retained his clerical office. In choosing a bishop, the chapters were also obliged to heed the recommendation of the sovereign.

ill. 4



### Vredenburg: Utrecht under Habsburg Rule

The settlement in November 1528 marked the end of Utrecht's independence. To keep the citizens peaceful, a fortress garrison, Vredenburg, was built on the edge of the city. Its building was a dire necessity as the new situation was not at all to everyone's liking. The Reformation also began to attract followers in Utrecht. The fact that a few members of the Jerusalem Fraternity were rounded up for 'Lutheranism' illustrates this. As we

have already seen, Van Scorel's sympathies were not moving in that direction. ■ His interests lay clearly with the old order: as a painter he provided clerical institutions with his work and he was also the canon of St Mary's. The fact that he was living with a woman while holding clerical office should not be interpreted as revealing a heterodox disposition. Celibacy in the early sixteenth century was not strictly enforced.

Jan Van Scorel flourished under the order created by Charles V. After his return to Utrecht in 1530, he established his own workshop. He signed his paintings self-confidently as the first Northern Netherlandish artist to follow the Italian example. Van Scorel supplied the church of St Mary, among others, where he was canon. The buyers of his work included the emperor's son, the later Philip II, and the imperial stadholder in Utrecht - René van Chalons. He became stadholder of Gelre in 1543 as well, when this duchy was incorporated by Charles V. The following year, René was killed in the service of the emperor and left his ample property to his cousin William the Silent. Van Scorel's great productivity alarmed the guild of which he had been a member since 1540. In that year a reorganization of the saddler's guild, in which fine artists, house painters, sculptors, printers and saddle makers were organized, made it possible for clerics to become members. In addition to his painting, Van Scorel indulged in property transactions. For property dealers this was a golden age due to feverish building activity. The face of Utrecht changed substantially in the middle of the sixteenth century: ramparts designed by Willem van Noort, the city's master builder, arose beside Vredenburg Castle, encompassing the entire city. He also created the new town hall built in 1546. Together with Van Scorel, Van Noort made a plan to deepen the rivers around Utrecht. This however was a failure and culminated in both partners being at loggerheads with one another. The important role Van Scorel played in the city is shown by the fact that he was allowed to organize the festivities when crown prince Philip visited Utrecht in 1549.

When Van Scorel died in 1562, a feeling of great change was in the air. Charles V had abdicated seven years earlier and had been succeeded by his son Philip II. The political line the latter adopted was of intensified centralism and absolutism, which he had been advocating from Spain since 1559; his half-sister Margaret of Parma had been left behind in Brussels as regent. He aspired to reinstating the power of high-ranking nobility who held offices similar to that of stadholder in a variety of provinces - like William of Orange in Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht. Philip also stepped up the repressive policy directed at







■ ill. 5

Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)  
*Portraits showing twelve members  
of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood, after 1525*

oil on panel,  
48 x 276,5 cm

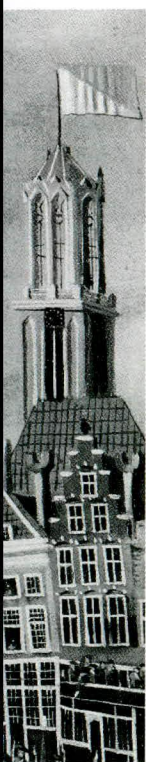
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Protestantism, in which the Calvinists had become the dominant group. The king tried to strengthen the grip of the Catholic Church through a reorganization, which was also aimed at reducing the influence of the nobility in the church. To these ends, Utrecht's bishop was promoted to archbishop. The king's politics, executed by his confidant Cardinal Granvelle, led to opposition from the Dutch nobility, of which William the Silent was the most important spokesman. Measures taken against the fast-growing group of Protestants led to great controversy. The tension was released in 1566 by the iconoclasts, who in Utrecht destroyed a number of works by Jan van Scorel.

Philip II was furious and decided to embark upon a punitive expedition. One of his generals, the duke of Alva, was sent to the Netherlands to take over the governorship from Margaret of Parma and to restore law and order. Alva treated the rebels with great severity, in so far as these had not already fled - as had William the Silent. The persecution of the heretics was resumed with even greater relentlessness. One of the victims in Utrecht was the glazier Dirk Weyman, executed at the end of 1568. The following year Utrecht was occupied by the Spanish.

Initially, Alva's reign of terror had the desired result; self-confident and bellicose is how he is shown in the painting by Anthonie Mor (1520-1576/77). This pupil of Jan van Scorel's had been introduced to the Habsburg court by Granvelle's good offices. He spent some time in Spain in the service of his royal patrons and like his master, Van Scorel, he rejected the Reformation and opted for the militant Catholicism of the Spanish Habsburgs.

The Utrecht to which Anthonie Mor returned after his trip to Spain stayed firmly in Spanish hands, at a time when elsewhere in the Netherlands their authority was being challenged. William the Silent hoped to turn people's dissatisfaction with the Alva regime to good account. Their discontent was caused by the brutal judicial action, the behaviour of the Spanish troops, the Spaniards' disregard for privileges and the tax measures they had introduced, such as the 'tenth penny' tax. The raid by William the Silent in 1568 was a great failure, but four years later he had more success. The actions of his supporters the Sea Beggars (Watergeuzen) led Holland and Zeeland mainly to choose his side, while at the same time many other towns and territories had fallen into his hands as a result of raids by various mercenary armies in his employ. Gangs of Beggars from Amersfoort appeared at the gates of Utrecht, but the strong Spanish garrison in Vredenburg ensured that the cathedral city remained in the hands of the king. A militia was set up to



improve Utrecht's defenses.

When the initially successful Spanish counter-offensive foundered in the summer of 1573 near Alkmaar, the government troops found themselves in a hopeless stalemate situation. The bad weather conditions and lack of money proved too much for the Spaniards. At the end of 1573, Alva had to relinquish the government of the land to Requesens, and after his death in March 1576 many Spanish soldiers mutinied. The States General representing the provinces loyal to the crown then came to an agreement with the mutinous provinces of Holland and Zeeland: the Pacification of Ghent. One of the demands of the Pacification was that Spanish troops leave the Netherlands, including the garrison at Vredenburg castle. When the Spaniards refused to leave, the Utrecht militia assisted by German mercenaries, began the siege of 1576. After six weeks the Spanish vacated Vredenburg and the castle was demolished. The traditions of the guilds and the desire to restore Utrecht's independence played an important role in this struggle. In the summer of 1577 William the Silent was recognized as stadholder of Utrecht. This agreement, known as the 'satisfaction', established the stadholder's influence on government and sealed a compromise on religious matters. The council was completely reformed and the Catholic Church lost its monopoly. Most churches remained in Catholic hands, but the Calvinists were given a place of worship all their own: the Minrebroeders Church. Later they also took possession of other churches, including the Nicolas Church, beside the present-day Centraal Museum. In addition to the hardliners, minister Duifhuis of the Jacobi Church had a separate congregation taking a more moderate line.

ill. 6

### Renewed Autonomy

The Satisfaction of 1577 marked the beginning of a distinct turning-point in Utrecht's history. Utrecht then chose for the Rebellion, even though the fiction that the king of Spain was held in honour continued for some time afterwards. The course the conflict took made judicious choices an imperative. At the beginning of 1579 the Walloon nobility was reconciled with the government in the Union of Utrecht. Shortly afterwards a number of rebellious provinces joined forces in the Union of Utrecht. The initiator was the stadholder of Gelderland and brother of William the Silent, John van Nassau, who, unlike the House of Orange, was himself fiercely Calvinistic and had made a thorough job of converting his province to the Protestant belief. In the following years an increasingly radical course was followed







■ ill. 6

Joost Cornelisz. Droochsloot (1586-1666)  
*The Siege of Vredenburg Castle in 1577, 1646*

oil on panel,  
63 x 107 cm

Inv. no. 2525

which in 1581 led to the formal renunciation of Philip II as sovereign. The radicalization was linked to the successes of the new Spanish governor, the duke of Parma, who succeeded in combining military conquest with concessions, whereby an increasing number of Catholic rebels were reconciled with the king. A year after the Union of Atrecht, the stadholder of Groningen, Rennenberg, defected to the Spaniards. This only served to strengthen the Calvinist belief that the Catholics were not to be trusted, and they demanded a ban on the old church. Despite attempts by William the Silent to uphold the freedom of religion, the open practice of Catholicism was forbidden in an increasing number of provinces. In the city of Utrecht this happened in the summer of 1580 under pressure from the Reformed Church council and the militia. The cathedral was taken over, and the funeral of archbishop Frederik Schenck van Toutenburg - who had died shortly before - marked the end of the Catholic hierarchy.

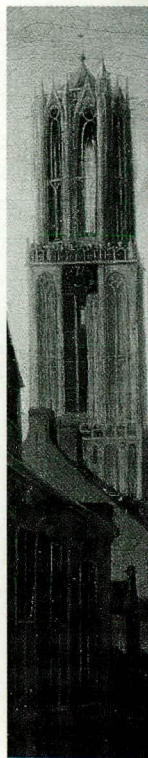
The ban on the Roman Catholic Church had dramatic consequences. The churches were used thereafter for Reformed worship or lost their function and fell into disrepair. The numerous monasteries in the city were successively suppressed. However, the Agniet cloister continued to function for another thirty years.■ The buildings were sometimes given a different function like the Minrebroeder cloister, which became the seat of the States of Utrecht, or the Agniet cloister, which after a period as a silk factory became a painter's studio. The demolition of other cloister buildings caused the cityscape to change radically. This led to the Nicholas graveyard occupying the space where the nun's of the convent of St Nicholas' cloister had previously resided. The lifting of the exemptions of the chapter churches also made it possible to construct streets and squares. It led to the Mariaplaats and the Korte Nieuwstraat.■ The chapters were not abolished, as the members of the Dutch Reformed Church had demanded, but were secularized instead; they turned into something resembling investment companies with political influence.

The events which took place around 1580 had far-reaching consequences for Utrecht's art. With the occupation of the churches by Calvinists many art treasures had - once again - been lost. The paroxysm of anger after Rennenberg's treason proved to be a particularly telling blow; some works of art, like the five 'Dombeelden', sculptures from the Dom cathedral now in the Centraal Museum, were saved by being removed in an orderly way.■ Two years earlier much of the goldsmith's and silver-smith's art, including the cathedral treasure, had been melted


 ill. 7

ill. 8

ill. 9







■ ill. 7

• Pieter Jansz. Saenredam (1597-1665)

*Northern side aisle in the former  
St. Mariakerk in Utrecht, 1637 or 1641*

oil on panel,  
34,5 x 49,5 cm

Purchased with the aid of the Rembrandt Society

Inv. no. 7972





■ ill. 8

Folpert van Ouwen Allen (1635-1715)  
*View of the Korte Nieuwstraat in Utrecht, 1655*

oil on canvas,  
68,3 x 80,2 cm

Inv. no. 10211

down at the Utrecht Mint. This ecclesiastical property was confiscated by the States-General to finance the war against the Spanish troops. Such measures had been taken in the past too, but in this instance it was far more radical and heralded a turning-point. The ban on the public practice of Catholic worship meant that the Roman Catholic Church ceased to be a patron. Ties with the court, which had been so important for Utrecht painters like Jan van Scorel and Anthonie Mor, were severed.

The banning of the Roman Catholic Church did not mean that everybody became Calvinist overnight. At first the numbers joining the Reformed Church were fairly limited. In addition to these there were the so-called devotees of the reformed religion, people who might or might not regularly attend the Reformed Church, but married there and had their children christened there without becoming members. By adopting this position, people were not subject to the strict discipline of the church elders and could, to a certain extent, hold on to their old beliefs, whilst still having the advantage of belonging to the ruling church. The painter Ter Brugghen, who married in the Reformed Church but was not a member of the congregation, was one such. This explains the Catholic elements in some of his paintings; it was even thought for some time that he had remained a Catholic. Many did indeed stick to Catholicism, people like Ter Brugghen's master Abraham Bloemaert or another well-known pupil of Bloemaert's, Gerard van Honthorst. ■

It is difficult to establish the number of Catholics with any precision, but, in all probability, the percentage of Catholics in the population had slowly dropped to about a third by the second half of the seventeenth century. Near to the city, some areas like the Kromme Rijn district continued to have a Catholic majority. The fact that a sizeable Catholic population was maintained in Utrecht and surrounding districts was made possible by the relatively restrained government response and by the protection of a section of the elite which had either remained Catholic or had Catholic sympathies. Clandestine masses were celebrated in the houses of rich fellow-believers. At first these were suppressed. When the Reformed Church council, which constantly pushed for measures against 'popish pranks' was given a large measure of influence, there was a certain intensification of judicial action. This was the case when the earl of Leicester intervened in Utrecht government in 1585 and appointed Calvinists from guilds and the militia to the council. Prominent Catholics and libertine regents - that is, members of the ruling class - were banished. At this time the Jacobi community was forced to amalgamate with the Reformed Church.

ill. 10







■ ill. 9

Jan Nude (?)

*St. Martin*, c. 1455

polychrome limestone,

72,5 x 92 x 11,5 cm

originally from the Domkerk in Utrecht

Cat. 1982/1271



■ ill. 10

Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)

*Portrait of Abraham Bloemaert* (1564-1651), 1609

oil on panel,

63,8 x 50,2 cm

Inv. no. 12489



The crisis was connected to the seemingly hopeless state of the rebellion after the murder of William the Silent by the Catholic Balthazar Gerards in 1584 and the fall of Antwerp a year later. The enemy was literally at their doorstep and all anger was directed towards the fifth column, the Roman Catholics. The flow of Calvinist refugees from the south only served to strengthen this mood. The reinforcements under Leicester's command, sent by Queen Elizabeth of England, were powerless against the advancing forces of Parma, and his meddling in internal quarrels only served to increase the confusion. The tide turned when Philip II decided to concentrate military activities on England and France. This gave Maurice, the son of William the Silent, and his cousin William Louis the opportunity to launch a counter-offensive which was most successful. The Spaniards were chased away from the area to the north of the large rivers and the prevailing mood of doom and gloom was replaced by one of optimism.

In these years the contours of a new state became clear, the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, which first received international recognition in 1596. In 1609 even the Spanish king accepted the independence *de facto* by concluding the Twelve Year's Truce. The structure of the Republic was a mixture of old and new elements. The main principle on which it was based was the sovereignty of the seven provinces, that were formally equal, even though Holland was dominant. They were governed by the Provincial States, which sent representatives to the States-General. The States consisted of representatives of the states and nobility. The clergy had been dispensed with after Protestantization, but in Utrecht the old First Estate had continued to exist as a result of the secularization of the chapters. The position of the nobility varied from province to province. In Holland and Zeeland their position was weak, but in other provinces, like Utrecht, the nobility had a great deal of power. The differences corresponded with the social-economic situation. The process of urbanization had continued with renewed strength in the coastal provinces, while the nobility was able to maintain a much better hold elsewhere. A remarkable figure in the establishment was that of the stadholder, a relic from pre-republican times. The two leaders of the offensive in the 1590s, Maurice and William Louis, were both stadholders in a number of provinces. Maurice held this office in Holland and later in Utrecht. The authority of the stadholder varied according to the province. The authority of the stadholder of Utrecht was quite extensive as a result of the Satisfaction of Utrecht of 1577.



The military and political successes of the Republic coincided with an unprecedented level of economic growth, destined to last more than half a century. Trade, and in its wake industry, underwent a boom. The hundred thousand refugees from the south were easily incorporated into the production process. Towns in Holland like Amsterdam, Leiden and Haarlem saw their population multiply several times within a few decades. Elsewhere growth was less profuse as fewer immigrants had settled there. Utrecht was confined within the old city limits, but the fact that they were then allowed to build on land previously owned by the church, meant that much room could be found within the city walls. A plan for urban expansion presented by the painter and city councillor Paulus Moreelse in 1624 was rejected. ■

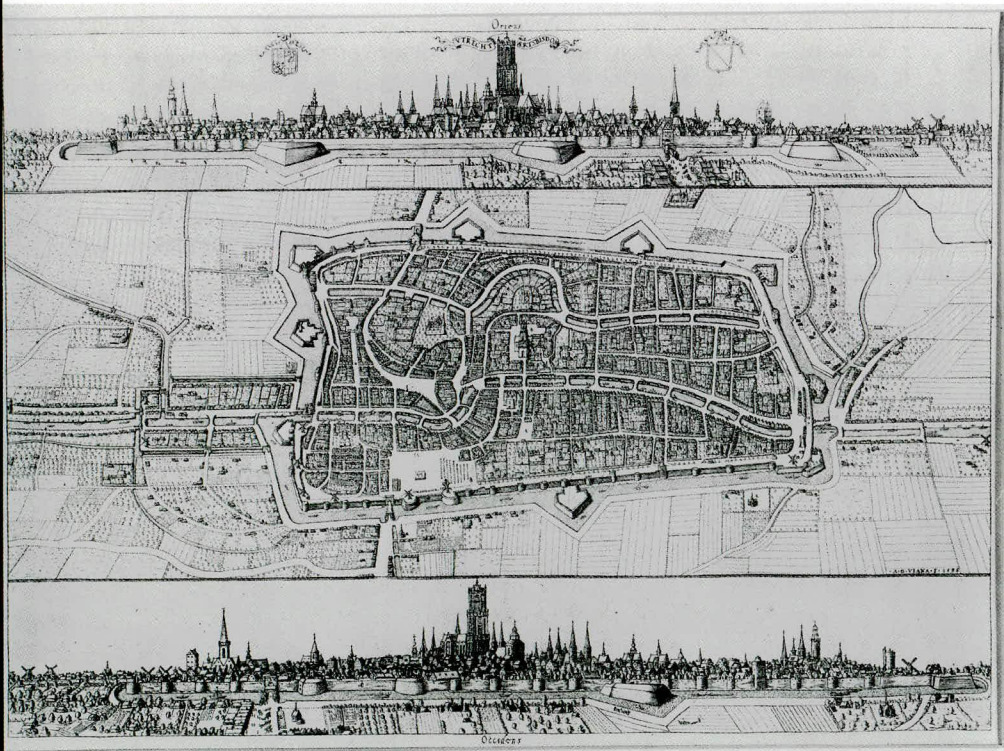
iii. 11

Almost everyone benefited from the economic growth in the cities of Holland, but the merchant classes who had taken over the city council between 1572 and 1578 profited most. This group developed into a new patriciate, the ruling class, known as regents. They had to be members of the Reformed Church but were often supporters of a moderate line and particularly averse to clerical influence on government policy. Their lifestyle became increasingly luxurious, without leading to lavish ostentation - as had been the case in earlier years with the nobility. This group, and the social classes directly beneath them, were the clients of the Dutch painters of the Golden Age. The fact that they were producing for a market of townspeople ranging from the prosperous to the very rich led to a totally different artistic climate compared to the earlier patronage system of the church, nobility and court. Amsterdam in particular had an open art market. In Utrecht the break with the past was less radical. For there the old elite had held on more tenaciously and had even succeeded in remaining Catholic. A more classical form of patronage prevailed particularly in the case of the nobility and certainly as far as the stadholder was concerned. Frederick Hendrick, who had succeeded his brother Maurice in 1625, built a resplendent court with his wife Amalia van Solms and conferred his patronage on many artists. ■ The Italian-oriented style of Utrecht painters like Gerard van Honthorst fitted in well with the royal ambitions of the couple keen to adopt an international form of *savoir faire*. The stadholder was also closely connected to Utrecht as a result of the great authority derived from the Satisfaction of 1577 and the royal couple also owned much of the area around Utrecht. The role of the nobility and the court

iii. 12







ill. 11

Adam van Vianen (1568/69-1627)

*Plan of the City of Utrecht, 1598*

etching on copper,  
39,9 x 58,8 cm

Inv. no. 4760/002





■ ill. 12

Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656)  
*Portrait of Amalia van Solms (1602-1675),  
wife of Prince Frederik Hendrik, 1632*

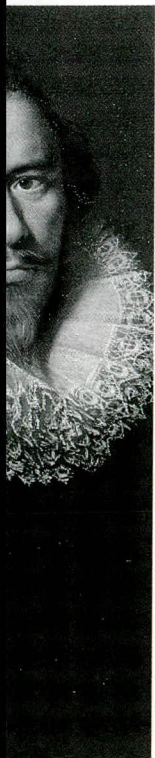
oil on canvas,  
75 x 62,5 cm

Inv. no. 21659

of the stadholder as patrons goes a long way to explaining the important position of Utrecht as a centre for pastoral art. Utrecht artists also worked for foreign princes. The worker in precious metals, Paulus van Vianen, travelled from Fontainebleau via Munich to Prague where, for a number of years, he was in the service of the Habsburg emperor Rudolf II. His friend Roelant Savery stayed on in Prague for a few years after the death of Rudolf II (1612), then, after a brief intermezzo in Amsterdam, returned to Utrecht. Adam van Vianen, Paulus's brother, his son Christiaan and Gerard van Honthorst worked under the patronage of the English, Danish and Swedish royal families. The commissions were not just for works of art, but might also include missions and business transactions as is demonstrated by Christiaan van Vianen's mission of 1662 to buy 4000 lime trees for Charles II.

The second traditional element to be seen in the art of Utrecht is the continuing patronage of the Catholic Church, albeit in the strongly weakened form of the conventicle. When the excitement surrounding the successes of Maurice and William Louis had died down, they were able to abandon meetings held at the homes of members of the congregation in favour of services at the conventicles. The collaboration argument faded into the background, although it was to be resurrected in 1629, when Amersfoort was suddenly conquered by the Spanish and local Catholics had actually collaborated. Particularly after the Peace of Münster in 1648, when the Spanish threat had definitely abated, the city councillors were increasingly disinclined to take action against the conventicles - despite protests from the Reformed Church. Their primary interest lay in maintaining public order. Any other possible deterrents were dispensed with by bribing the bailiffs. It was then possible for the assemblies which had been congregating in private houses to be further extended to conventicles like the Gertrudis Chapel at the Mariaplaats or the Maria Minor chapel in Achter Clarenburg. The interiors provided work for artists. The Bloemaerts, and pupils of theirs like Dirck van Voorst, made altarpieces for Utrecht conventicles and for Catholic churches in the Spanish-held parts of the Netherlands. Sculptors and workers in precious metals were also patronized. The Reformed Church with its sober interiors placed far fewer orders: the only real need was for communion silver.

The potential market determined the character of Utrecht art. Catholics, or patrons who sympathized with the old religion, had a preference for familiar themes and secured the continuity of Utrecht's art. Caravaggism, of Italian origin, yet so much a





part of Utrecht art, can be explained by this preference whilst the gold and silversmiths took their cue from the south. Utrecht preserved its association with Catholic Baroque whereas Holland was directing itself towards the sea. However, this contrast must not be exaggerated. In addition to patronage by the nobility and the church there was also a market for bourgeois buyers. Portrait painters like Paulus Moreelse and Joachim Wtewael immortalized the rich bourgeois and members of the new patriciate, a group which they themselves were destined to become part of. ■ However, this market was more limited than in the larger cities of Holland. ■ Without a seaport, Utrecht was not making profits on the same scale as the merchants and regents of Holland.

ill. 13

ill. 14

The formation of a dominant Protestant patriciate did not take place as smoothly as it had done in Holland for other reasons too. On the one hand, the old structures had maintained a better hold and, on the other, opposition from the middle groups, organized in guilds and the militia, was much stronger. In Holland these organizations had been silenced in 1581, but in Utrecht they carried on being an important factor in politics for several more decades. The events of 1577 and 1585 had in fact blown new life into these proud traditions. Radical Calvinism, which in the crisis years round 1580 had been the decisive factor, was rooted in the guilds and the militia. In addition to this there was also a Catholic segment. The guilds and the militia opposed the regents, who had regained power after Leicester's departure. This patriciate consisted of older families, who in 1577 had chosen the side of the Rebellion and the Reformation, and from newcomers wanting to close the ranks at the lower end of the social hierarchy - just like in Holland. In religious terms they stood for moderate Calvinism, in political terms they emulated Holland and the pensionary of that province, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, originally from Amersfoort. His party stalwart in Utrecht was Gilles van Ledenberg, the secretary of the towns.

In 1610 the guilds and militia were successful in forcing through a number of demands, including a ban on the import of products produced in the countryside. This measure which was beneficial for the guilds was disadvantageous for the industrial ambitions of the nobility. The militia seized power in the city and appointed their own people to the council, including Joachim Wtewael. Oldenbarnevelt and Van Ledenberg reversed this coup and ensured that the rebellion was quashed. The monstrous alliance of orthodox Calvinists and Catholics in the guild movement can only be explained by the abatement of the threat





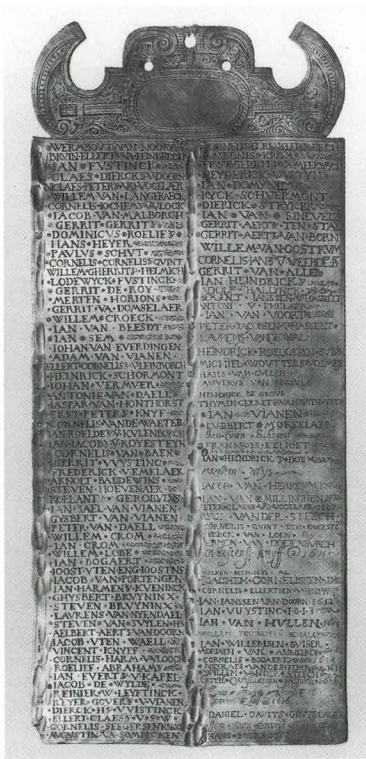


■ ill. 13

Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)  
Portrait of Philips Ram (1585-1632),  
councillor and bailiff of Utrecht, 1625

oil on canvas,  
112,5 x 85,3 cm  
on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts,  
The Hague

Inv. no. 10238



■ ill. 14

List of names and trade marks of the  
members of the Goldsmiths' Guild for the  
years 1704-1740

copper,  
54 x 27 cm

Cat. 1928/3410

of war due to the Twelve Year Truce. The regents, now restored to power, took measures to prevent a repetition. The militia was eliminated as a power factor which explains the lack of militia-men paintings in Utrecht art. The guilds had lost their influence on government after the troubles, and were subsequently reorganized. The painters were released from the Saddler's Guild and went with the sculptors, the wall-hanging painters and the frame-gilders to form the St Luke's Guild. Paulus Moreelse and Joachim Wtewael were closely involved in this reorganization. Moreelse was made master of the guild, an office he held a number of times. From 1639 onwards the painters were organized in a completely independent Painters College and business flourished as never before. Painters like Moreelse, Wtewael and Bloemaert were well off and had respectably-sized studios. The fact that someone like Savery died in poverty was not due to a lack of profitable commissions, but to his lifestyle and psychological condition.

After the quashing of the rebellion of 1610, the city continued to be restless. The disputes between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, which had torn the Republic apart during the Twelve Year's Truce, affected Utrecht too. On the whole, the patriciate took the side of the Remonstrants, while the Counter-Remonstrants found support among the ranks of the guilds. When Maurice intervened in 1618 he dismissed the city fathers and appointed council members from the guilds, including Paulus Moreelse. ■ Johan Wtewael, a brother of Joachim, also joined the council. Van Ledenberg was arrested and committed suicide. His political friend Oldenbarnevelt was executed. The victory of the Counter-Remonstrants was confirmed at the national synod of Dordrecht, where the Remonstrants were condemned. They formed their own religious denomination, the Remonstrant brotherhood. After a few difficult years, the Remonstrants were able to enjoy a considerable amount of freedom just like the other non-reformed Protestants, the Lutherans and the Mennonites. Conspicuous church buildings were not permitted and members were not allowed to hold certain civic offices like that of city councillor, but apart from this they were relatively free to go their own way. Sometimes their beliefs were even accommodated in relation to public service. The Mennonites, who counted Roelant Savery among their adherents, did not have to serve in the militia because they were pacifists.

ill. 15



The end of the Truce disputes brought theological victory to the





■ ill. 15

**Paulus van Hilligaert (1595/1596-1640)**  
*The Dismissal of the Worthies by Prince Maurits on the Neude  
 in Utrecht in 1618, c. 1635*

oil on canvas,  
 106 x 153,9 cm

Inv. no. 2498



orthodox wing, but did not fulfil their political ambitions. The more libertine section of the patriciate was increasingly successful in limiting the influence of the church on public administration. In Amsterdam they were soon able to silence the 'audacious' ministers preaching politics, but in Utrecht it was more difficult. The great champion of clerical influence on administrative affairs was the theologist Gisbertus Voetius, reformed preacher and professor at the university established in Utrecht in 1636. He succeeded in ousting the French philosopher René Descartes from Utrecht, whose philosophy he found dangerous and reprehensible. This was possible because of the support that Voetius had from the city fathers. In particular, he could count on the support of the regents like Moreelse and Wtewael who had come into the council after 1618. Moreelse had given his firm support for the founding of the university too.

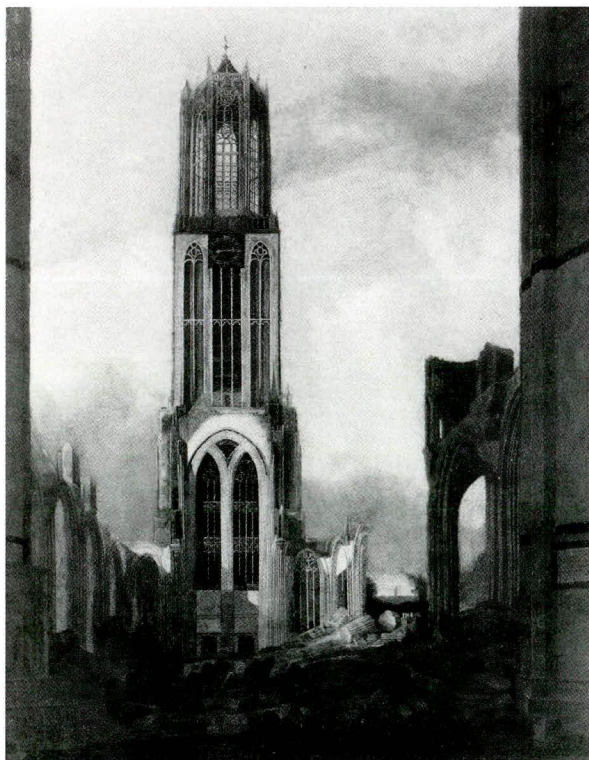
Voetius was ultimately to lose out to hostile regents. After the death of William II, the son of Frederick Hendrick in 1650, most provinces, including Holland and Utrecht, did not have a new stadholder and the Utrecht city fathers were left to develop into an oligarchy in peace. The council majority was oriented towards Holland and its council pensionary Johan de Witt, whilst Voetius and his sympathizers in and outside the city council adhered to the anti-Holland sentiments of the old guild tradition. The fall of the libertine regents came about through outside causes. In 1672 the French king Louis XIV descended on the Republic. Utrecht surrendered peaceably and the situation in the rest of the country seemed to be hopeless. However, the new stadholder William III was able to turn the tide. He was successful in stopping the French and in subsequently dislodging them. The province of Utrecht had government regulations enforced upon it, giving the stadholder a great deal of influence; the city council was dismissed. They were blamed for having handed over the keys to the city without putting up a fight and they had even consented to the cathedral being furnished for Catholic worship. That had also placed the Catholics back into the familiar role of collaborator. When the city was hit by a tornado in August 1674 and the cathedral, besmirched by papistry, partly destroyed, Voetius interpreted it as a clear case of God's retribution.■

ill. 16



### Stagnation and Frenchification

At this time the economy began to slow down. The expansion plans for the city, filed in 1664 by Hendrick Moreelse (an edited version of his father's forty-year-old plans), were not imple-



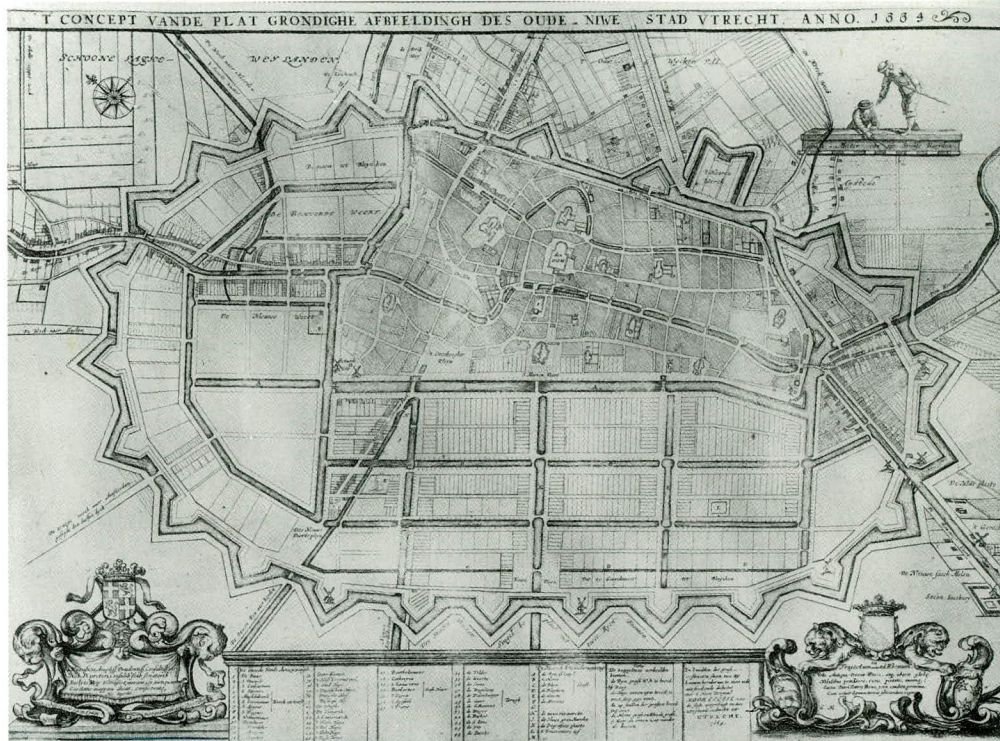
■ ill. 16

Johan van Kessel (1641/1642-1680)  
*Utrecht's Dom Cathedral after its Collapse  
 in 1674, 1675*

oil on canvas,  
 119,4 x 88 cm

Inv. no. 2402





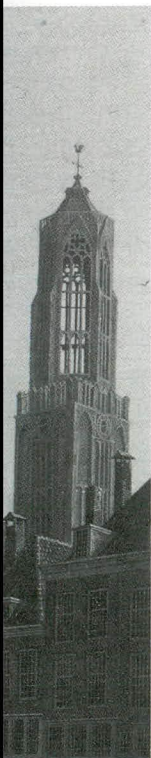
ill. 17

Plan for the extension of the City of Utrecht  
by Hendrick Moreelse, 1664

51 x 69 cm

Cat. 1928/283





■ ill. 18

Hendrik van Limborch (1681-1759)  
*Portrait of Mr. David Johan Martens (1668-1737),*  
 c. 1720

oil on canvas,  
 69,8 x 59 cm

Inv. no. 9604

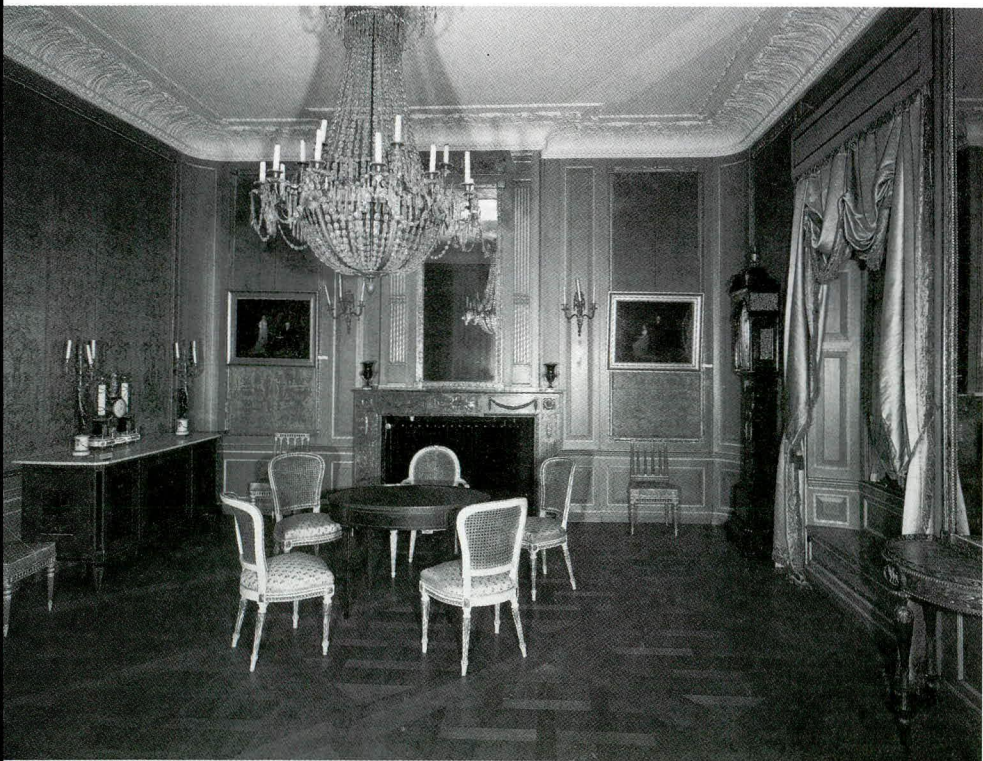
mented, and expansion was not to be an issue for some time to come.■ The stagnation was to last almost two centuries. In these two centuries Utrecht hardly produced any artists of significance. After the death of Bloemaert in the Disaster Year 1672, there was no new generation to take over the torch. Less than fifty years later the Painter's College was dissolved. There was still a demand for paintings but they were ordered elsewhere. The regents often had their portraits done by painters from Holland. The large collection of the patrician family Martens in the Centraal Museum bears witness to this.■

When the Peace of Utrecht was concluded in 1713, the apex of the Golden Age had long passed. The Republic had been depleted through forty years of wars against France and was weighed down by enormous debts. The era of the great maritime power was definitely over. It was the cities of Holland that suffered most, thus lessening the relative inferiority of Utrecht. The regents of Utrecht began to look more and more like their colleagues in Holland. Since the death of William III in 1702 they were no longer bothered by the influence of the stadholder, and this allowed them to develop into a real oligarchy. The culture was based on Holland and, by way of Holland, on France. The influx of Huguenot refugees after 1685 gave a new impetus to the spirit of frenchification.■ The successive Louis-styles determined the interiors of the patrician houses which sprung up on Utrecht's Nieuwe Gracht and the Janskerkhof.■ The exotic forms of the Far East also filtered through to their interiors. The porcelain cabinet and chinoiserie were in fashion. A good example is the Chinese wallpaper to be seen in the stately home of Oud-Amelisweerd, near Utrecht. In clothing, the orientation is particularly towards French fashion.

Around 1770 there was a backlash to the frenchification movement. Groups of citizens joined together in reading circles to discuss literature and to reflect on developments in society. People were extremely worried about the economic slump and the general feeling of decline. There was hope: by an overall increase of knowledge the country could once again be pulled out of the mire. They hoped to get the necessary ideas through competitions. This optimistic view of society created a great admiration for science, which it was felt should be popularized. Associations were founded which carried out scientific experiments, like the 'Provincial Utrecht Association of Arts and Sciences', P.U.G. for short, founded in 1773. The linking of the arts and sciences was typical for the spirit of the age. The enlightened philosophers were deeply worried about the loss of national self-confidence in the culture, combined with increasing







■ *ill. 19*

Room Furnished in Louis XVI Style,  
in the Centraal Museum Utrecht





■ ill. 20

Isaac Ouwater (1750-1793)  
*The Janskerkhof in Utrecht, 1779*

oil on canvas,  
52,2 x 65 cm  
Private collection

Inv. no. 20545

frenchification. For this reason, in a speech given in 1778, the inspector of the Utrecht College of Art, the solicitor Adrianus Hoevenaar, stressed the tremendous developments made in Dutch art with special mention of the role of Utrecht painters.

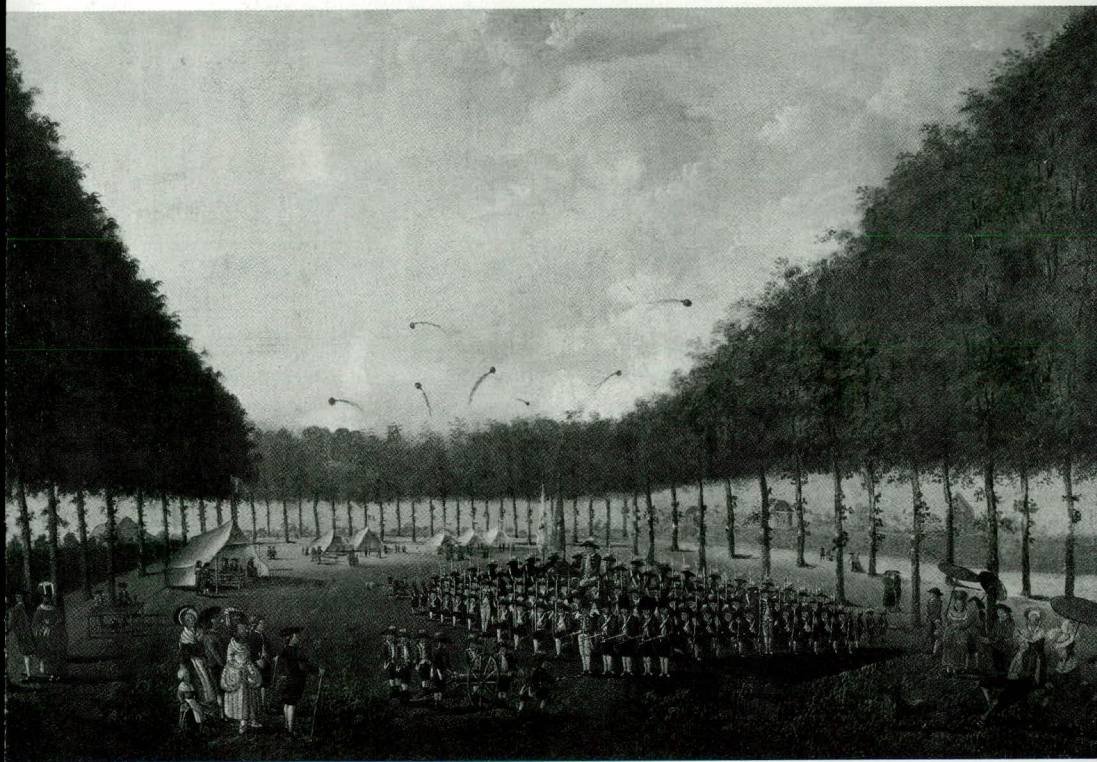
This alignment with the homeland was a general feeling. The word 'Patriotism' was much used - often in a political sense. This political content arose because reformatory ideas issuing from the societies were increasingly directed at the existing political culture. The oligarchy of the regents had evoked a great feeling of repugnance and the restoration of the stadholder in 1747 had proved to be a disappointment. William IV and William V preferred to work closely with the regents. Power was exercised through the so-called patronage system providing confidants of the stadholder with all kinds of posts. In Utrecht the Government Regulations of 1674 were dug out. The arrogant behaviour of the stadholder's figurehead in Utrecht, Willem Nicolaas Pesters, only served to increase people's dislike of the regime.

