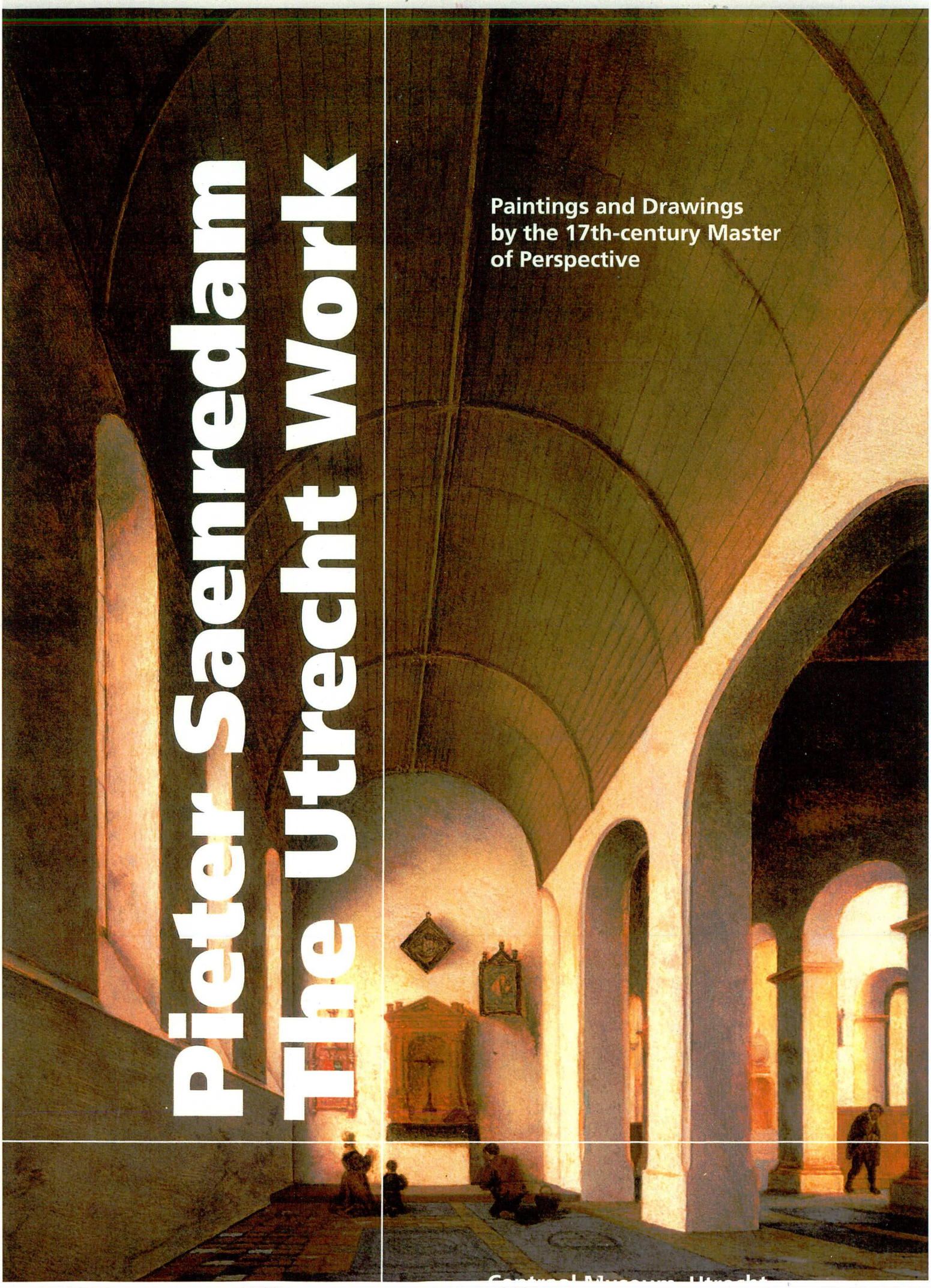
Pieter Saenredam
The Utrecht Work

Paintings and Drawings
by the 17th-century Master
of Perspective



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Paintings and Drawings by the 17th-century Master of Perspective

Edited by Liesbeth M. Helmus

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The publication of this catalogue coincides with the exhibition *Pieter Saenredam, The Utrecht Work. Paintings and Drawings by the 17th-century Master of Perspective*, held in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht from 4 November 2000 to 4 February 2001.

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Foreword

When the first Saenredam exhibition was held in the Centraal Museum in 1961, the then director Dr M. E. Houtzager wrote in the catalogue raisonné with due modesty: 'We thought it useful to bring together the works of one of the greatest seventeenth-century Dutch painters'. Following lengthy preparations, the Centraal Museum has succeeded in mounting a second 'useful' Saenredam exhibition. It comprises 59 works by the master, 15 of the 21 extant paintings of the medieval churches in Utrecht and all 44 known drawings from his Utrecht campaign. Though it may not equal the comprehensiveness of the 1961 exhibition, no Saenredam retrospective of this magnitude has been organised in 40 years.

The paintings by Pieter Jansz. Saenredam (Assendelft 1597-1665 Haarlem) have always been in great demand, costly, and universally appreciated, certainly after 1900. His paintings fascinate us for a variety of reasons. After extensively considering geometrical aspects, as of 1628 Saenredam simultaneously introduced in his work several forms of perspective in combination with the consistent application of a vantage point and a vanishing point. His sense of architectural space, his eye for an appealing viewpoint and the use of pale, tempera-like colours are what make the works so special. Saenredam conjoins the field of vision with the rules of perspective. By means of subtle changes, minor spatial reorganisations and the subordination of detail to the overall scene, as is clear from a comparison between his drawings and paintings, he presents the beholder both with an illusion of depth and an ideal. The beholder does not perceive the space panoramically, as in reality, but rather like a one-eyed person looking into an ordered depth. It is as though there is a focal narrowing into the architectural infinity. And so Saenredam introduced into art a manner of looking that is structural, illuminating *and* sometimes overwhelming – for collectors, for connoisseurs and for many generations of artists after him.
In keeping with the Centraal Museum's sound tradition, this exhibition was preceded by an art-historical and scientific investigation. Arie de Groot painstakingly follows Saenredam's tracks, detailing the history of the medieval churches and elucidating the challenges confronting Saenredam in applying his new perspectival insights. Geraldine van Heemstra, who was recently very closely involved in the restoration of one of Saenredam's panels, discusses the inherent conservation problems. By means of scientific methods, she minutely analyses Saenredam's working method; discloses the vanishing points and underdrawings; and charts the residuum of his method, such as the holes of the pins to which he tied a string that led to the vanishing point. Comparison of the drawings and paintings makes it possible to discern how Saenredam enlarged and gave shape to the perspective. In his essay, Michiel Plomp focuses on the high autonomous quality of the drawings of the Utrecht medieval churches, which he studied in great detail. Finally, the Centraal Museum's own curator and the coordinator of the exhibition, Liesbeth M. Helmus, documents and describes all of Saenredam's Utrecht paintings, some of which were even made up to 26 years after his sojourn in Utrecht. I should like to thank all the authors for their insightful contributions.

A truly special experience was the conspiratorial meeting that took place in the Utrecht Renswoude Foundation in 1998. In working out the potential list of lenders, it appeared that almost all of the owners of panels by Saenredam were faced with or had experienced difficulties. Many of the panels we hoped to borrow for our exhibition evidenced flaking and loose paint. These conservation problems are related to the ground Saenredam used, which was beginning to show signs of overdue maintenance after more than three and a half centuries. During a two-day international gathering, 50 restorers, art historians and other specialists shared their knowledge. Keepers of collections facing restoration of their Saenredam(s) were able to profit from the insights of colleagues who had already completed their restoration. This process benefited from the results of the project initiated by the Centraal Museum, namely the restoration of the large panel of the St Catharinakerk, property of The National Trust, whose poor condition precluded it from being in the 1961 exhibition. Possibly, the panels that could not be moved because of their condition in the past 40 years will be restored to perfect state in the near future making use of these good restoration results. The conference proceedings appeared under the title *The Paintings of Pieter Jansz. Saenredam (1597-1665). Conservation and Technique* in the Agnieten Series of the Centraal Museum. Within the framework of the Saenredam exhibition, we are extremely proud to have been able to make this investment in the science and knowledge of the conservation of Saenredam's panels.

This unique exhibition would never have been realised without the generous help and support of many individuals and institutions. Upon receiving confirmation of loans from the Rijksmuseum, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Het Mauritshuis, the Frans Halsmuseum/ Dutch National Heritage Collection (ICN), the Teyler Museum, the Archive of the Royal House and last but not least Het Utrechts Archief, other institutions and private collectors at home and abroad soon expressed their willingness to lend their invaluable works, including: The National Trust (Banbury), The National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh, the British Museum and The National Gallery in London, the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid, the Institut Néerlandais and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, the Kupferstichkabinett of the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig and the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin. A special word of thanks is owed the private supporters of the exhibition, in particular, the main sponsors Stichting VSB Fonds, Greenfield Capital Partners and Gold-Zack A. G., as well as the K. F. Hein Fonds and the SNS Reaal Groep. We also wish to express our gratitude to the Dutch State for extending State Indemnity.

It was nothing short of a privilege to work so long and intensively on this exhibition. At times, Pieter Janszoon Saenredam the man was almost tangible all these 364 years later. Much new information came to light: even the address of his lodgings in the Dom city appears to have been discovered, for one of the authors has convincingly established that in the summer of 1636 Saenredam drew from the upper window of a house at 10 Mariaplaats. It is an honour and a pleasure to have the body of work that was produced at a stone's throw from here in our care from 4 November 2000 to 4 February 2001.

Sjarel Ex
Director of the Centraal Museum


Tentoonstelling
Pieter Jansz. Saenredam
15 sept. - 19 nov.
OGELPOEL & N
MSTERDAM
KEEP DRY
ITH CARE
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51-80
TH
22-39

Fig. page 8
The Centraal Museum held the large survey exhibition *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam* from 15 September to 19 November 1961.
Foto 't Sticht, Utrecht, in the Centraal Museum photographic archive.

Introduction

Liesbeth M. Helmus
Curator of Fine Arts Prior to 1850
Centraal Museum, Utrecht

Wings of paint! As though this noble occupation
can be more than craftsmanship and pretty appearances
the world lies immovably still, not to be
coerced by a painter's will. On the contrary,
my hand follows what my eyes behold (I
have painted nothing I did not first observe myself)
*and yet while slumbering I was taken unaware...**

Translation of: J. Bernlef, *Verzwegen visioen. Tombe voor Pieter Janszoon Saenredam,* 1988 (fragment), from: *Geestgronden*, Querido

Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, son of the engraver Jan Pietersz. Saenredam (1565-1607), was born in the village of Assendelft in the county of Holland on 9 June 1597. He lost his father three days before his tenth birthday and a year later, in 1608, his mother Anna Pauwels moved to nearby Haarlem with him, her only son. This city was to serve as Saenredam's home base for the rest of his life. In 1612 he went to train with the history and portrait painter Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (1573-1649), in whose workshop he remained until 1622. One of his fellow pupils was the famous architect/painter Jacob van Campen (1595-1657), with whom Saenredam maintained a lifelong friendship and worked with on several occasions. He was registered as a master painter at the St Luke's Guild in 1623.[1] Saenredam's earliest extant studies, mostly drawings of flowers, fruit, vegetables and the like, and a single simple city view, date from the 1620s (figs. 1 and 2). From 1627 to 1630 he primarily produced design drawings for the Haarlem municipal printer Adriaen Roman (1590-after 1642), who had them engraved and published them as broadsheets, loose prints or in a book. Roman also invited Saenredam to work on the third, illustrated edition of the *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Description and praise of the city of Haarlem in Holland) by Samuel Ampzing (1590-1632), which appeared in 1628. In these years he also made paintings of two of his compositions for Ampzing's engravings, *The nave of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem from west to east* and *The town hall of Haarlem*, both unsigned and undated.[2]

According to his contemporary and biographer Cornelis de Bie, in 1628, the year that Ampzing's book was published, Saenredam decided to devote the rest of his life to painting 'perspectives', or, as Arnold Houbraken wrote half a century later: 'He then turned to the painting of perspectives, churches, halls, galleries, and buildings, both interiors and exteriors [...].'[3] And, indeed, from that moment on Saenredam dedicated himself to architectural painting eschewing all other genres. In this same decisive year, Saenredam's fellow pupil Jacob van Campen limned his portrait: a man with long wavy hair, a slender, slightly curved nose, a small moustache and a short beard, the corners of his mouth turned down,

*
Vleugels van verf! Alsof dit edele ambacht meer kan zijn dan vakmanschap en schone schijn
de wereld ligt onwrikbaar stil, laat zich niet dwingen door een schilderswil. Integendeel mijn hand volgt wat mijn ogen zien (niets dat ik schilderde heb ik niet eerst zelf aanschouwd)
en toch werd ik slapend overvallen...

1
On Pieter Saenredam's youth and training, see Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 15-34.

2
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem from west to east with promenading burghers*, 1628(?). Panel, 82.9 x 110.5 cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art (John G Johnson Collection). The painting is not signed. Pieter Saenredam, *The town hall of Haarlem with the entry of Prince Maurits to replace the town government, 1618*. Unsigned, undated. Panel, 38.5 x 49.5 cm. Private collection. In 1749, Hendrik Spilman (1721-1784) made a drawing after the painting and noted that Saenredam painted the panel in 1630. Haarlem, Municipal archives.

3
De Bie 1661, p. 246; Houbraken 1718-1721, vol. 1 (1718), pp. 174-175: 'Toen zette hy zig tot het schilderen van Perspectiven, Kerken, Zalen, Galeryen, en Gebouwen, zoo van binnen als van buiten te zien [...]'.



Fig. 1
Pieter Saenredam, Study with four drawings: at the upper left: *View of Leiden*, 1625; at the upper right: *Bleaching houses near Haarlem*, 1617; below: *Studies of trees*. Pen, washes and watercolour: studies of trees also in brush, 13.2 x 18.1 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett.

scrutinises the beholder with a discerning and critical expression (cat. no. 1). The romantic notion of the artist as a hunchback, who because of his deformity chose to withdraw in solitude and made church interiors his working space, as P. T. A. Swillens and others believed on the basis of this portrait, has meanwhile been revised (see text cat. no. 1).
We know that Saenredam developed his interest in and aptitude for architecture and perspective via the aforementioned Van Campen, Salomon de Bray (1597-1664) and Pieter Post (1608-1669), all three active as painters and architects, as well as the surveyor Pieter Wils (?-c. 1647). Saenredam worked with Wils on Ampzing's book, among others. Wils had been contracted to take measurements in the Haarlem St Bavokerk, the results of which were published in a supplement to the *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem*.[4] Saenredam's earliest signed and dated painting is *The transept and part of the choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem from north to south* of 1628 (figs. 3 and 4).[5]

At the time when Saenredam decided to specialise in architectural painting, the genre was already well established. Its founders came from the Southern Netherlands. Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-c. 1606), his son Paulus (1567-after 1630) and also their followers, including Hendrick van Steenwijck the Elder (c. 1550-1603) and the Younger (c. 1580-1649), painted imaginary architecture.[6] In the Northern Netherlands, this speciality was developed by Bartholomeus van Bassen (c. 1590-1652) and Dirck van Delen (1604/05-1671).
Pieter Saenredam was the first to depict existing architecture; not by portraying a building as realistically as possible based on observation, but rather by means of thorough measurements and perspective constructions. In this he distinguished himself from his precursors and contemporaries.
Saenredam made his sketches and measurements on site. In these drawings made 'after life' he depicted the building as he saw it, working very systematically. For example, in the Utrecht Mariakerk he began with a drawing from the transept through the nave towards the west (cat. no. 8). Next he drew a view from south to north near the organ (cat. no. 11).

4
On Saenredam and the use of perspective, see Ruurs 1987 and Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 79-82.
5
Pieter Saenredam, *The transept and part of the choir of the St Bavokerk from north to south*, 1628. Panel, 37 x 46 cm. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.
6
Hendrick van Steenwijck the Elder, *View in the cathedral at Aachen*, 1573. Panel, 52.2 x 79 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, is the earliest dated painting depicting an actually existing church. See Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 4, p. 67.



Fig. 2
Pieter Saenredam, *Study of a rhubarb plant*, 1630. Pen and watercolour, 13.9 x 16.6 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett.

From week to week, he then concentrated on a different aspect of the church: the nave, first seen from one then from the other aisle, the transept and the aisles (cat. nos. 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25 and 27). In the other Utrecht churches as well, Saenredam almost always first made a large overall drawing, and then various views in the church. In between he took measurements and made ground plans and detail drawings (cat. no. 13a-e).

Naturally, many sketches by Saenredam of his home town Haarlem are known. The drawings of the St Bavokerk, the Nieuwe Kerk and the Grote Markt date from the periods 1627-1629, 1634-1636 and 1650. However, Saenredam also travelled to various villages and other cities to draw and measure the interiors and exteriors of buildings, mostly churches. He first visited 's-Hertogenbosch in the summer months of 1632, drawing a panorama of the city, the town hall and the interior of the St Janskerk. His next trip was to his place of birth Assendelft. Various drawings of the interior of the St Odulphuskerk have been preserved from July and August 1633. There are two extant sheets of the old Amsterdam town hall (1641), and there is a series of drawings of the St Cunerakerk and the Koningshuis (King's House) in Rhenen made in the summer of 1644. Sketches of the St Laurenskerk and the Kapelkerk in Alkmaar date from 1661.
Saenredam undertook a drawing campaign in Utrecht in the summer and autumn of 1636. He sojourned in the Dom city for 20 consecutive weeks and this was undoubtedly the most intensive and productive period in his career. Because he so scrupulously dated his drawings, his steps can be retraced within the radius of a ten-minute walk. The first sheet dates from 18 June and the last from 23 October 1636. He spent six weeks in the Mariakerk. He then worked on drawings in the Buurkerk and the St Jacobskerk until 16 August, and when he was done there he drew alternately in the Dom, the St Catharinakerk, the St Pieterskerk and the St Janskerk. When Saenredam left Utrecht in the autumn, he had more than ample material to make paintings of the city's four collegiate churches, the church of the Knights of St John, or St Catharinakerk, and two of the four parish churches.



Fig. 3
Pieter Saenredam, *The transept and part of the choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem from north to south*, 1628. Panel, 37 x 46 cm.
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum (prior to 1952 restoration).
Centraal Museum photographic archive.



Fig. 4
Detail of fig. 3. Many of Saenredam's church interiors were provided with figures in the 18th and 19th century. When this panel was cleaned in 1952, all of the figures in the foregound were removed (photograph during the restoration).
Centraal Museum photographic archive.

Saenredam usually did not use his sketches to produce 1:1 construction drawings until years later, which he then traced onto panels. For the exteriors of the Mariakerk, he transferred the compositions with the aid of a squaring grid (cat. nos. 3, 5 and 7). Sometimes he made a construction drawing smaller than the size of his intended painting, also transferring it to the support by means of a grid (cat. no. 22). For his painted version, Saenredam corrected the proportions of the building and omitted details, such as all the tie rods, and sometimes also more important and conspicuous components (see cat. nos. 26 and 48). His modifications invariably resulted in a more monumental composition. The simplicity and lucidity of the painted space, and this applies to the interiors as well as the exteriors, is almost always nothing short of exceptional.
The painting of the Utrecht Domkerk has been lost. It is mentioned in the sales catalogue of the estate of Constantijn Huygens' daughter Susanna from 1725.[7] It measured 206 x 161 cm and is the largest panel ever painted by Saenredam. In all, 21 panels have been preserved: eleven are of the Mariakerk, two of the St Pieterskerk, two of the St Janskerk, four of the Buurkerk, one of the St Jacobskerk and one of the St Catharinakerk. There are 26 interior and 5 exterior drawings from 1636 and various ground plans and construction drawings of the Utrecht churches, the majority of which is kept in Het Utrechts Archief.

'Why Utrecht?', Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok ask in *Pieter Saenredam. The Painter and His Time*. 'It is as if the artist put down his pen, went to Utrecht for a few months, and picked up again exactly where he had left off.'[8] While we know the dates and the duration of his sojourn, just what his aim was and why he stayed so long remain a mystery. On the basis of a chronological and quantitative analysis, Schwartz and Bok reach the conclusion that his objective was the Mariakerk.[9] Qua subject, the group of Utrecht drawings falls into two unequal parts. Saenredam began his campaign by drawing the interior of the Mariakerk. The nine dated interiors (cat. nos. 8, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25 and 27) and presumably also the other drawings of the church, including the measurements, profiles and cross sections of the various structural elements, were all made between 18 June and 25 July. This intensive six-week period was followed by 13 weeks, during which he worked in one church or another. In any case, Saenredam made four paintings of the Mariakerk (cat. nos. 10, 14, 16 and 26) in the two years following his return to Haarlem.[10] The paintings of the interiors of the other Utrecht churches all date later.
Given the number of the extant drawings and paintings, it does appear as if Saenredam's primary interest in Utrecht was the Mariakerk, which would explain why he first worked out the sketches of this church once back in Haarlem. However, if Saenredam's purpose for going to Utrecht was, indeed, the Mariakerk, why did he not return home after he had finished his work; why did he stay on for weeks in the Dom city? According to Schwartz and Bok, the answer to this question may be found in the plague epidemic ravaging both Haarlem and Utrecht. Schwartz and Bok suggest that Saenredam's decision to stay in Utrecht was informed by health considerations. Around the time he finished the interiors of the Mariakerk, the death toll had risen drastically. In Utrecht, the epidemic climaxed in the second half of August, claiming approximately 250 victims per week, after which the number dropped and was reduced by half towards mid-October. In Haarlem the death rate remained constantly high in August, September and October, before suddenly plunging to half at the end of October. Shortly after 23 October Saenredam decided to return home. According to this hypothesis, in the second half of his Utrecht sojourn Saenredam wandered rather aimlessly from church to church, making drawings for paintings that he would only execute much later, after a period of 6 to 18 years.[11] Nonetheless, it appears that in these days, too, he went about his work fairly systematically (see pp. 23-24).

The theory also does not receive support from any firm evidence concerning a patron at whose request Saenredam drew and painted the Utrecht Mariakerk. *The nave and choir of*

7
Sale The Hague 6 November 1725 (Lady of Ste. Annaland), cat. no. 97: 'The Dom church by P. Saenredam. Six foot seven inches high, five foot one and a half inch wide' (Den Dom Kerk van Uitrecht door P: Saenredam. Ses voet seven duim hoog, vyf voet een duim en een half breedt).
8
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 131.
9
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 134-136.
10
A fifth painting dates from 1641 (cat. no. 22). There is also an undated panel of the interior of the Mariakerk, which must have been painted in the period 1640-1650 (cat. no. 32), a painting from 1647 that was lost (see the inscription in cat. no. 24) and one from 1651 (cat. no. 31).
11
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 154-166. For the duration of Saenredam's sojourn in Utrecht, see also Arie de Groot's essay, p. 19.

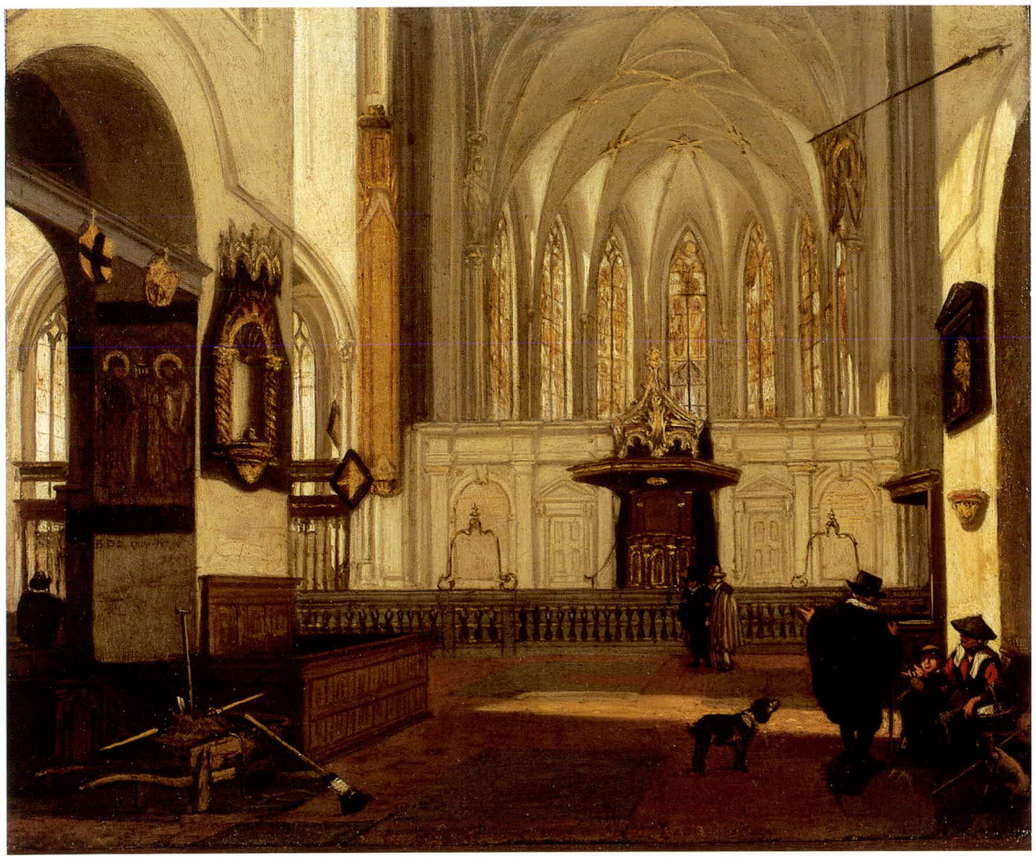

Fig. 5
Emanuel de Witte, *The interior of the St Janskerk in Utrecht*, 1654. Copper, 22.5 x 26 cm. Paris, Fondation Custodia (Frits Lugt collection), Institut Néerlandais.

the Mariakerk (cat. no. 22) occurs in the earlier mentioned sales catalogue of 1725, which included the now lost painting of the Domkerk, and was therefore also in the estate inventory of Constantijn Huygens' daughter. While the provenance of the painting cannot be traced further back than the 18th century, we may assume – with due caution – that Huygens (1596-1687), an acquaintance of Saenredam, may have been the first owner of the painting. Moreover, Huygens wrote a commentary on the Latin poem found in the painting below the so-called 'bull relief'. In his four-line variation of the verse he added a Christian moral message to the subject.[12] Huygens is thus thought to have influenced the iconography of the painting.[13]
In so far as is known Saenredam never worked on commission.[14] He could afford this autonomous position, for he was financially independent. An inheritance with a substantial share in the Dutch East India Company provided him an average income throughout his life. In addition, he owned bonds to the account of the city of Haarlem. The painter never experienced any financial difficulties and, moreover, was not the kind of man to spend more than he had.[15] In 1638 he married Aefje Gerritsdr. (1597-1646), and their only daughter Annetje was baptised on 27 February 1639. Saenredam died at the end of May 1665 and was buried in the south aisle of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem, a place he had depicted on numerous occasions.

Until the 19th century Emanuel de Witte (1618-1692) was considered the most important painter of church interiors. He was esteemed for his atmospheric paintings redolent with chiaroscuro and a broad touch (fig. 5). He ceded this place of honour to Pieter Saenredam

12
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 149 and the entry for cat. no. 22.
13
That cat. no. 16 was purchased from the Von Schönborn collection, as Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 147, contend, has not been proven. The same applies to cat. no. 26. For this painting, too, there is no evidence that it was in the possession of Huygens' heirs. See the entries of cat. nos. 16 and 26.
14
Only the first owner of *The old town hall of Amsterdam* of 1657 is known with certainty. Upon completion, the panel was immediately sold to the burgomasters of Amsterdam and came to hang in the new town hall. Pieter Saenredam, *The old town hall of Amsterdam*, 1657. Panel, 64.5 x 83 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
15
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 175-179 and 239.

around 1900. Works by Saenredam graced renowned private collections already in the 18th century. The stimulus for his rediscovery by the public at large was the handsome volume with reproductions of drawings and a painting published by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot in 1899. This book sparked a controversy regarding the essence of Saenredam's work between the Utrecht municipal archivist Samuel Muller on the one hand and the professor of art history Jan Six on the other. Saenredam the draughtsman is rightly praised by Hofstede de Groot and Muller because of the historical accuracy of his sketches made *in situ*, while Saenredam the master colourist so admired by Six is manifest in his paintings.[16]
Swillens' monograph of 1935 was the first to present a complete overview of all of Saenredam's drawings and paintings known at the time. It contains a biography and a chronologically ordered catalogue.[17] Inspired by the gift of two Saenredam paintings to the Museum Boymans in 1930 and 1936 (cat. no. 59 and *Interior of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* respectively), the Rotterdam museum organised the first retrospective at the turn of the year in 1937-1938.[18] In his foreword to the catalogue, the then director D. Hannema praised the artist as marking a high point in the development of Dutch architectural painting. On view were 22 paintings and 60 drawings in chronological order. Shortly thereafter, the Museum Fodor in Amsterdam presented virtually the same selection of works.[19] In 1953 the Centraal Museum organised the exhibition *Nederlandse architectuurschilders 1600-1900* (*Dutch Architectural Painters 1600-1900*).[20] Initially, the idea was to present only works by Saenredam, because he had depicted such a significant share of Utrecht's architecture. However, this plan did not work out for practical reasons, and in the end the exhibition included six paintings and 13 drawings by Saenredam.[21] Eight years later the museum's director Mrs M. E. Houtzager nevertheless realised her ambitious plan of 1953. On view at the large survey exhibition held in the Centraal Museum in 1961 were 40 of the then 50 known paintings and 127 drawings. It was an endeavour without equal and the catalogue raisonné accompanying the exhibition still serves as the point of departure for all Saenredam research to this very day.[22] In 1991 the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen mounted *Perspectives: Saenredam and the architectural painters of the 17th century*, which aimed to offer an overview of architectural painting and in which Saenredam obviously played a major role.
The publications by Ruurs, and Schwartz and Bok cannot go unmentioned in this brief summary. As is evident from the title of Rob Ruurs' book, *Saenredam. The art of perspective*, his main concern is the painter's working method.[23] Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok relate Saenredam's life and work to the hierarchy of values governing his world. Their objective was to gain insight into Saenredam as a historic person. In addition to a review of the documents concerning the painter and his immediate family, *Pieter Saenredam. The Painter and His Time* also includes a complete catalogue.[24]

Pieter Saenredam: The Utrecht Work is an entirely different book. Like its honourable predecessor in 1961, this exhibition and the accompanying catalogue focus attention entirely on Saenredam's drawings and paintings. Its scope may be smaller, but this allows for greater concentration on specific, more specialistic subjects. It is astonishing to discover just how much more research is still required on an artist who has already received so much attention. During the 1998 symposium *The Paintings of Pieter Jansz. Saenredam (1597-1665): Conservation and Technique* held in the Centraal Museum it emerged that the study of his painting technique is still in its infancy.[25] Mildly put, the consensus was that Saenredam's drawings could benefit from additional attention and that there was still much to be reported about the paintings. *Pieter Saenredam: The Utrecht Work* represents a half-time score, which it is hoped will inspire all those interested in pursuing the study of the drawings and paintings by this remarkable artist.

16
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 1; Muller 1910; and Six 1910. With regard to this discussion, see also Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 248; and the essay by Arie de Groot in this catalogue, pp. 33-34.
17
Swillens 1935.
18
Rotterdam 1937-1938.
19
Amsterdam 1938.
20
Utrecht 1953.
21
See the notice in *Het Vaderland*, 25 June 1953 in the press documentation of the Centraal Museum.
22
Swillens, [De Smedt] and Van Regteren Altena 1961(a) and (b).
23
Ruurs 1987.
24
Schwartz and Bok 1990 (Dutch edition 1989).
25
The lectures were published in Van Asperen de Boer and Helmus 2000.

Pieter Saenredam's views of Utrecht churches and the question of their reliability

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In June 1636 Pieter Saenredam travelled to Utrecht to draw churches there. In the end he stayed for over four months: the first dated Utrecht drawing was done on 18 June, the last on 23 October. These were the dates in the province of Holland, and they correspond with our present calendar.[1] The first part of this article is concerned with Saenredam's lengthy sojourn in Utrecht and with the churches he chose to draw. It is followed by a discussion of how true to life his church views, particularly the Utrecht ones, really were.

The Utrecht churches in 1636

Before the Reformation (1580) the cathedral city of Utrecht was the largest and most important centre in the Northern Netherlands. And although this was no longer the case by the time of Saenredam's visit, more than 50 years later, its past as the ancient bishop's see must have been visible and palpable everywhere. In 1636 there were still ten large medieval churches, besides numerous smaller ones: no other city in the Dutch Republic had as many (fig. 1). Apart from the four old parish churches – the Buurkerk, St Jacobskerk, St Nicolaaskerk and St Gertrudiskerk, all in use by the Reformed congregation in 1636 – there were St Maarten's Cathedral or Dom, also in use for Reformed services from 1581 and since 1586 the principal church of the Reformed congregation in Utrecht,

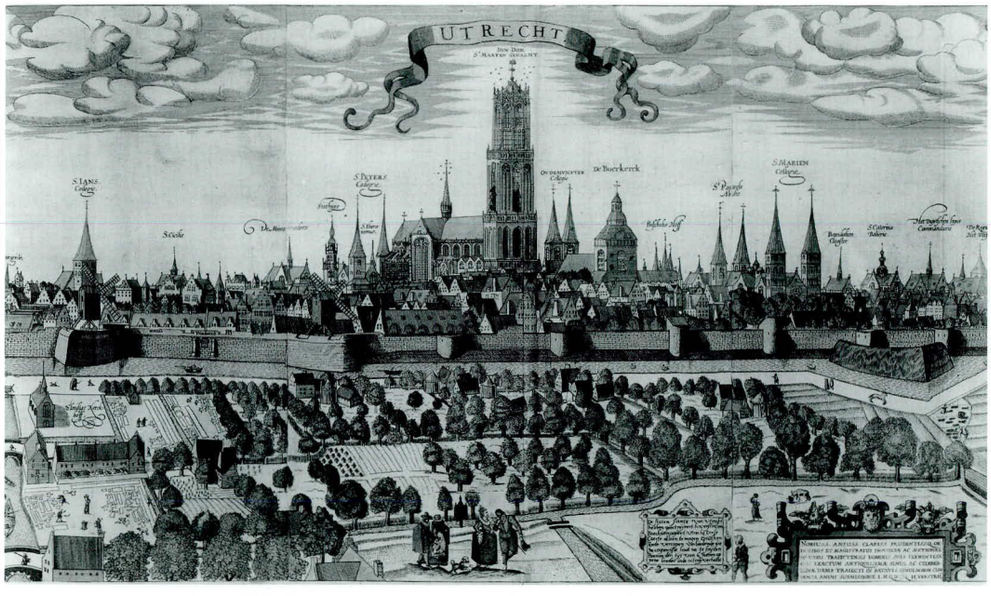


Fig. 1
Petrus Kaerius after Pieter Bast, *Utrecht city profile from the west*, detail including from left to right, among others: St Janskerk, the town hall, St Pieterskerk, the Dom, the Buurkerk, the Mariakerk and the St Catharinakerk (around 1575/1585). Engraving in five parts, app. 35 x 200 cm, published by Hendrick Verstralen, c. 1603. Utrecht, HUA.

1
In 1636 the calendar in Utrecht was still ten days behind, so that the date was 8 June instead of 18 June. But Saenredam must have kept to his own Holland calendar, otherwise he would have written 'old style' by his dates. Moreover, if we treat the dates on his Utrecht drawings as being Utrecht dates, they indicate that on several occasions he worked on Sunday, something he hardly ever did. The one exception was an urgently needed drawing for Salomon de Bray, which he worked on reluctantly on Sunday, 15 August 1632. See Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 177, pp. 240-241.

and three of the four original collegiate churches, the St Pieterskerk, the St Janskerk and the Mariakerk. The oldest collegiate church, known as St Salvator or Oudmunster and located next to the Dom, had been demolished in 1587; the homeless chapter of Oudmunster was given the empty abbey church of St Paulus, a building similar to the St Pieterskerk. Another large monastic church was the St Catharinakerk, which was made suitable for Reformed services in 1635-1636. The great churches of the mendicant orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, had been demolished shortly after the Reformation.
The Utrecht churches were not only more numerous than those in the cities in Holland; they were also distinguished by their age and special position. The three remaining collegiate churches, all founded in the 11th century and still mainly Romanesque, were grouped around the Dom, which was the oldest foundation and whose building dated from the 13th to the 16th century. Despite being situated in the heart of the city, they were places of relative peace and quiet. Up to 1580 they had functioned exclusively as churches for the chapters: colleges of canons, who were secular clergy and generally from good families.
In the late Middle Ages the Dom chapter and the four other chapters were independent religious institutions; while they were large and had a great deal of ecclesiastical and political power, they did not have the pastoral duties of the four parish churches in the city. At that time the Dom and the collegiate churches with their churchyards and surrounding claustral grounds and canons' houses formed secluded areas, known as 'immunities', which were ringed by moats and walls and accessible only through a few gates. They were subject to church law, not secular law. Though not forbidden territory, ordinary citizens had little reason to be there except on holidays; for Mass and spiritual care they had the four parish churches and their priests.
After it was forbidden to practise Roman Catholicism in Utrecht in 1580, the immunities were gradually withdrawn and these areas were opened up. But their special character did not immediately vanish, not even by 1636. Moreover, the chapters continued to exist after 1580. Their religious role had come to an end, but they had succeeded in keeping a good deal of their possessions and their administrative and economic tasks, among them the management of their church buildings. And, while it was true that in the 17th century new canons had to be Reformed, in 1636 there were still quite a few (crypto) Catholics in the chapters, especially in that of St Mary (the Mariakerk).
The Utrecht churches differed from those in Holland in another important respect, namely architecturally. Romanesque basilicas, a cathedral in classic Gothic style with a huge tower, and hall churches completely vaulted – neither Haarlem nor any other city in Holland could rival this range of architecture.

Saenredam's stay in Utrecht

It goes without saying that for a lover of architecture like Saenredam Utrecht must have been a Mecca. Yet we do not know his reason for going there in 1636. All that is certain is that the Mariakerk must have played an important role, for Saenredam devoted the first six weeks of his stay exclusively to drawing this church, and it was the subject of the first paintings he produced from his Utrecht drawings. Schwartz and Bok have suggested that the reason was a commission from Constantijn Huygens, since one of the paintings of the Mariakerk was later in his possession. However, there are many objections to this thesis.[2]
Because of its architecture, the Mariakerk was also a favourite with other artists. Aernout van Buchell (Arnoldus Buchelius, 1565-1641) pronounced: 'It truly is a very beautiful building, presenting not the barbarian [= Gothic] but the ancient Roman style.'[3]
The Mariakerk thus fit well into Italianate landscapes. The interior was also reminiscent of classical architecture.
If we take into account Saenredam's interests, another possible reason for his journey emerges. In his earliest Utrecht drawings – those done in June – the organ in the Mariakerk

2
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 149-154. Saenredam may equally well have painted these works on his own initiative and then offered them to Huygens, cf. Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 208. Huygens might also have seen Saenredam's sketches and ordered a painting on the basis of them. If a commission was the reason for the journey to Utrecht, Saenredam made his patron wait rather a long time after his return to Haarlem while he first completed a St Bavokerk interior (Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 43-45). See Introduction Liesbeth M. Helmus, p. 14 and note 13, p. 14.
3
'Het is werkelijk een zeer schoon gebouw, dat niet de barbaarse, maar de oude Romeinse bouwwijze laat zien.' A. Buchelius in the posthumous Beka edition, Utrecht 1643, p. 44, note f.

features prominently. The instrument was rather unusual in that it consisted of two halves positioned in the west gallery on either side of an impressive rose window. Saenredam is known to have been particularly interested in organs.[4] In 1634 and 1635 he drew the large organ in the St Bavokerk in Haarlem from several angles shortly after it had been completely restored and enlarged. Salomon de Bray had been involved in the restoration and Saenredam would have been able to observe the work of the organ makers Galtus and Germer Galtusz. van Hagerbeer at close hand. As chance would have it, the same men maintained organs in Utrecht, including the one in the Mariakerk. And in the very year of 1635 they carried out a restoration there, in which the instrument was again made playable and the case and shutters were repaired and newly painted and gilded.
Did the Van Hagebeers perhaps suggest to Saenredam that he should go to Utrecht to see the Mariakerk and hear the organ they had restored? In any event, this organ was one of the first things in Utrecht to attract his attention. In the two drawings of June he depicted this unusual instrument frontally and diagonally, and in that of 3 July sideways (cat. nos. 8, 11, 17). And while the works he painted in 1638 after the June drawings (cat. nos. 10, 14) were not the first to feature the Mariakerk, they were the first in a large format.[5] The organ, which was closed in the 1636 drawings, is shown to best effect in the paintings, with the shutters open.

Why did Saenredam stay so long in Utrecht? It is thought that this had to do with an outbreak of the plague which struck both Haarlem and Utrecht. It reached its height in Utrecht around the middle of August and then gradually declined in the months afterwards. In Haarlem the number of victims did not drop until October. This then would have been the logical time for Saenredam to return to Haarlem.[6]
However, Utrecht's outstanding importance as a city of medieval churches surely also influenced the length of Saenredam's visit. In addition to the Mariakerk – evidently the main object of his journey – he saw types of churches he did not know in Holland. He drew them from August to the end of October, producing a varied and representative series of views of Utrecht churches.
There is also the fact that in most of these churches Saenredam could work undisturbed. He was not interrupted by burials of plague victims because, in contrast to what has generally been assumed,[7] in five of the seven churches he visited there were few if any. The timing of his return to Haarlem, in late October or early November, can be explained by another factor besides the ending of the plague epidemic: by then it was simply too cold to spend long periods drawing outdoors or in churches. Saenredam's drawing campaigns were always limited to the summer, from April/May to October/November. In the winter he kept to his studio and worked on construction drawings and paintings. The year 1636 was no exception: back in Haarlem, on 21 November he finished a construction drawing after an interior sketch that he had made on 29 May, just before leaving for Utrecht, in the St Bavokerk in Haarlem; the painting followed in early May 1637.[8]

Where Saenredam lodged in Utrecht is not known. It has often been suggested that he was the guest of Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), who lived in the third claustral house south of the Mariakerk, because his father, Jan Saenredam, had made prints after Bloemaert's work. However, the same argument could be applied to other and perhaps better candidates: for instance, the painter and architect Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638), who had a house on the Springweg (and in 1637 through his wife became co-heir to the 16th claustral house behind the choir of the Mariakerk) and whose work had also been published in print form by Jan Saenredam; or Jacques de Gheyn III (1596-1641), whose father had worked with Jan Saenredam and who himself had acquired a canonry in the Mariakerk in 1634. Yet all this is sheer speculation. We do not even know whether Saenredam stayed at the same address the entire time.

4
On this see among others Keyl 1986; Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 124-128.
5
The painting after the drawing of 30 June was one of Saenredam's largest works at the time. The surviving construction drawing for it (cat.no. 12) dates from early 1637.
6
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 154.
7
Ibid.
8
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 43-45.

Fig. 2
Pieter Saenredam, *The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk seen from the west*, 18 September 1636 (cat. no. 6).



Fig. 3
The Mariaplaats in Utrecht seen from the west, from the same vantage point as in Saenredam's drawing. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, April 2000.



The view of the choir of the Mariakerk of 12 July 1636 (cat. no. 2) may contain a clue. This drawing must have been done from the upper floor of the house at 10 Mariaplaats, which is also seen in part in another drawing (cat. no. 6). This was one of the 'cameren' or rented dwellings that had once belonged to the house of Evert Zoudenbalch in the Donkerstraat. In 1636 it was the property, together with the two adjacent lots in the Mariastraat, of the Van Vaneveld family (of Amersfoort?). Regrettably, we do not know who the tenant was. Did Saenredam rent a room here for a while and was this the view he saw each day, or did he only come in here to do his drawing? Admittedly, several of Saenredam's exterior drawings were done from the upper floor of a house, but in this case the former possibility seems especially plausible. This would explain why he drew the exterior of the Mariakerk as early as July and not much later, as is the case with the two other exteriors. One of the latter (cat. no. 4) was also done from a house, the ninth claustral house opposite the west front; but by then Saenredam must have been such a familiar figure in these surroundings that no further conclusions may be drawn from this.

The Mariakerk

The Mariakerk, which was pulled down in the 19th century, was the most recent of the Utrecht collegiate churches and the last element in what became known later as the 'cross of churches'. Founded by Bishop Koenraad (d. 1099) at the instigation of Emperor Henry IV, it was built between c. 1085 and 1150. During construction quite a few changes were made to the original design and this resulted in a marked difference between the robust transept, which with the choir (replaced in the early 15th century by a Gothic choir) and apsidioles on either side derived from German models, and the elegant nave, which was inspired by North Italian church architecture. Characteristic features of the last were the galleries above the aisles, the reduced transepts and the large cross vaults with broad ribs springing from diagonally placed pilasters. The west front also looked distinctly Italian.
Because of these aspects the Mariakerk still enjoys a high reputation among architectural historians. Whether Saenredam saw the special quality of these particular elements is open to doubt. However, he was certainly aware of the Italian inspiration. This was plainly stated on the piers of the western crossing in a Latin poem on the founding of the church and a legend famous in the 17th century about a 'Frisian master builder' from whom the secret of building on bull's hides was stolen by Bishop Koenraad and who murdered him because of it. Saenredam depicted these texts sketchily in his drawing of 18 June, but included them in full in his painting of 1638 (cat. nos. 8, 10).

In 1636 the Mariakerk was in fact a dilapidated building virtually stripped bare and with no religious function. The church had been severely damaged during the siege of Vredenburg Castle at the end of 1576, when the northwest tower was reduced to ruins by artillery.
In 1580 and subsequent years most of the sculptures and altars were removed and the building was even in danger of being demolished. As of 1585 Reformed services were held, but they came to an end in the early 1590s. From then until the late 1620s the Mariakerk was used on several occasions to house troops, who inflicted considerable damage.
The choir, which apparently long continued to be used by the chapter for Catholic ritual, was abandoned in 1619 and became the salesroom of the cabinet-makers' guild.
The result was that very little church furniture was left. There was also almost no old stained glass. In 1630 and the years thereafter, when a quieter period followed the departure of the soldiers, new, uncoloured glass decorated with only a small crown (the arms of the chapter) was fitted to most of the windows. Still surviving from the old furnishings in 1636 was the choir screen designed by Jan van Scorel in 1543-1544, with its doors nailed shut and the crucifixion group missing from the rood beam on top.
On the west side was the organ of 1482, which had been thoroughly restored in 1635,

Fig. 4
Utrecht, Mariakerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points for his drawings of 18 June to 9 July 1636. The numbers refer to the catalogue entries. Drawn by the author.

and which was regularly played. There were also still many tombstones, wall paintings, gravestones set in the walls and other memorials and inscriptions. Given that so little went on in the church in 1636 and that burials were rare despite the plague epidemic (only two throughout 1636), the Mariakerk must have been an ideal place to draw undisturbed.

Saenredam set about his drawing very systematically (fig. 4). The earliest dated drawing, of Wednesday, 18 June (cat. no. 8), is a view from the transept through the nave to the west, with the rose window at the end and on either side of it the closed organ. It is a representative view in a large format, but at the same time it gives us no more than Saenredam's first impression of the space, whose proportions are not yet shown with any great accuracy.
In the next interior (cat. no. 11), a view from south to north across the nave by the organ, the proportions are far more accurate. This drawing is dated 30 June, a Monday. Saenredam must have made measurements in the previous week. He would also have drawn a ground plan. By chance, one of the various rough sketches he made at this stage has been preserved (cat. no. 13a). It gives in detail the heights of the column, engaged column and pilaster in the middle and on the right in the foreground (and their counterparts in the background) of the 30 June drawing. Saenredam would have been able to measure these relatively low components – no more than 4 or 4.5 metres above the ground – by himself with the aid of a ladder. Because of the galleries, some higher points were also easy to reach. But for the highest elements, such as the capitals of the large piers of the nave, whose exact height to the inch he noted, he must have had help. Perhaps this was given by the whitewasher or the glazier. They regularly carried out maintenance in the church and had not only ladders but a 'work chair' or 'crate' with which they could hoist themselves up to the high vaults of the nave.
From Monday, 30 June, Saenredam concentrated week by week on one particular aspect of the church. He began with the nave – always viewed from one aisle to the other – with the organ (cat. nos. 11, 15, 17); then in the week of 7 July came the principal spaces of the transept and the nave, the latter now viewed towards the choir (cat. nos. 19, 21).
On Saturday, 12 July the exterior view of the choir and the north transept followed

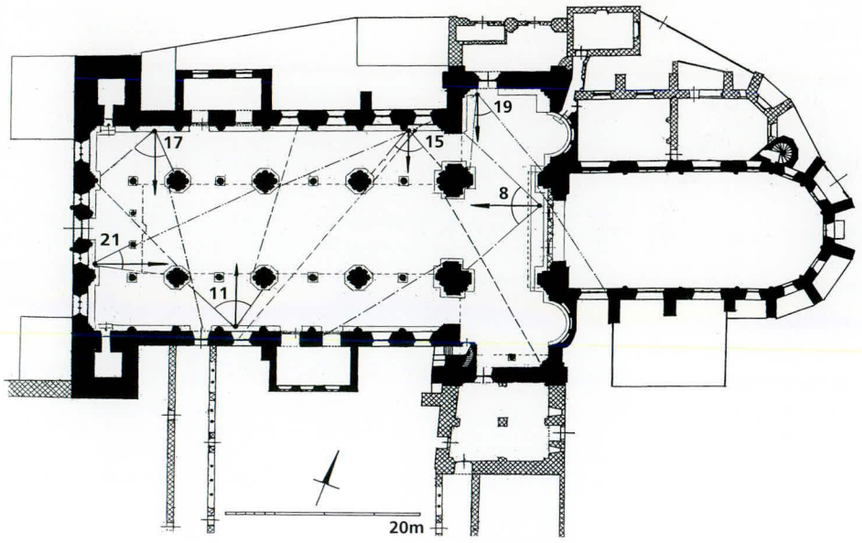


Fig. 5
Utrecht, Mariakerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points for his drawings in the weeks of 14 and 21 July 1636 (and cat. no. 32). Drawn by the author.