The whole matter escalated when the reformists expressed their sympathy with the American rebels against English rule. To make matters worse, Amsterdam merchants saw money in arms trading with the rebels. This brought England to a declaration of war in 1780. The war was a catastrophe for the Dutch and the war blockade aggravated the economic situation. The pro-English William V was chosen as their whipping boy. His opponents, the Patriots, no longer trusted him and his army to defend the country and proceeded to revive the militias which had in the meantime fallen into decline. The same happened in Utrecht. In addition the Utrecht Patriots set up a drill association, 'Pro Patria et Libertate' which was to grow into an important political coercive body, particularly as a result of the actions of a group of young activists lead by the Ceylonese student Pieter Philip Jurriaan Quint Ondaatje. ■ He was to develop into the charismatic leader of the Utrecht Patriots movement, a man capable of mobilizing the people at just the right moment and thereby intimidating the regents. The regents were ever harder pressed and in August 1786 the militia took over the city. The city council was sent home, barring a couple of Patriotic members and elections were held for a new council. The States of Utrecht did not recognize this take-over and moved their seat to Amersfoort. A military front was erected, cutting right through the province. In May 1787 William V tried to break the stalemate, but the stadholder's army was defeated by the Utrecht militia near Vreeswijk. The funeral of the two men killed in action on the Utrecht side turned into a colossal event with a

ill. 21







■ ill. 21

Anonymous, from Utrecht  
*Practice of the Society Pro Patria et Libertate in the  
Sterrebos in Utrecht, 1784*

oil on canvas,  
76,5 x 112 cm

Inv. no. 2290

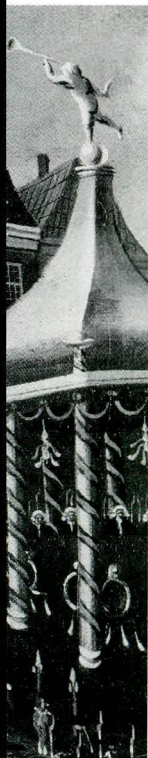


great show of relics - among other things a blood-stained sash.

In June 1787 Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, wife of the stadholder, tried to travel to The Hague to lead an uprising of the Orangists. She was, however, thwarted at Goejanverwellesluis on the Utrecht-Holland border, locked up in an inn and sent back. Infuriated by the whole affair, she asked her brother, King Frederik Wilhelm II of Prussia, to avenge this insult to her person. He sent an army which made an end to the Patriotic revolution within a short space of time. Thousands of Patriots fled abroad. The stadholder's authority was regained and the supporters of William V occupied the council posts.

The Patriot Period caused a deep rupture in society. People from all layers of the population chose sides and both sides tried to recruit supporters in all manner of ways. Art was also employed on a large scale as propaganda. There were illustrations in influential magazines like the *Post van den Neder-rhyn*, paintings with depictions of glorious events like the assumption of power in August 1786, medals, plaques or silver keeshonds (symbols of the Patriots). They built temples of freedom and triumphal arches. The funeral of the heroes of Vreeswijk killed in action was carefully directed and recorded on engravings. ■ They even went as far as planning memorial stones, but political events took such a sharp turn that this never materialized. The propaganda art made by Patriots and pro-Orangists has not received art-historical canonization. ■ The only artist of any significance to emerge from Utrecht at that time was L.F.G. van der Puyl (1750-1824). He was not involved in the political disputes in his home city; he was in England at the time.

William V was not to enjoy his regained power for very long. The alliance with England and Prussia dragged the Republic into war against revolutionary France. The French armies reached the main rivers in the autumn of 1794 and when a particularly vicious frost set in at New Year the French were able to continue their march across the ice. The opposition collapsed and William V fled to England. The Patriots, coming out of their hideaways or returning from exile, picked up the threads and proclaimed the Batavian Republic. The Batavian Revolution was characterised by far-reaching democratic experiments under the slogan 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. The commoners were able to govern at different levels and even to exert direct influence through referendums and local committees. All this was accompanied by great festivities like parades and dancing around the Tree of Liberty. A number of artists were hired for the various creations. In Utrecht the events were concentrated round the



ill. 22

ill. 23



III. 22

**Leonard Venroy (1734-1808)**

*The Burial of C.G. Visscher, one of the heroes who fell in the  
fighting at Vreeswijk on 9 May 1787, 1792*

engraving,  
34 x 25 cm

Cat. 1928/109





I ill. 23

Anonymous, from Utrecht  
*Swearing in of the Citizens Committee by Members of the Citizenry  
 on Utrecht's Neude on 2 August 1786, c. 1775-1800*

oil on canvas,  
 54 x 72 cm

Inv. no. 2291



Neude, which was renamed Freedom Square. A Temple of Liberty was built in the square and in 1798 a statue of liberty was erected. This creation, by the architect G. van Dorssen, was popularly called 'Dikke Mie' (Fat Meg) thanks to its generous proportions. The statue was removed in 1805 as a symbolic end to the revolution which had in reality come to a standstill even earlier. The discord about the form of the state (a unitary state or federation) had led to a coup by the radicals in 1798. They forced through the unitary state using a manipulated referendum. They were deposed by the next coup, but the new leaders kept the unitary state, which was in conformity with French wishes. To a great extent, a third coup in September 1801 reversed the revolution. This coup, carried out by the French army, was motivated by a desire to secure the Batavian Republic as a reliable ally, as had been the motivation in earlier coups.

This desire for security led to Napoleon's decision, in 1806, to transform the northern satellite state into the satellite kingdom of Holland with his younger brother Louis (Louis Napoleon) on the throne. Louis' rheumatic ailments would have suited a somewhat more southerly kingdom, but he was resigned to his lot and developed an intimate bond with his new subjects. He learnt Dutch and tried to tone down all sorts of French decrees. In this way he avoided the introduction of compulsory military service and turned a blind eye to the Continental System, whereby the trade boycott against England was evaded by the Dutch. The king's performance at the treasury was less of a success. He maintained a Parisian-style court which was relocated on a number of occasions. In the autumn of 1807 he moved to Utrecht.

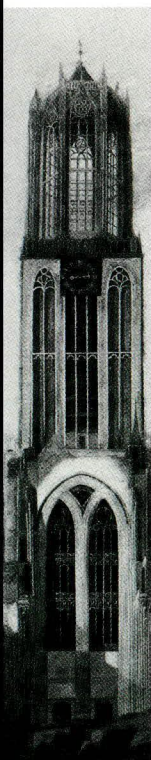
For the Netherlands, with its republican tradition, the establishment of the sophisticated Empire court came as a culture shock but they soon got used to it. The establishment of the royal residence appeared to present tremendous career and status advantages for the Utrecht elite. At court, patricians and members of the nobility jostled for the king's favour. The old marine-officer Jan van den Velden who had lived in Utrecht since 1795 wrote in his autobiography that 'the whole city had itself presented there'. He wanted no part of it: 'we did not have the least desire to court this "Mushroom" king, in whose service I did not wish to be'. For those with fewer scruples there were attractive appointments being apportioned like high administrative posts or inclusion in a new order of knights called 'the Order of Union'. Presentations at court were extremely important and a great deal of money was set aside for this. An example of expensive courtly clothing is the court-train worn by



Louis Napoleon stayed in Utrecht for six months. After the theatre on the Vreeburg burnt down, the cathedral city had little left to offer in the way of entertainment so the king left for Amsterdam. The short length of his stay did not allow for the development of a real court culture in Utrecht. ■ Paintings were commissioned, as for example the portrait executed by Van der Puyl of the Abbé Charles Sulpice Flament, the king's secretary, but art continued mainly along traditional lines: the academy of drawing, whose director in 1804 was Van der Puyl and the 'society of Art Lovers' founded in 1807. An important group within the members of this society was formed by patricians who were sometimes themselves practising artists. Later the society developed into more of an artists' society.

The attempts by Louis Napoleon to tone down the French decrees made him dearly loved by his subjects but did not endear him to his family. In 1810 the French emperor had had enough and annexed his brother's land to that of France. From that moment on it rained decrees in the annexed area. Within a year, the judicial administration system was reorganized, a registry office introduced and a new system of weights and measures installed. The introduction of compulsory military service was the most radical measure in the eyes of the populace: young Dutchmen were called up to serve in the French army straight away. Many never returned from the field of battle and the catastrophic Russian campaign was to be imprinted on people's memories for many years to come. Then something like a resistance mentality towards the French began to catch on. In Utrecht the aversion to French authority was increased even more by the mayor of Utrecht P.W. Bosch van Drakestein. For the traditional patriciate he was the prototype of the bonapartist upstart, the son of a brandy distiller, and a Catholic to boot. When the nobility and patricians had to sell their country estates it was he who bought them, thus becoming the owner of Drakestein and Amelisweerd. ■

No matter how much people's distaste grew, there was no true resistance movement. It was not until October 1813 when Napoleon had suffered a huge defeat near Leipzig that French authority began to collapse. The French army first retreated from the coastal areas, after which Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp took power into his own hands and allowed the son of the expelled stadholder, later to become William I, to return to the Netherlands. The French troops were evacuated from Utrecht in the early morning of the 28 November 1813. The same day a group of Cossacks arrived to prepare for the arrival of the allied







■ ill. 24

#### Court Train (1809)

Mauve moire silk with ivory velvet, embroidered with ivory chenille and pearl-coloured beads.

Lining: satin silk

probably worn by the Utrecht lady,  
Elisabeth Charlotta Both Hendriksen-Winter (1786-1809)

Inv. no. 19760



■ ill. 25

Louis F.G. van der Puy (1750-1824)  
*Portrait of Abbé Charles Sulpice Flament*  
(1758-1855), librarian of the  
Royal Library of The Hague, 1807

oil on canvas,  
64 x 47,5 cm

Inv. no. 10005

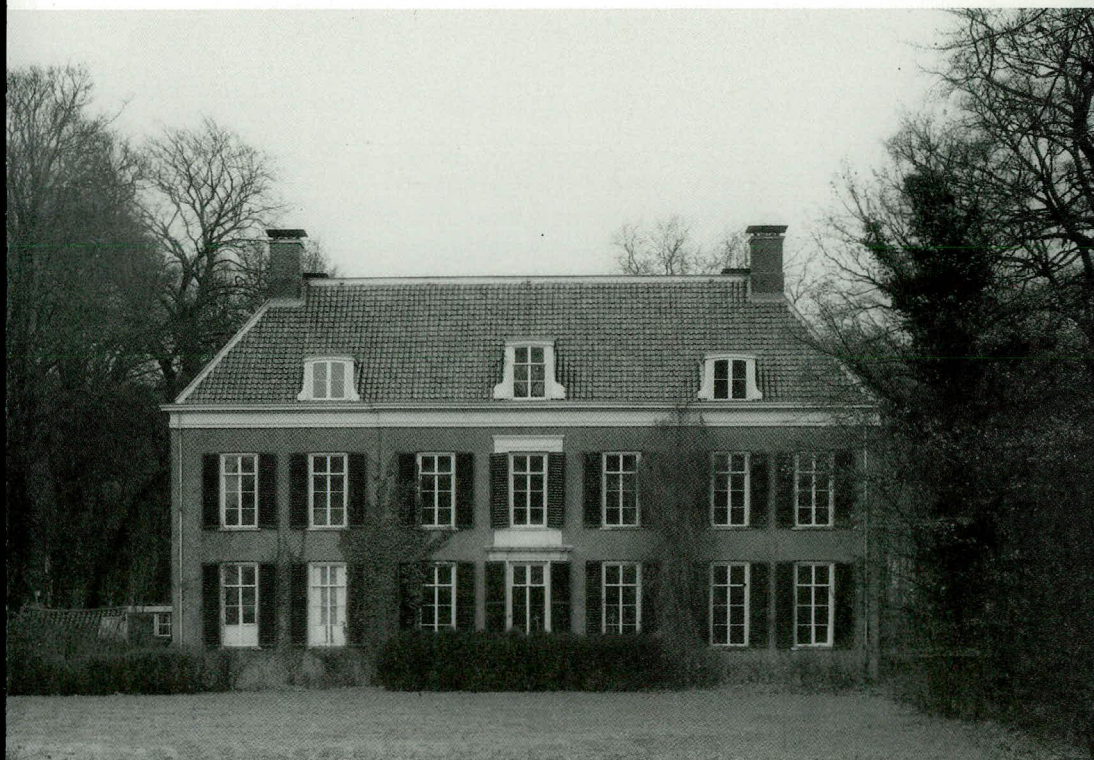


armies. ■ Bosch van Drakenstein understood that his position had become indefensible and resigned. The transfer to new rule took place smoothly.

When the new form of government was set up under William I the following year, the old elite played the main role, supplemented with a few representatives of the lower social classes who had made a successful appearance at the time of the revolution. The Utrecht council was also dominated by established regents' families, who held office for life. Familiar names like Martens, Ram, Strick van Linschoten and Van Asch van Wijck are linked with council office. The most important mayor of the period, H.M.A.J. van Asch van Wijck, despite his sympathy for the past, was to change the image of the city drastically. He created a plan to demolish the city walls and replace them with public gardens. This green belt, laid out by the architect J.D. Zocher junior, still borders great areas of the inner city. Van Asch van Wijck's interest in the past was expressed in his collection of historical objects, which he stored at the municipal museum in 1838. This museum, then housed in the attic of the new town hall, was to grow into the Centraal Museum. It contained fragments of the town hall designed by Willem van Noort, demolished in the previous decade. ■ After his death in 1843 the collection policy was discontinued until Samuel Muller, city archivist and museum director, picked up the thread more than thirty years later. Van Asch van Wijck was encouraged as a collector by his direct superior, Florent knight of Ertborn, the governor of the province of Utrecht. When the Belgian Revolt broke out he left for his home city of Antwerp, bequeathing his collection to the city on the Scheldt and thereby providing the basis for Antwerp's Museum of Fine Arts.

The innovative plans of Van Asch van Wijck did not lead to a real extension of the city. That came partly through the policy of his extremely conservative successor N.P.J. Kien, who was mayor from 1839 to 1878. The population remained largely within the seven-century-old city boundaries housing around 40,000 people in 1840. It goes without saying that this was extremely unhealthy. It was the perfect setting for a disease like cholera which claimed many lives. The building activities during Kien's term of office chiefly took place within the canal belt. The remains of the St Mary Church were demolished in 1844 and replaced by the building of Arts and Sciences.





■ ill. 26

The Country Residence of Oud-Amelisweerd, built in 1770



■ ill. 27

Pieter Gerardus van Os (1776-1839)  
*Cossacks Entering Utrecht in 1813, 1816*

oil on canvas,  
 141,5 x 169,4 cm

on loan from the Reformed Church Orphanage, Utrecht

Inv. no. 22306





■ ill. 28

**Willem van Noort (before 1524-1556)**

*Framework for door, in the former Lichtenberg House, 1546*

*From Lichtenberg House, that formed part of the Utrecht Town Hall  
until 1826*

sandstone,

69 x 139 x 26 cm

Inv. no. 2746

## The Dawn of the New Age

The middle of the nineteenth century was another turning point in Utrecht's history. In the process of change two main aspects can be distinguished: one of a social-economic nature and one with a political and social-cultural character. The social-economic changes began with the building of a railroad network, with Utrecht as its junction point. Utrecht could develop into an important trading centre and attract industry. The ensuing population explosion resulted in the city extending its limits at a swift pace, a development which is still going on today. The second complex of changes was triggered by Thorbecke's written constitution of 1848 which ruptured the dominion of the regents. Thus the process of increasing democratization was launched, bringing with it the allied organizations of Catholics, orthodox Protestants and later socialists - known as 'pillarization' (verzuiling), the Dutch form of a plural democracy. These two aspects are determinative for the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.

In 1843 Utrecht was connected to the railway network, four years after the first train had ridden between Amsterdam and Haarlem. This enormous improvement and acceleration of communication led to fundamental changes in society. The increase in scale and the rupturing of local autonomy, for which the political basis was laid in the Batavian-French era, became a visible reality for everyone. It was possible for increasingly large groups to travel longer distances. Their cultural horizon widened. The construction of the railway had drastic effects on the position of Utrecht within the Netherlands. Up to that time, the city had been at the edge of the system of transport comprising towed barges. When the railways were extended even further after 1850, Utrecht shifted from the periphery of the transport system to the centre. They had already decided to make Utrecht the junction for the railway network in the early years of construction. In the years 1870-71 the main building of the Company for the Exploitation of the State Railways was constructed next to Moreelse park, designed by the architect N.J. Kamperdijk. This building is still there, but the building of the Central Station nearby was replaced in 1938 by a creation of Sybold van Ravesteyn's which, in turn, had to make way for the Hoog Catharijne complex. All that remains of the old architecture is the Maliebaan Station designed by A.L. van Gendt, now used as a railway museum. ■

*ill. 29*

Its central position allowed the city to profit to the full from

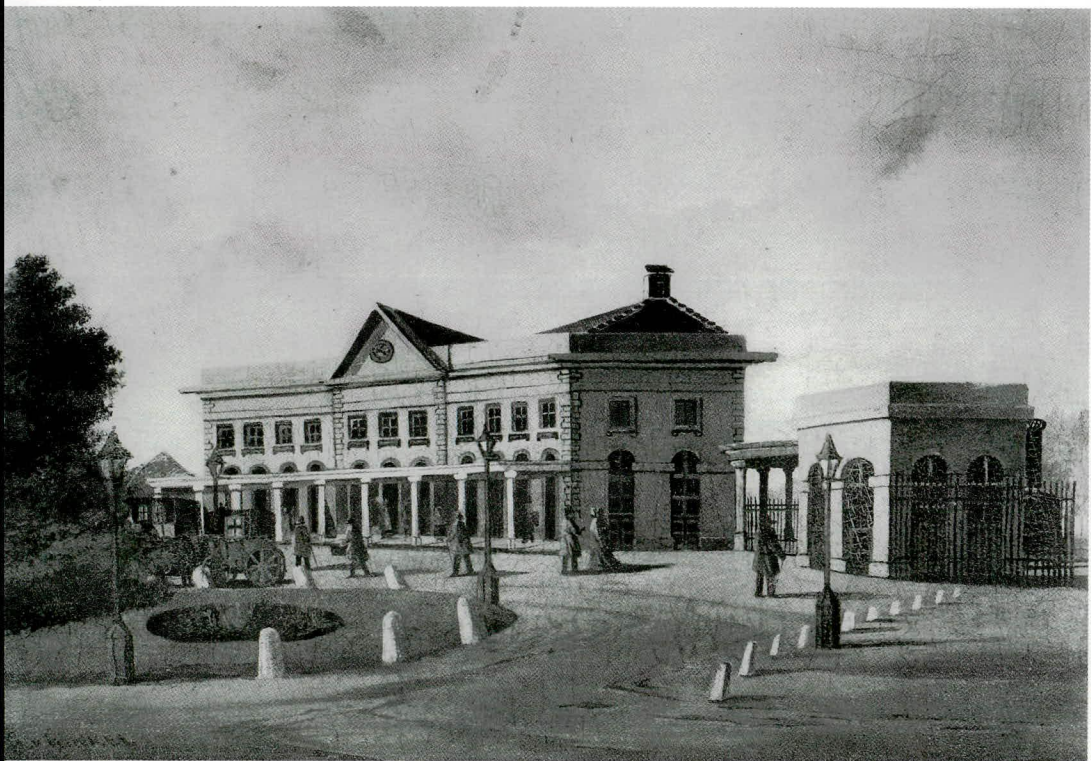


the economic developments. After two centuries of stagnation, the economy was first cautiously reanimated in 1870 and increased rapidly thereafter. From 1890 the Netherlands was in the grip of an Industrial Revolution. Very important for Utrecht's participation in this boom was the creation of the Merwede canal in 1892, facilitating for example the establishment of the steel factory De Muinck Keizer in Zuilen. In terms of trade, the establishment of an Exhibition Centre in 1917 marked a break-through giving Utrecht's economy a national, if not international, dimension. Numerous business premises appeared, including the main office of the insurance company 'De Utrecht'. This creation by the architect Jan Verheul was held to be the most beautiful example of Art Nouveau architecture in Utrecht, before its demolition in 1974.

The tumultuous economic developments gave a strong impetus to the population explosion already underway. Originally this was accommodated within the canal belt, but after a cholera epidemic in 1866 it was clear that this could not carry on much longer. The expansion which got going so slowly, accelerated after the resignation of mayor Kien. His successors W.R. Boer and B. Reiger were warm supporters of large-scale urban development. Directly after the change of mayors in 1879, the 'hundred streets' plan was launched, anticipating expansion on all sides. The government restricted itself to creating the necessary conditions and producing regulations - the rest was left to private initiative. Ironically enough it was the railways which placed a great number of restrictions on city expansion plans even though they were responsible for some of the population growth. For safety reasons the number of level crossings had been kept to a minimum and, to complicate matters more, the level-crossing gates were closed for the greater part of the day. Later it was the Merwede canal which was to create a barrier.

The growth of the population was unstoppable as a result of industrialization and the accompanying trek to the city. Shortly before the turn of the century the 100,000 mark was reached. There was strong social segregation in the built-up area. In the old days the poor had lived round the corner from the rich, literally in back streets, but the new trend was for the different social classes to start living at a greater distance from one another. Extensive working-class areas came into existence in the west and north of the city with the overflow going to nearby Zuilen, situated miles away from the better districts on the eastern edge of the city. The elite shifted further and further towards the east: from the Nieuwe Gracht to the Maliesingel and the Biltstraat, from there to the Wilhelmina Park and finally





■ ill. 29

Johan Godfried van Ginkel (1827-1863)  
*View of the (Maliebaan) station built in 1845  
 for the Rhine railway, c. 1860*

oil on panel,  
 22,2 x 31,3 cm

Inv. no. 2512

to the districts to the east of the park. The Rietveld Schröder House also fits in with this development. Originally Truus Schröder lived in the Biltstraat, but on the death of her husband in 1923 she commissioned Rietveld to design a house to be built on the eastern edge of the city which still enjoyed a rural setting. In this part of the city a few more of Rietveld's creations arose, like the chauffeur's house on the Waldeck Pyrmontkade and a number of houses in the Erasmuslaan. Van Ravesteyn has also left his mark here: his own house on the Prins Hendriklaan and a rebuilding of M.R. Rademacher Schorer's house next to the Wilhelmina Park. The elite, which was increasing in wealth and size, had capital houses built in the east of the city, and formed an important market for the furnishing trade. Furniture was ordered from people like Rietveld, who opened premises as an independent furniture maker on the Adriaan van Ostadelaan near the Wilhelmina park. There was also a large market already in existence for gold and silversmiths and jewellers like Carel J.H. Begeer.

After 1900 government involvement with urban expansion greatly increased. Originally the building of new districts was usually left to private enterprise, but towards the turn of the century there was a growing awareness that the government had a greater responsibility than merely directing the process from a distance. The Amsterdam town councillor Wibaut was the great model and it is no coincidence that the Amsterdam architect H.P. Berlage was invited to develop a plan for Utrecht. He presented a plan in 1924, exactly three hundred years after Paulus Moreelse's, with a design for a systematically planned expansion of the city stretching to different points on the compass, but this was not implemented either. The initiator of government planning for Utrecht's urban expansion was J.P. Fockema Andreae, councillor from 1907 to 1914 and mayor from 1914 to 1933. He rejected the nineteenth-century expansion and strived to reconcile the preservation of monuments with the demands of the modern era. He was fully aware of the consequences of the rapidly increasing traffic. The tram had arrived in addition to the train, first driven by horse-power, later by electricity. Increasing numbers of bicycles filled the streets, soon to be followed by cars. The traffic made it necessary to create broad thoroughfares like the radical widening of Potterstraat and Viestraat accompanied by the building of a new post office on the Neude, a creation of J. Crouwel.

The planning was frustrated by a new straitjacket. After the canals and the railways had been negotiated the next barrier

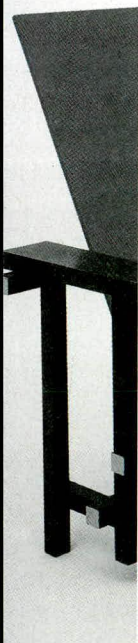




was the city boundaries. For this reason Berlage's plan was not carried out. Attempts at annexation failed, and between the two world wars Utrecht had once again to clip its wings, resorting to the sacrifice of much urban greenery in favour of buildings. This same greenery at the turn of the century had served as a symbol of the care taken to promote public health.

During Mayor Fockema Andreae's term of office more emphasis was placed on cultural policy than ever before. The idea that the government could only play a limited role was dropped in the same way as it had been with urban development. In this spirit, the theatre - which had up until then been a private enterprise - was taken over by the city. The municipal council took the responsibility of replacing the old building on the Vreeburg. After discussions lasting more than a quarter of a century, the new theatre emerged on the Lucasbolwerk designed by W.M. Dudok. The second large move in the cultural sector had been completed earlier. After extensive renovation, the new Centraal Museum was opened in 1921 in what was once the Agniet cloister. ■ The new museum was an amalgamation of the Museum of Antiquity founded by Van Asch van Wijck - which thirty years earlier had moved from the town hall to Het Hoogeland House, the Museum for Art Appreciation and the archaeological collection of the P.U.G.. The collection of the Archbishops' Museum was housed in the Centraal Museum until it merged with the Catharijne Convent in 1978. Shortly before the move there had been a change of management: Muller who was council archivist and museum director was succeeded by W.C. van Schuylenburg who left the actual management of the art history collection to the curator appointed by Muller, Carla H. de Jonge, who succeeded Van Schuylenburg as director in 1941. That is when the personnel were split up between the archives and the museum. De Jonge was in charge of the museum for ten years and was then replaced by Elizabeth Houtzager, who stayed in the director's seat for the following two decades. After that Adeline Janssens took control.

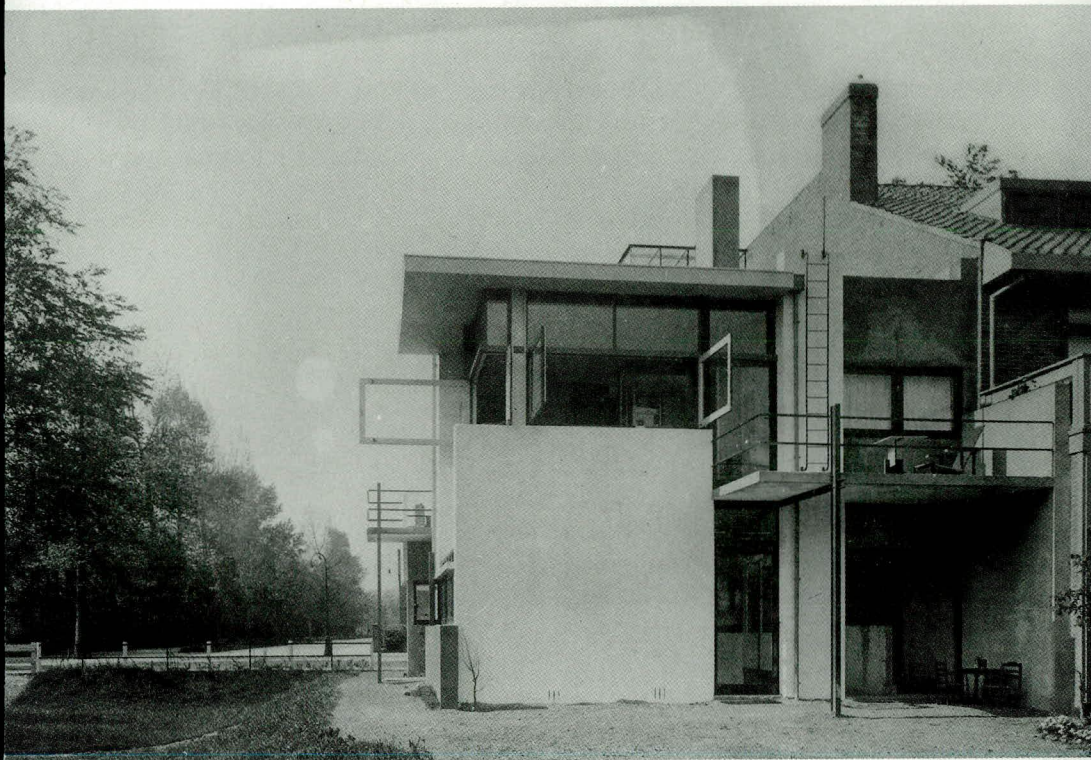
ill. 31



### Pluralism, the Gothic Revival and Fascism

The second main theme for the changes after 1850 is the phenomenon of 'pillarization', the development of plural democracy. The constitution of 1848 repudiated the rule of the regents which had been restored in 1813, although the old networks proved unusually tenacious. Popular sovereignty, the principle introduced in 1795, was then to become the basis for polity. For all levels of government direct elections were planned for





■ ill. 30

Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)  
*The Rietveld Schröder House in Utrecht, 1924*  
photo c. 1924



■ ill. 31

The Central Museum in Agnietenstraat, Utrecht



the future. Periodical elections broke open the politics of Utrecht and brought the liberals to power. As a reaction to this, a start was made with denominational party formation. The first leaders of this movement had well-known names like H.A.M. van Asch van Wijck, son of the old mayor who, in around 1860, was the Utrecht representative of Groen van Prinsterer's Anti-Revolutionary movement; whilst W. Bosch van Drakestein, son of the old mayor under French rule was the political leader of the Catholics.

ill. 32

To begin with, the Catholics cooperated with the liberals. The liberal constitution of 1848 made the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic episcopal hierarchy possible. After 1580 the Catholic Church had led a more or less clandestine existence. The Batavian Revolution of 1795 brought complete freedom of worship and the Catholics could once again participate in politics. The principle of equality of religion also involved the partial return of confiscated church buildings. This principle was rarely honoured. Therefore, the government provided new buildings, which were realized under the management of the Department of Public Works. A good example of one of the department's churches is the Augustinus Church in Utrecht on the Oude Gracht, to a design by K.G. Zocher.■

Freedom of worship did not create a new clerical structure. When the Kingdom of the Netherlands came into being in 1815 the southern part, the former Austrian Netherlands, had an episcopal hierarchy and the northern part, the former Republic, did not. An agreement made between Rome and the Netherlands' government to found bishoprics for the North in Amsterdam and Den Bosch was not put into effect due to political unrest which came about when the South seceded. This Belgian Rebellion, and the sympathy which many Catholics showed for it, released a tidal-wave of anti-popish sentiments. Once again Catholics were accused of being unpatriotic. As members of the ultramontane party of the Catholic church they were oriented towards Rome. In Utrecht, there was very strong anti-popish sentiment and the growth of the Catholic section of the population was a cause of great concern.

ill. 33

It was therefore a great shock when in 1853 the Roman Catholic Church chose Utrecht to be the seat of the archbishop. That cut a number of Protestants to the quick since they saw the city as the heart of the Reformation. They organized themselves into the April movement. When William III declared his sympathy, Thorbecke resigned.■ The introduction of the episcopal hierarchy was not, however, overruled. The choice of Utrecht as seat for the archbishop was a sign of the increased self-confi-





dence of the Dutch Catholics. They were no longer happy with the founding of new bishoprics, they wanted the reinstatement of the old seat of Utrecht instead. They looked back to the pre-Reformation period, to the Middle Ages when the Catholic Church still held a monopoly position. The Middle Ages were thus given the stamp of the Golden Age, a seeming Paradise Lost. The Gothic style was the most characteristic manifestation of the church in the Middle Ages and was the great model; neo-Gothic became the artistic style of the Catholic revival. The new churches, which appeared at a tremendous rate after 1853 were built in this manner. The building of churches was then the business of the leading clergy and in Utrecht, Monseigneur G.W. van Heukelum played an important role. He was the great inspirer of the Utrecht school of Gothic Revival. This school, unlike the somewhat more liberal Amsterdam School of Cuypers, aspired to the closest possible imitation of the Middle Ages, concentrating on the German model. The most important architect of the Utrecht School, Alfred Tepe, later went to Germany. In the city of Utrecht his buildings included the Willibrordus Church and the Martinus Church. Van Heukelum fetched a variety of artists from Germany, including the sculptor Friedrich Wilhelm Mengelberg and the glazier Heinrich Geuer, as well as employing the Utrecht gold and silversmith Gerard Bartel Brom.

ill. 34

ill. 35

The Gothic Revival in Utrecht is reactionary and radical at one and the same time. Its strong orientation towards the medieval past embodied a radical platform: the restoration of Catholicism. The St Bernulphus guild, founded by Van Heukelum in 1869, was, by dint of its name, an explicit reference to the medieval bishop who constructed the Utrecht church cross. Neo-Gothic buildings were the most visible signs of the Catholic revival, which became obvious in an increasing number of areas: education, social organizations, the press and politics. Examples of this in Utrecht are the daily newspaper *Het Centrum*, and the electoral association 'Rights for All' with leaders like the barrister A.W.K. Ariëns and various members of the Bosch family. Many Protestants - especially the more latitudinarians - viewed these developments with horror. There was, however, a rapprochement between orthodox Protestants and Catholics due to the school-funding controversy, where their aspirations for equality of denominational education with a religious base were pitted against public education. The Protestant parties, the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) and the Christian Historic Union (CHU) formed a political union with the Catholics, who eventually formed the Roman Catholic State Party (RKSP). This 'coalition' had as its main rallying cry the equality of denominational





■ ill. 32

**Johan C.U. Legner (1859-1932)**

*View of the Oude Gracht in Utrecht showing the Augustinus Church, c. 1910*

oil on canvas,  
90 x 100 cm

on loan from a private collection

Inv. no. 14539



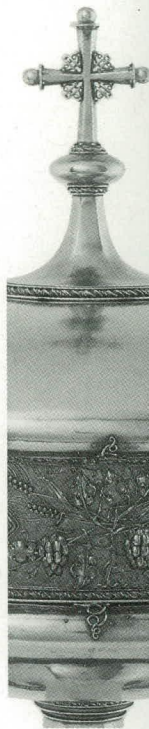
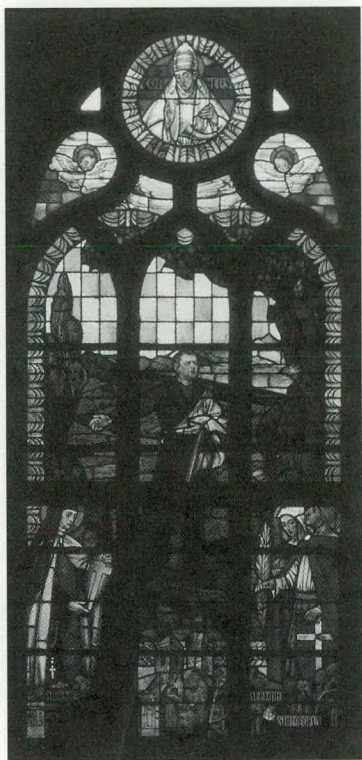
■ ill. 33

Nicolaes Pieneman (1809-1860)  
*Speech made Before King William III  
 on the Occasion of his Visit to Utrecht in 1853, 1853*

oil on panel,  
 61,5 x 73 cm

Inv. no. 5293





■ ill. 34

**Hendricus L.D. Kocken (1882-1956)**

*The Sower of God's Word, 1929*

stained-glass window,

470 x 200 cm

from the Church of St. Martin, in Utrecht

Inv. no. 26065



■ ill. 35

Johanna W.F.P. Brom (1898-1980)

Johannes G.J.E. Brom (1891-1954)

Leo H.M. Brom (1896-1965)

*Ciborium, 1950*

silver gilt with enamel,  
h. 38,5; diam. 22 cm

Inv. no. 17675

education. There was also agreement on other matters like public morality laws. The Pacification of 1917, which through amendments to the constitution regulated the equality of denominational education and the introduction of general electoral suffrage, was the pinnacle of emancipation for Catholics and orthodox Protestants.

The constitutional amendments of 1917 honoured the demands of the confessional parties as well as those of the social-democrats. The socialists had zealously advocated general electoral suffrage for a number of decades. For the social democrats it was a bitter disappointment that the Social-Democratic Worker's Party (SDAP) received little more than 20% of the votes and the confessional parties gained the majority. RKSP, ARP and CHU determined national politics and they were often predominant at a local level too. In the Utrecht municipal council they held, as a group, more than half the seats. The well-enforced 'pillarization' divided society up into separate compartments for orthodox Protestants, Catholics and socialists, with the addition of a somewhat less clearly delimited free-thinking liberal 'pillar'. This system governed the very fibre of social organization. For the labour movement it was a disappointment that social legislation was not pushed through and, even worse, partially reversed. Hopes for a new society created by means of the general suffrage bill were dashed and the measures taken were retrograde rather than progressive. Anti-parliamentarianism arose against this backdrop, a movement which was widespread in intellectual circles too; epitomizing a mood spurred on by the post-1929 economic crisis. The poet Geerten Gossaert (a pseudonym for Prof. F.C. Gerretson) summed up the mood in the following way: 'each and every healthy artist is hostile to society'.

The dismissive attitude can partly be attributed to Marxist doctrine. Left-wing radical parties like the communists were opposed to what, in their opinion, was the strongly middle-class outlook of the SDAP. On the other side, there was a movement that was nationalist in its criticism of parliamentary democracy whilst harbouring fascist sentiments. People were disgusted with parliament's bungling and felt that the nation should be led by a powerful leader. A visual portrayal of this aversion to politics is the painting 'Regeringscompromis' (Government Compromise) by the Utrecht artist Erich Wichman (1890-1929). Wichman was involved in anti-parliamentarian organizations very early on. In 1921 he founded the Rapaille Party (from the French: 'mob') with the aim of ridiculing parliamentary democracy. The party leader was the Amsterdam street figure known as 'Had-je-



me-maar' (roughly translated: 'you don't know what you're missing'). Later Wichman developed increasingly fascist tendencies. He became the king-pin behind the *Fascistisch Weekblad voor Nederland De Bezem* (Fascist Weekly for the Netherlands, The Broom). A lethal bout of pneumonia preserved him from the transfer to national-socialism. However, this step was taken by an Utrecht artist, Pyke Koch. Koch was quick to reject democracy and aspired to an aristocratic lifestyle. This created a conflict with his old friend Marinus van der Goes van Naters who rejected aristocracy in favour of democracy. Their social preferences were inversely proportionate to their social origins. Koch eventually became related to the nobility through his marriage to Hedwig de Geer, daughter of the CHU politician D.J. de Geer, who was prime minister twice during the war and played a controversial role from London before returning to the Netherlands.

Wichman and Koch were not the only Utrecht artists who sympathized with fascism and national-socialism. The versatile artist Cris Agterberg (1883-1948), a friend of Wichman's, was involved with *De Bezem* and the groups that met in his studio were later to found the NSB (Dutch National Socialist Movement). After its foundation Agterberg remained active in this party. Prof. Gerretson, mentioned earlier, was also part of the fascist scene. Gerretson is also a good example of the dissatisfaction with the existing social structure in confessional circles. In the Protestant magazine *Opwaartse Wegen* (Upward Roads) and in the Catholic paper published in Utrecht *De Gemeenschap* (The Community), artists and intellectuals spoke out against the rigidity within their own ranks. Particularly *De Gemeenschap*, established by Jan Engelman, Hendrik Kuitenbrouwer and Willem Maas played an important role in cultural life until it was banned by the German occupying forces in 1941. Utrecht artists like Otto van Rees and Charles Eyck and the architect Sybold van Ravesteyn were all involved in the paper too. In the philosophy of *De Gemeenschap* there was a link with the neo-Gothic: the nostalgic longing for the supposed unity of the Middle Ages. The admiration for Italy, an old tradition in Utrecht's cultural and artistic circles, led some people to speak appreciatively of the leader of that country, Benito Mussolini. Politics led to serious conflicts within the editorial board of *De Gemeenschap*, whereby the fascist line promoted by Hendrik Kuitenbrouwer and his brother was eventually defeated.

The conflicts surrounding *De Gemeenschap* arose from the aversion that fascism and the more radical national-socialism began to evoke. Although originally sympathizers, people like

ill. 36



ill. 37



■ ill. 36

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**  
*Portrait of Mrs. H.M. Koch-de Geer, 1940*  
 oil and watercolour on plywood,  
 230,5 x 130,2 cm  
 Inv. no. 12475



■ ill. 37

Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)  
Cover for 'De Gemeenschap', 1925

printed,  
28,3 x 20,5 cm

Rietveld Schröder Archive



Willem Wagenaar and the poet Hendrik Marsman turned their backs on its dogma and Wagenaar in particular became a vehement opponent of Nazism. After Hitler came to power in January 1933, committees were set up which turned against Nazi-Germany. As early as 1933, a Bruinboek (Brown Book) appeared which warned against the dangers of German Nazism; two of the initiators were the Utrecht professors G.W. Kernkamp and H. Bolkestein. It is striking that among the artists in the committee of recommendation there is not a single Utrecht name to be found. When the terror in Nazi-Germany became increasingly apparent and the NSB, which had its headquarters in Utrecht, gained 8% of the votes in the Dutch Provincial States elections of 1935, the resistance became stronger. Churches, social organizations and initiative groups made a stand against advancing national socialism. One example of this kind of initiative group is 'Eenheid door Democratie' (Unity through Democracy), in which the Utrecht professor P. Geyl played a key role. The conspicuous role of the Utrecht professors in the public debate is typical of the prominent position of the university in the urban community.

Opposition to fascism and Nazism was strong enough in the Netherlands to keep the wrangling parties and factions which supported it far from the seats of power. It was not until after the German invasion that the NSB members could play a significant role as henchmen to the occupier. In May 1940 Utrecht narrowly escaped bombardment by the German airforce. The Netherlands was occupied from 1940 until 1945. Life soon returned to normal after the dramatic days of the German invasion. In the early years the occupying forces tried to convince the Dutch to cooperate and in order to facilitate this cooperation left the existing structures partially intact. The civil service and the local councils continued to function. Nazification was introduced gradually. The sacking of mayor Ter Pelkwijk and his replacement by the NSB member Van Ravenswaaij in the spring of 1942 was a milestone. The occupier was gaining more of a stranglehold on society and whole groups of the population were being carried off: political prisoners, those who fell within the terms of the Arbeitseinsatz - a system of forced labour usually in Germany for young men - (this included the young artist Bertus Jonkers), ex-servicemen, Jews, Gypsies and homosexuals. Only a very small number of the Utrecht Jews ever returned. The economy was originally stimulated by the mobilization of the German war economy and the unemployment of the Depression years disappeared. Steel factories like the Utrecht Demka were working at full force. As a result of the increasing

shortages, a great number of problems arose and during the final year of the war the economy was completely disoriented.

The nazification and the disruption of society effected cultural life too. During the early years of the war there were many opportunities in this area and there was an intense interest in culture. As the war continued the situation became increasingly difficult. The Occupier demanded that artists and writers become members of the Cultural Chamber founded in 1941 in order to get a work permit and this meant a parting of ways in art circles. Some like Koch, Agterberg and Van Ravesteyn chose to cooperate with the Germans, thereby continuing along the path of their prewar attitudes. ■ Others like Wagenaar joined the Resistance. Rietveld made stamps for false passports.

*ill. 38*

### Postwar Utrecht

For the postwar period it becomes increasingly difficult to place artists in the context of urban development. In the first place this development has not yet crystallized, but what is more important is that expansion has escalated since 1945. The new developments in the city are seen increasingly to follow national and international trends and Utrecht's own character is gradually fading away. The salient characteristics in Utrecht's history after 1945 are that of the two main themes of the period 1850-1940. The first theme, economic development and urban expansion, was initially pursued enthusiastically after the war only to be followed by a period of stagnation. The second theme, 'pillarization', first saw the return of the prewar situation only to break down from the mid-sixties onwards.

As far as urban development is concerned, great plans were made in the mood of postwar reconstruction. The mayor who succeeded Ter Pelkwijk in 1948, C.J.A. de Ranitz, turned out to be an ardent supporter of radical change. In 1954 a long-cherished wish was granted: expansion of the municipal territory. Through annexation of land from surrounding municipalities, the surface area of the city was more than doubled and the number of inhabitants rose from almost 200,000 to a good 240,000. In the following two decades the districts Kanaleneiland, Hoograven, Overvecht and finally Lunetten were constructed on the newly gained land. The architects who worked on this city expansion included Gerrit Rietveld, who had gained renewed recognition since 1950. ■ The new buildings first led to continuous population growth, but after 1970 the population figures began to decline. The elite's trek to the east continued, crossing over the city border, and middle-class families settled in the sur-

*ill. 39*



■ ill. 38

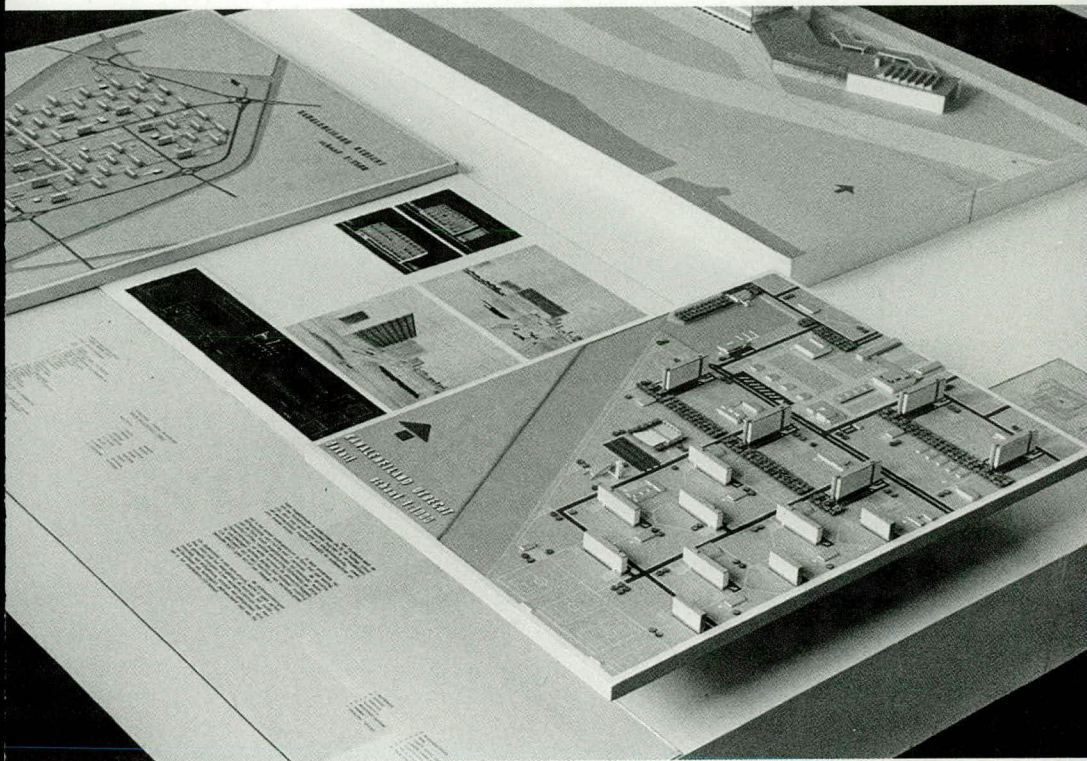
Pyke Koch (1901-1991)  
 Stamps showing Germanic symbols, 1943-1944



rounding dormitory suburbs Nieuwegein, Houten and Maarsen. The trend towards a reduced number of inhabitants per house has meant that there is still a great need for housing in Utrecht. In order to meet this need and to correct the unbalanced structure of the population as a result of the trek to the east, Utrecht is once again striving to increase its territory. After the building of the district Voordorp in around 1990, the municipality was once more full. It was recently agreed that the municipality Vleuten-De Meern would release a piece of land on which the district 'Leidsche Rijn' will arise with 20,000 houses in the coming years.

It is not only the outside of the city which is witnessing great change, the inner city has undergone a metamorphosis. Around 1950 the discussions on the function of the city centre started up. In the *Structuurplan* (structural plan) of 1954 far-reaching proposals for demolition and new building in the old city were launched. Division was rife. Jan Engelman put the opposition against modernization into words with his derisive attack on 'flat hat-boxes which are a blot on the cityscape', whereas Rietveld was shown to be a warm supporter of modernization and criticized 'the preservationists, who would like us all to return to the seventeenth century'. He argued for large-scale high-rise building in the inner city. From the two options 'museum' or 'living city' the city council chose for the latter in 1956. Concrete plans took a further ten years to materialize. It was then decided to partially fill in the canals and to construct the shopping centre Hoog Catharijne around the Central Station. The fact that the central government in The Hague and the Provincial Council were originally against the plans, meant that the actually building did not start until 1968. In building Hoog Catharijne important architectural monuments like the building 'De Utrecht' and Van Ravesteyn's Central Station had to be sacrificed. ■ In other parts of the city too, demolition work began for new through roads and new building works. The municipal elections of 1970 marked a turning-point in the policy. The demolition plans were postponed and the filling in of the canals was discontinued. Later, in the seventies, projects started which resulted in the renovation of the existing buildings and small-scale house-building on vacant plots. The dissatisfaction with Hoog Catharijne led to new debates about the future of the business centre which were to result in the Utrecht City Plan. This plan provides for the return of water to the Catharijne canal.

The drastic changes in the cityscape evoked very different feelings among the artists. Rietveld and Engelman's diametrically opposed views on urban planning in the fifties have already



■ ill. 39

Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)  
made by students of the Academy for Architecture  
*Maquette of Kanaleneiland Utrecht, 1957*

wood, paper, man-made fabrics, painted  
85 x 118,5 x 83,3 cm

Inv. no. 26060



■ ill. 40

Ir. Sybold van Ravesteyn (1889-1983)

*Central Station Utrecht, 1936*

demolished: c. 1974

photo: Municipal Archives



ill. 41

been mentioned. Engelman's views were shared by artists like Kuik and Teister. It is remarkable that they made a stand against modern urban development plans and put the case for preserving the existing buildings. For Dirkje Kuik the disappearing old city was a source of inspiration.■ She captured it in drawings in which she showed a pronounced orientation towards the Utrecht masters of the seventeenth century. Willem van Leusden was inspired by the Golden Age too. Teister also harked back to a time yet further removed: the Utrecht of the bishops. The city was generally used by these artists as an idealized image. In the fantasy of these artists the city is an image of the past. Their Utrecht is to be found at the wharveside cellars, and by way of contrast in the rural tranquillity of Rhijnauwen, where Kuik and Jonkers did a great deal of their work.

The second drastic change in the past fifty years has been the removal of the traditional religious and socio-political barriers. After the war, counter to expectation, the pre-1940 establishment returned almost unchanged. The three large confessional parties regained a majority, with the RKSP taking on a new name: the Catholic People's Party (KVP). The reform movement around the Labour Party (PvdA) was unsuccessful and this party was barely larger than the prewar socialist SDAP. In the Utrecht municipal council the parties were almost up to their old strength. ARP, CHU and KVP still jointly occupied about half the council seats. It was not until the sixties that the situation changed dramatically. The confessional parties, in particular the KVP, lost a great deal of their support. In 1982, the Christian-Democratic Appeal (CDA), into which the three parties had amalgamated, failed to get into the city council. In 1990 they made a comeback. In 1994 the party maintained a foothold; but with only six seats there is little left of the majority enjoyed forty years ago. The Labour Party was also badly hit around 1970, recovered during the seventies but was later decimated. However, the party has held seats in the municipal council without interruption. The influence of the new parties like the Democrats 1966 and the Green Left, that do not have their roots in denominationalism has greatly increased.

These changes in the political landscape are the result of a cultural revolution which threw the Netherlands into turmoil in the mid-sixties. The trend towards secularization, which had set in much earlier, started to accelerate. This was particularly true of the Catholics, where this process was spurred on by internal change, resulting in the spectacular collapse of the old bastion. The churches emptied and the neo-Gothic buildings were demo-

lished or used for other purposes like the Martinus church which was remodelled into an apartment block. The worshippers who remained faithful no longer voted automatically for the confessional parties which had been almost halved within a decade. The organizations and media which had been the voice of one particular religious group like the (originally Catholic) daily newspaper *De Volkskrant* changed their style, or disappeared altogether like the Utrecht newspaper *Het Centrum*, where Alain Teister had started his career. The Dutch Catholic Trade Union (NKV) merged with the Socialist Dutch Trade Union (NVV) and became the Federation of Dutch Trade Unions (FNV), with its headquarters in Utrecht.

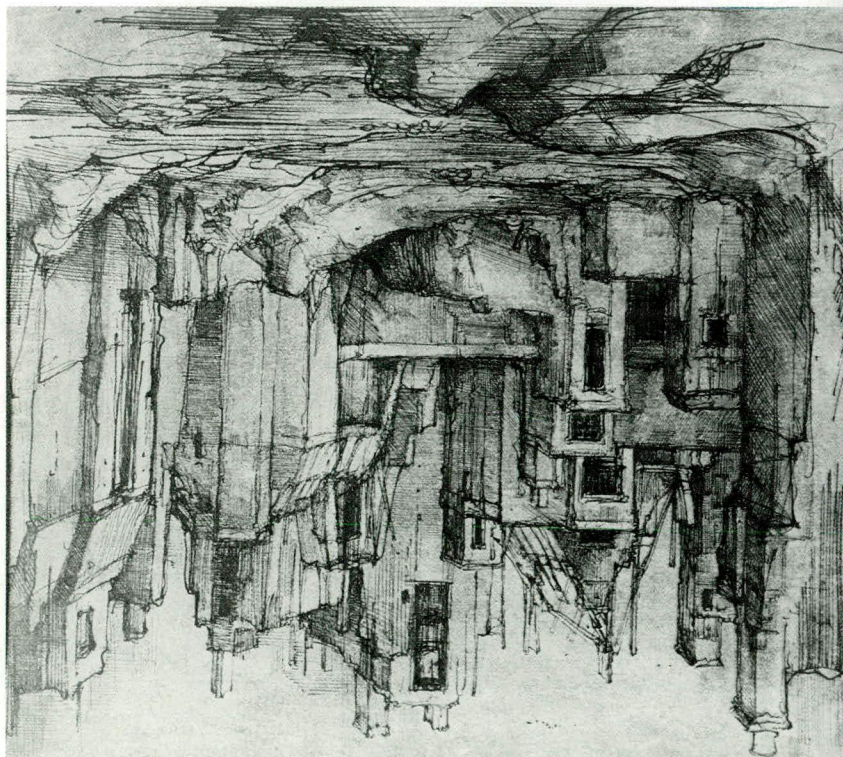
Ultimately the developments in the sixties led to far more drastic changes for Utrecht than for Amsterdam which has traditionally always been more cosmopolitan, though the happenings in the capital city were often highly spectacular. That is also true of the universities, which underwent a complete transformation round 1970. The demands for student participation and the ideologizing of education and research came at a moment when the university was changing into a massive organization stretched to the limit by the growth in student numbers. Whereas in the fifties the university had about 5,000 students, this number had trebled by the sixties only to stabilize in 1975 at 20,000. An enormous diversification of student culture was the result. The student fraternities, whose monopoly position had long since gone, also lost their status as standard-bearer of the student population and only welcomed a minority of the students within their walls. The image-determining element for the university was the radicalizing student movements. When these collapsed in the mid-seventies, there was no dominant student organization left. The student was individualized.

Individualization, increases in scale and professionalization are also perceptible in Utrecht art. The training course for artists was incorporated into mainstream higher education. The Academy for the Fine Arts, *Artibus*, merged into the Higher School for Art on the 1st of January 1987. The artists in training had become students of higher education. They study in Utrecht without any clear link to the city and without there being a prevailing artistic climate. Locally-oriented schooling like that which took place under Willem van Leusden at the Utrecht School for Applied Industrial Arts, where artists like Moesman and Van 't Net were trained, is less feasible in this context. Even Utrecht-born artists like Frans Franciscus do not produce typical Utrecht art. Franciscus has now settled in Amsterdam, the city which is the traditional centre of Dutch art. There is no



inv. no. 15306  
30,4 x 36,3  
washed pen drawing,  
*Demolition of District C, 1962*  
**Dirkje Kuik (1929)**

III, 41





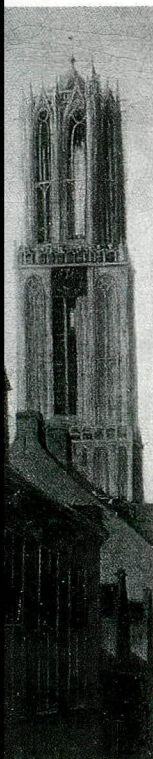
clear Utrecht school of art at the moment. At the most, one can state that there is a strong graphic tradition. The prewar activities in this field of Willem van Leusden and Dick van Luijn were continued after 1945 in the graphic company *De Luis* (Lice) that was founded by Kuik, Moesman and Van Maarsseveen. At the moment artists can go to the Graphic Atelier, where, to make the circle complete, Van Leusden's etching press can be tried out. A number of traditional organizations like *Kunstliefde* (Society of Art Lovers) and the P.U.G. have weathered the storm, even though they are not at the forefront of art. The celebrations to mark two centuries are fast approaching at the *Kunstliefde* Society. Their 150th birthday was celebrated in great style in 1957.

Where exhibitions of contemporary art are concerned the Centraal Museum takes on a prominent position at the moment. After the amalgamation of Utrecht's Museum for Contemporary Art with the Centraal Museum and the appointment of Sjarel Ex as director and successor to Adeline Janssens in 1988, their policy has become even more strongly directed towards developments in contemporary art and design as can be seen in the exhibitions and purchases. At the same time, the collection built up over the centuries and exhibitions round artists and designers from the past continue to be of great importance.

Having come to the end of a five-century parade, it is time for a short review. If we try to typify the artists of 'The Utrecht Way' against a backcloth of urban history two keywords come to mind: Catholicism and conservatism. For a city in the north of the Netherlands, Utrecht has a high percentage of Catholics and this religious group is also well-represented among the artist population. Catholic artists have actually played a prominent role in its history. In the sixteenth century Jan van Scorel and his pupil Anthonie Mor emphatically dismissed the rising tide of Protestantism. Important seventeenth-century painters like Bloemaert and Van Honthorst were Catholic and their art fits in with the Baroque South. Neo-Gothic art, which determined the face of Utrecht in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was pre-eminently Catholic. Finally, in this century, there was a prominent art movement centred on the Catholic magazine *De Gemeenschap* in the twenties and thirties. Catholicism has been strongly linked with conservatism. Van Scorel emphatically rejected the new Protestantism. The Catholic seventeenth-century community had a natural longing for the past in their position as second-class citizens in an officially Protestant country. Neo-Gothic art was an attempt to revive that idealized medieval past. A similar sort of nostalgia can be detected centring around *De Gemeenschap* which led a variety of artists from this social environment to admire Italian fascism. Italy has been a continuing source of inspiration for Utrecht artists, going back in time - the doctrine of central papal supremacy of the neo-Gothic period, the mannerism and Caravaggism of the Golden Age and Jan van Scorel's protracted stay in Italy after 1520.

A nostalgic longing for the past is also perceptible with postwar artists like Kuik and Teister. They react to the dramatic changes caused by the urbanization around Hoog Catharijne. These projects form a stage in a process of expansion, that began when Utrecht came into the Burgundian-Habsburg state structure. After 1570, and the Rebellion against Spain, a nostalgic longing for the independence that Utrecht had enjoyed in the Middle Ages was an important motif, and in the Republic of the United Netherlands, Utrecht was one of the seven sovereign provinces. Holland, however, was dominant, and from the late seventeenth century this province and subsequently France were decisive for Utrecht culture. In the Batavian-French period (1795-1813) political autonomy disappeared altogether and Utrecht became part of a unitary state. The arrival of the rail-

ways after 1840 ruptured this local isolation completely and Utrecht took on a central role. The population grew swiftly and the city eventually stepped outside its twelfth-century limits later increasing in size even further. That process is still going on today. The second date in the sub-title of the exhibition - 1995 - symbolizes the incompleteness of the developments and the futuristic view of an exhibition in which conservatism plays such an important role.



*With thanks to Hanneke Adriaans, Marja Bosma, Maarten Brinkman, Sjarel Ex, Jos de Meyere, Pauline Micheels, Frank Pietersen, Suzanna de Sitter and Ida van Zijl for their commentary on earlier versions.*







### The Five Cathedral Sculptures (Dombeelden), c. 1455

Medieval Utrecht was a flourishing centre of the arts. This applies especially to sculpture, in which the city reached its apogee in the fifteenth century. Many of these sculptures survive, and the Centraal Museum has a highly representative collection. The five cathedral sculptures, known as the Dombeelden, are among the most important of these sculptures.

They were bought by the city in 1838. The receipt - which still survives - is dated 3 May 1838 and documents that they were purchased from the architect, painter and biographer of artists Christiaan Kramm, who had himself acquired them from a Mr D'Yvoy in the same year. He, in turn, had bought the five sculptures in 1813, shortly after their removal from the cathedral's records room. They had probably been there, undisturbed, for centuries - not only did they survive the iconoclasm without serious damage but they even retain their original polychromy.

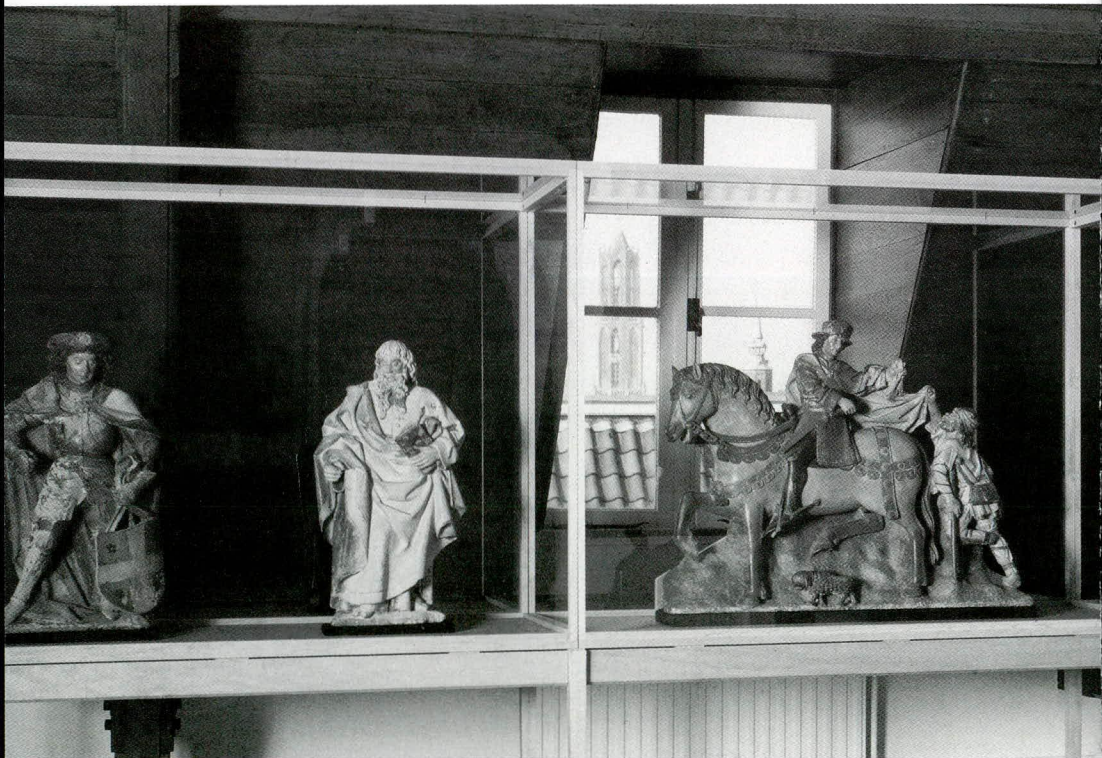
Why the sculptures were originally created, by whom and when were matters long clouded by uncertainty. On the authority of the former Utrecht municipal archivist and museum director, S. Muller, it was accepted that the five sculptures were intended for the burial vault of bishop Rudolf van Diepholt, located in his own chapel in the cathedral. Muller also believed the sculptor to be Cornelis de Wael, and the date 1475 or shortly afterwards. That was the year of De Wael's appointment as cathedral architect on the death of his predecessor, Jacob van Borch. Muller's attribution and estimated date (c. 1480) are repeated in the *Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der Stad* (Catalogue of the City's History Museum), published in 1928.

Professor W. Vogelsang of the University of Utrecht took issue with Muller's attribution. He thought the sculptures were the work of the Master of Maria's Deathbed, otherwise known as the Master of the Music-playing Angels. These epithets for one and the same master are based on sculptures in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum that represent these themes. Vogelsang was later to change his mind, however. In *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Art history of the Netherlands), published in 1935, he attributes the five cathedral sculptures to Jacob van der Borch!

The erstwhile director of the Aartsbisshoppelijk Museum (archiepiscopal museum) D. Bouvy, and later on, of the Rijksmuseum The Catharijne Convent at Utrecht, cast doubt on the attributions and dates given by Muller and Vogelsang. Bouvy







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Jan Nude (?)

*Five Sculptures from the Dom Cathedral in Utrecht, c. 1455*

l. to r.: St George in armour, St Paul holding a book in his  
left hand, St Martin on horseback, St Agnes with a lamb,  
and St Mary Magdalen with the pot of ointment  
polychrome limestone,

*Cat. 1928/1271*



■ ill. 43

Jan Nude (?)  
*Sint Agnes*, c. 1455

polychrome limestone, h. 73 cm  
 From the Dom cathedral in Utrecht

Cat. 1928/1271

established that the line of sight, and indeed the entire conception of the five sculptures, indicated that they must originally have been intended for a far higher situation than a burial vault. Bouvy also observed that from the flat finish on the rear of the sculptures it could be inferred that they had been placed against a wall. As far as the date was concerned, Vogelsang had already expressed his own doubts - he now thought 1475 was too late.

Finally, after examining the records, P.T.A. Swillens concluded that the five sculptures - along with certain others that no longer survive - were used to decorate the organ loft that was erected in the cathedral in the middle of the fifteenth century. We know that this organ loft was in use in 1455 and later underwent a number of changes. What eventually happened to the sculptures, however, is unclear. Swillens also discovered that the sculpting work for the organ loft was by Jan Nude, and did not rule out the possibility that Nude also produced the five cathedral sculptures in around 1455.■

ill. 42

There is now reasonable consensus on Swillens' suggested attribution and date, the exception being the *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Northern Netherlandish Medieval Art) catalogue published in 1958 which names the sculptor as the Master of the Church of St Martin and the Four Saints in Utrecht. Whatever the identity of the sculptor, however, the five cathedral works occupy a unique place in the history of sculpture in Utrecht since they bear little relation to any other works produced in the city. The catalogue referred to above expresses it as follows: 'The work of the master differs from that of many Northern Netherlandish sculptors in that it is distinguished not by a middle-class conventionality but a courtly grace that recalls the charm of the Utrecht pipeclay sculptures. Features shared by both include the way the wavy, short hair is depicted'.

The central figure of the group represents St Martin, the patron saint of Utrecht and of its cathedral. The saint is reproduced on horseback. Using his sword, he is cutting off a piece of his coat to give to a crippled beggar who stands behind the horse. The remaining saints are easily identifiable by their usual attributes: St George the knight by his shield (the lance that belongs with it has disappeared); St Paul by a book (his usual sword has also disappeared); St Agnes by the lamb at her right foot; and, finally, St Mary Magdalene by the jar of ointment. St George is the defender, St Paul the champion of the faith. St Agnes and St Mary Magdalene, of whom relics are preserved in the cathedral, are greatly revered in Utrecht.■

ill. 43





Jan van Scorel  
 Schoorl 1495-1562 Utrecht  
 14 and 13 Mariaplaats, Nieuwegracht (studio)

Interest in Jan van Scorel and his work goes right back to the painter's own lifetime, when he was already regarded as the first and foremost among artists. This tribute came from Van Scorel's circle of humanist friends whose importance as a mouthpiece for what was happening in those days in artistic and cultural fields went far beyond the boundaries of the Northern Netherlands. And to this very day, interest in Jan van Scorel and his work has remained undiminished.

Carel van Mander's *Schilderboeck*, published in Haarlem in 1604, gives precise information on Jan van Scorel's place and date of birth: 'He was born in the year 1495. on the first day of August/in a village near Alckmaer in Holland/called Scorel/ from which he received his surname.' Van Mander also states that Jan van Scorel's parents died early, but he omits to mention that the painter's father was a priest. Later Jan van Scorel, as a priest himself, was to have a wife and children.

Before being apprenticed to a number of painters, Van Scorel was a pupil at the Latin School in Alkmaar, a school which provided an extremely good education for that time. Jan van Scorel left the school at the age of fourteen to study painting, and according to Van Mander he had three teachers: Willem Corneliszoon of Haarlem, Iacob Corneliszoon of Amsterdam, and Ianijn de Mabuse of Utrecht.

Van Mander has few good words to say of Van Scorel's first teacher, although he is more positive about the second, Jacob Corneliszoon, also known as Jacob Corneliszoon of Amsterdam or Van Oostzanen. He writes that Jan van Scorel left the studio of Jacob Corneliszoon of Amsterdam to work in Utrecht with the painter Ianijn de Mabuse - Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse - who was in the service of bishop Philip of Burgundy. Van Mander immediately adds, however, that Jan van Scorel did not stay long with the famous Utrecht painter 'because this Master's disorderly life/often led him to drinking and fighting in iniquitous taverns/ while Schoorel often had to pay for him /and was also brought into mortal danger through him/ so that there seemed no sense or duty to stay with him.' Van Scorel and Gossaert presumably met in 1518, the year that Philip of Burgundy came to Utrecht, probably with Jan Gossaert as part of his retinue.

In addition to the three teachers referred to by Van Mander, the Utrecht scholar Arnold Buchell mentions a fourth: Cornelis Buys. Buchell adds that when Buys died he was still working on





Ill. 44

Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)  
*The Lamentation of Christ*, c. 1540

oil on panel,  
 168 x 137 cm

Inv. nr. 6450





■ ill. 45

Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)  
*The Entry into Jerusalem, c. 1526/27*

oil on panel,  
 79 x 146,8 cm (central panel)

Inv. nr. 6078 a



a memorial painting for the Van Egmond van der Nijenburg family which, Buchell says, Jan van Scorel completed after his return from Italy. It has long been thought that this is the painting in the Centraal Museum's collection entitled *The Mourning of Christ with Members of the Van Egmond Family*. (De bewening van Christus met leden van de familie van Egmond).■

In 1518 Jan Van Scorel set off on a journey to the south, and on the way he went to Nuremberg to visit the painter Albrecht Dürer. He stayed there for some time but it seems that Dürer was so greatly preoccupied with Lutheranism that it caused Jan van Scorel to leave both master and city.

Van Mander relates that Van Scorel was enthusiastically received everywhere he went in Germany and Austria, but he did not stay long in any one place. The painter made a respectable income from the sale of his paintings, all the more so because he was very prolific. One of the works he made at the time was the triptych *The Holy Virgin* (De heilige maagschap), painted in 1519, which is still in the parish church of Obervellach in Austria. It is characteristic that Jan van Scorel did not sign the triptych with the usual 'Jan van Scorel fecit' (Made by Jan van Scorel) - but 'Ioannes scorel ... pictorie artis amator', that is, 'lover of the art of painting'. In this way he let himself be known as an art connoisseur. The art collector and connoisseur occupied a much higher position in society than the artist, who was essentially regarded as being little more than a craftsman.

From Carinthia in southern Austria, Jan van Scorel set off for Venice, the city from which pilgrims made the sea journey to the ultimate goal of Christian pilgrimage, the Holy Land. The crossing from Venice to Jerusalem generally took between four and six weeks. During the journey Jan van Scorel made portraits of his fellow passengers, and Van Mander relates that he drew: 'his daily journeys in a little book' and 'several landscapes/views/little towns/castles/and mountains'.

Arriving in Jerusalem, Jan van Scorel struck up acquaintance with 'den Gardiaen van't Clooster tot Sion' - the warden of the Monastery of Sion - in whose company he explored the neighbourhood. But Van Scorel soon left Jerusalem, visiting the city of Rhodes on his return journey to Venice. On his subsequent journey to Rome, Van Scorel visited other places - but in relating these details Van Mander does not specify which they were.

On 9 January 1522 Adriaan Floriszoon Boeyens was elected Pope. 'He was born in Utrecht/and went to Rome/ where Schoorel became acquainted with the Pope'. Van Mander also relates that Pope Adrian VI, the Utrecht Pope, appointed Jan van





■ ill. 46

Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)  
*Madonna with Wild Roses*, c. 1529

oil on panel,  
51,9 x 44 cm

Inv. nr. 12432 a

Scorel curator of the Belvedere, where the Vatican art treasures were kept. In this position Van Scorel directly succeeded Raphael in whose studio in the Vatican he worked. An entry in the diary of the Venetian envoy, Marino Zanuto, tells us that in May 1523 Jan van Scorel was living in the Pope's apartments in Rome. At that time Van Scorel was busy painting two portraits of the pope, which - according to Zanuto - were so excellent that it was like seeing the pope himself. A copy of these portraits is now in the Centraal Museum's collection. When he was in Rome Jan van Scorel would certainly have formed part of Pope Adrian VI's circle of friends and acquaintances, which included Willem van Lochorst, Herman Lochorst's illegitimate son, for whom Van Scorel painted some pictures on his return to Utrecht.

The exact date of Van Scorel's departure from Rome is not known. But we do know that on his return to Utrecht he took up residence with Herman van Lochorst, dean of Oudmunster, for whom he painted the triptych *The Entry into Jerusalem* (De intocht van Christus in Jeruzalem), now in the Centraal Museum. Van Scorel has portrayed the close bond between the Van Lochorst family and Pope Adrian in a most subtle way. Saint Cornelius, represented on the left-hand wing panel of this triptych, looks exactly like Pope Adrian VI. From Van Mander we gather that it was not until after the death of Herman van Lochorst that the triptych was brought to the cathedral in Utrecht where the picture was placed beside the grave as a memorial painting to commemorate the three members of the Van Lochorst family buried there.

In his painting *The Entry into Jerusalem* Van Scorel depicted the city with extreme topographical accuracy, and we may assume that when he was working on the picture he had recourse to the sketches he made during his stay there.■ After his visit to Jerusalem, Van Scorel was admitted to the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood. Those who had virtuously undertaken the pilgrimage to the Holy Land could become members of such a brotherhood on returning to their own country. Between 1525 when he returned from his pilgrimage, and 1527 when he moved to Haarlem, Jan van Scorel painted two panels for the Utrecht Brotherhood each containing portraits of twelve members of the society; on the first of these panels he has also portrayed himself. Some ten years later, around 1535, he painted a third panel with portraits of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood, this time consisting of eight brothers and one sister.■ These panels, now in the Centraal Museum, were originally intended for the Brotherhood chapel situated in the vicinity of the Janskerk.

On 29 April 1527 he appointed procurators to look after his



ill. 45

ill. 47



affairs during his absence, and left Utrecht to escape the disturbances brought on by a political power struggle. He settled in Haarlem, where he was kept extremely active. Van Mander tells us that he rented a house because he was 'much sought after and besought to take on more pupils'. One of those apprentices was Maerten van Heemskerck.

In 1530 Van Scorel returned to Utrecht where he was to stay for the rest of his life. In all probability he quickly established a studio there although documentary evidence on this point is meagre. The sources that we do have, however, lead us to conclude that Jan van Scorel's studio was exceptionally busy, particularly in the 1540s. In the same period Anthonie Mor was a pupil of Jan van Scorel.

ill. 46

Van Scorel received a great many commissions. In 1542, for example, he made a 'Mary-picture', or Madonna, for Gustavus I of Sweden. He painted several versions of this type of picture and the Centraal Museum has one in its collection. ■ Jan van Scorel did not limit himself to small format pictures, his studio also produced countless life-size paintings. In 1550, for instance, he was commissioned to paint an altarpiece for the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. The work has not survived but there are a number of documents which provide extremely interesting information about the realization of this altarpiece. We learn that the work had to be bigger than a similar piece in Utrecht Cathedral; and that it was stipulated that the Delft altarpiece must have double or four opening panels. Furthermore Van Scorel was charged with painting the figures in such a way that, when someone was standing under the organ at the back of the church, they should all be clearly recognizable. As payment for this work Jan van Scorel asked the Delft churchwardens for 50 Carolus guilders a year for a period of 25 years, as well as an annual annuity of two Flemish pounds for his six children. The total fee that he himself was to receive - 1,250 Carolus guilders - amounted to four times the sum he had paid for his most expensive house!

Alongside his work as a painter, Jan van Scorel also developed many other activities which expanded particularly during the 1540s and 50s. He undertook these not in his capacity as canon nor in response to a commission from a chapter of the Mariakerk in Utrecht, but entirely on his own initiative. It is not possible to summarize briefly Jan van Scorel's undertakings of those years, but if we were to describe him in present-day terms he could be called an urbanist or engineer. He also participated in the organization and decoration of the triumphant entry of Charles V into Utrecht in 1540, and later that of his son Philip in 1549. And he was active, among other things, as a picture





■ ill. 47

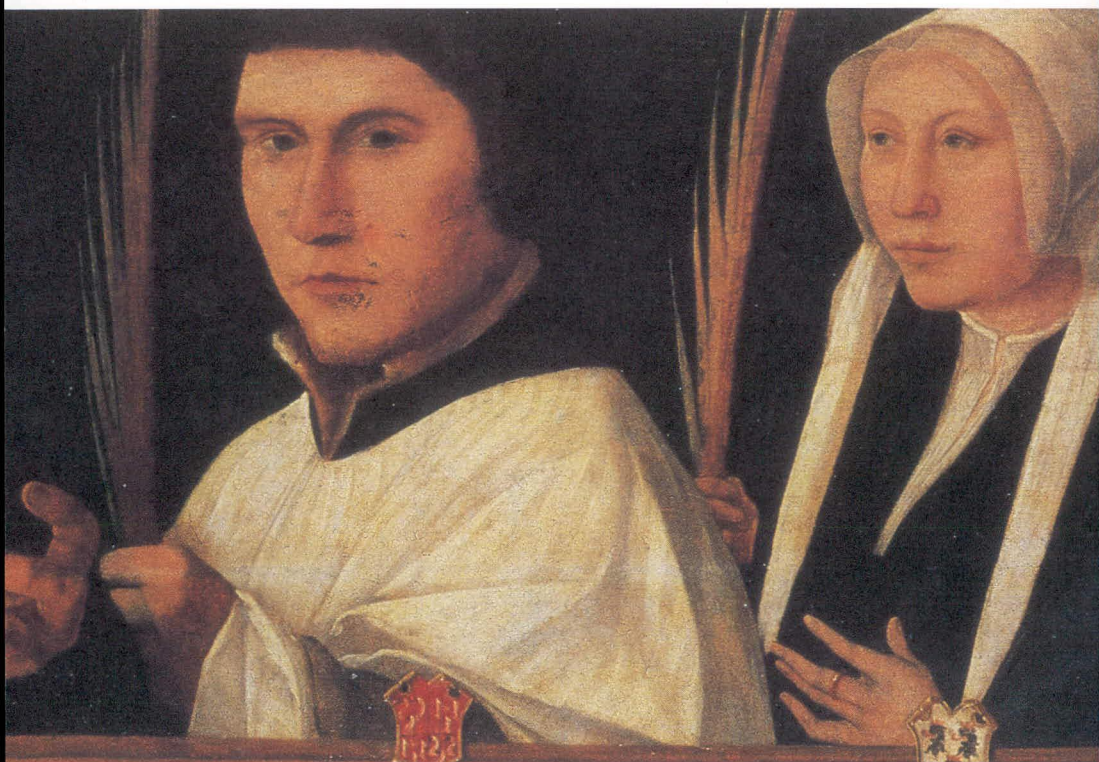
**Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)**  
*Portraits of nine members of the Utrecht  
 Jerusalem Brotherhood, c. 1535*

oil on panel,  
 46,5 x 247,5 cm

*Inv. nr.* 2377













restorer, musician and writer.

Jan van Scorel died on 6 December 1562 in Utrecht and a monument was placed beside his grave in the city's Mariakerk. As far as we know it is unique in the sixteenth century for an artist of the Northern Netherlands to have been accorded such a monument. The esteem which Jan van Scorel enjoyed in his lifetime did not diminish after his death, and his work has continued to be widely admired through the centuries.

*The Centraal Museum's collection  
includes 9 paintings by Van Scorel.*



**Abraham Bloemaert**  
**Gorinchem 1566-1651 Utrecht**  
**Nieuwegracht, Mariaplaats**

Abraham Bloemaert is sometimes called the 'founder of the Utrecht School'. Not without justification if we remember that Bloemaert had countless pupils including Cornelis van Poelenburch, Jan Both, Jan Baptist Weenix, Hendrick ter Brugghen, Gerard van Honthorst, Jan van Bijlert, as well as other artists who were not from Utrecht such as Jan Gerritszoon Cuyt and Nicolaus Knupfer. Bloemaert himself had not had an exemplary schooling and he did everything he could to correct this.

The many surviving documents of the period provide us with a fair amount of information on Abraham Bloemaert's life. Van Mander's *Schilderboeck*, published in Haarlem in 1604, is a valuable source of information on the first four decades of the artist's life. And undoubtedly Van Mander - painter and artists' biographer - had access to first-hand knowledge about Bloemaert.

Abraham Bloemaert was born on 24 December 1566 in Gorinchem. His father Cornelis Bloemaert was a sculptor, architect and engineer. The Bloemaert family moved to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1567 where, among other things, Cornelis was put in charge of the restoration of the pulpit in the St Johns church which had been damaged by iconoclasts in October 1566. In 1576, Abraham's father became a member of a guild in Utrecht; he must have moved from 's-Hertogenbosch to Utrecht in that same year or shortly after.

Van Mander relates that Abraham Bloemaert initially practised at home with his father copying drawings, or copies of works, by the Antwerp artist Frans Floris. After these early studies, Bloemaert was apprenticed to the Utrecht painter Gerrit Splinter, whom Van Mander referred to as a *cladder* or dauber. But, continues Van Mander, Bloemaert left him after a fortnight because Splinter indulged in excessive drinking every day. Bloemaert was then apprenticed to the Utrecht painter Joos de Beer, whom Van Mander describes as 'not the best painter', but he did not stay long there either. Father Bloemaert then set his son to work at home. This was followed by another apprenticeship, this time with Anthonie van Blocklandt, which seems to have been equally unsatisfactory because this master used him as a lackey or for other menial services. So after a year and a half with Blocklandt, Bloemaert was once again back at home.

At around the age of sixteen or seventeen, Bloemaert was sent to Paris where, according to Van Mander, he worked suc-





■ ill. 48

Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651)  
*The Adoration of the Magi*, 1624

oil on canvas,  
 168,5 x 194 cm

Inv. nr. 2575





■ ill. 49

Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651)  
*The Goddess Latona and the Lycians, 1646*

oil on canvas,  
 69,4 x 100,5 cm

Inv. nr. 2573

cessively for one Iehan Bassot, Maistre Herry, and Hieronymus Francken. On 31 October 1591 Bloemaert became a citizen of Amsterdam, where he and his father set themselves up in a studio in the former Convent of the Poor Clares.

On 2 May 1592 in Amsterdam Bloemaert married Judith van Schoonhoven who was eighteen years his senior. But after the death of his father, who was buried on 1 November 1593, Bloemaert returned to Utrecht where he settled permanently. On 22 November in Utrecht he and his wife drew up their wills in the presence of Victor van Scorel, a son of the famous Utrecht painter Jan van Scorel. Judith died of the plague on 8 November 1599 and was buried in the chapel of the former Mary Magdalene Convent in whose grounds Abraham Bloemaert had rented a house. On 12 October 1600 Bloemaert was married again to Gerarda de Roij who bore him many children. Among the seven sons were the painter and poet Hendrick; Adriaen who was also a painter; and Frederick and Cornelis who both became engravers.

In 1611 Bloemaert was involved in setting up the St Luke's Guild in Utrecht whereby the painters broke away from the Saddlers' Guild. And in 1618 he was dean of the guild. Bloemaert remained active into old age; on 20 May 1647, when he was already over eighty years old, he entered into a contract to give lessons to Samuel Griffet of Amsterdam.

Abraham Bloemaert had an immense influence and his work continued to be copied until long after his death. Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, for example, painted several 'old heads' after models by Bloemaert. And the famous French painter François Boucher engraved a series of prints after Bloemaert, using elements from those prints as inspiration for his paintings. Boucher's son-in-law possessed a painting made by one of Boucher's pupils which was a landscape 'dans le style de Bloemaert'.

Prints played an important role in the wide dissemination of Bloemaert's qualities as a teacher. These prints, several of which were made by his sons Cornelis and Frederick, can be found in *Artis Apellae Liber*, which was published by Frederick Bloemaert in Utrecht in the mid-seventeenth century. Bloemaert also produced countless drawings which display his virtuosity in that field.

His oeuvre, which mainly consists of history pieces - that is, paintings depicting religious and mythological subjects, clearly shows the stylistic developments, or, more accurately, the influence of the various styles which emerged during his lifetime: Mannerism, Caravaggism and Classicism.







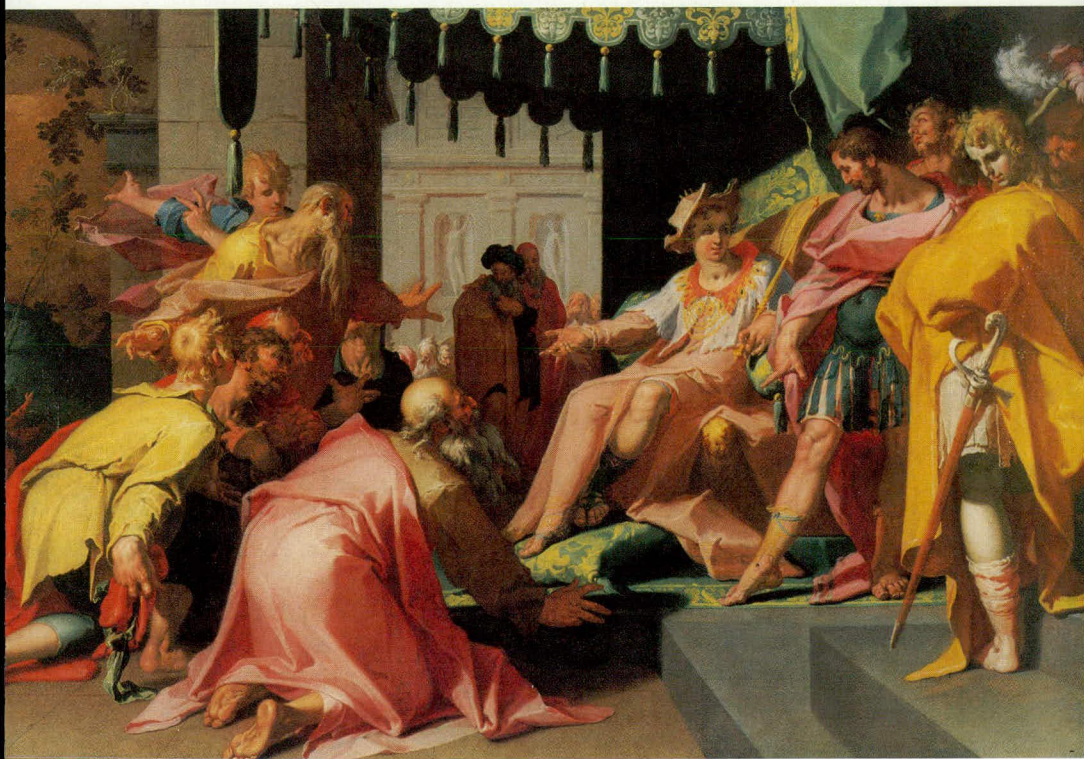
■ ill. 50

Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651)  
*Mercurius, Argus en Io*, ca. 1592

oil on canvas,  
 63,5 x 81,3 cm

Inv. nr. 22657





■ ill. 51

**Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651)**

*Joseph and his Brothers, c. 1600*

oil on canvas,

134,6 x 202,5 cm

acquired with the financial aid of the Rembrandt Society

*Inv. nr. 8289*

After a long and productive life, Abraham died on 13 January 1651 in Utrecht. He was buried there in the St Catherine's Church where his wife, Gerarda de Roij, had been buried two years previously.

Bloemaert was a prosperous man and he owned several houses in Utrecht. His good friend and fellow citizen, Arnold van Buchell, recounts that when he visited Bloemaert at his house in October 1635 he saw quantities of precious objects and curiosities. Bloemaert must have owed a considerable part of his wealth to the sale of his works.