(cat. no. 2). In the next two weeks it was the turn of the aisles (cat. nos. 23, 27), and the transept again (cat. no. 25). If, as is probable, sketches were made of the two views in the aisles which are now known to us only as paintings (cat. nos. 30, 32), they would also have been done in these two weeks (fig. 5). Saenredam made measurements for these drawings too, at any rate for that of 16 July (cat. no. 23), because the heights of the columns and arches that he later noted in the construction drawing (cat. no. 24) differ from what he had measured on the west side in June.
The exterior of the Mariakerk was not Saenredam's chief interest. In a sense the exterior drawings were a 'bonus'. The view of the choir of Saturday, 12 July (cat. no. 2), which comes after the view from the nave *into* the choir of 9 July (cat. no. 21) may indicate, aside from a possible lodging opposite the church, a break as well. It almost looks as if Saenredam intended to conclude his drawing campaign in the Mariakerk with this exterior view.
The two views from the west (cat. nos. 4, 6) are from much later, when he had long moved on to other churches. The last, dated 18 September, is also a view of the Dom Tower, of which he made other drawings during that month.

The Buurkerk and the St Jacobskerk

In the last week of July 1636 Saenredam had finished with the Mariakerk for the time being and he began drawing other churches in Utrecht. It has been suggested that he worked in a rather random fashion – now here, now there – but in fact, this continuation of his drawing campaign was also quite systematic. He now confined himself to three interiors per church, excluding ground plans and sketches of details that he must have made of certain elements. Only the Dom received more attention: he also drew the Dom Tower and the Pandhof.
Three interiors per church is the fixed pattern. Only two sketches of the Buurkerk are known (cat. nos. 33, 38), but it is very likely that there was also a large interior view looking east or west. The two extant sketches date from 2 and 16 August, both Saturdays. The missing large drawing and the ground plan must have taken up the week before 2 August. Saenredam spent the days between 2 and 16 August in the St Jacobskerk (figs. 6 and 7).

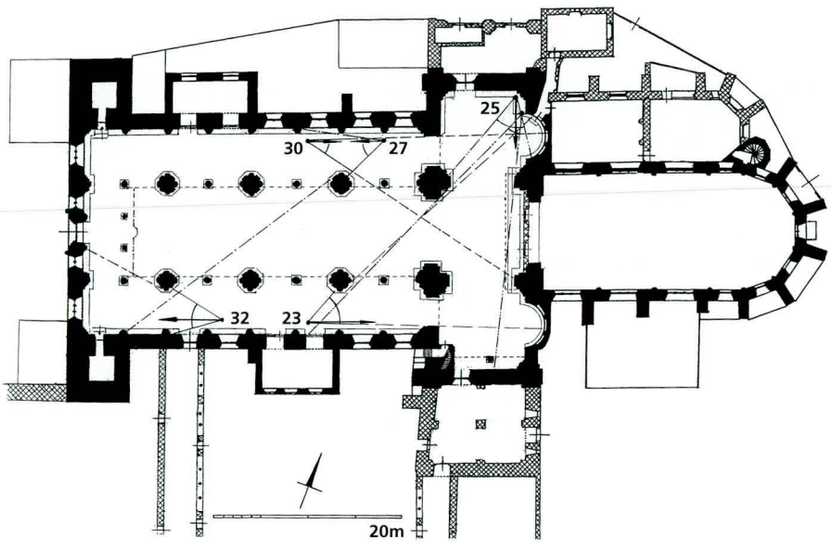
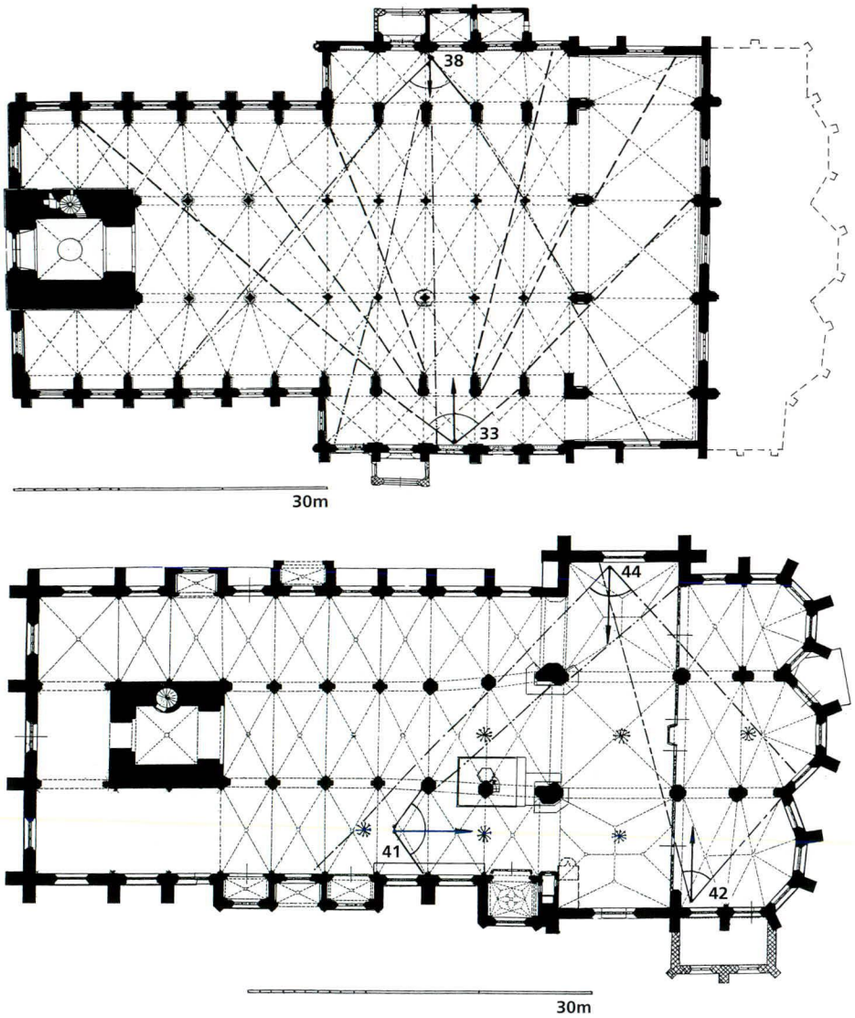


Fig. 6
Utrecht, Buurkerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points. The numbers refer to the catalogue entries. Drawn by the author.

Fig. 7
Utrecht, St Jacobskerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points. The numbers refer to the catalogue entries. Drawn by the author.

After six weeks in the Mariakerk, Saenredam found himself in entirely different surroundings for the next three weeks. As the principal old parish churches in Utrecht, the Buurkerk and the St Jacobskerk had traditionally occupied a central place in the lives of the citizens, even after they were both put to Reformed use shortly before 1580. Saenredam must have seen many burials of plague victims here. About 3,000 inhabitants died during his stay in the city and most were buried in or near the four parish churches. The Buurkerk had the smallest share; when Saenredam was working there, on average ten burials took place each week, as against 40 in the St Jacobskerk.[9] In the subsequent weeks these numbers would more than double.
The fact that Saenredam nonetheless drew the St Jacobskerk, alternating between it and the Buurkerk, evidences his awareness of architectural styles. The two churches are closely related in design: they are both vaulted Gothic hall churches that evolved from older churches through continual rebuilding and expansion, and are accordingly full of



9
HUA, DTB registers City of Utrecht, inv.no. 122, Register of the deceased reported to the Momboir chamber, 1634-1645, the weeks of (Monday) 25 July, 1 August and 8 August 1636 (old style). Saenredam's Holland calendar was ten days ahead of these Utrecht dates, but this is made up for by the fact that most deaths were not registered until one or two weeks after the burial.



Fig. 8
Utrecht, St Jacobskerk, interior, south aisle seen to the east from the vantage point in cat. no. 41. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, September 2000.

irregularities. The oldest and largest, the Buurkerk, was damaged in 1586 by the demolition of the entire choir. In 1636 the smaller St Jacobskerk was, and still is, much better preserved. The drawings of these two churches should be seen as complementing each other. In the Buurkerk, Saenredam was fascinated by the huge width of the five-aisled nave, the forest of columns and their perspectival effects. In the St Jacobskerk he saw and drew what the Buurkerk had lost, the shallow but broad and light choir (fig. 8).[10]
At the time of the Reformation both churches were stripped of their altars and statues, but in the St Jacobskerk far more of the old furnishings had been preserved and their arrangement had not essentially changed. There were new pews and the old pulpit was now surrounded by a low baptistery rail. In the Buurkerk, on the other hand, in 1609 the whole liturgical centre had been moved by the Reformed congregation to the east wall of the transept, which had been built after the choir had been torn down in 1586. However, the emptiness of the nave in the two Buurkerk sketches is not a fair indication. For example, Saenredam omitted the benches around the transept piers. All that can be seen is the remains of a pier bench in the nave, a few escutcheons and armorial windows and several chandeliers. The missing large drawing may well have shown more of the furnishings.

The St Pieterskerk

After the Buurkerk and St Jacobskerk Saenredam turned to the St Pieterskerk. On Friday, 22 August he completed his first large drawing there (cat. no. 45) and in the following week two smaller sketches, on Wednesday 27 and Thursday 28 August respectively (cat. nos. 47, 49). These were followed by an exterior of the Mariakerk on Saturday, 30 August (cat. no. 4).

10
It may also be that the many burials in the St Jacobskerk forced Saenredam to confine himself to the eastern parts; nonetheless, the drawings of the Buurkerk and the St Jacobskerk together make up a series that reveals the same system as found in the Mariakerk series.

Saenredam was now again in and near the collegiate churches, and would continue to be so in the following weeks with the Dom and the St Janskerk. He did not get around to the remaining parish churches, the St Nicolaaskerk and the St Gertrudiskerk. The reason for this was no doubt the worsening of the plague. At this time, more than 150 burials were taking place each week in and near the four parish churches. In contrast, there were less than ten burials in the four collegiate churches all together during Saenredam's entire sojourn in Utrecht; and he did not witness even one during his drawing sessions. In other words, Saenredam withdrew to the collegiate churches as to oases of peace and healthy air.

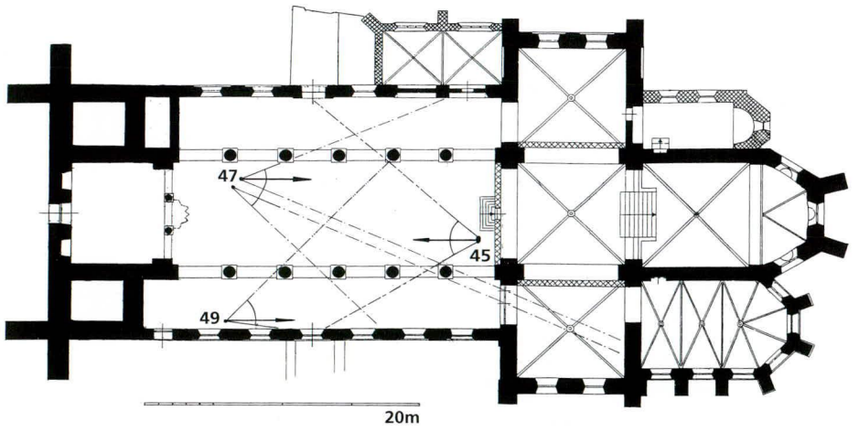


Fig. 9
Utrecht, St Pieterskerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points. The numbers refer to the catalogue entries. Drawn by the author.



Fig. 10
Utrecht, St Pieterskerk, interior seen to the east, more or less from the vantage point of cat. no. 47. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, September 2000.

The St Pieterskerk was built under Bishop Bernold (or Bernulphus, d. 1054) and was consecrated in 1048 as the first of the three younger collegiate churches, after the St Salvatorkerk. It is an early Romanesque cruciform basilica, more severe and sober than the much later Mariakerk, especially in the nave: no compound piers, only columns, no galleries and no vaults, but originally a flat ceiling (or open roof trusses), later replaced by a wooden barrel vault. The transept and choir were vaulted in the 13th and 14th century, and the apse was given larger, Gothic windows. Around 1300 the Romanesque southern chapel was replaced by the Dean's Chapel, twice as large and also in the Gothic style (fig. 10).

Unlike in the Mariakerk (and in the St Janskerk), the crossing in the St Pieterskerk was still screened off from the nave, in the late Middle Ages by a rood screen, after the Reformation by a stone wall with a door in the middle. The crossing, or 'low choir', was traditionally part of the choir and lay several steps higher than the nave but not as high as the 'high choir' over the crypt. The church's founder Bernold was buried in the low choir, in the heart of the building. His sarcophagus was found when the floor was lowered in 1656 and the church was refurbished for use by the Walloon congregation.

When Saenredam visited the church, the choir was not in use. Since the Reformation it had been used as an anatomical dissecting room (1622-1625) and for storing grain (1630-1635). In the nave, on the other hand, since the end of the 16th century services in English had been held for the English and Scottish troops and later civilians who had settled in Utrecht. In 1622, when the dissecting theatre was built in the church, these services moved to the St Catharinakerk, but in 1625 the English congregation returned to the St Pieterskerk. The pulpit and all the pews went with them. They are not, however, shown in the drawings of the church. Yet there must have been furniture: in two of the drawings (cat. nos. 45, 47) the viewpoint can be explained only if we assume that they were done from a pew.

In the first drawing – the nave looking towards the west (cat. no. 45) – Saenredam pays special attention to the organ, which was built between 1471 and 1475 by Peter Gerritsz., the builder of the organs in the St Bavokerk in Haarlem and in the St Nicolaaskerk in Utrecht, and altered several times in the 16th century. Saenredam shows it open and portrays all of the painting on the interior. Old wall paintings, gravestones and memorial tablets are also carefully drawn, together with more recent elements that had to do with the history of the collegiate church. However, the fact that it was now being used by the English congregation is completely ignored, in contrast to the drawing of the St Janskerk of 15 September (cat. no. 58), where the layout for the Walloon congregation is shown. In this respect the drawings of these two churches complement each other just as much as those of the Buurkerk and the St Jacobskerk.

The Dom and the Dom Tower

Saenredam devoted most of September to the Dom. No doubt he would have been to Utrecht's principal church previously for an organ recital in the early evening or a Sunday service, but he did not start drawing it until September (fig. 11). That was probably because he was already familiar with this type of church – the Gothic cruciform basilica – from the St Bavokerk in Haarlem and the St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch. It was only after he had studied the most characteristic examples of the Romanesque basilicas and Gothic hall churches, which were completely new to him, that he turned his attention to the former cathedral.

The construction of the Gothic Dom had taken nearly three centuries, from 1254 to c. 1525. The choir was completed around 1320, but it still lacked the clerestory and the vaults over the high choir. They were not added until c. 1400, after the Dom Tower had been built first,

Fig. 11
Utrecht, Domkerk and Pandhof, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points. The numbers refer to the catalogue numbers. Drawn by the author.

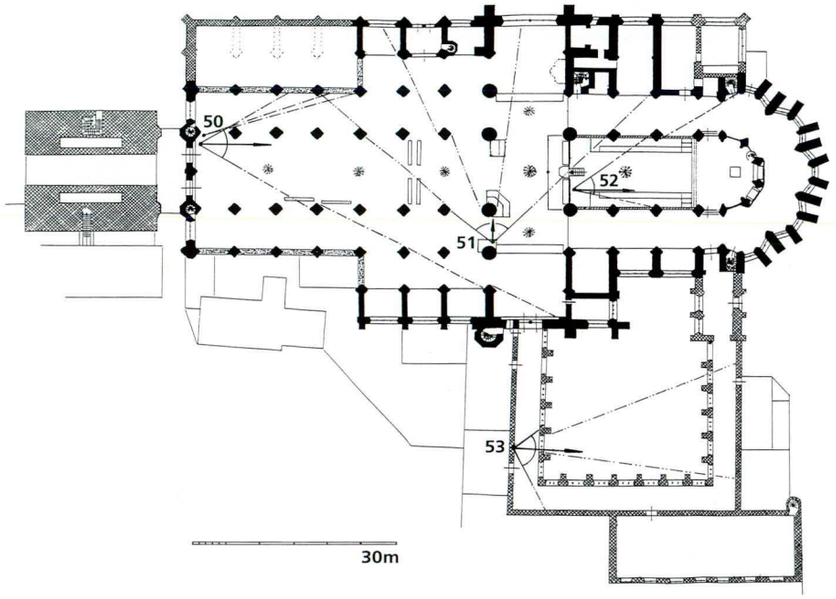
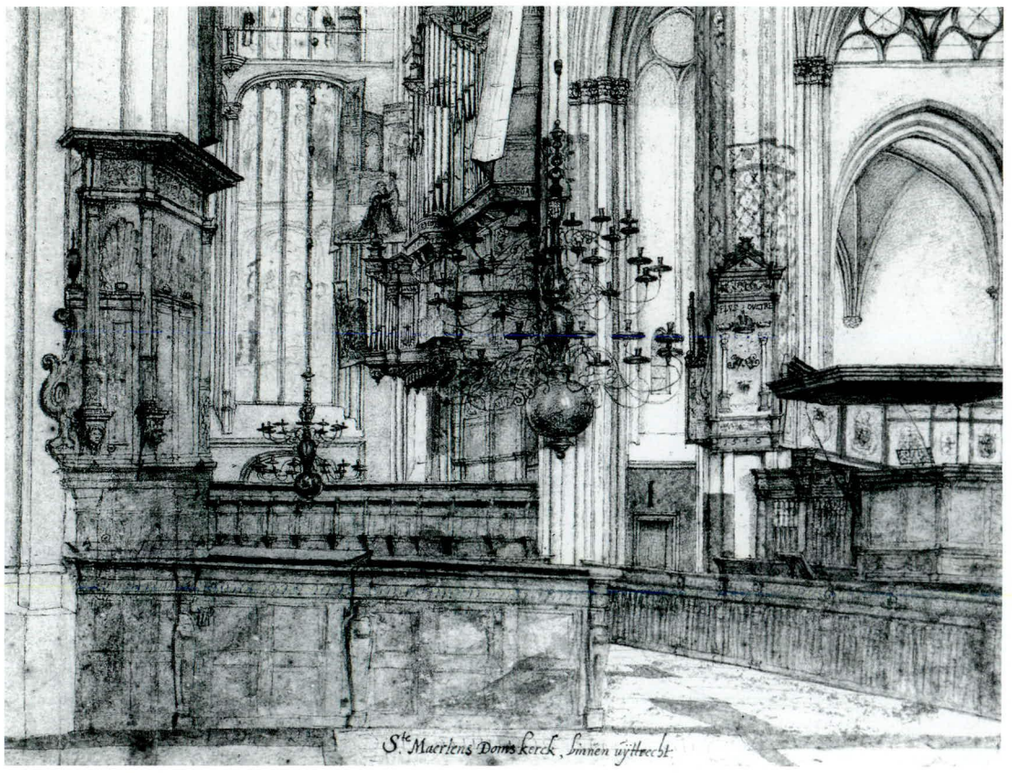


Fig. 12
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and transept of the Dom seen from south to north* (detail), 15 September 1636 (see cat. no. 51).



between 1321 and 1382. From around 1460 to 1480 the transept was built, then the nave, but when construction was ended prematurely in 1525 these sections were still unfinished: missing on the inside were the high vaults and on the outside the flying buttresses, and the western half of the nave lacked part of the extra aisles with adjoining chapels. As a result the nave was not sufficiently stable and on 1 August 1674 it collapsed when a hurricane struck the city.

When Saenredam visited the church in 1636, the nave was still standing (his drawings now provide the main visual evidence of this), but the Dom had not been an episcopal church since 1580. In June of that year Roman Catholicism had been prohibited and a few months later the archbishop, Frederik Schenck van Toutenburch, died. By then there had already been two outbreaks of iconoclasm, in March and July, and an official clearing of altars and statues. In January 1581, the church was handed over to the Reformed congregation, but it was not until 1586 and later years that it was arranged as Saenredam saw it, with the pulpit in front of the centre of the choir screen in the axis of the church. This arrangement was widely followed in other Reformed churches in the city and the province and may be considered typical of Utrecht.
Saenredam did not fail to note this layout, which was rather different from what he knew from Haarlem, Assendelft, Alkmaar and 's-Hertogenbosch. He not only drew it twice in the Dom but also in the St Janskerk and St Catharinakerk. In the drawing done in the Dom on 3 September, the view of the nave looking towards the choir (cat. no. 50), the pulpit is seen from a considerable distance; in the drawing of 15 September (cat. no. 51, fig. 12) the pulpit and the rail of the baptismal enclosure are seen sideways at an angle. The Protestant arrangement, together with the organ in the north transept, is the main subject of this sheet, which is exceptionally rich in detail for a transverse view. It was probably no coincidence that at the same time Saenredam was working on his first drawing of the St Janskerk (cat. no. 58), where the 'Utrecht arrangement' is equally prominent.
On 17 September, Saenredam drew the Dom choir (cat. no. 52), with the choir stalls and other remnants of the Catholic interior. Like the choir of the St Jacobskerk up to 1634, the Dom choir was used by the Reformed congregation for Communion and for some weekday services. To this end there was a plain pulpit in the apse, where the high altar had formerly stood, as was also the case in the St Bavokerk in Haarlem. Saenredam saw the pulpit in the apse just prior to its replacement a few months later by a far finer lectern to be used for the graduation ceremonies of the Utrecht Academy founded in March 1636. The Academy itself was located in the large chapter-house of the Dom on the southern wing of the Pandhof (Cloister). Saenredam also drew the Pandhof (cat. no. 53).

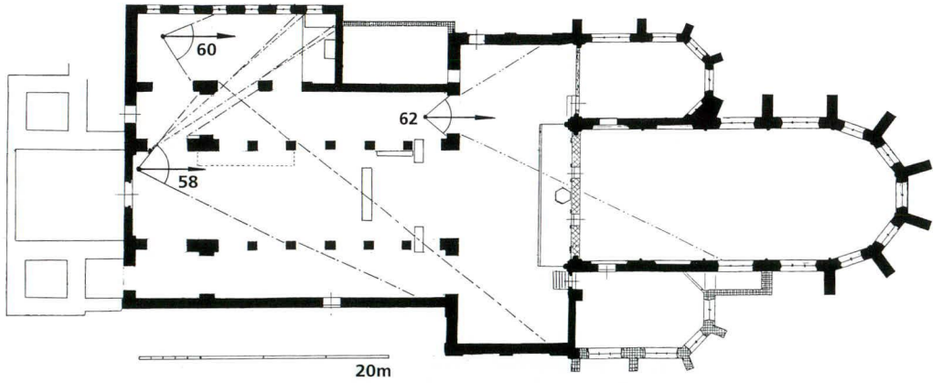
Saenredam was also interested in the Dom Tower. A view from the west (cat. no. 54) and two sheets with ground plans (cat. no. 56a-b) have survived. A drawing of the elevation mentioned on one of the ground plans is lost, but a probable copy of it is extant (cat. no. 55). The drawing of the Mariakerk churchyard of 18 September (cat. no. 6) would also have been made in part because of the Dom Tower, and it is in fact the main subject of the drawing of the town hall dated four weeks later (cat. no. 57).
Saenredam climbed to the top of the tower. The sexton, who lived in it and whose responsibilities included ringing the bells, may have given him access, but the fact that Saenredam did not see the belfry makes it more likely that he went with the carillonneur, Jacob van Eyck. His working area is explicitly indicated in the ground plan of the upper octagonal section. In September the pegs on the automatic drum of the carillon were rearranged, so that new melodies would be played. This was a time-consuming task for the carillonneur and his helpers. Saenredam may have been present during this operation and would have had ample opportunity to sketch and take measurements, which he then incorporated in the surviving ground plans.

Fig. 13
Utrecht, St Janskerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points. The numbers refer to the catalogue entries. Drawn by the author.

Fig. 14
Utrecht, St Janskerk, interior seen to the east, approximately agreeing with cat. no. 58. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, September 2000.

The St Janskerk

Like the St Pieterskerk, the St Janskerk was founded in the 11th century by Bishop Bernold, but by 1636 the original resemblance between the churches had largely disappeared. The nave and transept were still Romanesque, but the round columns had been turned into square piers. The choir was entirely rebuilt in late Gothic style between 1508 and 1539, and was much enlarged. This choir was very dominant in the interior. A Renaissance rood screen separated it from the transept.
After the Reformation the St Janskerk was out of use for only a few years. In 1584 the city library, consisting in part of the remains of various monastery libraries, was moved into the





choir. French-language services were held as early as 1585. The St Janskerk remained the church of the Walloon Protestants until 1656, when the Reformed congregation of Utrecht needed the building. The Walloons then moved to the St Pieterskerk, while the English congregation moved from there to the Mariakerk.
The first drawing of the St Janskerk, dated 15 September (cat. no. 58, fig. 13), shows the arrangement for the Walloon congregation in some detail, with (since 1628) the pulpit centrally placed in front of the choir, as it was in the Dom. In addition Saenredam took a close interest in the rich choir vault, and in the chapel with the funerary monument on the left, elements which he studied in more detail in two sketches of 6 and 7 October (fig. 14).
On Monday, 6 October he drew St Anthony's Chapel (cat. no. 60) with the graves of Provost Dirk van Wassenaer (d. 1465), his kindred and the members of the St Anthony's Brotherhood founded by Van Wassenaer and dissolved in the early 17th century. He saw the altar still standing there, one of the few to survive the 16th-century purges. On Tuesday, 7 October came the view from the north aisle towards the choir with next to it the chapel of Dean Thomas van Nykercken (d. 1556) (cat. no. 62).

The St Catharinakerk

In the meantime Saenredam had begun work in the previous week on the St Catharinakerk, the only church he drew in the southern part of the city. There were few signs of the plague in this church. At the beginning of October the number of burials was five a week at most, and in the course of the month it fell to one or two. The reason for there being almost as few burials in the St Catharinakerk as in the collegiate churches was that like them it was not originally a parish church. It was a monastic church, founded by the Carmelites in 1468. In 1529 the half finished complex was allocated to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, who completed the church and monastery cum infirmary around 1560. This former role as a monastic church and the aristocratic character of the Knights of St John – an order that died out in the early 17th century – meant that even long after the Reformation burial in the St Catharinakerk was not normally an option for ordinary citizens.
The St Catharinakerk is a basilica with a transept and an aisleless choir in the Brabant Gothic style with which Saenredam was familiar from the St Bavokerk in Haarlem, St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar and St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch. Thus architecturally the St Catharinakerk offered less that was new than the six previous Utrecht churches. But as with the Dom and the St Janskerk, here too he was interested in the Protestant layout, with the pulpit centrally placed in front of the choir screen on the axis of the church in the Utrecht style.
This arrangement was brand new when Saenredam drew it (fig. 15). After the English congregation had returned to the St Pieterskerk in 1625, taking the furniture with them, the choir, where the old choir stalls still stood, was turned into the anatomical dissecting theatre, previously located in the St Pieterskerk. In 1636 the dissecting room again had to move, because the church was altered to accommodate the growing Reformed congregation of Utrecht. The choir screen, for which a stone rood screen had to make way, the pulpit and the rail of the baptismal enclosure were newly made; it seems, however, that old choir stalls were placed in the arms of the transepts. The first service was held on Tuesday, 7 June according to the Utrecht calendar, that is 17 June by Saenredam's Holland calendar, the day before the earliest dated drawing of the Mariakerk. Saenredam may have been present (fig. 16).
The new arrangement is depicted in two drawings, dated 2 and 20 October (cat. nos. 63, 65). Saenredam was also keenly interested in the 16th-century organ in the south transept, and in the stained glass in the north transept (cat. nos. 65, 66). This glass had been donated by Bishop Joris van Egmond (d. 1559). In his interiors Saenredam usually omitted stained-glass windows or indicated them only sketchily, but in this case his interest is easily

explained: the large west window of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem had a window donated by the same bishop, showing a similar scene, which he had drawn in the previous year.[11]

The St Catharinakerk was the last church Saenredam drew in Utrecht. However, his last Utrecht sketch – as far as we know – is neither a church interior nor exterior, but a portrait of Jan Jansz. van Ermelo, the old sexton of the Mariakerk (cat. no. 67), done on Thursday, 23 October. The fact that Saenredam did his last drawing at the same church where he had begun makes it probable that he had lived throughout in the vicinity of the Mariakerk. His Utrecht drawing campaign can be followed as if it were an art-historical study trip. Leaving Haarlem equipped with drawing paper, ruler and other tools, he spent nearly 20 weeks in Utrecht documenting the churches thoroughly and systematically, occupied

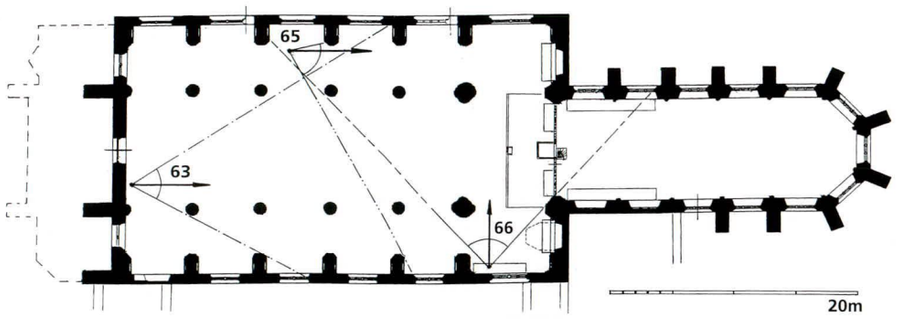


Fig. 15
Utrecht, St Catharinakerk, ground plan with indications of Saenredam's vantage points. The numbers refer to the catalogue entries. Drawn by the author.



Fig. 16
Utrecht, St Catharinakerk, interior seen to the east from the vantage point of cat. no. 63. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, September 2000.

11
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 59, dated 25 August 1635.

almost day in, day out – except for Sundays – with drawing, measuring and noting. This yielded an exceptional amount of material that he could use in paintings. It is this very amount which makes it less likely that he went to Utrecht on commission than on his own initiative, possibly on someone's recommendation. If his intention was to avoid the plague in Haarlem, Utrecht proved to be a good choice; the epidemic also struck there soon after his arrival, but in most of the churches he could continue to draw virtually untroubled by it. He produced a series of sheets that are among the finest and most important in his entire oeuvre.

The question of Saenredam's 'reliability'

The views of Utrecht churches, both the drawings and the paintings done after them, are renowned not only for their beauty but for their documentary value. Pieter Saenredam is known as the first important 'portraitist' of existing Dutch churches. But are these drawings and paintings such faithful portraits as is often supposed?

The debate about how true to life Saenredam's church views are, particularly the Utrecht ones, is not new, and eminent art historians have sometimes taken diametrically opposed views. Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, Saenredam's first modern champion, assumed that they were absolutely reliable. 'Saenredam had a great love of architecture; he would never have depicted as much as a single brick other than it was in reality for the sake of artistic effect,' he wrote at the time of the Utrecht exhibition in 1894, where paintings of the Buurkerk and Mariakerk were displayed.[12] He repeated this view five years later in the large illustrated volume *Utrechtsche kerken* (1899), the first Saenredam monograph, and again underlined the documentary significance of the artist's work: 'The fact that Pieter Saenredam saw it as his highest ambition to depict a building as accurately as possible naturally gives his paintings an architectural value which those of his colleagues lack.'[13] What he said of the paintings applied even more to the drawings. Until the appearance in 1910 of Hans Jantzen's celebrated study *Das niederländische Architekturbild*, this view was not questioned.
In that year, Professor Jan Six voiced his objections.[14] Not only did he believe that Hofstede de Groot – unlike Jantzen – had underrated Saenredam's gifts as a painter and not fully appreciated his pictorial qualities, but he also pointed out that Saenredam was in no way as true to life as had always been assumed. Six saw in Saenredam's church interiors, apart from anomalies in perspective and proportions, elements which according to him could not have been there at the time. As an example he cited tombs with figures of bishops that were depicted by Saenredam in several drawings and one painting of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem, a painting in Six's own collection.[15]
Six was at once sharply attacked by Samuel Muller, the Utrecht head of the state and city archives, who had collaborated on Hofstede de Groot's book of 1899 and himself published a study of the Mariakerk in 1902 that was largely based on Saenredam's work.[16]
In an article entitled 'The authority of Pieter Saenredam' Muller asserted that the artist's work was absolutely reliable, and he cited the drawings of the Mariakerk as proof of this.[17] He had to concede that the perspective was not always correct, but he maintained that Saenredam had based his work on reality in every detail and never added elements from his imagination. Muller even dared to claim that the painting of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem with the bishop's tomb also portrayed reality: 'Such is my faith in Saenredam's reliability as a historical witness that for the time being I accept *on his authority alone* that the tomb once stood on that spot and has since disappeared, like so many of our old memorials'. Though he could not say who the bishop was, 'I do not give up hope that the inscription

12
'Saenredam had eene groote liefde voor de architectuur, nooit zal hij ter wille van een schilderachtig effect, één steentje anders afbeelden dan het in werkelijkheid was'. Hofstede de Groot 1894, p. 10.
13
'Dat Pieter Saenredam zijn hoogste streven bereikt acht, wanneer hij eenig bouwwerk zoo nauwkeurig mogelijk heeft afgebeeld, verleent natuurlijk aan zijne schilderijen een architektonische waarde welke die zijner vakgenooten niet bezitten.' Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 1.
14
Six 1910.
15
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 49, 51, 62.
16
Muller 1902.
17
Muller 1910.

which Saenredam again carefully depicted will be discovered and reveal the name we seek, thus confirming Saenredam's authority.'[18]

The views of Muller and Six represent the two extremes in this debate. In fact, the issue raised in 1910 has never been so explicitly discussed since, and later authors have generally taken a position somewhere in between. Saenredam was still regarded as the most accurate of the Dutch architecture painters, but no one followed Muller in his blind faith that Saenredam never painted anything from his imagination.[19] P. T. A. Swillens suggested in his 1935 monograph on the artist that – non-realistic – Catholic elements in some paintings had been added at the request of Catholic patrons, a theory for which further arguments have been supplied more recently by Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok.[20] Saenredam's depiction of space has since been discussed on several occasions, in particular his use of perspective and some anomalies in that.[21]
This in no way means that the more general problem of Saenredam's reliability has been resolved. There is a tendency on the one hand to distrust his works a priori and to regard Catholic elements in his church interiors as non-realistic. On the other hand, his paintings and drawings are often used indiscriminately as historical sources for reconstructions (built or on paper) of churches that have wholly or partly disappeared.

Different levels of realism in Saenredam's work

In recent decades considerable attention has been paid to Pieter Saenredam as a *painter*. Research has been conducted into his place within architectural painting, his method of constructing perspective, his social position and economic circumstances, and his connections and possible patrons for his paintings. But in relation to the question of his reliability, his *drawings* are at least as important if not more so. Saenredam trained in Haarlem in a painter's studio (that of Frans Pietersz. De Grebber), but in his first years as an independent artist we know only of his drawings: landscapes, bird's-eye view maps, townscapes, architecture. These tended to be documentary in nature and were often commissioned.[22] His earliest known interior of the St Bavokerk (1627), for example, belongs to this category.[23] Saenredam's contacts with the painter-architects Jacob van Campen (1596-1657) and Salomon de Bray (1597-1664), who were his peers, and the somewhat younger Pieter Post (1608-1669), as well as the surveyor Pieter Wils (?-c. 1647), were also crucial. In this circle, his interest in and gift for architecture and perspective had scope to develop. He learned to make construction drawings and measurements and occasionally did work for Van Campen and De Bray. Architectural historians have pointed out that in his construction drawings Pieter Post appears to have adopted certain of Saenredam's methods and habits.[24] It has even been suggested that around 1630 Van Campen first invited Saenredam to assist him in building the Mauritshuis in The Hague, before asking Post.[25] A century ago Hofstede de Groot said of Saenredam's portrait, drawn by Jacob van Campen in 1628: 'He has the appearance of an architect rather than of an artist.'[26] Whatever one thinks of this pronouncement, it is undeniable that Saenredam had a greater insight into and feeling for architecture than might be expected from most of his fellow architectural painters and topographical draughtsmen.
Saenredam was not only trained in architecture, he was also deeply interested in what we would call 'historic buildings and monuments'. He looked less at the relics of classical antiquity than at the buildings in his immediate environment. 'Saenredam is the founder of the study of Dutch monuments in effigibus, the "iconographia aedificiorum batavorum".'[27] In his historical interests he must have had an affinity with Aernout van Buchell, the Utrecht jurist and historian who made detailed notes on tombs and windows with coats of arms in churches in the city and beyond.[28] Even more meticulously than Van Buchell, Saenredam recorded inscriptions and monuments in churches and likewise sometimes consulted the

18
'Welnu, zóó vast sta ik in mijn geloof aan Saenredam's vertrouwbaarheid als historisch getuige, dat ik tot nader order *op zijn gezag alleen* aanneem, dat het monument eenmaal op die plaats gestaan heeft en verdwenen is, zooals zoovele van onze oude grafmonumenten [...] ik geef de hoop niet op, dat het grafschrift, dat Saenredam alweder zorgvol heeft weergegeven, nog eenmaal den naam, dien wij zoeken, zal doen ontdekken en zoodoende Saenredam's authoriteit zal handhaven.' Muller 1910, p. 203.
19
E.g. Van Regteren Altena 1931, p. 9 ff.
20
Swillens 1935, pp. 51-53; Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 71 ff., 83 ff., 105 ff., 136 ff., 204 ff.
21
See among others Roosen-Runge 1967; Liedtke 1971, 1975-1976; Ruurs 1980, 1982, 1987, 1988, 2000; Kunst 1986; Elkins 1988.
22
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 27, 30, 31, 88, 178-197, 207-208.
23
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 30.
24
Terwen and Ottenheym 1993, p. 15.
25
Terwen and Ottenheym 1993, p. 22.
26
'Zijn uiterlijk gelijkt meer op dat van een bouwmeester dan van een artist.' Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 4.
27
'Saenredam is de grondlegger der vaderlandsche monumentenkunde in effigibus, der "iconographia aedificiorum batavorum".' Van Regteren Altena 1931, p. 12. 'in effigibus': in effigies; 'iconographia aedificiorum batavorum': descriptions in pictures of Dutch buildings.
28
Particularly important for Utrecht is his manuscript *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Traiectinae urbis atque agri inventa*, first half 17th century, in Het Utrechts Archief.

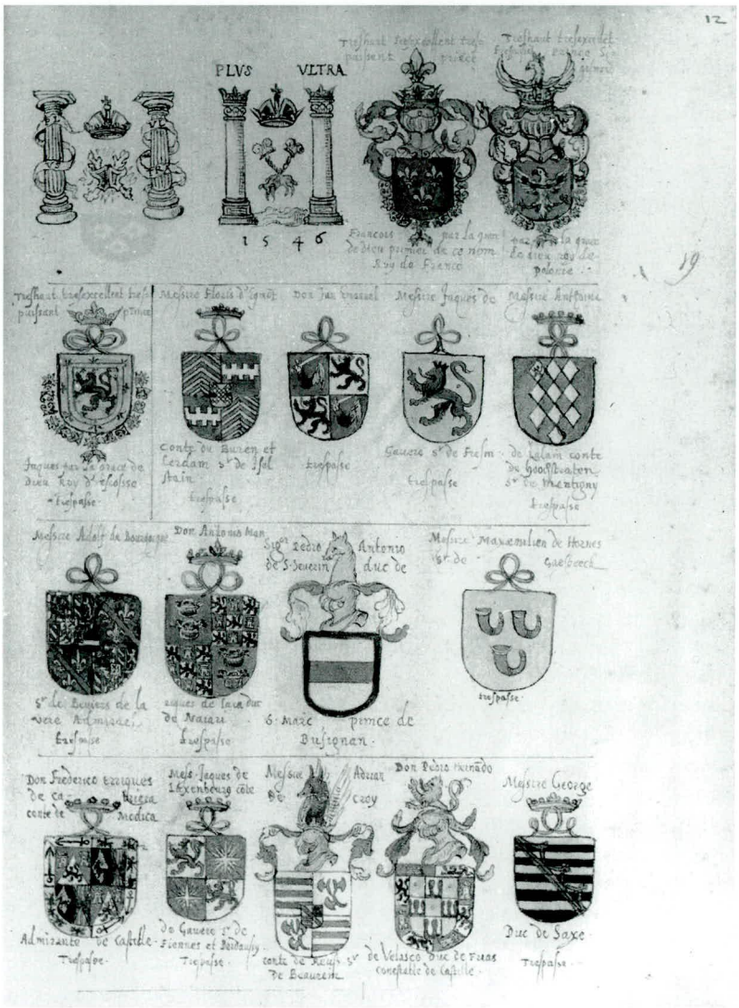


Fig. 17
Arnoldus Buchelius, *Coats of arms of the Order of the Golden Fleece of 1546 in the choir of the Dom*, drawing (pen and brown ink, brush and watercolour) in: Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 12r. Utrecht, HUA.

authors of historical and topographical works. Whether the two men ever met is not known, alas.

What bearing does all this have on the question of Saenredam's 'reliability'? This much at least: to find the answer we shall have to begin by analysing his *drawings*. Normally the paintings are considered first and the drawings only afterwards, which are then seen as 'preparatory studies'. In many cases this does not do justice to their importance. It is only in those instances where there is a relatively short gap between drawing and painting that Saenredam would have done the drawing with a painting immediately in mind, either on commission or at his own initiative. This applies, for instance, to the interiors of the St Bavokerk and the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem and the Mariakerk in Utrecht. The exteriors of these churches and the townscapes, on the other hand, which often resulted in panels only years afterwards or not at all, belong rather to the genre of the autonomous topographical drawing or of the travel sketch.[29] Many of the interior drawings also have a value far greater than that of just a study. As we shall see, the notes, sketches and measurement annotations of each Utrecht church formed a coherent documentary entity, which in certain respects provided much more information than was necessary to turn the drawings into paintings.

29
Amsterdam/Toronto 1977, pp. 139-140, p. 176, cat. no. 83.

Saenredam, in fact, built up his own architectural documentation, which he could draw on later as required.

Accordingly, a clear distinction must be made between Saenredam's drawings and the paintings he did after them. However, distinctions must also be made between the drawings. This leaves us with three broad categories.
(a) The drawings and sketches done 'from life' on the spot. Subgroups here are the smaller drawings of elements and details, and measurements.
(b) The construction drawings. These are the studies immediately preceding paintings, usually on a scale of 1:1. Here again smaller drawings, in which elements and details are treated with greater precision, form a subgroup.
(c) The paintings.
This division is not new. It should be clear, though, that the most important dividing line for the issue under consideration is not between categories (b) and (c), but between (a) and (b), because the drawings and sketches 'from life' were done in the actual building, whereas the construction drawings and the paintings were not. This division is less distinct in the case of the Haarlem works, since there the construction drawings could be checked against reality in the church if need be. But with the Utrecht churches a sharp line may be drawn.
There is a major difference in origin and function between the drawings and paintings on either side of the dividing line. In the drawings 'from life' Saenredam recorded the building as he saw it. He sometimes suppressed elements if they obstructed the view of other features, but he did not add imaginary objects; on the odd occasion when he did just that though, he explicitly noted the fact.[30] The construction drawings and paintings, on the other hand, were done later (sometimes much later) in his studio, on the basis of the sketches and measurements made in the church. He corrected the proportions and sometimes made alterations, adding and omitting as the composition required. In this sense the difference from other church painters such as Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrik van Vliet and Emanuel de Witte is one of degree, not kind.
Hence, the reliability of Saenredam's paintings cannot simply be assumed. Strictly speaking, they can only confirm or help with the interpretation of what is already known from other sources. The drawings done on the spot, however, may be regarded as highly reliable records. A comparison with other sources reveals that even in seemingly unimportant details they are often extraordinarily accurate. For the architectural historian these drawings are therefore priceless primary sources, whereas the paintings can serve only as indirect, secondary sources. At the same time the paintings and construction drawings can sometimes yield extra information, such as escutcheons or dimensions, when it is clear that these are based on sketches of details or measurements that are lost.
Yet even the drawings done in the churches are not photographs. To interpret them properly, we must know with what intentions they were made, what problems Saenredam encountered, and what techniques he used for recording the buildings on paper. It is also important to establish how drawing *in situ* differed from making construction drawings for the paintings. The principal difference lies in the use of perspective. We must first examine this if we are to understand Saenredam's method of drawing.

Anomalies as the result of the use of perspective

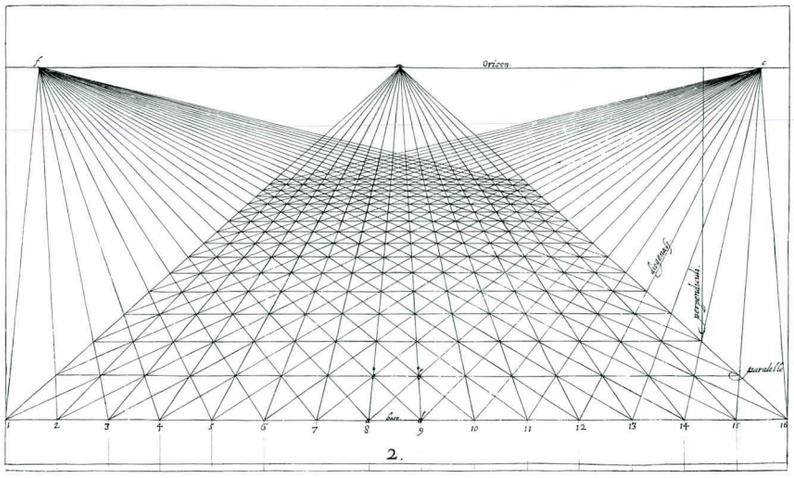
In his construction drawings and paintings Saenredam used the best-known form of perspective, *linear* or *central perspective*. This may be defined as the correct projection of an object, seen from a single fixed point, on a flat surface (in this case the construction drawing or painting). The theoretical principle is easily clarified if we imagine an artist looking through a pane of glass and drawing on the glass what he sees behind it. In contrast, the procedure for using only sketches and measurements to construct a drawing in correct

30
As in Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 62.

Fig. 18
The fundamentals of linear perspective: central vanishing point and distance point. Engraving in: J. Vredeman de Vries, *Perspectiva, [...]*, The Hague 1604/Leiden 1605.

perspective and corresponding to reality, as Saenredam did in his studio, is fairly complicated. In various publications Ruurs has explained how Saenredam went about this step by step.[31] It is not my intention to repeat the whole process here, but a few basic concepts of perspective construction must be considered (fig. 18).
First there is the *horizon line* with the *central vanishing point*, the point of convergence of all lines receding at right angles to the picture plane (the *orthogonals*). This point lies directly opposite the *viewpoint* (at eye level) of the artist; in his drawings Saenredam indicated it with 'oogh' (eye). In addition to the central vanishing point, the two *distance points*, also on the horizon line, are important for the construction. One is to the left and one to the right. These are the vanishing points of all lines (in a horizontal plane) receding at an angle of 45° to the picture plane towards the left or right, for instance the lines of a floor of square tiles laid diagonally. With the aid of these distance points (one is enough) and the lines running towards them, it is possible to determine the relative distances of points on the orthogonals and hence to construct a correct depth in the perspective. The position of the distance point on the horizon line cannot be chosen at random; it is determined by an earlier choice – the distance from the viewpoint to (the vanishing point in) the picture plane. This distance is exactly the same as that from the distance point to the central vanishing point, since the three points together form a right-angled isosceles triangle. The distance in the drawing from the distance point to the vanishing point must also conform to the basic scale chosen for the perspective construction.
To understand the end product – the painting – properly, it is important to realise that it presents a picture of the church seen *from a single fixed point* as if through a flat pane of glass and projected on to that *flat surface*.

When Saenredam was drawing in a church, he took the rules of perspective into account to a certain extent and indicated the central vanishing point exactly, but other factors and phenomena soon intervened. He did not see the space from a single fixed point, nor as if through a flat pane of glass; he saw it with two eyes in the round and with, as it were, a *curved* pane of glass around him. This could result in elements that were on a line parallel to the flat picture plane no longer being depicted on a straight line in the right proportions, as happens automatically with linear perspective, but on a curved line and decreasing in size towards the edges of the picture plane. This phenomenon, known as 'curvilinear

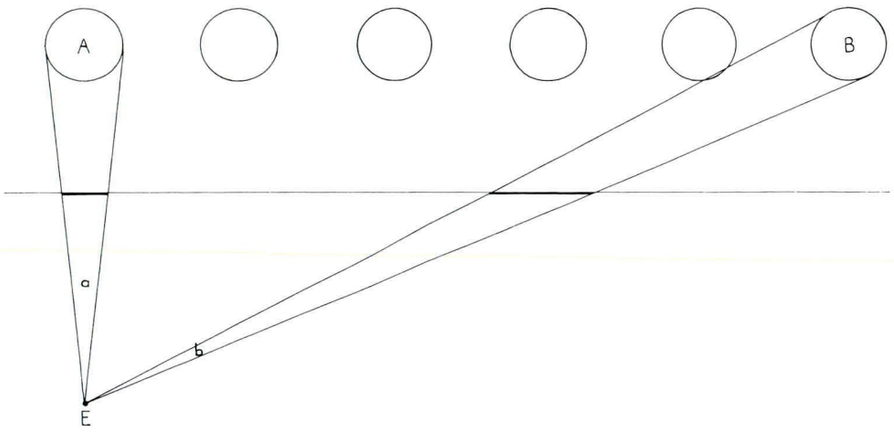


31
Ruurs 1982, 1987, 1988, 2000.

Fig. 19
Schematic explanation of the occurrence of proportional distortion in a large angle of view.
In: Ruurs 1987, fig. 38.

perspective',[32] is clearly evident in various drawings, including some depicting the Buurkerk, the St Catharinakerk, the Mariakerk and the St Pieterskerk. With pairs of columns which in reality stand at equal distances from the picture plane, but in which one appeared to Saenredam to be closer than the other, the first is shown larger and more in the foreground than the second. Occasionally, as in a drawing of the St Catharinakerk (cat. no. 63), the opposite is seen. This kind of 'mistake' would have been caused by a change of viewpoint during the drawing process, perhaps after taking a break. On several occasions, however, Saenredam turns out to have deliberately stood up or moved slightly in order to observe certain features better. This altered his overall view to some extent, and explains some shifts in perspective and differences in level not found in reality, for instance on either side of a column.
The degree to which the drawings are affected by the rules of linear perspective or the effects of curvilinear perspective varies greatly. Among the Utrecht drawings, the perspective appears to be entirely correct in the large interiors of the Dom and the St Janskerk, both viewed from the nave looking towards the choir (cat. nos. 50, 58). Saenredam began these interiors by drawing several lines in lead point with the aid of a ruler; most led to the central vanishing point, a few were horizontal or vertical. The result is convincing, although the perspective has not been applied consistently in every element. The perspective is also quite correct in the two other drawings of the St Janskerk. In most of the sketches, however, Saenredam has indicated a vanishing point, but only some of the orthogonals converge there. Vaults, aisles and various other elements do not conform.