With Van Mander as first fan, Abraham Bloemaert and his work have continued to be widely admired over the centuries. Attitudes changed somewhat, however, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Bürger (a pseudonym for E.J.T. Thoré and normally known as Thoré-Bürger) who rediscovered Frans Hals and Jan Vermeer, did not have a good word to say about Bloemaert. After visiting the Mauritshuis in The Hague, Bürger notes in his *Musées de la Hollande* (Dutch Museums) in 1858 that Bloemaert's paintings were not even worth stopping for: 'Ce n'est pas la peine de s'arrêter à ces insignifiantes peintures'; he was referring here particularly to Bloemaert's early Mannerist work. Van Eijnden and Van der Willigen led the way with this kind of criticism in their history of Dutch painting, *Geschiedenis der Vaderlandsche Schilderkunst*, published in Haarlem in 1816. Although they thought very highly of Bloemaert's oeuvre they also remarked: 'It is a pity that he cannot be exonerated of the accusation of Mannerism and a certain thickness in the colouring of the shaded areas of his pictures.' This was a shame according to Van Eijnden and Van der Willigen for otherwise he might rightly have been dubbed the 'Rubens of Holland'.

The paintings, drawings, and prints by Bloemaert in the Centraal Museum provide an excellent picture of the stylistic developments of his oeuvre as well as the different genres he practised.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 14 paintings, 15 drawings, and 198 prints by Bloemaert.*





**Joachim Wtewael**  
**Utrecht 1566-1638 Utrecht**  
**Oudegracht (Weerdzijde)**

According to Carel van Mander in his *Het Schilderboek* (Haarlem, 1604) Joachim Wtewael was born in Utrecht in 1566, the son of a stained-glass painter. Wtewael's maternal grandfather was the Utrecht painter Joachim van Schaeyck (referred to by Mander as 'Schuyck'). Mander records that Joachim Wtewael was apprenticed to his father until his eighteenth year and thereafter to the Utrecht painter Joos de Beer (the 'Disciple of Frans Floris'). In his biography of Abraham Bloemaert, Van Mander refers to De Beer as 'not one of the best painters'.

Having served his apprenticeship Wtewael left for Italy and 'arrived at Padua, where he resided with the bishop of St Malo' (identified as Charles de Bourgneuf de Cucé). Wtewael spent two years travelling around Italy with the bishop and 'also resided with him in France for two years'. Wtewael then returned to Utrecht and settled there permanently. He was accepted into the painters' guild as a master artist in 1592.

His marriage to Christina van Halen, of Utrecht, was announced on 13 April 1595 (her death, in 1629, was also on 13 April). The couple were to have four children. Peter, the elder of their two sons, became a painter like his father but was also politically active. The second son, Jan, followed an entirely political career. Antonietta, their third child, married Johan Pater, a member of one of Utrecht's wealthiest and most prominent families, who also entered politics. The fourth child, Eva, died at an early age and, like her brothers, remained unmarried.

Joachim Wtewael, like his fellow painter Paulus Moreelse, became a member of the Utrecht city council against the background of events described by Lindeman in his study of Wtewael: 'His action was part of a general movement by the citizens of Utrecht who believed their interests were being subordinated - in the shape of over-taxation, the loss of trade from city to countryside and the neglect of their privileges - and intended to redress the balance'. Wtewael remained a council member only very briefly, however - from 25 January to 28 April 1610 - and was succeeded by his brother Jan. He was to have another spell on the council from 1 October 1632 to 1 October 1636, on that occasion stepping down in favour of his elder son Peter.

Joachim Wtewael, along with Paulus Moreelse, was heavily involved in setting up an independent painters' guild in 1611.







III. 52

Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael (1566-1638)  
*The Adoration of the Shepherds, 1598*

oil on canvas,  
 86,5 x 106,5 cm

Inv. nr. 7390



III. 53

Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael (1566-1638)

*Vegetable Seller, c. 1618*

oil on canvas,

116,5 x 160 cm

Inv. nr. 2262



■ ill. 54

Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael (1566-1638)

*Self-portrait, 1601*

oil on panel,  
98 x 74 cm

Inv. nr. 2264



Before that date the painters were represented by the saddlers' guild.

Wtewael had three apprentices. The first to be named is Hendrick de Keyser, who may have been a nephew of Hendrick de Keyser, the well-known Amsterdam sculptor and architect. The second apprentice was Peter van Winsen; his name appears in the records of the Utrecht painters' guild but he is otherwise almost completely unknown. Wtewael's final apprentice was Andries van Bochoven, although his son Peter Wtewael will certainly have been apprenticed to him as well.

Joachim Wtewael died in Utrecht on 1 August 1638, and was buried at the city's Buur Church on 7 August.

Wtewael was extremely wealthy. On 14 March 1630 he could even permit himself the luxury of donating four small houses to charity - two for the poor relief scheme organized by the Church of Jacobi in Utrecht and two to the Hospice of St Martin. Wtewael's wealth was certainly not primarily attributable to proceeds from the sales of his paintings, healthy though these were - as both Van Mander and the records testify. Van Mander describes Wtewael as an excellent painter of both large and small works, adding that this is not something that can be said of every artist. In fact, Van Mander regarded Wtewael as one of the best Dutch artists of his time and regretted the fact that he devoted more effort to his flax business than his painting. Wtewael certainly found flax to be the more lucrative, however.

The great majority of Joachim Wtewael's paintings are historical pieces.■ An example is his *Adoration of the Shepherds* (De aanbidding van de herders), which is in the Centraal Museum collection. He also produced several genre paintings and allegorical representations - including the *Vegetable Seller* (Groentevrouw), also at the Centraal Museum - and several portraits.■ The latter were limited to depictions of family members and close relations. The Centraal Museum has a number of highly representative examples of these portraits, including Wtewael's self-portrait■ as well as the portraits of his wife,■ daughter■ and sons Peter and Jan.

Joachim Wtewael's work was highly regarded during his lifetime but less successful in later centuries. After Von Sandrart's time he was omitted from most biographies of artists until into the nineteenth century. One of the few exceptions was *La Vie des Peintres* (Paris, 1753) by the Frenchman J.B. Descamps. Not that Descamps was particularly enthusiastic, however. He was impressed by Wtewael's use of colour but regarded his compositions as simplistic and obvious; his drawing he deemed





■ ill. 55

Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael (1566-1638)

*Portrait of Eva Wtewael (1607-1635),  
the painter's daughter, 1628*

oil on panel,  
55 x 40,5 cm

Inv. nr. 18022



■ ill. 56

Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael (1566-1638)  
*Portrait of Christina van Halen (1568-1629),  
 the painter's wife, 1601*

oil on canvas,  
 98 x 74,5 cm

Inv. nr. 2263



to be reasonably accurate but mannered; his faces he described as boringly uniform and the postures of his figures exaggerated; and his hands - 'en forme de crochet' - were contrived and rigid!

A relatively large number of Wtewael's paintings were owned by the family. That is how they became part of the collection of the family Martens (related to the Wtewaels). An inventory compiled in 1669 on the instructions of Jacob Martens and Aletta Pater specifies thirty paintings by Wtewael, including his self-portrait, the portrait of his wife and the *Vegetable Seller*.

*The Centraal Museum has 10 paintings  
and 4 drawings by Wtewael.*



We are fairly well informed about the life and work of Paulus Moreelse. He came of a family that was not only comfortably off but also highly artistic. His elder sister Maria was married to the sculptor Willem Jacobszoon de Nole. A younger brother, Johannes Moreelse, was an auctioneer but also painted in his own right. Paulus' daughter married the lawyer Johan Portengen, a brother of the painter Pieter Portengen (and one of Paulus' apprentices). Two of Paulus' sons, Johannes and Benjamin Moreelse, and a daughter, also became painters. So, too, did Willem Moreelse, second son of Paulus' youngest brother Joost and married to Geertruyd van Milanen. She, in turn, was related to Octaviaen del Ponte - described as a 'lombard holder' (someone who held credit in easily realisable property) in Utrecht and also a painter.

Paulus Moreelse was born in Utrecht in 1571. His father, Jan Moreelse, was from Louvain in what is now the Belgian part of Brabant province. He became a citizen of Utrecht in 1568 and married shortly afterwards.

In his *Schilderboeck* (Haarlem, 1604), the painter and chronicler Carel van Mander records that Moreelse was apprenticed to the Delft portraitist Michiel van Mierevelt for two years. Van Mierevelt served his own apprenticeship under Anthonie van Blocklandt in Utrecht. After completing his training Moreelse journeyed to Italy where, according to the eighteenth-century artists' biographer and painter Arnoldus Houbraken, he initially practised the craft of history painting. However, he soon found all his time being taken up by the many portrait commissions he received.

In 1596 Moreelse was accepted into the Utrecht St Luke's Guild of painters as a master artist, becoming Master of the guild in 1611. He was the first painter to hold the office, his appointment coming after the painters had broken away from the saddlers' guild in the same year. Moreelse, along with the painter Joachim Wtewael, was closely involved in this reorganization. Moreelse was also chairman in 1612, 1615 and 1619.

Paulus Moreelse married Antonia Wyntershoven on 8 June 1602. We know for certain that they had at least ten children.

Moreelse was to receive important commissions throughout the whole of his career. Numerous dignitaries - including foreigners such as the dukes of Brunswick - commissioned him to paint





■ ill. 57

**Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)**

*Venus with a Dove, 1628*

oil on canvas,  
81 x 67 cm

*Inv. nr. 11288*





■ ill. 58

**Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)**

*Two Children in Pastoral Dress, 1622*

oil on canvas,

121 x 95,8 cm

on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

Inv. nr. 10240

their portraits or owned other work by him. Among these owners and collectors were the stadholder Frederik Hendrik and his wife, Amalia van Solms. According to an inventory compiled in 1632-34 the couple had a collection of around a hundred paintings, and these included five works by Moreelse. Two of these - 'A Shepherd' and 'A Shepherdess' - they had received as gifts from the States-General of Utrecht in 1627. Of the two, only 'The Shepherd' survives (it is in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, Germany).

Paulus Moreelse had many apprentices - we know of at least twenty-eight. However, the only one of them to become widely known was Dirck van Baburen.

Besides being a painter - the Centraal Museum has a representative collection of works by him - Paulus Moreelse was also an architect and town planner. In this former capacity he designed Utrecht's Catherine's Gate, built in 1621-1625 and demolished in 1845. In 1624, wearing his town planner's hat, he presented the council with a plan for the city's greatest expansion to date - on its western side - but the plan was never implemented.

Moreelse was also active in Utrecht political life. In 1618, following various disputes, a number of citizens who included Moreelse and fellow painter Joachim Wtewael played a large part in the removal of the municipal council. Moreelse then became a member of the new administration. From then until his death - an uninterrupted period of twenty years - he performed various official duties as well as portraying various council colleagues such as Philips Ram.

Moreelse was also a driving force behind the preparations to establish and inaugurate the University of Utrecht. He even designed the caps that were presented to students receiving their degree of doctor. One of his sons, Hendrick, was a professor of law at the university from 1644 to 1654.

Paulus Moreelse died at Utrecht on 5 March 1638. His life had been a highly productive and prosperous one. He was buried at the city's Buur Church and, as chronicled by Houbraken, 'his body was committed to the earth to the accompaniment of a stately procession'.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 9 paintings and 9 prints by Moreelse.*





**Roelant Savery**  
**Courtrai 1576-1639 Utrecht**  
**Snippevlucht (near Oudegracht), 20 Boterstraat**

Roelant Savery occupies a special place in the history of Dutch art. He made an important contribution to the development of such genres as flower pieces, landscape and animal paintings.

It is generally assumed that Roelant Savery was born in the Flemish town of Courtrai in 1576. But after Alessandro Farnese occupied Courtrai on 27 February 1580, the Savery family left and settled in Bruges. Around 1585, the family moved again, this time to Haarlem where Roelant's mother, Catelina van der Beecke, died in August 1586. She was followed in early 1602 by Savery's father, who also died in Haarlem. In 1590 or 1591, Roelant Savery had moved from Haarlem to Amsterdam with his brother Jacob; according to the artists' biographer Carel van Mander, Jacob was Roelant's teacher.

By 1604, or possibly even the year before, Roelant Savery was in Prague in the service of the emperor Rudolph II. Jan Bruegel the Elder was also in Prague at that time and the two painters must certainly have met. Between 1606 and 1608, Savery travelled extensively in the Tyrol on the commission of the emperor, and many of the sketches he made during that period have survived. He used the subjects that he depicted in these sketches as a source for his later paintings. On his journeys through the Tyrol, Savery was almost certainly accompanied by Paulus van Vianen. This Utrecht-born artist had also been in the service of Rudolph II since 1603. We know that Roelant Savery was in Amsterdam on several occasions, between 1612 and 1616, by the fact that he was a witness at family weddings. After 1616, Savery remained in Holland, first in Amsterdam and possibly also in Haarlem. The Berlin Print Collection has a drawing signed by Savery which also bears the inscription '1618 in Haarlem'.

At the beginning of 1619 Savery settled in Utrecht, and in the same year he was accepted into the St Luke's Guild of painters as a master. Roelant Savery and the flower painter Balthasar van der Ast are both mentioned together in the guild's register.

Savery must have known a number of his fellow artists in Utrecht. He had possibly already met Abraham Bloemaert - a leading figure among Utrecht painters of the period - when the latter was living in Amsterdam at the same time as Savery was studying there with his brother Jacob. While he was in Prague he worked with Paulus van Vianen, who came from a celebrated







■ ill. 59

**Roelant Savery (1576-1639)**

*Grey Horse, c. 1625*

oil on panel,  
76 x 107 cm

*Inv. nr. 10047*

family of Utrecht artists. Apart from the artists that Savery may have known, several of his relations lived in Utrecht, among them his nephew Hans Savery who lodged with him for a time.

Considering that Savery was a resident of Utrecht for a consecutive period of twenty years it seems reasonable to regard him as a Utrecht painter. But more important than this designation, is the fact that it was in Utrecht that he made the major part of his oeuvre. Roelant Savery's flower pieces, and landscape and animal paintings assure him a special place in the history of art, not only locally, but nationally and internationally as well. Moreover, he had a strong influence on several of his contemporaries including Gillis d'Hondecoeter.

In 1627 the States of Utrecht presented a painting by Savery to Amalia van Solms, wife of Stadholder Frederick Hendrik. A decree of 21 December 1626 declared that seven hundred guilders should be paid for the painting - an enormous sum. Amalia and Frederick Hendrik were not the only people to possess a work by Savery. In the winter of 1628-29 he was commissioned to make two paintings by the elector of Liechtenstein; and through Elector Palatine Charles Louis he sold a *Landscape with Lions* (*Landschap met leeuwen*) to King Charles I of England in 1637.

Apart from Savery's paintings, there was also a widespread interest in his drawings. Evidence of this is demonstrated by the fact that Rembrandt himself owned a sketchbook of Savery's, as we know from an inventory of Rembrandt's property of 1656. Quantities of prints were made after his work or designs, including some by Isaak Major, Jacob Matham, Aegidius and Johannes Sadeler, and Magdalena de Passe, among others. Savery also made a few prints himself.

The painter and artists' biographer Joachim von Sandrart relates that Roelant Savery only worked in the mornings together with his nephew Hans Savery, and that as evening approached he sought cheerful company. In the mid-eighteenth century Arnoldus Houbraken took up this information adding that Roelant Savery was not married; when asked why that was the case, Savery quoted the words of the poet Horace: 'Melius nil caelibae vita' - there is nothing better than celibacy - or as expressed by the poet Meander: 'Those who so desire should marry/But those who to a peaceful life aspire/Should not with women tarry'. These comments appear to have been sufficient for the Polish art historian, Professor Jan Bialostocki, to label Savery a misogynist! According to a poem that appears under a portrait of Savery, engraved by Geertruyd Roghman in







ill. 60

**Roelant Savery (1576-1639)**  
*Orpheus Playing for the Animals, c. 1620*

oil on panel,  
 92 x 183,5 cm

Inv. nr. 2309





III. 61

Roelant Savery (1576-1639)

*Flower Still Life*, 1603

oil on copper,

29 x 19 cm

acquired with financial aid of the Rembrandt Society

Inv. nr. 6316

1647 after a painting by Paulus Moreelse, Roelant died insane. The poem was written by Geertruyd's father, Hendrik Roghman, who was married to Marijken Savery, a niece of Roelant Savery. We can safely assume that Roghman's knowledge of the facts of Savery's life was accurate. Hendrik Roghman concludes his poem with an explicit reference to the favoured subjects of Savery's paintings: 'allerleij beesten' 'woeste bosschen' and 'Liefelijck Geblomt' - every kind of creature, wild forests, and charming flower decorations. Savery, however, went down in history as a landscapist and painter of animals. It was not until the mid-twentieth century, especially after an exhibition devoted to his work in Ghent in 1954, that he began to be appreciated as a flower painter. With the exception of his flower pieces, however, Savery's oeuvre has remained highly esteemed through the centuries, despite the occasional stricture. The painter and artists' biographer Jacob Campo Weyerman, for instance, while praising the precision of Savery's paintings, condemns his arid treatment of the subjects.

Roelant Savery's life ended on a low note. In the register of the Utrecht orphanage alongside the date of his burial on 25 February 1639 are the words: 'Sr. Roelandt Savari, painter, bequeathing an insolvent estate'. His house was sold shortly before his death on 30 October 1638, and the painter Pieter Portengen became the new owner.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 4 paintings and 3 drawings and prints by Savery.*

### **Hendrick ter Brugghen**

**The Hague (?) 1588-1629 Utrecht**

**Korte Lauwerstraat, Snippevlucht (near Oudegracht)**

The original frame of a painting by Hendrick ter Brugghen, which his son Richard gave to the town of Deventer in memory of his dead father, bears an inscription which states that the painter was born in 1588; this was probably in The Hague. After studying with Abraham Bloemaert, Ter Brugghen travelled to Italy where, by his own account, he spent several years working. At all events, he was back in Utrecht around 1 October 1614. He journeyed home from Italy in the company of the painter Thijman van Galen, and in 1616 they were both members of the St Luke's Guild in Utrecht. Opinions are sharply divided as to whether or not Ter Brugghen made a second trip to Italy around 1620. In any case, from 1622 until his death Ter





■ ill. 62

Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629)  
*Mars Sleeping*, 1629

oil on panel,  
106,3 x 93,2 cm

Inv. nr. 5460





■ ill. 63

Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629)  
*Dives and Lazarus*, 1625

oil on canvas,  
 186,2 x 207,3 cm

Inv. nr. 11241

Brugghen is regularly referred to in the Utrecht archive records, many of which are legal records. There is no evidence of any works made by Ter Brugghen during the years he spent in Italy.

Other Utrecht artists such as Dirck van Baburen and Gerard van Honthorst had established a respectable reputation during their stay in Italy. Whether Ter Brugghen did likewise is difficult to ascertain, although the answer is probably negative. Even after his return to Holland Ter Brugghen did not attract a great deal of attention, and it remained uncertain until quite recently whether Hendrick ter Brugghen had any pupils. He did, however, have at least one pupil - the portrait painter Sebastiaan van Hattingh (also known as Van Hattich). Ter Brugghen seems never to have fulfilled any administrative functions, either in politics, the church, or the painters' guild; nor was he a regent, that is, member of the ruling merchant class.

Hendrick ter Brugghen died on 1 November 1629 at a time when the plague was rife in Utrecht and he was buried in the family tomb in the Buurchurch. At the time of his death, his wife Jacoba Verbeeck was expecting her eighth child. When she died in January 1634, however, she was only survived by three daughters and a son, Richard ter Brugghen who became a lawyer.

Cornelis de Bie was the first person to really praise Ter Brugghen's work. He even went so far as to call Ter Brugghen one of the 'most celebrated and most talked-about painters of his time'. Before De Bie, evidence of any real appreciation of Ter Brugghen's work is extremely sparse. It is also curious that De Bie's eulogizing words were published at a time when the Caravaggian style that Ter Brugghen worked in was outmoded and hardly prized at all, certainly not in progressive circles.

Von Sandrart, who himself had studied in the circle of the Utrecht Caravaggists, had scarcely a good word to say about Hendrick ter Brugghen. This provoked Richard ter Brugghen to retaliate sharply by calling Von Sandrart a liar! Richard ter Brugghen clearly did everything he could to counter any denigration of his father by turning him into an object of hero worship. He would have us believe that when Rubens was staying in Utrecht in the summer of 1627 he called Hendrick ter Brugghen the only true artist to be found in the Low Countries. Von Sandrart, who acted as Rubens's guide in Utrecht, wrote an account of the Flemish artist's visit in which a number of Utrecht artists are mentioned, but there is no reference at all to Hendrick ter Brugghen, to the great annoyance of his son Richard. Von Sandrart adds certain details which also clearly exasperated Richard ter Brugghen. The information is brief but



extremely intriguing. Couched in cryptic terms, yet making his point quite clear, Von Sandrart writes that Ter Bruggen was suffering from melancholy. Should Von Sandrart's remark that Ter Bruggen was pursued into the grave, be taken to imply a tragic end brought about by melancholia?

Richard ter Bruggen did not succeed in bringing about a reappraisal of his father's work. The tide was not to turn until the mid-1950s, partly as a result of the exhibition 'Caravaggio and the Low Countries' shown in Utrecht and Antwerp.

Today Ter Bruggen is considered to be the finest of the Dutch Caravaggists.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes  
7 paintings by Ter Bruggen*

**Gerard van Honthorst**  
**Utrecht 1592-1656 Utrecht**  
**Snippevlucht (near Oudegracht), Domkerkhof**

Beside Gerard van Honthorst's grave in St Catherine's Church in Utrecht stood the following inscription: 'The Apelles of painters, the favourite of kings, shall decay in this coffin, but the outstanding qualities of the man shall not be lost; thus shall be proclaimed enduringly by the royal glory to an admiring posterity'. The author of these bombastic words is unknown, but the vision they articulate is justified. Van Honthorst has entered history as one of the most important Dutch painters of the Golden Age.

We are reasonably well informed about the painter's life. The principal source of information is Joachim von Sandrart, an apprentice of Van Honthorst from Frankfurt.

Gerard van Honthorst was born in Utrecht on 4 November 1592. His father Herman Gerritszoon van Honthorst and grandfather Gerrit Huygenszoon van Honthorst were also painters, largely of wall hangings. Gerard's youngest brother, Willem van Honthorst, also became a painter and was probably apprenticed to him. Another brother, Herman van Honthorst, was a sculptor but later became a priest, as did one of Gerard van Honthorst's sons - also called Gerard. Two other sons, Anthonis and Richard, became lawyers. About his two other children, Eva and Dominicus, we know next to nothing.

Gerard van Honthorst served his apprenticeship with Abraham Bloemaert. We do not know precisely when he started and how long he remained with this great Utrecht artist.





Van Honthorst probably set out for Italy between 1610 and 1615, with Rome as his ultimate destination. There, his highly original and virtuoso treatment of chiaroscuro attracted a great deal of attention. Many of these works were referred to as 'nocturnes', which earned him the name of 'Gherardo delle Notti' (Gerard of the Nights). Strong lighting from a concealed or unconcealed source remained the most striking feature of Gerard van Honthorst's work for several years after his return to the Netherlands.

Very little is known about Van Honthorst's earliest work. It is not until he started producing paintings in Italy that we are on firmer ground. The Centraal Museum does not, however, have any work from his Italian period.

In Rome, Van Honthorst followed in the wake of Adam Elsheimer and started to produce small paintings. He then switched to what Von Sandrart describes as 'life-sized nocturnes'. Van Honthorst was particularly successful with these works. Many of them found their way into various palaces, notably that of the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, in whose palazzo Honthorst was a guest for a lengthy period. Another of his patrons was Scipione Borghese, nephew and secretary of Pope Paul V. Other dignitaries to commission work from Van Honthorst in Italy included Cosimo II de Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, princess Colonna-Gonzaga and cardinal Barberini, who later became Pope Urban VIII. Barberini's personal physician was Giulio Mancini, who wrote around 1619 that Gerard van Honthorst was a very withdrawn man of melancholy disposition, but extremely courteous and considerate and a gentleman of his word. Van Honthorst did not mind his guests watching him at work. Mancini also reports that Van Honthorst's services were not cheap, but that he had no objection to others earning from his paintings as well.

Gerard van Honthorst left Italy for Utrecht in 1620, celebrating his return with a number of friends on 26 July. These included his teacher Abraham Bloemaert, the painter Paulus Moreelse, the painter and art dealer Herman van Vollenhoven, the engraver Crispiaen de Passe, the architect Gijsbert van Vianen and his brother, the silversmith Adam van Vianen, the brothers Robrecht and Jan Colijn de Nole - who had travelled up from Antwerp - and the scholar Arend van Buchell, who recorded the event in his diary.

In October 1620, shortly after his return, Gerard van Honthorst married Sophia Coopmans. Her maternal grandfather Anthonis Dominicuszoon van Honthorst (through whom she was related to her husband) also painted, as did one of her brothers,





■ ill. 64

Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656)  
*King David playing the Harp*, 1622

oil on canvas,  
 81,5 x 65,2 cm

Inv. nr. 8670



Dominicus Coopmans. In 1622, Van Honthorst became a member of the Utrecht painters' guild. It is unclear why he waited until so long after his return from Italy before doing so. In 1625-26 he, together with Adam Willaerts, was chairman of the guild, an office Van Honthorst also held in 1628 and 1629. The Centraal Museum has several highly representative examples of his work from this period: *King David playing the harp* ■ (Harp spelende koning David, 1622), *Shepherdess with Doves* ■ (Herderin met duiven, 1652 (?)), *The Death of Seneca* (De dood van Seneca c. 1623), *Granida and Daiphilo* (1625) and *The Matchmaker* ■ (Koppelaarster, 1625).

ill. 64

ill. 65

ill. 66

Van Honthorst joined the Guild of St Luke in The Hague in 1637, becoming its chairman in 1640. He owned a splendid house in The Hague, and moved there because of the many commissions he received in that city. One such commission was for decorative work at the Honselaersdijk and Huis ter Nieuburch - palaces for Prince Frederik Hendrik. At the latter palace he painted the interior of a dome. According to Von Sandrart the work was completed quickly. At the same palace Van Honthorst also painted an ambulatory, for which he received the enormous sum of eight thousand guilders.

The French queen, Maria de Medici, visited the Netherlands while he was engaged on this work. Van Honthorst was commissioned by Frederik Hendrik to paint her portrait. Jean Puget de la Serre, who had accompanied the queen to the Netherlands, praised Van Honthorst as 'un des plus fameux peintres de ce siècle' (one of the most distinguished painters of this century).

It is highly likely that Gerard van Honthorst was recommended to Frederik Hendrik and his wife, Amalia van Solms - the Centraal Museum's collection includes the portrait Van Honthorst painted of her in 1632 - by Frederick V and his consort Elisabeth of Bohemia, who were dubbed the 'Winter King and Queen'. The king was a nephew of Frederik Hendrik, she a daughter of William I of England. Before she married Frederik Hendrik in 1625, Amalia van Solms had been a lady-in-waiting at the court of the Winter Queen. Gerard van Honthorst met the royal couple at the home of the English ambassador to The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton (a close friend of Rubens). That was in 1621, shortly after the Winter King and Queen had settled in the Netherlands and following Van Honthorst's return from Italy. Even at this early stage Sir Dudley was writing to the English art collector Lord Arundel about Van Honthorst's growing reputation, and sent him one of his paintings.

With contacts like Sir Dudley and the Winter Queen it is hardly surprising that Van Honthorst's fame spread to the





English court, with the result that in 1628 Charles I invited the Dutch painter over to work for him. Van Honthorst accepted. He was extremely well rewarded by an appreciative Charles, who not only paid him handsomely in money but also showered him with expensive gifts such as a complete, twelve-person silver service, a horse and, as Von Sandrart expresses it, numerous 'favours'. These favours included British citizenship and a pension of one hundred pounds a year. Honthorst continued to supply Charles with paintings after returning to the Netherlands at the end of 1628 but, according to Von Sandrart, the king of Denmark became an even more important patron for him.

Despite the absence of precise figures all the indications are that Van Honthorst accumulated a great deal of capital during his life. He could afford to lend Princess Elisabeth van Hohenzollern the sum of thirty-five thousand guilders. His loan of seven thousand three hundred guilders to the Dutch noble Reynout van Tuijl van Serooskerke on 14 January 1651 is a further example of his wealth. Another is the fact that the sum of five hundred guilders was distributed to the poor at his funeral, with the same occurring at his wife's funeral two years later. Gerard van Honthorst died in Utrecht on 27 April 1656.

He acquired an international reputation during his lifetime and his work was highly valued. Not only did his paintings fetch high prices but many copies were made - by his apprentices and others - that survive to this day. Gerard van Honthorst's reputation also extended to teaching. Von Sandrart reports that when he studied under Van Honthorst the master had twenty-four or twenty-five apprentices, each paying the then princely sum of one hundred guilders a year. In 1627, Van Honthorst bought a beautiful house - with a studio of a hundred square metres - facing Utrecht cathedral. Rubens visited him there that summer. Van Honthorst also had students in The Hague, and these included the Winter Queen and her daughters. Van Honthorst's portrait of one of these apprentices, Margareta Maria de Roodere, painted in 1652, is in the Centraal Museum on permanent loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts (RBK).

Van Honthorst's work remained much in demand after his death. To cite just one of many examples, the Russian empress Catherine II purchased two pendant paintings for the Hermitage in St Petersburg in 1764. These works, produced by Van Honthorst in 1624, depict a girl playing the lute and a boy playing the violin respectively. They are still in the Hermitage.

Von Sandrart writes that his master Van Honthorst was regarded as one of the most excellent among his fellow artists, and praises him as an intelligent and assiduous craftsman.





■ ill. 65

Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656)  
*Shepherdess with Doves*, 1652 (?)

oil on canvas,  
80,1 x 65,4 cm

Inv. nr. 6499



■ ill. 66

Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656)

*Matchmaker*, 1625

oil on panel,

71 x 104 cm

acquired with financial aid of the Rembrandt Society

Inv. nr. 10786



In his general conduct, too, he was 'a compleate gentleman', upright, courteous, of irreproachable behaviour, highly popular and greatly esteemed.

In 1678, when Gerard van Honthorst had been dead a quarter of a century, Samuel van Hoogstraeten wrote in his *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (Introduction to the Esteemed School of Painting): 'Honthorst, felicitous artist at the court of The Hague, painted with a lively brush in his heyday. However, he then degenerated into a rigid, overpolished style - either to please the ladies or because financial reward lulled him asleep'. This probably explains why Constantijn Huygens ultimately rejected Van Honthorst. Whereas in 1629 Huygens is still recording in his diary that Van Honthorst is one of the most significant historical painters of his time, twenty years later he has changed his tune completely. In a letter to Amalia van Solms, Huygens writes that of all the painters working on her new palace, Huis ten Bosch, Gerard van Honthorst is one of the least important.

*The Centraal Museum has 8 paintings and 22 drawings and prints by Van Honthorst in its collection.*





■ ill. 67

Louis F. G. van der Puy (1750-1824)  
*Portrait of a Boy, 1786*

oil on canvas,  
 42,2 x 35,3 cm

Inv. nr. 26956

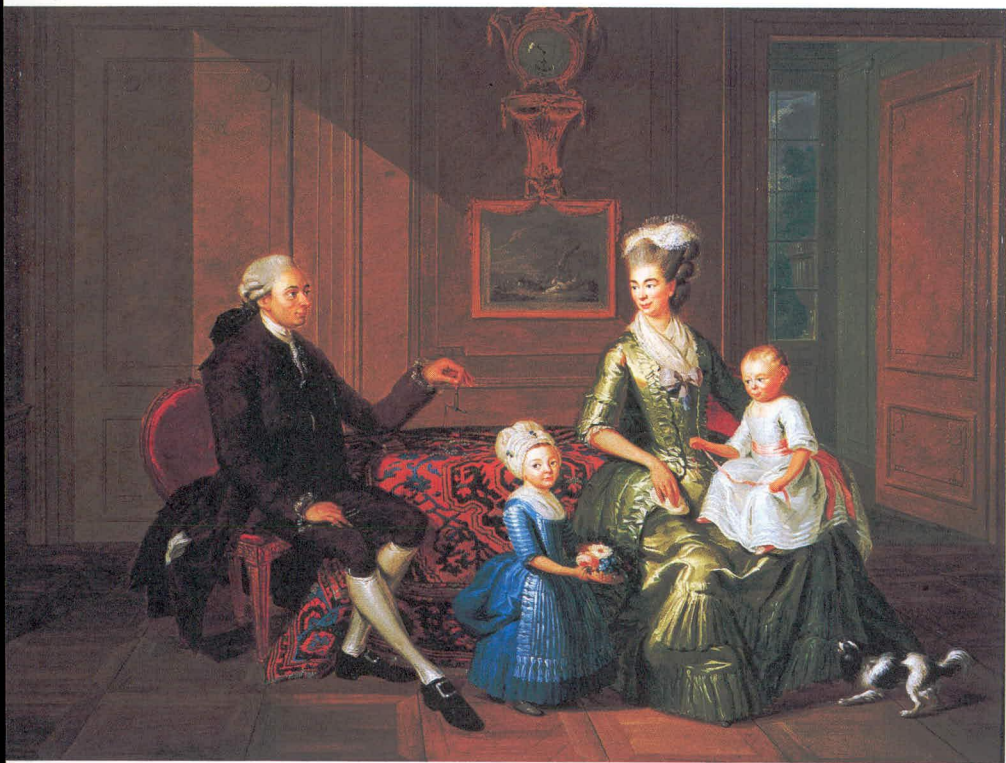
**Louis François Gerard van der Puyl**  
**Utrecht 1750-1824 St. Omer (?)**  
**Zuilenstraat**

There is no monograph on Louis François Gerard van der Puyl and the information in biographies of this Utrecht artist is also very summary. One of the major reasons for this omission is the low level of interest in Dutch art from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Van der Puyl was baptized in Utrecht on 4 March 1750. He died in 1824, possibly in St. Omer in northern France. However, the exact time and place of his death are not known. Neither do we know the background from which Van der Puyl came. What we do know, however, is that in Utrecht Van der Puyl was a pupil of the portrait and genre painter Hendrik van Velthoven, who died in 1770 at the age of 42. In or around that same year Van der Puyl left for France; Paris was one of the places where he stayed. There he chiefly painted portraits and family pieces. The picture entitled *Group Portrait of a Jeweller's Family* (Groepsportret van een juweliersfamilie), which is on long-term loan to the Centraal Museum from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, dates from 1776 and must have been painted in France.

In 1780 Van der Puyl was back in the Netherlands, where he may have settled in Leiden for some time. He certainly painted a number of portraits of Leiden citizens during this period, including the burgomaster Nicolaas Hartingh and several professors. The Centraal Museum possesses portraits of Johan Andreas Cunaeus and his wife Arnolda Wilhelmina Brantsen which were painted by Van der Puyl in 1781. The couple lived in Leiden where several members of the Cunaeus family were professors. After this possible sojourn in Leiden Van der Puyl went to England where his movements from 1784 to 1788 can be traced. In his first year there he painted a portrait of Anthony Shepherd, a Cambridge professor. The following year he sent four paintings to the Royal Academy exhibition in London; in 1787 he submitted twelve. Amongst the latter was a portrait of the first duke of Northumberland, together with a small portrait of the Prince of Wales clad in the robes of the Order of the Garter. In 1787 Van der Puyl also painted a portrait of the publisher and bookseller Thomas Payne with his friends and relations, including himself in the group. The Centraal Museum owns a small self-portrait of Van der Puyl as well, but this dates from around 1810. Both in England and France Van der Puyl was exposed to the strong influence of prevailing views on art.







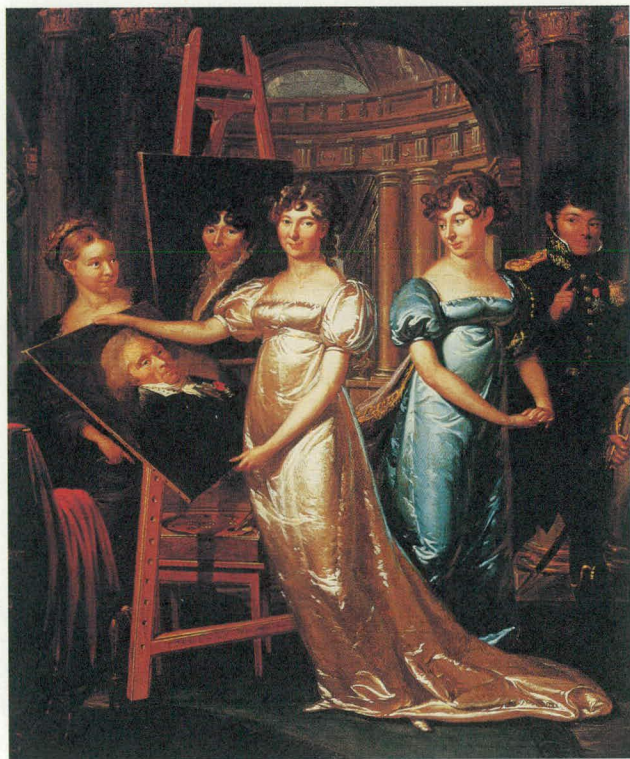
■ ill. 68

Louis F. G. van der Puy (1750-1824)  
*Group Portrait of a Jeweller's family, 1776*

oil on copper,  
 57 x 73 cm

on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

Inv. nr. 10242



■ ill. 69

Louis F. G. van der Puyt (1750-1824)  
*The De Gauville Family, 1811*

oil on canvas,  
 65 x 62 cm

Inv. nr. 8288

In 1804 Van der Puyl became director of the Utrechtse Tekenen-Academie (Utrecht Academy of Drawing) which had led a sleepy existence until his appointment. In his *Kort Verhaal* (Short Story), published in 1807, Van der Puyl outlined the development of the academy, making clear to the reader in a self-glorifying passage that the academy of drawing had him to thank for its revival, and that 'as a reward for his zeal and diligence, the title of *Director-General in Perpetuity*, or for his life, had been granted to him'. He further informs us that under his directorship the drawing academy 'has been nourished' so that it expanded from six to forty-six pupils. One of his pupils was the portrait and genre painter Jan Lodewijk Jonxis.

Evidently Van der Puyl had ambitious plans for the Utrecht Academy of Drawing. In a letter of 26 January 1807 to J. Meerman of The Hague, he wrote that he intended to raise the academy to the level of the 'Brabant, French and English schools'. But Van der Puyl's plans for the academy of drawing do not appear to have been entirely idealistic. At any rate this can be inferred from his remark that his activity could not remain without 'some reward for resolute labour... while all Professors of Colleges or Academies - a Riding Master - a Fencing Master, even a Dancing Master are salaried and possess certain rights and freedoms.'

In the same year that Van der Puyl's *Kort Verhaal* was published, he painted a portrait of Abbé Charles Sulpice Flament, who was librarian of the Royal Library in The Hague and secretary to King Louis Napoleon in Utrecht; this portrait has been kept in the Centraal Museum. Also in 1807 Van der Puyl left both the academy of drawing and Utrecht. It is probable that he never saw his native city again. Van der Puyl's departure was a serious blow for the academy of drawing, which may even have suffered financial consequences; contentious reports allege that he absconded with the money. Alongside the moribund academy of drawing a new organization grew up, the 'Genootschap Kunstliefde' (Society of Art Lovers).

*In its collection the Centraal Museum has  
7 paintings and 3 drawings and prints by Van der Puyl.*









**Willem van Leusden**  
**Utrecht 1886 - 1974 Maarssen**  
**Diependaalsedijk, Maarssen**

Among the colourful group of artists represented in *The Utrecht Way*, Willem van Leusden appears as a precise and rather grey gentleman. He must have been a pleasant and obliging man who was open to the new ideas brought along from time to time by his students and colleagues. He involved himself with them but rarely got further than an elementary application of form and style principles. His assimilation of these principles therefore remained relatively basic. Van Leusden had always been most fascinated by print-making techniques which perhaps characterizes his artistic activity: his heart went out to the area of fine art which demanded the most of the practitioner in terms of traditional skills. Within the restrictions imposed by the techniques, Van Leusden sought other possibilities - perhaps even his own freedom.

However, to begin with, print-making techniques were in fact a handicap. Van Leusden, who was trained in the *National Academy* (Rijksacademie) etching class from 1907-1910, started his career making traditional etchings of traditional subjects such as cathedrals and other medieval buildings. Gradually he must have realized that he could not progress as an artist in this way. Around 1915 he sometimes tried painting in order to practise a modern style. The painting *Tree (Boom)* bears witness to this. His meeting with Gerrit Rietveld around 1918 at the artist's society *Kunstliefde*, marked the beginning of an exceptional period. He made practically no more prints from that moment on, until about 1930.

Van Leusden lived in Maarssen where he was close friends with the local General Practitioner Dr Hartog. Van Leusden introduced Rietveld to the doctor in connection with the renovation of his surgery and Rietveld got the job. Inspired by Rietveld's example, Van Leusden also began to make furniture. In 1924 he arranged his living room according to De Stijl ideas. The *Weaving Loom* and *Small Chair* (Weefgetouw met stoeltje) come from this arrangement. Rietveld's introduction of Van Leusden to his De Stijl colleagues soon bore fruit: he was invited to take part in various De Stijl manifestations. He participated in the architectural exhibition in the famous *Galerie de l'Effort Moderne* in Paris (1923), which later travelled to Düsseldorf. Van Doesburg was enthusiastic about his maquettes







■ ill. 70

**Willem van Leusden (1886-1974)**  
 1940-1945 (*The Message*), 1941/1946  
 oil on canvas,  
 99,5 x 76,5 cm  
 Inv. nr. 20172

and architectural drawings, and used them as examples of the new style in his articles.

Few of Van Leusden's designs were ever actually realized. Those that were, remained limited to the transformation of a site office into a summer house (which no longer exists) and a row of small houses and a shop on the corner of Gansstraat and Ledig Erf in Utrecht. Van Leusden received little credit for the latter because the architects who made it never mentioned that the buildings were taken from his design. Apart from this, Pyke Koch depicted the row of houses in his painting *Suicide and Souvenir* (Suicide et Souvenir) of 1928.

It must have been in 1923 or slightly later that Van Leusden met the Russian artist El Lissitzky. Lissitzky was in the Netherlands with The First Russian Art Exhibition which had travelled to Amsterdam from Berlin. During the stay that followed, Lissitzky stayed with Van Leusden who was deeply impressed by the Russian. Lissitzky's influence can be seen in the Constructivist Compositions which appeared at that time.

Towards the end of the 1920s however, Van Leusden felt he had reached a dead-end. In order to find a way out of this impasse he returned to the old trusted technique of printing. However, this was the time when his students at the Citizens Evening School -that is, Moesman, Wijmans, Wagenaar, and Van 't Net - grabbed the reins and began staging surrealist tableaux using the plaster statues intended as models for exercises in accurate drawing. It was not long before Van Leusden admitted defeat.

Once again he began to see possibilities in painting. His first paintings in a surrealist style date from 1931. One of these works, *Moment Musical*, could well be based on a preparatory study by Gerrit van 't Net. The latter then lived in lodgings in Maarssen and was often at Van Leusden's house.