Curvilinear perspective might be described as the gradual transition from linear to oblique perspective, as the result of the gradual turning of the direction of view and the picture plane. Saenredam's exterior drawings show that this transition could also be more abrupt. Nearly two thirds of the *View of the choir of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 2) gives an oblique view, but in the right half, from the crossing tower, linear perspective is the rule.
In *The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 6) it is the other way round. The larger part, the churchyard with the surrounding buildings and the whole north side of the Mariakerk, is drawn with great care in linear perspective (though the church is somewhat compressed), whereas the roof of the nave, the west front and the southwest tower of the church are shown in oblique perspective, as is evident from the direction of the ridge of the roof and the way the base of the front slopes up to the right, for example. The crossing tower, which



32
Ruurs 1980; 1987, p. 36 ff.; Elkins 1988.
Ruurs also calls it 'proportional notation'.

here too occupies an intermediate position, and the trees in the foreground to some extent mask the sharp dividing line between the different perspective systems.
An extreme example of the same phenomenon is Saenredam's drawing of the exterior of the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem of 7 July 1650, where the church is shown frontally but the tower obliquely.[33] The result is a distorted image.

Does this mean that the paintings, where the perspective is correctly constructed, are more convincing than the sketches, where the perspective is less consistent? Oddly enough, this is not always the case. In the paintings, the architecture often appears distorted at the sides, and stretched in the vaulting. The cause of this is not deliberate manipulation by Saenredam, but rather an unintended side effect of the consistent application of perspective. This phenomenon can be explained with a simple drawing (fig. 19):[34] the more oblique the angle from which an object, such as a column, is viewed, the broader its projection on the picture plane. Thus the greater the distance of the object from the central vanishing point, the more marked this effect will be. In paintings with a wide angle of view it is pronounced. Columns and piers at the sides take on very large dimensions and distorted proportions, as is clearly seen in some Haarlem works and also in such Utrecht views as the *The nave of the Mariakerk seen to the west* (cat. no. 10, fig. 20). Yet in itself the perspective in these panels is perfect. To experience that one has to see the interior as a painted scale model and adopt the same viewpoint in it as Saenredam did in the actual church: immediately opposite the vanishing point and at a distance from the picture plane equal to that between the vanishing point and the distance point. This distance varies from just a few decimetres in the small panels to under a metre in the largest ones. In the above interior of the Mariakerk, which is almost a metre across, the viewpoint is 40-45 cm in front of the panel, opposite the right column of the organ gallery in the background, where the vanishing point lies.
It is solely from this ideal viewpoint – and with only one eye – that the full effect of the perspective is seen.
Only then do all the distortions disappear, and when the eye moves over the painting in different directions it produces an extraordinary illusion of three-dimensional reality.
The need to adopt the correct viewpoint applies in principle to all Saenredams, but in particular to those which from a distance give the impression of being slightly distorted, such as *St Anthony's Chapel in the St Janskerk* (cat. no. 61) or *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 46), with the tunnel-like vault and stretched arches. In some panels the ideal viewpoint is close to the edge, in others even beyond it. These Saenredams may be compared with illusionistic ceiling paintings or anamorphoses. Only from one viewpoint and at an unusual angle do they present a convincing representation; from every other angle distortions are seen. In anamorphoses these distortions are intended, but in Saenredam's paintings they are the inadvertent side effect of his use of perspective.
The result is that many of his works do not really lend themselves to being viewed in a normal way or from a distance.

Anomalies resulting from the method used

If we look at the way in which Saenredam drew the Utrecht churches, we discover a remarkably systematic approach behind what at first appears to be a diverse mix of drawings and sketches. The chronological course of his drawing campaign and the choice of the churches has been discussed above. We come now to the 'standard procedure' he seems to have followed in every church.
Saenredam's starting point must have been to document the churches in drawings such that, on the basis of that material, he would later be able to paint views that would be highly accurate. To this end he drew a number of interior views – at least 11 in the Mariakerk, apart from three exteriors, and always three in the other churches –, a ground plan and

33
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 71.
34
Ruurs 1987, pp. 44-47, notably fig. 38.

Fig. 20
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave of the Mariakerk seen to the west*, 1636 (cat. no. 10).



possibly other measurement notes and sketches of details such as escutcheons, inscriptions or unusual objects.
With respect to the interior drawings in each church Saenredam began with a large, coloured vista looking east or west, that is lengthwise. This gave a representative view of the interior with – where present and more or less complete – the furniture and arrangement and the general colour scheme. The practice of beginning with a view to the east or west is so characteristic of Saenredam's method that we can be virtually certain that although only two interior sketches – looking north and south – of the Buurkerk are known, there must also have been such a large coloured drawing. That drawing would have told Saenredam eight years later that the capitals of the piers should be painted golden yellow, for example.[35] In this initial phase, perhaps even before the first interior drawing, Saenredam also drew a ground plan.
The first, large drawing was followed by – as a rule two – smaller and usually a larger number of freely sketched interior views, sometimes also looking east or west but often looking north or south, depending on which were the more interesting. In these sketches Saenredam often left out interior elements, in particular furniture, which he had included in the first drawing; at the same time other elements which were out of sight in the first drawing were included. This practice of including or excluding elements of the interior does not indicate arbitrariness or unreliability on the part of Saenredam; it was part of his method. Objects that were adequately depicted in one drawing could be omitted from another, so that what lay behind them could be made visible. It was an economic way of drawing in which more information could be recorded, and is still normal practice today in documentary drawing.
This also explains the sparing use or complete absence of colour in the subsequent sketches. Elements were coloured only if their colour was not already evident from an earlier drawing. A good example is the striking blue area in the otherwise uncoloured sketch of *The north aisle of the Mariakerk seen to the west* (cat. no. 27), Saenredam's last interior sketch of this church. The blue, dark-edged area depicts one of the open organ shutters. Saenredam had

35
The leaf ornaments were gilded; Haakma Wagenaar 1936, pp. 41-42.

not been able to record its colour in any of his previous drawings because in them he had always shown the organ closed. In his paintings, however, he consistently depicted it open. Saenredam made separate sketches or notes of specific elements that were too detailed to be shown properly in the interior drawings. He must have had a separate sheet on which he wrote in full the poem on the crossing piers of the Mariakerk. In the interior drawings the lines of verse are only sketchily indicated, with the exception of the first words of the second text. The verses he depicted in full on his panel of 1638 are almost certainly based on his own transcription, not on one of the books in which they were printed at that time.[36]
Nor is there any doubt that the numbers Saenredam inserted in his interior sketch of the choir of the St Jacobskerk (cat. no. 42) beside the escutcheons on the piers refer to separate drawings that showed the exact form and colours of the arms. He needed this information six years later when he painted a panel after this interior in which the escutcheons are prominent (cat. no. 43).

Saenredam's method has implications for the question of his reliability. Taking his drawings in isolation, one almost always has to conclude that in the case of each church the first interior is fairly reliable, but the later ones far less so. The drawings and sketches of any one church, including the now missing sketches of details and ground plan, should be seen, however, as an entity, because they are intended to complement each other. A verdict on Saenredam's accuracy must accordingly be based on the picture presented by the combined information offered by these drawings and sketches *as a whole*. This is how Saenredam himself later used them for his paintings (disregarding the modifications he sometimes permitted himself). In the case of most of the churches the verdict is more favourable than it would be on the basis of the drawings alone.
The complementary nature of the drawings is seen not only in the individual objects or colours but in the overall representation of space. For example, in the different drawings of the Mariakerk the spatial proportions vary quite widely, which led Six to question Saenredam's reliability. Most of the drawings indeed are not correct in this respect. However, Saenredam had also taken measurements and they gave him the information he needed about the proportions. He used the combined data for his paintings, such as the large interior view of 1641 in the Rijksmuseum (cat. no. 22), which gives a better – if not entirely perfect – impression of the proportions than the 1636 sketch done in the church (cat. no. 21).
The spatial proportions in the paintings are by far not always based on measurements, however. It is often mistakenly assumed that Saenredam made extensive measurements in every church he drew. Only in the case of those he depicted most often or where he made drawings on commission – Alkmaar, Assendelft, Haarlem – is it certain that he measured walls, arches and columns. With other churches this is most unlikely. There, if only because of the time involved and other practical considerations, he confined himself to a ground plan.

In Utrecht it was only in the Mariakerk that Saenredam took measurements that enabled him to produce construction drawings with accurate spatial proportions. In the other churches he estimated the proportions by eye and recorded them in his first, large drawing, which was another reason for showing the interior lengthwise and not crossways. The fact that this was not necessary in the case of the Mariakerk may in part explain why the first drawing of its interior is much more sketchy and less correctly executed than those of the Dom, the St Catharinakerk, the St Janskerk, the St Jacobskerk and the St Pieterskerk.
The paintings of the St Catharinakerk, the St Janskerk and the St Pieterskerk done after these drawings follow the model closely as regards the spatial proportions; only the perspective is corrected where required.
In his later sketches of these churches Saenredam did not need to pay such close attention to the proportions, because he could take them from his first drawing. That he did so is

36
Bockenberg 1586, pp. 89-91; Van der Burch 1617, unpaged. These editions have quite a few punctuation and other differences, both from each other and from Saenredam's version. On the other hand, Saenredam's texts correspond fairly closely to Buchelius' transcription in his *Descriptio* of 1592 (ed. Muller 1906, pp. 187-189) and the one made in the church by E. van Engelen in the first half of the 18th century; Van Engelen, vol. 1, f. 79-79v.

evident from the paintings of the St Pieterskerk. The proportions of the nave were recorded as accurately as possible in his first interior of the church, the view to the west (cat. no. 45), which he used not only in 1664 for the painting after it (cat. no. 46) but also ten years later for the panel showing the view towards the choir (cat. no. 48). The model for that panel was his second interior sketch (cat. no. 47), but Saenredam rightly did not follow its rather distorted proportions.

Proportional anomalies can also be caused by extreme compression or foreshortening, known as *contractions*. They are frequently found in Saenredam's drawings. Contractions made it possible to include elements for which there was not really enough room on the sheet. They are accordingly seen most often on the edges, both horizontally and vertically. A good example is the drawing of the transept of the St Jacobskerk (cat. no. 44), where part of the nave is depicted on the right, but in highly compressed form (figs. 21 and 22). Again, in assessing this phenomenon we must take into account the complementary nature of Saenredam's drawings. In *The choir of the Dom seen to the east* (cat. no. 52), the proportions of the section under the triforium gallery are too low, but the clerestory above it and the choir vault are inordinately foreshortened. Saenredam was determined to depict these elements, even though the sheet was not really tall enough. For the true proportions of the choir he could always rely on his earlier drawing of the Dom and the nave looking east (cat. no. 50), where they are near perfect.
In his drawings Saenredam used contractions several times as a means of cancelling out the distortions of perspective that result from a wide angle of view. This is seen particularly in interiors where one or more piers stand in the foreground. In the correct linear perspective of his paintings, these look even more massive than they are, but in his drawings Saenredam made them more slender. This ensured that the space depicted did not lose its unity, and furthermore took into account the fact that columns and piers appear thinner to us, if only because we look at them with two eyes at once and not just from a single-eyed viewpoint. This is why we are not normally aware of this contraction.
The drawing of the transept of the Dom dated 15 September 1636 (cat. no. 51) is a good example. The southwest pier of the crossing in the middle of the sheet looks entirely normal at first glance, until one realises that it was only a few metres in front of Saenredam and should therefore have been made twice as wide. It then also becomes clear why it is that the arch furthest to the right in the nave arcade on the left and the northwest crossing pier – which this arch must meet – can be entirely hidden behind the pier furthest to the front. If Saenredam had shown this pier in perspectively correct proportions, the spatial unity he perceived in the church would have been disrupted in his drawing.
An identical contraction is seen in the two sketches of the Buurkerk done a month before (cat. nos. 33, 38). They could be thought of as two or three separate interiors economically put on a single sheet. When the sketches were turned into paintings, they indeed became five panels; Saenredam would already have been aware in 1636 that this was inevitable. At the same time, however, the sketches give a spatial impression of the church, much more so than the separate panels. The spaciousness missing there is conveyed in these sketches.

Saenredam's eye for architectural space and his fascination with perspective are clearly evident in these sketches. They are also typical in the choice of viewpoint. In order to capture the most characteristic aspects of a church in just a few drawings, Saenredam chose the two or three most interesting views and usually worked with an asymmetrical position, the greatest possible distance and a broad field of vision. He also normally drew from a low point of view, seated on a folding chair or stool. Where possible, however, he made use of (stone) wall benches or (wooden) pews, and the higher the bench, the higher the viewpoint.[37]

37
The height of the viewpoint is occasionally noted, and ranges from 3½ feet (app. 97 cm; Haarlem, Nieuwe Kerk; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 80) to 6 feet (app. 165 cm; Utrecht, St Jacobskerk [cat. no. 41] and St Catharinakerk [cat. no. 66]). In practice, however, even higher viewpoints are encountered, as in the drawing of the transept of the Dom (cat. no. 51), which was done from a bench and where the higher of the two viewpoints is estimated to be at approximately 2 metres. Exteriors are regularly drawn from a high viewpoint, often the top floor of a house.

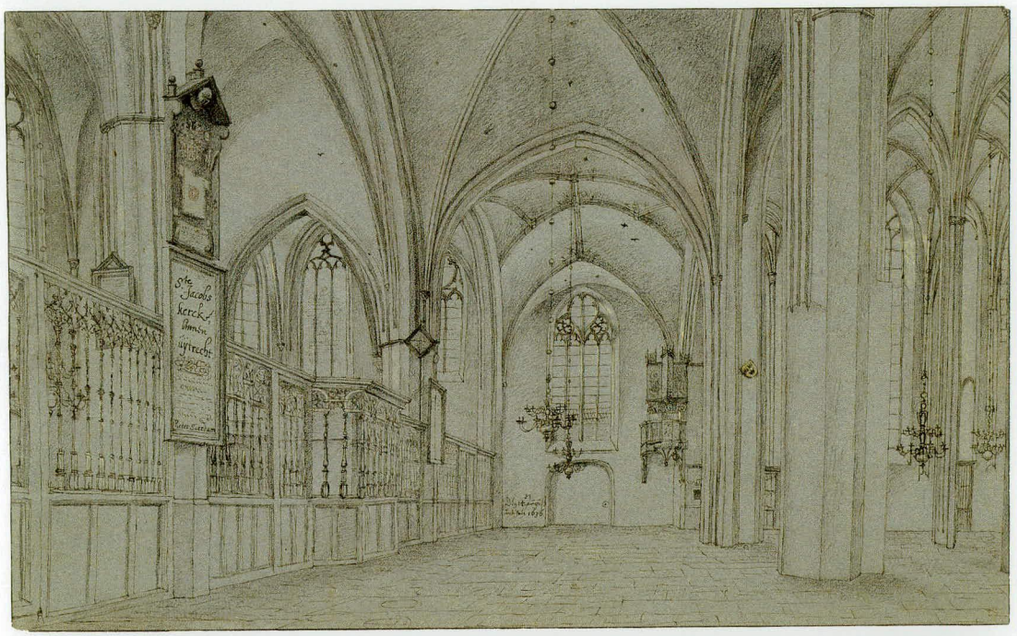
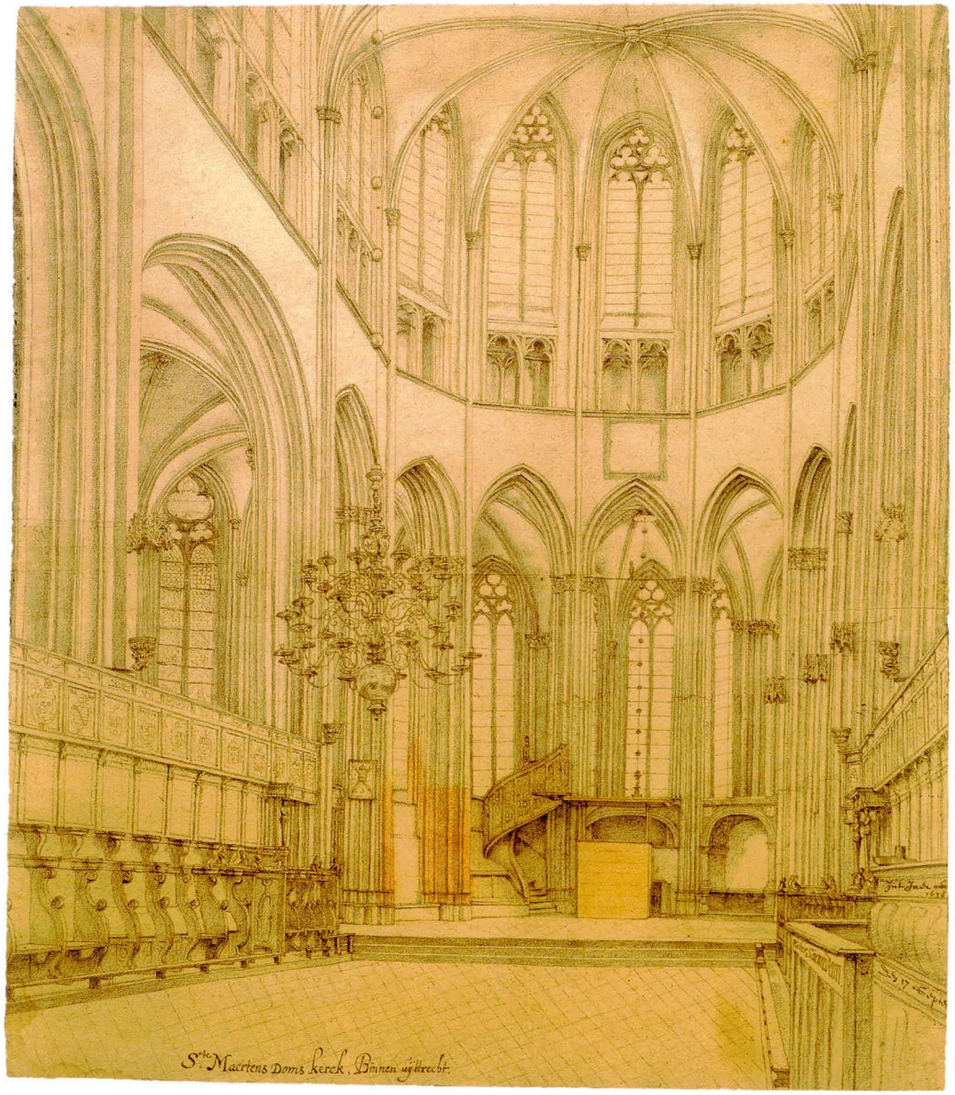


Fig. 21
Pieter Saenredam, *View through the transept of the St Jacobskerk from north to south*, 14 August 1636 (cat. no. 44).



Fig. 22
Utrecht, St Jacobskerk, transept seen to the south from the vantage point of cat. no. 44. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, September 2000.

Fig. 23
Pieter Saenredam, *The choir of the Dom seen to the east*, 17 September 1636 (cat. no. 52).



Other architectural painters before 1650 produced church interiors seen lengthwise with a viewpoint outside the central axis, but rarely from such a low position. Transverse interiors, seen from aisle to aisle or across the transept, were new. Saenredam drew them in almost every church, but in Utrecht not in the St Pieterskerk, which offered little scope for this anyway, nor in the St Janskerk, which was less interesting in this respect than the Mariakerk, the Buurkerk and the Dom.
Saenredam's systematic approach is also noticeable in relation to his choice of viewpoint, which may sometimes seem stereotypical. Often one field of vision adjoins another, or the viewpoint for an interior is on or just outside the edge of the previous one, in the opposite direction or at right angles to it. Some drawings of the Mariakerk are done from almost the same point, but looking in directions at right angles to each other. However, Saenredam did not realise, or at any rate did not exploit, the opportunity this afforded for painting a panoramic interior later.

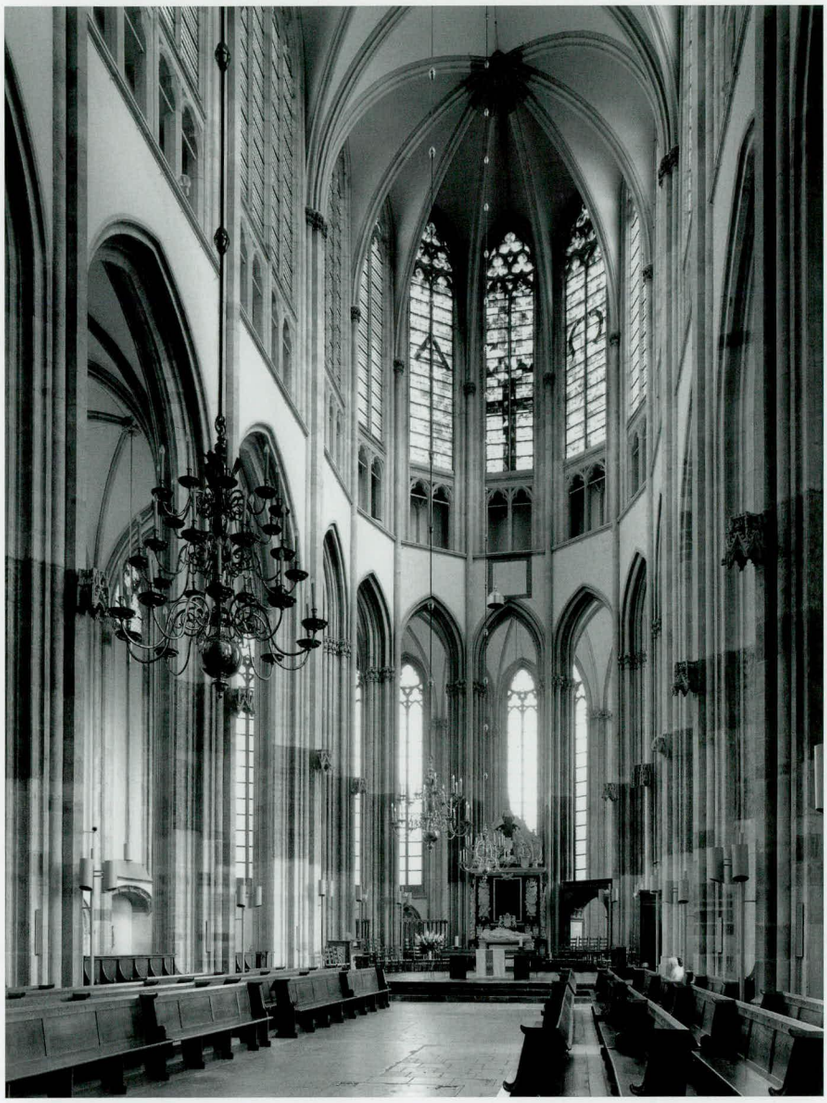


Fig. 24
Utrecht, Domkerk, choir seen to the east, approximately agreeing with cat. no. 52. Photograph National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, September 2000.

From sketch to construction

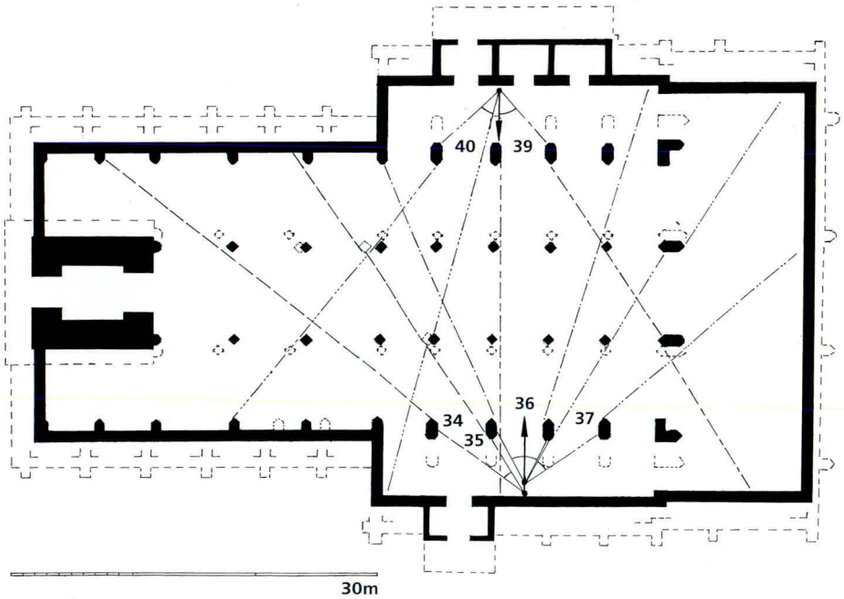
To go from a sketch to a construction drawing in linear perspective and finally a painting, Saenredam needed more than just the sketch. He also had to consult other documentation: the ground plan and any potential other measurements, as well as additional drawings and sketches. They enabled him to correct the spatial proportions, add objects suppressed in the sketch, and depict paintings and coats of arms in the proper colours.
To construct the perspective it was sometimes necessary to simplify matters. Thus Saenredam made the columns of the Mariakerk more regular than they actually were, and their cross sections were mathematically determined (cat. nos. 13b-e). In the final painting such simplifications were barely perceptible.
The modification of the church floor had a greater effect. A regular pattern of square tiles was an important aid in measuring distances when constructing the perspective. As a result,

Fig. 25
Reconstruction of Saenredam's ground plan of the Buurkerk in Utrecht; the dotted line indicates the contours of the actual ground plan. Drawn by the author.

in the paintings the floor was tightened up and schematised. If the sketch did not provide sufficient information about the location of graves, the floor was given an imaginary pattern.
However, Saenredam went further with his modifications. He often idealised the space, smoothing out irregularities and arbitrarily omitting details such as tie rods and inserting others. The panels of the St Pieterskerk and the St Janskerk and some of those of the Mariakerk provide telling examples of this kind of manipulation.

Not all modifications, however, can be called 'manipulation'. The term applies only when Saenredam was aware that he was deviating from reality. Was that always the case? Certainly not when it came to depicting the space.
The reliability of the construction of perspective depended in part on the reliability of the ground plan. The few autograph ground plans of churches by Saenredam to have survived (those of the St Janskerk and St Pieterskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch, 1632),[38] show that he was capable of making major errors when working up his draft measurements into a drawing. In the case of the 's-Hertogenbosch St Janskerk, incorrect interpretation of his own measurements led to the entire choir being wrongly proportioned.
Because of mistakes in the ground plan, but also because not every sketch was done from the same viewpoint, the information in Saenredam's documentation was sometimes contradictory; moreover, it was almost always incomplete. The ensuing departures from reality, which Saenredam himself might not have been able to point out, can hardly be considered manipulation. He was, however, aware that some aspects were not right.
On more than one occasion he was confronted with the problem that the view of the interior in his sketch shifted unintentionally in the construction drawing. In order to retain the original view, he was forced to deviate from correct perspective. This indeed constitutes 'manipulation', but is rarely considered as such.

Saenredam also drew ground plans in Utrecht. Although only his measurements of the Dom Tower are extant, he no doubt had a ground plan of each of the seven churches he drew. In the case of the Mariakerk, where he sketched and measured for six weeks in succession,



38
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 98, 102; a ground plan of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem, made by Pieter Wils, was used by Saenredam; Ruurs 1987, pp. 49ff., 101, note 62; Ruurs 1990, p. 335.

it must have been fairly accurate. This is evident if we compare the construction drawings and the paintings (despite some errors and anomalies in them) with the highly accurate measurements done around 1812, just before the demolition of the nave and transept.[39] Only in the case of the Buurkerk can a similar verification be made thanks to the five interior views of 1644-1645 and 1653-1654 that resulted from the two extant sketches of 1636 (cat. nos. 33-40). These interiors provide enough of a basis for a broad reconstruction of the ground plan Saenredam used (fig. 25). It deviated quite significantly from reality. In Saenredam's view the church was about as long as in reality, but considerably narrower. Moreover, the three western bays of the nave, which have very different measurements, were all the same size in Saenredam's version and were matched by three equally wide side chapels, rather than by four narrower chapels as in reality.
As with the ground plan of the St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch, these deviations from reality were not deliberate but arose from a mistaken interpretation of measurements and notes. They had no effect on the composition of the panels painted in 1644 and 1645 and little to no effect on the illusion of depth. When preparing the 1644 panel (cat. no. 40), however, Saenredam must have noticed that something was wrong. Where his ground plan showed room for only two side chapels, his sketch of 16 August 1636 (cat. no. 38) indicated three; and as normal in the event of such contradictions, on this point he stuck to his original sketch. Far more serious were the effects of aberrations in the ground plan on the working up in 1653 of the left and right halves of the sketch of 2 August 1636 (cat. no. 33), where the view through the church to left and right is diagonal. The laborious perspective in both construction drawings (in contrast to the perfect looking perspective in the middle panel) shows that here Saenredam was unable to combine the information from sketch and ground plan to produce a convincing synthesis. However, he only once deliberately 'manipulated' for the sake of the composition, namely in the left view (cat. nos. 34-35), where he moved the piers and arches in the right half a little towards the middle to achieve greater symmetry.

One recurring problem was that in his sketches Saenredam noted the viewpoint, but not the distance from the foreground. He had to either estimate this or deduce it from his ground plan.[40] A slight deviation generally had little effect, but in some cases there could be serious consequences. With *The north aisle of the Mariakerk seen to the west* (cat. nos. 28-29), for example, when constructing the perspective he chose a viewpoint that was a few feet too far back. The result was that the view to the left shifted and became more condensed, which was certainly not the intention. In order to keep to his original sketch, he had to abandon correct perspective in this view and fill in freehand what he had drawn in 1636. The same phenomenon, but more complicated, is seen in the *View through the transept of the Mariakerk to the southwest* (cat. no. 26). Saenredam's sketch of 1636 (cat. no. 25) was done from two viewpoints, one to the left diagonally in front of the other, so that it shows more than could possibly be seen from a single viewpoint. The viewpoint that Saenredam adopted for his perspective construction is more or less a combination of both; yet in order to follow his 1636 sketch to the extent possible he had to resort to some modifications, such as narrowing the arches and galleries in the nave and moving pilasters – sometimes in the wrong direction.
It must have been these problems with working out the perspective that persuaded Saenredam during his next drawing campaign away from home – around and in the St Cunerakerk in Rhenen in 1644 – to note in the interior sketches not only the vanishing point (always with the height), but also the distance to a point in the foreground marked in the sketch – a point on the front or the corner of a column that could be exactly indicated in the ground plan.[41]

Not all the paintings were preceded by a construction drawing. In the case of the exteriors of the Mariakerk, in particular those of the west side, Saenredam had already drawn them

39
Ground plans by H. A. F. A. Gobius (1812/c. 1840), and F. C. E. van Embden (1817); HUA, TA Id 2.4 and Id 2.5.
40
Ruurs 1987, pp. 108-109, note 92, believes that Saenredam would have marked his viewpoint on the ground plan. However, I see no evidence for this.
41
Ruurs 1987, pp. 64-66, assumes, in my opinion wrongly, that Saenredam also noted this distance in his Utrecht sketches. There is no evidence for this. It is true that the sketches were all later trimmed, but so were the Rhenen sheets and in two out of three of them the note of the distance is still clearly visible.

in perspective so meticulously in 1636 that to a large extent he was able to copy them directly from his sketches. This is evident from the grid of squares in the underdrawing of both paintings, which matched a grid laid over the drawing. That there was no intermediate phase is also apparent from the almost exact correspondence between sketch and painting and the round figures of the scale ratio between them: app. 2:3 (cat. nos. 4, 5) and 3:8 (cat. nos. 6, 7). The obliquely drawn sections in both sketches – the tower in cat. no. 4 and the whole west front and the roof of the nave in cat. no. 6 – were the only ones to be converted into linear perspective in the paintings, but with as few changes as possible.
In the painting of the Mariaplaats (cat. no. 7) the result is curious. The west front of the church – already depicted as reduced – together with the roof and the tower, has been adjusted for linear perspective as to height but not as to width. This means that the front is just as foreshortened as in the oblique view, and its proportions are drastically altered. But Saenredam had no real alternative. In correct linear perspective the front would have become so broad and dominant that the balanced (but not very accurate) composition of the drawing would have been completely lost in the painting.
With the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 3) Saenredam came up against an even trickier problem. The church was drawn largely in oblique perspective, so that the sketch could not simply be enlarged to the size of the panel. The painting became a compromise: the right half is in linear perspective, done fairly freehand, and the apse on the left is in oblique perspective. The combination of two perspective systems side by side in this panel produces inconsistencies and confusion. But here again Saenredam had no choice. The angle of view of the apse was so wide that the application of linear perspective would have caused extreme distortions. Furthermore, he lacked the measurements needed to construct the choir in correct proportion. Here as in other cases, keeping as far as possible to his original sketch must have seemed to Saenredam to offer the best guarantee of an accurate and convincing depiction. That he was right is shown by how highly prized these works are today. Despite their (not always recognised) deficiencies in perspective, the three aforementioned panels rank among the greatest works of Dutch 17th-century painting.

Conclusion

The question of whether Saenredam's Utrecht drawings and paintings are reliable portraits of the churches cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. In the 1910 debate between Six and Muller each was partly right (though Six rather more perhaps than Muller) and partly wrong. They did not differentiate sufficiently between sketches, construction drawings and paintings, and hence ignored the essential differences between these categories. Moreover, they both supported their arguments solely with isolated interior views taken out of the context of the series in which Saenredam had produced them.
As a result omissions or foreshortenings which were complemented or corrected by other drawings belonging to the series – and as such were an integral part of Saenredam's method – were all too quickly dismissed as 'shortcomings' or 'inaccuracies'.
'Reliability' has different meanings for the different categories in Saenredam's oeuvre. In the sketches the representation of the architecture as regards perspective and proportions is never photographically exact, but Saenredam very rarely depicted non-existent objects. However, the paintings (together with the preceding construction drawings) suggest – provided they are viewed from the correct point – an almost photographically accurate representation, but more than once they present a corrected or idealised architecture, with or without imaginary elements.
The reliability of the representation of space is a complex matter. 'Perspectively correct' is not the same as 'convincing', and vice versa, and for this reason in a number of cases Saenredam had to resort to compromises, especially in his exteriors. In addition, there is the

problem that Saenredam's constructions are based on the information he had gathered in the church in question. Mistakes in interpreting this information, if not spotted and corrected in time, affected the final painting. This is another reason why, despite this being Saenredam's intention and even when he was convinced he was giving a completely correct picture, the result was not always exactly true to life.

I am grateful to C. A. van Swigchem and C. C. S. Wilmer for their comments on an earlier version of this text.

Pieter Saenredam as a draughtsman

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Oddly enough, hardly any of the substantial attention devoted to Pieter Saenredam in the past decades has specifically addressed his drawings. They have invariably been seen as a step, and indeed a remarkably splendid one, on the path to his paintings. Exemplifying this tendency is the 1989/1990 monograph on Saenredam by Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok. The title alone heralds the authors' focus: *Pieter Saenredam. The Painter and His Time*. Of the 60 colour illustrations, three are allotted to drawings.[1] That one of these drawings may well have been tampered with by a later artist to such an extent that the original drawing is now barely visible is an indication that their conception of Saenredam the *draughtsman* begs for revision.

Saenredam's Utrecht drawings are the subject of this essay. The issues broached are how the artist went about his work, the drawing techniques and the kind of paper he used, what he did with his drawings upon completion, and their function in his oeuvre. It appears that 18th-century collectors sometimes 'finished' drawings they deemed only partly completed. This treatment, which has clouded the image of the draughtsman until now, also deserves some attention. And, thus, this story continues into the 18th century.

Four-month drawing campaign

After working on a drawing in the Haarlem St Bavokerk on 29 May 1636, Pieter Saenredam completed his first-known Utrecht drawing twenty days later, on 18 June. The last-known Utrecht drawing by him is dated 23 October. A month later he appears to have made a technical elaboration of the same drawing of the St Bavokerk that he had left back in Haarlem at the end of May. In short, the artist was away from home for about four months during which period he lodged primarily in Utrecht.

A total of 44 drawings by Saenredam from this Utrecht period are known. Of these, 36 were actually made in Utrecht (the remaining eight – four construction drawings and four preparatory studies – were done in Haarlem). A chronological arrangement of the drawings is given on page 52.

Even though some drawings have certainly been lost, this list nevertheless affords us the first possibility of gaining insight into the intention and approach of Saenredam's campaign in Utrecht. The drawings are mainly of church interiors, 26 in number, another four church views (including the Dom Tower and the Pandhof), two city views, one portrait, and several measurement drawings. Interestingly, the number of depictions of the Mariakerk far exceeds that of the other churches, and the first and the last drawing were made there. Another surprising fact is that in each church – and in churches not in Utrecht – the artist began with the largest possible overview of the interior, always in an easterly or westerly direction and only thereafter depicted side chapels or other details.[2] Limiting ourselves to church interiors, there are nine drawings of the Mariakerk as opposed to three of the Dom, three of the

1
Schwartz and Bok 1990, figs. 56, 121 and 180. Figure 86, the blackened verso of a Saenredam drawing, is not included.
2
Walter Liedtke in Turner 1996, vol. 27, p. 509.

St Pieterskerk, three of the St Jacobskerk, three of the St Catharinakerk and two of the Buurkerk.
Saenredam must have worked fairly conscientiously, producing a drawing every two to three days. He twice dated and/or completed two drawings on two consecutive days (27-28 August and 17-18 September), and once he finished two drawings on the same day (15 September). On the other hand, several substantial intervals may be noted. There are three periods of 10 to 15 days during which the artist seems to have worked less intensively, or in any case – as far as is known – without dating any drawings: 19–29 June; 4–14 September; 19 September–3 October. He may well have used this time for preparation, ground plans and measurements.

Chronological list of drawings made in Utrecht:

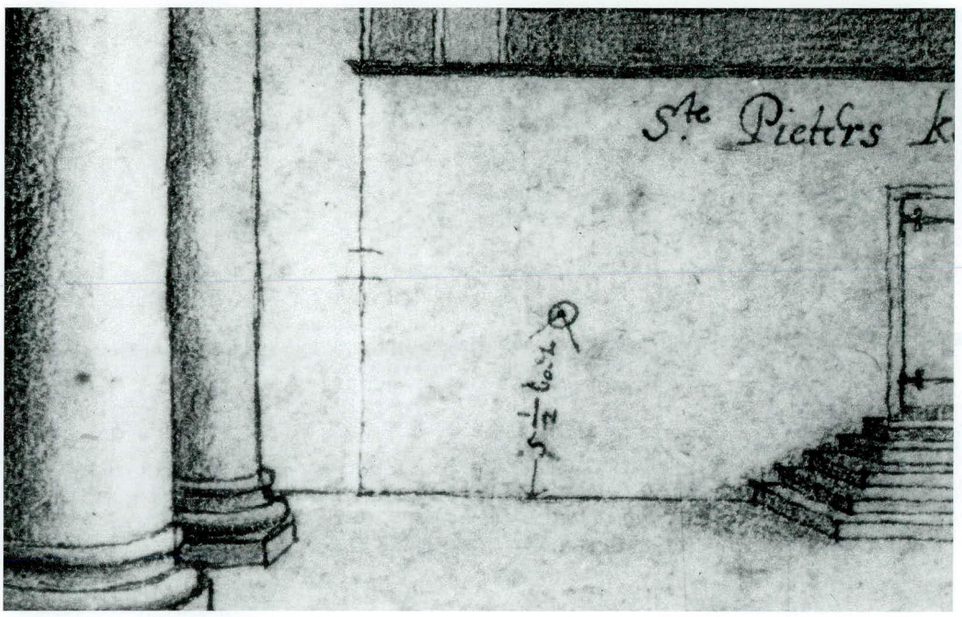
Date	Church		Cat.no.
18 June	Mariakerk	interior	8
30 June	Mariakerk	interior	11
June	Mariakerk	interior	15
3 July	Mariakerk	interior	17
7 July	Mariakerk	interior	19
9 July	Mariakerk	interior	21
12 July	Mariakerk	exterior	2
16 July	Mariakerk	interior	23
22 July	Mariakerk	interior	25
25 July	Mariakerk	interior	27
2August	Buurkerk	interior	33
8 August	St Jacobskerk	interior	41
12 August	St Jacobskerk	interior	42
14 August	St Jacobskerk	interior	44
16 August	Buurkerk	interior	38
22 August	St Pieterskerk	interior	45
27 August	St Pieterskerk	interior	47
28 August	St Pieterskerk	interior	49
30 August	Mariakerk	exterior	4
September	Dom	2 measurements	56
3 September	Dom	interior	50
15 September	Dom	interior	51
15 September	St Janskerk	interior	58
17 September	Dom	interior	52
18 September	Mariakerk and Mariaplaats	city view	6
2 October	St Catharinakerk	interior	63
6 October	St Janskerk	interior	60
7 October	St Janskerk	interior	62
15 October	Dom Tower and town hall city view		57
20 October	St Catharinakerk	interior	65
23 October	Jan Jansz. van Ermelo portrait	67	
Undated:	Mariakerk	measurement	13
	Pandhof	exterior	53
	St Catharinakerk	interior	66
	Dom Tower	exterior	54

Fig. 1
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk seen to the east* (cat. no. 47). Detail of the 'eye' and the correction of an erroneously placed line.

Types of drawings and techniques

The depictions of the Mariakerk provide a good overview of the different kinds of drawings Saenredam produced as well as the various drawing techniques he used. With respect to the former, in short he would make a drawing 'from life' in the church (composition drawing). Also *in situ* he noted all manner of measurements, architectural details, and the like (measurement drawings). Back in the studio he made use of what he had gathered on the spot to devise the immediate preparatory drawing for the painting (construction drawing). It is primarily in the composition drawings that Saenredam exhibits his range of drawing techniques: pen and brown ink, black chalk, red chalk, graphite, brush and grey ink, brush and watercolour and white body colour. The kinds and colours of paper he used were smooth creamy white paper, pale buff rag paper and blue paper.

Saenredam began his composition drawings by establishing the so-called 'eye', the point on the horizon line that indicated his eye level while drawing (fig. 1). This was directly opposite the draughtsman's vantage point. He denoted the 'eye' with a dot and circle, sometimes writing it next to it ('oogh'), and sometimes its height from the ground. In making the construction drawings this was invariably also the vanishing point. The composition drawings, however, were always freely drawn, without following all too closely a system of orthogonals that had to converge at the vanishing point. Only in a few large views in the Dom and the Janskerk, both seen from the nave towards the choir (cat. nos. 50-52, 58), did Saenredam initially draw a few auxiliary lines in graphite using a ruler.[3]
Saenredam always noted the 'eye' in pen and brown ink and this was also the medium in which he subsequently commenced drawing. Close study of his drawings reveals that the other media, such as black chalk and watercolour, are always applied over the lines in pen and brown ink. Saenredam must have had a very steady hand; his pen lines are crisp and generally drawn but once. If he erred, he drew two lines perpendicularly through the incorrect line to indicate the mistake (fig. 1; see also cat. nos. 27, 38); in a few instances, he tried to conceal his mistake with white body colour (cat. nos. 47, 49). Only two drawings by Saenredam left in this stage, though supplemented with grey washes, are known:



3
Ruurs 1987, p. 98, note 45.

The town hall in 's-Hertogenbosch (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet) and *The town hall in Haarlem* (Amsterdams Historisch Museum).[4]

While the initial pen lay-in in all of these composition drawings is more or less the same, the subsequent execution can differ substantially: for example, there are drawings in watercolour and in chalk, the watercolour drawings being in the minority. Six of the 32 composition drawings made in Utrecht are in watercolour:

		Cat.no.
18 June	Interior Mariakerk	8
12 July	Exterior Mariakerk	2
30 August	Exterior Mariakerk	4
15 September	Interior St Janskerk	58
18 September	Mariakerk and Mariaplaats	6
15 October	Dom Tower and town hall	57

Saenredam sometimes used watercolour in his chalk drawings, but only incidentally, for instance to indicate the colour of a window, a coat of arms, or the choir stalls. And, this was done with remarkable economy: had he earlier drawn a specific detail with great care or illustrated it in colour, he felt free to omit it the next time. Saenredam must have been purely and solely interested in recording the architecture. Whether a drawing would be aesthetically improved by more extensive (colour) washes, probably did not matter much to him. His hatching in graphite and black chalk – he used both, at times in a single drawing – can be exceptionally lively and free, such as in the sheets of *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk* and *The north aisle of the Mariakerk* (cat. nos. 21 and 27), or very precise, such as in two sheets of the St Pieterskerk, *The nave and the choir* and *The south aisle* (cat. nos. 47 and 49). White highlights are found virtually exclusively in the chalk drawings. He usually applied them in an almost dry form so that they strongly resemble white chalk and blend in well with the black chalk and graphite. In some instances, these white highlights lend the columns and vaults a fabulous sheen.

Saenredam's choice of paper, white, blue and pale buff, is clearly related to the technique used. Logically, he reserved the (possibly more expensive) smooth creamy white paper for his watercolour drawings. It was presumably more difficult to apply washes crisply on the more structured blue or buff paper. Moreover, it may have been more pleasing to set off the various (soft) colours against a white ground. Saenredam made the looser chalk drawings mostly on blue paper and the somewhat coarser buff rag paper.[5] He liked to work with white highlights on the blue paper, which naturally showed up well. There are no watermarks in the blue paper, and in the buff rag paper used by the artist one encounters a small, simple fleur-de-lis, always accompanied by a countermark (in which can be discerned the numbers 4 and 1), above the letter W (see p. 297). Saenredam used a greater variety of the creamy white paper, as appears from the various watermarks: a fleur-de-lis in a crowned coat of arms, a hunting horn and variations on a quartered crowned coat of arms (see pp. 297-300).
The study of Saenredam's technique and paper within the context of this publication has yielded one revised attribution. The drawing of *The Pandhof of the Dom* (cat. no. 53) in the collection of Het Utrechts Archief was traditionally given to Saenredam and included in the 1961 Saenredam exhibition (fig. 2). However, the sheet was deemed atypical for the master and demoted to the category of 'incorrect or doubtful attributions'. It was also said to have been 'largely destroyed by later additions in black chalk'.[6] As a result, the drawing was forgotten; Schwartz and Bok, for instance, omitted it in their monograph. However,

4
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 87 and 103. On the 's-Hertogenbosch drawing, see Amsterdam 1998, vol. 1, pp. 129-130, no. 282. On the Haarlem drawing, see Schapelhouman 1979, pp. 110-111, no. 70.
5
The measurements of Saenredam's drawings on this buff rag paper are always app. 30 x 40 cm. Evidently, he had a pile of the paper available and no need to change the format. Drawings on other kinds of paper do not display such consistent uniformity.
6
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 231.

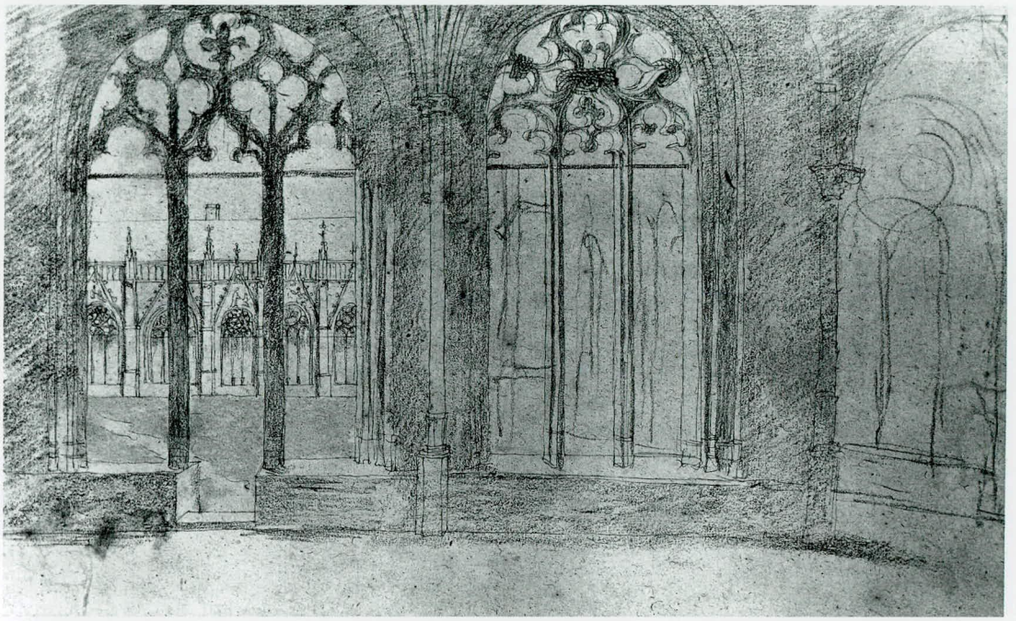


Fig. 2
Pieter Saenredam, *The Pandhof of the Dom seen from the west gallery to the east* (cat. no. 53).

the sheet fits in seamlessly with the rest of Saenredam's Utrecht drawings. Comparable, relatively vigorous hatching in black chalk is found, for example, in *The choir and north side choir of the St Janskerk* and *View through the nave of the Buurkerk* (cat. nos. 62, 33). The technique – pen and brown ink, black chalk, supplemented with some watercolour and white highlighting – is perfectly in keeping with Saenredam's other drawings. Finally, the buff rag paper with the watermark of the small, simple fleur-de-lis is identical.[7] Traditionally considered problematic, the sheet of *The Dom Tower from the west* (cat. no. 54) maintains this status for the time being. The technically not particularly convincing depiction of the little houses has been forwarded elsewhere as reason for doubt; moreover, the sheet as a whole exhibits a uniformity unusual for Saenredam's work. However, it is not devoid of quality, and so for now we will leave it as 'attributed to'.[8]

We have detail drawings of churches in places other than Utrecht, such as *The tomb of Count Floris V, in the Grote or St Laurenskerk, Alkmaar* (Paris, Frits Lugt collection), *The organ in the St Bavokerk, Haarlem* (idem), and *The window with Bishop Gisbertus Masius, in the St Pieterskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch* ('s-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum).[9] These are relatively small pen and brown ink and watercolour drawings of a specific detail in a church. Utrecht detail drawings are unknown, though Saenredam certainly made them. In the *View through the choirs of the St Jacobskerk* (cat. no. 42) he wrote numbers near the escutcheons, which undoubtedly correspond with those in a detail drawing in which these escutcheons were depicted in colour. However all traces of this sheet (or sheets) are missing.

To make the paintings of the churches upon his return to Haarlem, Saenredam needed countless measurements of the church interiors. He recorded these and various details in smaller drawings, and occasionally in large ground plans. There must have been dozens of these kinds of drawings, though now we have but 15, including four ground plans. Three of them were made in Utrecht; one displays columns and two have ground plans of the Dom Tower.
The small measurement drawings are done only in pen and brown ink, and are neither

7
The only deviation is the size of the paper (see note 5).
8
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 116. One could also argue that the provenance of this drawing is suspect. It was already in the Bibliothèque Royale in 1716, while Saenredam's drawings as a group remained in the family until around 1732 (see pp. 72). Perhaps this drawing was part of a set of tower drawings that Saenredam made at the request of Jacob van Campen (see p. 57). In that case, the sheet was not part of Saenredam's own collection.
9
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 7, 66 and 101.

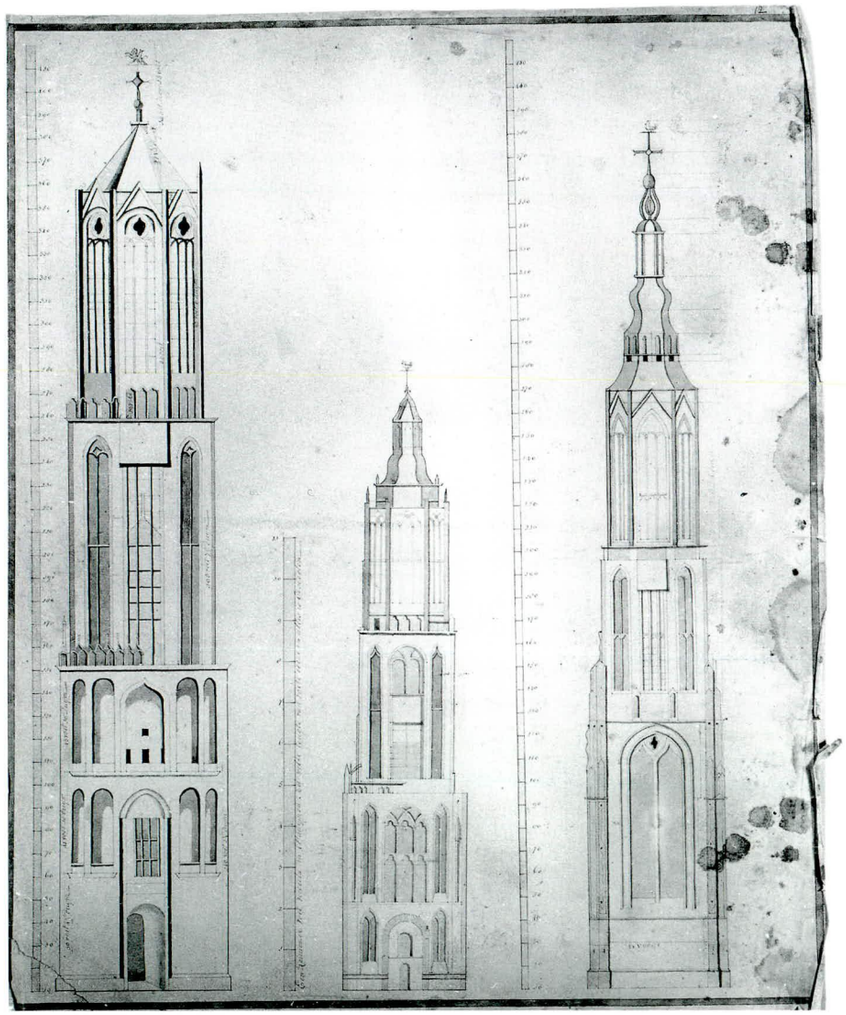


Fig. 3
Jacob Constantijn Martens van Sevenhoven (attributed), *Elevations of the Dom Tower in Utrecht, the St Cunera Tower in Rhenen and the Our Lady Tower in Amersfoort* (cat. no. 55).

signed nor dated. The four ground plans – of the St Janskerk and St Pieterskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch and two of the Dom Tower in Utrecht – are also watercoloured and dated; that of the Dom Tower is even signed.

Like his first known drawing from his Utrecht campaign, Saenredam also made the last one in the Mariakerk: the *Portrait of Jan Jansz. van Ermelo* (cat. no. 67). Within the artist's oeuvre, a portrait drawing is nothing short of exceptional. Perhaps it was a friendship portrait made for the sexton in gratitude for his assistance, or as a personal memento for the artist to take home with him. One could imagine that Saenredam built up a special relationship with the sexton while working non-stop in the Mariakerk for the first six weeks.

In the province

Information hitherto disregarded suggests that the artist worked not only in the city of Utrecht, but most likely also travelled throughout the province of the same name, drawing

in other places as well. In 1821, the internationally respected drawings connoisseur Christian Josi included a detailed passage on Saenredam in his most extensive publication *Collection d'imitations de dessins d'après les principaux Maitres Hollandais et Flamands [...]* noting that: 'In the Renswoude Foundation in Utrecht are geometrical drawings of the towers of the five cities in the province of this name'.[10]
The Renswoude Foundation still exists, occupying a large building in Utrecht's inner city. In the 18th and 19th century orphans were trained at this institution. Given that Josi himself spent many years in the Foundation, he may be assumed to have been well informed as to what could be found there.[11] Saenredam's 'dessins géometriques' may have been used as part of the instruction there. Unfortunately, we no longer know any thing about them.

What has surfaced, though, are two drawings that in all likelihood are (partial) copies of some of these drawings by Saenredam; they are kept in the Centraal Museum (cat. no. 55; fig. 3) and in Het Utrechts Archief.[12] The first sheet is part of the Martens collection, from an old Utrecht family, which was bequeathed to the Centraal Museum in 1972. It is traditionally given to Jacob Constantijn Martens van Sevenhoven (1793-1861), though the reason for this attribution is not clear.[13] From left to right are the towers of the Utrecht Dom, the Rhenen St Cunerakerk and the Amersfoort Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk. Distributed along all of the lines in the drawing are countless pinholes, which may have been used for transferring the composition.
This sheet reminds us of the work of Saenredam if only in the focus on the architecture. This is reinforced by the fact that the drawing contains all sorts of indications of dimensions and, therefore, strongly resembles the artist's measurement drawings. That the measurements are in *Kennemer feet*, the unit of measurement used in Kennemerland and Haarlem – and which in Utrecht, naturally, would have been rather exceptional – makes it highly plausible that this is a copy of a now no longer known drawing (or drawings) by Saenredam.
The second drawing even presents all five towers, in addition to those of Utrecht, Amersfoort and Rhenen, also those of Montfoort and Wijk bij Duurstede.[15] Here they have not been depicted in the same order as in the drawing in the Centraal Museum, which could indicate that Saenredam's examples were separate drawings. That they are decidedly studies is evidenced by the fact that the measurements are once again meticulously indicated, though now in *Utrecht feet* (left) and *Rhineland feet* (right). Just as in the drawing in the Centraal Museum, the scales are indicated in yellow watercolour. A noteworthy feature in both cases is that the Rhenen tower is shown with its late 17th-century crowning element. Evidently in the intervening period of more than a century and a half Saenredam's drawing was either adjusted or an extra model sheet was added.[16]

In connection with the drawings of the St Cunera Tower in Rhenen and the Utrecht Dom Tower, in 1980 Kuyper indicated a possible relationship between the architect Jacob van Campen and Saenredam. He suggested that Saenredam made these drawings at Van Campen's request, as working or inspirational material for his design of the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam.[17] This hypothesis becomes particularly attractive now that it appears that Saenredam probably made a systematic study of the five towers in the province of Utrecht.
Comparing the work that Saenredam made in the city of Utrecht – a magnificent and representative selection from his drawn oeuvre – with drawings by Dutch contemporaries, including Hendrik Avercamp, Willem Buytewech, Bartholomeus Breenbergh and the young Rembrandt, Saenredam's unique position becomes apparent. His interest in figures was minimal, if not non-existent.[18] He had equally little interest in the depiction of light;

10
'On conserve dans la fondation de Renswoude à Utrecht, les dessins géometriques des tours des cinq villes dans la province de ce nom.' Josi 1821 (under Pieter Saenredam). To date, this early art-historical text has never been used in any study of the artist.
11
On Josi, see Laurentius et al. 1980, pp. 127-129. On Josi and Renswoude, see also Langenbach 1991.
12
I should like to thank Arie de Groot for bringing to my notice the drawing in Het Utrechts Archief. For this drawing, see Dekker 1997, vol. 1, p. 330, ill., and Kolman 1996.
13
On the Martens bequest, see Van Kretschmar 1978. On the drawing attributed to J. C. Martens van Sevenhoven, see Utrecht 1952, p. 239, cat. no. 620.
14
What is striking is that the two ground plan drawings of the Utrecht Dom Tower (cat. no. 56) also has various pin holes. The provenance of these two sheets, which are now in Het Utrechts Archief, is unknown. Perhaps they were also part of the group of geometric drawings formerly in the Renswoude Foundation. In Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b) both sheets are incorrectly said to have been in the collection of Jeronimus Tonneman. On the Saenredam drawings in the Tonneman collection, see note 64.
15
See note 12.
16
The towers of Amersfoort and Rhenen are virtually identical in both drawings. The tower of the Utrecht Dom is depicted somewhat more elongated in the drawing in the Centraal Museum.
17
Kuyper 1980, pp. 259-260, note 89. See also Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 195.
18
I doubt the attribution of the drawing with two large figures, *Slaughtering of a pig*, in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (see Giltaij 1990-1991, p. 90, fig. 2).

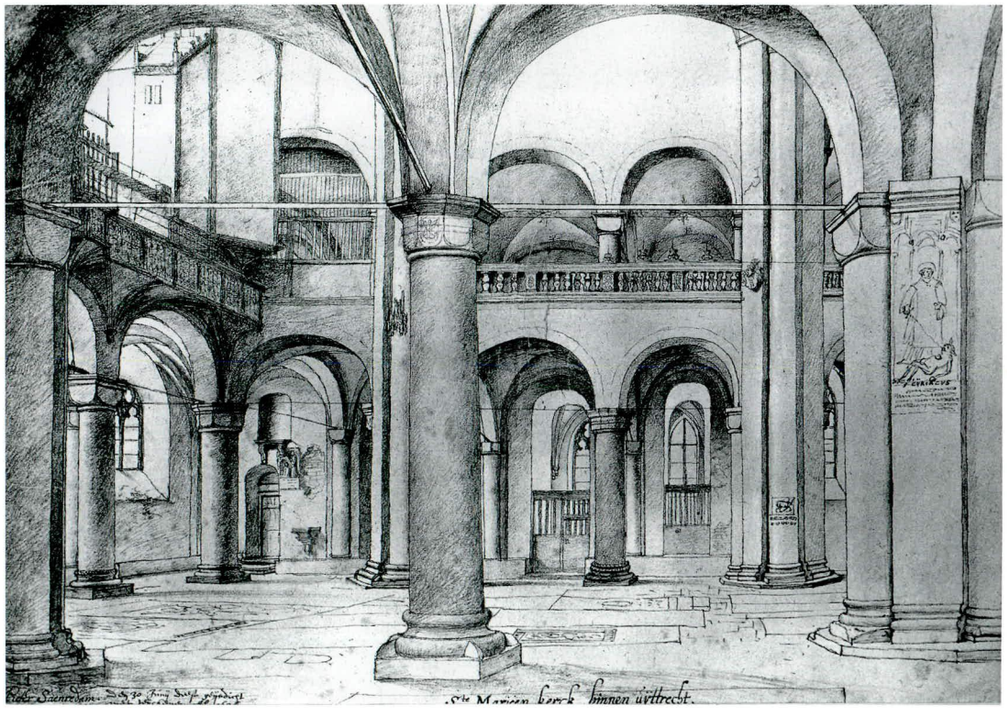


Fig. 4
Pieter Saenredam, *View through the west section of the nave of the Mariakerk from south to north* (cat. no. 11).

the illumination in his work differs from that of Breenbergh or Rembrandt in that it is always remarkably harmonious, but never without contrast. It also did not matter to him whether a drawing was unevenly finished from a technical standpoint. Certain elements were fully worked out in colour, and others not. All in all, it is quite clear that the artist was uninterested in creating an invention or making an attractive drawing for sale: his sole concern was recording the architecture.

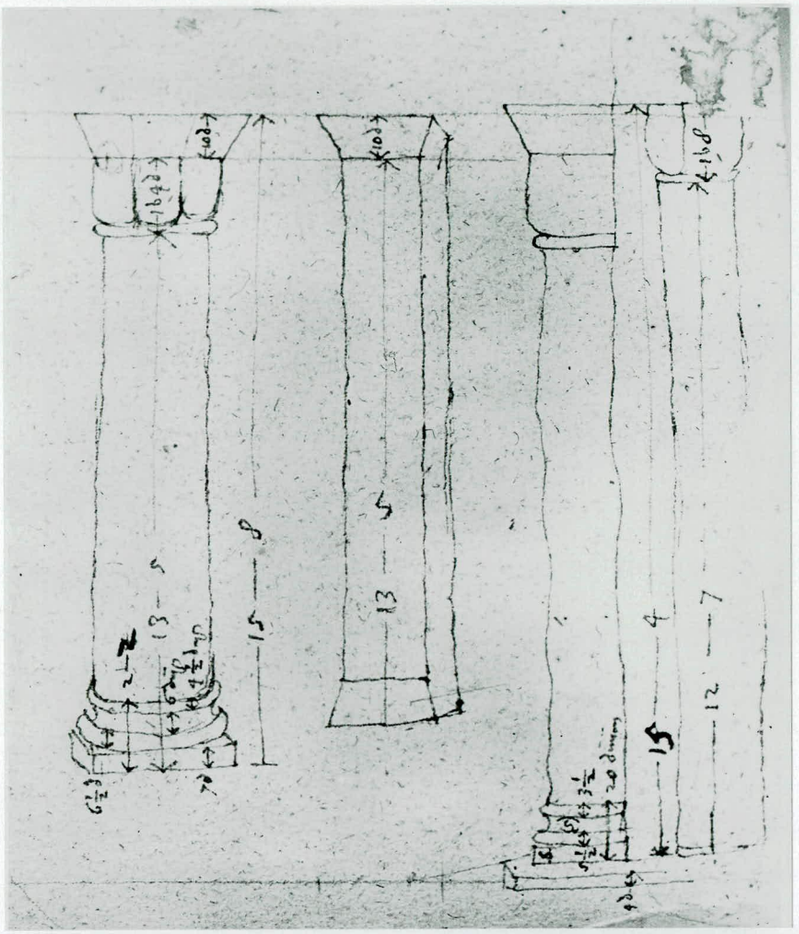
In Saenredam's studio

A good idea of Saenredam's working method can be gained by following him in the making of his painting *View through the west part of the nave of the Mariakerk* of 1638, now in Braunschweig (cat. no. 14, fig. 7), for which a large number of preparatory drawings have been preserved. Saenredam made the composition drawing (cat. no. 11, fig. 4) *in situ*, in the church itself. Subsequently he drew the close-up details (measurement drawings), both sketchily and meticulously, and he took various measurements of the architectural elements that he had included in the composition drawing (cat. no. 13a, fig. 5).
He also noted the various measurements of his ground plan in relation to the composition in question. Six months later he made the construction drawing (cat. no. 12, fig. 6); this perspectivally correct line drawing (as large as the painting to be) was made in the studio with the help of the composition drawing and the measurements. The verso of the construction drawing was prepared with black chalk and the drawing pricked onto the prepared panel – the pricks are still present in the large sheet in Het Utrechts Archief. Subsequently, Saenredam indented the most important lines thereby transferring the composition from the drawing to the panel, which then served as the basis for the painting.[19]
The making of the construction drawing was probably the most complicated and time-consuming step in this process.[20] To begin with, Saenredam had to decide just how large

19
For an extensive and precise reconstruction of Saenredam's working method, see Lammertse 1987.
20
This and the following two paragraphs rely entirely on Ruurs1988 (esp. p. 23).

Fig. 5
Pieter Saenredam, *Sketch with measurements of three (engaged) columns and a pilaster* (cat. no. 13a).

Fig. 6
Pieter Saenredam, *View through the west part of the nave of the Mariakerk from south to north* (cat. no. 12).



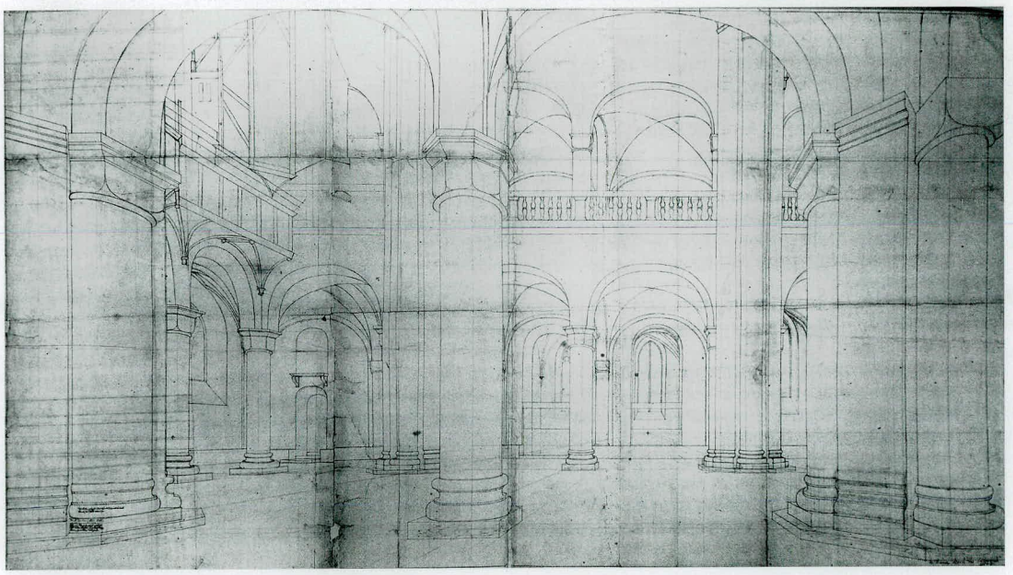




Fig. 7
Pieter Saenredam, *View through the west part of the nave of the Mariakerk from south to north* (cat. no. 14).

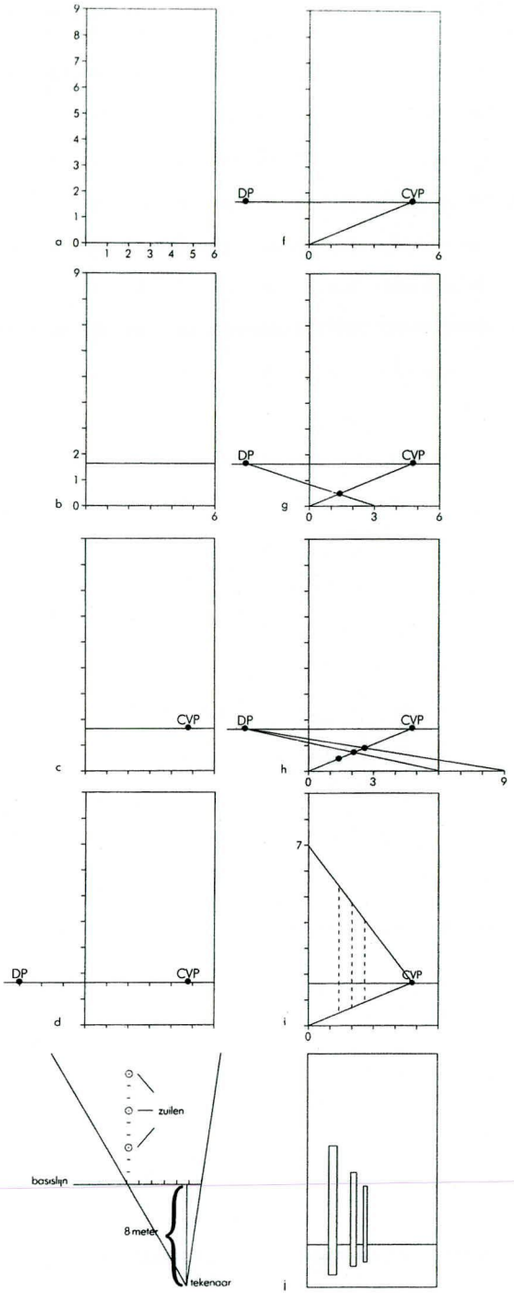
the construction drawing had to be and which part of the interior he wanted to depict. Sometimes he adopted the preliminary study virtually unaltered, more often though he selected only a part of it. Rob Ruurs has carefully unravelled the path Saenredam followed to arrive at a construction drawing. His reconstruction is followed here, and grateful use is made of a model drawing he made (fig. 8).[21]

Stage a shows us the scale. First, Saenredam determined the width of the part of the interior intersected by the bottom edge of the drawing. This could be 6 metres, for instance. The bottom edge of the drawing was divided into six equal units. Thereafter one of the vertical sides of the drawing was marked with the same calibrations.
Stage b includes the horizon. This is always at the draughtsman's eye level. Saenredam often indicated the 'eye' (an encircled dot) already in his preparatory studies.
In *stage c* the central vanishing point is added, namely the point at which all the lines, which in reality are perpendicular to the picture plane, converge. Because Saenredam frequently depicted only half of his field of vision, the central vanishing point often lay at the edge of the drawing. In stage c, in this case, he opted for the left half of the field of vision, so that the central vanishing point is on the right side.
Stage d presents the fixed 'distance point'. To determine this the draughtsman had to know the distance between the position from where he had made the preliminary study and the line represented by the bottom edge of the drawing (base line). If that was 8 metres, for instance, then the distance point was 8 metres from the central vanishing point on the horizon (at the left or right side); here, it is depicted on the left.

With these facts, it was possible to make the drawing. *Stage e* gives an example in the ground plan of a situation with three 7-metre-tall columns placed 3, 6 and 9 metres respectively behind the base line. In order to draw this situation, a line has to be drawn from point 0 in the lower left corner of the drawing to the central vanishing point (*stage f*). Subsequently, one counts off 3 metres on the lower edge of the drawing and from there draws a line to the distance point (*stage g*). At the crossing of these two lines lies the

21
Ruurs makes it plausible that Saenredam developed the method of depicting church interiors by means of careful measurement drawings together with the Haarlem surveyor and mathematician Pieter Wils (see Ruurs 1987, p. 87).

Fig. 8
Making a construction drawing. From Ruurs 1988, p. 23.



footpoint of the first column. Surprisingly enough, the scale on the lower edge is thus used not only for the perspective width, but also the perspective depth. The same procedure is used to determine the footpoints of the columns, which stand 6 and 9 metres behind the base line (*stage h*). The correct height of the columns is thus simply determined by drawing a line from point 7 at the left edge of the drawing to the central vanishing point. Finally, all of the auxiliary lines are eliminated (*stages i and j*).

Later additions

Further study of Saenredam's drawings discloses that various individuals later meddled with these works. To begin with, some of the sheets have been reduced. For instance, the *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 63) still evidences a few lines at the far right belonging to the base of a column, at the right in *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 45) can be seen a bit of an edge in red watercolour of the second door, and in two drawings of the Mariakerk the date and the signature are cut in half respectively (cat. nos. 15 and 23).[22] Other drawings, on the other hand, include additions. In the Haarlem Municipal Archives is a construction drawing with a 'signature' by the famous 19th-century architectural painter Johannes Bosboom. The colour washes on this sheet have been given to another hand since 1961, and the figures are not likely to have been drawn by Saenredam.[23] The figures in the drawing of the *View through the nave of the Buurkerk* in Het Utrechts Archief (cat. no. 37) are garbed in 18th-century attire and were certainly not added by Saenredam.[24] In short, it is clear that a share of Saenredam's drawings have not come down to us unscathed.

Before delving into this further, it is useful to understand the background of these 'adjustments'. To start with, one must realise that drawings, in contrast to paintings, were made for various purposes. For instance, a drawing could be meant as a practice study, a preparatory study for a painting, a design for a print, or as a work of art in its own right. Such various functions can be observed within the drawn oeuvre of Saenredam alone. Drawings – which in the course of the 17th century began to be collected by non-artists – served an entirely different function for collectors than for artists. Unadorned sketches, or sheets sullied with splotches of paint or drawings with frayed or curled over edges, for example, were eschewed by most collectors. These 'irregularities' had to be smoothed over. While this certainly explains most of the trimming, there is more to it than that. After all, given its material and format a drawing is relatively well suited to 'adjustments', by which is meant the addition of figures, among other things. This, too, is better understood within a historical context. We know that in the Netherlands in the 17th century collaboration on a painting was not unusual: any number of painters relegated the staffage of their paintings to a colleague. Landscapes by Jan Wijnants, Joris van der Hagen and Meijndert Hobbema include figures and animals by Nicolaes Berchem, Adriaen van de Velde and Dirck Wijntrack; architectural capriccios by Jan van der Heyden sport staffage by ohannes Lingelbach and Adriaen van de Velde; and in the church interiors by Hendrick van Steenwijck II can be descried figures by Gillis Mostaert, Frans Francken and Jan Breughel I.
In drawings this was (initially) quite different. Completing or supplementing another artist's drawing was part of workshop practice, the teaching process, like the way in which Rembrandt helped his pupils by correcting their drawings. Other forms of collaboration in drawing were rare. Quite remarkably, Saenredam was involved in just such an exception. In 1635, he appears to have worked together with Frans de Hulst on four drawings of the coats of arms of members of the Haarlem Guild of St Luke. Saenredam made the drawings (after designs by Salomon de Bray) and De Hulst coloured them.[25] Incidentally, the colouring in of *prints* was certainly not unusual in the 17th century. Wealthy collectors sometimes had entire print series and/or atlases embellished in this manner.

That draughtsmen in the 17th century did not collaborate was related to the fact that initially the market had little interest in such products. Only with the rise of collectors did this practice gain currency. Some examples can be mentioned for the second half of the 17th century: Adriaen van de Velde provided staffage for some landscape drawings by Jan Hackaert; Ludolf Bakhuizen and Jan van Kall together made a sweeping panorama

22
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 131, 175, 157 and 150.
23
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 82. The idea that the washes (and thus also the signature) were by Bosboom, as suggested by Schwartz and Bok (1990, p. 265, under no. 82), seems unlikely to me.
24
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 126.
25
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 104, 169, figs. 108-111.

of Amsterdam; and Dirk Maas was responsible for the foreground and distant background in landscapes by Jacob van Ruisdael.[26] The boundaries between collaboration and addition are often blurred. Maas introduced his addition during Ruisdael's lifetime; thus, this could have been collaboration, or in any case done with the knowledge of the other artist.[27]
Entirely different is the case of Cornelis Dusart, who made off with the work of the Van Ostade brothers. As the last pupil of Adriaen van Ostade, he inherited the contents of the workshop inventory including countless unfinished drawings, which he completed in his own fashion. He also cut sketches with separate figure studies into pieces and completed them individually. This treatment is interesting as an example of an artist elaborating the artwork of a colleague *after his demise*.[28]
The tendency to 'finish' the work of predecessors really took flight in the course of the 18th century. The coloured picture-drawing enlivened with staffage reigned supreme at the time. Paging through priced 18th-century sales catalogues it appears that collectors of the time far preferred coloured, extensively detailed drawings and ones with staffage to uncoloured sketches without figures. As a consequence, contemporary artists were asked to complete drawings that were considered 'unfinished', a practice to which Ben Broos has devoted a fascinating article.[29] Some artists were even specialised in this, for example Isaac de Moucheron, Nicolaas Verkolje and Simon Fokke. One can find many instances of 18th-century Dutch artists introducing staffage to older drawings, colouring or otherwise just amplifying them. For example, Wybrand Hendriks coloured harbour scenes by Johannes Lingelbach, Abraham de Haan 'improved' drawings by Jan van der Meer, and Dirk Dalens retouched a significant number of drawings by Jacob van Ruisdael.[30]
In the 19th century, with its cult of genius, everything an artist made became 'sacrosanct' and untouchable. At the same time there arose great interest in the sketch, the scribble, the flash of the artistic genius.[31] From then on, the possibility that drawings (the most intimate artistic expression) could be finished by another individual was inconceivable and in any case vehemently denied. This happened retroactively and applied not only to contemporary artists, but also to the old masters. This explains why mentions of 18th-century additions to 17th-century works was kept dark for so long and now comes as a great surprise to many.

To date, the earliest-known mention of a drawing by Saenredam finished by an 18th-century artist is found in the 1748 sales catalogue of the estate of Gerrit Schaak: 'The Tower and nearby houses in Rhenen by Saenredam, with staffage by J. de Moucheron'. The sheet was bought by the collector Sybrand II Feitama (1694-1758), in whose inventory the collaboration is described slightly differently: 'the foreground finished by J. de Moucheron'. This capital work, *The palace of Frederik V of the Palatinate and the St Cunerakerk, Rhenen*, is now in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam (fig. 9).[32] In the picturesque, Arcadian figures we do indeed easily recognise the hand of Isaac de Moucheron (1667-1744), but the question is whether the collaboration stops there. Feitama kept it vague and limited to the 'foreground'. Close scrutiny raises the suspicion that the bushes, the shadows playing over the wall and the washes ending just before Saenredam's inscription are also by De Moucheron. Broos even thinks – in my view correctly – that the wall behind the figures and perhaps the entire sky is also by De Moucheron. This would mean that a substantial part of this drawing is not by Saenredam. More importantly, we have to realise that he left half of the sheet white.[33]

Two other drawings by Saenredam quite likely finished by De Moucheron are *The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk* in the Teyler Museum in Haarlem (fig. 10) and the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* in Het Utrechts Archief (cat. nos. 6 and 2, respectively). Saenredam later used both sheets for paintings. In this case there is no archival source that discloses the contribution of an 18th-century artist. The suspicion arises from

26
On Van de Velde and Hackaert, see Haarlem 1997(a), p. 184, nos. 190-191. On Bakhuizen and Van Kall, see Hind 1926, vol. 3, pp. 19-20, no. 43. On Dirk Maas and Jacob van Ruisdael, see Broos 1987, p. 176.
27
Broos 1984, pp. 23-25.
28
Schnackenburg 1981.
29
Broos 1989, pp. 34-35.
30
On Hendriks, see Plomp 1993, p. 32, note 30. On De Haan and Dalens, see Broos 1989, pp. 37, 45.
31
De Bodt 1995, pp. 15 ff.
32
'De Tooren en by zynde huizen tot Rheenen door Saanredam, en gestoffeert door J. de Moucheron'; 'de voorgrond opgemaakt door J. de Moucheron'. Amsterdam 1998, p. 132, no. 285 (with a reference to the Schaak sale and the Feitama inventory).
33
Additions were also introduced in the 18th century to Saenredam's second drawing of the St Cunera Tower, now in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem (Haarlem 1997(a), p. 370, no. 421; and Amsterdam 1998, p. 132 under no. 285).



Fig. 9
Pieter Saenredam and Isaac de Moucheron, *The palace of Frederik V of the Palatinate and the St Cunerakerk in Rhenen*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet.

stylistic considerations. Moreover, in the Haarlem drawing, the staffage is cleverly derived from another work of art. The little figures in this sheet have been the subject of discussion since 1954.[34] They are not congruent with the surrounding architecture – the foremost are too small, those in the back too large. Curiously enough – with the exception of the boys in the middle – they agree entirely with a print by Jan van de Velde II (1593-1641) after a (no longer known) design by Pieter Saenredam from 1627-1628 (fig. 11).[35] The staffagist simply took them over from this print (sometimes in reverse), without understanding that the distances between the figures in the print and the drawing were not identical. He may have selected this particular print for the sake of correct costuming.
In my view the staffage was provided by Isaac de Moucheron. The little boy with folded arms in the middle recalls figures in his work and the two trees at the right – lacking in Saenredam's final painting – closely resemble those by De Moucheron.[36] With their beautifully shaped branches and lush foliage, these trees are unusual for Saenredam.[37] The only comparable tree in my view is found in the drawing of the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 2), which I think was also finished by De Moucheron. Typical 'Saenredam trees' occur in the painting in Rotterdam (cat. no. 7), for which the drawing in the Teyler Museum (cat. no. 6) was the preparatory study. With all due respect, they look like a ball on a stick. Finally, the difference in colour between, for example,

34
In that year, Gudlaugsson wrote an article on Pieter Post as a staffagist for paintings by Saenredam and attributed these figures to Post (Gudlaugsson 1954). This is convincing neither for the paintings nor the drawing.
35
Hollstein 1949-, vol. XXXIII (1989), p. 136, no. 421; vol. XXXIV (1989), p. 226, ill.
36
See, for instance, Paris/Amsterdam 1990, no. 45, ill.
37
Incidentally, it is not impossible that the initial lay-in of the two trees at the right was drawn by Saenredam.



Fig. 10
Pieter Saenredam (and Isaac de Moucheron), *The Mariaplaats and Mariakerk seen from the west* (cat. no. 6).

the roof of the Dom in the drawing (light blue) and the roof in the painting (green-grey) could indicate that De Moucheron added more than the figures and the two trees. Just like in *The palace of Frederik V of the Palatinate and the St Cunerakerk, Rhenen* it is difficult to determine what the 'division of labour' was, which naturally was the intention of the later 18th-century artist. I think it quite plausible that in this drawing, too, Saenredam left large empty areas.[38] In the case of the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 2) De Moucheron's contribution is probably far more limited. Along with the two trees at the left, he may have only added the two little men and the dog. They alone have underdrawing in graphite and are missing in the final painting.

Two examples of church interiors by Saenredam enlivened by 18th-century draughtsmen are the *View through the transept of the Mariakerk* in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and *The nave and choir of the St Janskerk* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (cat. nos. 19, 58).[39] For the sheet of the Mariakerk we have an 18th-century source. It figures in the 1784 sales catalogue of the estate of the artist Simon Fokke as: 'The Mariakerk in Utrecht from the inside; in pen on blue paper and here and there coloured, by P. Saanredam 1636, and with staffage by S. Fokke.' Knowing this, one can easily discern that the figures were a later addition, their contours having been drawn over the architecture lines. It is easy to say this in hindsight: no one doubted their authenticity until 1989.[40] The two figures in the drawing in Hamburg are so minuscule that they completely disturb the integrity of the scale of the interior. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that they are by Saenredam.[41]

The intervention in these two Utrecht interior drawings is minimal compared to what in all probability befell an entire group of construction drawings by Saenredam. Of one of these, the *View through the nave of the Buurkerk* (cat. no. 37), it was already noted above that the figures wear 18th-century clothing and are therefore thought to be later in date (along with the washes).[42] This is also probably the case for a group of twelve sheets, all of Haarlem church interiors. Here little of Saenredam's limited though essential line drawing can still be

38
The façade of the church, for example, was only drawn in part by Saenredam. Nothing of the rose window is found 'under' the tree. In keeping with his usual working manner he suppressed just that which he had earlier drawn extensively, and he had very precisely limned the façade just two weeks earlier (see cat. no. 4).

39
I find it difficult to judge whether the figure in *The south aisle of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 23) may have been added later; both the black chalk hatching and the pen lines are visible 'under' the figure, but the figure seems to fit in well stylistically with the rest of the drawing. A drawing where the later additions are, unfortunately, very clear is *The nave of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 8). The original pen lines (including the vanishing point) are hardly visible anymore under the heavy washes that were applied later. The organ can barely be recognised as such and some of the consoles and crowning elements are almost completely abraded, again due to the heavy washes. In my view, only the floor of the church in this drawing reflects the state intended by Saenredam. Probably, the yellow and red washes (on the three free-standing columns at the left and the bands below the columns) are original. Yet they have suffered nonetheless, because they were probably later covered with grey watercolour.

40
'De Maryekerk te Utrecht van binnen; met de pen op blaauw Papier en hier en daar gekleurd, door P. Saanredam 1636, en gestoffeerd, door S. Fokke.' Cited from Broos 1989, pp. 47-48.

41
Curiously enough, Schaar suggests that all of the watercolour in the sheet in Hamburg was added later (see Hamburg 1994-1995, p. 180, no. 107).

42
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 126. In the other construction drawing of the Buurkerk (Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 125) no figures can clearly be identified as 18th century. However, given that the technique (and the provenance) of the two sheets is the same, I assume that the additions were made to both of them by the same artist at the same time.

discerned. In 1987, Rob Ruurs wrote that he suspected that the washes and the watercolour were not by Saenredam himself, but later additions intended to enhance the drawings' commercial value.[43] His comments stopped there, and curiously no one has addressed the issue since. The drawings in question are a set of watercolours with figure groups, quite different in character to the fundamental construction drawings.[44] A host of details clamours for our attention in these sheets, more so with some than others. Greater emphasis is placed on the illumination than is usual in Saenredam's work. And, for Saenredam, the little figures are particularly emphatic. Evidently the author of these figures was seldom satisfied with his staffage, as appears from the countless *pentimenti*. In one instance a figure group is virtually repeated. Compared with the staffage in Saenredam's paintings, the figures in a number of these drawings are dressed in old-fashioned clothing. Moreover, in one case the colours in the drawing deviate radically from those in the painting.[45] Finally, a curious alteration in the architecture can be observed in the drawing of the *View of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* (fig. 12). A difference in level is created between the chapel and the rest of the church. This is unlike Saenredam's composition drawing and his painting.[46]
However, it is not only these inconsistencies that make it virtually impossible to consider these drawings as entirely autograph Saenredams. The working method, or process, is also difficult to imagine. Saenredam had already drawn the church in question (or corner of it) and that sheet was present in his collection (see below). Why would he have repeated the composition other than pragmatically as preparation for the painting? Or must we now believe that it was meant for sale? If so, why not sign it? Why now (superficially seen) more attention lavished on the finish by entirely watercolouring the sheets, but with significantly less quality. In short, these sheets in this execution have no place in the oeuvre of the master and one strongly suspects that here, too, a second artist must have been at work. Fortunately, only relatively few drawings by Saenredam were so rigorously tackled by a later generation as these construction drawings.



Fig. 11
Jan van de Velde II (after Pieter Saenredam), *The town hall of Haarlem*. Haarlem, Municipal Archives.

43
Ruurs 1987, p. 103, note 73.
44
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 51, 54, 37, 60, 61, 40, 42, 48, 45, 76, 73, 82.
45
Virtually the same figure group is found in two drawings of the St Bavokerk, Haarlem (Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 40 and 48). The colours of the *View of the St Bavokerk from the southern choir aisle* deviates significantly from the painting in Warsaw (see Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 35 and 37). In the drawing, for instance, the vaults are pink, the organ has blue bands, and the bases of the columns are brownish-pink; this does not agree with the painting. (For a colour reproduction of this drawing, see Goldner and Hendrix 1992, p. 13, and for a colour reproduction of the Warsaw painting, see Schwartz and Bok 1990, fig. 123).
46
Van Regteren Altena, [de Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 46-48.

Fig. 12
Pieter Saenredam (and an anonymous artist), *Interior seen from the Christmas Chapel of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem.* Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett.



Saenredam's collection of paper art

By far the majority of the drawings that Saenredam made in Utrecht and elsewhere were later used for his paintings, even when months intervened. His drawings served as an important source of documentary material and even more as working capital. We may assume that he took good care of them and perhaps they had a special place in his own collection of prints and drawings.[47]
Four years after the artist's death an advertisement appeared in the *Haerlemsche Courant* of 28 March 1669 announcing the sale of Pieter Saenredam's collection of paintings, drawings and prints. The prints and drawings were presented as being 'Beautiful prints by many different masters, both Italian and German, and many drawings by Marten van Heemskerck and J. J. Guldewagen and others, made by them from life done in Italy and elsewhere'.[48] Saenredam's collection of prints and drawings, however, the sale of which lasted two days, must have been far larger and more differentiated than this brief notice would lead us to believe.
Van Regteren Altena has demonstrated that the 'many drawings by Marten van Heemskerck [...] from life done in Italy and elsewhere' must be the drawings done in Rome by Saenredam's fellow townsman Van Heemskerck, now kept in Berlin. This remarkable group of drawings came to Saenredam via Cornelis van Haarlem and his son-in-law Pieter Begijn.[49]

47
On Saenredam's collection of prints and drawings, see Van Regteren Altena 1931, pp. 6-8; and Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 184-187. On Saenredam's collection of books, see Van Selm 1988.
48
'schone prenten van veelderley meesters, so Italiaensche als Duitsche en vele teekeningen van Marten van Heemskerck en J.J. Guldewagen en andere, van haer, na 't leven, in Italien als anders gedaen'. Cited from Van Regteren Altena 1931, p. 7. For the information of the advertisement and auction in question, see Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 181. See also Van der Willigen 1870, pp. 138-139.
49
Van Regteren Altena 1931, pp. 1 ff.; Veldman 1977; Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 185.



Fig. 13
Frans Floris, *The martyrdom of St John*.
Brussels, Museum voor Schone Kunsten,
(De Grez collection).

Van Regteren Altena also mentioned a fascinating album, the table of contents and provenance of which were written up by Saenredam himself. The album came into his possession after first belonging to the collection of Jacob Jansz. Guldewagen and his son Jan Jacobsz. Guldewagen (named in the advertisement cited above), both well-to-do landscape painters in Haarlem.[50] Unfortunately, this album was dismantled and dispersed in 1874. The accompanying sales catalogue though makes it very clear that it contained a selection of 15th and 16th-century Dutch and German drawings: 21 masters are mentioned, including Hans Bol, Frans Floris, Jacques de Gheyn, Hendrick Goltzius and Jan van Scorel, and there were drawings by German artists, such as Heinrich Altdorfer, Hans Holbein, Martin Schongauer and Michael Wolgemut.[51] The drawings are so precisely described that they can often be identified: for instance, Bol's *Castle garden* (Berlin), Bril's *Forest landscape* (Weimar), Coornhert's *Crucifixion* (Brussels), Floris' *The martyrdom of St John* (Brussels) (fig. 13), Goltzius' *Marriage of St Catherine* (Haarlem) and Heemskerck's four-sheet *Story of Jonah* (Oxford and Boston among others).[52] All the way at the back of the 1874 sales catalogue one finds 'The album of Pieter Saenredam, of vellum, gilded, embossed, decorated on the front with a globe in an ornamental border, in folio'.[52a]
Saenredam acquired other albums of drawings from the widow of the Haarlem glass-painter Claes Abrahamsz. van Chijsbergen. Part of this material 'bound in various volumes' contained drawings and curiosities all having to do with the Grote Kerk in Haarlem. There was also an album with drawings by 'Various masters, including architecture after the antique as well as more things done by Heemskerck, David Jorisz., Lucas van Leyden, Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Willem Tijboudt, and others'.[53]
In short, Saenredam was able to acquire albums with drawings and prints from the collections and estates of various Haarlem colleagues. His own collection must surely have boasted hundreds of sheets and clearly reflects his love of architecture and documentation.

50
Van Regteren Altena 1931, pp. 7 ff.
51
Sales catalogue A. van der Willigen and A. van der Willigen Pz., The Hague (De Visser), 10-11 June 1874, Avant-propos. See also Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 186.
52
Sales catalogue A. van der Willigen and A. van der Willigen Pz., The Hague (De Visser), 10-11 June 1874, nos. 44, 55, 65, 91, 100, 111. On the drawing by Bol, see Franz 1965, p. 61, no. 77, ill. On the drawing by Bril, see Wood Ruby 1999, p. 83, no. 18, ill. On the drawing by Coornhert, see *Inventaire des dessins et aquarelles donnés à l'état Belge par Madame la douairière de Grez*, Brussels 1913, no. 936; on the drawing by Floris, see idem, no. 3940. Goltzius' drawing is discussed in Van Regteren Altena 1931, p. 8, and Reznicek 1961, p. 259, no. 75, ill. For one of the drawings by Heemskerck (with reference to the remaining sheets), see New Brunswick/ Cleveland 1982-1983, p. 120, no. 48, ill.
52a
'L'album de Pieter Saenredam, en vélin, doré, fil., décoré, sur le plat, de la sphère, dans une bordure d'ornemens, in-fol.'
53
'gebonden in verscheidenen banden'; 'Verscheijden Meesters, soo Bou-konst naer de Antijcque, als noch meer andere dinghen, ghedaen van Heems-kerck, Davidt Joris, oock Lucas, Geertje van St. Jan, Willem Tijboudt, en andere'. Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 186.

The Rome drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck, the drawings and curiosities related to Haarlem's Grote Kerk and the drawings of 'architecture after the antique' leave no room for doubt to this effect. Ample attention has been devoted to this relationship by both Van Regteren Altena, and Schwartz and Bok.
What has received less consideration is Saenredam's interest in German art. He owned work by eight German draughtsmen from the 15th and 16th century: Aldegrever, Altdorfer, Beham, Holbein, Hans Schäufelein, Schongauer, Christoph Schwarz and Wolgemut. The sale advertisement of 1669 mentions 'German prints' – presumably also 15th and 16th-century work. Several 16th-century German artists were involved with architectural depictions.[54] Wolf Huber, Albrecht Altdorfer, Daniel Hopfer and Michael Ostendorfer produced prints and drawings of various church interiors and exteriors, some of which display a startling resemblance to the work of the Haarlem artist active a century later.[55] This possible source of inspiration for Saenredam deserves further study.

Most likely Saenredam's own drawings were part of his collection of paper art. Interesting in this respect is a hitherto unidentified numbering system on the versos of his drawings. It appears that all of Saenredam's more detailed chalk and watercolour drawings bear a number in the lower left corner of the verso, usually written in pen and brown ink, though sometimes in graphite. Unfortunately, quite a number of drawings were reduced or laid down so that the numbers can no longer be recovered. The lowest known number is 950 and occurs on the back of a drawing with a motif from 's-Hertogenbosch, while the highest, 1009, is on a drawing of the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem (fig. 14). For a list ordered according to number, see page 70.

In researching this essay, not all of Saenredam's drawings could be checked for these numbers. A more extensive investigation will undoubtedly amplify this list. The following observations are therefore forwarded with due caution.
It is surprising that neither the construction drawings nor the measurement drawings appear to be numbered. Further, it would seem that chiefly the interior views received a number. In any case, no numbers have yet been found on the exteriors. In a very few cases this list could refer to more drawings by Saenredam than we now know of. For instance, a hiatus in the numbering for the Buurkerk is evident. Fitting in well here would be the third, now missing, sheet, of a large view of the nave in an easterly or westerly direction. In the case of the St Pieterskerk, there may have been four sheets, hence one more than is now known. On the other hand, the numbering may be entirely correct and there are three drawings each for the Buurkerk, the St Catharinakerk, the St Pieterskerk and the St Janskerk. The list as it is now reconstructed allows for 29 Utrecht drawings, nos. 956-984. Given the hiatuses in the numbering, there may have been a few more at the beginning and end of the Utrecht section. Should, indeed, only the interiors have been furnished with a number, then relatively few drawings have been lost since the moment of the numbering and the present. After all, at this time we know of 27 interiors.

It is highly tempting to assume that Saenredam was responsible for this numbering. Is he not precisely the artist from whom we would expect such a systematic approach? Given the modern handwriting of the numbers they were not written by him, but applied later. They could have been transferred from an older source, such as a mount, album or inventory. This could have been done by a family member in the beginning of the 18th century. Alternatively, the numbering could have been introduced by a collector or a dealer between 1732, the year when Saenredam's descendants possibly began selling his artistic legacy, and 1754, the year in which a large group of Saenredam drawings is first encountered in the collection of someone other than a family member. Even so, the sequence of the sheets could very well be Saenredam's (or one of his descendants).

54
Liedtke 1982, p. 38, 55; Ruurs 1987, p. 101.
55
On prints of church interiors by Altdorfer, see Hollstein 1954-, vol. I, pp. 212-213, nos. 82-83; and a church interior by Ostendorfer: idem, vol. XXX (1991), pp. 162-164, no. 7. On a drawn church interior by Huber, see Paris/Hamburg 1985-1986, no. 17. Several early Flemish prints display a likeness with Saenredam's work, including the engraving of a *Gothic church interior* by Master W with the Key, see Hollstein 1949-, vol. XII, p. 240, and *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 1987, pp. 111-112, fig. 8.



Fig. 14
Pieter Saenredam, *View through the nave of the Buurkerk from south to north* (cat. no. 33). Detail of the verso with number at lower left.

Drawings numbered on the versos

		cat. 1961	*cat.no.*
950	's-Hertogenbosch, window ('s-Hertogenbosch)	oeuvre 101	
951	Rhenen, Interior St Cunera (Paris)	oeuvre 109	
952	Rhenen, Interior St Cunera (RPK)	oeuvre 106	
956	Buurkerk (HUA)	2/8	33
957?	Buurkerk (HUA)	16/8	38
960	St Catharinakerk (HUA)	20/10	65
962	St Pieterskerk (HUA)	27/8	47
963	St Pieterskerk (HUA)	22/8	45
964	St Pieterskerk (HUA)	28/8	49
965	St Janskerk (Hamburg)	15/9	58
966	St Janskerk (HUA)	7/10	62
967	St Janskerk (BvB)	6/10	60
969?	St Jacobskerk (BvB)	14/8	44
970	St Jacobskerk (HUA)	12/8	42
974	Mariakerk (BvB)	7/7	19
976	Mariakerk (HUA)	25/7	27
978	Mariakerk (Edinburgh)	9/7	21
979	Mariakerk (Paris)	3/7	17
981	Mariakerk (HUA)	no date	15
982	Mariakerk (HUA)	30/6	11
983	Dom (HUA)	15/9	51
984	Dom (HUA)	3/9	50
987	Haarlem, Grote Kerk (Brussels)	oeuvre 189	
990	Haarlem, Grote Kerk (HMA)	oeuvre 36	
992	Haarlem, Grote Kerk (HMA)	oeuvre 59	
993	Haarlem, Grote Kerk (HMA)	oeuvre 44	
998	Alkmaar, Tomb of Count Floris V (Paris)	oeuvre 7	
1003	Haarlem, Nieuwe Kerk (RPK)	oeuvre 77	
1009	Haarlem, Nieuwe Kerk (HMA)	oeuvre 83	

RPK: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet; HUA: Het Utrechts Archief; BvB: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; HMA: Haarlem Municipal Archives[56]

56
Given that the drawings are not arranged chronologically, the numbering – if indeed it is by the artist himself – must have been added at a late stage, at the end of Saenredam's life.

Assuming that the numbering (indirectly) is Saenredam's,[57] some additional comments – sheer speculation, really – can be made. The numbering could have indicated the place of the drawings within his collection. The relatively high numbers suggest that he 'concluded' his collection with his own work. This would mean that all of the drawings in his collection were numbered. That the remaining drawings were not numbered insofar as we know, does not undermine this conjecture.[58] These numbers, as suggested for Saenredam's own drawings, could have been on the mount or album page. If this hypothesis is correct, the artist owned over a thousand drawings.
While not negligible, this was not a particularly exceptional amount at the time. Colleagues such as Cornelis van Haarlem, Rembrandt and Jan van de Cappelle had collections of graphic art comparable or even larger in size. Equally unexceptional was Saenredam's wish to have his work stay together after his death, in all probability in the hope that a later generation could profit from it. Comparable examples include Frans Pourbus, Peter Paul Rubens and the Ter Borch family.[59] Surely in keeping with Saenredam's testamentary dispositions, his drawings remained in the family until the 1730s.