Van Leusden's change of direction was initially appreciated by the critics. In response to the exhibition in 1931 titled *Utrecht Youth* (Utrechtsche Jongeren) (for which Van Leusden had been invited despite his advanced age of 45), C.A. Schilp wrote in *Het Utrechtsch Dagblad*: 'I can do nothing but applaud the fact that Van Leusden ... has entered a new phase in his creativity. His latest etchings are suggestive illustrations of a dream. One thinks of surrealism and Redon. But spiritually they mean a release from geometric construction and a new surrender to the play of nature albeit filtered through a bizarre dreaming spirit.' However, when he held an exhibition in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht to mark his fiftieth birthday in 1936, Jan Engelman remarked in *De Groene Amsterdammer* that he 'found too much



■ ill. 71

Willem van Leusden (1886-1974)  
*Putto and Still Life of Fruit, c. 1950*

oil on canvas,  
 34,5 x 40,4 cm

On loan from the Van Baaren Museum Foundation

Inv. nr. 22134





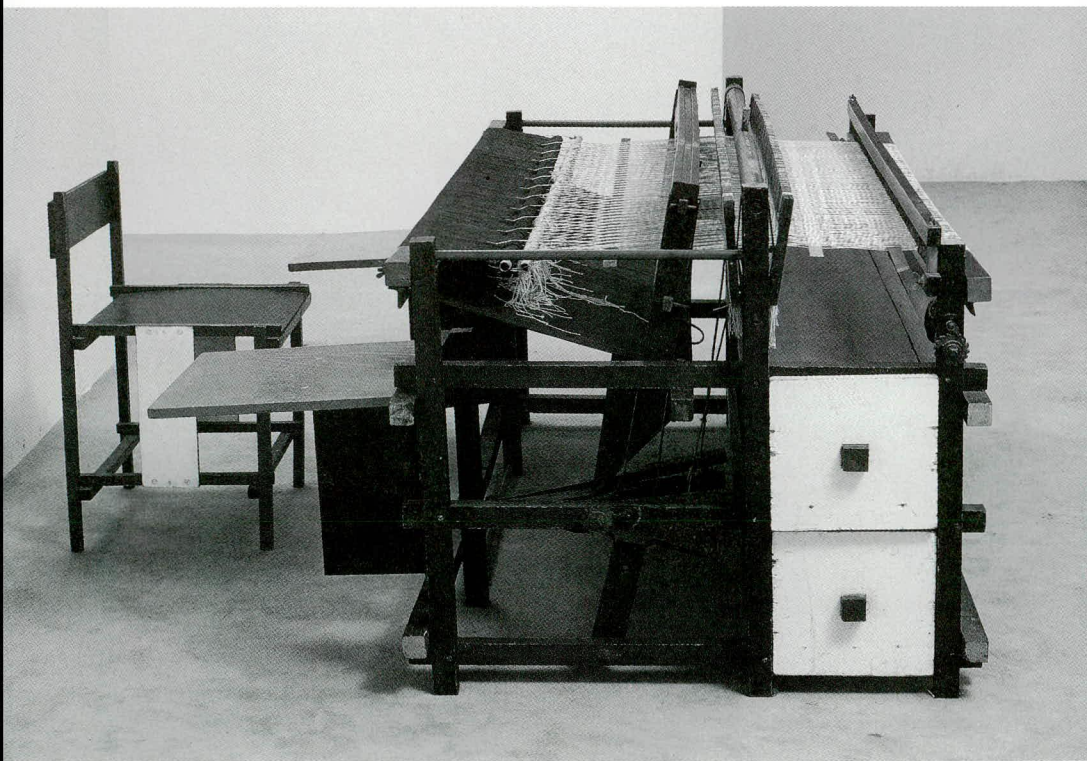
■ ill. 72

Willem van Leusden (1886-1974)

*Tree, 1916*

oil on cardboard on panel,  
45,8 x 40,6 cm

Inv. nr. 18077



■ ill. 73

Willem van Leusden (1886-1974)

*Weaving Loom, 1925*

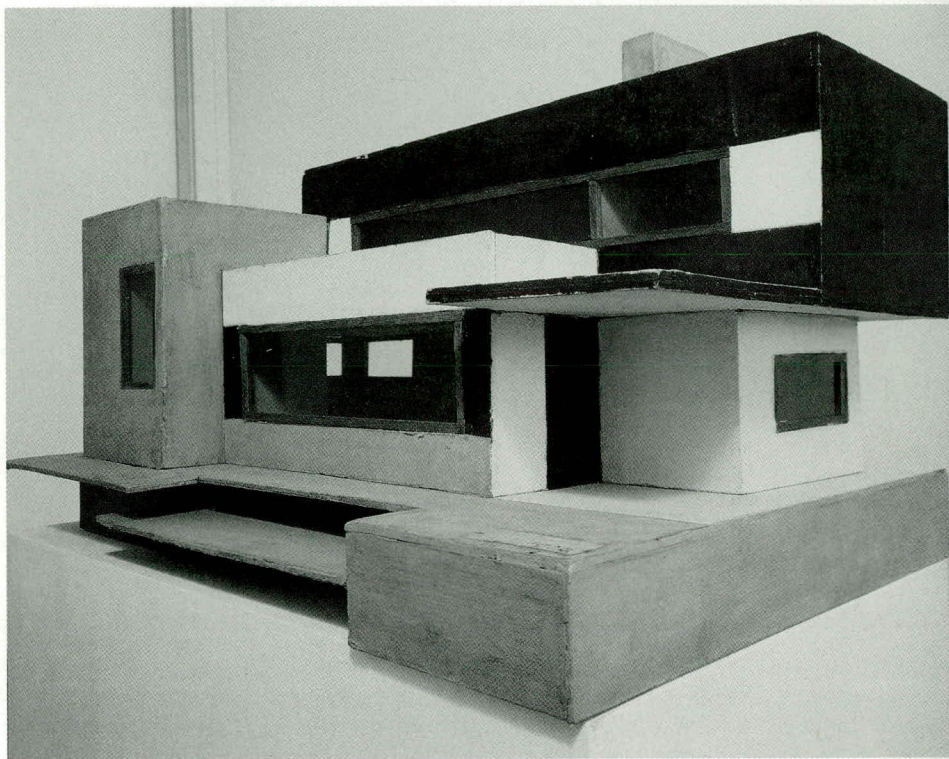
oak, deal, plywood,  
textile, leather, copper and metal,  
81,5 x 171,5 x 87 cm

*Inv. nr. 26717*

*Chair, 1925*

deal and plywood,  
66,4 x 43,2 x 38 cm

*Inv. nr. 26901*



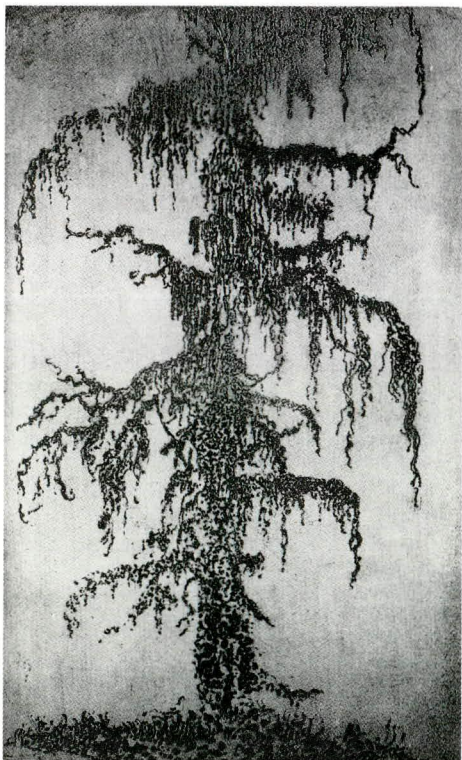
■ ill. 74

Willem van Leusden (1886-1974)  
*Waterside Villa (at Loosdrecht), 1923/1924*

softboard, paper, glass in oak  
44 x 78,5 x 48 cm

Inv. nr. 27707





■ ill. 75

**Willem van Leusden (1886-1974)**  
*after Hercules Seghers (1589/90-1638)*  
*Mossy Larch, c. 1950*

coloured etching on paper,  
 16,8 x 9,8 cm

*Inv. nr. 11351*

intellectual fabrication and composed statement in Willem van Leusden's images.' His surrealistic paintings seem dry, both in the way they are executed and in their imagery. Cor Blok described them once as being priest-like: 'as if a priest addicted to metaphor had wanted to treat his congregation to an ingenious sermon'. His etchings are more dramatic and look less decent.

Van Leusden was already fascinated at a young age by the work of Hercules Seghers. The myth surrounding the personality of this powerful seventeenth-century figure must have also appealed to him. Art-historical writings have drawn a romantic picture of a man suffering from the typical artist's ailment - melancholia, the suffering genius who turned away from the art of his time because corruption and chaos had gained the upper hand. Seghers as a solitary individual, whose talent and technical ability went unrecognized: Van Leusden must have seen enough similarities to identify with him. After the Second World War, when he had already turned sixty and was therefore in a position to assess his life, Van Leusden applied himself to rediscovering Seghers' remarkable etching technique which was particularly striking in its execution of line. He imitated Seghers by using sugar-aquatint and placing the drawing directly on the untreated plate. He even made a series of copies of Seghers' etchings, though with the help of photographs because the original plates were not available.■

ill. 75

Van Leusden probably hoped to finally become more widely appreciated as a result of this research. Finding a publisher was not easy and when *The technical printing difficulty of Hercules Seghers* (Het grafisch-technisch probleem van de etsen van Herules Seghers) appeared in 1960, there was disappointingly little in the way of response. Van Leusden was finally relegated to the margins of the nation's history of art.

However, he did remain a mentor for young artists, just as he had been, whether aware of it or not, for Moesman and his peers. Everybody was welcome to knock at his door for technical advice and he helped many artists get to grips with printing techniques. In this way his influence reached beyond his death. The etching press he left to the Centraal Museum Utrecht with the condition that young artists should be allowed to use it, has been standing ever since in the Utrecht Print-making Atelier (Utrechtse Grafisch Atelier) where it is used to this day.

*The collection in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht contains 13 paintings, 6 drawings, 27 prints and 39 etchings, as well as a loom with a chair, and an architectural model by Willem van Leusden.*

**Erich Wichman**  
**Utrecht 1890-1929 Amsterdam**  
**Utrecht, 12 Brigittenstraat**

Was it because of him or was it just the world? Whatever the answer, Erich Wichman and the world did not get along very well. Wichman's only moments of reconciliation with his existence were those spent as a 'Fundamental Alcoholic'. In 1914 he wrote his own version of the Dutch national anthem, the *Wilhelmus*, which he called 'Our National Drinking Song':

'We do not drink for sorrow here  
 And even less for cheer  
 But still we drink, as you can see:  
 There's nothing else to do here!  
 (...)  
 Well now: Be damned! For no one weeps,  
 And no one here is glad:  
 And the old Bols is all we have  
 As virtue in our land  
 (...)  
 Heart and liver finally  
 Are subject to neglect  
 Eventually the spirits choke  
 Our great Dutch intellect.'

Wichman, weakened by years of alcohol abuse, died fifteen years later, not of a defective heart or liver, but of pneumonia. The 'Great Dutch Intellectual' Wichman, the scourge of the petty bourgeoisie during his lifetime, became a legend after his death.

Wichman's life was colourful, but not particularly prosperous. He constantly adopted radical points of view; both artistically - he was popular in almost all circles of the Dutch avant-garde - and politically. His undisguised admiration for Mussolini's fascism made him extremely unpopular, particularly after the Second World War.

In his youth, Wichman was an intelligent but extremely unruly lad; a tormentor, who was beyond the control of ordinary schools. His parents eventually sent him to a strict German boarding school to 'teach him a lesson', but even here the staff eventually had to admit their defeat. However, his behaviour was not surprising, considering his home environment. His parents had completely different characters and opinions: his father, a professor of mineralogy and geology, was extremely strict, while his mother, who was interested in philosophy and art, was in favour of an anti-authoritarian upbringing. It was as





■ ill. 76

Erich Wichman (1890-1929)  
*Self-portrait, 1925*

oil on canvas,  
35,8 x 35,4 cm

Inv. nr. 17623



■ ill. 77

**Erich Wichman (1890-1929)**

*Portrait Mask (paper weight), May/June 1926*

bronze

5,9 x 4,4 cm

*Inv. no. 23539*

if these two poles had been combined in Erich; a combination which was as intolerable as his parents' marriage.

Initially, the young Wichman seemed to be following in his father's footsteps. Because no school would have him, he sat for the state university entry exam and went on to study physics and biology in Utrecht in 1909. However, he soon discovered the fine arts; he started to write on the subject and attended art history lectures given by Prof. Vogelsang of the University of Utrecht. He also painted now and then, and by 1912 he had completed his turnaround. By then his father had written him off as a lost cause. However, at the same time, Wichman developed a stronger bond with his mother. Wichman's parents started to drift apart and were eventually divorced. His father died in Germany in 1927; neither Wichman nor his mother attended the funeral.

The intolerant and uncompromising attitude of Erich Wichman's parents is echoed in his own attitude towards the city of his birth, Utrecht. To Wichman, Utrecht was the epitome of Dutch narrow-mindedness; in short: smug conventionalism. In 1914 he wrote a text which was published the following year under the title *Van de Utrechtse Renaissance. Een nieuwe Palimpsest, studie van het vraagstuk van de Tang en het Varken of het Visioen van Abdera*.<sup>1</sup> A frenetically spewed torrent of words, revealing the sardonic Wichman at his best: 'And then the populace stream to the feeding troughs, from the stinking ghettos full of mould, vermin, slime and roll-rounded rats, who in turn have their own vermin; they flow, gurgling like muck down a sewer, through the back-streets to the Vreeburg, glowing red in the light of so many fires ...'.

At Vogelsang's lectures Wichman met the silversmith Carel Begeer, who had recently inherited his father's silver workshop. Begeer became very important for Wichman. He had a seat on the committee of the *Society for Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde) and deserves credit for bringing the Kandinsky exhibition to Utrecht. This exhibition had previously been on display at the Sturm Gallery in Berlin, and in Rotterdam. It is probable that some of Wichman's enthusiasm for Kandinsky's work had rubbed off on his friend. During that same period Wichman had met the owner of the Sturm Gallery and publisher of the magazine *Der Sturm*, Herwarth Walden, who was in the Netherlands to open an exhibition on Italian Futurism. Wichman had immediately presented himself as a champion of the new art movements, and Walden had invited him to publish articles in *Der Sturm*.

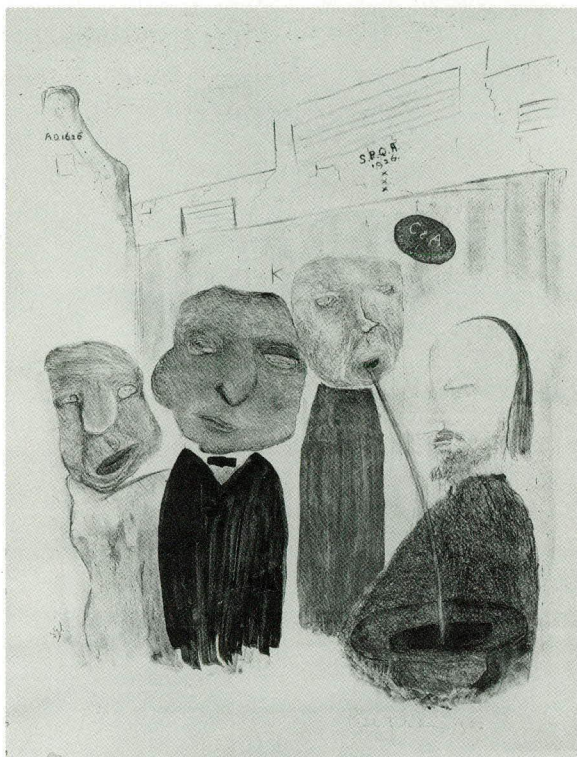
<sup>1</sup> Translator's note: the title contains a number of idiomatic convolutions that do not bear translation.



ill. 79

Wichman's career in the art world was as tempestuous as the rest of his life. As of 1913 he participated in various exhibitions and published numerous venomous articles, which caused him to collide head-on with several renowned critics. Their blood was like wine to Wichman. His pictorial work was an equally intoxicating massage: the arabesques in the painting *Flame* (Vlam c. 1913-1914) are lines of force along and through which emotions are stimulated.■ Besides enemies, Wichman also made a number of friends in his struggle for Modernism: Bernard Toon Gits and Laurens van Kuik, amongst others. When Theo van Doesburg was billeted in Utrecht in 1914, he soon tracked Wichman down. Together they contrived to start a new art magazine. Wichman introduced Van Doesburg to the artist Janus de Winter, who promptly became the object of Van Doesburg's adoration. However, when Huszar and Mondrian stepped into the picture a few years later, this heralded the end of Van Doesburg's idolization of De Winter and his friendship with Wichman. Mondrian, especially, was not particularly impressed by Wichman's art. The affair culminated in an incredible row, and in 1919 Wichman got his own back by writing an article titled 'Coups de Feu. De l'Etalage au Magasin (Chronique des Pays Bas) - Monsieur Theo van Doesburg et son Style'. It was published in the communist-oriented magazine *La Revue de Feu*, an international forum for avant-garde forms of artistic expression, which was therefore in direct competition with Van Doesburg's magazine *De Stijl*.

Outside the art world, where he was involved in the foundation of various art societies and magazines, political criticism was part of Wichman's daily bread. The 1917 Universal Suffrage Act was a thorn in his flesh and it is rumoured that he was seen walking the streets with a sign which read 'Don't vote, read Goethe' during the 1918 general elections. Wichman proclaimed the Revolution of the Aristocracy, naturally as a counterbalance to the Revolution of the Proletariat. However, it is likely that his arrows were not aimed at the farmers and the workers, but at the bourgeoisie, the grey masses, the pillars of society softened by milk and moralism. During the 1921 municipal elections in Amsterdam, Wichman and several political associates founded the Rapaille Party (from the French for 'Mob') which was against parliamentary democracy and universal suffrage. They picked up two men off the street as candidates: one Bertus Zuurbier and a man nicknamed 'Had-je-me-maar' (roughly translated: 'You don't know what you're missing'). Much to everyone's surprise both men were elected, but only Zuurbier took a seat on the municipal council; 'Had-je-me-maar' was side-



■ ill. 78

Erich Wichman (1890-1929)  
*St. Benedict Labre begging in Amsterdam, 1927*

lithograph on paper,  
 70 x 52,5 cm

Inv. no. 26906

lined by the authorities: he was arrested for public insobriety and committed to an institution. Zuurbier, in true anarchist fashion, apparently only ever opened his mouth once during a council meeting: to ask if a window could be closed because there was a draught. By then the joke was over for Wichman. It had been his intention to undermine the establishment and not to realize an ideal. However, this was not the end of Wichman's protest: in 1924 he founded the 'League of Rebel Patriots in a Declining Nation (Bond van Rebelsche Patriotten in een Ondergaand Volk)'. The League offered the Netherlands to the Belgian king, because the Netherlands would probably be too lily-livered to contest the Belgian claim to Zeeland Flanders anyway.

However, by then he had also found an ideal, which he started to embrace with increasing enthusiasm. During a number of visits to Italy, between 1923 and 1925, he discovered Italian fascism. He saw (or perhaps recognized) Mussolini as a dynamic father figure; he expressed his admiration for the dictator in his articles and in his lectures at the students' fraternity in Utrecht. In the Netherlands he found kindred spirits at the *Fascistisch Weekblad voor Nederland De Bezem*. Wichman became an enthusiastic contributor to this fascist weekly, 'The Broom', which was first published towards the end of 1927. He was a fervent supporter of the activities organised by colleagues who worked for 'The Broom'; a historic example of such activity was the so-called One Day Campaign in June 1928 near Hansweert, where Wichman and his comrades drove off a group of Belgians who advocated the annexation of Zeeland Flanders. Wichman's last patriotic act led indirectly to his death. Towards the end of 1928 he had been invited to Utrecht by the students' fraternity to give yet another lecture on fascism. Upon arrival he discovered that his audience had disappeared: they had gone to Breukelen to assist in the repair of a dyke along the river Vecht. Naturally, Wichman went after them to lend a hand. The 'hero' stayed on the scene all night; up to his knees in mud, blind drunk, getting in everybody's way. He paid little attention to the cold he developed during this adventure, subsequently contracted pneumonia and died on New Year's Day of 1929.

Wichman's development as an artist was greatly influenced by Begeer. Between 1915 and 1916 Begeer gave Wichman the opportunity to experiment with certain chemical techniques and he later executed a number of Wichman's designs. Owing to the knowledge he had gained from Begeer, Wichman was (temporarily) employed by the Nederlandsche Betonijzerbouw (makers of





■ ill. 79

**Erich Wichman (1890-1929)**

*Flame, before 1914*

oil on canvas,

90,4 x 141 cm

private collection, on loan

Inv. no. 23540



■ ill. 80

Erich Wichman (1890-1929)  
*Sculpture, 1919*  
limestone, h. 21cm  
Inv. no. 18133

reinforced concrete) in Amsterdam in 1916. He worked as a chemist for this company and experimented with the metallization of concrete. Wichman's discoveries in the field evidently gained a certain renown, because in 1924 he was asked to metallize a concrete bench which had been designed by J.F. Staal, who had been commissioned to plan the Dutch Pavilion at the 1925 international industrial arts exhibition in Paris. Wichman also took the opportunity to design two lattice windows for the pavilion's entrance hall. He was awarded a bronze medal for his efforts.

ill. 77

In 1925 and 1926, Begeer - who had become a partner in the firm Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos - issued a series of bronze replicas of masks which Wichman had designed during a sojourn in Vienna in 1922. As an artist, Wichman was probably fascinated most by the face-as-mask. Besides bronze and ceramic masks, he produced several lithograph portfolios - titled 'Idealists 1', 'Idealists 2' and 'The Akasha Chronicle' - as well as a series of paintings which had masks as a theme. In his work, he gave vent to a view on life which was as astute as it was hellish: 'O, all those impressions off the "street", the faces without a set place or delimitation in space, the portrayal of passion and hypocrisy, balanced, but especially unbalanced, overstuffed skins. And then the fellow creatures, who pick their hollow teeth with their nails and then suck them clean with contorted faces; and those who slurp their soup and smack blissfully after every spoonful; ... all those failed attempts at humanity - ah well, "humanity" is a relative concept - but all of them are voters! All these priceless bits of inspiration must be in the masks. ... But especially those uncountable, dully grinning, blithely waddling, hiccuping, burping, coughing, pitifully weeping and chokingly spewing drunkards, who, time and again, cause me to sigh: what a waste of precious alcohol! (There are higher and lower forms of alcoholism, because: in vino veritas. Which is why there are other people who want to "ban" the truth... they too must be in the masks!). ... This is my authorship; why not? I have just finished another mask which I like, although it doesn't compare to tomorrow's mask, of course. And, moreover, I feel reborn, as if I have discarded something filthy, as if I drank one, no, two litres of good wine yesterday -which unfortunately I did not...'



*Besides etching plates, publications and portfolios containing prints and written work, the Centraal Museum owns 30 works on paper, 3 paintings, 2 lattice windows and 19 small sculptures created by the artist.*



**Pyke Koch**  
**Beek 1901-1991 Amsterdam**  
**Utrecht, 341 Oudegracht**

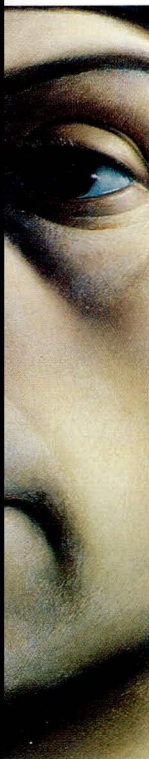
Pyke Koch's solo exhibition at the *Society for Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde) in the autumn of 1940, was a sensational event. Only one, monumental painting was on display, in an exhibition area which had been painted black at the artist's request. At the time the painting was simply titled *Portrait of a Woman* (Vrouweportret), but has since been sub-titled *Portrait of Mrs H.M Koch-de Geer* (Portret van mevr. H.M. Koch-de Geer)■.

ill. 81

The woman in the painting is his wife Hedwig, portrayed against a pitch-black sky, surrounded by rhododendron bushes. She was the daughter of the Dutch prime minister De Geer, who had been urged to retire from office by the queen in the summer of that year, because of his defeatist stance towards the German occupying forces. The possible political significance of the painting was picked up by the critics; the daily newspaper *Het Utrechts Dagblad* referred to it as 'a manifestation of the "new order"'. Perhaps the critic was right, but the painting's significance cannot be limited to a single issue - and this is the case in all of Koch's work. His friend, the writer Cola Debrat, correctly pointed out the sensuality of the portrait, which he preferred to refer to as 'The Woman in the Garden': 'a title which, to start with, does justice to the anti-naturalistic, half surrealist half romantic motif of the image: the evening garden, blooming by the bright glow of the woman's gaze and the tread of the woman's feet on the silent grass! An open blossoming, which brings into harmony the almost human vitality of the garden - with its shivering shrubs and rhododendron leaves, which light up out of the chiaroscuro - and the almost plant-like familiarity with the surrounding nature of the woman's body, the glowing hue of her evening gown and the porcelain transparency of the "flesh colours" ...'. Although the writer referred to Koch's work as surrealist, this term was soon replaced with the more accurate expression 'magical realism'. Koch's technique bore no resemblance to the associative, collage-like methods of the surrealists. He conceived his images with extreme caution and consciously camouflaged his fantasies with a semblance of reality. The only exception to this rule dates from the beginning of his painting career; *Suicide and souvenir* (Suicide et souvenir, 1928) is a painted collage of images and anecdotes from his academic years in Utrecht.■

ill. 85

In the early 1920s, Pyke Koch, the son of a general practitioner and a musically gifted mother, went to study law in





■ ill. 81

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**  
*Portrait of Mrs. H.M. Koch-de Geer, 1940*

oil and watercolour on plywood  
230,5 x 130,2 cm

Inv. no. 12475



■ ill. 82

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**  
*Self-portrait with Black cloth, 1937*

oil on tempera on panel  
 34,5 x 32,5 cm

Inv. no. 8235



Utrecht. In fraternity circles he felt particularly attracted to the more artistic members, such as Debrot and Erich Wichman. When Koch started painting in 1927, apparently out of the blue, Wichman helped him to develop his technique. In no time Koch became a promising and talented artist. Debrot referred to the first phase of his career, until around 1934, as extremist, because of the notably vulgar, if not obscene, subject matter, which included fairgrounds, pawnshops and urinals. The women in his paintings have an ambiguous role: according to Debrot they are 'childlike, maternal and whorish'. Koch's brother-in-law, August Stürcke, who was a psychiatrist and an expert on Freud, is known to have remarked upon seeing *The Shooting Gallery* (De Schiettent, 1931) that the woman in the painting was not depicted in the shooting gallery, but as the shooting gallery.■

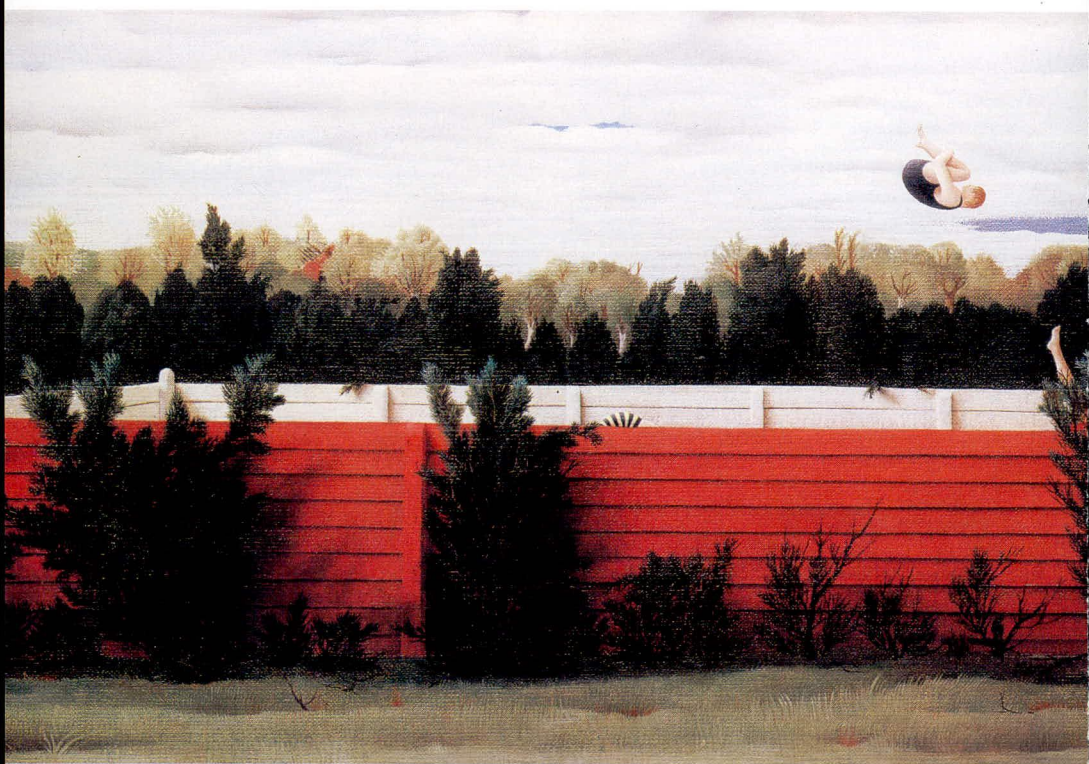
ill. 87

As of 1934, the year of his marriage to Hedwig de Geer, the 'classicist' Koch came into the picture. He snuggled up to the aristocratic milieu of his in-laws and 'attempted to adapt his art to the demands of society, the establishment', as Debrot so subtly put it. He also started to develop questionable ideals. In this regard, his *Self-portrait with black cloth* (Het zelfportret met zwarte doek, 1937) is symbolic: its style and technique are a reference to the early Renaissance period, to artists such as Piero della Francesca and Mantegna, and to the rise of a culture in which art and science would prosper.■ Koch's self-portrait is truly super-individualistic: it goes beyond mere portrayal, depicting the courage of the lonely hero - determined, manly, firm, decisive, simple and pure. It was with pride that the *Society for Art Lovers* donated the work to the contemporary art collection of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht in 1938. Although they were aware of Koch's questionable societal-political ideals at the time, they chose to turn a blind eye. They preferred to see them as 'aesthetic' and of little consequence to life outside art.

ill. 82

However, Koch also had doubts about the 'other side', the national-socialists. He was regularly told that his earlier work was morally depraved or 'corrupt'. Furthermore, his appeal for top quality, non-German, extremely nationalistic, Dutch art, was ignored; the N.S.B. (Dutch National Socialist Party) was too involved in party politics. Koch was an N.S.B. member from November 1940 until May 1941. He later left the party, but continued to collaborate with the German occupier; he was a member of the Kultuurkamer (an organization under the Nazi occupation in which artists had to be registered in order to have the right to perform or work) and designed a number of postage stamps, depicting ancient Germanic symbols, for the Dutch





■ ill. 83

Pyke Koch (1901-1991)  
*Village Swimming Pool II, c. 1957*

oil on canvas,  
 30 x 43 cm

Inv. no. 27691





■ ill. 84

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**

*Souvenir d'un songe (Recollection of a Dream)*, c. 1966

oil on canvas,

60 x 75 cm

acquired with financial support of the Rembrandt Society

Inv. no. 26726





■ ill. 85

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**  
*Suicide and Souvenir, 1928*

oil on canvas,  
 75,5 x 59,9 cm

Inv. no. 18805

postal services.

ill. 86

In 1941 Koch completed the large grisaille *Waiting* (Het Wachten). The following year the work was purchased by the Department of Public Information and Arts, which had been established by the German occupiers. The Centraal Museum in Utrecht later received the work on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, which replaced the Department of Public Information and Arts. As was the case with the *Portrait of Mrs H.M. Koch-De Geer*, *Waiting* may be interpreted as being both political and erotic. Koch has depicted five women wearing coats and hats, who seem to be ignoring one another. One of the women is rummaging in her handbag. They are standing on a pavement in front of a wall with a gate, in the light of a street lamp, and are clearly waiting. What are they waiting for? Once again there are subtle symbolic references: the gate contains a *fascis*, that is, a bundle of sticks which was the symbol of law enforcement in Roman times and was also the symbol of the Italian Fascist party. The gate which has been depicted is situated on the Hamburgerstraat in Utrecht, in front of the courthouse. Are the ladies Dutch virgins waiting for the coming of the Fascist state, or waiting to be conquered by the German Reich? Or are they high-class prostitutes waiting for their pimp, their 'lawful owner' - perhaps the artist himself, who had been a student of law...?

After the war, Koch was initially cleared of charges of collaboration. In the summer of 1950 his work formed part of the Dutch entry for the Venice Biennale, together with that of Carel Willink. However, shortly after, the Honourary Council for the Arts found Koch guilty of collaboration and prohibited exhibitions of his work. Nevertheless, the art world never completely discredited him and, in 1955, when the embargo was lifted, he was given a special exhibition in Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum, which was then headed by the former resistance fighter Willem Sandberg.

Koch's return to the limelight, in 1955, heralded the start of a new phase in his work. In particular, he returned to the sources of inspiration which had intrigued him prior to 1934, and even literally derived inspiration from his older work. Yet, something had changed. The sexual fun-fair was still turning at full tilt; more so than in the past: the women in his later paintings resemble transvestites rather than "maternal whores", as Debrot remarked. Koch's point of focus at the fun-fair has shifted to the female contortionist, the snake woman who is able to adopt all sorts of impossible poses. He also picked up the thread of the *Yearning* (Sehnsucht) theme, which he had portrayed











■ ill. 86

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**

*Waiting, 1941*

tempera, pencil, black and white chalk on paper on plywood,  
120 x 302 cm

on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

*Inv. no. 14800*

before the war in the portrait of his wife, 'the woman in the garden'. One of his paintings, which dates from 1966, was titled *Recollection of a Dream* (*Souvenir d'un songe*), a title which the poet Martinus Nijhoff had suggested for Koch's portrait of Hedwig. ■ And, once again, a change had taken place. In his portrait of Hedwig, the buds of the rhododendrons are tightly closed. The garden depicted in *Souvenir d'un songe* has been the scene of activity: a game of croquet has been played. This Garden/Woman, with its trimmed hedgerows and its gate, represents paradise that has been abandoned after the fall from grace.

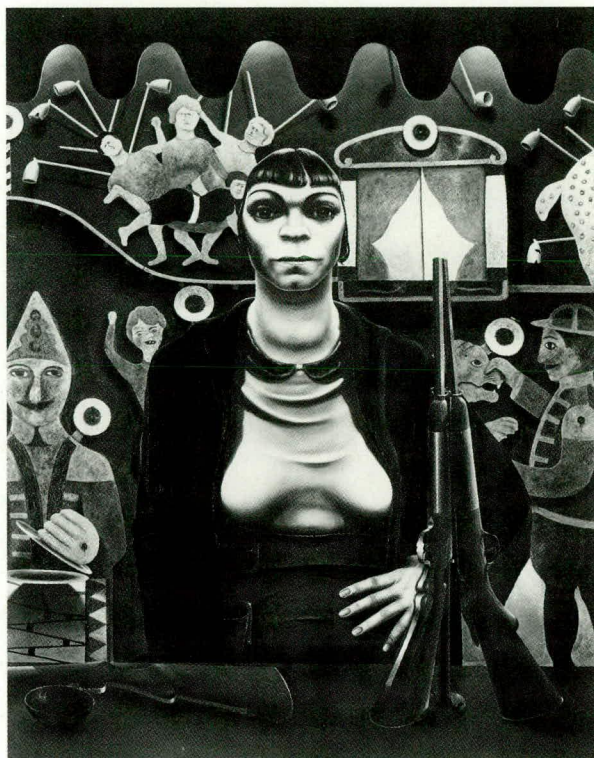
ill. 84

If there ever was an art clique in Utrecht, Koch kept well away from it. It also bears mentioning that some people chose to avoid him due to his war record, and perhaps also because of his ambiguous sexuality. Throughout his life Koch remained an amiable but somewhat tight-lipped man, an aristocrat who was able to weave a thread of eroticism into the most trivial tableau. This is especially apparent in the painting *Village Swimming Pool* (*Dorpszwembad*, c. 1957), which is based on an outdoor swimming pool in Utrecht. ■

ill. 83

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 9 paintings and 3 drawings by Pyke Koch, as well as 9 drawings which he made in his youth for his friend 'Marino' (Marinus van der Goes van Naters).*





■ ill. 87

**Pyke Koch (1901-1991)**  
*The shooting Gallery, 1931*

oil on canvas,  
 170 x 130 cm  
 collection: Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum





■ ill. 88

**Willem Wagenaar (1907)**

*Futile Attempt, 1933*

oil on canvas,

55,5 x 63,3 cm

collectie: W. Wagenaar, Amsterdam

**Willem Wagenaar**  
 born Groningen 1907; lives in Amsterdam  
 Utrecht, 12 Vinkenburgerstraat

ill. 89

Willem Wagenaar played a key role in the development of surrealism in Utrecht. Born in Groningen in 1907, he set off for Paris with the recklessness of youth in 1925, intending to make his way there as an artist. However, his talent was still too immature to cause any excitement in the Paris art world. While in Paris, however, he was considerably impressed by avant-garde art. In 1927 he returned to the Netherlands and settled in Utrecht where he opened the 'Nord' bookshop and art shop at number 12, Vinkenburgerstraat. ■ This small shop was crammed with books and magazines on avant-garde art, some of which he had brought back himself from Paris. A significant part of these publications were about surrealism, which was unknown in Utrecht at that time. The shop immediately attracted the attention of local artists. Moesman reported experiencing a shock of recognition when he saw paintings by Dali, Magritte and other surrealists reproduced in the Belgian magazine *Variétés*. These would definitely determine his style. The publications on sale in 'Nord' also had a great influence on artists such as Willem van Leusden, Gerrit van 't Net, Louis Wijmans and Pyke Koch. Many motifs in their paintings at the beginning of the thirties were derived from reproductions in surrealist magazines of works by such painters as Dali, Magritte, Pierre Roy and De Chirico. The first signs of this influence became evident at the end of the twenties in the model drawings which Moesman, Wijmans, Van 't Net and Wagenaar produced in what became known as 'Van Leusden's drawing class'. From 1927 the constructivist approach to the model was gradually replaced by a more realistic representation of the human figure, while the model was often positioned in unusual poses and combined with objects such as plaster statues. The examples offered in the magazines in 'Nord' were put into practice by the Utrecht artists in the drawing club.

Chief visitors to 'Nord' were from the artistic and intellectual elite of Utrecht. In addition to the artists already mentioned, writers such as Hendrik Marsman and Jan Hanlo were amongst the regular clientele. Even writers and artists associated with the Catholic publication *The Community* (De Gemeenschap), who rejected the surrealist mentality, used 'Nord' to keep abreast of international developments in art.

The shop's inventory was remarkable for its diversity. Wagenaar collected around him everything connected with the





avant-garde. First and foremost there were surrealist publications such as the Belgian magazines *Variétés* and *Sélection*, and the French magazine *La Révolution Surréaliste*. Wagenaar also sold issues of the German magazine *Der Querschnitt*, the magazines *De Stijl* and *Internationale Revue i10*, publications by the Groningen artists' association *The Plough* (De Ploeg), and books such as *Occupied City* (Bezette Stad) by Paul van Ostaïen. In 1929, for the sum of 10 guilders, Pyke Koch acquired there the *God with us* (Gott mit uns) portfolio with lithographs by George Grosz. In addition to books and magazines, 'Nord' also stocked records by Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, Charlie Chaplin films, and primitive sculptures and paintings by members of 'De Ploeg' such as Jan Alink. A well-known story tells how Hendrik Marsman bought Gerrit Rietveld's *Divan table* of 1923 in 'Nord'. Typical of 'Nord's' broad scope of interest was the shop's business card, designed by Wagenaar himself in pure De Stijl lettering, and the shop front which was painted in the primary colours red, blue and yellow. However, the shop's importance to the artistic climate in Utrecht did not translate into economic success; in 1934 Wagenaar was forced to close 'Nord'. He subsequently channelled his energy into exhibitions which he organized in the *Wagenaar Gallery* (Kunstzaal Wagenaar), established by him in 1931, and into the *Utrecht Free Academy for Visual Arts* (Utrechtse Vrije Academie voor Beeldende Kunsten), which he founded in 1934. Both institutions were notable for their eclectic character. Wagenaar organized exhibitions for artists as diverse as Otto van Rees, Thijs Rinsema, Jan Wiegers, Alexej von Jawlensky, Giorgio de Chirico and Paul Klee for whom Paul Citroen often acted as an agent. At the Academy, *Gemeenschap* artists such as Lambert Simon and Charles Eyck taught future surrealists of the second generation such as Gertrude Pape, Hendrik Poesiat and Fedde Weidema.

Restlessness drove Wagenaar to Lisbon in 1938 and then on to Tangiers where he founded an *Leonardo da Vinci School of Fine Arts* (Escuela de Bellas Artes Leonardo da Vinci). During the war family circumstances compelled Wagenaar to return to Groningen. In 1944 he organized a summer Drawing and Painting course to be given by W. Wagenaar. In fact this course, for which H.N. Werkman printed the poster, was a cover for resistance activities. In the winter of 1944/45 the group was rounded up and Wagenaar landed in jail. He escaped a German firing squad purely by chance. After the war he settled in Amsterdam where he became a projectionist in the Alhambra cinema. He still lives in Amsterdam.





III. 89

The Art Dealer's Nord  
Utrecht, c. 1929

Wagenaar was an adventurer, a free spirit, with a good dose of humour and naïveté. He was a master at inspiring enthusiasm in the people around him. Decisions such as those to found academies in Utrecht and Tangiers were generally impulsive ones. His plan to organize an exhibition in Paris with work by the Utrecht surrealists was equally spontaneous. In 1933 he rented 'La Grande Masse' gallery and presented paintings by Moesman, Van Leusden, Wijmans, the psychiatric patient Terpstra and himself. However, the exhibition generated little interest, either in Paris or the Netherlands. Neither did anything come of Wagenaar's unquestionably ardent desire for contact with the circle around André Breton. Nevertheless this exhibition was the first, and for a time the last, collective presentation to the outside world by the Utrecht surrealists.

Like many Utrecht artists Wagenaar was fascinated in the twenties by the pre-fascist range of thought. However, he would never meddle in politics. There was no political motivation behind his departure for Lisbon in 1938 or his return to the Netherlands during the war. Even his involvement with the resistance in Groningen must be chiefly attributed to his romantic and adventurous nature.

Wagenaar's own artistic oeuvre is limited in scope. In the years around 1930 he produced a number of drawings which were inspired by prehistoric rock paintings in Scandinavia for example *The possessed pillar* (De bezeten zuil, 1932). Primitive beings of some ilk are delineated in black chalk, with a flowing line which causes the figures' volume to expand and contract. The dreamlike atmosphere is reinforced by the use of subdued watercolours which flow into each other. A typically surrealist work is the sombre painting *The futile attempt* (De vergeefse poging, 1933), which depicts a dilapidated room. One of the walls has crumbled away. An open door reveals a barren landscape in which a running man is attempting to raise a kite. The few pieces of Wagenaar's work known from the years between 1935 and 1960 are less charged with symbolism. From the sixties onward he returned to surrealism and produced a number of three-dimensional pieces composed from objets trouvés.



ill. 88

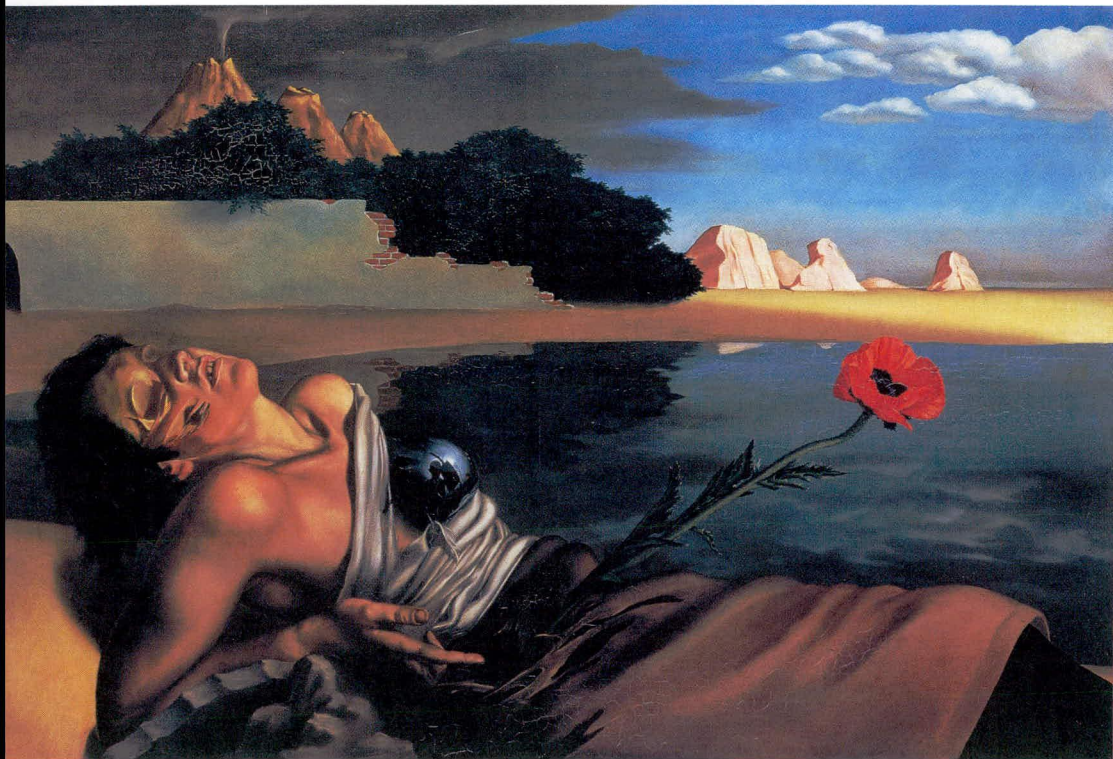
The story goes that on the inside of his front door he had taped a list, the so-called White List, with the names of people he hung out with. Moesman was unrelenting: whoever was not absolutely for him, was against him. And whoever disappointed him in one way or another, was considered a traitor and was removed from the list. An irreversible judgment: contact was broken forever. By the end of his life not many friends remained. At the time of his death in 1988 Dirkje Kuik, who had always continued to be a good friend wrote in the Dutch daily *Het NRC Handelsblad*: "Let's put it like this: he painted, had the attitude of a hedgehog and also looked a bit like a hedgehog." Despite all this, Joop Moesman, as he was called, was not especially difficult or recalcitrant. He was simply very confident about his art and had very high standards for those in any way involved with his work - museum people, for example. They had to conform, otherwise they'd be scratched off the list.