The dispersion

In 1663, Saenredam's only child and sole heir, Anna (1639-1701), married Maerten Vermeulen (1638-1699), a wine merchant and dignitary of Haarlem. Of their children, two reached adulthood: Pieter (1667-1719) and Paulus (1675-1728). Paulus is the first about whom we hear something concerning Saenredam's collection of paper art, and this via the Haarlem artist and book merchant Isaac van der Vinne. Around 1723, he wrote: 'This Vermeulen also had very many drawings by his grandfather [Pieter] Saenredam, as well as prints by Jan Saenredam, a famous engraver, his uncle [sic], possibly including the latter's entire production of prints. The other prints owned by Vermeulen are by Matham and Hendrik Goltzius: they are mounted in two or three large books, and he does not want to sell even a single piece. [...] it seems that according to a certain testamentary disposition, the books must remain in the family, intact, without anything being removed or divided.'[60] That the family respected the testament is clear from the fact that a collector desirous of buying a special book with prints by Hendrick Goltzius was told that: 'it may not be sold, it must remain in the family, it belonged to my grandfather.'[61]
Clearly all of this concerns the artistic estate of Pieter Saenredam and related material. The artist, we may assume, had determined that his work would stay together in a traditional way, namely by means of the terms of a will. And so it was, in fact, until the 1730s. However, as we do not have the will, we do not know whether or not this was actually so determined (for instance, until the third generation), or whether after 70 years the family did not take matters quite so literally. Whatever the case may be, after the death of Paulus' wife Wijnanda Elout in September 1732, the drawings came under the hammer.[62]

Perhaps the Vermeulens initially sold the drawings individually. This impression arises from the fact that the first two individual sheets appear in two separate auctions. These coloured drawings, both depicting *The palace of Frederik V of the Palatinate and the St Cunerakerk, Rhenen*, are kept in Haarlem and Amsterdam, respectively. The sheet in Haarlem figured in the sale of the estate of Abraham Rademaker in 1735; while the sheet in Amsterdam (see fig. 9) appeared in the sale of the estate of Gerrit Schaak in 1748.[63]
The Vermeulens probably quite soon also began disposing of entire groups of drawings. In the sales catalogues of the collections of Jeronimus Tonneman, Bernardus Hagelis and Johannes Enschedé, in 1754, 1762 and 1786 respectively, are found substantial numbers of Saenredam drawings. Hagelis' 11 sheets were only summarily described. Enschedé's 18 concerned virtually only Haarlem material. In his group, Tonneman had 17 Saenredam

57
With thanks to Hans Buys (Frits Lugt collection, Paris), Stefan Hautekeete (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, De Grez collection, Brussels), Hanna Hohl (Hamburger Kunsthalle), Paul Huys Janssen (Noordbrabants museum, 's-Hertogenbosch) and Frans Tames (Municipal Archives, Haarlem), who assisted me in looking at the Saenredam drawings, or informing me of the numbers on the versos.
58
With thanks to Stefan Hautekeete (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, De Grez collection, Brussels) and Tom Rassieur (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), who kindly checked the versos of the drawings by Coornhert, Floris and Heemskerck (see note 52).
59
Held 1963, p. 74. See McNeil Kettering 1988, part V, 1, p. xxix.
60
'Deze Vermeulen heeft ook zeer veele teekeningen van zyn grootvader [Pieter] Saenredam, alsmede prenten van Jan Saenredam, een beroemd graveur, zyn oom [sic], en mogelyk wel al de prenten die deze gemaakt heeft. De overige prenten, die Vermeulen bezit zyn van Matham en Hendrik Goltzius; zy leggen in 2 a 3 groote boeken, en hy wil daar niet een stuk van verkoopen. [...] het schynt, dat zy, volgens zekere testamentaire dispositie, zoo in hun geheel onder de familie moeten blyven, zonder iets daarvan te mogen vervreemden of verdeelen.' See Kramm 1857-1864, Supplement, p. 67.
61
'het mag niet verkogt worden, het moet in de familie blyven, het komt van myn grootvader.' Ibid.
62
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 240.
63
For both drawings, see note 33. Should these two drawings have been made for Jacob van Campen (see p. 57), then they (along with the other drawings of towers) were probably never part of Saenredam's collection.

drawings, 10 of which were Utrecht sheets. At his sale, various drawings were bought by the city of Utrecht, including the interior of the Dom on blue paper, the coloured interiors on white paper of the St Pieterskerk, the St Jacobskerk and the St Catharinakerk, and finally the remarkable sheet of the Dom and the town hall (cat. nos. 51, 45, 41, 63, 57 respectively). With this was laid the foundation of the municipal collection of Utrecht, from which would arise Het Utrechts Archief and the Centraal Museum.[64] After the Enschedé sale in 1786 we come across two more large groups of Saenredam drawings, owned by the Amsterdam collectors Hendrik Busserus (19 works) and Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (at least 16 works), but these no longer came from a single source.[65]

With thanks to Jo Jamar, Erik Tigelaar and Tolien Wilmer of Het Utrechts Archief, who received me with hospitality and allowed me to study the drawings by Pieter Saenredam on a number of occasions. It was particularly instructive to look at the drawings in this archive under the microscope together with J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer (12 October 1999). Charles Dumas and Erik Löfler at the Department of Drawings at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie were ever prepared to provide information not easily obtainable abroad, as was A. F. E. Kipp of the Utrecht Municipal Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings. Finally, I am grateful to George R. Goldner, Head of the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, who afforded me the opportunity to work on this project.

64
Because the sales catalogue of the Tonneman estate frequently describes the technique and gives the measurements of the sheets, the drawings are easily identified. The dealer Hendrik de Winter acquired the drawings (in album E nos. 16, 17, 18, 22 and in album L no. 71) for the city of Utrecht; his name is given as the buyer of these drawings in the annotated sales catalogue found in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague). See the sales catalogue H. de Leth, Amsterdam, 21 October 1754 (coll. J. Tonneman), E9-10 Coloured church interiors; E11 Church glass in the St Pieterskerk; E12 Interior of the Grote Kerk Haarlem; E13 Interior of the Grote Kerk Alkmaar; E15 Interior of the St Maartenskerk; E16 Ditto on blue paper; E17 Ditto St Pieterskerk; E18 Ditto St Jacobskerk; E19 Interior view of the Mariakerk; E20 Ditto St Janskerk; E21 Ditto Buurkerk; E22 Ditto St Catharinakerk; E24 Self-portrait Jacob van Campen (black chalk); E25 Portrait of Saenredam by Jacob van Campen (no technique mentioned); E26 Anonymous, Saenredam's coat of arms; L71 Dom and town hall; L72 Mariakerk and the Dom; L73 Ditto; M65 Orter Monastery 's-Hertogenbosch .

65
Sales catalogue H. Busserus, Amsterdam, 21 October 1782 (van der Schley ... Maarszen), nos. 147, 243, 272, 540 (2 items), 773, 1110, 1694, 2612, second sale nos. 384, 452, 452 (7 items), 453. Sales catalogue C. Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, 3 March 1800 (van der Schley ... Roos), E8, E9, E10, H4, K22, K23, L57, L58, R25, R26, R27, S24, X39, TT35, YY1, RR (unclear).

Fig. 1
Emanuel de Witte, *Interior of a Protestant Gothic church with motifs from the Oude and the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam* (detail). Canvas, 122 x 104 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Space, Light and Stillness
A description of Saenredam's painting technique

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The Royal Collection Trust
London

A grave is opened. Spades and tools, dug-up earth and bones lie scattered around while dogs are playing in the foreground. A gravedigger is talking to a couple of gentlemen. People are standing about. Light coming through the windows catches numerous objects. The viewer's eye dances over the surface of the painting; so much seems to be going on...

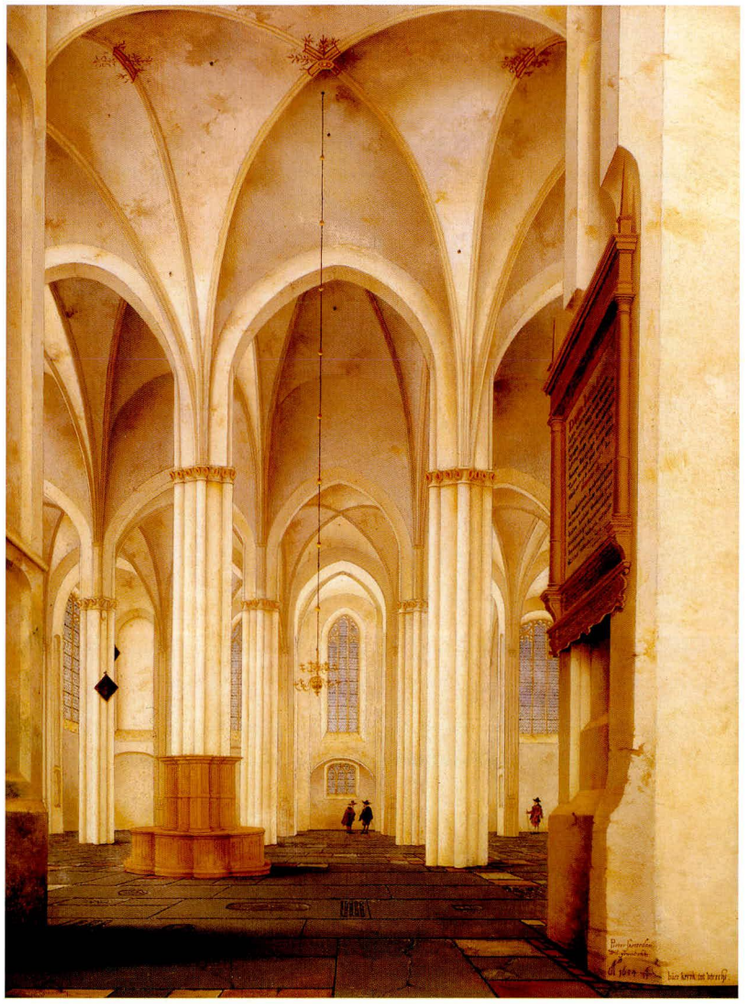
This description of a painting by one of Pieter Saenredam's contemporaries and followers, Emanuel de Witte, seems a likely scene set in a 17th-century church in a city struck by the plague (see detail, fig. 1).[1]
Yet... when we look at Saenredam's work, not only from his Utrecht period but throughout his career, it is the serene atmosphere and stillness of the churches he portrays that is so striking. Subtle colours, luminosity and calmness conveyed by large shapes of whitewashed walls and softly rounded piers and arches form the setting of these actually existing churches. People walk around solely to emphasise the scale and add to the spirituality and stillness of these sensitively painted interiors (fig. 2).
Saenredam's paintings show a delicate and well considered build-up, from the ground and the underdrawing to the subsequent paint layers, where the subtlety of colours, the forms and the brushwork all play an interactive role in the final appearance of his work.
For Saenredam the underlying layers are an integral part in the final hue and tonality of a given paint passage.

Past exhibitions have afforded great opportunities for examining, comparing and encouraging the study of Saenredam's art and working procedure.[2] As a forerunner to the Utrecht Saenredam exhibition, the Saenredam Symposium held in Utrecht in 1998 also provided new opportunities for further research.[3] Paintings in need of conservation treatment or being lent to this exhibition were examined technically whereby new questions were raised. Most studies in the past have concentrated on the construction aspects of



1
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 154 (note 43) for information on the plague in this period.
2
See Ruurs 1980, 1982, 1983, 2000 on Saenredam's construction methods. Research into Saenredam's underdrawing has been extensive, see: Van Asperen de Boer 1971; Lammertse 1987; Kemp 1984, Rotterdam 1991; and Giltaij 2000. The Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague houses all of Van Asperen de Boer's infrared reflectography research, not all of which has been published, but can be viewed on digital imaging.
3
Saenredam in Utrecht Symposium, organised by the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, 7-8 May 1998.

Fig. 2
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave of the Buurkerk from south to north* (cat. no. 36).



Saenredam's working process and the connection between his drawings and the final underdrawing. Little data has been published on the composition and build-up of Saenredam's paint layers. Following a brief overview of past and recent research on the construction side of Saenredam's art, this essay will focus on the artist's painting technique, incorporating the results of the 1998 Symposium along with old and new findings.

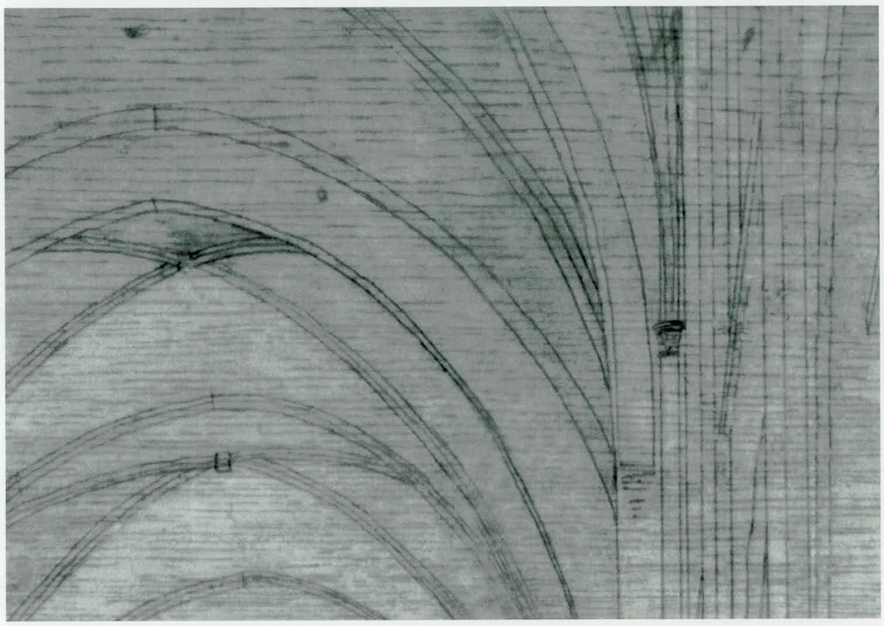


Fig. 3
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64, detail).
The infrared reflectogram assembly of the central vault discloses the characteristic underdrawing of straight lines drawn with a ruler and freehand arches.

From sketching to painting

Construction drawings, perspective lines and grid patterns
Saenredam often painted his churches years later in his studio, using the sketches and drawings he had made *in situ* as a starting point. He usually worked these up into larger construction drawings or he used perspective lines and grid patterns as a means of en larging smaller sketches and drawings.

Indented lines can be detected in numerous paintings, caused by the sharp instrument Saenredam used to transfer the construction drawing onto the panel. In 1971 Van Asperen de Boer found the evidence of such a transfer in the painting of the *St Odulphuskerk in Assendelft* of 1649 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). The existing construction drawing also showed indented lines on the front. Many other examples have since been found, such as in *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64) and in the *View through the transept of the St Cunerakerk in Rhenen,* of 1655 (The Hague, Mauritshuis), to name a few.[4] Infrared examination of all these paintings discloses a characteristic underdrawing of straight lines drawn along a ruler and arches done freehand, with none or very few changes and no perspective lines (fig. 3).

In a number of works Saenredam seems to have used a grid for the painting. In such cases, the paintings often appear to be based on the initial freehand drawing, as neither a construction drawing exists nor is there evidence of there ever having been one. In some paintings, however, grids have been found for more complicated details, such as in *The nave and choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* of 1648, where the artist used both a grid and a construction drawing.[5] The earliest painting in which Saenredam used a grid pattern appears to be *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk* of 1641 (cat. no. 22). A square grid was disclosed in 1971 by Van Asperen de Boer, who was using the first infrared vidicon system; the results were published by Lammertse in 1987.[6] In the painting of the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* of 1659 (cat. no. 3), recent infrared examination revealed a grid all over the surface with a pattern of 2.5 cm^2 (fig. 4). Perspective lines

4
See for instance Van Asperen de Boer 1971, pp. 25-31 and Van Heemstra 2000, p. 96. Although there are no extant construction drawings for either painting, the evidence suggests that they once existed and have since been lost.
5
Kemp 1984, pp. 30-37.
6
Lammertse 1987, pp. 84-85.

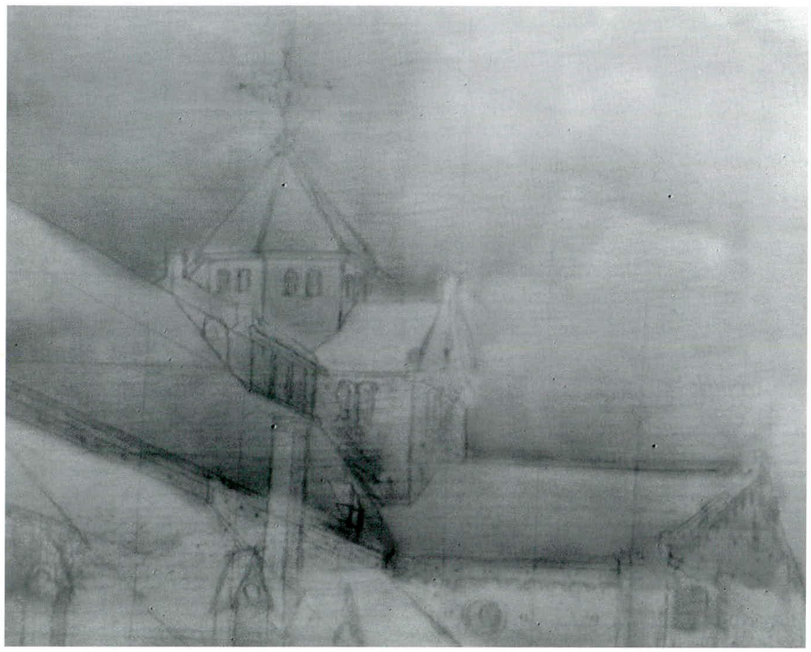


Fig. 4
Pieter Saenredam, *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk from the northeast* (cat. no. 3). Infrared reflectogram assembly (detail) of the squaring grid.
© Prof. Dr. J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer/ Stichting RKD.

converge to a single vanishing point. Although one would have expected a pinhole in the place of the vanishing point, none was found in this painting. It may be covered by the thicker paint layer of the trees.[7] In the painting of the same subject of 1662 (cat. no. 7), a vanishing point was found as a dark mark beneath the window of the house situated at the far left. In this painting, too, a grid pattern was found of 5 cm^2, which is visible to the naked eye under the painting of the rose window. The grid does not extend over the entire surface as it does in catalogue number 3, though, and Saenredam probably used the vanishing point as an alternative aid in establishing the composition. The *West façade of the Mariakerk* of 1662 (cat. no. 5) shows a grid pattern of 8 cm^2, which is also visible to the naked eye.

The *View from the aisle of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* of 1661 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) presents another aspect of Saenredam's working procedure. Neither a construction drawing nor a freehand drawing for the painting is known, but an autograph inscription in the organ in the painting reads: 'I Pieter Saenredam have drawn this in the Grote Kerk or St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar in the year 1661 and then also made the painting'.[8] From this passage it appears that the artist made a drawing on the spot, which unfortunately has not survived. No grid pattern was found in the underdrawing. Infrared examination revealed that the entire composition consisted of a very precise drawing, and that the outlines of the building elements were followed faithfully in the painting.[9] In this case Saenredam appears to have made the painting directly after having sketched the church. Recent examination of the painting disclosed the presence of a pinhole,[10] which he would have used to check his perspective, as no perspective lines have been found in infrared.[11] Saenredam used the pin-and-string method in many paintings.[12] In the cases where he transferred his construction drawing, he would have used a pin and a piece of string to check the perspective and to mark the lines of the flagstones.

For *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* of 1654 (cat. no. 48), no construction drawing is known nor have indented lines been found in the picture. A freehand drawing of 18 years

7
The perspective lines appear to have been drawn along a straight edge and occasionally run slightly beyond the indicated lines of the roof and windows, all converging on a single vanishing point in the trees.

8
'Ick pieter Janss Saenredam heb/ dit geteeckent in de grote kerck tot/ Alckmaar. Ofte St. Laur. Ao 1661/ en deze doen oock gheschildert'. See Giltaij in Utrecht 2000, pp. 44-47.

9
One correction can be distinguished in the final painting in the background where the lines of the floor tiles meet. See Giltaij in Utrecht 2000, pp. 44-47, for detailed description.

10
The painting was examined with the stereo-microscope. The use of a pinhole to create the correct perspective was widely practised by contemporary artists. The artist would have inserted a pin with a string attached to it. See Rotterdam 1991, p. 16. See also Wadum 1996, pp. 67-69, who describes how Vermeer would have used a taut string with chalk on it, letting it snap back onto the surface leaving a line of chalk. This line would then have been traced with a pencil or brush. In Saenredam's case, when the perspective construction was worked out in a construction drawing or when no perspective lines were found, it seems more likely that the pinhole was used to check or correct his own work.

11
One possibility is that the lines were drawn with a material undetectable by infrared, such as the red chalk he often used for the auxiliary construction lines in his drawings. However, there are enough examples where Saenredam used construction drawings in the same material as the rest of the underdrawing and so far no instances of the use of red chalk has been found. Another possibility is that he erased the lines before painting.

12
See Giltaij 2000; Boersma 2000; Van Heemstra 2000; and Hendriks and Forest 2000. See also Van Heemstra and Marchant 2000.

earlier does exist and shows the same vantage point as in the painting (cat. no. 47). The method of transfer has been published recently.[13] Infrared examination shows the characteristic ruled lines and freehand curves for the arches, but no perpective lines or grid pattern could be detected. In this case auxiliary construction marks were observed in the ground layer. They appear as very fine, short indented lines and have an individual and deliberate character. So far, this method has not been found in any other painting. It suggests that Saenredam may have had a different approach for individual works and that he did not always follow a standard working procedure.

The build-up of Saenredam's paint layers

Support

Free from financial constraints, Saenredam had ample time to learn about and devote himself completely to the more demanding genre of 'perspectives'.[14] He could work on these time-consuming and costly paintings at his own pace.[15] His choice to paint almost exclusively on panels fits in well with his working method and the effect he wished to achieve. We know only one painting on canvas, the undated *Nave of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum), recently reattributed to Saenredam after restoration on grounds of style and technique.[16] The size of the painting, which is rather large for a panel, would explain why Saenredam chose canvas for this picture.

Sizing and ground application

The technical findings in this essay are based on the examination results of paintings in various collections.[17] Saenredam first applied a layer of size to seal his panels before he prepared a ground layer. The ground layers in *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* of 1655-1660 (cat. no. 64) and in *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* of 1644 (cat. no. 46) are so thin and transparent that the wood grain is clearly visible. It has been suggested that the application of such a thin ground would have functioned mainly to fill the wood grain, creating a smooth but not necessarily uniformly coloured layer. The visibility of the wood grain through the ground seems to be a deliberate aesthetic choice. The warm colour of the oak panel plays an important role in the final appearance of both paintings as the subsequent layers too are thinly applied and transparent (fig. 5).[18] In *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 48)[19] the light ground layer, consisting of lead white and fine

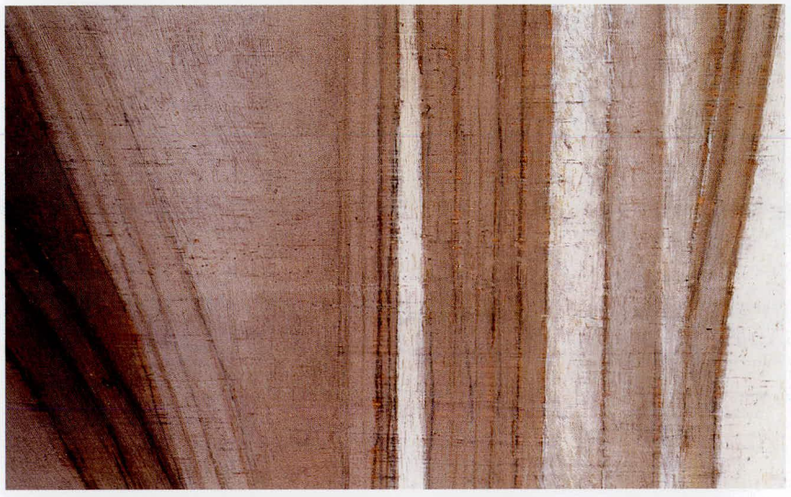


Fig. 5
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64). The detail of an arch shows the wood grain, which is visible through the thin and translucent paint layer. The detail also reveals the horizontal wood grain, which is filled with the ground layer.

13
See Hendriks and Forest 2000, pp. 105-121.

14
Term used in the 17th century for architectural paintings. See Rotterdam 1991, pp. 19-29, for a more detailed explanation.

15
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, Chapter 12, on this topic. 'The narrow specialties adopted by some Dutch painters, and their application of a "painterly", loose technique, allowed them to produce more paintings at lower cost. A typical exponent of this phenomenon was Jan van Goyen, who put vast quantities of landscapes on the market at a price affordable by many who could not previously buy art of that quality. Montias (1987) argues for a sharp distinction between painters of this kind, who worked for an anonymous market, and another type of specialist: connoisseurs. (...) Pieter Saenredam merits a place in this select company.'

16
Unpublished report by Martin Bijl on the restauration of the St Laurenskerk painting. Results of the technical examination will be presented in a forthcoming publication. See also Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 28.

17
Methods of examination included scrutiny with the naked eye in normal and raking light, stereo-microscopy, ultraviolet fluorescence, infrared reflectography and microscopic and analytical examination of cross-sections for pigment identification.

18
The St Pieterskerk painting was examined by the author in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in February 2000 with the stereo-microscope. See also the research supervised by Ernst van de Wetering (1981) in Museum file. It is interesting to read various descriptions in 17th-century sources of how a ground layer was applied and then scraped away with a knife. De Mayerne's personal opinion, for example, is that it is best to size the panel and then to apply an oil ground to fill the pores of the wood. The pigments used by Saenredam in his ground for the St Catharinakerk were chalk, lead white with some bone black and traces of ochre. See Van Heemstra 2000, pp. 94-96.

yellow ochre, has also been thinly applied, so that the panel grain is readily apparent in raking light.[19] The ground appears smooth. In all of these cases it seems plausible that the ground has been either sanded with pumice stone or scraped down with a priming knife.[20] The smooth surface would have been well-suited to Saenredam's methods of applying his fine underdrawing.[21]

In the majority of the paintings that were examined, Saenredam applied a pale creamy white chalk ground. The colour of the ground determines the light appearance in these church interiors.[22] Two have a darker ground, producing a warm appearance from the outset. *The nave of the Buurkerk* of 1644 (cat. no. 40) has a warm yellowish ground consisting of lead white, red lake and an unidentified yellow.[23] The double ground in *The north aisle of the Mariakerk* of 1641? (cat. no. 29) consists of a chalk layer followed by an oily layer containing traces of yellow ochre.[24]

Underdrawing

The next stage of Saenredam's work procedure is the underdrawing. Infrared examination has established that his drawing can be identified by certain characteristics. Usually one finds a complete underdrawing without any major corrections or changes. His lines for the piers and other straight lines were, in the case of a transfer, traced or drawn along a straight edge, whereas the rounded vaults seem to have been done freehand. The underdrawing of *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64) was probably applied by transfer from a construction drawing. Even though no such drawing exists, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that a 1:1 construction drawing was made.[25] Infrared examination also revealed strengthening of the underdrawing with a fluid medium.[26] Figure 3 shows how the rounded lines in the vaults appear wavy where Saenredam's pen would have hit a grain line. In figure 6 one can see the characteristic way in which the fluid drawing medium has collected at the end of a drawn line. Comparison with the underdrawing of *The nave of the Buurkerk* (cat. no. 40) shows that all the principal architectural outlines were traced directly and not redrawn. In infrared reflectography a vertical line can be seen that is fractionally too long and which travels slightly beyond the spring of the arch, indicating



Fig. 6
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64).
The infrared reflectogram assembly of a detail lets us see how the fluid drawing material has accumulated at the end of a line.

19
Hendriks and Forest 2000, pp. 105-121.

20
This method has been suggested by Hendriks and Forest for the St Pieterskerk (cat. no. 48) and compares well with the findings on the St Catharinakerk (cat. no. 64) and the Pieterskerk (cat. no. 46).

21
Hendriks and Forest 2000, p. 109, 'In his *Den Grondt der Edel vrij Schilder-const*, Karel van Mander describes the practice of early Italian painters of preparing a ground as smooth as possible to facilitate the transfer of cartoons using a carbon-copy technique.'

22
A white chalk ground has been found in the *St Bavokerk in Haarlem* (London, The National Gallery of Art), the *St Janskerk* (cat. no. 59), the *St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch* (Washington, National Gallery), the *St. Cunerakerk in Rhenen* (Mauritshuis), the exterior of the Mariakerk (cat. no. 3), and the *St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen). All information is discussed in depth in Van Asperen de Boer and Helmus 2000. The two paintings from the Mauritshuis were examined in February 2000 in the museum, and for the information on the *St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch* in Washington, see Wheelock 1995, pp. 353-358.

23
Bomford 2000, p. 87.

24
Boersma 2000, p. 64.

25
Indented outlines of the piers and capitals are visible, which were caused by a sharp instrument used by the artist to transfer the drawing onto the panel. Inrared reflectography shows one line missing in the third pier from the left in the underdrawing – it should drop down vertically from the capital to the base. This supports the theory that Saenredam may well have used a construction drawing, accidentally leaving one line untraced.

26
The medium has not been confirmed by analyses, but visually the drawing shows all the characteristics of the use of a liquid medium as opposed to a dry medium, such as pencil or charcoal.

that the verticals are ruled along a straight edge. The curves of the arches were traced freehand. The material used for transferring the construction drawing of the National Gallery of Art *St Bavokerk in Haarlem* has been identified as black chalk. A sample from one of the lines in this panel shows the grey metallic sheen of graphite, a prime constituent of black chalk.[27]

The underdrawing in many paintings is clearly visible to the naked eye. Some lines are left deliberately exposed and are an important part of the final visual effect. Already in 1971 Liedtke described how, in the *South transept of the St Odulphuskerk in Assendelft* of 1655 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts), for example, 'the brushstrokes carefully avoid the lines traced from the cartoon (...) it seems quite probable that the lines we see defining the columns, the windows, the arches, and the major divisions of the walls are those same traced lines which were the first marks of the artist upon the panel surface.'[28] In *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 48) and *The nave and choir of the St Janskerk* (cat. no. 59), for example, lines have been deliberately left exposed between adjacent areas of paint. To achieve the desired effect, Saenredam needed a calculated and accurate procedure, which is consistent with his working process as a whole. In *The Mariaplaats and Mariakerk* (cat. no. 7) on the other hand, the visibility of the grid pattern seems more likely due to the paint layers having become more transparent with time rather than being a deliberate effect, even though Saenredam's paint layers are generally very thin and translucent.[29]

Under paint layers

For the build-up of his paintings, Saenredam would 'map-out' the composition in thin subtle underlayers, which would define the tonal effects he wanted to create. This initial underlayer is often referred to as 'dead colouring', or more specifically underpainting when playing a calculated and essential role in the modelling of the finished painting.[30] In *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64), for example, Saenredam applied a range of thin underlayers from cool to warm grey in the areas of the walls, piers and vaults. In the shadowed areas of the vaults and choir a thin warm grey underpainting is clearly visible to the naked eye and left uncovered towards the edges of each vault (fig. 7). In fact, the paint application is generally so thin, a mere wash, that the warm colour of the wood shows through the practically transparent ground. In contrast, in the light grey and white areas of the architecture a dark cool grey functions as underpainting. Beneath the dark grey floor stones Saenredam applied a thin pink layer diminishing in thickness from the foreground to the background. The colours Saenredam used in his underpainting may be lighter, darker or similar in colour to the transparent layers on top. Often the ground, too, is allowed to shine through the thin and translucent paint layers on top, emphasising the importance of the interaction of all layers.

In the *View across the choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* of 1637 (London, National Gallery of Art) the pinkish cast of the underpainting determines the overall light and warm tonal appearance of the picture. The pale pinkish grey layer, which functions as the underpainting on top of a light chalk ground, gives the painting of *The nave and choir of the St Janskerk* (cat. no. 59) its light complexion. The painting technique in two pictures of the same church interior, *The nave of the Buurkerk* (cat. nos. 39 and 40) provides an interesting comparison.[31] Though each painting is based on one half of the same drawing, they differ greatly in appearance. Catalogue number 40 has a dark and warm cast. Examination of cross-sections showed the presence of Vandyke brown as a dominant pigment in the paint layers on top of a warm, yellowish ground, giving the architecture an overall warmth and buff-coloured tonality. Catalogue number 39, on the other hand, is painted on a thin cool ground and this determines the light and much cooler coloration in the thin paint layers.

27
See Bomford 2000, pp. 71-87, for the technical analyses and examination of the paintings of the Buurkerk and St Bavo's.

28
Liedtke 1971, pp. 122-123.

29
Saenredam did not always leave parts of his underdrawing deliberately exposed, as is shown in the Rijksmuseum's panel of the choir of St Bavo's. The underdrawing was followed in the painting, but almost entirely covered by the final paint layer. See also Liedtke 1971, note 12.

30
Dead colouring is an initial application of paint acting as a foundation for subsequent paint layers. Underpainting is a more specialised form of dead colouring. It presupposes a later stage in the painting process, when it will combine visually with subsequent layers to produce a particular effect. Stephenson 1989, p. 110.

31
See Bomford 2000, pp. 84-87.

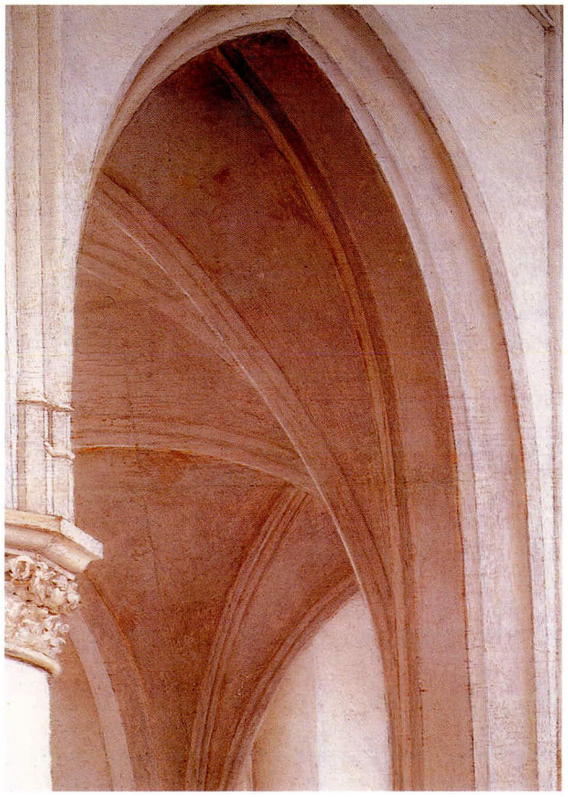


Fig. 7
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64). Detail of a vault.

Upper paint layers
The upper paint layers are very thin and merely scumbled on, often leaving the underlayers exposed and always creating an interesting optical interaction with them. The rendering of painted effects of light is characteristically as accurate as the measurements of angles in his drawings. Applications of dark paint layers over warm light underpainting, or light paint layers over cooler darker underpainting, occur in varying thickness, creating the most beautiful effects of light and dark.
Examinations of losses in *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 48) and of *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64) brought to light clear examples of the subtleties of Saenredam's method (fig. 8). In both works Saenredam applied a lighter and cooler upper paint layer over a warmer and darker underlayer, with the underpainting showing through in subtle gradations, thus creating a *turbid medium* effect, for example in the rounding of the piers.[32] In the St Pieterskerk the shafts of the columns were first laid in on the ground layer as an underlayer ranging from brown in the shadow, through light brown in the middle tone, to beige in the light part. In the St Catharinakerk, the shafts of the piers were also modelled in the dead-colour stage with a range of grey tones. In both paintings, the whitish translucent paint layer applied on top in varying nuances created this *turbid medium* effect. Another splendid example of Saenredam's skill is his use of a thin grey upper layer over the pink underpainting in the shadows of the large piers in *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk*. Fine dark grey horizontal washes painted on top of the underlayer effectively expose the pink as an aura around the individual shadows (fig. 9).

Saenredam achieved this rich variety of tones and colours with a limited palette.[33] Pigments identified from paint samples taken from various paintings include lead white,[34] chalk,[35]

32
A light-toned translucent paint layer over a darker underpaint.
33
See, for example, Van Asperen de Boer and Helmus 2000.
34
Two grades of lead white were found in a sample from the *St Catharinakerk*.
See Van Heemstra 2000, p. 97. In the 16th and 17th century, Dutch painters used a priming of lead white mixed with chalk, which they called 'loot wit' (ceruse or Spanish white).
See Gettens, Kühn and Chase in Roy 1993, pp. 67-68. Lead white mixed with calcium carbonate has also been found in paint and ground layers of pictures by Rembrandt.
See also Bomford, Brown and Roy 1988, pp. 21-22.
35
Chalk was found to be used in the St Catharinakerk and St Pieterskerk paintings.
See Van Heemstra 2000, p. 97, Hendriks and Forest 2000, p. 118. The addition of chalk in layers as an extender to make the paint more transparent is entirely in keeping with Saenredam's painting technique.

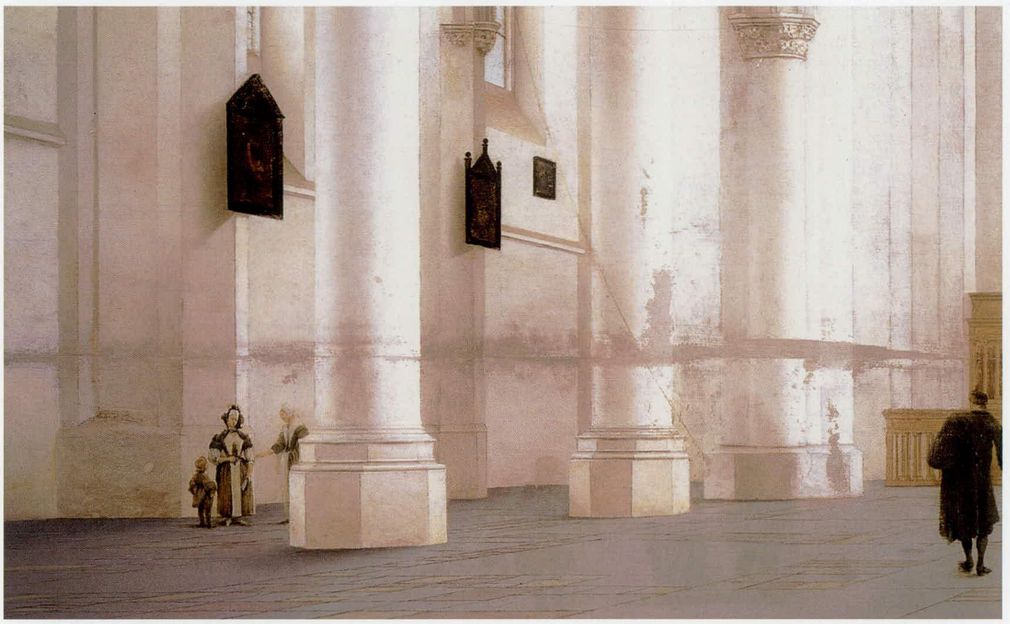


Fig. 8
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64). Detail of the lowest seam during treatment after removal of the varnish and the overpainting. Visible in the lacuna along the seam is the grey underlayer that Saenredam used in the white piers.

Fig. 9
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64). Detail. We see the subtle dark grey, transparent horizontal layers over the pink underpainting, which remains visible as an aura around the individual shadows.

bone black, yellow ochre, umber, Vandyke brown, an unidentified brown organic pigment (probably Vandyke brown) in *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 48) and an unidentified yellow in *The nave of the Buurkerk* (cat. no. 40), red lead, smalt,[36] azurite and ultramarine. He created his sophisticated painting technique with these limited and subtle colours providing a unique tonal range that may rightly be called his hallmark.

With minute gradations of colour Saenredam defined form, volume and distance in an elaborate and time-consuming procedure. It is therefore interesting to examine the way in which he applied his paint. Saenredam did this systematically, organising his brushstrokes parallel to the picture plane or by following the direction of the arches and piers. Yet with the playful effect of individual brushstrokes he convincingly reproduced these 17th-century white-washed walls, never allowing a single dull area in his paintings. The liveliness of his



36
Smalt has been found in samples in the St Pieterskerk and St Catharinakerk paintings. The purpose of a small addition of smalt in a sample from the St Catharinakerk containing mainly high quality ultramarine and lead white, is not clear. Smalt contains cobalt and accelerates the drying of oil, but this would be unnecessary in a lead white film. It is also known to be used by artists such as Rembrandt as a bulking agent for texture in thickly laid glazes, which again would not seem to conform with Saenredam's painting technique. Saenredam possibly mixed in smalt to achieve a cool tone. See Bomford, Brown and Roy 1988, pp. 25-26.

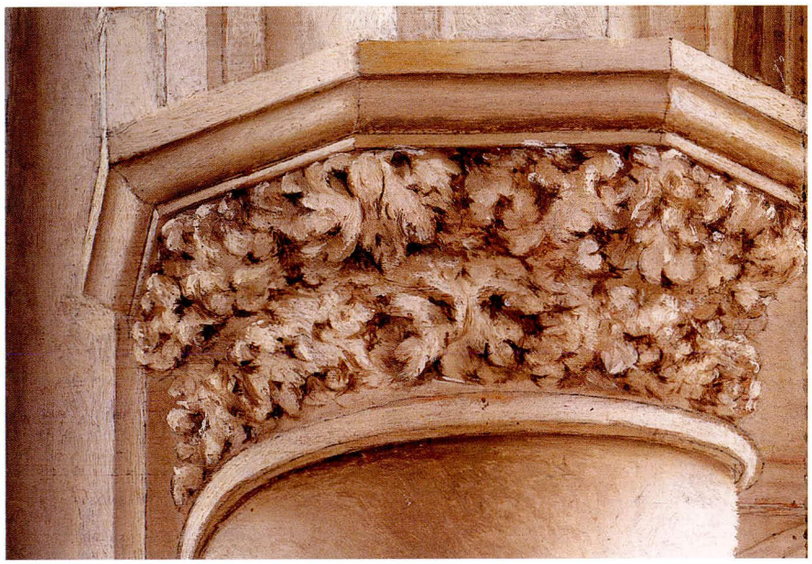


Fig. 10
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64). Detail showing the fluent brushwork in the accents in the capitals of the piers.

brushwork is enhanced by the way he applied the final scumbles marking the stains on the old church walls. These are done with a fluid brush and often wet-in-wet as are the accents in the capitals of the piers and the black lines defining the glass-stained windows and the lines marking the floor stones (fig. 10).

With his texture and paint application, Saenredam created a fine balance between the paint surface and the illusion of pictorial space. In some paintings, as Liedtke describes, a tension can be felt between the sense of strongly receding space and architectural elements accentuating the two-dimensionality of the picture plane.[37] The stark black shields or sharply silhouetted choir screens and organs in, for example, his paintings of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem and the Mariakerk (cat. no. 22) challenge the sense of depth (figs. 11 and 12). Saenredam's richly patterned tapestries, particularly when gilded, the use of which will be discussed below, adds to the two-dimensional aspect of his paintings.

Gilding

Saenredam applied gilding[38] in eleven surviving paintings spanning his career.[39] He used gilding to represent the metal objects in the churches, such as organ pipes, decorative lettering on the organs, chandeliers and tapestries or 'cloths of honour' on the piers.[40] Recent analytical examination of four paintings has shown that Saenredam applied gold leaf for the tapestries, the chandeliers and the organs.[41] Analyses of samples taken from organ pipes in various pictures yielded different results and the use of both tin and silver foil has been observed.[42] Visual examination of the gilded areas in his other paintings suggests that a white metal was applied for the organ pipes and gold leaf for all other areas.
The earliest painted church interior in which Saenredam used gilding is of the St Pieterskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch, painted in 1632.[43] In 1661, towards the end of his life, he produced two paintings with gilding of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar. In the five versions of the Mariakerk interior, gilding was applied for the painted tapestries decorating the piers.[44] In two of these paintings Saenredam overpainted the gilding.[45] He used gilding for tapestries and organ pipes in two interiors of the Haarlem St Bavokerk and one of the Utrecht St Pieterskerk.[46] The *View across the choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* of 1636 and *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk* of 1641 (cat. no. 22) are two striking early examples of church interiors in

37
See Liedtke 1971, e.g. p. 135: 'Saenredam manipulated artificial perspective so that the quality of illusion (...) was disciplined by and set in contest with a two-dimensional pattern. (...). Saenredam's dynamic tension between the second and third dimensions avoids a static balance, and seeks rather a constant shifting of the image between the two.'
38
The term gilding is used here as a general term to describe the use of metal leaf (or foil) adhered to a support. See Nadolny 2000, pp. 39-50.
39
Rotterdam 1991 lists a number of paintings with gilding with reference to Schwartz and Bok 1990. The St Bavokerk painting of the J. Paul Getty Museum, which Saenredam painted in 1628, is listed as the earliest work in which he applied gilding. Recent examination has shown that Saenredam did not use any form of metal leaf in this painting, but painted the gilded elements with pigments. Correspondence with Mark Leonard, February 2000.
40
In reality, the tapestries or 'cloths of honour' were usually painted on or applied to the piers to imitate expensive fabrics with gold thread and intricate patterns. Recently remains of the use of press brocades were discovered in the St Pieterskerk in Leiden and in the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk in 's-Hertogenbosch, dating back to the early 15th century. See Friedrichs 1997.
41
Samples from the *St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum), the *St Bavokerk in Haarlem* (Rijksmuseum) and *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 22) were taken and analysed by Arie Wallert. Cross-sections were examined with polarised light microscopy (PLM) and with a scanning electron microscope, equipped with energy dispersive spectrometry (SEM-EDS). Samples of the *St Pieterskerk* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) and also of the *St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum) were provided by Van Asperen de Boer, see Van Asperen de Boer 2000, p. 10.
42
Samples from the St Laurenskerk painting showed the metal in the organ pipes to be tin. However, in the St Bavokerk the metal was identified as pure silver. The metal in the organ pipes of the St Pieterskerk has not yet been confirmed by analysis. Unpublished report by Arie Wallert, see also Van Asperen de Boer 2000, p. 10.
43
The author is greatly indebted to Frits Duparc for drawing her attention to this painting which will be on view in the forthcoming Mauritshuis exhibition, *The Golden Age of Dutch and Flemish Painting: The Edward and Sally Speelman Collection* (catalogue by Arthur Wheelock, p. 28).
44
Cat. nos. 10, 14, 16, 22 and 26.





Fig. 11
Pieter Saenredam, *Interior of the Grote or St Bavokerk in Haarlem seen from the south ambulatory through the choir and the north ambulatory with the large organ*. Panel, 95.5 x 57 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 12
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk seen to the east* (cat. no. 22).

45
Cat. nos. 16 and 26. See Lammertse 1987, p. 83.
46
A number of these paintings were examined with the naked eye, stereo-microscopy, and infrared reflectography. As mentioned above, cross-sections were examined with a light microscope and the metals and pigments were identified by SEM-EDX analysis.



Fig. 13
Detail of fig. 12. The gilded painted tapestry.

which Saenredam applied gilding (figs. 11 and 12). The contrast of light and shadow is generally much stronger in his gilded paintings. Viewed through the two large and heavy piers and arch of the *St Bavokerk*, which are cast in dark shadow, one is invited into the light whitewashed area across the choir. The large gilded organ jumps forward and creates a two-dimensional effect, as described above. The black background of the centre organ pipes is jet-black, without any tonal variations. The same blackness is applied in the framing of the large organ door. With the light coming through the window one would expect the top edge of the frame to catch a highlight, but the black is deep and continuous. Below the organ the view extends into the north ambulatory of the church, where small figures again pick up the sense of space and depth. The small organ in the background gives an impression of being gilded, but is in fact painted in yellow pigments. The shaded vault here complements the shadows in the foreground arch and piers and restores the tonal balance.

Examination of the tapestries in the Mariakerk (cat. no. 22) revealed that Saenredam applied gold leaf with red, yellow and brown glazes on top.[47] The glazes exhibit a fine and fluid brushwork, into which he scratched with a fine point or the back of his brush. He used this sgrafitto technique to create the letters in the borders and the intricate patterns of the tapestries (fig.13).[48] In a cross-section (fig. 14) we can see that the gold leaf is applied to a light yellow layer, which must have served as the adhesive and is probably an oil mordant.[49] In the different versions of the Mariakerk Saenredam used a similar technique of gold leaf with warm glazes and sgrafitto for the tapestries. Gold leaf was also found in the much smaller painting of the St Laurenskerk (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen). Here Saenredam applied gold leaf on top of a white mordant in the two elongated pipes leading to an ornamental bearded head, high up to the left of the large column (fig. 15).[50] It is assumed that the mordant is oil-containing, as it is very similar to the paint structure –though this and the possible presence of other media would have to be confirmed by analysis.[51]

47
Samples were taken from cat. no. 22. Cat. nos. 10, 14 and 16 were examined with the naked eye. Correspondence with Jutta Michels, Hima Roskamp, and Hildegard Krause. Microscopic examination of cat. no. 26 detected the presence of gold leaf with red glazes beneath the paint layer where Saenredam painted out the tapestries he had initially included. See Lammertse 1987, p. 83.

48
A type of patterning created by painting over a gilded surface and then locally removing the paint to reveal the metallic underlayer. See Nadolny 2000, pp. 39-50.

49
This layer is primarily characterised by the distinctly lower quantities of lead white, some chalk, the prominent presence of siliceous material and quite substantial amounts of organic material. The exact nature of the organic material has yet to be determined. The term mordant describes the seat used for matte gilding (as opposed to burnished gilding). Layer(s) of any composition (oil- or water-based; pigmented or unpigmented) which is (are) painted out, and when tacky, function(s) to adhere metal leaf of foil, which, when dry, is not burnished. See Nadolny 2000, pp. 39-50.

50
This hanging object likely served as a musical instrument. When struck, it sounded like a drum. The open-mouthed wooden head seems to bellow out the instrument's sound. See Rotterdam 1991, p. 157.

51
Media analysis will be carried out by Arie Wallert in the near future.

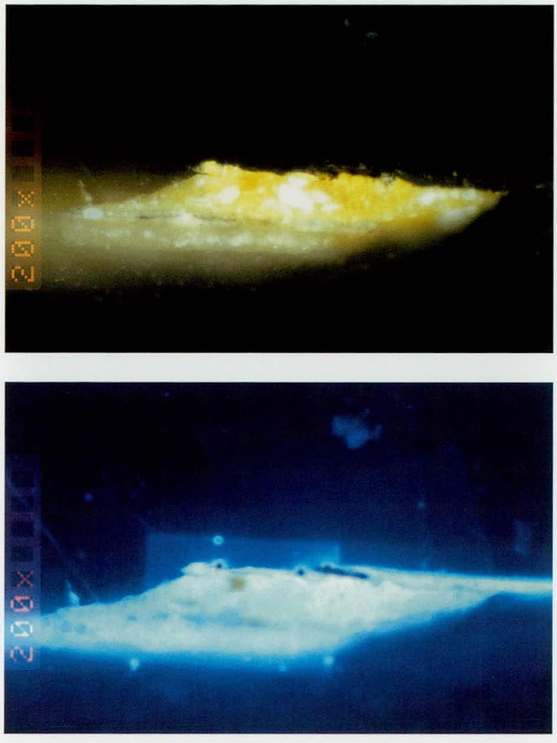


Fig. 14a and b
Cross-section with and without UV fluorescence of a paint sample of the gilded painted tapestry in fig. 13 (cat. no. 22), which displays the gold leaf with a red glaze, on top of which is a yellow mordant (original enlargement 200 x, sample and micro photograph Arie Wallert).

Saenredam used silver leaf for the organ pipes in the *View across the choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* (Rijksmuseum). The mordant of the silver leaf contains pale blue glassy particles that were identified as smalt. The addition of smalt must have served to give the organ pipes their cool metallic sheen. Visual examination of *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* of 1644 (cat. no. 46) and *The nave of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* of 1648 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) detected the presence of a white metal, possibly silver or tin foil, with yellow glazes for the modelling; however, no conclusive examination has yet been carried out (fig. 16). For the organ pipes in *The nave of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum), Saenredam used tin foil, which he covered with a thick paint layer. The large size of this painting, the only one Saenredam did on canvas, would explain the far more painterly effect he created here. He applied gold leaf for the chandeliers, with thick fluid glazes and white and light yellow impastoed highlights on top.[52] Gold has also been applied on all the shields on the piers and walls of the church.

Mordant gilding has been found in the inscriptions and decorative framing of the organs in Saenredam's paintings.[53] A cross-section from the gilded curly ornament on the upper side of the organ in the Rijksmuseum *St Bavokerk in Haarlem* revealed gold leaf on a raised light yellow mordant.[54] A similar technique was also found in the gilded passage in the framing of the organ. Visual examination of *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 46), the *St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum) and the *St Bavokerk in Haarlem* (National Gallery of Scotland) suggests that Saenredam also applied mordant gilding in the ornamental framework and inscriptions of the organs of these paintings (fig. 17).

Use of gilding in the 17th century

In an era when artists had mastered the art of simulating individual fabrics and materials with specific pigments, it may seem surprising to find Saenredam working with materials in

52
Cross-sections were taken by Martin Bijl and analysed by Arie Wallert.

53
The foil is seated on a discrete layer applied with the specific purpose of affixing metal to the substrate. See Nadolny 2000, pp. 39-50.

54
This yellowish layer is not very homogeneous and is characterised by the presence of large amounts of siliceous materials. The yellow colour of this layer may very well be caused by the presence of an organic yellow lake, known as 'schiet-geel'. Large amounts of material (peaks for calcium and oxygen), and the presence of aluminium, potassium, and calcium are consistent with organic lake pigments. See examination report by Arie Wallert.

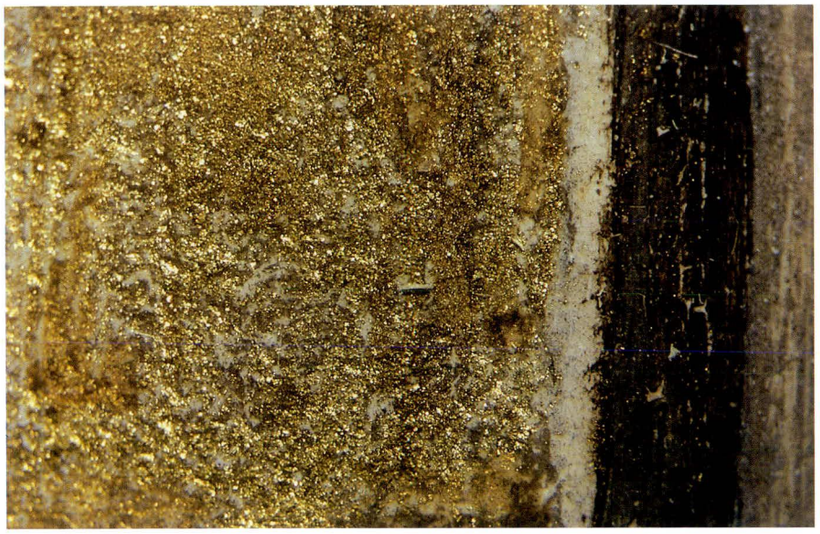


Fig. 15
Pieter Saenredam, *Interior of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar*. Panel, 54.5 x 43.5 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Detail of the use of gold leaf on a white mordant in the elongated pipes that lead to the bearded head (micro photograph A. Boersma).

a way that harked back to earlier centuries. However, the use of goldleaf was not an uncommon technique and certainly occurred in 17th-century painting.[55] For instance, Rembrandt's paintings on copper of the *Laughing man* (Mauritshuis), *The artist's mother* (Salzburg, Residenzgalerie) and his *Self-portrait* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum), all painted around 1629-1630, have gold leaf directly over the white ground. The gold layer thus creates a background foil for the subsequent paint layers and glazes and functions similarly as an *imprematura* or 'dead colouring'. In opaque layers, for instance the beard and moustache of the *Laughing man*, Rembrandt scraped down the paint with a blunt point or possibly with the back of his brush, to reveal the gold layer underneath. The background is enlivened by the tiny specks of gold left uncovered, and in the face, Rembrandt applied scumbles of cool, light paint in a single layer over the gold to successfully render the half tones, taking advantage of the *turbid medium* effect.[56] Van Mieris' painting on copper of *The doctor's visit* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) is also covered with gold leaf, but it is not clear whether a ground was first applied to the copper. A layer of gold directly over the copper has been noted in two other paintings by Van Mieris, one in a private collection and the other – the *Portrait of Florentius Schuyl* – in the Mauritshuis. In contrast to Rembrandt's paintings, the gold here does not seem to play any role whatsoever in the final appearance of these pictures.[57] Jacob van Campen and Pieter de Grebber both worked on the decorative programme of the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch Palace, The Hague. Here the artists used gold leaf, not as an underlayer as mentioned above, but for specific details in the upper paint layers.[58] Cross-sections of De Grebber's *Triumphal parade of the sacrificial bull* show that the gold leaf was applied directly on top of a paint layer.[59] Silver leaf was detected in Gabriel Metsu's *Woman at her toilet* (Pasadena, CA, Norton Simon Museum).[60] The vibrant green window curtain at the upper left was meant to be translucent and is dramatically back-lit. The brilliance was achieved by means of silver leaf with a thin green glaze.[61]

Among Saenredam's contemporary architectural painters, Emanuel de Witte appears to be the only artist to have used gold leaf for the tapestries. He did this once, in *The choir of the St Janskerk in Utrecht* of 1654 (Paris, Fondation Custodia). It has been suggested that the less successful artist might have wished to emulate Saenredam in the hope of drawing the attention of the wealthy collectors who bought paintings by the highly successful master.[62] Collectors of Saenredam's paintings include Constantijn Huygens, with whom Saenredam

55
The author is greatly indebted to Jørgen Wadum for drawing her attention to a number of interesting examples of the use of gilding in the 16th and 17th century.
56
Mauritshuis files and correspondence with Petria Noble, June 2000. See also Horovitz in Phoenix/Kansas City/The Hague 1998-1999, p. 79.
57
See I. Horovitz in Phoenix/Kansas City/The Hague 1998-1999, pp. 68 and 88, note 41. It has been suggested that the gold layer was applied for a technical reason to prevent the oxidation of the copper from penetrating the paint layers. See also the forthcoming Mauritshuis publication on portraits in the collection.
58
For example in the vaults by Jacob van Campen (Hendrik Graauw?). Pieter de Grebber used gold leaf in the *Triumphal parade with the sacrificial bull*, in the tiara on the bull's head and on the tassels around the bull's neck.
59
Cross-sections were taken and examined by Lidwien Speleers, of the Limburg Conservantion Institute (SRAL). The conservation work, 'Oranjezaal-project', is carried out on commission by the SRAL for the State Building Department.
60
Correspondence with Rosamond Westmoreland. She discovered traces of metal leaf in the highlight of the curtains at the upper left of the painting during an examination in October 1995. X-ray fluorescence analysis identified the metal as silver leaf. The analysis was performed by Arie Wallert at the Getty Conservation Institute.
61
Technical examination report by Rosamond Westmoreland.
62
See Liedtke 1982, p. 90 and Rotterdam 1991, p. 193.
63
See Schwartz and Bok 1989, pp. 207-208. By the end of the 1640s, Saenredam had joined the ranks of Haarlem artists who were patronised by the court: Jacob Matham, Pieter Soutman, Jacob van Campen, Pieter Post, Salomon de Bray, Frans and Pieter de Grebber, and Cornelis Vroom.



Fig. 16
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 46). Detail of the gilding in the organ pipes (micro photograph A. Boersma).

was well acquainted and had an ongoing working relationship,[63] his brother-in-law David van Baerle, Jacob Schadé, another relative of Huygens, and the Amsterdam burgomaster Andries de Graeff.[64] Huygens was the intermediary for the decorative programme of the Oranjezaal in The Hague. It is also worth recalling that Saenredam knew Jacob van Campen and Pieter de Grebber (son of his former tutor), who was an all-round professional in the arts and a key figure in an inter-city dynasty of painters, goldsmiths and dealers.

Saenredam certainly had ample exposure to the use and application of gilding. It would be interesting to determine whether he might also have been inspired by works by Italian masters in Dutch collections and by 16th-century artists who brought back the Italian techniques of gilding to the north, or simply by the continuation of local traditions.[65] Saenredam had a large collection of 16th-century drawings by some of the most important northern artists of that century, including Maerten van Heemskerck and Jan van Scorel, both of whom travelled to Italy.[66] In fact, Saenredam owned a sketchbook that Van Heemskerck made during his travels through Italy.[67] Scorel is known to have used gold leaf in one of his paintings.[68]
Even though Saenredam probably would not have seen this particular work, there are many other examples of 16th-century paintings with gilding by northern artists.[69] Given his interest in 16th-century drawings, Saenredam may also have seen paintings from this period

64
Constantijn Huygens owned two paintings of the Mariakerk and David van Baerle one. Constantijn Huygens also negotiated in the sale of the *St Bavokerk in Haarlem*, now in Edinburgh, which was later acquired by the States of Holland from the collection of Andries de Graeff to give to Charles II of England. See Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 167, 208.
65
Antwerp and Amsterdam were the European centres for the art market. See Pears 1988, Chapter 3, and Haskell 1959, pp. 48-59. This would be an interesting subject for further research.
66
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 184-187. Saenredam acquired an album of drawings from Jan Jacobsz. Guldewagen for a volume in his collection. A note appended to the album attributed the sheets to some of the most important northern artists of the 16th century: the Germans Heinrich Aldegrever, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Beham, Salomon Franck, Hans Holbein, Hans Schäufelein, Martin Schongauer, Christoph Schwarz and Michael Wolgemut; the Southern Netherlanders Hans Bol, the brothers Bril, Hieronymus Cock, Frans Floris, Pieter de Jode and Jan Wiericx; and the Northern Netherlanders Dirk Volkertsz. Coornhert, Jacques de Gheyn, Hendrik Goltzius, Maerten van Heemskerck, Jan van Scorel and Jan Swart.
67
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 185.
68
Recently a painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* from the Art Institute of Chicago has been recognised as an early work by Jan van Scorel, executed in Austria on the way to Italy in 1519. See Faries and Wolff 1998, p. 728. He used gold leaf in the robe of the king kneeling before Christ. Traces of gilding are found in the haloes of Christ and the Virgin, where the mordant largely indicates the remains of the design. All other surfaces, which may have been intended to simulate a gold surface, are painted with yellow pigments. (Correspondence with Cynthia Kuniej Berry, March 2000.) This painting has an Austrian provenance and it seems unlikely that Saenredam would have seen it, but there are a number of examples of 16th-century paintings with gilding by northern artists.
69
For instance, in *Saint Mauritius* (German School, c. 1525-1550), a panel in the Maastricht Bonnefantenmuseum, gold leaf was used in the decorative pattern of the oak leaves and acorns. The author is indebted to Esther van Duyn for making available her resaerch and her restoration report. Jørgen Wadum kindly drew the author's attention to the use of gold leaf as a background for *The Archangel Michael saving a soul on the Day of Judgement*, a panel by Pieter Huys (Antwerp, 16th century), presented at the TEFAF in Maastricht by David Koetser Gallery, March 2000.



Fig. 17
Pieter Saenredam, *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 46). Detail of the mordant gilding in the ornamental framework of the organ (micro photograph A. Boersma).

in the collections of the élite circle in which he moved.It seems plausible that the 15th-century use of gilding did not die out and was continued to be applied throughout the 16th century into the 17th, albeit on a more limited scale.

Saenredam and figure-painting

The figures in Saenredam's panels are usually introduced in the final stage of painting. The question of authenticity of the staffage often appears to be more of an art-historical debate and can be determined on the basis of style and costume dating.[70] In some cases the dating seems very clear; for instance, the figures in *The nave of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* (Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum) are 18th-century additions, and in *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64), the fashion of the wealthy figures are post-1670, thus after Saenredam's death.[71] The figures in *The transept of the St Cunerakerk in Rhenen*

70
Figures were often added later in an attempt to make them more saleable.

71
A cross-section of a paint sample taken from a loss in the cloak of the left figure in the right foreground further shows two varnish layers between the paint layer of the floor tile and that of the figure. A layer of dirt between the varnish layers indicates a hiatus between the completion of the painting and the addition of those figures. See Van Heemstra 2000, p. 102.

(Mauritshuis) were 19th-century additions and were removed during a later restoration in the 1930s. The figures in *The north aisle of the Mariakerk* of 1651 (cat. no. 31) were also added later; two figures and a dog were removed in 1976, and the third and final figure soon thereafter. The figures in a number of paintings are believed to be by Saenredam himself, for example those in *The south aisle of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* of 1633 (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum), *The south ambulatory of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* of 1635 (berlin, Gemäldegalerie), *The crossing and nave of the St Odulphuskerk in Assendelft* (Rijksmuseum), and the *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem* (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum), to name a few.
It is rather interesting to note the costumes of the figures in *The west façade of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 5) and *The Mariaplaats and Mariakerk* (cat. no. 7). Both panels were painted in 1662, whereas the costumes date from the 1630s when Saenredam made his initial sketches. He included these figures in his final paintings and even added a few more wearing similar 1630s clothing.[72]

Saenredam's figures seldom seem to form part of a narrative as they do for example in contemporary paintings by Houckgeest or De Witte.[73] They have entered his churches simply to establish the scale. In his construction drawings he often introduced figures and then blotted them out, moving them around as modules to establish the correct scale and proportions of the church.[74] Sometimes he included figures from the construction drawing into his final painting, as for example in *The Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem* of 1653 (Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum). The three figures before the rear wall are identically placed in the construction drawing for this panel.[75] This shows that Saenredam did indeed intend figures to be painted. Infrared examination of *The old town hall in Amsterdam* (Rijksmuseum) revealed the figures of two old men sitting in the little shop on the right. Saenredam introduced them in the underdrawing stage.[76] However, recent examination of *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* (cat. no. 64) and *The choir of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* (London, National Gallery of Art) revealed that Saenredam's approach to the figures in his paintings is not so straightforward. Dramatic changes appear to have taken place during the painting stage as he arranged and rearranged his figures. He painted them out and moved them around almost as casually as he did in his construction drawings.[77]

Six paintings by Saenredam have no figures at all. One can only guess whether he intended to present these interiors as deserted buildings or whether he left them unfinished. It would not seem out of character for Saenredam, who planned the build-up of his paint layers so carefully and meticulously, to let his paintings dry before introducing the figures. He is known to have had overlapping projects, and may thus not have gotten around to finishing these particular paintings.[78]

Conclusion

This study has shown that Saenredam was an artist whose working procedure remained consistent throughout his career. His accurate drawings always formed a starting point for the final paintings, in which he calculated and often manipulated the perspectives and scales of these interiors.
With his fine brushwork he built up his compositions in subtle layers of transparency and opacity and created wonderful effects of colour and tone. His use of materials evidences a straightforward and modest choice of pigments on the one hand, and a rather more complex use of gilding on the other.[79] With his materials and brushwork Saenredam manifests himself as a sublimely gifted artist, creating wonderful spaces in which the illusion of depth is challenged and at the same time balanced by the two-dimensional structure and tonalities of the panel's surface.

72
See Rotterdam 1991, pp. 148-155.
73
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 195-200, discuss the problem of authenticity of many of the figures in Saenredam's work and question the meaning of some of these figures where they believe them to be by the artist himself or added later. See also Rotterdam 1991, e.g. pp. 101-107.
74
See, for example, Edinburgh 1984, p. 8.
75
Liedtke 1982, p. 124.
76
Lammertse 1985, unpublished research in files of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 'Infrarood reflectografisch onderzoek van enige schilderijen van P. J. Saenredam (en enkele andere schilders) in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam'.
77
See Bomford 2000, pp. 77-84, and Van Heemstra 2000, pp. 98-103. Examination of cat. no. 64 made clear that the visible figures were not all by the same hand. Saenredam did originally intend figures to be included. Why he painted them over and what scheme he originally intended is hard to resolve. There seem to be two campaigns of figure painting. First, the figures that were painted and deleted by Saenredam himself. Secondly, the campaign of figure painting that would appear to be post-1670 based on costume and figure type. This campaign may also have involved adjusting Saenredam's original figures.
78
For example, he interrupted an important commission for the *St Bavokerk in Haarlem*, which he had begun before he went to Utrecht and finished upon his return only after he completed his interiors of the Mariakerk. See Schwartz and Bok 1990, e.g. p. 131.
79
It is hoped that the results of Saenredam's use of gilding will contribute to and encourage further research into the use of gilding in 16th and 17th-century European art.

The originality of his figures still remains an unresolved issue in many cases, whether they were done by Saenredam or added later. However, for an artist, whose depiction of space and light was of utmost importance in the final presentation of his work, he would most likely have added his own figures to establish the scale and contribute to the stillness so aptly conveyed in his pictures.

I would like to thank the following people for their helpful support: Quentin Buvelot, Frederik J. Duparc, Petria Noble, Jørgen Wadum and Maartje Witlox (Mauritshuis); Jeroen Giltaij and Friso Lammertse (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen); Frans van Heemstra (The Six Collection); Arie Wallert (Rijksmuseum); Esther van Duyn, Angelique Friedrichs, Anne van Grevenstein, Nico van Hout, Lidwien Speleers and Nico van der Woude (Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg); Mark Leonard (J. Paul Getty Museum); Michael Gallagher (National Gallery of Scotland); Edwin Buijsen (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie); Cynthia Kuniej Berry (Art Institute of Chicago); Alan Phenix and Caroline Villers (Courtauld Institute of Art); David Bomford (National Gallery of Art, London); Rupert Featherstone (Royal Collection); Marie-Louise Sauerberg Phenix (Hamilton Kerr Institute); Marie-Louise Sauerberg Phenix (Hamilton Kerr Institute); J. R, J. van Asperen de Boer; Martin Bijl, Annetje Boersma, Willemijn Brom, Stuart Mitchell, Jill Nadolny and Rosamond Westmoreland.

Catalogue

Arie de Groot (AdG)
Liesbeth M. Helmus (LMH)
Michiel C. Plomp (MCP)

The catalogue encompasses all of the extant drawings and paintings that Pieter Saenredam made of Utrecht's churches. Also included are the five 18th-century copies by Hendrik Tavenier of construction drawings by Saenredam, a 19th-century copy attributed to J. C. Martens van Sevenhoven, and the portrait of Pieter Saenredam by Jacob van Campen.

With the exception of catalogue number 1, the entries on the drawings are by Arie de Groot, with technical descriptions by Michiel C. Plomp. The entries on the paintings are by Liesbeth M. Helmus.

Portrait of Pieter Saenredam	1
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Dit Monsieur Joan Campen, Naer mij Pieter Saenredam gedaen A.o 1628.

1 Portrait of Pieter Saenredam

1628

Jacob van Campen (1596-1657)

Black chalk on paper.
235 x 180 mm (oval),
on a sheet 260 x 182 mm.

London, The British Museum,
inv. no. 1854.6.28.2

Jacob van Campen portrayed his friend and fellow townsman Pieter Saenredam at the age of 30 or 31. The painter is seated sideways on a chair to his proper right, his right arm uncomfortably slung over the chair's high back, his left arm hanging down at his side. His shrewd, critical gaze is directed at the beholder. Saenredam has semi-long, wavy, smoothed-back hair, a fine curved nose above a small moustache, and a short beard. The corners of his mouth are turned down. He wears a close fitting doublet with a narrow ruff pressing up into his chin. The drawing is executed in black chalk and lacks any trace of colour.

On the basis of this portrait, incidentally not the only one of Saenredam, in 1937 the physician and art historian A. Welcker launched the theory that Saenredam must have been a hunchback.[1] 'The large head is crammed on the short torso between the raised shoulders. The right arm, too, thrown over the back of the chair would indicate a very short stature', according to Welcker's description.[2] The physician was surprised that Saenredam lived so long, for few hunchbacks reach the ripe old age of 67.[3] Embroidering on Welcker, the Saenredam expert Swillens, and others, subscribed to the romantic notion that 'this skilful and undeniably shrewd man' because of his handicap 'gladly shunned the world and fled, finding solace in the loneliness, quiet and rest of the church building.' This also explained the endless patience and extreme precision characterising Saenredam's work. According to Swillens, hunchbacks 'all too often display, in addition to their sensitive and acute intelligence, a tendency towards preciseness, indeed finickiness'.[4]
Schwartz and Bok rightly question this 'diagnosis'. Saenredam was indeed a small man and may have had a somewhat crooked back, but to call him a hunchback on the basis of this drawing seems excessive in their view. Anyone throwing their arm around a high-backed chair looks clumsy and hunched over, they suggest. Moreover, the impression of an undersize torso is primarily evoked by the fashionably short doublet. Stronger perhaps is their argument that, had Saenredam really been a hunchback, countless stories would have been attached to his name.[5] With such a handicap he would certainly have gone down in history as 'The hunchback of Haarlem'.[6]

The painter-architect Jacob van Campen and Saenredam knew each other from their tutelage in the workshop of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (1573-1649), with whom they studied from 1612 to 1614. In later years, Saenredam executed various commissions for Van Campen. At the time of this portrait, they were working together on the third edition of Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem*.[7] They kept in touch throughout their lives.
Only one other portrait drawing by Jacob van Campen is known: a red-chalk drawing of the son of Constantijn Huygens. According to the inscription, Constantijn Jr was 6 or 7 years old when his countenance was limned, and thus the drawing must be dated around 1635.[8]
Both drawings are characterised by a calm and precise hand. The modelling of the faces is simple, and Van Campen hardly elaborated his models' attire.

LMH

Inscriptions
Recto (below the drawing): Dit Heeft Monsieur J. van Campen Naer mij Pieter Saenredam gedaen A°. 1628. (This was made by Monsieur Jacob van Campen after me, Pieter Saenredam, in the year 1628.)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1750); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.), portfolio E, no. 25, p. 28 (to Yver); J. van der Marck collection, Amsterdam (1772); sale H. de Winter and J. Yver, Amsterdam 29 November 1773 and days following (J. van der Marck coll.), art book T, no. 1857, p. 226; J. Goll van Franckenstein collection, Amsterdam (1821); P. H. Goll van Franckenstein collection, Amsterdam (1821-1832); sale Amsterdam 1 July 1833 (estate of J. Goll van Franckenstein), art book AA, no. 22 , p. 100 (to Woodburn); S. Woodburn collection, London (1833-1853); sale Christie & Manson, London 16-27 June 1854 (S. Woodburn coll.), cat. no. 128, p. 8; acquired by The British Museum, 1854

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 63, p. 27, ill. facing title page; Edinburgh 1984, cat. no. 15, p. 20, ill.

Literature
Kramm 1857-1864, vol. 1 (1857), p. 213; Kramm 1857-1864, vol. 5 (1861), p. 1434; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 3-4; Weissman 1902, p. 125; London 1915-1932, vol. 3 (1926), p. 65, ill. on pl. XXXIII; Van Regteren Altena 1931, p. 5, fig. 1; Van Gelder 1933, p. 47 (note 2); Swillens 1935, pp. 11, 15, ill. facing p. 16; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 306 (W. Stechow); Swillens 1937, pp. 330, 332, ill. on p. 330; Ter Braak 1937-1938, p. 106; Singer 1937-1938, vol. 4 (1938), no. 31392, p. 175; Swillens 1938, pp. 292-293, fig. 2; Heppner 1939, p. 119; Van Luttervelt 1946, p. 157; Fremantle 1953, pp. 76-77; Kruisinga 1957, p. 259; Fremantle 1959, p. 158 (note 1); Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 246, pp. 296-297 and p. 13, ill. facing title page; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 246, pp. 305-306 and p. 13, ill. facing title page; Swillens 1961, cat. no. 1, p. 267 and p. 23, ill.; Van Hall 1963, no. 1827-1, p. 287; Ruurs 1983, p. 61; Haak 1984, p. 250, fig. 526; Bernlef 1987, p. 219; Schwartz 1988, pp. 10, 11, fig. 7; Bok and Schwartz 1989, p. 295, fig. 1; Schwartz and Bok 1989, pp. 250, 294, fig. 1; Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 249, 302, fig. 1; Rotterdam 1991, ill. on p. 98; Held 1992; Huisken, Ottenheym and Schwartz 1995, cat. no. 13, pp. 111-112 and pp. 85-87, fig. 73; Van Asperen de Boer and Helmus 2000, ill. on p. 6.

Notes
1
The other portrait presents Saenredam as a painter-architect. Three figures below the medallion in which he is depicted personify the arts of architecture, painting and drawing. Anonymous, *Portrait of Pieter Saenredam*, c. 1660. Drawing, 320 x 310 mm. Zaandijk, Zaanlandsche Oudheidkundige collection

'Jacob Honig Jsz Jr.'. The portrait is illustrated in Huisken, Ottenheym and Schwartz 1995, fig. 74, p. 86.

2
Swillens describes Welcker's diagnosis. See Swillens 1937, pp. 330-331, namely p. 331; Swillens 1938, pp. 292-293; Swillens in Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 13; Swillens 1961, p. 23; see also Haak 1984, p. 250 and Edinburgh 1984, cat. no. 15, p. 20.

3
Swillens 1937, p. 332. Swillens mentions 68 years, but Saenredam died just before his 68th birthday.

4
Swillens 1937, p. 332.

5
Schwartz 1988, p. 11; Bok and Schwartz 1989, pp. 295-296; Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 250; Huisken, Ottenheym and Schwartz 1995, cat. no. 13, pp. 85-86.

6
For example, Hendrick Avercamp (1585-1634), painter of winter landscapes and ice scenes, who was deaf and mute, was called 'the mute of Kampen'.

7
Ampzing 1628.

8
Jacob van Campen, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens Jr*, c. 1635. Red chalk on paper, 160 x 162 mm. Haarlem, Teyler Museum.

2 View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from the northeast

12 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, brush and grey ink, brush and watercolour (blue, pinkish red, green, yellow).
Framing line in pen in dark brown ink.
Watermark: crowned escutcheon, quartered (see p. 298).
352 x 485 mm.

Recto (on the pentice in right foreground): den 12 Julij 1636, gedaen van mijn //
P: Saenredam, naer t'leeven (Drawn from life by me, Pieter Saenredam, on 12 July 1636)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief,
inv. no. TA Id 3.27

On Saturday, 12 July 1636 Saenredam signed this watercolour drawing of the northeast side of the Mariakerk. It was not his first drawing of the church, but it was the first of the exterior.[1]
The church is seen obliquely from the Mariastraat near the Mariaplaats. The main feature is the Gothic choir, consecrated in 1421, with the 16th-century statue of Emperor Henry IV and an imperial crown – the device of the chapter – topping the chimney on the roof ridge.
All that can be seen of the Romanesque church is the north transept with the north porch (with a first storey renovated in 1623) built on to it and the crossing tower, and in the background the remains of the north tower with bushes growing on it. The nave is completely hidden by the transept. Thus, attention is focused on the parts built later: the 15th-century chapter-house and the sacristy, which together are shaped like a Gothic side chapel, with the tall staircase tower on the east side; the courtyard behind the wall with a building for the vicars adjacent to the sacristy; the house with the stepped gable, the chapter's offices, of 1572; and on the other side of the north porch a private house, also with a stepped gable, of 1616.
The pentice against the wall, the sheds between the buttresses and the pump on the apse had to do with the opening of the churchyard for the weekly and yearly markets on the Mariaplaats. In May 1616 the wall of the churchyard, which ran from the Springweg to the Mariastraat and passed close by the apse, was pulled down on the orders of the city authorities. Because the residents of the Mariastraat had always kept their fire ladders at that wall, they were now allowed to place them by the wall opposite the chapter-house.[2] The large pentice would originally have been intended for this purpose, although there is no sign of the ladders; under it are some millstones and hanging from it are rags, with which the seated woman is evidently occupied.[3] The two sheds probably concealed an ash pit and scales for weighing, which were laid out by the choir buttresses in 1615-1617. There is a sign on the buttress – one of the two men standing nearby points to it – forbidding the dumping of refuse in the churchyard; it was put up in 1624.[4]
In 1619 the choir of the church was placed at the disposal of the cabinet-makers' guild to serve as their showroom. At this time the entrance was made with the signboard above; it is a painted church interior (the Mariakerk itself?) with cabinet-makers' products lining the walls.

On the left the views along the sides of the church show part of the southern churchyard, with the garden wall of houses numbers I to IV, where at number III (probably the vaguely indicated gate to the left of the two trees with the house located behind) the painter Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) lived. Further left, Saenredam left out the market hall built in 1619.[5] Amid the trees walks a woman in black holding a child by the hand.
On the right of the sheet the gate to the quay behind the city wall can be seen in the background; this is the Mariawaterpoortje, built in 1616. Goods bound for the market were

Inscriptions
Verso lower left: hoog 13½ / breet 19 dm (pencil; probably the handwriting of c. Ploos van Amstel (L. 3002-04))
Verso lower right: Vo 19 (?) (pen and brown?)

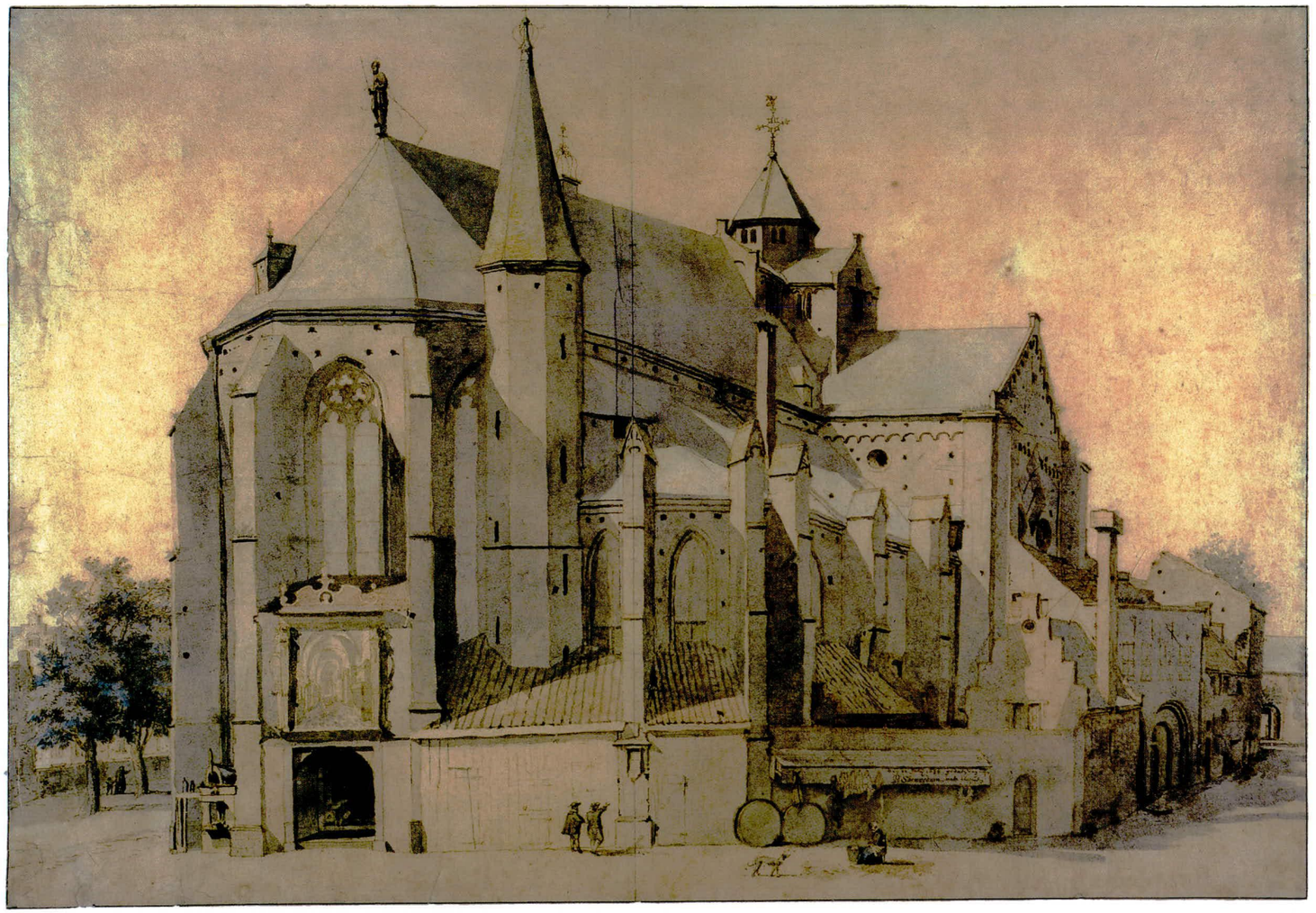
Comments
The two trees at the far left and the two men and the dog are most likely 18th-century additions, probably by Isaac de Moucheron (1667-1744) (see p. 64).

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); S. Feitama II collection (1754-1758); sale, Amsterdam 16 October 1758 (S. Feitama coll.); D. de Jongh collection (1810); sale, Rotterdam 14-18 March 1810 (D. de Jongh coll.); Het Utrechts Archief, 1810

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 67, p. 25, fig. XXIV; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 67, p. 25, fig. XXIV; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 134, p. 34; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 195, p. 88; Ghent 1958, cat. no. 11, p. 155; Utrecht/Louvain 1959, cat. no. 50, p. 83.; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 50, p. 24, fig. 44; Utrecht 1971, cat. no. 19, p. 39; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 15, p. 22, ill. on p. 8.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 748, p. 71; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 10-11, fig. 14; Muller 1902, pp. 199-200; Weissman 1912, p. 32, fig. 8; Evers 1916, fig. 3; Fritz 1932, pp. 52, 54; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 107, p. 100, fig. 129; Van Campen 1944, pp. 129-131, fig. 5; Swillens 1950, p. 72 (note 4); Esmeijer 1955, p. 20; Rotterdam 1955, p. 54; Bernt 1957-1958, II, fig. 512; Brinkgreve 1960, pp. 34-35, fig. 4; Plietzsch 1960, p. 123; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 148, p. 211, fig. 149; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 148, p. 211, fig. 149; Stechow 1966, p. 124; *Verslagen der Rijksverzamelingen* (1966), p. 206; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 85 (note 26), fig. 8; De Vries [1967], pp. 27-28; Brussels 1971, p. 116; Haakma Wagenaar 1971(a), p. 27 (note 15); The Hague 1977, p. 214; Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 5, fig. 511; Wilmer 1980, pp. 9, 44, ill.; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 26, ill. on p. 25; Broos 1984, pp. 28-29; Bronkhorst 1985, ill. on p. 12; Broos 1985, pp. 113, 115; The Hague 1985, pp. 288, 438; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 40, 62, 65, 66, 89, fig. 6; Liedtke 1985, pp. 73-74 and p. 79 (note 20); [Van] S[taveren] 1985, ill. on p. 197; Weide 1985, p. 68, fig. 3; The Hague 1987, pp. 338, 340, 343-344, fig. 1; De Meyere 1988, p. 298; Kipp [1989], ill. on p. 6; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 148, p. 280 and pp. 140, 238, 241, fig. 152; Castagnola-Lugano 1990, p. 273; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 148, p. 282 and pp. 140, 236, 241, fig. 152; Rotterdam 1991, pp. 145-147, fig. 1; Giltaij 2000, p. 44.

Notes
1
For a history and description of the church, see Muller 1902; Calkoen 1916-1917; Kipp 1974; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985.



unloaded at this quay. Saenredam could not have seen much further to the right because the view was obstructed by the house at the southwest corner of Mariastraat.[6] This house is partly visible in another of his drawings (cat. no. 6).

Many artists depicted the Mariakerk from this side. Comparisons reveal Saenredam's accuracy. A sketch by Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) comes closest to Saenredam's drawing, so close in fact that it might easily be taken for a copy.[7] However, Cuyp's slightly different vantage point produced minor shifts and other differences indicative of personal observations on the spot. Saenredam's vantage point was not in the middle of the street like Cuyp's, but on the eastern building line, just about at the division between the present buildings at 10 Mariaplaats and 38 Mariastraat. His vantage point was also higher; this is evident from the drawing, even though its perspective is far from correct. The horizon is nearly half way up the roofs of the sheds and not much lower than the four cross windows of the dwelling above the north entrance. This equates to an eye level some 5 metres above street level. Saenredam, thus, made this drawing from an upper floor, most likely in the house at 10 Mariaplaats, whose right half is shown in cat. nos. 6 and 7; one upper window of the house, at a height of about 5 metres, can just be seen there. Also bearing in mind what follows, it is reasonable to assume that at that time Saenredam was lodging at 10 Mariaplaats.

Although the drawing gives the date 12 July, we can be sure that Saenredam worked on it on other days as well. The light, which was added when the watercolour was applied after the architecture had all been drawn in by pen, is that of early morning. This is indicated by the fall of light on the apse (whose orientation deviated to the north by nearly 20°, like that of the other collegiate churches of Utrecht). Work on the drawing in pen must have begun at an earlier date, on 11 July or days prior, assuming that the date of 12 July refers to when the work was finished in watercolour.
The lighting is highly accurate and entirely in keeping with the date. Indeed, the passage of time becomes evident when the angles of incidence are measured. The shadow line on the roof above the entrance to the choir is that of about 8 a.m.. The shadow on the roofs of the sheds shows that the sun has moved several degrees southwards (1 degree = about 4 minutes). The sun is still further southwards and higher at the crossing tower (towards 9 a.m.) and the stepped gable of the offices (just after 9:15 a.m.). Saenredam evidently finished his drawing in this order – from left to right – and at this pace.

AdG

Many of the details in this and the following entries are based on new research in the chapter archives (HUA, St.-Marie).

2
HUA, St.-Marie, inv. no. 41-8, f. 73r, Chapter Resolutions, 17 May 1616.

3
The trade in old clothes was concentrated around the Mariaplaats. It is also possible that the woman is cutting up rags for the paper industry, see Broos in The Hague 1987, cat. no. 56, p. 342. See also cat. no. 3, note 4.

4
See receipts from Willem Frederiksz. Kelder and Herman Gerritsz. van Honthorst for respectively making and painting three such boards, one of which was hung behind the choir ('after het koor'). HUA, St.-Marie, inv. nos. 349-1 and 349-2, Receipts 1624, 1625.

5
However, Saenredam did sketch a house projecting at right angles to the wall, which is also depicted – seen from the opposite direction – in the drawing of the market on the Mariaplaats attributed to Dirk Matham (HUA, TA Em 10.8; ill. in Wilmer 1980, p. 38).

6
Compare the drawing by A. H. van Winter, c. 1840 (HUA, TA Id 3.45), which was done from almost the same point and in which this house is also seen.

7
London, The British Museum, Print Room, inv. no. Cuyp 18, purch. 1836.8.11.95; London 1915-1932, vol. 3, p. 71, no. 18, and pl. XXXVII.

3 View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from the northeast

20 November 1659

Panel, 44 x 63 cm.
Recto lower centre (above the pentice):
De S[t]. Maria kerck tot utrecht

Recto lower centre (on the pentice):
P[r]. Saenredam fecit A°1659. 11/20
The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, inv. no. 974

Saenredam painted only three church exteriors, which is regrettable because they are among the most impressive works in his oeuvre. All three depict the Mariakerk in Utrecht, seen from the northeast and from the west. This *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* of 1659 is the earliest exterior. The two others date from 1662 (cat. nos. 5 and 7). The drawings done by Saenredam in 1636, which served as the basis for these paintings, have all been preserved. They are dated 12 July, 30 August and 18 September, respectively (cat. nos. 2, 4 and 6). No construction drawings of the exteriors are known.

Apart from a minor correction in the perspective, the painting closely follows the drawing Saenredam had done on the spot 23 years earlier (cat. no. 2). Even the cloudless sky of 12 July, the summer day on which he completed the drawing, has remained the same in the painting, which is dated 20 November. The only change Saenredam introduced was to shift the church a slightly to the left, so that the garden wall and the cloistral houses on that side are hidden from view. To the right the view now includes the Mariaplaats, an unpaved square with a few trees where the weekly market had been held since 1616.
Not only the building itself but its furnishings have remained unchanged. The large sign depicting a church interior over the entrance to the cabinet-makers' showroom is exactly the same as in the drawing.[2] On the ridge of the roof the oak statue of Emperor Henry IV (1050-1106), the founder of the church, can still be seen; it is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The statue dates from 1569 and was made by the Utrecht woodcarver Rijck Hendricksz. van Beest.[3] Less prepossessing details are also identical. The chest in the entrance to the church is in the same position, as are the millstones under the pentice, the signboard on the buttress and the rags on the pentice, where Saenredam signed and dated both drawing and painting.
The deviations from the drawing are limited to the figures. In the middle of the foreground are two women. The seated one leaning forward over a bucket is also seen in the drawing. Although it looks as if she is gutting fish or cleaning vegetables, her work is more likely connected to the rags hanging on the pentice behind her; she may be cutting them up to prepare them for the paper factory.[4] Added at the right are three men dressed in the fashion of the 1630s walking on the square. Lastly, sitting inside the entrance to the church is a woman who does not appear in the drawing.

In preparation for his paintings Saenredam generally produced a 1:1 construction drawing in his studio on the basis of the study he had drawn on the spot. Infrared reflectography has shown that in the case of the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk* he employed another method. He transferred the smaller, drawn image to the much larger panel by means of squaring, namely the application of a network of squares on the panel. He used this technique as well for his two other exteriors of the Mariakerk, in which infrared reflectography has revealed traces of squaring.[5]

Provenance
Sale Christie, Manson & Woods, London 4 February 1927, cat. no. 66, p. 10 (to Skelleter);[1] art dealer Asscher & Welcker, London (1927); art dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam (1927); F. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk (1927); J.W. Nienhuys collection, Bloemendaal (1927-1940); A.M. Nienhuys-Versteegh collection, Aerdenhout (1948-1966); acquired by the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis with the support of the Prins Bernhard Fonds, the Stichting Johan Maurits van Nassau, the Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit and the Vereniging Rembrandt, 1966

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1932-1933, cat. no. 16, p. 12, fig. VII; Brussels 1935, part 1, cat. no. 770, p. 187; Haarlem 1936, cat. no. 37, p. 22; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 17, p. 12 and p. 25 (cat. no. 67), fig XI; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 17, p. 11 and p. 25 (under cat. no. 67), fig. XI; Haarlem 1940, cat. no. 59, p. 8; Utrecht 1948, cat. no. 51, p. 48; Paris [1950-1951], cat. no. 84, p. 42; Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 87, p. 23, fig. 30; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 191, p. 86; Milan 1954, cat. no. 143, p. 62; Rome 1954, cat. no. 140, p. 80; Rotterdam 1955, cat. no. 116, p. 54, fig. 55; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 49, p. 24, fig. 45; Brussels 1971, cat. no. 93, p. 116, ill. on p. 114 and fig. III; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 24, pp. 144-147, ill. on p. 144.

Literature
Fritz 1932, p. 54; Koomen 1933, pp. 265, 266, ill. on p. 266; Utrecht 1933, p. LVIII; Bremmer 1913/1914-1937/1938, vol. 20 (1933/1934), no. 60, pp. 59-60, ill.; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 207, pp. 126-127 and pp. 35, 100 (under cat. no. 207), fig. 130; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Bautier et al. 1936, vol. 2, fig. CCLI; Bremmer 1938, fig. 7; Van Campen 1944, p. 130; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Brinkgreve 1960, p. 35, fig. 6; Plietzsch 1960, p. 123; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 147, pp. 210-211, fig. 148; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 147, pp. 210-211, fig. 148; Stechow 1966, p. 124; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 85 (note 26); Beelaerts van Blokland [1967], p. 6; *Chronique des arts* 1967, fig. 461; D[e] V[ries] [1967], pp. 27-28, ill.; The Hague 1968, cat. no. 974, p. 129 and p. 7; *Verslagen der Rijksverzamelingen* 1969, pp. 203-206, 208, ill. on p. 205; De Vries 1970, n. p., ill.; The Hague 1970, cat. no. 21, n. p., ill.; Wagner 1971, p. 22; Amsterdam 1973, p. 72; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 147 (note 11); Amsterdam/Toronto 1977, p. 45 (note 31); The Hague 1977, inv. no. 974, p. 214 and p. 20, ill. p. 214; Wright 1980, p. 401; The Hague 1985, cat. no. 85, pp. 288-289 and pp. 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 438 (inv. no. 974), ill. on p. 289, ill. on p. 438; Reznicek 1985, p. 6; The Hague 1987, cat. no. 56, pp. 338-344, ill. on p. 339; De Meyere 1988, pp. 222, 223, fig. 39; The Hague 1988, pp. 36, 120-121, fig. 1; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 147, p. 280 and pp. 140, 167, 238, 300, fig. 253; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 147, p. 282 and pp. 140, 166, 236, 309, fig. 253; Giltaij 1990-1991, p. 90; Edinburgh 1992, p. 144; The Hague 1993, inv. no. 974, p. 133, ill.; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, pp. 44-45; Giltaij 2000, p. 44, fig. 14.



The provenance of the painting extends back to 1927, at which time it was in the London art trade. In that year it entered into the collection of J. W. Nienhuys of Bloemendaal, who a year later acquired a second painting by Saenredam, *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 48). In 1966 the latter work was bequeathed to the Dutch state by the heirs of his widow A. M. Nienhuys-Versteegh. In the same year the Mauritshuis in The Hague bought the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk*.

LMH

Notes

1
The sales cat. Christie, Manson & Woods, London 4 February 1927, cat. no. 66, p. 10 refers to: 'A Church Scene, with figures among trees; [...].' Hofstede de Groot's filing cards at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague show that the work is 'the Mariakerk from the northeast in accordance with the drawing'. The information that this work came from the Coats collection is first found in Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 211, with no source given. Rotterdam 1991, p. 145 repeats this provenance, as does The Hague 1987, p. 338, although here with a question mark. The painting was not in the exhibition for the sale of the Coats collection in January 1927, and so there is no reason to believe it was ever in his possession. It has been assumed that the Coats collection was also sold at the largely anonymous sale of 4 February 1927, where this painting was offered; however, there is absolutely no evidence of this. See Edinburgh 1992, p. 144 (note 3).

2
Schwartz 1966, p. 85 (note 26) says that in the church interior depicted above the entrance there are figures with their backs turned towards the viewer.

3
Rijck Hendricksz. van Beest, *Emperor Henry IV*, 1569. Painted oak, reverse hollowed out. Height 160 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. N.M. 127. The statue replaced one of 1563, which had probably been lost in the outbreak of iconoclasm. See Amsterdam 1973, cat. no. 41, p. 72.

4
See Ben Broos in The Hague 1987, p. 342. According to De Vries [1967], p. 28, the two women are sorting rags. In 1634 the selling of old clothes and rags at the market next to the Mariakerk was prohibited because of the danger of infection. The many complaints about the smell were another reason. Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 210, suggest that the women may be cleaning fish.

5
See Guido Jansen in Rotterdam 1991, p. 146; and Giltaij 2000, p. 44.

4 The west façade of the Mariakerk in Utrecht

30 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, brush and grey ink, brush and watercolour (red, yellow, green). Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Watermark: crowned escutcheon, quartered, with an oblique fesse, monogram HLB below (see p. 298).
353 x 302 mm.

Recto upper centre: S.te Marijen Kerck binnen uijtrecht.
Recto lower left (on the shed): int Jaer 1636. den 30e augustus van mijn P.r Saenredam
(By me, Pieter Saenredam, in the year 1636, on 30 August)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 3.6

This drawing of the west façade presents an entirely different view to that in the *View from the northeast* of seven weeks earlier (cat. no. 2). Only the remnant of the tower on the left with the bush growing on it – a detail also recorded by Cuyp and Van Goyen – is seen in both drawings.
For this frontal view Saenredam took up a position a little to the north (= left) of the central axis of the church and as far away as possible from its front. The vanishing point (not indicated) lies on the left side of the northern narrow lancet window, as is apparent from the later painting, about half way up or approximately 4.5 metres above the ground. This makes it likely, although less certain than in the case of cat. no. 2, that Saenredam made the drawing from an upper floor, and more specifically from claustral house number IX opposite the church, which was then occupied by the widow Catharina Jelisdr.[1] The high vantage point enabled Saenredam to depict the proportions of the front fairly accurately. Despite what has sometimes been said, these proportions are fairly correct, as can be demonstrated on the basis of the known dimensions of the exterior and interior.[2] The only discrepancy is that the entrance is too narrow, and this was corrected in the painting done later on the basis of this drawing.

The 12th-century Romanesque façade revealing Italian influence was far from intact by 1636. The large Gothic windows disrupted the original architecture. The tower on the left had been destroyed by Spanish cannon fire on 29 December 1576 during the Siege of Vredenburg, and the tower on the right had no roof. During later consolidation work on this south tower, the open two-light windows in the upper half were filled in with red brick. At other points brick was also used to mend the grey tufa walls. Despite these repairs, the church's decay was clearly visible in 1636. Moreover, the many scaffolding holes gave the whole exterior a pock-marked appearance.
Saenredam documented the old building traces almost like an archaeologist. Particularly interesting are the outlines of round arches in the wall sections next to the lancet windows. They correspond with the round-arched arcade on the first floor, the arch of the transverse wall on the far right and the columns on either side of the entrance. It has sometimes been concluded from this that there must once have been two galleries, one above the other, running in front of the façade, as part of a forecourt or atrium enclosed by galleries. It is likely, however, that this atrium was planned, but never built.[3]

With the same painstaking accuracy Saenredam recorded various utilitarian alterations in his own time: the openings for shutters made here and there in the facade, the whole system for draining rainwater on the right (installed in 1625), and the two carpenter's sheds against the flanks. The shed on the right was removed on 12 and 13 September 1636, as Saenredam later noted in lead point below it. He began writing on the left (by mistake, for he broke off abruptly and wrote the inscription in full on the right). This has led some to believe that *both* sheds were removed, which would explain why they were omitted in the paintings of 1662.[4]

Inscriptions
Recto (below the left shed, in lead point): den 12en en[de]; (below the right shed, in lead point, cut off): den 12en en[de] 13 September is d[ese] // schuier affgebroocken int Jaer [1636] (this shed was torn down on 12 and 13 September, in the year [1636])
Verso lower left: No 1669 (pen and brown ink [written over an earlier inscription in pencil: 1669])
Verso lower right: 1807/744 (pencil); 74 (pencil)

Provenance
Unknown.