As it turned out, Moesman did not often get what he wanted. An exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam never went through because he did not want to show his work in the gallery rooms but in the large hall (the so-called New Wing). He had already made an entire model. But the museum director at the time, De Wilde, refused to change his mind, and Moesman cancelled the exhibition. Moesman demanded involvement and more important, recognition. He could not enjoy half-hearted acknowledgment. At one time he could have been called 'the only true surrealist in the Netherlands', but this reputation did not carry beyond a small circle of admirers. There are several reasons for this.

In the late 1920s Moesman became quite enthusiastic about Surrealism. With the assistance of Pyke Koch, who introduced him to 'The Independents', he got the chance to show his work at an exhibition put on by this organization in 1931. Neither the public nor the critics were very complimentary. At the following two exhibitions his work was even removed because it was regarded as being in poor taste. The Dutch daily *Het Utrechts Dagblad* thought his work was 'perverse and distasteful' and the critic from the newspaper *De Telegraaf* wrote of the painting *Encounter* (Ontmoeting): 'The mysterious meeting - *Ontmoeting*: a woman and a water faucet seen as though through a cheap lens - I can't penetrate further than this.' Staid prewar Holland was obviously not yet ready for Moesman's surrealism. It made







■ ill. 90

J.H. Moesman (1909-1988)  
*Self-portrait, 1935*

oil on canvas,  
 96,5 x 137 cm

Inv. no. 16473

sense that he no longer exhibited with The Independents, but reserved the honour for himself. *The Society of Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde) did not do much better after the war: even in 1947 his painting *The Rumour* (Het Gerucht) was rejected for an exhibition. It showed a nude woman seen from behind, cycling up the old Rijnstraat in Utrecht, with a violin on the baggage holder ('but no bow to play with' - perhaps exactly what the woman was looking for...).

But after the war an increasing interest in abstract art acquired a more important role than having the correct moral attitude. Mostly due to Willem Sandberg, then director of the Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, forms of realism were no longer considered old-fashioned. Surrealism came to be regarded as a trend from before World War Two and even though he had never changed his style because of the fashion, the outlook changed for Moesman.

It was not until the 1960s that a turning point came. Because of new realistic currents, such as pop art, interest in surrealism was on the rise once again. A few people in Holland were active in that area and it was thanks to one of them, Her de Vries, that the old Godfather of Surrealism, André Breton, had his attention drawn to Moesman's work. Because of this recognition, in 1961, he was stimulated to start painting again, although he had been on the verge of hanging up his brush for good.

Moesman did not have to paint in order to earn money. He had been employed since 1925 by Dutch Rail where he worked until his retirement as a lithographer. Perhaps this contributed to Moesman's feeling that he was being pushed into the sidelines, that the professional art world regarded him as an amateur - a dirty word. Moesman perceived it quite differently. He liked to call himself The Genius, imitating Dali. For him, his job at Dutch Rail meant a guarantee of artistic freedom; he did not have to make any compromises and could produce whatever work he wanted. The free time that he had to paint was rather limited. His circumstances were the most ideal between the years 1930 and 1940: he still lived at home, he was not burdened with household duties, and the lunch breaks at work were long. In retrospect, he thought he made his best work during this period.

'Let 'em come' Moesman wrote defiantly in 1983. 'Surrealism is an art form from Utrecht'. The French should not think that they had the patent on it. As usual, he was right - from his perspective. Although the surrealism of Ernst, Dali, Magritte and





■ ill. 91

**J.H. Moesman (1909-1988)**

*The Evening Hour, 1962*

oil on canvas,  
80,2 x 90,5 cm

On loan from a private collection

Inv. no. 27723





ill. 92

**J.H. Moesman (1909-1988)**

*Meeting, 1932*

oil on canvas,

55,4 x 68 cm

on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

Inv. no. 18452

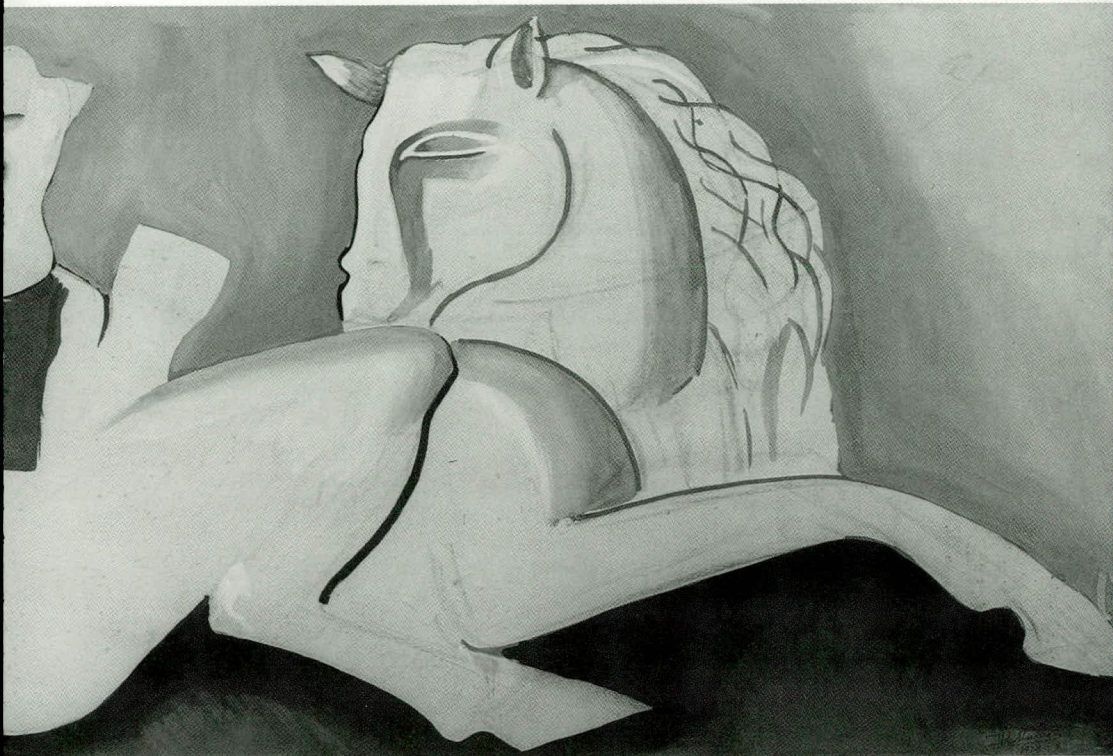


■ ill. 93

J.H. Moesman (1909-1988)  
*Surrealist Scene, 1929*

watercolour on paper,  
 63 x 53 cm

Inv. no. 20800



■ ill. 94

**J.H. Moesman (1909-1988)**

*Figure with Horse, 1929*

watercolour on paper,  
56 x 112 cm

Inv. no. 27457



De Chirico had opened his eyes to a delicious 'uninhibited freedom' that did not exist in everyday life, and supplied him with the techniques of assembling images that did not normally appear in the combinations that expressed this uninhibited freedom on canvas - despite all this, the source of Moesman's surrealism came from Utrecht, from home. His father, a litho- and calligrapher who had his own printing company on the Neude, was a collector of prints and various curiosa. Moesman developed a penchant for the nineteenth-century erotically charged art of Bocklin, Klinger, Klimt and others of whom his father had reproductions. And it certainly did not escape his notice that his father had a pornography collection. When he was introduced to Surrealism, it must have been as if everything fell into place; it all made sense. Because of this, Moesman never attempted to work in any other style. He had found his own.

Moesman never made a secret about how he got his ideas. He told Jan Emmens that many of his concepts go back to his drawings of models. 'I always start with something, and then I search. The young woman with the faucet was there for months without a faucet, but there was something missing in the foreground, and then I came up with the faucet' (*Encounter*, 1932). ■ 'The woman with a mask in *Evening Hour* (Avonduur), first I glued it on the painting, to try it out. ■ She was sitting there with her breasts on the table. I thought it's not much of a bosom, you can't exactly put a cream cake beside it. So I thought, I'll put a sharp knife in front. That is subconscious. I never really have a point. You start somewhere and you get pushed somewhere, and then it grows in your subconscious.'

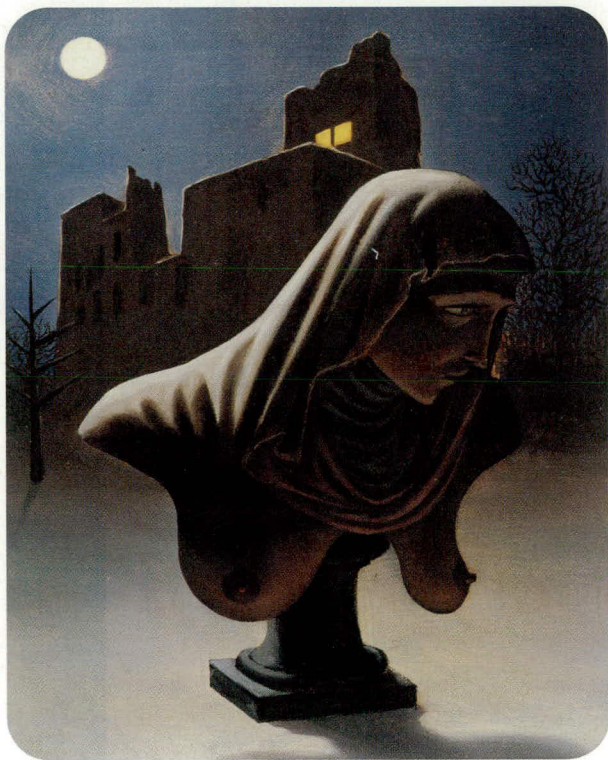
Moesman was against interpreting his work. Justifiably, because he never thought of meanings beforehand; they simply grew, as it were, in his hands, through trial and error, arranging and assembling. 'I always say: A painting is to look at, not to gab about.'

The Moesman 'phenomenon' was an anachronism. He was a typical Romantic artist; not prepared to water down the wine, not even by a drop. An artist who treasured his ideal - the freedom that he brought to his work. His multiple interests and drive for perfection reflect the nineteenth-century eclectic that lay dormant inside him. Among other things, he intensively studied Arabic script and proposed a simplification for this to Professor Drewes from Leiden. In addition, his interests in calligraphy and typography formed a harmonious combination for the design of a new letter type: the Petronius. Once again - shades of the nineteenth century...

ill. 92

ill. 91





■ ill. 95

**J.H. Moesman (1909-1988)**  
*Pavane (pour un marquis défunt), 1963*

oil on canvas,  
 27 x 21 cm

Inv. no. 27866

*The museum has 6 paintings and 17 works on paper by Moesman in its collection.*

**Gerrit van 't Net**  
**Eemnes 1910-1971 Amsterdam**  
**Utrecht, 5 Agnietenstraat, Foundation of Renswoude**  
**(Fundatie van Renswoude)**

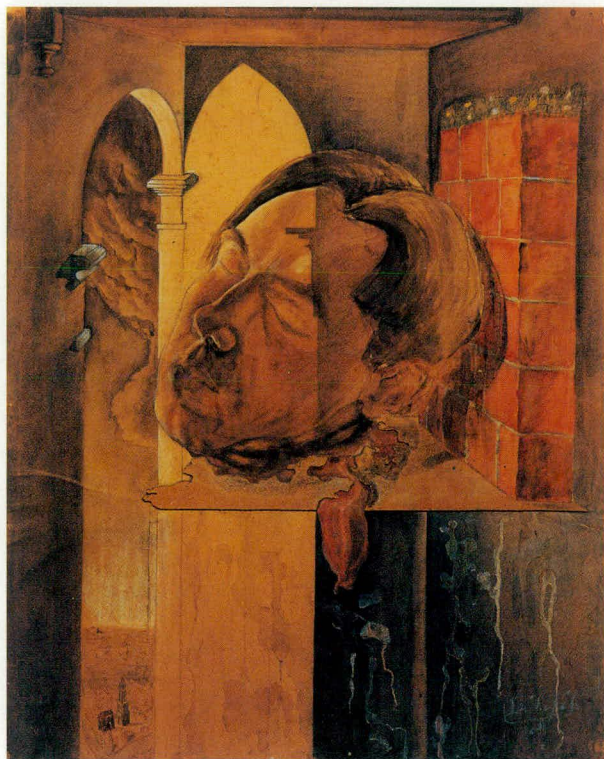
'He was my most talented pupil,' Willem van Leusden wrote about Gerrit van 't Net. Van 't Net, who was naturally talented, was accidentally discovered by a couple of students in a public reading room drawing from pictures in an art magazine. As it turned out he had fallen into good hands: their professor, who was a lecturer in psychology as well as being a trustee of the Foundation of Renswoude - an institution which cared for talented orphans - decided to help him. Van 't Net ended up in Van Leusden's evening class which was also being attended by Moesman, Wijmans and Wagenaar. He had finally left the unhappiness of his childhood and youth behind him.

In 1911, a year after his birth, his father, a farmer who was inclined to stray, took to the road. His mother was not prepared to accept this and, leaving the child with her sister, set off to find his father - which she did. There was a family reunion though the joy was short-lived. His father still kept slipping away and his mother kept chasing him. The final break came in 1917 when the father stayed in Germany without papers and the mother returned to the Netherlands with the child. When his mother died a year later from a lung infection, Van 't Net was in effect orphaned. Years of foster-homes, travelling, orphanages and more foster-homes followed until he was discovered around 1927-28.

It was at this time that the pupils of Van Leusden's class were taking charge and discovering surrealism. Van 't Net was immediately accepted into the class. For Moesman it was as if he had met his twin: there was a remarkable resemblance between them. The group of friends enthusiastically tried out new ideas offered by surrealism. Each had his own background and reasons for being captivated by the new style. Van 't Net found the space to express his fantasies about sexuality and women, though surrealism was to be only a phase in his artistic development. Thanks to a scholarship from the Renswoude Foundation he went to the *National Academy* (Rijksacademie) in Amsterdam where he was taught large-scale painting by Roland Holst. A couple of years later he left to complete his education in Paris where he stayed during 1937-38. He was deeply







■ ill. 96

Gerrit van 't Net (1910-1971)  
*Self-portrait of the Artist as the Head of John the Baptist, before 1931*

charcoal, watercolour, collage on paper and cardboard,  
 65 x 49,3 cm

Inv. no. 20057



■ III. 97

Gerrit van 't Net (1910-1971)  
*Morning Glory, 1931*

lithograph on paper,  
40 x 36,6 cm  
Inv. no. 12368



■ ill. 98

Gerrit van 't Net (1910-1971)

*Venus*, 1933/1934

oil on canvas on panel,  
64,4 x 53 cm

Inv. no. 20058





■ ill. 99

Gerrit van 't Net (1910-1971)

*Untitled (female nude, front view)*

mixed media,  
18 x 24 cm

*Untitled (female nude, back view)*

mixed media,  
18 x 24 cm

gift of the Modern Maecenaat Foundation/Anneke Nieuwburg

Inv. no. 27509



■ ill. 100

**Gerrit van 't Net (1910-1971)**

*Come and give Daddy a goodnight kiss, c. 1940*

collage,  
12,8 x 9,2 cm

Inv. no. 22664

impressed by Cezanne and Picasso. Turning his back on Surrealism he became engrossed in the abstract qualities of form, line and colour. Back in the Netherlands his surrealist friends were naturally disappointed by this change. Moesman's judgement was particularly severe -he found him 'totally confused'. Van't Net's reaction would certainly have contributed to the mutual cooling of affection. 'He laughed at me and called me a bourgeois prick,' Moesman recalled years later.

For Van 't Net, Surrealism more or less represented the sins of youth. Looking back on the years between 1930 and 1938 he said, 'It's easy to work in a surrealist way if the luggage of your knowledge is slight and you allow your subconscious to do the talking.' Still, he did his most fascinating and original work in this period. Although certain affinities with Dali and Max Ernst can be found, Van 't Net's surrealism is unmistakably his own, the imagination and technique go hand in hand. In his strange painting *The Birthday* (De Verjaardag) it looks as if he has given the canvas a half turn every so often in order to be able to continue painting the 'air' landscape. ■ The 'Venus' in the painting of the same name could have been made from pieces of paper and watery ink stains and later translated into paint. ■ A figure was created with a lower body of a fish and a torso of wisps of foam: a full-blooded Venus indeed.

Looking back, it are the most unofficial, one could say the least pretentious drawings and paintings which are the most impressive. The drawings in Van 't Net's so-called erotic sketchbook would probably never have been considered by the artist as part of his official oeuvre - they were much too private, being direct records of his sexual fantasies. A large number of them probably date from the early thirties though he seems to have continued keeping the book until about 1953. After his death in 1974 the sketchbook was taken apart and a number of the drawings have been sold over the years. The Centraal Museum has recently been given 201 of the drawings by the legatee. A large part of the charm of the drawings lies in their direct and unaffected quality. They are a record of Van 't Net's technical, stylistic and imaginative ability.

In 1952 Van 't Net founded his own art school, 'De Leeuwenburgh', for amateur painters in Amsterdam. In the fifties and sixties he carried out various large commissions while in his private work he concentrated on abstract portraits and nudes.

*The Centraal Museum in Utrecht possesses 5 paintings and 52 works on paper (collages, prints and drawings) by Van 't Net together with a series of 201 drawings*

ill. 101

ill. 98







■ ill. 101

Gerrit van 't Net (1910-1971)

*The Birthday*, c.1934

oil on canvas,  
151 x 116 cm

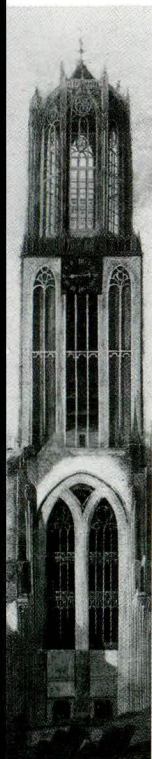
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**Bertus Jonkers****born Utrecht 1920; lives and works in Utrecht****9 Lagenoord**

Not interested in his own past, he has no old photographs. Bertus Jonkers tries to experience the world around him - of which he is a part - head on; memories are only dead weight. From scraps of information the following biography can be compiled: born into a blue-collar family from Utrecht he only completed primary school, and then his father decided he should become a house painter. Bertus had other aspirations: he wanted to become an artist. He thought maybe this was aiming too high, so as much as possible he conformed. But he did not succeed in conforming completely - he never would. Going against the grain, he longed to be able to express his own creativity. As a form of rebellion he cultivated cactuses, bristly plants that need little in order to grow - just like himself. Jonkers cultivated himself by visiting the Centraal Museum; he observed the art of art. A painting by Pyke Koch showing a chimney sweep - it must have been the *Resting Chimney Sweep* (Rustende Schoorsteenveger) that hung in the museum during the winter exhibition of 1940-41 - was a revelation for him. He identified immediately with the subject, the chimney sweep, a blue-collar worker like himself, and just as much an outsider. Jonkers imitated it. He was incredibly proud of the result - one of the few facts still engraved in his memory.

Jonkers was, however, less isolated than you would assume from his stories. He had support during the development of his talent from several people: his mother encouraged him from the beginning, and a drawing teacher at the vocational night school introduced him to someone who taught him the rudiments of painting.

Jonkers' enormous longing for the freedom of an artistic calling was undeniable. During the war, called up to take part in the *Arbeitseinsatz* (forced labour for the Germans), he tried as often as possible to get away and paint in the surrounding areas of Berlin. Back in the Netherlands he was sheltered by a Dutch family in Limburg. He knew by this time for certain that he wanted to become a painter. With some reluctance he headed back to his parents' home in Utrecht. He tried in vain to convince his father his ambitions would lead somewhere. After a time he headed back for Limburg, where he worked during the day on various jobs to earn a living and took classes in the evening at





■ ill. 102

**Bertus Jonkers (1929)**  
*City of Surrender, 1989/1992*

installation,  
 ca. 90 x 415 x 535 cm  
 purchased with state subsidy

Inv. no. 27432



the School for Applied Art in Maastricht. Gradually, Jonkers made his way in the art world: at a seminary in Aalbeek he made various, more and less artistic paintings, and in his craving for art he cycled around the district, introducing himself and showing his work to local artists. This is how he befriended the painter Aad de Haas. He even became a co-founder of the *Limburg Artists Association* (Limburgse Kunstenaarsvereniging Henri)

It is not clear exactly when and why he returned to Utrecht. It must have been somewhere in the 1950s. The Utrecht Art Academy Artibus had just been established. Jonkers applied and quickly earned the reputation of being a star pupil. He became a member of the *Society of Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde) in Utrecht and the association of St Luke in Amsterdam. The quid pro quo regulation (a measure introduced by the Dutch government to buy a percentage of artists' work) ensured him a life without financial worries. Jonkers got what he wanted: he was a free artist. For him this is enough; he does not want any more.

He mostly paints and draws landscapes in the Utrecht region. His participation in the graphic arts company *Lice* (De Luis) broadened his technical skills. Jonkers can work magic with his hands: in his use and application of materials he is highly gifted. In these respects, his work is most original.

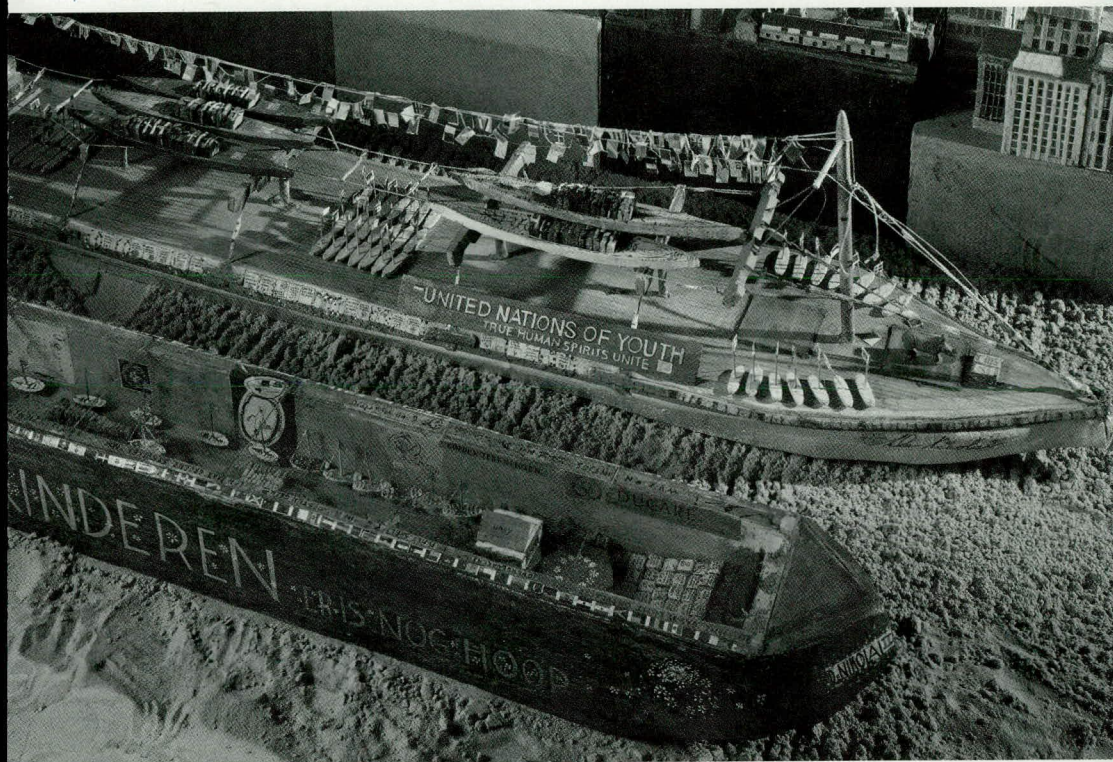
Eventually, he came to a sticky patch. In the early 1980s a big change in his work took place. Looking for an answer to the question 'Who am I myself, not who am I as a painter?' Jonkers started taking yoga lessons. He began with a simple concentration exercise, making circles with the hand, simply and inventively. He filled telephone books with circles that seem to transform beneath his hands into various animal figures. In this way he rediscovered his primeval impulse, the pure child-like pleasure in creating and fantasizing. It seems as if Jonkers' creativity has finally fully broken free. The drawings, graphics, scribbles, and constructions that have come into being since then are among his best works.

He has achieved a perfect synthesis of home and work in his house on the Lagenoord in Utrecht which he has completely decorated over the years. ■ Using simple materials, Jonkers has made the ultimate interdisciplinary work of art. A second high-point in his works is *City of Surrender* (De Stad van Overgave), a cluster of arranged spirals that make up a series of small constructions inspired by different cultures. ■ *City of Surrender* shows, more than any other of his works, the strength of Jonkers' creativity: an energy that is both positive and inspiring,

ill. 104

ill. 103





■ ill. 103

**Bertus Jonkers (1929)**

*City of Surrender, 1989/1992 (detail)*

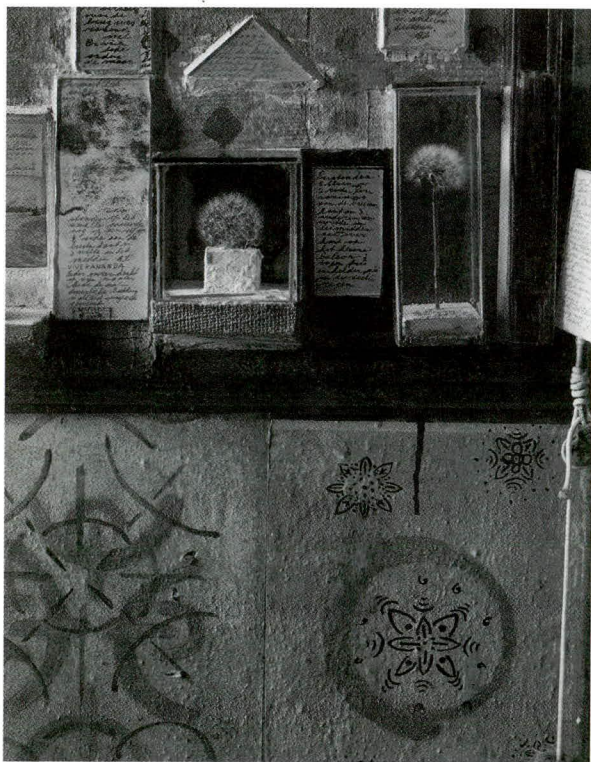
installation,

ca. 90 x 415 x 535 cm

purchased with state subsidy

Inv. no. 27432





ill. 104

Bertus Jonkers (1929)  
*The living and workroom of Bertus Jonkers  
 on Lagenoord in Utrecht*



*The museum has City of Surrender and Tempel of the Elephant (De Tempel van God Olifant) by Bertus Jonkers in its collection.*

**Dirkje Kuik**

**born Utrecht 1929, lives and works in Utrecht**

**Oude Kamp**

Dirkje Kuik was born William Diederich Kuik - in the wrong body. She calls herself a 'gender diaspora patient', she finally made the decision, at the age of forty-eight, to undergo a sexual transformation '...very aware, cool, almost calculating, oh, I knew it, I had my back against the wall, it was sink or swim ... I weighed forty-five kilos ... People guessed my age to be around seventy. I'll keep it short: I looked like the phantom of the opera, an aged ghost that no longer saw any point in life". She published these remarks in *Housekeeping with Raisins* (Huishoudboekje met rozijnen, 1984), in which she also recorded memories of her youth and parents.

Dirkje Kuik's life and work are firmly rooted in Utrecht. Her father was a woodcarver, he made statues and ornaments. His studio on the Oude Kamp was later transformed into a bric-à-brac store by Dirkje's mother. Kuik currently lives there herself. It was an environment dominated by love for craftsmanship and imagination. Her father acted in amateur dramatics and collected eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theatre costumes, her mother loved reading and telling stories. Reading, writing and drawing coloured the young William's youth. He left middle-school prematurely in order to devote himself to art; he briefly attended the *National Academy* (Rijksacademie) in Amsterdam, but was expelled because he did not fit in. Kuik did not let this discourage him. Insecure about his writing talent, he first concentrated on his drawing and graphic technique, learning much from Dick van Luijn. Stimulated by his friends Jacques Boersma (Alain Teister), Theo Sontrop and Jan Emmens, he only started taking his writing seriously when a severe eye infection threatened him with blindness. He started writing poetry in hospital. It was published, with the assistance of Boersma, in the *Hollands Maandblad*. His big break-through took place when his book *Utrecht Memos* (Utrechtse Notities), written for the 125th anniversary of the Broese Book Store, was published in 1970 by Meulenhoff in Amsterdam. He was awarded the Amsterdam Prose Prize for it. Since then Kuik has published various short story and poetry collections, novels,





III. 105

Dirkje Kuik (1929)

*Figures with animal faces in various attitudes, c. 1960*

lithograph on paper,  
24,8 x 21,8 cm

Inv. no. 14061

thrillers, as well as a play. These are often embellished with her own illustrations. She drew around 1962 political cartoons for the Dutch weekly *Vrij Nederland* under the pseudonym Slachters Keesje, worked as an art critic for the Amsterdam daily newspaper *Het Parool*, and was a member of the editorial staff of the literary magazine *Maatstaf*. In the early 1960s Kuik was the driving force behind the graphic company *Lice* (De Luis), which she set up together with Henc van Maarseveen and Jopie Moesman. This nickname shows how anachronistically and yet romantically they viewed their activities: 'A louse is an exceptionally undesirable insect, a parasite, but because of its indestructibility we have to put up with it. In a time when autonomous fine art in general and graphics in particular were viewed with resentment because of their obvious uselessness yet remarkable stubbornness, it seemed the most appropriate and desirable name to this trio of graphic designers to give their company,' they announced in a press release.

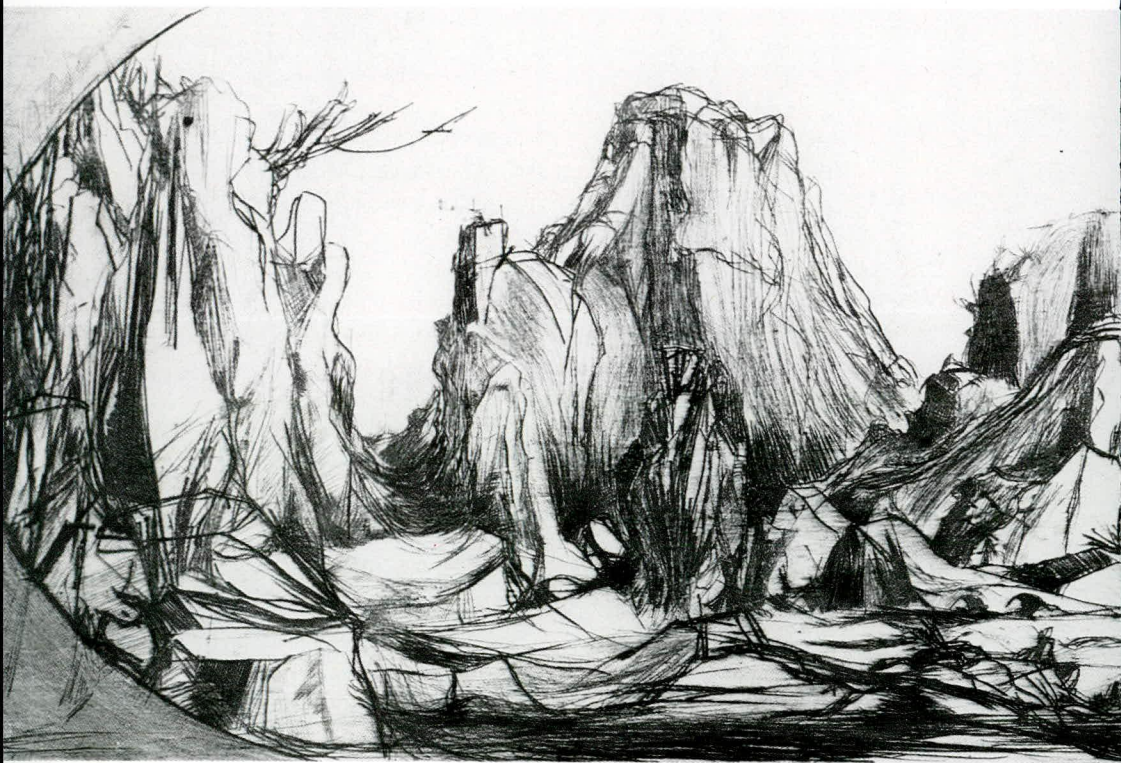
Her works of art, as well as her books, are permeated with a certain nostalgia. In her scavenger hunts for the past - that often revolve around Utrecht - she goes associatively, almost pryingly, to work. She follows her own clues and interests. She expresses this in her graphics by making scratches and spots out of which an image emerges. Out of rock formations heads, goblins, strange shapes are born, from another world and another time. Her series of lithographs of ten *Views of Utrecht* (Gezichten op Utrecht) which she made on commission for the Vereniging Oud-Utrecht (1972) is famous. ■ They are an impression of fifteen years of architectural drawings of the city, 'scribbles, outdoor sketches, and elaborate drawings made straight onto stone' in which fantasy overtakes and nearly ravages reality: the buildings and bridges of Utrecht become dilapidated ruins. It is in this way that she fits into the tradition of a 'typical Dutch artistic trend significantly nourished by talents from Utrecht', artists from the city, such as Gaspar van Wittel, Cornelis van Poelenburgh and Jan Both contributed greatly to the tradition that flourished in the seventeenth century of architectural images in a landscape.

She spoke about her nostalgia for a nineteenth-century romanticism in an interview in 1970: 'I have a tendency to turn a building into a ruin. But I always make something grow out of the decay. I don't just let it fall apart. The overgrowth shows optimism: *I enjoy the deterioration*. It is undoubtedly a form of decadence. ... Still, I don't think that I'm out of style, it is actually very much a sign of the times; the threat of squalor. The Romantic sentiment from the nineteenth century is still partly

ill. 107





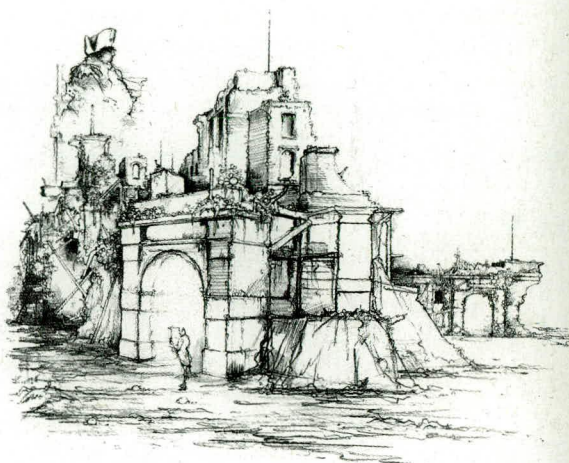


■ ill. 106

Dirkje Kuik (1929)  
*Study of Cliffs in Sweden, 1963*

dry-point etching, aquetint on paper,  
 39,9 x 62,1 cm (sheet of paper)

Inv. no. 15307



III. 107

Dirkje Kuik (1929)

*The entrance to Louis Napoleon's palace (from the  
folder *Gezichten op Utrecht* (Views of Utrecht)), 1972*

lithograph on paper,  
42 x 57 cm (sheet of paper)

Inv. no. 17696/004

with us. We do not really have Romantic painters of any calibre in the Netherlands, someone like Blake in England for example. In that way I'm a kind of delayed reaction in the Netherlands. And that makes sense, because here everything happens forty years after.'

*The Centraal Museum has 13 drawings and 54 graphic works by Dirkje Kuik.*

### Alain Teister

(pseudonym for Jacobus Martinus (Jacques) Boersma)

Amsterdam 1932-1979 Amsterdam

Utrecht, Geertekerkhof (studio)

Jacques Boersma chose his pseudonym when he was forbidden to hold exhibitions himself by the editors of the newspaper *Het Vaderland* where he worked as art critic. The name 'Alain Teister' reveals both sides of his character, the southern 'Alain' and the Dutch 'Teister'. Whenever he could he would leave for the sunny south -to France, Ibiza or Italy. However, he was destined to remain in the Netherlands, or more specifically Utrecht, which he could never quite struggle free of. Born in Amsterdam, from the age of four he lived in Utrecht. Whilst at school there at the Boniface College he became close friends with Theo Sontrop, who was later to be a publisher, and Peter Vos, renowned for his drawings. As students involved in art and literature they developed a deep contempt for students of science and technical subjects. He was expelled from school when he was about 17 for 'indecent behaviour' after sharing a bed with a girl and writing erotic verse. Much to his regret he was sent to a strict Catholic school in Weert, though this unpleasant episode later turned out to be quite fruitful in terms of his art and writing.

After a year he was allowed to return to Utrecht where he tried in vain to pass his school finals. He then rented a studio on the Oudegracht for five guilders, raising the money by returning empty bottles left over from the parties he gave with William Kuik and Ernst Vijlbrief (at least this is the story he later recalled, though his fondness for fabrication cannot be denied). Financial support from the poet and art historian Jan Emmens enabled him to train as a drawing teacher. He learnt etching techniques from Dick van Luijn. Once he had become a member of the artist's society *Society of Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde), he got to know the poet and art critic Jan Engelman. At this point he was already publishing verses





in the magazine *Tirade* and writing art critic for *The Utrecht Catholic Daily* (Het Utrechts Katholiek Dagblad). Engelman introduced him to the Catholic weekly *Time* (De Tijd) but he didn't stay with them for long since he was not allowed to publish work in both the reputedly anti-Catholic *Tirade* and *De Tijd*. An editorial post became available at the newspaper *The Fatherland* (Het Vaderland) and Boersma got the job.

His debut as an artist came in 1954 with the art dealer E. A. Wagenaar at number 5, Achter Sint Pieter. On this occasion the novelist Max Dendermonde gave the opening speech. Three years later he had his second one-person show with the dealer De Jacobitoren, also of Utrecht. This time the writer Emmens was the speaker who characterized Teister all but immortally as someone who, 'works in order to get used to the world and gets used to it through working.' But Teister did not always work. He also led a life whose aim it seemed was primarily to escape the 'normal' world - his alcoholism was, in the end, fatal.

In 1964 he made his debut as a poet with the collection titled *The House-god speaks* (De Huisgod spreekt). These were mostly highly entertaining narrative verses dedicated to his friends:

'Thumping with his wretched stick  
William Kuik appeared to me.  
'Are you asleep?' 'No Sir. No William.'  
'Bastard. Watch out or I'll twist  
your foot. Give us a beer.'  
'Yes Sir. Waiter, two beers.'

...

; or to the artcritics and referring to speeches at exhibition-openings:

"Today the evening sunset gold of Jacob was a rare experience, utterly absorbing, and the young artist skilfully captured it on canvas - in fact the composition very much betrayed the influence of Barend, (...)"

His collection of stories *Letter to the Owner* (Brief aan de eigenaar) was published in 1966. Amongst these are two stories about the world of art: *Together to the Opening* (Samen naar de opening) and *Tony is better than Henk* (Tonny is beter dan Henk). In the latter Teister took quotations from art books and



Gli "organi della scossa" delle  
torpedine sono delle centrali  
elettroniche nervose naturali



Negli organi sessuali del  
pesci pelle c'è un veleno mortale  
per chi ne consuma le carni



La vedova nera: più piccola  
un pisello può uccidere con  
solo morso un essere umano

zister 197

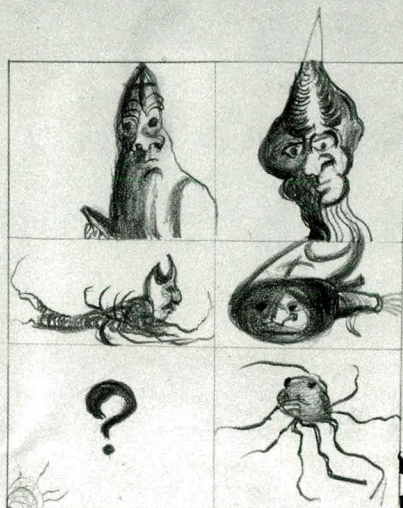


III. 108

Alain Teister (1932-1979)  
 Cover of the sketchbooks 'Vescovi così' and  
 'Vescovi e animali', 1978

pencil and watercolour on paper,  
 24 x 33 cm

Inv. no. 27343.001 and 002



(C)  
pesobi  
e  
animali



Col veleno emesso dalla pelle della "ragazza" amazzonica gli indios avvelenano le frecce.



Gli "organi della snessa" della lordeina sono delle cavinità elettriche nervose naturali.



Gli scorpioni: la neurotossina del loro pungiglione può essere utilizzata a scopi benefici.



Negli organi sessuali dei pesci palla c'è un veleno mortale per chi ne consuma le carni.



La "proteoliteina" contenuta nel veleno dei serpenti a sonagli serve per studiare l'epilessia.



La vedova nera: più piccola di un pisello può uccidere con un solo morso un essere umano.

Alain Terstez 1978



# ZEVENLUIK MET BED EN BEZOEKERS en ander werk van ALAIN TEISTER

een 'ten geleide' naar aanleiding van de tentoonstellingen in:

|                                     |                          |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Oosterland (N.H.), Michaelskerk     | - 20 juni '74 tot 1 aug. |
| Arnhem, Gemeentemuseum              | - 17 aug. tot 30 sept.   |
| Meppel, De Wheeme                   | - 4 okt. tot 27 okt.     |
| Middelburg, Zeeuws Museum           | - 4 nov. tot 7 dec.      |
| Schiedam, Stedelijk Museum          | - 13 dec. tot 5 jan. '75 |
| Hapert (N.B.), Bellfires Schouwzaal | - 11 jan. tot 9 febr.    |
| Utrecht, Centraal Museum            | - 14 febr. tot 8 maart.  |

■ ill. 109

Title page from the catalogue  
'Alain Teister. Zevenluik met bed en bezoekers'  
(Gemeentemuseum Arnhem and elsewhere., 1974)  
in the typeface 'Petronius' designed by J.H. Moesman

placed them in the mouths of his characters, thereby undermining the pomposity found in much writing about art. In his ironic novel *The cosmonaut was a bishop* (De kosmonaut was een bisschop) of 1970, he ridiculed Catholicism. This was also a celebrated subject in his art at the time. In 1971 his exhibition in the gallery d'Eendt in Amsterdam caused a sensation. He showed a series of crosses made from found materials, partly assembled and partly painted. These too contained a mixture of humour and venom - fitting in perfectly with the character of the age. 'I had already finished a couple of them when I was woken up one morning by someone aggressively tugging at my arm. I opened my eyes and saw William Kuik shouting, "Jacques! I think your crosses are beautiful! Beautiful!" At that moment I realized I'd made something good,' he told an interviewer from the newspaper *Het Utrechts Nieuwsblad* a few years later.