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 68, p. 25; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 68, p. 25; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 199, p. 89; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 138, p. 35; Vancouver 1958, cat. no. 68, ill.; Utrecht/Louvain 1959, cat. no. 49, p. 82-83, fig. 22; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 51, p. 24, fig. 44; Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 21, p. 54; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 10, p. 21; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 56, p. 66, ill. and colour ill. XII.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 744, p. 71; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 10, fig. 12; Muller 1902, p. 198 and p. 204; Weissman 1912, p. 32, fig. 10; Gall 1923, pp. 35, 39, fig. 1; London 1929(b), p. 33; Holmes et al. 1930, p. 120; Fritz 1932, p. 52; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 119, p. 103 and p. 65, fig. 131; Bremmer 1938, ill. on cover; Heppner 1939, pp. 116, 118, fig. 4; Van Campen 1944, pp. 129-131, fig. 4; Van de Ven 1955, p. 68; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 146, p. 209, fig. 147; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 146, pp. 209-210, fig. 147; Stechow 1966, p. 124; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 163; Haakma Wagenaar 1971(a), pp. 29-30, fig. 5; Kubach and Verbeek 1976, part 2, pp. 1162 ff.; part 3, fig. 559, no. 3; Hoogland 1978, ill. on p. 11; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 26, ill.; Hoff 1983, p. 63; Van der Peet 1986, ill. on p. 67; Jansen 1987, pp. 15-16, fig. 8; London 1988, p. 106; De Meyere 1988, pp. 223, 298, fig. 43; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 146, p. 280 and pp. 148, 238, 243, fig. 168; Castagnola-Lugano 1990, pp. 272-274, fig. 1; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 146, p. 282 and pp. 148, 236, 243, fig. 168; Rotterdam 1991, pp. 149-151, fig. 1; Madrid 1992, p. 464; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, pp. 45-47, fig. 7; Klinckaert 1996(b), p. 115, fig. 3.

Notes
1
Van de Ven 1955, p. 67.
2
Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, pp. 45-47, are right to oppose Guido Jansen's view in Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 25, p. 149, that here the front is too low, and that it is more reliably depicted in the drawing of 18 September 1636 and the painting later done from it now in Rotterdam (cat. nos. 6 and 7). In fact, the front of the Mariakerk was slightly lower than Terlingen and Engelbregt suggest, namely 25 metres at most.


S.te Marien kerck

This was not the case, however. The archives of the Mariakerk reveal that in 1622 the chapter took over the shed on the right from their regular carpenter Willem Frederiksz. Kelder, who had built it shortly before. In 1636 the chapter had his successor, the carpenter Dirk Kip, clear out the old shed on the right and took over from him the larger shed that had since been built on the north side. Hence the left shed remained in place, as can be seen in Saenredam's drawing of 18 September and in several sketches dating from the 1640s attributed to Jan van Goyen.[5] In 1653, however, the house of the then carpenter was built on this site and a shed again appeared on the right.

Saenredam also omitted elements in his drawing. A high wooden partition with a gate had stood in front of the church since 1617, and subsequently in between the two sheds; it was still there in 1636 and later.[6] This may also partly explain Saenredam's choice of a high vantage point. Moreover, a number of recently planted trees muts have dotted the foreground (see cat. no. 6).
The watercolouring was applied with great care. The fall of light indicates a time in mid-afternoon.

AdG

3
On this, see among others Haakma Wagenaar 1971(a), pp. 29-31.
4
See e.g. Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 25, p. 149.
5
See HUA, TA Id 3.14.1 (reprod.); National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist, drawings collection, inv. no. TH-372. Cf. Beck 1972-1973, I, cat. no. 226, p. 82 (with ill.), where the northwest corner of the Mariakerk is used as a model for a ruin.
6
This partition is recognisable in the drawing (Jan van Goyen?) at the National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings (see note 5).

5 The west façade of the Mariakerk in Utrecht

1662

Panel, 65.5 x 51.5 cm
Recto upper right (at the top of the tower): pieter saenredam fecit. 1662

Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. no. 1979.27

In 1662 Saenredam completed the two west views of the Mariakerk, which he had drawn in the late summer of 1636.[1] *The west façade of the Mariakerk* is based on the sketch of 30 August (cat. no. 4). In this painting, the church is shown frontally and filling the picture plane. At first glance, Saenredam seems to have transposed the building to rural surroundings, for there is nothing to indicate the church's actual urban setting.[2] However, calculations make it clear that from Saenredam's vantage point the city's buildings were completely obscured by the west façade. This even applied to the Buur and Dom Towers, which would have projected above the north aisle and the nave of the Mariakerk only had they been twice as tall.[3] In the second painting (cat. no. 7), which relies on the drawing Saenredam made on 18 September (cat. no. 6), the church is seen from a different angle. The Mariaplaats extends out to the left of the building, and the two towers stand out prominently against the clear blue sky.

The front of the church in *The west façade of the Mariakerk* is presented as far wider and less high than in the painting in which the Mariaplaats is also depicted. Saenredam thus did not have precise measurements of the building at his disposal. Like the exterior view Saenredam made of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk (cat. no. 3), no construction drawings for these two paintings are known. This is actually not surprising, for he did not use them to transfer his drawn church exteriors to panel.[4] What is already visible to the naked eye is confirmed by infrared reflectography: he transferred the composition with the help of squaring: a grid of identical rectangles was applied to both the paper and the panel in order to transfer the composition from the smaller drawn format to the far larger panel.[5]
In elaborating his 1636 sketch about a quarter of a century later on the panel, Saenredam introduced only a very few changes. The most striking of these is the absence of the two wooden sheds on either side of the façade. According to a note that Saenredam made in the drawing, the right shed was torn down on 12 and 13 September 1636. Hence, there was no longer any reason to paint the little structure. In order to show the façade in its entirety, Saenredam also eliminated the left shed.[6] Other minor alterations have to do with moving shadows and the addition of three very tiny figures. The tower, whose upper storey is slightly raised, is somewhat narrower and the proportions of the rose window have also been altered.

The provenance of *The west façade of the Mariakerk* can be traced back to the 18th century. In 1768, the painting was in the collection of François Constantijn Druyvesteyn (1729-1767), scion of a distinguished family of Haarlem burgomasters and aldermen.[7] It was offered at auction in Haarlem that same year, where it was purchased by Hendrik Keun (1738-1787), himself a painter of city views and buildings.[8] In 1809 the painting was part of the Amsterdam art cabinet of Pieter de Smeth van Alphen, whose collection of 132 paintings was sold on 1 and 2 August 1810 for ƒ 185,482.[9] The assumption that the painting had been the property of Pieter van Winter, which entered the famous Six collection through the marriage of Lucretia Johanna van Winter (1785-1845) and Hendrik Six van Hillegom, is incorrect.[10]
In the introduction of the catalogue of the Six collection when it was exhibited in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam because of renovation work, Jan Six himself wrote that Hendrik Six van Hillegom had already bought a number of paintings with very limited means,

Provenance
F. C. Druyvesteyn collection, Haarlem (1768); sale Jelgersma and Van der Vinne, Haarlem 26 April 1768 (estate F. C. Druyvesteyn), cat. no. 25, p. 6 (to H. Keun); I. de Moni collection, Leiden (1784); sale Delfos, Leiden 17 April 1784 (estate I. de Moni), cat. no. 43, p.6 (to Wubbels); P. de Smeth van Alphen collection, Amsterdam (1809); sale Ph. van der Schley et al., Amsterdam 1-2 August 1810 (estate P. de Smeth van Alphen), cat. no. 90, pp. 37-38 (to De Vries); W. Wreesman collection, Amsterdam (1814); sale Ph. van der Schley, C. S. Roos and J. de Vries, Amsterdam 11 April 1816 (estate W. Wreesman), cat. no. 164, p. 41 (to De Vries); sale C. S. Roos, J. de Vries and A. Brondgeest, Amsterdam 19 April 1819 and days following, cat. no. 82, p. 9 (to Eversdijk); H. Six collection, Amsterdam (1822-1847); J. P. Six and P. H. Six collection, Amsterdam (1847-1899); P. H. Six, J. Six, and W. Six collection, Amsterdam (1899-1922); Stichting Six collection, Amsterdam (1922-1928); sale Frederik Muller, Amsterdam 16 October 1928 (estate J. Six), cat. no. 42, p. 11 (to Van Wisselingh for Jurgens); A. Jurgens collection, Nijmegen/London (1928-1944); art dealer C. Duits, London, 1952; F. Jurgens collection, Egham (Surrey)/Jersey (1952-1961); art dealer A. G., Zug (1979); art dealer dward Speelman, London (1979); H. H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Castagnola-Lugano (1979); Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 1988

Exhibitions
Amsterdam 1854, cat. no. 791, p. 22; Utrecht 1894, cat. no. 174, p. 65; Amsterdam 1900, cat. no. 129, p. 27 and p. 3; London 1929(b), cat. no. 47, p. 33; Delft 1952-1953, cat. no. 66, pp. 32-33, fig. 6; Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 86, pp. 22-23, fig. 28; Rome 1956-1957, cat. no. 269, p. 217, fig. 31; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Moscow/Leningrad 1987, cat. no. 30, p. 106 and p. 68, ill. on p. 69; Madrid 1987-1988, cat. no. 19, p. 74, ill. on p. 75; London 1988, cat. no. 41, pp. 106-107 and p. 16, ill. on p. 107; Stuttgart 1988-1989, cat. no. 47, n. p., ill.; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 25, pp. 148-151, ill. on p. 148.

Literature
Eyck tot Zuylichem 1848, p. 26; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 10; Hofstede de Groot 1900, p. 270; Steenhoff 1900-1901, p. 27; Jantzen 1910, pp. 82-83, 169 (no. 422); Six 1910, pp. 19-20, 24, fig. 1; 't Hooft 1914, p. 210; G. 1928(a), p. 682; G. 1928(b), p. 289; H[uebner] 1928, p. 714; M. 1928, p. 428; S. 1928, p. 649; Bremmer 1913/1914-1937/1938, vol. 17 (1929/1930), no. 1, pp. 1-2, ill.; Holmes et al. 1930, p. 120; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 219, p. 129 and pp. 60, 65, 103b (under cat. no. 119) , fig. 132; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Rotterdam 1937-1938, p. 25 (under cat. no. 68); Amsterdam 1938, p. 25 (under cat. no. 68); Kay 1939, p. 65; Van Campen 1944, p. 130; Bernt 1948, vol. 3, fig. 714; Zurich 1953, p. 84; Cattaui 1957, p. 245; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 145, pp. 208-209, fig. 146; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 145, pp. 208-209, fig. 146; Schulte Nordholt 1961-1962, ill. between p. 488 and p. 489; Huebner 1962, ill. on p. 7; Stechow 1966, p. 124; Bernt



including *The west façade of the Mariakerk,* prior to his marriage to Lucretia in 1822.[11] In the beginning of the 19th century, the painting was in the collections of De Smeth van Alphen (1809) and W. Wreesman (1814) and in these years was auctioned three times in Amsterdam (1810, 1816 and 1819). Accordingly, it cannot have been part of the collection that Lucretia inherited from her father in 1807. Yet there was another painting by Saenredam in the De Winter collection. In the 1815 inventory list of the paintings divided between Lucretia and her sister is mentioned a Saenredam church.[12] This is *The nave of the Buurkerk*, which is still in the Six collection (cat. no. 36).This painting was also on view in the 1900 exhibition in Amsterdam. And in the catalogue it is, indeed, listed as coming from the Van Winter collection.[13]

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1970, vol. 3, fig. 1016; Paris 1970, p. 24 (under cat. no. 51); Haakma Wagenaar 1971(a), p. 29, fig. 6; Wagner 1971, p. 22; Jantzen 1979, pp. 82-83, 233 (no. 422); Levy 1979, p. 90, ill. on p. 88 ; Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 3 (1980), fig. 1086; Ruurs 1982, pp. 116-117 (note 4); Hoff 1983, p. 63, fig. XXII; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, p. 9; Utrecht 1985, p. 21 (under cat. nos. 10 and 11); Castagnola-Lugano 1986, cat. no. 277b, p. 286, ill.; Jansen 1987, p. 16, fig. 9; Ruurs 1987, p. 102 (note 67); De Meyere 1988, pp. 222, 223, fig. 40; Castagnola-Lugano 1989, cat. no. 59, pp. 270-275 and p. 9, ill. on p. 271, fig. 3, ill. on cover; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 145, p. 280 and pp. 148, 167, 238, 301, fig. 254; Russell 1990, p. 286; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 145, p. 282 and pp. 148, 166, 236, 309, fig. 254; Madrid 1992, cat. no. 362, p. 464 and p. 443, ill. on p. 465; Terlingen and Engelbrecht 1995, pp. 45-48, fig. 8; Priem 1997, no. 128, p. 221.

Notes

1
The date was discovered during the exhibition Utrecht 1953. See Zurich 1953, p. 84.

2
See Russell 1990, p. 286; and Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 25, p. 149.

3
Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, p. 47.

4
Ruurs 1982, p. 116 (note 4); and Ruurs 1987, p. 50 and p. 102 (note 67).

5
See Castagnola-Lugano 1989, p. 274, fig. 3 on p. 275 and Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 25, p. 149.

6
The note does not concern both sheds, as is simply assumed in Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 25, p. 149. On this, see also cat. no. 4.

7
In Rotterdam 1991, p. 150, Guido Jansen suggests the possibility that Jacob Druyvesteyn (1612-1691), of whom F. C. Druyvesteyn is a direct descendent, may have been the first owner of the painting.

8
Sale Jelgersma and Van der Vinne, Haarlem 26 April 1768, cat. no. 25, p. 6.

9
Van Eijnden and Van der Willigen 1816-1840, vol. 3 (1820), p. 441.

10
See Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 209; Castagnola-Lugano 1989, p. 270; and Rotterdam 1991, p. 149. Priem 1997, p. 221, no. 128, also believes that the painting came from the collection of Pieter van Winter, and via his daughter entered the Six collection.

11
Amsterdam 1900, p. 3.

12
'kerk Saanredam'. See Priem 1997, Appendix III, p. 226, no. 60.

13
Amsterdam 1900, cat. no. 130, p. 27. That Lucretia van Winter did not buy the painting herself emerges from the list of acquisitions in Priem 1997, pp. 197-217. The painting will have been bought at or shortly after the auction by H. Six.

6 The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen from the west

18 September 1636

Pen and brown ink, brush and watercolour (red, green, yellow, blue), heightened with white body colour (graphite and red chalk in the figures only).
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Watermark: fleur-de-lis in crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 297).

349 x 501 mm.
Recto (far right, at the foot of the church façade): Pieter Saenredam fecit.
Recto (lower right): Int Jaer 1636, / den 18.en September // naer tleeven gedaen // binnen uijttrecht. (In the year 1636, on 18 September, done from life, in Utrecht.)
Haarlem, Teyler Museum, inv. no. O 79

For this drawing, the last he made of the Mariakerk, Saenredam stood in the far northwest corner of the northern, quiet part of the churchyard. He looked along the churchyard wall eastward towards the Mariastraat, with the towers of the Buurkerk and the Dom in the background; to the right he saw the church and the buildings put up against it. Originally the names of the churches were written at the top of the sheet; though later erased, they are still vaguely discernible. While drawing, Saenredam made a correction to the spire of the Buurkerk and this too can still be seen.

The direction of the view runs parallel to the church and the northern churchyard wall; the vanishing point, no longer recognisable as such, is in the group of riders in the background, in the head of the front horse, to be precise. The left half of the sheet is in very exact perspective. The right half, however, is rather distorted. In part this is due to the oblique view of the west half of the church, which means that the west front is sharply foreshortened and that the lines of the roof of the nave and the south tower are much less steep than they ought to be in strict linear perspective (at the crossing tower only a little of the steeper roof in line with the central vanishing point is indicated). The top of the west front is itself distorted. Much more is wrong with the perspective, however, as Terlingen and Engelbrecht have analysed.[1] They conclude that the whole church is compressed. The north façade of the transept is in the right position, but the west front ought to be considerably further forward (= to the right) and broader and higher; all the elements in between should be proportionally enlarged and shifted to the right. The south tower, which now appears to stand behind the west front, ought to move even more to the right. But to do that, Saenredam would have needed a much wider and higher sheet. Lack of space led to the present result.

While the reduced church makes the churchyard appear too big, the enclosed character of the old 'immunity' is clearly reflected in the drawing. On the south side are the buildings on the flanks of the church: from west to east we see the shed against the remains of the north tower, then the wall (with wooden fence and gate) of a courtyard, behind which can be seen the reduced transept and the Zoudenbalch Chapel (with two lancet windows) built on beside it, then the house with the step gable of 1616, known at that time as the house of Egbert de Leeuw, the north porch and finally the offices.
On the north side there is the wall separating the churchyard from the claustral houses and grounds of the canons, here visible from numbers XII to XV. In Saenredam's time most of these houses had already passed into other hands than those of the (secularised) canons. Only number XV, of which a triangular fragment of the red roof protrudes above the furthest part of the wall, which disappears from sight there because of a kink, was still occupied by a canon in 1636, namely Johan de Goyer, the church's treasurer. In the 16th century, however, well-known canons had lived here. Number XII, behind the nearest section of the wall with the first gate (a large passage with a small gate next to it) belonged to Hubert van Buchell,

Inscriptions
Recto (right at the top traces of erased letters above the churches): De Buyrkerck De Dom Ste Marijekerck
Verso lower left: 1085 (pen and brown ink; coll. mark of J. Goll van Franckenstein I; cf. L. 2987)

Comments
According to M. Plomp, the two trees at the right and virtually all of the figures were most probably the work of Isaac de Moucheron (1667-1744). For the figures, the staffager used a print by Jan van de Velde II (1593-1641) after a (no longer known) design by Pieter Saenredam. He may also have had a hand in the washes of the roof of the Dom, which in the drawing is light blue and in the painting green-grey (see p. 64).

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection (1754); sale, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); S. Feitama II collection (1754-1758); sale, Amsterdam 16 October 1758 (S. Feitama coll.); J. Goll van Franckenstein I collection (1758); J. Goll van Franckenstein II collection; P. H. Goll van Franckenstein collection (1833); sale, Amsterdam 1 July 1833 (P. H. Goll van Franckenstein coll.) (to De Vries); M. Hoofman collection (1833?-1846); sale, Haarlem 2 June 1846 (M. Hoofman coll.) (to Ritsema); H. van Cranenburgh collection (1846?-1858); sale, Amsterdam 26 October 1858 (H. van Cranenburgh coll.); bought by art dealer Buffa for the Teylers Stichting, Teyler Museum, 1858

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 59, p. 23, fig. XXIII; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 59, p. 23, fig. XXIII; Paris 1950-1951, cat. no. 161, p. 65; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 141, p. 35; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 48, p. 24, fig. 43; Amsterdam/Toronto 1977, cat. no. 83, pp. 176-177 and pp. 26, 139, ill. on p. 177; Haarlem 1978, cat. no. 63, p. 12, fig. 32; New York/Chicago 1989, cat. no. 81, pp. 125-126, ill. on p. 127; Haarlem 1997(b), no cat. no., pp. 3, 6-7 and fig. X; Amsterdam 2000(b), cat. no. 69, pp. 94-95 and p. 143, ill. on p. 95.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 10, fig. 13; Muller 1902, pp. 198-199; Haarlem 1904, cat. no. 79, pp. 87-88; Utrecht 1907, p. 123; Jantzen 1910, p. 85; Six 1910, p. 19; Vermeulen 1928-1941, vol. 1 (1928), p. 308, fig. 15; London 1929(b), p. 37; Holmes et al. 1930, p. 121; Grimes 1930, ill. facing p. 24; Fritz 1932, pp. 52, 54; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Haakma Wagenaar 1934, p. 76; Martin 1935, p. 278; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 127, p. 106 and p. 42, fig. 127; Haakma Wagenaar 1936, p. XIX and pp. 332-333, 337, fig. 133; Rotterdam 1937-1938, p. 11; Haakma Wagenaar 1938(a), p. 30, fig. 3; Haakma Wagenaar 1938(b), p. 186; Van Campen 1944, p. 130; Van Hulzen 1944, fig. 9; Utrecht 1948, p. 48; Swillens 1951, pp. 35, 40; Gudlaugsson 1954, p. 68; Esmeijer 1955, p. 20; Van de Ven 1955, p. 68; Brinkgreve 1960, pp. 34-35, fig. 3; Plietzsch 1960, p. 120, 124; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 144, pp. 207-208, fig. 145; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 144, pp. 207-208, fig. 145; Rotterdam 1962, p. 125; Rosenberg, Slive and



the donor of the transept windows; and from 1539 to 1562 number XIII, behind the part of the wall with the second gate, was the home of Jan van Scorel, the canon and artist who designed these windows. His house, situated at the back of the grounds, is still partly intact.[2]
A claustral house can also be seen on the east side, on the Mariastraat (now Mariaplaats). It is number XVI, whose northern half belonged to Margareta van Wintershoven in 1636 and after her death (in October 1636) came into the possession of the painter and architect Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638). It is the tall house to the right of the Dom Tower situated behind a low building in front and a wall with a gate.
The houses between numbers XV and XVI did not belong to the immunity. Number 9 Mariaplaats, directly below the Dom Tower, was built in the 15th century as the 'summer house' for Evert Zoudenbalch's large house in the Donkerstraat, whose blue-grey roof rises between the towers of the Buurkerk and the Dom; the entrance to the courtyard can be seen to the right of the tree.[3] In Saenredam's day this summer house and the southern half of the Zoudenbalch house belonged to Hendrik Valckenaer (d. 1669), sheriff of Utrecht from 1625 to 1643 and then a member of the States for the Knighthood. The house to the left of it, now 10 Mariaplaats, which is only partly visible, was the southernmost of a row of *cameren* or rented dwellings built in the 15th century. In Saenredam's time this and the next two houses were owned by the Van Vaneveld family (of Amersfoort?). Saenredam must have done his drawing of 12 July 1636 (cat. no. 2) from this house, which may have been where he was lodging. Alas, we do not know who was living there at the time.
In front of it stands the house that obstructed Saenredam's view to the right in his drawing of 12 July, a house dating from 1615 with a nearly blind side wall facing the churchyard. It formed an extension to the house at 51 Mariastraat, part of whose rear façade can be seen against the Buurkerk tower. In 1602 this house was bought by Gerrit Jacobsz. van Hasselt (d. 1625), a member of a family of *cleerschrijvers*, or ornamental painters, who owned various buildings on and near the Mariaplaats in the 17th century.[4] In 1636 (and for long afterwards) the house at 51 Mariaplaats and the extension at right angles to it on the churchyard were owned by the children of Gerrit Jacobsz.

The two nearest of the four trees in the drawing are a deeper shade of green than the others. This may reflect the difference in colour between elms and lime trees. Both types grew in the churchyard, and in larger numbers than the drawing indicates, although in 1636 many were newly planted. Around the turn of the year in 1635/1636, 30 mature elms in the part of the churchyard shown here had been sold and 50 young trees planted. There were protective wooden sleeves around both the new and the slightly older trees.[5] This last detail is a striking aspect of Saenredam's drawing. The newly planted trees, however, have been omitted.

The fall of light in the drawing is very exact. For example, the pointed shadows on the fronts of the houses in the Mariastraat are correct projections of two elements not visible in the drawing – the roofs of the apse and the adjacent staircase tower. The angle of incidence of the sunlight that can be deduced from this also broadly corresponds to the light and shadows on the roof of the transept, on the step gable in front of it and on the trees.[6] This light is entirely in keeping with a date in mid-September towards 2 p.m. The clock on the Dom Tower stands at 4 p.m. in the drawing (in the panel of 1662 this is changed to 2 p.m.), from which we may conclude that, as with cat. no. 2, Saenredam spent more than one day working on this sheet.

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Ter Kuile 1966, p. 190; Stechow 1966, p. 209 (note 5); Haakma Wagenaar 1971(a), fig. 4; Nash 1972, caption to fig. 107; Haakma Wagenaar 1975, pp. 76, 90, fig. 3; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 26; De Meyere 1981, fig. 54; Klück 1982, pp. 58-60, fig. 78; Utrecht 1982, ill. on p. 22; Klück 1983, pp. 83, 84; Broos 1984, pp. 28-29; Graafhuis and Witteveen 1984, p. 28; Broos 1985, pp. 113, 115; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 58, 62, 65-68, 70, 90, fig. 20; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 8, p. 20; Jansen 1987, pp. 11-13, 15, fig. 6; Kipp 1987, p. 202, fig. 168; The Hague 1987, p. 343; London 1988, p. 106; De Meyere 1988, pp. 223, 298, fig. 42; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 144, p. 280 and pp. 150, 238, 245, fig. 169; Castagnola-Lugano 1990, pp. 273, 274; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 144, p. 282 and pp. 150, 236, 245, fig. 169; Rotterdam 1991, p. 153 and p. 155, fig. 1; Slive 1995, p. 267, fig. 361; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, pp. 45-48, 50, fig. 9; Vellekoop 1996, p. 11, fig. 2; Haarlem 1997(a), cat. no. 420, pp. 368-369 and p. 23, fig. X; Bruijnen [1998], n. p., ill.; Huygens 1998, ill. on cover; Amsterdam 2000(a), p. 124.

Notes

1
Terlingen and Engelbrecht 1995, pp. 45-48.

2
On this house (now 2 Achter Clarenburg), see Dolfin, Kylstra and Penders 1989, vol. A, pp. 346-352; earlier Scorel lived briefly at the adjoining claustral house number XIV, which also still exists, see ibid., pp. 364-367.

3
On this house, see Klück 1982 and 1983.

4
Swillens 1946. The family relationships are, in fact, more complicated and not as presented there.

5
HUA, St.-Marie, inv. no. 347-9, Factory Accounts 1633/1634, f. 65r; 1635/1636, ff. 11v, 43v-44r; inv. no. 349-5, Receipts 1635.

6
The light comes from the southwest at an angle of about 40° to the longitudinal axis of the church. Because of the nearly 20° deviation in the orientation of the building, the position of the sun is more than 30° past south. The angle to the horizon can also be estimated at over 30°.

7 The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk in Utrecht from the west

1662

Panel, 110.5 x 139 cm.
Recto right middle (above the door):
Pieter Saenredam fecit 1662
Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen,
inv. no. 1765

The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk, a masterpiece in Saenredam's oeuvre, is his largest extant panel of a Utrecht church. Together with *The west façade of the Mariakerk* of the same year (cat. no. 5), it was one of his last works: Saenredam completed both paintings in 1662, at the age of 65, just three years before his death.[1] The painting made quite an impression when it was first shown at the exhibition *Dutch Art 1450-1900* held in The Royal Academy in London in 1929.[2] In the *Commemorative catalogue of the exhibition* it is even dubbed Saenredam's greatest work: 'Criticism is disarmed before such simple, cheerful serenity, such airy translucence.'[3] R. van Luttervelt selected the painting for inclusion in his 1960 book on masterpieces of old art in four museums, and the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen even devoted a separate publication to it in 1987.[4] More recently, this dazzling painting could be admired in the exhibition in the Rijksmuseum *The Glory of the Golden Age*.[5]

The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk is derived almost literally from the drawing Saenredam had made on 18 September 1636, as he himself wrote 'from life', more than a quarter of a century earlier (cat. no. 6). Only the two trees at the right and the shed, also missing in *The west façade of the Mariakerk,* were suppressed. For a number of details, Saenredam also consulted the drawing, which served as the point of departure for the latter painting wherein the church is shown frontally (cat. no. 4). He used this sketch of 30 August 1636, for instance, for the part of the church that is concealed by trees in the drawing of 18 September. He also adopted the flagpole extending out half way along the south façade tower, and even the two birds sitting on the stake.
The figures populating the drawn city view were added in the 18th century and are, therefore, naturally missing in Saenredam's painted version.[6] However, there are numerous figure groups in the painting which, though proportionally very small, are generally assumed to be by Saenredam.[7]

That Saenredam did not have measurements of the church is evident from the differing proportions in the two paintings. *The west façade of the Mariakerk* affords the most realistic image. In *The Mariaplaats and the Mariakerk* the façade stretches out in height and is very distorted. The distortion cannot be attributed solely to a lack of space, but also to a lack of familiarity with the façade structure.[8] Moreover, during restoration it became apparent that the panel had been reduced on the right.[9] The positions of the Buur and Dom Towers, and the northeast and northwest corners of the transept of the Mariakerk are correctly depicted with respect to one another.[10]
To properly transfer the composition from the sketch to the panel, Saenredam used squaring as he had for the two other exterior views of the Mariakerk. As is partially visible to the naked eye, the squaring in this painting consists of grids measuring approximately 5 x 5 cm, and extends only to the architecture.[11] From infrared reflectography, it appears that once Saenredam had transferred the composition to the panel he then introduced all kinds of freehand corrections.[12] During the restoration of 1985, moreover, the vanishing point

Provenance
? A. Hodshon collection, Amsterdam (1825); C. C. Röell-Hodshon collection, Amsterdam (1825?-1871); sale C. F. Roos et al., Amsterdam 25 April 1872 (C. C. Röell-Hodshon coll.), cat. no. 21, n. p., ill.; acquired at the sale in Amsterdam 1872

Exhibitions
London 1929(b), cat. no. 57, pp. 36-37; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 14, p. 11 and p. 23, fig. 10; Brussels 1946, cat. no. 95, p. 35, fig. 66; Utrecht 1948, cat. no. 50, p. 48; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 26, pp. 153-155 and p. 18, ill. on p. 152; Amsterdam 2000(a), cat. no. 77, p. 345 and p. 124, ill. on pp. 125, 345.

Literature
Rotterdam 1877, cat. no. 322, p. 92; Rotterdam 1880, cat. no. 255, p. 128; Riegel 1882, vol. 2, p. 431; Rotterdam 1883, cat. no. 283, pp. 145-146; Denison Champlin 1888, vol. 4, p. 100; Woltmann and Woermann 1879-1888, vol. 3 (1888), p. 655; Lafenestre and Richtenberger [1898], cat. no. 246, p. 37; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 10; Haverkorn van Rijsewijk 1909, p. 251; Jantzen 1910, pp. 85-86, 151, 169 (no. 418); Muller 1910, p. 202; Six 1910, pp. 19-20, 21, 24, fig. 2; Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 547; 't Hooft 1914, p. 210; Rotterdam 1916, cat. no. 399, p. 79; Rotterdam 1921, cat. no. 399, p. 93; Rotterdam 1925, cat. no. 398, p. 32; Rotterdam 1927, cat. no. 399, p. 83; Rotterdam 1928, cat. no. 399, p. 34; Witt 1929(a), fig. 84; Witt 1929(b), fig. IV-A; Holmes et al. 1930, pp. XXIV, 120-121, fig. LXIII; *Verslag Museum Boijmans* 1930, p. 3; Fritz 1932, p. 54; Koomen 1933, pp. 265, 266; Van Gelder [1935], p. 233; Martin 1935, pp. 278, 281, fig. 164; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 216, p. 128 and p. 35, fig. 128; Brière-Misme 1936, p. 313; Rotterdam 1937, cat. no. 399, p. 44; Beerends 1937-1938, p. 203, ill. on p. 201; Ter Braak 1938, p. 106, ill. on p. 105; Bremmer 1938, fig. 9; Trivas 1938, p. 155; Heppner 1939, pp. 117-118, fig. 1; Evers 1941, ill. facing p. 53; Van Campen 1944, pp. 130, 131, fig. 6; Rotterdam 1945, p. 66, ill. on p. 16; Van Gelder 1946, p. 343; Ter Kuile 1948, fig. 22; Rotterdam 1950, fig. 20; Paris [1950-1951], p. 65, under cat. no. 161; Ebbinge Wubben 1951, no. 399, p. 55, fig. 20; Swillens 1951, p. 35; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Rotterdam 1954, fig. 30; Van Gelder and Duverger 1954-1956, vol. 2 (1955), p. 92; Leymarie 1956, p. 150; Van Braam [1958], no. 4636, pp. 400-401; Anonymous 1959, p. 37, ill. on p. 36; Rotterdam 1959, p. 38, fig. 48; De Sirmione 1959, ill. on p. 1505; Brinkgreve 1960, p. 35, fig. 5; Van Luttervelt 1960, pp. 176-177, ill.; Plietzsch 1960, pp. 120, 124, fig. 210; Hutton 1961, p. 84, ill. on p. 85; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 143, pp. 205-207, fig. 144; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 143, pp. 205-207, fig. 144 ; Rotterdam 1962, inv. no. 1765, p. 125; Vallery-Radot 1962, ill. on p. 369; Halbertsma 1962-1963, fig. 3; Halbertsma 1964, fig. 3; Foucart 1965, ill. in section 21, n. p.; Heckmanns 1965, p. 56 (note 65); Rosenberg, Slive and Ter Kuile 1966, p. 190, fig. 162B; Wagner 1966, fig. XIV; De Jongh 1967, p. 22, fig. 11; *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon* 1964-1971, vol. 5 (1968), p. 199;



Saenredam used to correct the perspective came to light, the so-called 'eye', which is in the dark spot under the window of the house at the far left.[13] Saenredam most likely did not use a construction drawing; in any case no such drawing is known.[14]

LMH

Notes

1
Jantzen 1910, p. 85 (note 4) was the first to mistakenly date the painting to 1663, a date which has since appeared in almost all publications up to and including Schwartz and Bok 1989, p. 167 and cat. no. 143, p. 280. In the English edition, Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 166 and cat. no. 143, p. 282, the date is corrected to 1662. The correct year had been given in 't Hooft 1914, p. 210; and Holmes et al. 1930, p. 120. See also Giltaij 1990-1991, p. 89.

2
London 1929(b), cat. no. 57, pp. 36-37.

3
Holmes et al. 1930, p. xxiv.

4
Van Luttervelt 1960, pp. 176-177; Van Luttervelt 1974, p. 176; Jansen 1987.

5
Amsterdam 2000(a).

6
Haarlem 1997(a), cat. no. 420, p. 369.

7
Slive 1995, p. 267, suggests that the figures were added by another hand. In Rotterdam 1916, cat. no. 399, p. 79, Rotterdam 1921, cat. no. 399, p. 93, and Rotterdam 1927, cat. no. 399, p. 83, it is noted that the figures wear costumes from around 1636. According to Jansen 1987, p. 9, the staffage is probably by Saenredam himself.

8
Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, pp. 45-47.

9
See the restoration report by P. F .J. M. Hermesdorf dated 20 February 1985 in the documentation of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; and Jansen 1987, p. 17.

10
Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, p. 45.

11
Jansen 1987, p. 19.

12
On this research, see Jansen 1987, p. 19; and Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 26, p. 153. For a photograph of the infrared reflectogram assembly, see Jansen 1987, fig. 11, and Rotterdam 1991, fig. 2 on p. 155.

13
Jansen 1987, p. 14; and Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 26, p. 153.

14
See Ruurs 1982, p. 116 (note 4); Ruurs 1987, p. 102 (note 67); and Jansen 1987, pp. 13 and 15. In Amsterdam 2000(a), p. 124 it is suggested that Saenredam did make use of a construction drawing for this painting.

Wagner 1971, p. 22; Nash 1972, p. 11, fig. 107; Rotterdam 1972, p. 221, ill. on p. 51; Van Luttervelt 1974, p. 176, ill. on p. 177; Brown 1976, p. 9, fig. 11; *Grande Encyclopédie* 1971-1978, vol. 17 (1976), p. 10694 (E. Pansu); Amsterdam/Toronto 1977, pp. 45 (note 31), 176, fig. 4; Blau et al. 1976-1978, vol. 4 (1977), ill. on p. 1284; vol. 7 (1978), p. 2439; Haarlem [1978], p. 12, under cat. no. 63; Jantzen 1979, pp. 85-86, 151, 233 (no. 418); Wright 1980, p. 401; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, ill. on p. 28; Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 95, fig. 2 on p. 94; Ruurs 1982, p. 116 (note 4); Hoff 1983, p. 63; Haak 1984, pp. 251-252, fig. 530; De Bruijn et al. 1984-1985, p. 132, ill.; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, p. 89, ill. on cover; Van Hulzen 1985, p. 62, ill. on p. 61; Utrecht 1985, p. 20, under cat. no. 9; Jansen 1987; Ruurs 1987, p. 102 (note 67); The Hague 1987, p. 343; Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 18; De Meyere 1988, p. 222, fig. 41 on p. 225; Castagnola-Lugano 1989, pp. 273, 274, fig. 2; New York/Chicago 1989, p. 126; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 143, p. 280 and pp. 150, 167, 238, 301, fig. 256; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 143, p. 282 and pp. 150, 166, 236, 238, 309, fig. 256; Giltaij 1990-1991, p. 89; Lawrence 1991, pp. 8, 9, 13, 36, fig. 16; Tauch 1991, p. 3275; *Grote Winkler Prins* 1990-1993, vol. 20 (1992), ill. on p. 325; Schwartz and Bok 1993-1994, ill. on p. 237; Slive 1995, p. 267, fig. 362; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, pp. 45-47, fig. 10; Haarlem 1997(a), pp. 368, 369; Van Ginkel 1998, pp. 7-8, 10, ill. on pp. 8-9; Van Hulzen 1999, fig. 31; Amsterdam 2000(b), p. 95; Giltaij 2000, pp. 33, 44.

8 The nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the west

18 June 1636

Pen and brown ink, brush in watercolour (grey, pink, yellow, blue).
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Watermark: crowned escutcheon, quartered (see p. 298)
365 x 519 mm.

Recto (on tombstone lower centre):
De S:[te] Marijen kerck, binnen uijtrecht
Recto (on the plinth of the right pier):
Pieter Saenredam dit voleijndt met teijckenen den 18.[en] Junij A.° 1636. (Pieter Saenredam completed this in the drawing on 18 June, in the year 1636.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.8

This is Saenredam's earliest dated Utrecht drawing: a view from the transept of the Romanesque nave. By positioning himself as far back as possible – just before the choir under the rood screen gallery – and well out of the central axis, Saenredam was able to get a very good view of the architectural structure of the nave: the alternation of columns and piers, the low arches of the galleries, the tall wide arch of the reduced transept in the second bay, and the large cross-vaults with their characteristic broad ribs springing from the diagonally set pilasters of the large piers. Particularly eye-catching is the west wall with the large Gothic rose window flanked in the gallery by the two equal halves of the shut organ (this organ is discussed in cat. no. 14).

Though the Mariakerk displayed unmistakable signs of decay in 1636, the tilted position of the right piers in the drawing must be primarily attributed to Saenredam, for in his drawing of 9 July (cat. no. 21) they lean in the opposite direction. The perspective is not consistent. Saenredam began with a clearly marked vanishing point just below the right window under the west gallery at a height of an estimated 140 to 150 cm from the church floor. However, many orthogonals do not converge there, but further left, on the column next to it. The proportions in the drawing, chiefly on the right side, are also not correct.

As sketchily drawn as they are, many of the details in this drawing are true to life. This includes the escutcheon on the right pier, which in the painting of 1638 has the added inscription 'OBYT XXIX OCTOB: ANO. 1632', also noted by Buchelius.[1] It was hung for Cornelia Buth (see also cat. no. 10). The escutcheons on the piers at the left, only a bit of which are visible, could be those of Zoudenbalch and Brederode/Valckenburg, mentioned by Buchelius, and Beyer (see cat. no. 17).[2] The lozenge-shaped escutcheon in the south aisle may have been placed for a (female) member of the (Taets) van Amerongen family. Other details are also highly accurate: the corbel stones, canopies and painting on and above the piers and columns recalling the vanished sculptures of saints they once framed; the little crown – the device of the chapter – in the middle of the rose window; and the dark niche in the wall of the right aisle. The pattern of the tombstones in the nave is known to us only from Saenredam, but his drawings – no matter how generally sketched - are very consistent in this respect. The words 'Post ubi' below the escutcheon on the right pier introduce the historical account that is depicted in full in the painting of 1638 (cat. no. 10).

AdG

Inscriptions
Recto (on the front pier, below the escutcheon): Post ubi
Verso lower left: .. 515 (pen and brown ink?)

Comments
Heavy washes were applied by a later hand, making it difficult to clearly discern the original pen lines (including the vanishing point). The organ and some of the consoles and crownings have been mutilated by these washes (see also p. 65).

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection (1754); sale, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.), purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 60, p. 23; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 60, p. 23; Utrecht/Louvain 1959, cat. no. 51, p. 83; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 23, p. 54; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 31, p. 29, ill. on p. 33; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 57, p. 66, ill.; Hamburg 1995-1996, cat. no. 1, pp. 10-13 and p. 8, ill. on p. 10.

Literature
[Van der Monde] 1835, p. 312 and ill. facing p. 311; Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 750, p. 71 and p. V; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 11, fig. 15a; Peters [1909], vol. 2, fig. 196; Jantzen 1910, p. 83; Muller 1910, p. 200; Gall 1923, p. 35, fig. 2; Vermeulen 1928-1941, vol. 1 (1928), p. 308, fig. 35; Grimes 1930, ill. facing p. 32; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 99, p. 98 and p. 39, fig. 134; Hannema and Van Schendel [1937], p. 29; Vente 1939, p. 114; Fockema Andreae, Ter Kuile et al. 1948-1957, vol. 1 (1948), p. 156, fig. 23; Hamburg 1956, p. 131; Vente 1958, p. 237, fig. 15; Plietzsch 1960, p. 122; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 159, p. 222, fig. 160; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 159, pp. 222-223, fig. 160; Vallery-Radot 1962, p. 369, ill. on p. 368; Hamburg 1966, p. 137; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 43; Kamerling-van Haersma Buma 1973, p. 23, ill.; Wilmer 1980, pp. 9, 46, ill.; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 26, ill. on p. 29.; Bangs 1985, p. 8; Bronkhorst 1985, ill. on p. 12; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, p. 58; The Hague 1987, p. 338; Elkins 1988, pp. 265-266, 272 (notes 16, 17), fig. 13; Temminck Groll 1988, pp. 33, 35, fig. 40; Kipp [1989], ill. on p. 7; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 159, pp. 281-282 and pp. 130-131, 144, 147, fig. 142; Vente 1989, pp. 28, 245; Bok 1990, ill. on p. 20; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 159, p. 284 and pp. 130-131, 141, 147, fig. 142; Van Biezen 1995, p. 60; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, p. 47; Kidson 1996, p. 125; Klinckaert 1996(a), p. 241; Looyenga 1999, p. 12, fig. 5 (illustrated incorrectly).

Notes
1
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 59v.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 65v.


De S.te Marien
kerck binnen uytreck

9 The nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the west

1784

Hendrik Tavenier (1734-1807)

Pen and grey ink, brush and grey ink (pen and black ink inscription only).
Watermark: none.
491 x 593 mm.

Recto below: Maria Kerk van binnen te Utrecht (Interior of the Mariakerk in Utrecht) (pen and brown ink)
Verso: de St Marie Kerk van binne te Utregt 1784 // H: Tavenier (pen and grey ink)
The Hague, Royal Collections, inv. no. MCS/219.

Provenance
Munnicks van Cleeff collection (1847-1860); sale, 1860 (Munnicks van Cleeff coll.); J. L. Beyers collection (1860?-1870); Prince Hendrik collection (1870); Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik collection; Princess Maria of Prussia collection; King Willem III collection; Queen Emma van Waldeck Pyrmont collection; Queen Wilhelmina collection

Literature
Utrecht 1907, p. 124; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 147, p. 111 and p. 132, no. 4; Hamburg 1956, p. 131; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 217, p. 275; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 217, p. 283; Hamburg 1966, p. 137.

Around 1784, the Haarlem painter and draughtsman Hendrik Tavenier made copies of several drawings by Saenredam. Some of these are now in the Royal Collections in The Hague, and others in Het Utrechts Archief.
The three Taveniers in Het Utrechts Archief are copies of Saenredam's sketches of the St Pieterskerk and the St Janskerk, which are in Utrecht and Rotterdam (cat. nos. 49, 60, 62). Comparison with the originals reveals that Tavenier's copies sometimes include distortions, while others are relatively faithful and virtually life-size.[1] The five drawings by Tavenier in the Royal Collections are all of the Mariakerk. To date these sheets have been considered copies of Saenredam's sketches of 1636, which are still extant except for one (see cat. no. 30).[2] Closer scrutiny, however, leads to the conclusion that they must have been based on Saenredam's construction drawings of the church, none of which are still known.
This view of the Mariakerk to the west is one of the five Hague Taveniers. It displays far less similarity with Saenredam's sketch of 18 June 1636 (cat. no. 8) than with the painting of 1638 (cat. no. 10). This is particularly clear from the general proportions and the vaulting above, which is missing entirely in the sketch drawing, but is included in the painting. That Tavenier's drawing is not based on the painting itself, but rather on the construction drawing for it, can be inferred from various details, including the depiction of the floor in a tile pattern rather than with larger tombstones, and the schematic rendering of the organ, doors open but without pipes, just as Saenredam showed it in his construction drawing of 8 January 1637 (cat. no. 12).
Saenredam's now no longer known construction drawing of this view will have been just as large as the painting. Tavenier's copy of it is somewhat smaller, about two-thirds of the original. And in this reduction, necessitated by the size of Tavenier's sheets, lies an explanation for all manner of deviations, namely in the relationships of the various elements. In contrast, life-size copies such as cat. nos. 28 and 30 are very precise. The groups of figures may be Tavenier's own addition.

AdG

Notes
1
See Tavenier's drawing of the St Janskerk (HUA, TA Ic 3.2) after cat. no. 62.
2
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 152, p. 215; cat. nos. 216-219, pp. 283-284.


Maria Kerk van binnen te Utrecht.

10 The nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the west

1638

Panel, 62.5 x 93.5 cm.
Recto (on the base of the first column at the left in the nave): P.r Saenredam fecit.
[A: 1638][1]
Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. 412

The nave of the Mariakerk, seen to the west is based on the sketch Pieter Saenredam made of the interior on 18 June 1636 (cat. no. 8). Not only is this the earliest dated drawing in Saenredam's series of the Mariakerk, it is also the first of a Utrecht church known by his hand. The original 1:1 construction drawing is lost. However, there is an 18th-century drawing by Hendrik Tavenier that is probably based on it (cat. no. 9).

Saenredam chose a wider angle of view for the painting than in the drawing, and consequently the interior makes a far grander and monumental impression.
The nave is narrower and higher, while the piers in the foreground are wider. The rose window and the organ have been reduced, as a result of which the depth of the nave has increased enormously. The distance from the transept to the west wall now seems far greater than was actually the case.
With respect to the furnishings, the interior appears much richer in the painting than in the drawing. This is primarily due to the painted gold brocade imitation tapestries above the columns and on the piers in the foreground, against which statues of saints were originally set. The armorial bearings have been identified as those of the Duchy of Burgundy and of members of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[3] The escutcheon on the right pier is not elaborated any further in the drawing, but in the painting it is more precisely filled in with colours and bears an inscription with a date of death (29 October 1632). The board was hung for Cornelia Buth, wife of Johan van Pallaes, who was councillor in the provincial Court of Utrecht. On 2 November 1632, he received permission to bury his wife in the grave that she had inherited from her father, the canon Anthonis Buth (d. 1609), and which was located to the east of the pier.[4]
Smaller changes with respect to the drawing may be noted in the organ and the balustrades. The organ shutters are not closed, as in the sketch of 18 June, but open. The candelabras of the balustrades are reduced in number, and all but one of the statue consoles and canopies have been eliminated. The tie rods are also missing. The figures in the right foreground are not original: their proportions are far too large and moreover the costumes date later, from the 18th century.[5]

In the drawing, below the escutcheon on the right pier can be discerned the first two words of a Latin poem in hexameter, which is written out in full in the painting on the piers at the left and right. It recounts the legend of the founding of the church and the problems that arose during its construction. At the left one reads how Emperor Henry IV plundered Milan during a campaign in Italy in 1081, when a church devoted to the Virgin Mary was burned to the ground. Out of remorse, he gave his former teacher and comrade in arms, Koenraad, bishop of Utrecht (1076-1099), the commission to build a new church in honour of Mary. This combination of facts is used to explain the strong stylistic relationship between the Utrecht Mariakerk and Lombardian architecture.
The construction problems are enumerated in the second verse on the right pier. Only a Frisian master builder knew the solution for the foundations of the walls in the swampy

Inscriptions
Recto left middle: Origo fundati templi. // Tempora cum causis, templi venerabilis huius. // Quisquis nosce cupis, metra te subscripta docebunt. // Henrico quarto, Romani sceptra regente // Imperii, cum iam totam victricibus armis // Subderet Italiam, soli praecludere sola // Urbs Mediolanum portas est ausa rebelles. // Quam tandem captam, spoliis prius auctus opimis // Evertit victor, nec templo flamma Mariae // Virginis abstinuit, candenti, marmore structo. // Vnde dolens, mentemq[ue] pio succensus amore, // Instaurare novam venerandi nominis aedem // Proposuit, quocunque solo, solisve sub axe. // Tunc Traiectensis Praesul, nutricius olim // Principis, et duris semper Comes acer in armis, // Nomine Conradus, tulit hoc a Caesare munus, // Ut templum sublime loco fundaret in isto. // Turribus excelsis, constructuraq[ue] perenni, // Adiutus donis, et multo Caesaris auro, // Quale vides firmis subnixum stare columnis. // Fornice perpetuo fastigia summa tegente. // Hoc fanum Praesul venerabilis ipse dicavit // Primus, et instituit praebendas, Canonicosq[ue], // Canturos laudes tibi virgo Maria perennes. [ae always in ligature]
Recto right of middle (on the pier): Post ubi sacrati ter sex ab origine templi // Fluxissent anni, fatalis venerat hora. // Pontificis sacri, miseranda caede perempti. // Causa necis fuit haec, nam dum fundamina muro // Ipsius ecclesiae latomi perquirere tentant // Invenere lutum fluidum fixo sine fundo. // Hoc vitium tardabat opus, nemo sapientum // Huic morbo valuit quantalibet arte mederi. // Ars mendicat opem, miratur nescius artis // Artificum coetus, non artem posse iuvare. // Dum sic ergo rei spes esset nulla superstes, // En rudis hanc Friso solidare spopondit abijssum. // Pro quo dum pretium sibi posceret immoderatum, // Huic dilectus erat adolescens filius, illum, // Accersit Praesul secrete, suadet ut artem // Eliciat patri, promittit munera, patrem // Filius auxilio genitricis inebriat, artem // Elicit, elicitam Pastori clam patre pandit. // Continuo surgebat opus, iam tempore longo // Postpositum, gaudent omnes super arte reperta. // Ille sed irarum stimulis agitatus acerbis, // Deceptumq[ue] dolo, tantus dolor vrget, ut ipsum // Iam descendentem gradibus, missa celebrata, // Pontificem ferro trux Friso necaret acuto. // Eius in Aprili mortem dant festa Tiburti, // Anno millesimo nonagesimo quoq[ue] nono. [ae and oe always in ligature][2]
Recto to the right of middle (on the escutcheon on the pier): OBYT XXIX OCTOB. // ANO 1632

Provenance
Count F. E. Von Schönborn collection, Pommersfelden (1836-1840); Count A. Von Schönborn collection, Pommersfelden (1840-1867); sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris 17-18 May 1867 and 22-24 May 1867 (Galerie de Pommersfelden), cat. no. 103, p. 45; art dealer, Hamburg (1871); Ed. F. Weber collection, Hamburg (1885-1907); sale Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin 20-22 February 1912 (Galerie Weber), cat. no. 234, p. 99 (to Schwartz, Vienna); E. Zeyn collection, location unknown (1912); given by E. Zeyn to the Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1912

Exhibitions
Schaffhausen 1949, cat. no. 156, p. 66; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 187, p. 85, fig. 5; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Hamburg 1983-1984,



ground. The fee for his advice though was so steep, that it was decided to forego his services. In the end, the secret was pried from his son, whereupon construction was resumed. After the church was completed and consecrated, the father was so consumed by rage at the deception that he stabbed the bishop to death with a dagger after celebrating Mass in the year 1099. That the story of the foundation is based on a legend appears from the fact that the destruction of the Milan Church of the Virgin did not take place until 1162. Henry IV, however, was indeed the founder of the Utrecht Mariakerk. The reasons for connecting the destruction of the Italian church and the building of the Utrecht one may be related to the close ties between the emperor and the bishop and the stylistic affinity between the Utrecht and North Italian churches.[6]
The core of both stories is found already in 14th-century chronicles. The actual author of the poem is unknown; however, the verses were published by Bockenberg in 1586 and also recorded by Buchelius some years later. In 1617 Lambertus van der Burch (1542-1617), dean of the chapter of St Mary, included them in his writings on the church's origins. The precise date when the inscription was applied to the east sides of the two west crossing piers is unknown, but that it was there is certain. This may have been done in the 16th or beginning of the 17th century in connection with the threatened demolition of the church.[7]
The imperial origins and the dedication to Mary, the subject of the text on the left pier, recurs in the west windows. The imperial crown is found in the rose window (and again above the central console of the organ), and the 'D' and 'M' (Diva Maria) in the tops of the two lancet windows under the west gallery. The so-called 'bull relief', alluding to the legend of the Frisian master mason who advised building on bull's hides, is small but recognisably depicted below the projecting shaft of one of the right piers.