Teister's other activities remained diverse. He wrote columns for the Amsterdam daily *Het Parool* and from 1971 was involved with the theatre group Dokumentair Aktueel Theater. The initiative for this group came from Fons Eickholt and found a permanent venue in the Engelenbak in Amsterdam. He wrote a couple of pieces for this rather amateur (and very idealistic) company, and designed a number of sets for them. The Theatre Museum invited him to organize the summer exhibition of 1977 with the title *Attic in the auditorium* (Zolder op zaal). It was not of course a respectable show of theatrical props. Teister, already all too aware of what was being produced in the art world, built four environments out of materials he found in the building on the themes of *Macbeth*, *A Bride in the Morning* (after Hugo Claus), *The Dead Actress* and *The Set-building Studio*. To defend himself against severe critic from the art world, he announced in advance that it was not his intention to imitate Edward Kienholz's installations, let alone to emulate them.

Teister's pièce de résistance was *Seven Panels with Bed and Visitors* (Zevenluik met bed en bezoekers). Thanks to Pierre Janssen, the then director of the Gemeente Museum in Arnhem with whom he was in discussion about a one-person show, Teister kept a diary which records the history of the development of the work. It was originally intended to be five panels with a bed and one visitor, but once he had begun it he added two more panels. The necessary materials were rustled together thanks to the antiquarian book dealer Frans Lapoutre; the art dealer and promoter Jan Juffermans arranged for the exhibition to tour and for the publication of the diary-cum-catalogue. The *Seven Panels with Bed and Visitors*, which was finished in



1974, contains Teister's world both stylistically and iconographically. Stylistically the influence of De Chirico and English Pop Art is very apparent. The presence of a helicopter buzzing around the top of the middle panel like a modern angel could have been borrowed from the opening scene in Fellini's *Roma* - a director Teister greatly admired. However, the content of the piece tells Teister's own story - a story dominated by death and fears. Only the panel on the far left shows any kind of hope and 'life' - a little boy looking over a partition towards the azure horizon. 'I was painting again, especially the last figures: a woman, partially packed in newspaper, a bishop with a child - and knew that death was almost present. Satisfying thought. Apart from the rats (experienced rodents who triumph over life in their own way) the only living being was a little boy looking through the cupboard of past memories, with his back towards me and the viewer, staring into a clear sky. Can he, who is called Jeroen, still spot the repetition of the great unknown out of the corner of his eye against the stiff stage wings...'

*The Central Museum in Utrecht was able to acquire the Seven Panels with Bed and Visitors thanks to the cooperation of the Netherlands Office for Fine Art. In addition to this in 1992 the museum acquired 2 crosses, 3 set designs, 3 sketchbooks and a painted shoe by the artist and writer who died in 1979.*





■ ill. 110

Alain Teister (1932-1979)

*Seven Panels with Bed and Visitors, 1974*

painted wood,  
ca. 320 x 650 cm

acquired with financial support from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

Inv. nr. 27208

**Frans Franciscus (pseudonym for Frans van de Vooren)  
Utrecht 1959; now living and working in Amsterdam  
Utrecht, Lange Smeestraat**

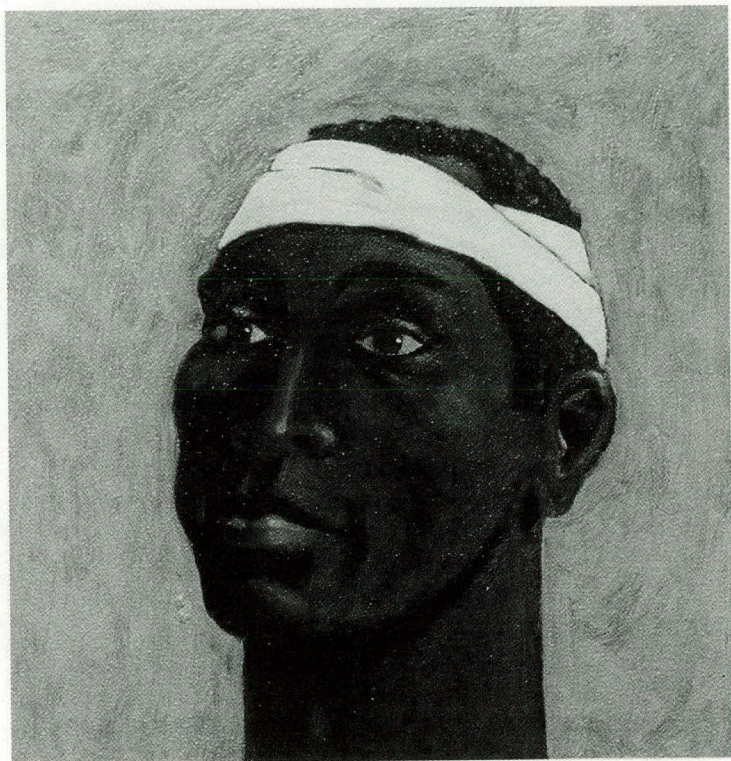
The attic of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, where an overview is presented of the city's history, boasts two murals which Frans Franciscus created specifically for this site in 1993. They are certainly not historical pieces, although they do allude to Franciscus' bond with the Centraal Museum. Franciscus, who was born and bred in Utrecht, visited the museum from an early age, usually accompanied by his father, who worked as a plumber in the Lange Smeestraat and sketched and painted in his spare time. Sometimes a few of his friends came along, because it was a good place to play hide-and-seek. One might therefore say that he grew up in the museum; he became familiar with the surroundings and knew that it was a place of adventure and discovery.

The murals depict the adventure of making one's own discoveries and giving one's imagination free rein. The people in the untitled oval mural are diving up with a few of the museum's prize pieces: a small painting by Bart van der Leek *Bowl with Apples* (Schaal met appels) and a Zigzag chair designed by Gerrit Rietveld. In the other, smaller mural, Franciscus has given his own rendition of Pyke Koch's famous painting *Self-portrait with black cloth* (Zelfportret met zwarte band): an 'inverse' version, depicting a negro with a white head-dress, titled *Pyke Koch goes politically correct*.<sup>11</sup> The painting is a wry comment on the moralistic American trend which prescribes that art be 'politically correct', and its political implications are therefore probably as questionable as those of Pyke Koch's selfportrait.

ill. 111

Franciscus likes to juggle with styles and meanings. He is often inspired by the old masters and, in his interpretation of their work, he blithely allows his fantasy to run wild. One might therefore refer to Franciscus as a self-willed student - a fact which is borne out by his years at the academy of art in Utrecht. However, the heart of his inspiration lies in genuine admiration for the achievements of famous and less-famous artists from the past; their compositions, use of colour or solutions for certain art-technical problems, stimulate him to experiment with them in his own work. However, in so doing, he gives his own rendition of the 'message' of the masters, the story depicted in the painting.

The irresistible desire to tell his stories runs in Franciscus' blood. He once had the great ambition to become an actor. However, when his application for the theatre school was rejec-



■ ill. 111

**F. Franciscus (1959)**

*Pyke Koch goes Politically Correct, July 1993*

acrylic, oil and charcoal on wall,

34 x 32 cm

bought with state subsidy

Inv. no. 27713





■ ill. 112

F. Franciscus (b. 1959)  
*Last supper (a miracle happened)*, 1990  
 oil on canvas,  
 200 x 270 cm  
 bought with state subsidy  
 Inv. no. 27330



■ ill. 113

F. Franciscus (1959)

*Pearl Fishers*, 1988

oil on canvas,  
200 x 150 cm

On loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

Inv. no. 27859

ted and a school teacher told him that he would be a hopeless artist, he decided to study the Dutch language. He was sadly disappointed: instead of immersing himself in literature, he was expected to dissect language. Following several years of drudgery and frustration, Franciscus decided that he had had enough. He enrolled at the Academy of Art and was soon completely engrossed in his work. He painted with a vengeance and tried to fill his paintings with as many images and stories as possible. In 1986, following five years of self-willed study, his tutors decided, with certain reservations, to allow him to graduate. Since then his work has become more balanced. He no longer tries to pack everything into a single painting, but strives to tell a coherent, stylistic 'story' in each of his works, however bizarre they may be. This is clearly evident in his mural with the divers: his admiration for Rietveld and Van der Leek, which is quite surprising, does not cause him to depart from his own style. Franciscus maintains his own manner and allows his divers, who also featured in his earlier work, to fish up the pearls of De Stijl.

Fantasy reigns in the works of Frans Franciscus. He presents a completely different perspective than the linear, future-oriented view of the world: fantasy turns the world upside-down, discovers hidden treasures and works miracles. In his painting *Last Supper (a miracle happened, 1990)*, based on a painting of the Last Supper by Juan de Juanes, the wine goblets are dancing on the table as if the cat's away. In a sense, Franciscus has sent the main characters home so that the Miracle can take place. Or is it merely a trite trick which the artist has conjured out of his top hat? Whatever the case may be, Franciscus' idea to leave out the main characters produced a plethora of possibilities, allowing him to produce a series of so-called 'invisibles'.

Franciscus once said in a newspaper article: 'As a child I dreamed that I had one of those Batman cloaks, and that I was floating around above the school playground, outside the third-floor window, in my cloak'. By allowing figures and objects to float, or by depicting an underwater world where the rules of gravity no longer seem to apply, Franciscus has given various renditions of a fantastic narrative perspective.

The fact that Franciscus' work has a Fellinian absurdity, is borne out by the film *Tadzio*, for which he wrote the script, together with his friend, the photographer Erwin Olaf. The film is set in the stately home of Oud-Amelisweerd, just outside Utrecht. It was commissioned by the (now defunct) Oud-Amelisweerd Foundation and was partly based on Franciscus' paintings. The film had its premiere in September 1991 at





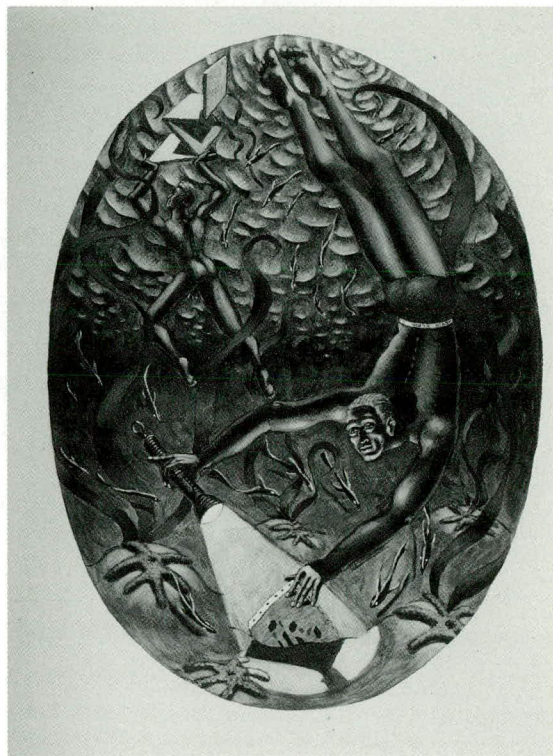
■ ill. 114

F. Franciscus (1959)  
*The King's Lost Shoes*, 1989  
 oil on canvas,  
 200 x 150 cm  
 bought with state subsidy  
 Inv. no. 27331

the Utrecht Film Festival.

*Besides the 2 murals, the Centraal Museum owns three of the artist's paintings and one of his drawings.*





■ ill. 115

**F. Franciscus (1959)**

*Untitled, July 1993*

acrylic, oil and charcoal on wall,  
180 x 130 cm

bought with state subsidy

Inv. no. 27714





### The Gothic Revival in Utrecht

F.W. Mengelberg, 80 Maliebaan

A. Tepe, 84 Maliebaan

H. Geuer, 33 Herenstraat

G.B. Brom, 5-7 Springweg, 15 Drift

The European Gothic Revival followed two main lines of development. The first marked a move away from a decorative programme of shapes, towards a coherent, structural architectural system. The second marked a swing from a preference for the aesthetic to an ideological appreciation for the nationalistic and religious aspects of the medieval Gothic styles.

In the Netherlands, the Utrecht Gothic Revival emphasized the religious aspects. The style, known as 'Utrecht School', is closely connected with the emancipation of the Roman Catholic Church during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

A key figure in these developments was Gerard W. van Heukelum, who was ordained in 1859 and was curate of the St Catharine's church. Van Heukelum was in charge of supervising the restoration of the church and, to this end, he commissioned the German artists Friedrich Wilhelm Mengelberg and Heinrich Geuer, as well as the Utrecht gold- and silversmith Gerard Bartel Brom. These artists were employed to realize the Gothic Revival style that Van Heukelum had in mind. The curate had collected a variety of medieval objects which were to serve as examples. This collection of sculptures, paintings, gold and silverware and textiles, formed the basis of the Archbishop's Museum, which was a department of the Centraal Museum from 1921 until 1978 - the year in which the Catharijneconvent Museum opened.

In 1869, Van Heukelum founded the St Bernulphus Guild. The object of the guild was to 'develop profound insight into the true principles of ecclesiastical art, by means of the collective study of Christian artifacts in general, but, more particularly, by studying our national art works'. The guild was a clerical society rather than a trade union. However, the chief Gothic Revival artists, including the so-called 'Utrecht Quartet', were members. The Utrecht Quartet consisted of the aforementioned artists Mengelberg, Geuer and Brom, and the architect Alfred Tepe. The latter had been given precedence over P.J. Cuypers, whose Gothic Revival work was not quite what Van Heukelum had in mind. Two of the four artists, Mengelberg and Brom, had large



■ ill. 116

Gerard B. Brom (1856-1901)  
*Two candlesticks, 1887*

silver,  
each one: 62 x 43,5 x 18,3 cm

Inv. no. 21698/001-002



■ ill. 117

Johanna W.F.P. Brom (1898-1980)  
Johannes G.J.E. Brom (1891-1954)  
Leo H.M. Brom (1896-1965)  
*Ciborium, 1950*

silver gilt with enamel,  
h. 38,5; diam. 22 cm

Inv. no. 17675



workshops, both of which were to leave their mark on applied art in Utrecht for several generations.

The devotional cabinet made for A.W.K. Ariens is a fine example of the work produced in Mengelberg's workshop. Ariens had been in charge of Catholic poor relief since 1855. The cabinet was presented to him on his 25th anniversary. The cabinet was created by various artists employed in Mengelberg's workshop. Their personal contributions included wood carving, gold and silver smithery and stained glass or imitation enamel. This parity of trades, and the absence of a specific signature, perpetuated the traditions of the medieval workshops. The design, form and execution of the devotional cabinet, exemplify the style of the St Bernulphus Guild around 1880.

In 1856, Gerard Bartel Brom established a coppersmith's on Springweg. He became a specialist in the creation of altar plates, executed in copper and brass, for Roman Catholic liturgical services. Under Van Heukelum's influence, the style of his work gradually shifted towards the Gothic Revival. Following his untimely death in 1882, his son Jan Hendrik Brom took charge of the smithy. He also had to take care of his mother and eleven brothers and sisters. Jan Hendrik was an active member of the St Bernulphus Guild and continued to work in the Gothic Revival style until 1900. In the years thereafter he discovered Art Nouveau and became a champion of this movement, as a member of the artists' guild *De Violier*.

After his death, his two oldest sons, the gold- and silversmith Jan Eloy and the sculptor Leo, took charge of the workshop. They worked together with their sister Johanna Brom, who was an enamellist, and Hildegard Brom, who was Jan Eloy's wife and a specialist in embroidery and needlepoint. During the 1920s and 30s the Brom workshop became the chief manufacturer of ecclesiastical art in the Netherlands. Their products were also popular abroad, and they were no longer only commissioned to produce religious objects, but also manufactured secular articles, such as the dress sword which the Dutch queen Wilhelmina presented to General Eisenhower. Following Jan Eloy's death in 1953, Leo Brom took charge of the workshop until it closed eight years later.

Even though the history of the Gothic Revival in Utrecht is intertwined with that of the city itself, the artists mentioned above are hardly represented in the municipal collection. Due to the distinctly religious nature of almost all their work, it was added to the collection of the Archbishop's Museum, which is now housed in the Catharijneconvent Museum. The few objects which

the Centraal Museum has in its collection are proof of the expertise of the Mengelberg workshop and the Brom smithy. Johanna Brom's beautifully enamelled hand-mirror is a fine example of the technical and stylistic excellence which is also a feature of the secular objects.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 7 objects in silver and 2 design drawings by G.B. Brom and 2 decorative art and design objects in silver by Mengelberg's workshop.*

**Adam van Vianen, Utrecht 1568/69-1627 Utrecht  
and Paulus van Vianen, Utrecht 1570-1613 Prague  
Oudegracht (Weerdzijde)**

Adam and Paulus van Vianen were both born in Utrecht; Adam in 1568 or 1569, and Paulus a few years later probably in 1570. Adam never left his home town, living and working there until his death. For a long time he lived in a house on the east side of Oudegracht in Utrecht, situated between Viebrug and St Jansbrug. Paulus, however, after completing his apprenticeship, left Utrecht between 1586 and 1591 and travelled through France and Germany, finally arriving at the court of Rudolph II in Prague, where he died in 1613.

The life of the Van Vianen brothers reflects the developments which occurred in Dutch art around 1600. These are hallmarked by the transition from court patrons to those of a middle-class elite, and from an international to a typically North Netherlandish style. Paulus was a typical court artist who worked in the Mannerist style. This style, which originated in Italy, evolved via the School of Fontainebleau into the international court style in Prague. Paulus's contribution to the Prague school of Mannerism embraced two significant stylistic innovations in the goldsmiths' craft. Between 1601 and 1603 he made his first landscape studies from nature and he incorporated these sketches into the background of mythological and history pictures. The customary schematic representation of nature by means of wooded thickets, rocky formations, and panoramic vistas was replaced by realistic landscapes. This move was also reflected in the work of Hendrick Goltzius, Roelant Savery, Gillis van Coninxloo, and Abraham Bloemaert. Paulus van Vianen, however, was the first to introduce these innovations into goldsmithing. As early as 1603 he made a plaquette depicting Pan and Syrinx with, in the background, a detail from the large drawing entitled *View of Salzburg* (Gezicht op Salzburg), now





■ ill. 118

Paulus van Vianen (ca. 1570-1613)

*Plaque depicting Diana en Actaeon, 1612*

silver gilt,

8,3 x 11,2 cm

bought with financial aid from the Rembrandt Society

Inv. no. 14745





■ ill. 119

Paulus van Vianen (ca. 1570-1613)

*Plaque depicting Pan en Syrinx, 1613*

silver gilt,

8,3 x 11,2 cm

bought with financial aid from the Rembrandt Society

*Inv. no. 14746*

in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig. Also the small silver plaque, depicting simply a landscape and some figures, is unique for its time.

Paulus van Vianen's other stylistic innovation was the introduction of a new form of ornament into the goldsmiths' craft. In place of motifs derived from Greek and Roman architecture, from 1607 onwards Paulus used anatomical elements for the composition of the ornament. Initially these human or animal forms were depicted in a linear design and clearly recognizable. Later on this decorative form acquired more volume, was raised up, and was no longer bound to nature. In the twentieth century this type of lobe ornament became known as the auricular style. Paulus van Vianen's later style was characterized by representations of refined mythological figures set in realistic landscapes framed by an almost surrealistic ornamentation. These pieces of unparalleled chased work rank among the greatest creations of European silversmithing.

Adam was initially overshadowed by his younger brother, but after the latter's death in 1613 he took over the mantle. The fantastically wrought silver ewer he made for the Amsterdam silversmiths' guild in memory of his brother is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. In form, function, and technique it stands as an entirely original piece. In fashioning the ewer out of a single sheet of silver, Adam van Vianen revealed the full implementation of this new style. The silver suggests a constant state of flux thereby simultaneously conjuring up a feeling of transience, changeability, and softness, in stark contrast to the architectural and static form that had typified such display objects until then. After this ewer, Adam van Vianen went on to develop his own individual style which is characterized by the plasticity with which he modelled the silver into virtually free-standing figures. The lobe ornament forms an integral part of the foot and the detailing of the upper border. This form of the auricular style was to inspire many generations of goldsmiths and craftspeople.

Other members of the Van Vianen family are Ernst Janszoon, a nephew of Adam and Paulus, and Christiaan, Adam's son. Ernst Janszoon made two fantastic tazzas and a lidded cup, but he never worked officially as a silversmith. Adam's son took over the studio after his father's death. He published a book of designs for silver entitled *Modelles Artificiels* (De Constighe Modellen), and worked for some years at the English court in the service of Charles I and later Charles II.

Adam van Vianen was a typical product of Utrecht while being at the same time an internationally oriented artist





ill. 120

**Paulus van Vianen (ca. 1570-1613)**

*Studies of Trees,*

washed pen and brush drawing,  
15 x 20 cm

Inv. no. 6734





■ ill. 121

Theodor van Kessel (c. 1620-after 1620)  
 after Johan Smith  
 published by Christiaen van Vianen (1598-after 1666)  
*Portrait of Adam van Vianen, silversmith of Utrecht, 1650*

etching,  
 24 x 19,3 cm

Inv. no. 8458



■ ill. 122

Adam van Vianen (1568/69-1627)  
*Tazza, depicting Apollo and Python on the bowl  
 and Apollo and Daphne on the base, 1620*

silver,  
 h. 18,3; diam. 21,1 cm

Inv. no. 7895



■ ill. 123

Adam van Vianen (1568/69-1627)  
*Lidded Jug showing scenes from Roman history, 1619*

silver, h. 22 cm,  
 on loan from a private collection,

Inv. no. 25516

- a normal combination at the beginning of the seventeenth century. His circle of friends consisted of artists from Haarlem and Utrecht, all with the same background: Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem, Paulus Moreelse, and Abraham Bloemaert. In his diary, the Utrecht chronicler Arent van Buchell describes being present at a meeting on 26 July 1620 in the house of Gerard van Honthorst who, having just returned from Rome, was recounting his adventures; also present were Bloemaert, Moreelse, Crispijn de Passe, Colijn de Nole, and Adam van Vianen. The Haarlem and Utrecht Mannerist painters had a strong influence on Adam's early work. There were artists from all over Europe employed at the court in Prague and this international company maintained strong contacts with their colleagues. Their style was disseminated via drawings and prints, and through the stories of travelling artists who had stayed a while in Prague. Although the available sources make no direct reference to contacts between Paulus and his family in Utrecht, these nevertheless do seem to have existed. After his death his three children were brought up by Adam, and his friend Roelant Savery, originally from Courtrai, may have decided to settle in Utrecht because Paulus's family and friends lived there.

Van Vianen silver is of such exceptionally high quality that most pieces became part of royal collections, and were finally acquired by the major national museums such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Hermitage in St Petersburg, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. It was not until 1931 that the Centraal Museum acquired a plaquette by Paulus van Vianen. Some years ago, however, it was recognized as a nineteenth-century forgery, several examples of which were made in Friesland. Fortunately the drawing by Paulus van Vianen that was acquired at the same time is a magnificent example of his work. The tazza with the Apollo and Python by Adam van Vianen was bequeathed by F.H. Fentener van Vlissingen in 1936; and the tazza-dish and the plaquettes by Paulus van Vianen were acquired in 1960 and 1965 respectively. The tazzas with Winter and Summer by Adam van Vianen were purchased with the help of the Rembrandt Society. The ewer with scenes from the history of Marcus Curtius was acquired on a long-term loan by the museum in 1985 following the retrospective of the Van Vianens' work organized by the Centraal Museum in 1984-85.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 10 decorative art and design objects in silver and 2 drawings by the Van Vianens.*



**Cris Agterberg**  
**Amsterdam 1883-1948 Utrecht**  
**1 Teelingstraat, 12 Nobelstraat, Hofpoort (studio)**

Cris Agterberg, born in Amsterdam in 1883, was a typical product of the applied arts tradition of the early twentieth century. He was a jack of all trades, twelve in total, who eventually turned his hand to applied art. In 1912, he became a member of the artists' society *The Independents* (De Onafhankelijken). After the First World War he became director of the *Betonijzerbouw* (reinforced concrete) workshop in Diemen for a brief period. He also manufactured experimental ornaments and artifacts at the *De Sneep* workshop. After he was discharged in 1921, Agterberg opened an art store and workshop at number 1, Teelingstraat in Utrecht. The masks that he had on display in his workshop were extremely popular, and he was commissioned to manufacture them for plays and masquerades, such as the student fraternity's anniversary festivities *Ichtnaton*, which took place in 1926. His wife made the costumes.

Agterberg sold and manufactured a wide range of articles of applied art which were popular at the time. Due to his multifaceted background he was proficient in various art forms, such as stained-glass painting, pottery, gold and silver smithery, batik, metal founding and forging, and sculpture. This versatility was characteristic of many other applied artists of his generation, who also used a wide variety of techniques and materials in their designs. However, not everyone was as proficient as Agterberg in the trade itself.

Agterberg was also a fairly talented painter. His 'isms exhibition' has become famous. The show consisted of twenty paintings, each in a different style. The signatures were covered with tape. When the exhibition closed, Agterberg revealed that he had personally painted all the works. This anecdote gives an indication of his artistic skills. He quickly mastered any new style, technique or material. His oeuvre provides a wonderful overview of artistic and stylistic developments between 1920 and 1940. However, in spite of his virtuosity, he was neither a trend-setter nor an innovator. The contacts he had made abroad during his travels, kept him abreast of the latest developments and allowed him to manufacture a wide variety of ornaments and artifacts for his art store. As a versatile artisan, Agterberg chose to personally manufacture most of the artifacts for the store. His best achievements are of an extremely high quality. Pictures of his work were regularly included in *De toegepaste kunsten in Nederland*, a series on applied art in the Netherlands,



■ ill. 124

**Cris Agterberg (1883-1948)**

*Tea service consisting of: teapot, milk jug, sugar pot, cup  
and saucer, c. 1935*

glazed pottery,

produced by pottery factory Zenith, Plateelbakkerij Gouda,

Inv. no. 24969/001-005



■ ill. 125

Cris Agterberg (1883-1948)

*Fish*, 1923/1927

glass, enamel,  
h. 17; diam. 14 cm

Inv. no. 22752





III. 126

Cris Agterberg (1883-1948)

Mask, 1925

plaster,  
37,5 x 21,5 x 13 cm,

Inv. no. 24974

published by K. Wasch.

Agterberg's business flourished, and in 1924 he moved his art store to number 12, Nobelstraat. He moved his workshop to the Hofpoort. In 1939 he closed his store in order to open a gallery called *Behind St Peter's* (Achter St. Pieter). He organized various exhibitions at this gallery during the war. His death, in 1948, was given little publicity.

Although Agterberg was already 36 when he moved to Utrecht, he apparently soon made a name for himself in the city. His store was a depot for the latest artistic developments; a status shared with Jac. van den Bosch's store, 't Binnenhuis, in Amsterdam and C. de Lorm's store, Zonnebloem, in The Hague. He owed his most significant commissions to his contacts in Utrecht society. He was active in both cultural and political circles. He chose the side of fascism during the war and contributed to the Fascist weekly magazine *De Bezem*, as had his close friend Erich Wichman. His workshop was a meeting place for the group who founded the N.S.B. (The Dutch National Socialist Movement).

To date, little attention has been paid to Agterberg's work. A few enthusiasts, with an interest in Utrecht, have collected his work. The Centraal Museum recently managed to purchase a number of excellent examples of his work and has added these to the existing collection. The museum now has the best Agterberg collection in the Netherlands.

*The Centraal Museum's collection now includes 36 objects of applied art and design by Agterberg.*

**Carel J.A. Begeer**  
**Utrecht 1883-1956 Voorschoten**  
**Utrecht, 200 Oudegracht, 27 Oudkerkhof**

Carel J.A. Begeer was the most artistically gifted scion of a long line of jewellers, carvers and silversmiths, who were trend-setters in this line of business in Utrecht for several generations.

However, the Begeers were not the founding fathers of the silver industry in Utrecht. In 1835, the silversmith Johannes Mattheus van Kempen III had opened a workshop in Choorstraat, with a single employee. His workshop manufactured silverware with the aid of machines. In 1851, Van Kempen had the first steam-driven machine installed. His innovative business prospered and by 1855 he was employing fifty people. Van Kempen eventually decided to move his workshop to the Lucas Bolwerk, but the municipal council rejected his plan because the



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Carel J.A. Begeer (1883-1956)

*Vase, c. 1918/1919*

silver,

24,1 x 16,2 x 14,5 cm,

collection: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam





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Carel J.A. Begeer (1883-1956)

*Tea service consisting of: teapot, sugar pot, milk jug and  
small container for spoons, 1927*

silver and ebony,

produced by the Silver Workshop Voorschoten NV (1925-1961)

Inv. no. 18326

site was to be used for housing construction. The council's uncooperative attitude prompted Van Kempen's move to the town of Voorschoten.

Subsequently, a German artist called Bauer, whom Begeer had employed for some time, founded a new firm which became a public limited company in 1862: the *The Utrecht Silver Workshop* (Utrechtse Fabriek van Silverwerk). In 1865, the craftsman's grandfather, Carel Joseph Begeer, became the company's sales manager and stockist. He became company director in 1871. In 1881, two years after his death, his younger brother Anthonie married his widow and guided the business to unprecedented heights during the course of the following decades.

However, the relationship between Anthonie and his brother's children deteriorated to such an extent that one of his stepsons decided to start his own business in 1903: the *The Stichtse Silver Workshop* (Stichtse Fabriek van Zilveren Werken). This company also manufactured medals and medallions.

Anthonie had two sons of his own, Carel J.A. and Anton, both of whom were partners in the business. However, only Carel was truly interested in the trade and a talented artist, to boot. He established his own workshop and determined the artistic policy of the business. Owing to his initiatives, the smithy not only produced traditional, highly-embellished silverware after 1900, but also manufactured objects designed by Jan Eisenloeffel, who joined the business in 1904. Carel Begeer's early work was inspired by Roman art - as was Eisenloeffel's. He studied examples of this style at the Archbishop's Museum in Utrecht. He later developed an affinity for seventeenth-century, Dutch silverware and was particularly inspired by the auricular ornamentation of Paulus and Adam van Vianen. He designed various objects in a style similar to that of the Van Vianens, and also introduced other artists to this style.

Following his father's death in 1910, Begeer also took charge of the commercial side of the family business. In 1919, he succeeded in organizing a merger between his own company and the Van Kempen and De Vos works. The merger eventually led to the company's move away from Utrecht, in 1926, to become the *Royal Van Kempen and Begeer* (Koninklijke Van Kempen en Begeer) in Voorschoten.

Carel J.A. Begeer was a trend-setter in Dutch arts-and-crafts circles and in cultural life in Utrecht. Many talented designers worked under his supervision. Eisenloeffel was the first, but was



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Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)

*Highchair, 1923*

beech wood, ebony and leather

92 x 30 x 38 cm

*Inv. no. 24635*



soon followed by others, such as Van der Hoef, Lauweriks, Zwollo, Ehrlich, Altorf and Warnaar. Occasionally the works manufactured objects designed by artists and architects, such as a dinner service for Mrs H. Kröller-Müller, designed by the architect H.P. Berlage.

Begeer was friends with Erich Wichman for many years. He urged Wichman to continue experimenting with enamelled metal and introduced him to the works of the famous gold and silversmiths Adam and Paulus van Vianen and Johannes Lutma. Inspired by their work, Wichman designed various, fancifully-styled vases and caskets in silver and bronze. Begeer's interest in Dutch silversmiths went beyond the field of design and commerce. He published a number of art-historical standard works on the subject and organized numerous exhibitions. He also contracted works in other fields. In 1909, he commissioned Gerrit Rietveld to design a memorial stone for E. Nijland, the principal of the Nederlandse Hervormde Burger School, who was one of Begeer's close friends. And, in 1910, Rietveld painted a posthumous portrait of Begeer's father, Anthonie. It is therefore hardly surprising that Begeer was also a committee member of the *Society for Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde).

In spite of Begeer's close ties with the city of Utrecht, the Centraal Museum's collection contains few of his more significant works or those manufactured by Van Kempen & Begeer. Most of the works were added to the company collection, which is housed in the Van Kempen & Begeer Museum in Zoetermeer.

*The Centraal Museum's collection includes 18 silver objects of applied art and design, manufactured by Begeer and by Van Kempen & Begeer.*

**Gerrit Rietveld**

**Utrecht 1888-1964 Utrecht**

**25 (93) Adriaan van Ostadelaan, 50 Prins Hendriklaan,  
55 Oudegracht**

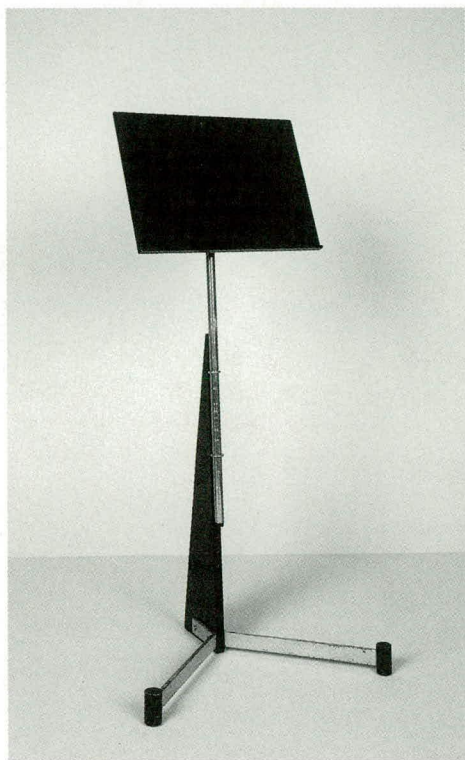
Gerrit Thomas Rietveld's popularity has reached exceptional proportions in recent decades. His most famous designs - the Red Blue chair, the Rietveld Schröder House and his Zigzag chair - have caught the imagination of thousands. Their strength lies as much in their aesthetic form as in the radicality of his ideas about space and architecture, combined with the exceptional consistency with which he gave form to these ideas. The democratic and socialist attitudes which at one time formed the basis for *the modern building movement* (Moderne Bouwen)

were made tangible in the design, in the inexpensive nature of the materials and the way in which they were treated. Rietveld's furniture and architectural designs have an autonomous plastic quality which distance them from the worldly criteria used to assess functionality. Artists and art historians as well as architects are fascinated by Rietveld's work. Utrecht became internationally renowned as a city of culture because Gerrit Rietveld who was born there on 24 June 1888, worked there until his death on 25 June 1964.

After finishing primary school Rietveld, then aged eleven, went to work in his father's furniture-making shop. He learned the trade down to the finest details and at the same time developed a deep loathing for the respectable period pieces produced there. By going to evening classes given by among others, the architect P.J.C. Klaarhamer, he expanded and strengthened his theoretical knowledge which made him aware of avant-garde movements in art and literature. Rietveld also met the painter Bart van der Leek through Klaarhamer. He was to be an important influence, even before they both became members of the De Stijl group.

In 1917 Rietveld established himself in a house on the Adriaen van Ostadelaan. The architect Robert van 't Hoff, who was also one of the founders of De Stijl, saw Rietveld's first experimental furniture almost by mistake. He advised Rietveld to make contact with De Stijl. The artist Theo van Doesburg was enthusiastic about Rietveld's designs and published an early, uncoloured version of the Red Blue chair in a magazine. Rietveld had most contact with J.J.P. Oud even after Oud had left De Stijl. Rietveld himself stayed in the group until 1931.

In 1924 Rietveld was commissioned by Truus Schröder-Schröder to build what is now called the Rietveld Schröder House. This house became generally recognized as the architectural realization of De Stijl ideas. The Rietveld Schröder House immediately brought Rietveld international renown. Seen in the context of his work as a whole, the House is the conclusion of the experiments with space and colour which had occupied him during the previous ten years. After this period he joined the architects of the *New Building* (Nieuwe Bouwen). He attended two international architects' CIAM conferences - La Sarraz in 1928 and Frankfurt am Main in 1929. Rietveld's practice was in the studio in the Rietveld Schröder House until 1933, after which he hired an old building on the Oudegracht belonging to the artists society *Society of Art Lovers* (Genootschap Kunstliefde). From 1937 the Rietveld family lived above the cinema in Vreeburg (street) in Utrecht which Rietveld had renovated.



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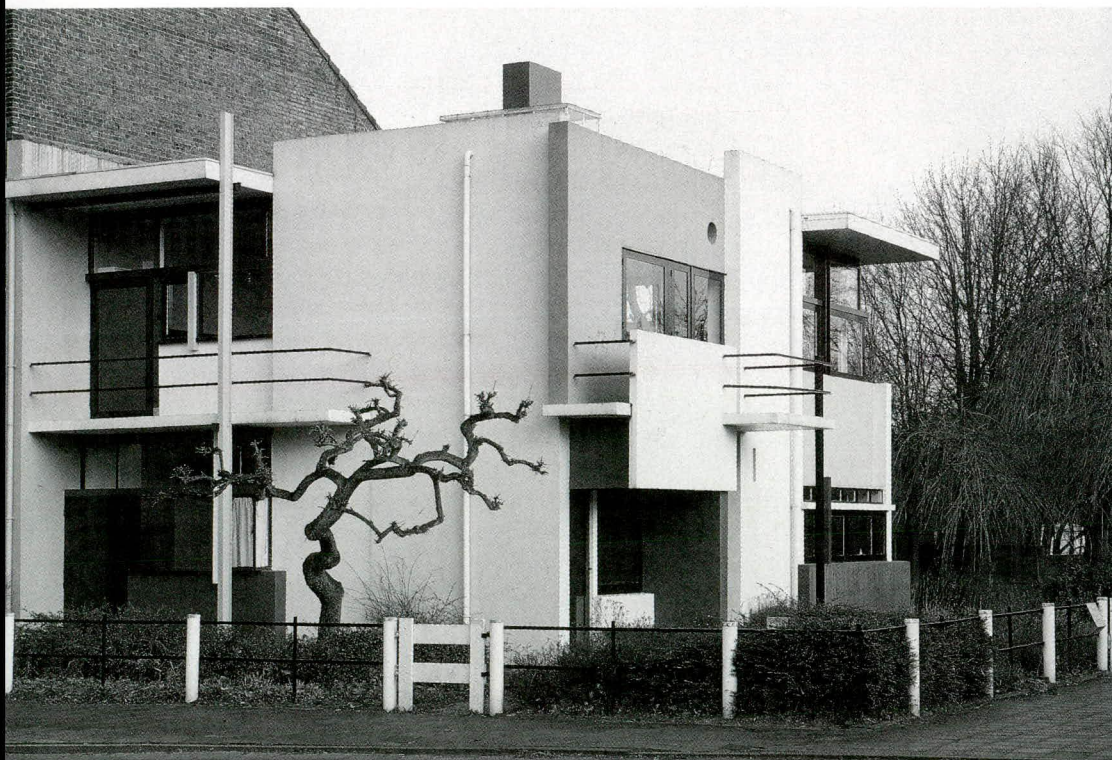
Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)

*Music stand, c. 1928*

hardwood, softwood, plywood and metal  
146 x 50 x 60 cm

Inv. no. 26701





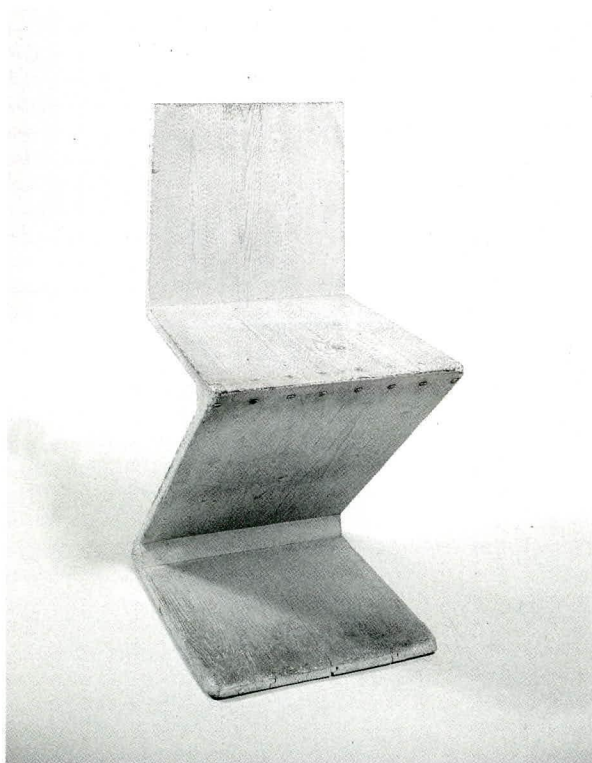
■ ill. 131

Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)  
*Rietveld Schröder House in Utrecht, 1924*

During the war, because he refused to become a member of the Chamber of Culture imposed by the German occupiers, Rietveld's professional activities came to a virtual stand-still. After 1945 initially it looked as though his role in architecture had come to an end. A resurgence of interest in *De Stijl*, which had spread from America, revived curiosity about Rietveld's work. This renewed respect provided Rietveld with a number of large and prestigious commissions during the last six years of his life. He died in the Rietveld Schröder House where he had gone to live after the death of his wife in 1958. He was buried in Bilthoven in the *Den en Rust* cemetery.

Rietveld represented the strict Protestant side of Utrecht society which was mostly to be found among middle-class trades people. He rejected his authoritarian father's strong religious beliefs during the years he had spent developing his own artistic ideas. The indomitable way in which he realized his concepts about architecture and design made him seem like 'the captain beside God', a person who recognizes no earthly authority beyond that of their own conscience.

Although Rietveld was recognized as an extremely amiable and straightforward man, one can see from everything he did that the most important aim in his life was the realization of his architectural and design ideals. He was always prepared to reach a compromise with his clients in his work. Not building probably felt to him like standing still, or even going backwards, whereas every commission was an opportunity to put some of his ideas into practice. He preferred to adopt a moderate attitude in public rather than a radical one. Rietveld also worked on various newspapers and magazines such as *De Stijl*, *Wendingen*, *De Gemeenschap*, *i10*, *De 8 en Opbouw*, *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, *de werkende vrouw* and he founded his own paper. He wanted this periodical to be an 'open platform for every living idea'. The only time Rietveld defended a minority position was when he supported Van Ravesteyn whose work was denounced in *De 8 en Opbouw* for ideological reasons. Rietveld remained active in Utrecht cultural life alongside his international activities. He was a member of the board of the Utrecht Films League, a member of the exhibition committee the *Utrecht Artist's Circle* (Utrechtse Kunstkring) and a member of the board of the artists society *Kunstliefde*, to which he planned to bring a new lease of life. The people in Utrecht who set the tone in art and culture were of immeasurable value to Rietveld. Nijland, Schelling, Ten Doesschate, Begeer, Maronier, not forgetting Truus Schröder, were some of Rietveld's early clients; and all of them came from the Utrecht area. Other clients seem almost



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Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)

*Zigzag chair, 1932/1933*

deal,  
74,8 x 37,4 x 41 cm

Inv. no. 26101





■ ill. 133

Gerrit Th. Rietveld (1888-1964)  
*The Red Blue Armchair, design 1918*

five-plywood, beech wood  
86,6 x 65,9 x 82 cm

Inv. no. 26106

always to have heard of him through this group of friends and acquaintances. This can be seen indirectly in the geographical distribution of his prewar architecture - most houses are either in or around Utrecht. It was not until the 1950s that Rietveld was asked to build private dwellings by which time his work had become nationally known.

Despite this, Rietveld's work never had very much influence in Utrecht. Apart from a short period in the 1920s, when every artist in Utrecht threw Rietveld-like pieces of furniture together, he did not have much of an impact on his colleagues. An Utrecht School never developed. Before the war Rietveld did not receive a single commission from the City Council. The buildings he put up in Utrecht remain jewels in an environment dominated by mediocrity. Luckily the Rietveld Schröder House is one of these and was given in long lease to Utrecht City Council in 1987.

The Rietveld Schröder House is the most important part of the Centraal Museum's Rietveld Collection. The foundations for this part of the collection were laid in 1958 when the museum organized a retrospective exhibition of Rietveld's work. At the end of the exhibition Rietveld donated a large number of pieces of furniture and maquettes to the museum. The largest expansion of the collection took place in 1987 when the house, its contents and papers were partly donated and partly given on loan to the museum by Truus Schröder. The Rietveld Furniture Collection is now the largest in the Netherlands and is one of the reasons for the Centraal Museum's international reputation.

*The museum possesses 145 objects and 28 designs of applied art by Rietveld.*

### **Sybold van Ravesteyn**

**Rotterdam 1889-1983 Laren**

**Utrecht, Moreelsepark, Stationstraat, Prins Hendriklaan**

Sybold van Ravesteyn was born in Rotterdam on 18 February 1889. After studying in Delft to be a civil engineer he took up employment with the then Company for the Exploitation of the State Railways in Utrecht. In 1919 Van Ravesteyn settled permanently in the city, living first on Catharijnesingel and moving later, in 1923, to the Admiraal van Gentstraat. His first assignment for the railways was to build the concrete structures - his speciality - for the 'Inkpot', the company's third administration building, designed by G.W. van Heukelom. In 1921 Van Heukelom, his immediate superior, granted him authorization to

work as an independent architect as well. The buildings he subsequently designed include his own house at number 112, Prins Hendriklaan where he went to live in 1933 with his second wife.

At the beginning of the twenties Van Ravesteyn's contacts with Utrecht artists began to acquire shape and substance. He became a committee member of the Utrecht Art Circle, met Rietveld and through him the architect J.J.P. Oud who introduced him to internationally renowned artists such as Erich Mendelsohn. Another Utrecht architect, Willem Maas, brought him into contact with *The Community* (De Gemeenschap). From 1925 to 1935 Van Ravesteyn was actively involved with this Catholic magazine. He wrote various articles about domestic and foreign architecture and reviewed exhibitions. In 1929 he became a member of *De 8 en Opbouw*, a group of architects interested in innovation; articles by him also appeared in the journal of this architects' association. In 1938 he left the group as his views on architecture were substantially different. From this time onward he was not associated with any particular circle. In 1981 he moved from Prins Hendriklaan to the elderly artists' home Rosa Spierhuis in Laren, where he died two years later at the age of 94.

Although the stiff and formal engineer - born in Rotterdam, educated in Delft - may appear to have had little in common with the anti-middleclass art climate in the cathedral city of Utrecht, Van Ravesteyn was a true citizen of Utrecht. His work, his ideas, his clients and his friends were all directly connected with the cathedral city. This was notably the case with his most important employer, Dutch Rail. Since its foundation in 1860, the NS (Nederlandse Spoorwegen) or Dutch Rail, has been of great influence in Utrecht from an economic point of view, and in the sphere of urban development and architecture; indirectly the NS has also influenced cultural life since many prominent employees of the rail company played an active part in this.

In his work for Dutch Rail Van Ravesteyn was responsible for the southwest Netherlands area where he erected many utilitarian structures, from signal boxes to large stations. The Central Station in Utrecht which was constructed between 1937 and 1940 and demolished in 1970 to make way for the Hoog Catharijne shopping precinct, was one of the most splendid examples of his own unique style of architecture.

For private clients he conceived several remarkable conversions, for which he generally designed the furniture as well. M.R. Radermacher Schorer, a patron of many Utrecht artists, commissioned him in 1927 to convert the ground floor of his





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Ir. Sybold van Ravesteyn (1889-1983)

*Bedroom furnishings consisting of wardrobe, table,  
commode, bed, bedside cupboard and chair*

farnished wood,

made by the M. Middelbeek firm

client: Jhr. Mr. M.R. Radermacher Schorer

Inv. no. 12196-12201

house at number 12, Wilhelminapark. Radermacher Schorer also owned the bedroom suite designed by Van Ravesteyn which was displayed in 1925 at the World Fair in Paris.

A second important commission which Van Ravesteyn executed in Utrecht was the conversion of the Brandwaarborg Maatschappij Tiel-Utrecht office at 80, Kromme Nieuwegracht. Anyone wishing to obtain a good impression of Van Ravesteyn's architecture should visit the Diergaarde Blijdorp zoo in Rotterdam, built between 1937 and 1940, whose towers have regrettably had to be demolished as they were in danger of collapse, or the Kunstmin theatre in Dordrecht, which has been recently renovated.

Van Ravesteyn's training as an engineer meant that he was fully qualified to introduce new technical improvements into architecture. Thanks to the utilitarian character of almost all his railway buildings his work was effortlessly accepted and applauded by the architects of *New Building* (Nieuwe Bouwen). Sybold van Ravesteyn felt a connection with this movement, but strove for a freer interpretation of its principles. As early as the beginning of the thirties, he came to the conclusion that architecture was in fact created in that area of free choice which accompanied or took precedence over every functional requirement. His engineering background may also have played a part here. Well versed in the technical and constructional elements of building, he was able to focus his attention on the visual aspects of architecture. He found the material interpretation of the functionalist concept to be too narrow; architecture should also satisfy man's need for beauty. He expressed hierarchical differences in the purpose of rooms, for example between a director's boardroom and ordinary offices, in architectural forms. These ideas, which imprinted themselves on his work around 1936 and which he set down in theses and articles in response to criticism of his buildings, led in 1938 to his definitive break with the society *De 8 en Opbouw*. This polemic not only brought Van Ravesteyn's own choice of direction into the open, it also exposed the differences of opinion between the architects of the New Realism. Many architects cancelled their membership in response to the dogmatic stance of the committee. Rietveld was one of the people who sided with Van Ravesteyn in this conflict over direction; a decision less remarkable than it seems as Rietveld always employed a liberal interpretation of the concept of functionalism.

For Rietveld it was not the fulfilment of purely material needs which were of prime importance, but the spiritual awakening of the individual. Moreover, he held firm to the view that



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Ir. Sybold van Ravesteyn (1889-1983)

*Dressing-table chair, 1926*

varnished wood, metal and leather

80 x 51 x 56 cm

presented by the Viscount de Noailles, Hyères (France)

Inv. no. 20598





■ ill. 136

**Ir. Sybold van Ravesteyn (1889-1983)**

*Armchair, 1935/1936*

steel chrome, wood and velvet

99 x 56 x 63 cm

presented by the insurance company Tiel-Utrecht

*Inv. no. 18134*

the new architecture was still being developed. To condemn experiments which departed from the mainstream would contradict this argument; it was probably not in his character either. He particularly appreciated Van Ravesteijn's Utrecht Central Station for its effect on space. He heaped lavish praise on the steps of the Kunstmin theatre in Dordrecht and would not say a word against the decoration which many of his colleagues found abominable. Rietveld even went as far as to describe Van Ravesteijn's architecture in 1940 as 'a continuation of the functional architecture written of in our journal'. Rietveld's emotional defence of Van Ravesteijn often causes surprise as they made very different choices during and after the war. By the end of the thirties, however, Rietveld and Van Ravesteijn had already known each other for twenty years. They shared an ideal and a past. They worked for the same clients, wrote in the same magazines, lived in the same city and were part of the same circle of artists, architects and designers.

After the war Van Ravesteijn derived his principal inspiration from neo-classicism and Italian architecture. When functionalist architecture began to set the tone in the second half of the fifties, he adapted his style accordingly. On the one hand this appears to be a form of stylistic conformism, on the other it is perhaps proof that beneath the many variations on his typical ornamentation, Van Ravesteijn remained at heart a twentieth-century pragmatic builder.

Among Dutch architects Van Ravesteijn occupied a unique but poorly understood position, with regard to both his work and his ideas. His ideas are accommodated very successfully within *De Gemeenschap's* range of thought. This magazine, founded by a group of progressive Catholic artists, was anti-middleclass and anti-materialistic, but it was socially committed and aimed to create a new society with new spiritual values. Within this group was a nostalgic longing for the hypothesized unity of medieval art. Old Italy was admired for its art and architecture, new Italy for its ideology and the rule of Mussolini. For a section of *De Gemeenschap* this admiration would lead them to opt for fascism. We can also observe this development in Van Ravesteijn's ideas and work. He put one of *De Gemeenschap's* ideals into practice, the medieval 'Gesamtkunstwerk' (work of art produced by a group of people together) by bringing other artists into his projects to produce monumental statues, frescoes, plasterwork and stained glass.

The painters Willink and Koch admired Van Ravesteijn because he created a magical world with realistic elements. In his architecture he similarly endeavoured to introduce an extra

dimension by adding the emotional, artistic value of ornamentation to the three-dimensional, functional structure.

Van Ravesteyn had a great influence on a number of Dutch architects, including Willem Maas who has already been mentioned. But he also left his mark on the architects of Nieuwe Bouwen, for example in the interior of the Vreeburg cinema in Utrecht which Rietveld designed.

For several decades the image of Utrecht was just as much associated with the Central Station as it was with the Cathedral tower (Domtoren). The significance of Van Ravesteyn's architecture, however, has long been overshadowed by his stance during the Second World War. He continued to work for Dutch Rail and was responsible for converting the interior of a coach into an office and conference room for the Nazi head in the Netherlands, A. Seyss-Inquart. Van Ravesteyn shares this tainted past with several Utrecht artists, their choice being partially determined by the specific characteristics of Utrecht history and the Utrecht art climate.

The Centraal Museum's collection of Van Ravesteyn designs convincingly demonstrates that a collection with a city-oriented theme can be of great national and international importance. Van Ravesteyn was first and foremost an architect. He designed furniture almost exclusively for the interior of his own buildings. This means he created small series which have often disappeared with the demolition of a building. So it is little short of a miracle that the Centraal Museum has all of Van Ravesteyn's furniture designs in its possession, with the exception of a few pieces, and also a number of the statues which were made for his buildings.

*The Centraal Museum owns 59 objects of applied art by Van Ravesteyn.*





### The Development of the Costume Department

In an article about the relationship between Utrecht, the Centraal Museum and the Fashion and Costume Department, it seems appropriate to explain how and why the collection developed in this particular location.

Utrecht may be regarded as the birthplace of historical costume study in the Netherlands. The first chair in Art History was established in 1907 at Utrecht University, although until 1921 this remained a subsidiary subject. The first professor, Dr W. Vooghsang, had a broad interest in cultural history which included costume; he managed to transmit his enthusiasm for the subject to several of his students. In 1916, for example, Carla H. de Jonge obtained her doctorate under his supervision with a thesis on men's costume in the Northern Netherlands in the first half of the 16th century.

The following year she was employed by the City of Utrecht to work on the municipal public collection; at that time the archives and museum had not yet been separated. On 1 August 1921 the Centraal Museum's new building in the Agnietenstraat was opened. Carla de Jonge immediately introduced a costume display in the museum's new interior. This echoed international developments, for around 1920 various European museums began to set up their own costume rooms. In the Netherlands such rooms were established in Amsterdam and Utrecht.

In addition to old costumes, Carla de Jonge was also interested in clothing and accessories from her own time. For example, in the thirties she introduced dresses from the previous decade into the collection. In 1924 she wrote a small book about contemporary jewellery in the series *'The Applied Arts in the Netherlands'*, even incorporating work from 1924 in the publication, including that of Cris Agterberg. If the budget had been available at the time she would certainly have bought modern jewellery for the museum.

During her long career at the museum (in 1941 she became director), Carla de Jonge always gave costume an important place in the collection. When she retired in 1952 the Centraal Museum continued to maintain a permanent costume display.

## Utrecht in the Costume Collection

It is not possible to select items from the costume collection to highlight important local fashion designers. Even in Amsterdam it was only after the Second World War that several fashion designers acquired national renown. For centuries, fashion in the Netherlands was virtually a direct reflection of developments elsewhere in Europe, particularly in France. Nevertheless the Centraal Museum's collection does contain several items of clothing which reveal a clear connection with the city of Utrecht and certain residents. Moreover, various themes present themselves around which a small, Utrecht-oriented selection can be made and an Utrecht story told.

The oldest items came into the collection thanks to excavations in the city, and are therefore known to have been part of a Utrecht wardrobe. ■ A bishop's shoe and mitre turned up in crypts under the Domkerk (cathedral); the magnificently embroidered shoe has survived the ravages of time extremely well, and provides us with a unique opportunity to admire and learn more about applied textile art from a far-off past.

In all Dutch costume collections the oldest items of clothing which have been preserved in their entirety date from the middle of the eighteenth century. Apparently a conscious intention to preserve some costume pieces developed in this period.

The city of Utrecht was no exception in this respect.

We can acquire information about costume history in the period prior to this by studying paintings and manuscripts. However, the Centraal Museum does not possess any medieval illuminated manuscripts. Examples of manuscripts originating from Utrecht can be found in the museum Het Catharijneconvent (St Catharine's Convent) just round the corner from the Centraal Museum, and also in collections abroad. A description of the clothing in these manuscripts would be outside the scope of this essay. The Centraal Museum does however possess an extremely large collection of portraits of mainly Utrecht residents from the sixteenth century onwards. ■ The clothing depicted in these portraits provides us with a good impression of costume development in the two centuries before clothing was consciously preserved. Moreover, these portraits, for which the provenance is largely known, can be placed with great certainty in a Utrecht context. ■

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ill. 138

ill. 139



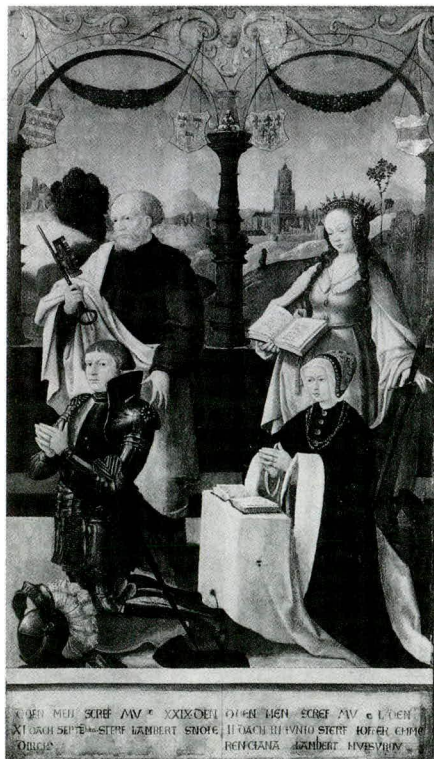


■ ill. 137

Bishop's shoe, of woven ribbed silk,  
14th/15th century

found in 1921 in a crypt under the chapel of  
bishop Guy van Avesnes in the Dom in Utrecht

Cat. 1928/1296



ill. 138

**Utrecht Master**

*Inside of the right wing of an altar piece belonging  
to the Snoy family showing the founders and their patron  
saints, c. 1530*

oil on panel,  
146,5 x 80,2 cm

Inv. no. 6078



III. 139

**Paulus Moreelse (1571-1683)**

*Portrait of Anna Ram-Strick (1591-1637), 1625*

oil on canvas,

112,5 x 85,3 cm

on loan from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, The Hague

*Inv. no. 10239*



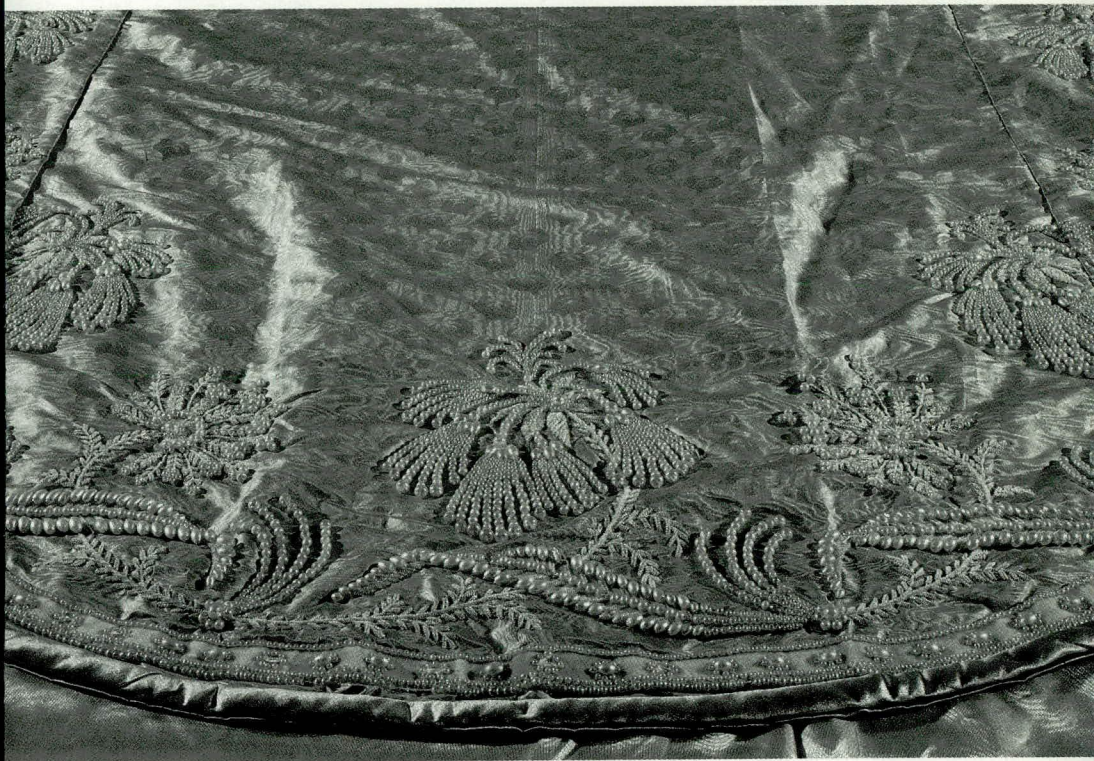

 ill. 140

A Utrecht provenance can be clearly proved for one of the top pieces in the collection, a court train from 1809 which was worn in all probability by an Utrecht lady.■ No public collection in the Netherlands owned an empire court train until 1975 when this garment was presented to the Centraal Museum. As yet no written evidence for the train's provenance has been found, but it is quite reasonable to suppose that it was worn by the donor's great-great-grandmother, Elisabeth Charlotta Both Hendriksen, née Winter (1786-1809). A miniature portrait shows us a far from frivolous woman, depicted in her household bonnet. On 27 March 1804 she married Willem Jan Both Hendriksen, who had been advisor at the Court of Utrecht for two years. He had also held this function before 1795 but had been dismissed during the Batavian Revolution for being an Orangist (supporter of the House of Orange). On 25 April 1809 he was created a knight in the Order of the Union by King Louis Napoleon. In the (Dutch) *Almanac de la Cour pour l'année 1810* the costume for the knights of this Order was depicted and extensively described; however, there was no mention of ladies being present at the installation or other ceremonies connected with the Order.

Elisabeth Charlotta lived with her family in a magnificent house at number 13, Janskerkhof which now accommodates the magistrates' court. In August 1809 she would certainly have been invited by King Louis Napoleon to a ball which he gave in Utrecht for the ladies of the entire province. But court trains were not worn at balls.

The Duchess d'Abrantès writes in her memoirs that court dress was not worn when being presented to princesses from the imperial family, that ladies only wore a gown with a (permanently attached) train. Foreign women, who had already been presented to their sovereign in their own country, were received at the court of Napoleon in formal dress, but they only wore the separate train when presented to the emperor and empress, and in all situations when the gentlemen wore 'le grand costume' (court dress). The family Both Hendriksen had been presented to Louis Napoleon, and probably dressed in accordance with these rules on any subsequent visit they made to Paris. Their name might still be found on guest lists for the court of Napoleon which may yet be uncovered.

It is not clear who made the court train. The most obvious theory is that Elisabeth Charlotta entrusted the creation of her train to a Paris couturier. During the empire period monsieur Herbeaut



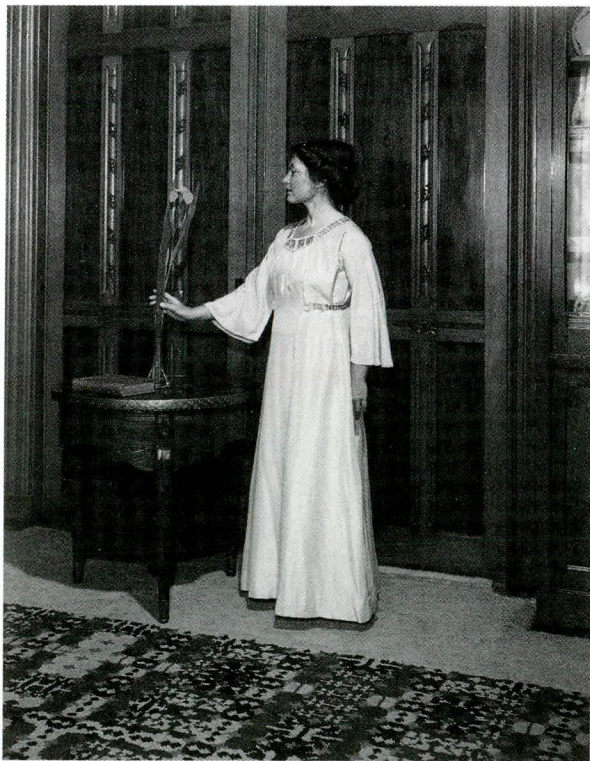
■ ill. 140

**Court Train (detail), 1809**

mauve moire silk with ivory velvet, embroidered with ivory chenille  
and pearl-coloured beads. Lining: silk satin  
probably worn by Elisabeth Charlotta Both Hendriksen-Winter  
(1786-1809) of Utrecht

Inv. no. 19760





■ ill. 141

**Silk Dress macrame and beads, 1912**

*Designed and produced at the Vakschool voor Verbetering  
van Vrouwen- en Kinderkleding in Amsterdam,  
for Mrs Redeke-Hoek of Utrecht*

*Inv. no. 10066*



had even specialized in 'manteaux de cour' (court robes). The court couturier Leroy presumably supplied the majority of trains. His accounts for the years 1811-15 have been preserved, with a complete list of clients. For this Utrecht court train, however, the list begins two years too late.

In the Both Hendriksen family Elisabeth Charlotta's name has always been associated with the train. She died on 16 December 1809 at the age of 23. It is quite conceivable that her husband kept her court train as a precious keepsake of one who had died so young. The train, which was generally white, was certainly worn with a matching formal gown in a contrasting colour.

The train can be briefly described as follows. Beneath the rosette it can be attached to the gown with a hook. The panels meet beneath the bosom with a sophisticated fastening. Otherwise the cut is very simple and the train's rich effect can be largely attributed to the magnificent materials used. The fabric is a silk moiré with a leaf motif delineated in the moiré pattern. The padded edge and lining are of satin. An ornamentation of leaf tendrils with stylized flowers runs along the edge, embroidered with ivory chenille and pearl-coloured beads, partially set against an appliqué background of ivory velvet. The edge is some 26 centimetres wide at its widest point, which is the same as the edging on the 'petit costume' which Josephine wore when she was crowned empress in 1804.

We are well informed about court trains by contemporary publications. From 1805 onward the *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, the leading fashion journal of the time, depicted court trains on repeated occasions. In 1805 trains were characterized by an angular line where they reached the floor. In 1809 they presented a continuous line, as does the 'Utrecht' train. Given that 1809 was also the year in which this train's wearer died, the garment can be dated to this year.

### Reform Clothing

A resident of Utrecht, Mrs J.L. Redeke-Hoek, presented the museum in 1947 with an extremely important dress which she had worn herself. It was made in 1912 at *School for Women and Children's Dressmakers* (de Vakschool voor Vrouwen- en Kinderkleding), in Amsterdam which had been founded in 1909 by the Vereniging voor Verbetering van Vrouwenkleding (Association for the Improvement of Women's Clothing). This association, which had been founded in 1899, waged war against the unnatural trends in women's fashion which had

become increasingly exaggerated over the previous 50 years. The reform movement was an international phenomenon with ideals which many people in the Netherlands also worked enthusiastically to achieve.

Mrs Redeke's dress is made of soft, sea-green silk, with macramé and bead decoration. Little fabric was required for this smock-style model which it was possible to produce in just six hours. The narrow belt pulls in the back of the dress and is also adjustable. Freedom of movement is not compromised by elegance, as was often still the case at the beginning of the twentieth century. Mrs Redeke contributed to the achievement of reform ideals mainly through brochures in the series *'Reform Clothing for Everyone'* (1912-1916).

The Utrecht composer Catharijna van Rennes also wore reform clothing, in striking contrast to the other ladies in the public at a certain concert given in Amsterdam's Concertgebouw. This was captured in a watercolour entitled 'The Interval' in 1903 by A. Molkenboer (property of Het Concertgebouw NV in Amsterdam).

### Utrecht Wedding Dress and Gowns for Student Balls

Bridal gowns and gowns for student balls, particularly from the twentieth century, are parts of the collection for which an Utrecht connection can often be confirmed.

A bridal ensemble from 1879 bears the oldest 'label' on a garment in the collection. The maker has had the name of her shop (Robes & Costumes Mme J. DETERLINGEN UTRECHT) sewn into the silk inner waistband of the bodice. ■ Makers' names begin to appear in garments in about 1870, and on some accessories even earlier. We know that this bridal ensemble was worn at a wedding held in Wijk bij Duurstede, just outside Utrecht.

Although brides in the country often wore black clothing, the black worn by this particular bride may almost certainly be attributed to the death of her father, a short time before the wedding. The black buttons on her white gloves also indicate this. The following Utrecht wedding dress dates from 1965. The woman who presented it studied art history in Utrecht and derived the inspiration for her own design from costume history.

This empire-style dress in white velvet with nylon lace was made by a well-known Utrecht seamstress of the period, Mrs Mulder, nicknamed 'Pietje'. ■ A few years later, in 1968, a wedding dress was designed in reaction to the then dominant mini-skirt fashion. This romantic design is by Hilderie Jurriëns and, unusually for a wedding dress, is made in simple cotton. Kate Greenaway drawings provided the inspiration for the dress; the

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Two-piece wedding suit  
made of ribbed silk with machine-made lace, 1879

worn at a wedding in Wijk bij Duurstede on 23 December 1879,  
label: Robes & Costumes, Mme J. Deterlingen, Utrecht

Inv. no. 17874





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Three wedding dresses, left to right:

Bride's Dress from silk velvet, 1965  
 Designed and worn by a Utrecht student,  
 made by Mrs Mulder of Utrecht,  
 Inv. no. 16709

H. Jurriëns-van Ouwkerk (1944)  
 Cotton wedding dress, 1968  
 worn by a Utrecht student,  
 Inv. no. 16850

Wedding ensemble of synthetic fabric  
 with flower-patterned cotton lace, 1970  
 Bought at the firm of Den Daas, Steenweg, Utrecht.  
 worn by a Utrecht student

bride's ringlet hairstyle came from the world of Mary Quant. A thoroughly Utrecht wedding ensemble dates from 1970. A Utrecht student bought it from a Utrecht store, Den Daas in Steenweg; she wore it to her wedding in Utrecht and held her reception in Wilhelminapark. This white crêpe wedding suit consists of a short, sleeveless dress with a slightly shorter, coat-like overdress, both of which are decorated with simple, white cotton lace with a flower motif. In 1970 it was no longer a surprise to see a bride in a short dress. This wedding outfit is typical of the period and could have been worn anywhere in the Netherlands, but has been given a special place in the collection because of its clear Utrecht connection.

In the museum collection there are various ball gowns which belonged to student members of the Utrechtse Vrouwelijke Studentenvereniging (UVSV - Utrecht Women's Student Fellowship) which was founded in 1899. The oldest dress discovered so far dates from 1937. Ten years later, in 1947, Mrs C. Ducro of Frederik Hendrikstraat made a Viennese-style ball gown for a student who was going to a Viennese party. This student owned several ball gowns produced by Mrs Ducro, and recalls that this seamstress had already made gowns for her mother too.

At the beginning of the sixties the young ladies could go to Mrs Mulder (referred to above in connection with a wedding dress).

It must have been positively hectic in her somewhat musty workroom on Weerdsingel; making sure she had time to fit you out required some skill - especially in an anniversary year. ■ A green velvet evening gown with a little jacket from 1961 is the earliest piece by Mrs Mulder in the museum collection. A second gown from her workroom, now also in the collection, dates from 1964. A lovely, off-the-peg ball gown from 1960, with a matching petticoat characteristic of this time, was worn to the anniversary ball in 1964. ■

Ball gown designs for students were scarcely influenced over the years by the chief fashion trends. Many ball dresses were made by the wearers or their mothers, the major consideration often being that the dress should not cost too much. So it was quite exceptional to see strikingly beautiful, elegant gowns in a fashionable style at student balls; this is still the case.

**The fashion course at the Akademie voor Beeldende Kunst Artibus (Artibus Academy of Visual Arts), since 1 January 1987 Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Utrecht (Utrecht College of Arts)**

Shortly after the Second World War fashion courses were started



■ ill. 144

**Ball Dress with petticoat, voile, satin, spangles, 1960**

bought in Arnhem, worn by a Utrecht student, at a ball in Tivoli in honour of the University of Utrecht anniversary in 1964

*Inv. nr. 22784*





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**Two Evening Gowns:**

left: evening gown of printed silk, 1964/65  
design: Marjan de Bruin, Bilthoven  
made by Mrs Mulder of Utrecht  
worn by a student of Utrecht University

*Inv. no. 17284*

right: evening gown of cotton velvet, 1961  
made by Mrs Mulder of Utrecht  
worn by a student of Utrecht University

*Inv. no. 16710*

up at various art academies. The Rietveld Academy in Amsterdam began the trend, and was followed by Rotterdam, Breda and Arnhem. In 1958 one of the teachers at the Utrecht Academy, Tatja Boomsma, together with two colleagues, started an evening course in Utrecht, to which she added a day course in 1964. Tatja Boomsma continued to direct this course until 1990; during her long career she impressed upon the fashion department an approach which was characterized by a 'stylistic balance between experimental and applied work'. In 1977 the fashion department was invited to show for the first time at the Centraal Museum; its annual show was held in the museum garden on a brilliant spring day, and enjoyed by a numerous public. The collections were dominated by natural fabrics and colours. Garments in unbleached, yellow and soft green cotton were worn with accessories formed by poppies plucked from the museum's gardens. Two dresses and a man's suit by student Han van den Berg were presented to the museum. ■ In the summer of 1987, what was then the museum's first costume room was almost completely cleared to make way for a cheerful display of exam work by students in their final year. The museum bought two outfits from a similar display held in 1988, one for a man by Madelon Bruna and one for a woman by Bregt Zuidema. ■ Three of the six students showing had designed witty fabrics with motifs which included tulips and windmills, developed on the theme Dutch Folklore. In 1991 the museum also acquired a dress by the present fashion teacher and ex-student Hans van Kooten which he had designed together with Ruud van der Peijl under the Gletcher label.

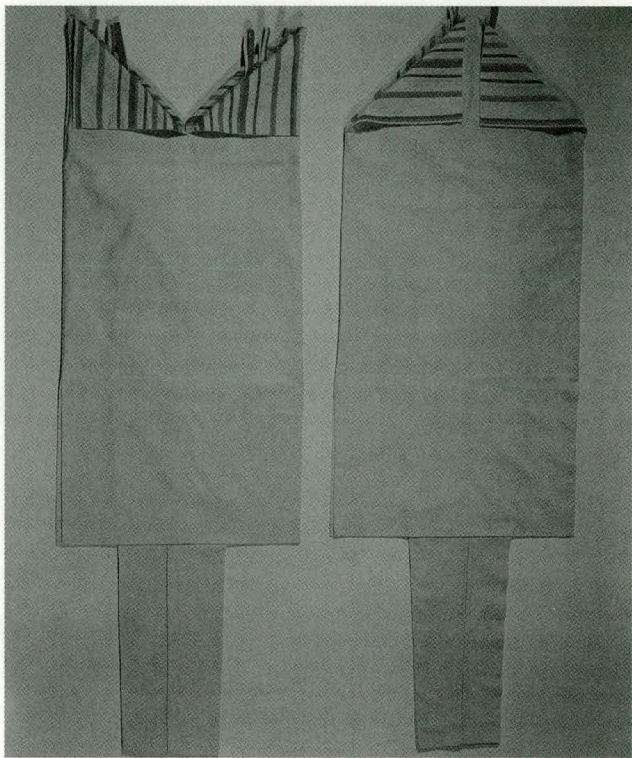
Finally, the museum owns a large number of particularly inspired designs by Nico Verhey who was born in Utrecht and enjoyed much of his training at the Artibus Academy there. These were all presented to the museum by him. Nowadays, however, Nico Verhey is entirely at home in the Amsterdam fashion world.

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### Boutiques

In September 1966 the first Dutch boutique was opened at number 64, on Amsterdam's Rokin. This flash of inspiration came from the advertising department of the then well-known Dutch fashion store Voss. On 3 December a branch opened for Utrecht teenagers on Oudegracht, allowing young customers (from 14 to thirty-something!) to experience a little of the adventurous ambience in the heart of London's boutique world, Carnaby Street. The Centraal Museum has on loan a dress bought at the Utrecht boutique in December 1966 by a progres-



■ ill. 146

**Han van den Berg (1952)**

*Two Dresses with Trousers, spring 1977*

unbleached cotton and bias binding in yellow and green,

*Inv. no. 20710 and 20711*





■ ill. 147

**Bregtje Zuidema (1965)**

*Folklore costume for pregnant woman 'Le Vent du Nord'*

monochrome and printed cotton and organza, 1987

**Madelon Bruna (1961)**

*Man's suit 'Le Vent du Nord'*

monochrome and printed cotton and organza, 1987

*Inv. no. resp. 26569 and 26570*

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sive 25-year-old student of limited means. Of course it is a mini-dress. The collection also has five 'Rock in '64' posters from 1972-73 which show that the boutique managed to keep going for a number of years.■

Lily Conemans was also greatly inspired by the exciting shops in Carnaby Street. There was nothing she wanted more than to open a similar emporium in Utrecht where her father had a menswear shop (which still exists). At the beginning of September 1967 she did open a boutique, in a former sweet shop at Donkerstraat 23. Architect Hubert Jan Henket gave the old building a contemporary interior with the then fashionable colours brown, white and orange. Lily and her sister Terry called the boutique 'Het Snoepwinkeltje' (The Little Sweet Shop). They sold it at the end of 1970. Two dresses from the period in which the Conemans sisters managed the boutique have been preserved.

ill. 149

At the beginning of 1973 the museum bought a long, two-piece, signed dress made by Lily and Terry in London; the dress is of yellow, white and black Thai silk, a combination inspired by the colours of a tropical fish.■

### Flower Power and Anti Mass-Produced Clothing

ill. 150

Another fascinating new phenomenon was the advent of the fashion for secondhand clothes (and carpets!). Such clothes were chosen very consciously and sometimes remodelled; worn in unusual combinations they constituted a reaction to miniskirt fashion which, although youthful and optimistic, was found after some time to be rather stark and not sufficiently picturesque.■ India became a favourite travel destination, and exotic garments brought back from here could be worn with other items such as dresses from the thirties. The idea developed that increased prosperity had made people aggressive rather than content. The anti-consumer society was preached with flowers in hand.

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In the wharf cellar for number 99, Oudegracht the first Dutch Anti Mass-Production Boutique, 'WEP' (Werken-Eten-Pitten - Work, Eat, Crash), was opened in November 1971.■ Anke Verheul and Emiko van Buiten, who had both trained in the fashion department of the Artibus Academy, presented shows there with their own designs. At the back of the cellar they also had the most intriguing notice board in Utrecht. The shop still exists and is now located in the Voorstraat, under the sole management of Anke since 1990.

In April 1974 Heleen Schuttevaer and Marianne Froentjes opened 'Magazijn De Verfraaiing' (The Beautification Store) in



ill. 148

Poster 'New Adventures at Rock In 64, 1972

paper,  
128,5 x 89,7 cm

Inv. no. 17999





■ ill. 149

Lily Henket (1943) en Terry Conemans (1945)

*Two-piece Dress in Thai silk, January 1973*

*Inv. no. 18092*



■ ill. 150

Flower power. Utrecht beat dancer Penney de Jager  
poster, c. 1970/1971

Lange Nieuwstraat. Inspired by the example of small shops in the Jordaan district of Amsterdam, they started to sell nostalgic secondhand goods, including clothing. In the spring of 1975 the museum bought several items, including a forties nightgown which in 1975 was intended to be worn as a dress. In the exhibition it can be successfully combined with other garments, such as a bolero made from dyed strips of nylon stocking.■

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The woman who presented this item to the museum, made and wore it herself; she also followed the fashion course at the Artibus Academy.

### Galerie Leni Coumans

For five years it buzzed with all kinds of fashion-related activities at number 32, Biltstraat in Utrecht. Five years might not seem a very long time, but anyone who has more or less kept up with it all could hardly imagine that so much had happened and been organized in such a short period.

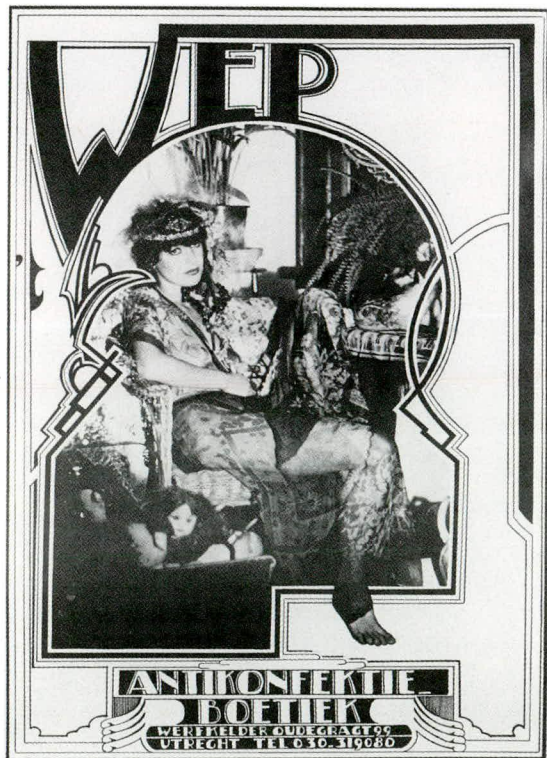
In 1985 Leni Coumans brought Utrecht the first clothing gallery in the Netherlands. Her exhibitions were generally opened by a show to illustrate the subject. For thematic projects Leni invited new and well-known designers. Her own enthusiasm was infectious; her exhibitions of shirts, ties, umbrellas and parasols enjoyed great popularity.

In spring 1986 Leni presented a show in the Centraal Museum's chapel: a survey of the work produced by the various designers who had exhibited in her gallery during its first year. In autumn 1987 she presented the work of Marta de Wit with a show in the museum's auditorium. Through Galerie Coumans the museum acquired clothing by Rien Verhoeckx, Marta de Wit, The People of the Labyrinths, Ruurd de Graaff and Alexander van Slobbe/Orson & Bodil, as well as accessories by Anja de Roos. This gallery's presence was extremely important to our costume department in this period.

For several years Utrecht was the ideal destination for anyone interested in textiles and fashion. Besides Leni's fashion gallery there was also Galerie Mooi for contemporary textile art.

In St Catharine's Convent there was, and still is, a permanent display of old, high-quality ecclesiastical textiles. Costume fans could thoroughly enjoy themselves at the Historic Costume Museum and then finish off the day in the Agnietenstraat at the Centraal Museum.





ill. 151

Poster for boutique WEP Antikonfektie-boetiek,  
Utrecht 1975

paper,  
61,9 x 43,9 cm

Inv. no. 20083



■ ill. 152

**Flower power-fashion, 1974**

Bolero: dyed and knotted strips of nylon stocking

Dress: artificial crepe

*Inv. no. resp. 26303 and 26306*


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At the beginning of 1988 the museum bought three sets of clothing from the Utrecht designer Ruurd de Graaff (born 1952), choosing two dresses and one man's suit at the splendid show to mark the opening of his exhibition at Galerie Coumans. In the years 1978-81 he sold one-off designs in his shop 'Quasimodo' in Lange Nieuwstraat. In subsequent years he produced small collections with sale outlets in Amsterdam and Utrecht. The guiding principle in his work is 'his own interpretation of cutting techniques, using subtle changes in detail and shifts in accent to give the total effect a contemporary look'. In 1989 he won the Design in Wool competition organized by the magazine Avenue and the International Wool Board. Since 1993 he has worked exclusively on men's collections.

### Stigters

ill. 154

Jacobien Hummelen and Heleen van der Wouden work together under the name Stigters. Both completed their training at the fashion department of the Utrecht College of Art in 1991, and opened their shop at 70, Oudegracht in October 1992. The latest fashion from Utrecht in 'The Utrecht Way' was created by Stigters, and was chosen from the spring 1994 collection. The two women's outfits have skirts which reach to just above the ankle, flaring slightly at the hem. The sleeveless top with skirt and blouse, in real winter fabrics and colours, provides an attractive contrast with the off-white, satin chemise (in a supple cotton and viscose mix) over a white, jersey blouse with long sleeves. The fabrics are hard-wearing but combined in an interesting manner. These almost monastically modest garments appear to allow maximum freedom of movement. 'Twice a year the Stigters label presents a collection for women, consisting of basic items of clothing; these are characterized by quality fabrics and a quality finish, and make a clear fashion statement. Through use of line, proportion, material and/or colour, classic and casual are combined in a manner which creates a feminine image with a tough undertone. In addition to being sold in its own shop, the Stigters label has also been available in other stores in the Netherlands since August 1993. Alongside its own collections, plus trend items in a limited edition, the Stigters shop also retails work by other (Dutch) designers, such as RAM shirts, Merk Verkerk sweaters, Lola Pagola shoes, and jewellery and accessories by a variety of designers.' Various external presentations also form part of the





ill. 153

**Ruurd de Graaff (1952)**

man's suit in linen, designed in October 1987 for summer 1988

Evening Dress 'petite robe-rideau' in printed cotton velvet, designed in December 1987 for autumn 1988

*Inv. no. resp. 26202 and 26200*



III. 154

**"Stigters": Jacobien Hummelen (1959)  
and Heleen van der Wouden (1963)**

three-piece suit for autumn 1994

sleeveless top from combed wool. Shirt in cotton tricot with sleeves made  
from cotton and viscose with a satin finish. Skirt in woollen fishbone weave  
and cotton and viscose with a satin finish

*Inv. no. 27875*

### Fashion Addresses

Address books and advertising material are good sources for tracing companies that no longer exist. The oldest address book in the city of Utrecht, which can be consulted in the city archive, dates from 1850. It lists a considerable number of businesses dealing in clothing, accessories and associated products; this diversity provides us with a splendid picture of the Utrecht fashion world in this period.

The city archive also possesses advertising material for Utrecht shops from around 1850. The early material consists of single sheets in a wide range of formats, generally depicting the shop front, which allows us to look through the windows. On one of the oldest sheets, ladies in crinoline dresses stand on the pavement outside the shop *Modemagazijn Schlüter* on Utrecht's Oudegracht. ■ The Centraal Museum owns a varied collection of advertising material for Utrecht shops from the past 25 years.

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### Clothing in Utrecht Portraits in the Museum Collection

A short history of costume could be written simply using the magnificent portrait collection which once belonged to the Utrecht Martens van Sevenhoven family. This collection, which the family has donated to the Centraal Museum, provides a continuous parade of well-to-do residents over a period of 250 years (1601-c.1855). Flat collars replace ruffs, enormous wigs come into fashion, in 1765 the Utrecht lady Anna Kien-Buck wears an elegant gown à la Madame Pompadour, in 1856 the Countess of Hogendorp bases her velvet cap with pearls on one worn by Elizabeth I of England in a 1540s' painting: all this can be found in Utrecht portraits in the museum collection. ■ In addition to the Martens collection, the museum also owns many other portraits which provide us with an impression of the development of fashion from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the Second World War.

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III. 155

Utrecht Fashion Store, ca. 1850

lithograph

14,5 x 11,5 cm

Municipal Records, Utrecht



■ ill. 156

**Guillaume de Spinny (1721-1785)**  
*Portrait of Anna Buck, (1740- before 1799),*  
*wife of mr. Jacob Kien, 1765*

oil on canvas,  
52,5 x 45 cm

Inv. no. 7180





History of Utrecht

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