Just when exactly the painting entered the Von Schönborn collection is unknown: it is not mentioned in the first catalogue of 1719.[8] However, it is entirely possible that it was then in the family castle of Gaibach. Many paintings were transferred from Gaibach to the castle in Pommersfelden in 1787, and this Saenredam may have been among them.[9] By 1885 the painting was in the famous collection of Consul Eduard F. Weber (d. 1907), which has been described by various art historians, including Abraham Bredius, at the time director of the Mauritshuis in The Hague.[10] The sale of his entire collection, which took place in Berlin in 1912, received a great deal of publicity, both at home and abroad. The most expensive of the 354 works that were sold was a *Madonna and Child* by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), which changed hands for 590,000 marks: up to then the highest price ever fetched by a painting sold at public auction.[11] Rembrandt's *Presentation in the Temple* was sold for 225,000 marks, and thus the next to most expensive lot at this sale. Among the German museums purchasing works at this sale was the Hamburger Kunsthalle, which acquired 20 paintings, including a *Church Interior* by Gerard Houckgeest (1600-1661) for 27,000 marks.[12] The painting by Saenredam was sold for 10,100 marks and in that same year was given to the museum by a private individual.[13]

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cat. no. 227, p. 358 and pp. 126, 623, colour ill. 6 and fig. 227; Hamburg 1995-1996, cat. no. 1/2, pp. 10-13, ill. on p. 11.

Literature

Waagen 1843-1845, vol. 1 (1843), p. 142; Pommersfelden 1857, cat. no. 247; Parthey 1863-1864, vol. 2 (1864), no. 3, p. 470; Von Pflugk-Harttung 1885, p. 82; Woltmann and Woermann 1879-1888, vol. 3 (1888), p. 655; Hamburg 1892, cat. no. 200, pp. 161-162; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 11; Muller 1902, pp. 202, 208; Hamburg 1907, cat. no. 234, pp. 193-194; Jantzen 1910, pp. 83, 169 (no. 409); Muller 1910, pp. 200-201; G. 1911-1912, pp. 195, 198 (no. 234); Anonymous 1912, p. 191 (no. 234); Hamburg 1918, inv. no. 412, p. 140; Hamburg 1921, inv. no. 412, p. 145; Gall 1923, pp. 35, 36, 37, fig. 3; Pauli 1928, p. 99; Hamburg 1930, inv. no. 412, p. 136; Labouchère 1930, p. 50; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 148, p. 111 and pp. 22, 39, 98, fig. 135; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Grosse 1936, pp. 14, 28, fig. 54; Hannema and Van Schendel [1937], p. 29, fig. 100; Ozinga 1949, p. 90; Swillens 1951, pp. 40, 43 (note 20); Gudlaugsson 1954, p. 69; Heise 1955, pp. 37, 42; Hamburg 1956, inv. no. 412, p. 131, ill.; Plietzsch 1960, p. 122; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 158, pp. 219-221, fig. 159; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 158, pp. 220-222, fig. 159; Hentzen 1962, n. p., fig. 19; Halbertsma 1962-1963, pp. 264-266, 270, fig. 4; Halbertsma 1964, p. 77, 79, 80, 81-82, fig. 4; Heckmanns 1965, pp. 33-36, 57 (note 74), fig. 15; Hamburg 1966, inv. no. 412, p. 137, ill.; Hentzen 1966, pp. 13-14, fig. 19; Schwartz 1966-1967, pp. 72 (note 4), 78 (note 20); Hentzen 1969, n. p. (facing fig. 96), p. 452, fig. 94; Liedtke 1971, p. 132; Jantzen 1979, pp. 83, 233 (no. 409); Wilmer 1980, p. 46; Winter 1984, pp. 36, 42 (note 18), fig. 4; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, fig. 9; Utrecht 1985, p. 29 (under cat. nos. 31 and 32); Weide 1985, p. 63, fig. 1; The Hague 1987, p. 340; Lammertse 1987, p. 89 (notes 11, 14); Elkins 1988, pp. 265-266, fig. 14; Hamburg 1989, cat. no. 50, p. 36, ill.; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 158, p. 281 and pp. 135, 144, 147, 149, 279, 296, fig. 141; Ruurs 1990, p. 336; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 158, pp. 283-284 and pp. 135, 141, 147, 281, 304, fig. 141; Giltaij 1990-1991, p. 89; Bott 1993, p. 31 (note 4); Hamburg 1994, cat. no. 27, p. 26, ill.; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, p. 47.

Notes

1
In the catalogue of the sale at Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin 20-22 February 1912, cat. no. 234, p. 99, is a drawing of the signature and the date. However, according to Hamburg 1918, inv. no. 412, p. 140, Hamburg 1956, inv. no. 412, p. 131, and Hamburg 1966, inv. no. 412, p. 137, it is unclearly dated. See also Giltaij 1990-1991, p. 89.

2
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 141-144, give the following translation of the two texts as follows: 'How the church was founded. Should any wish to know when and why This ancient church was built, these verses will

instruct you. When Henry IV swayed sceptre
over the [Holy] Roman Empire, And had
subdued all Italy with his victorious troops,
Milan alone dared close to him its rebellious
gates. Capturing it at last, at first the victor
took his spoils, Then destroyed the town,
in flames which did not spare Even the white
marble temple of the Holy Virgin Mary.
This saddened him. His soul afire with pious
love, He resolved to have another built
Wherever else on earth he could. At that
point Conrad, bishop of Utrecht, His former
teacher and fervent comrade in arms,
Rendered the emperor a service by founding,
On an elevation in this place, A high-towered
church, built to last through the ages. In this
he was helped with presents and a large
donation From the emperor. So you see it,
Standing on its firm columns, The vaults
covering in perpetuity the lofty site.
The venerable bishop took it upon himself
To serve as primate of the church, instituting
prebends And canons to sing an everlasting
song to you, O Virgin Mary.' And: 'After the
passage of three times six years From the
church's beginnings, the fatal hour arrived
When the holy bishop was killed through
infamous murder, For this reason: when the
foundations for the walls Were being laid,
the masons ran into a bottomless
And squelchy mire. Work came to a halt.
None of the experts could deal with the
problem. They could not believe that their
highly paid staff, With unlimited funds, was
unequal to the task. When all hope was given
up, a boorish Frisian Guaranteed that he
would fill the pit. But when They heard his
quite immodest fee, they balked, He quit,
and work was stopped once more. The man
having a son he loved, the bishop called the
lad And offered him a bribe. With his mother's
help, He got his father drunk, wheedled the
technique out of him and, Behind his father's
back, told it to the priest. At once the work,
after long delay, was recommenced,
And all were overjoyed to know the secret
trick. This Frisian, though, enraged at being
so deceived, Was driven to despair. Beside
himself, He killed the bishop with a sharp
knife As he descended the stairs after
celebrating Mass. His death is commemorated
in April by the inhabitants of Tivoli. In the year
1099.'

3
According to Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 130, identified by Hofstede de Groot as that of the Duchy of Burgundy and of the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece. It is not clear which publication this information is taken from. See also Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 222.

4
Identified by Arie de Groot.

5
According to Jantzen 1910, the costumes are dated around 1700. According to Gudlaugsson 1954, p. 69, they may have been painted by Pieter Post. See also Hamburg 1956.

6
For the founding of the church and the history of the founding verses, see Halbertsma 1962-1963, pp. 264-272; Halbertsma 1964, pp. 79-84; and Weide 1985, pp. 62-64.

7
According to Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, p. 44 they were applied on commission from Van der Burch.

8
See Bott 1997.

9
See Hirsching 1786-1792, vol. 3 (1789), p. 150.

10
See Bredius 1912, among others.

11
G. 1911-1912, no. 234, p. 198; and Anonymous 1912, no. 234, p. 191. Both authors include a total survey of all of the paintings and their prices.

12
G. 1911-1912, no. 247, p. 198; and Anonymous 1912, no. 247, p. 192.

13
G. 1911-1912, no. 234, p. 198, and Anonymous 1912, no. 234, p. 191.

11 View through the west section of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from south to north

30 June 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis (see p. 297).
305 x 403 mm.

Recto lower middle: Ste Marijen kerck, binnen uijtrecht.
Recto lower left: Pieter Saenredam den 30 Junij deese geijndicht // met teijckenen A.^{o} 1636.
(Pieter Saenredam finished drawing this on 30 June of the year 1636.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.4

Saenredam sat on the stone wall bench in the south aisle and looked diagonally across the west half of the nave to the north aisle and the burial chapel of the Zoudenbalch family built on to it at the beginning of the 14th century. His vanishing point must have been about 120 cm above the church floor. Though he indicated the 'eye' in the right screen of the chapel with a dot in a circle, he hardly used it while drawing. The perspective in this drawing is not correct, but this is hardly noticeable thanks to the successful proportions.

In this interior view, the organ at the left – though only half visible – occupies a dominant position. At the right side is the prominently depicted pier painting with the inscription 'S. CIJRIACUS'. We see St Cyriacus, a Roman deacon and exorcist (d. 305), with a book (here shown as a pouch) and a sword with which he masters a little devil. This depiction, known from other sources as well, is described by Buchelius, and together with the inscription below (indicated by Saenredam, but not legible) serves as a memorial for Canon Hendrick van Brandenburg (d. 1381); his arms in the top corners of the painting can be vaguely recognised in Saenredam's drawing.[1]
On the opposite side of the nave are details that were also drawn by others: on the large pier is the 'bull relief', with a two-line inscription; and near the gallery is an escutcheon that also occurs in another drawing (cat. no. 21). The arms have (yet) to be identified. The name that should be attached to the sculpted memorial in the northwest corner of the church at the left, is also unknown. However, the type with half-length figures is typical of Utrecht. The damage in the plasterwork near it would indicate that a memorial tablet had been hacked out, and the console below bespeaks a vanished sculptural ensemble. The Renaissance niche above the north tower door and an identical one right across from it above the south tower door (visible in cat. no. 17) may have been made for the statues of Emperor Henry IV and Mary that were moved from outside, behind the choir, to the west interior façade of the nave in 1559; these statues were once again moved outside in 1569, perhaps to the two columns flanking the west entrance.
Though summarily drawn, the tombstone floor does agree with reality. For instance, we know for a fact that the second tombstone in the row of four between the round column in the foreground and its pendant on the opposite side was uncarved, while the others bore sculpted arms.[2]
A number of objects known to have been present were suppressed, including the painted tapestries on the north piers and above the column in between. Saenredam sketched only a canopy of a vanished pier sculpture.

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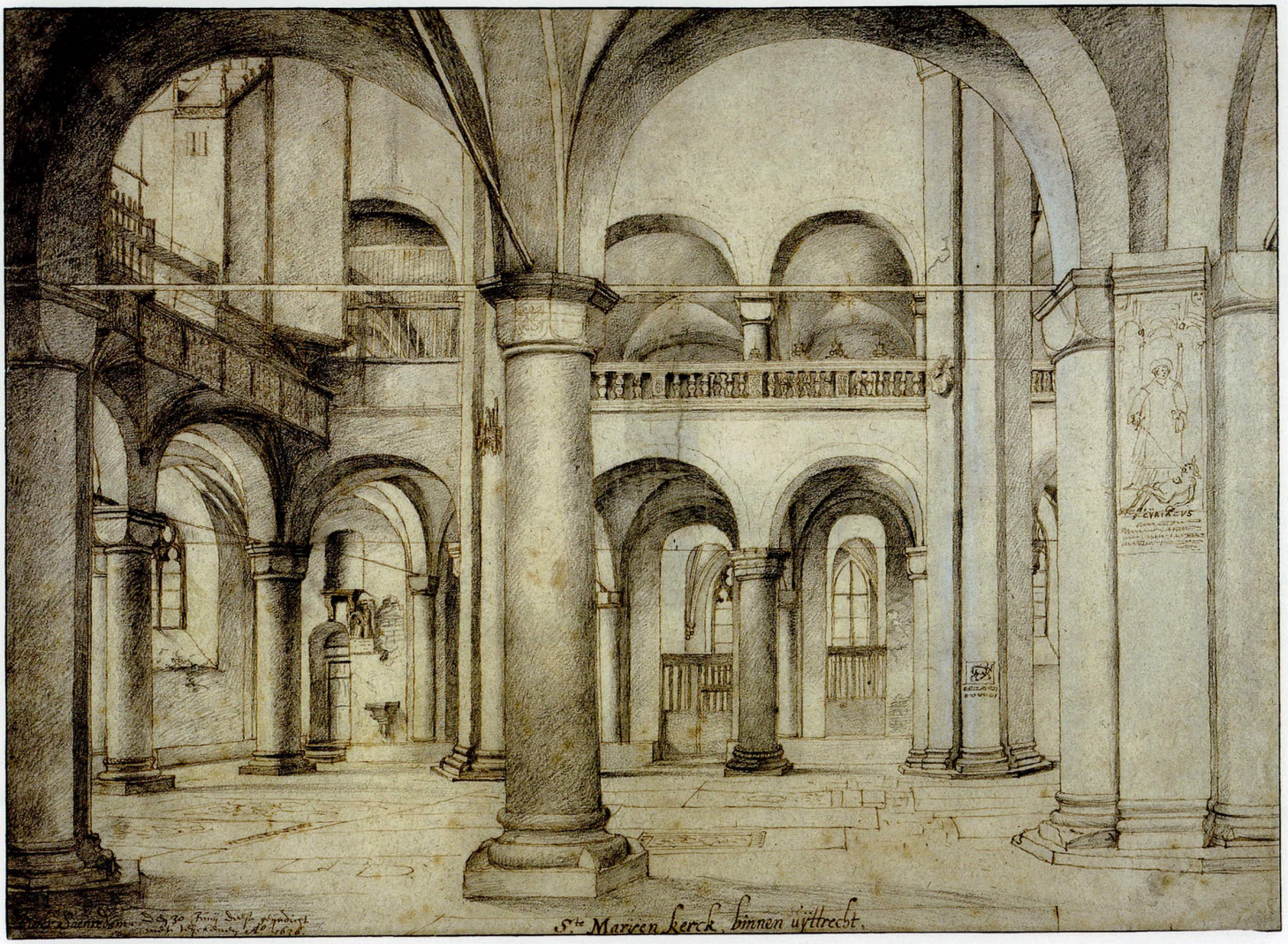
Inscriptions
Recto (on the pier at the right, below the painting): S. CIJRIACVS
Verso lower left: No 982. (pen and brown ink) 16 (pencil)
Verso lower right: 1840 / 754 (pencil)

Provenance
Unknown.

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 71, p. 26; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 71, p. 26; Brussels 1961, cat. no. 35, p. 37-39, fig. X; Hamburg 1961, cat. no. 35, p. 35-36, fig. 35; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1971, cat. no. 24, p. 40; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 22, p. 27; Hamburg 1995-1996, cat. no. 3, pp. 14-15, ill.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 754, p. 72 and p. V; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 11-12, fig. 16; Muller 1902, p. 197; Muller 1910, pp. 198-200, ill.; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 105, p. 100 and p. 40, fig. 136 and fig. 182; De Jonge [1938], p. 28; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 161, pp. 223-224, fig. 162; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 161, pp. 224-225, fig. 162; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 69 (notes 1, 2); Liedtke 1971, p. 129; Utrecht/Douai 1977, p. 34, fig. 12; Nicolaus 1978, p. 64, p. 70 and fig. 62; Nicolaus 1979(b), pp. 103, 153, fig. 185; Braunschweig 1983, p. 183; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 56, 58, 86, 89, fig. 14; Ruurs 1987, p. 151; Elkins 1988, pp. 264, 272 (note 15), p. 273 (note 17), fig. 9; Ruurs 1988, p. 22, fig. 20; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 161, p. 282 and pp. 132, 147, 166, fig. 143; Bok 1990, p. 65, fig. 3 (ill. switched with fig. 5); Ruurs 2000, p. 13, fig. 2; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 161, p. 284 and pp. 132, 147, 156, fig. 143.

Notes
1
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 60r. The factory roll of 1564/1565 mentions restoration of the painting; HUA, St.-Marie, inv. no. 347-2, 1564/1565, f. 15r: 'Item xv february [1565] dedi Joanni [Block] pictori qui restauraverat imaginem S. Cijriaci ad columnam in parte australi .. i R, v st.'
2
Based on the *Manuaal der grafsteden*, HUA, St.-Marie, inv. no. 248. The tombstone in question (Van Vianen family) in 1663 was still 'onbehouwen' (uncarved) (f. 17r).


S.te Marien kerck binnen uyttrecht.

12 View through the west part of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from south to north

8 January 1637

Pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk.
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Watermark: not visible.
712 x 1222 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.3

This large construction drawing, completed on 8 January 1637, was made from the drawing of 30 June 1636 (cat. no. 11) and is immediately preparatory to the painting of 1638 (cat. no. 14). With respect to the Mariakerk, this is the only instance in which all three of the stages – sketch, construction drawing and painting – have been preserved. Moreover, we also have the accompanying measurements and elaborations of details (cat. no. 13), a unique occurrence in Saenredam's total oeuvre.

The drawing conveys the mathematically correct perspective of the architecture, including the organ but without any additional details. The construction is laid down in lead point. A number of the lines forming the framework of the theoretical construction are redrawn in red chalk. Finally, only the concrete structures and architectural shapes are indicated in pen; these are the lines that were traced from the blackened verso of the drawing to the panel. The lines in red chalk include the vertical central lines of the columns and piers, as well as the horizontals and orthogonals leading to the central vanishing point, which intersect these verticals at floor level and above the capitals.
On two other verticals in red chalk – one at the far right in the foreground, the other in the plane of the north nave wall – are height markings in feet and inches. The right one of the two, with height indications of '15' and '10' (feet), originally extended more to the top and bottom, and together with a horizontal base line that intersected the vertical a few centimetres below the present bottom edge of the drawing, constituted the point of departure for calculating all of the dimensions in the construction drawing. The scale on these lines ensues from the distance between the indication '15' and '10', which amount to 24.1 cm, and is thus a good 48 mm per foot. Saenredam used the same scale for several separate drawings of elaborated details of columns and pilasters (see cat. no. 13b-e). Measured according to the height scale mentioned above, the central vanishing point lies about 4 feet above the church floor (about 110 cm, a bit lower than in cat. no. 11). In the drawing, the distance point is indicated 57.5 cm to the left of the vanishing point on the horizon line. The vantage point from which the constructed perspective should be viewed, therefore, lay at a distance of 57.5 cm from this drawing, right across from the central vanishing point. This amounts to an actual distance in the Mariakerk of 57.5:4.8 = 12 feet (app. 3.30 m) from Saenredam's vantage point to the (imaginary) picture surface.

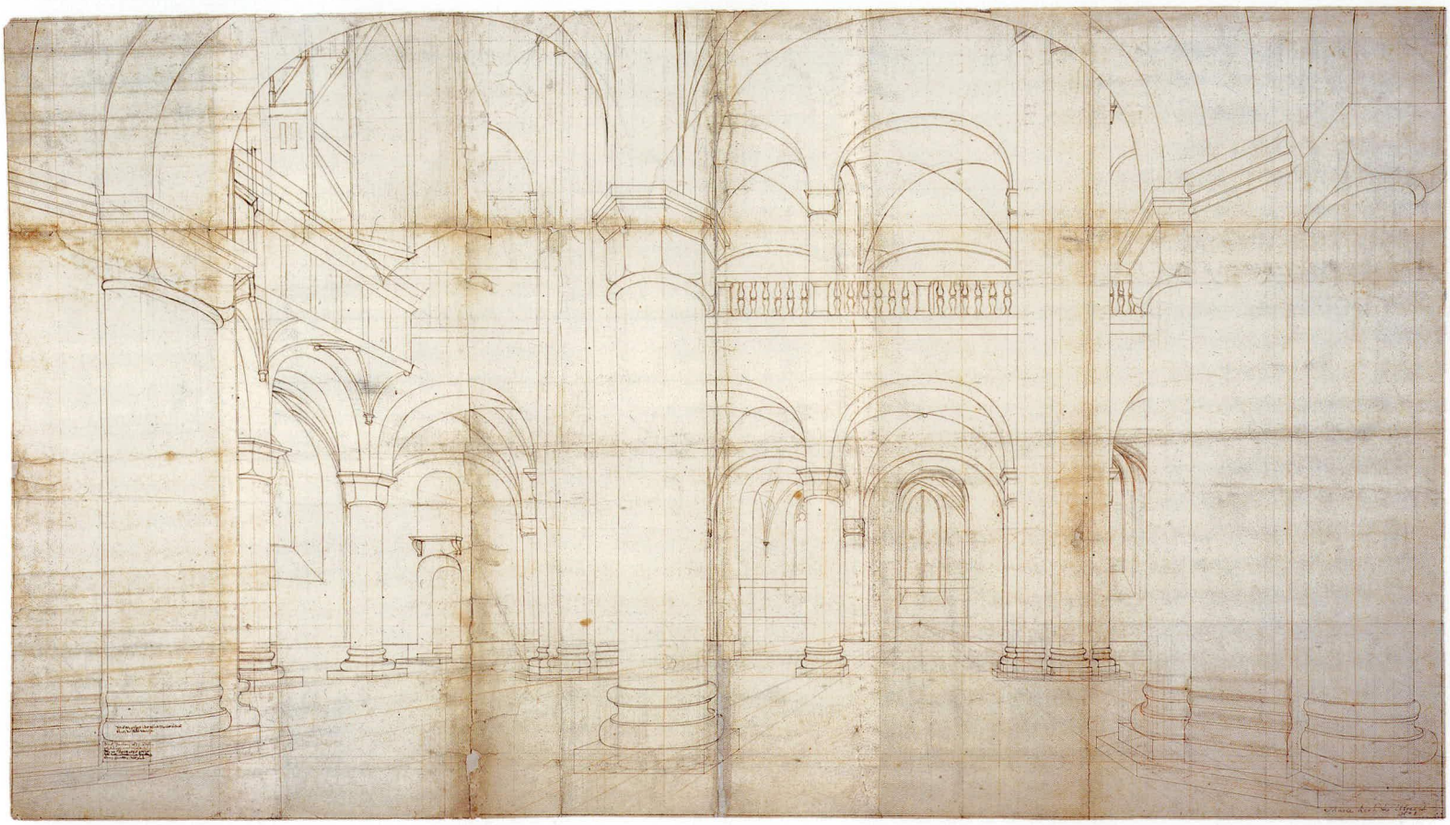
Saenredam had trouble with this large construction drawing, perhaps his first of the Mariakerk. Possibly already before 8 January 1637, or just after, he discovered an irreparable error: in the drawing, the nave is calculated too narrowly by about 1.75 metres. The entire background is thus pulled somewhat forward and is too large with respect to the foreground. Morever, compared to the drawing of 30 June 1636, some of the piers and columns have been shifted considerably.
Saenredam is unlikely to have done this intentionally. He simply made a mistake and in his notes incorrectly calculated the distance between two nave piers across from each other

Inscriptions
Recto (on the base and plinth of the engaged column at the left): dit is een gesight in der Sint Marie kerck // binnen der stadt utrecht. // den 8.en Januarij 1637. is dese // geijendicht met teijckenen // Den 20.en April 1638. heb ick // dit volmaeckt met schilderen // binnen Haerlem. dus groot. (This is a view in the Mariakerk in the town of Utrecht. On 8 January 1637, this drawing was completed. On 20 April 1638, I completed it in painting in Haarlem, equally large.)
Recto (a number of measurements; along a red vertical line in the right foreground, from bottom to top): 10 and 15 (along a similar line in the background, from bottom to top): 22-6 25-9 26-6 27-4 30 30-5 35-2 37-1 41-6 42-8½ 43-1½ 47 48-5
Recto lower right (by a later hand, in pencil): Marie kerk te Utrecht / N° 1

Provenance
Teylers Stichting collection, Haarlem (before 1822-1877); given by the directors of the Teylers Stichting to Het Utrechts Archief, 1877

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 24, p. 27.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 12; Muller 1902, p. 197; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1094, p. 124; Muller 1910, pp. 198-199, ill.; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 142, p. 110 and pp. 40, 42-44, fig. 137; De Jonge [1938], p. 28; Brussels 1961, p. 38; Hamburg 1961, pp. 35-36; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 162, pp. 224-225, fig. 163; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 162, pp. 225-226, fig. 163; Liedtke 1971, p. 129; Nicolaus 1978, pp. 64, 70 and fig. 63; Nicolaus 1979(b), pp. 103, 153, 158, fig. 186; Ruurs 1982, pp. 105, 118 (note 14), fig. 9; Braunschweig 1983, p. 183; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 56, 59, 89, fig. 16; Kemp 1986, p. 247 (note 47); Kunst 1986, p. 125, fig. 11; Ruurs 1987, cat. no. 15, pp. 151-152 and pp. 44-45, 56-57, 69-71, 111 (note 107), figs. 7, 15; Ruurs 1988, p. 22, fig. 23; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 162, p. 282 and pp. 132, 146, fig. 144; Bok 1990, p. 66, fig. 5 (ill. switched); Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 162, p. 284 and pp. 132, 146, fig. 144; Haarlem 1997(a), pp. 22-23; Van Ginkel 1998, ill. on p. 10; Ruurs 2000, p. 13, fig. 5.



(app. 7.80 metres from plinth to plinth) as that between two facing nave columns (app. 9.50 metres). The impact of this error on the three-dimensionality becomes clear from a comparison with the small painting in Kassel of 1637 (cat. no. 16) affording a very similar view through the nave though with the correct width.

Saenredam undoubtedly quite consciously introduced a number of other architectural changes. He omitted the tie rods between the arches, as well as the typically Romanesque foliage ornamentation on the column base in the foreground, which resulted in a more classical appearance. The most remarkable 'correction' though is the shifting of the tower entrance on the west side of the north aisle: Saenredam located it right below the Renaissance niche, engendering a more symmetrical entity.

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13a-e Measurement sketches and construction drawings of columns and piers in the Mariakerk in Utrecht

1636

One sketch and four construction drawings on three sheets

a-b. Sketch with measurements of three (engaged) columns and a pilaster
Verso: Construction drawing of the parts of a freestanding column
Pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk.
Verso: pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk.
Watermark: none.
180 x 301 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief,
inv. no. TA Id 5.11B

c. Construction drawing of the cross section of an articulated pier
Pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk.
Watermark: none.
492 x 302 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief,
inv. no. TA Id 5.11A

d-e. Construction drawing of the base of a column or a pilaster
Verso: Construction drawing of a pilaster capital
Pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk.
Verso: pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk.
Watermark: none.
186 x 78 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief,
inv. no. TA Id 5.11C.

The three sheets, two of which were used on both sides, belong to the large construction drawing of 8 January 1637 (cat. no. 12). Drawings *b-e*, made on the basis of the older sketch *a* (among others), must have served as preparation for the construction drawing. They are drawn on the same scale (about 48 mm in the drawing = 1 foot in reality), which simplified the calculation of the correct perspectival foreshortening. The three sheets were subsequently affixed to the reverse of the construction drawing, to which they undoubtedly owe their preservation.

a

The little sketch of three engaged columns and a pilaster with dimensions written on them is related to the drawing of 30 June 1636 (cat. no. 11) and probably originated just prior to it. Drawn from left to right are: (1) a freestanding column with an octagonal capital; (2) a shallow pilaster (diagonally set and turned to the aisle) of a nave pier; (3) a (west or eastward turned) engaged column of a nave pier; and (4) an engaged column set against the wall of an aisle. Number 2 is only schematically depicted, while number 4 agrees with the engaged columns of the nave piers turned to the aisle but lacks the base. The measurements are written in pen; several addition sums concerning the measurements of the capital and base of the freestanding column are noted in lead point in the top and bottom margin. The calculations in red chalk in the left half of the sheet have to do with the large construction drawing; they contain height measurements also mentioned there. Two crossing red chalk lines with a few parallels evidently served as 'extensions' for another construction drawing: this is indicated by the height measurements written above the topmost red line.

b

The reverse of sketch *a* has an elaborate construction drawing of the capital, base and horizontal cross-section of the freestanding column, whereby the octagonal shape of the capital is given in cross-section, but not in elevation. The measurements written in are the same as those in sketch *a*. A few measurements marked on a red chalk line and noted in lead point ('20', '23-3½', '24-5') do not belong to this drawing; two of these also occur in the construction drawing of 1641 (cat. no. 24), but the scale is different.

Inscriptions
A number of measurements and calculations in lead point, pen and chalk.

Provenance
Teylers Stichting collection, Haarlem (before 1822-1877); given by the directors of the Teylers Stichting to Het Utrechts Archief, 1877

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 23, p. 27.

Literature
a:
Cuypers 1890, n. p.; Muller 1902, p. 197; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1104, p. 125; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 135, p. 108 and p. 42, fig. 150d; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 169, pp. 229-230, fig. 169; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 169, pp. 230-231, fig. 169; Ruurs 1982, pp. 100-101, 117-118 (notes 9, 11, 13, 15), fig. 7; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 56, 89, fig. 15; Kemp 1986, p. 247 (note 47); Ruurs 1987, pp. 54-56, 70, 103-104 (notes 76, 77), 106 (notes 82, 83), 110 (note 97), 151, fig. 13; Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 17); Ruurs 1988, p. 22, fig. 21; Kubach and Verbeek 1989, p. 231 (note 20); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 169, p. 282 and p. 146; fig. 164; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 169, p. 285 and p. 146, fig. 164; Ruurs 2000, p. 13, fig. 3.
b:
Muller 1902, p. 197; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1104, p. 125; Muller 1910, p. 199, ill. on p. 200; Gall 1923, p. 34 (note 5); Swillens 1935, cat. no. 136, p. 108 and p. 42, fig. 150a; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 168, p. 229, fig. 168; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 168, p. 230, fig. 168; Ruurs 1982, pp. 100-101, 117 (notes 9, 10), fig. 6; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 56, 89, fig. 15; Kemp 1986, p. 247 (note 47); Ruurs 1987, pp. 54-55, 69-71, 103-104 (notes 76, 77), 110-111 (notes 97, 102), fig. 12; Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 17); Ruurs 1988, p. 22, fig. 22; Kubach and Verbeek 1989, p. 231 (note 20); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 168, p. 282 and p. 146, fig. 163; Bok 1990, p. 66, fig. 4; Kipp 1990, fig. 128; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 168, p. 285 and p. 146, fig. 163; Ruurs 2000, p. 13, fig. 4.
c:
Muller 1902, p. 197; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1104, p. 125; Jantzen 1910, p. 86; Muller 1910, p. 199, ill. on p. 200; Gall 1923, p. 34 (note 5); Swillens 1935, cat. no. 138, p. 109 and p. 42, fig. 150b; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 167, pp. 228-229, fig. 170; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 167, pp. 229-230, fig. 170; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 56, 89, fig. 15; Ruurs 1987, p. 71, 110-111 (notes 97, 103); Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 17); Kubach and Verbeek 1989, p. 231 (note 20); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 167, p. 282 and p. 146, fig. 162; Bosman 1990, p. 122, fig. 74; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 167, p. 285 and p. 146, fig. 162.
d:
Muller 1902, p. 197; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 104, p. 125; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 170,

p. 230, fig. 171b; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 170, p. 231, fig. 171b; Kemp 1986, p. 247 (note 47); Ruurs 1987, p. 103 (note 76), and p. 110 (note 97); Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 17); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 170B, p. 282 and p. 146, fig. 166; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 170B, p. 285 and p. 146, fig. 166.
e:
Muller 1902, p. 197; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 104, p. 125; Muller 1910, p. 199, ill. on p. 200; Gall 1923, p. 34 (note 5); Swillens 1935, cat. no. 137, p. 108 and p. 42, fig. 150c; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 170, p. 230, fig. 171a; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 170, p. 231, fig. 171a; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 56, 89, fig. 15; Kemp 1986, p. 247 (note 47); Ruurs 1987, p. 103 (note 76) and p. 110 (notes 97, 98); Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 17); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 170A, p. 282 and p. 146, fig. 165; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 170A, p. 285 and p. 146, fig. 165.

c
The right part of this elaborate drawing has been cut off. The drawing contains the ground plan or horizontal cross section of the large piers, of which only five of the eight sides are visible. The drawing displays noticeable differences between the five sides: on the side of the nave (below) the engaged columns project further out than on the west or east side; on the side of the aisle (above) they are quite a bit narrower. Also the thickness of the diagonal pilasters differs. Vertical auxiliary lines along the bottom edge numbered '1' to '14' are intended to facilitate the transfer in correct perspective.

d
This is a fragment of a construction drawing of a column or pilaster base. Comparison with the measurements in the previous drawings reveals that this is an elaboration of sketch *a*, no. (3): the eastward or westward oriented engaged column. The base profile also applies to the engaged columns leaning towards the nave and the diagonal pilasters.

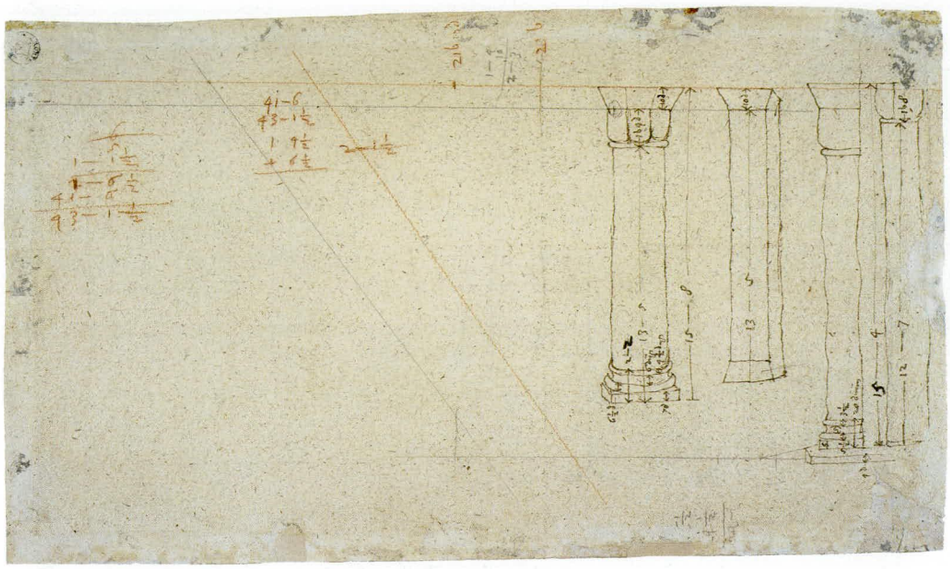
e
A construction drawing on the reverse of sheet *d* gives the elevation and profile of a pilaster capital. Until now, this was always interpreted as a base, but Saenredam's usual placement of the inscribed circle module *below*, and the measurement of '10' (feet) make it clear that we are dealing with the capital of the smaller diagonal pilasters which, according to sketch *a*, no. (2), was 10 feet high.

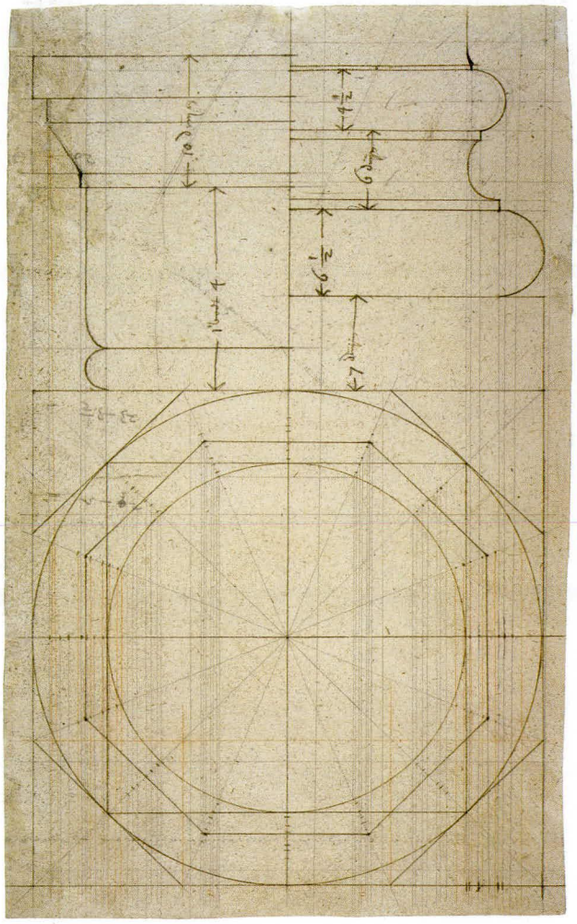
These five drawings afford important information on the Mariakerk as well as Saenredam's working method. From the calculations in sketch *a*, Saenredam appears to have measured the church in *Kennemer feet*, a unit of measure with 11 inches per foot, which he also used when working in the Dom Tower (see cat. nos. 56 and 55). The Kennemer foot measures close to 27.5 cm, and with the help of Saenredam's measurements and those in the large construction drawing (cat. no. 12), the heights of the columns and piers in the Mariakerk can be very precisely calculated: the freestanding column with capital rose about 4.30 metres above the church floor, the top of the gallery balustrade to about 8.35 metres, and the large nave piers to 13.30 metres.[1]

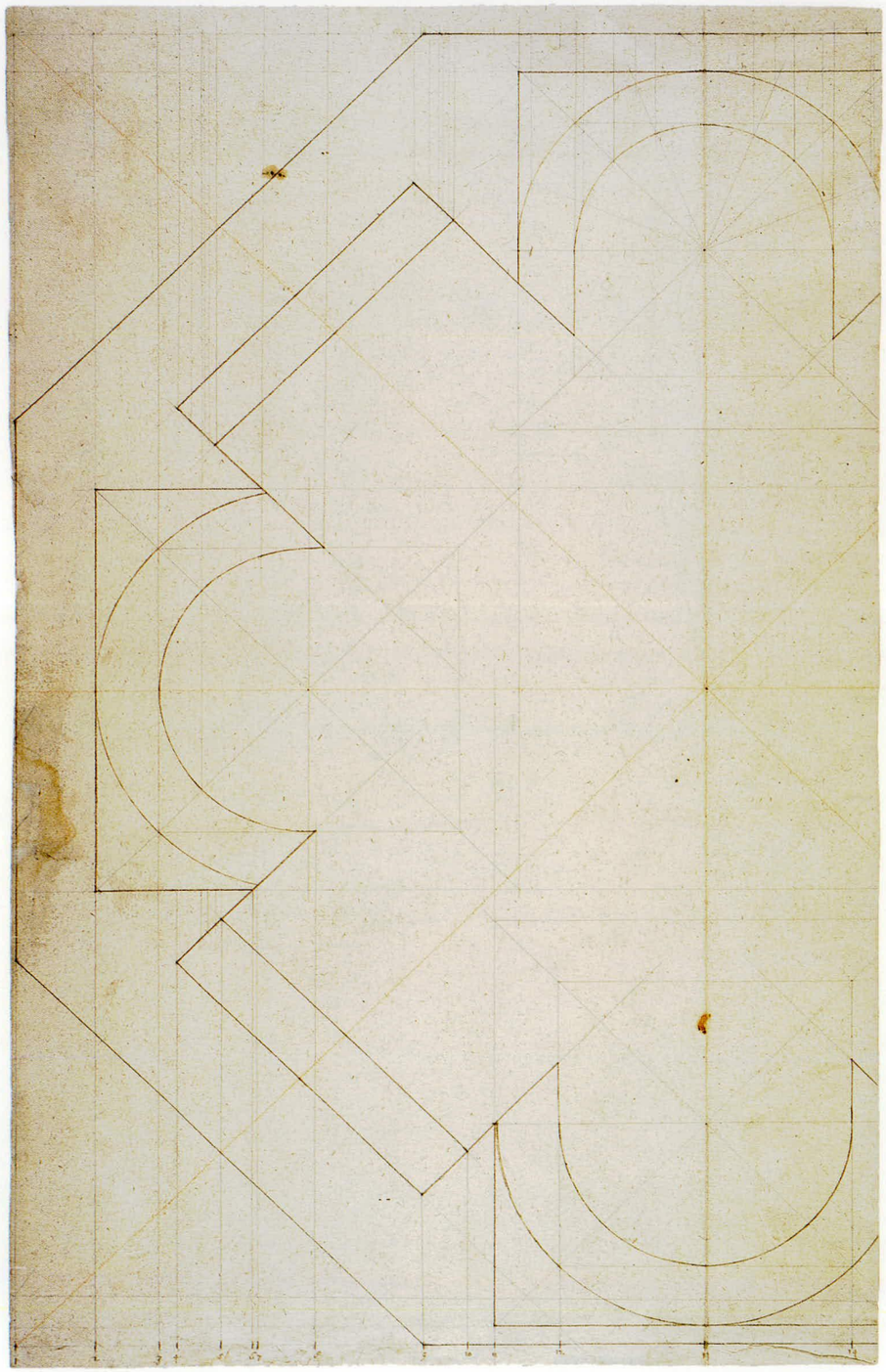
Saenredam did not hesitate to depict a number of elements more simply and schematically. For instance, the diametres of the columns in drawings *b*, *c* and *d* are not directly measured, but deduced from the sides of the bases. This was done by means of a method common in classical architecture with inscribed circles and squares, for which a relationship of approximately 1.4:1 from base diameter to column diameter was arrived at. In reality, Romanesque columns, like those in the St Pieterskerk, are often somewhat thicker. In drawings *c* and *d*, the engaged columns on the nave side of the great piers are 2 feet, or 55 cm, in cross-section; this differs so much from the extant shafts of the 'bull relief' (67 to 68 cm), that one wonders whether Saenredam did not confuse some of the measurements. In drawing *c*, moreover, the entire pier outline is simplified, for the corner under the pilasters was not exactly 45°, because the bays of the nave and aisles were not exactly square (see also cat. no. 23).

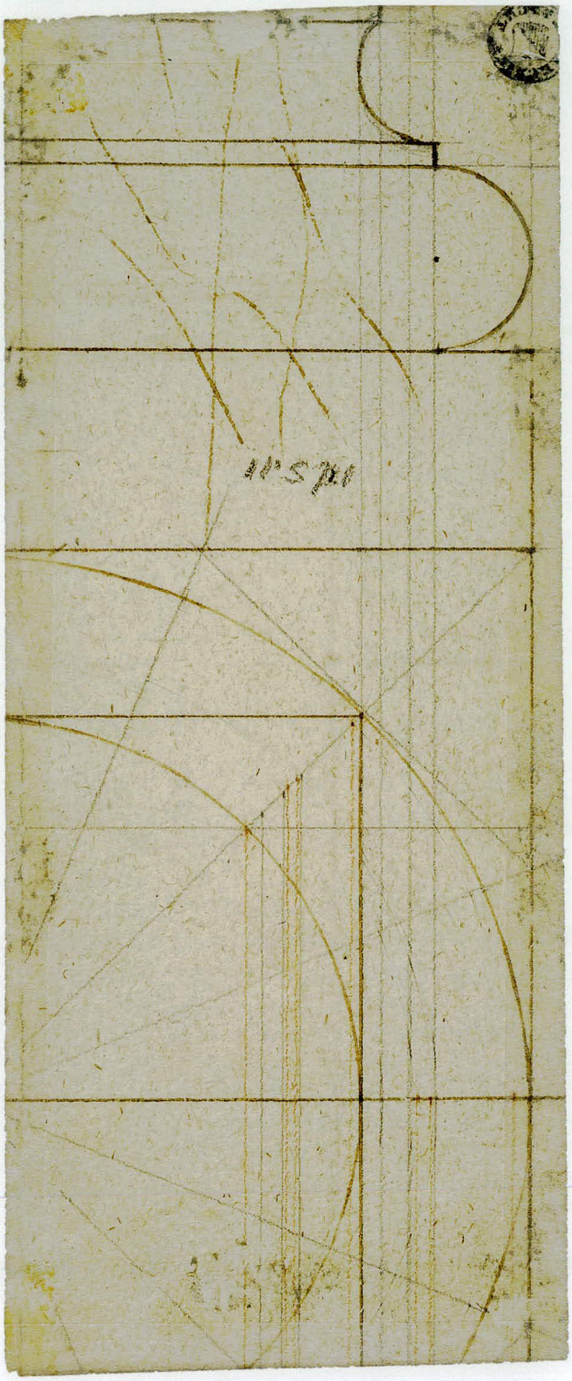
AdG

Note
1
In the modern published reconstructions, insufficient account has been taken of the modest size of the Kennemer foot. Therefore their height measurements are about 10% too large, and the church thus looms up too tall.











14 View through the west part of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from south to north

20 April 1638

Panel, 69.7 x 105 cm.
Recto middle right (under the wall painting):
pieter Saenredam, Anno 1638
Braunschweig, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum,
inv. no. 424

Both the sketch of 30 June 1636 and the construction drawing of 8 January 1637 (cat. nos. 11 and 12) for the *View of the west part of the nave of the Mariakerk* have been preserved. Barring a strip on either side, the composition is taken directly from the construction drawing.[2] The inscription on this drawing suggests that Saenredam took a little over 15 months to produce the painted version, which he completed on 20 April 1638.
An incorrect overpainting long gave the date as 1630. This error was corrected during the restoration that took place in the years 1952-1953, at which time many of the figures added in the 18th century were also removed.[3] In a photograph of the painting taken prior to the restoration one can see just how over-populated the space was. A group of sitting and standing figures was painted to either side in the foreground. Various dogs walked around the church building and numerous figures could be discerned in the background below, and above, behind the balustrade in the aisle gallery. Of the total of 25, only seven now remain.[4] These are assumed to have been painted by Pieter Post (1608-1669).[5] Particularly noteworthy is the couple who together with a woman are examining the so-called 'bull relief'.
An identical group is illustrated before the relief in *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 22).[6] Under the relief are two lines of Latin verse: 'Accipe posteritas quod per tua secula narres // Taurinis cutibus fundo solidata columna est' (Accept, posterity, that which you may tell through the ages: The column is grounded on the hides of bulls). This alludes to the story of the Frisian master mason who was to have helped with the building of the church by laying the foundations of this pier in bulls' hides in the swampy ground. A fragment of the pilaster with the bull relief and the Latin inscription is preserved in the Centraal Museum.[7]

Neither the sketch nor the construction drawing includes the three beautiful imitation gold brocade cloths of honour decorated with flower and thistle motifs which so draw our attention in the painting. The painting of the statue of St Cyriacus, only indicated in the drawing, is coloured in the painting. Instead of the inscription with the name of the saint, Saenredam signed his own name. The epitaph by the tower entrance in the painting is next to the door, rather than half way up.
In contrast to the drawing, in the painting the organ is shown with open shutters, which is how it looked on the days that it was played. The instrument was built by Gerrit Petersz. in 1482, but by 1630 much was wrong with it. The organ only became playable, and indeed presentable again, after a restoration in 1635. Saenredam painted it in its restored state. The grey blue of the shutters with a yellow edging is a typically 17th-century colour combination, and agrees rather well with the colours noted in the invoice by the painter involved with the restoration: chiefly blue, a little yellow, and much gold leaf.[8] Saenredam undoubtedly had a detail drawing at his disposal duly noting the correct colours.

LMH

Inscriptions
Recto right (under the 'bull relief'): Accipe posteritas quod per tua secula narres // Taurinis cutibus fundo solidati colunast[1]

Provenance
Von Reinike-Hausmann collection, Braunschweig (1865-1868); bequeathed to the City of Braunschweig, 1868

Exhibitions
Braunschweig 1978 (no cat.).

Literature
Braunschweig 1868, cat. no. 830, p. 101; Riegel 1882, vol. 2, no. 830, pp. 430-432; Braunschweig 1883, cat. no. 830, p. 159; Denison Champlin 1888, vol. 4, p. 100; Woltmann and Woermann 1879-1888, vol. 3 (1888), p. 655; Braunschweig 1891, cat. no. 424, p. 106; Hofstede de Groot 1893, p. 31 (note 1); Braunschweig 1898, cat. no. 424, p. 168; Braunschweig 1899, cat. no. 424, p. 168; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 12; Braunschweig 1900, cat. no. 424, pp. 307-308; Muller 1902, pp. 197, 202; Braunschweig 1910, cat. no. 424, p. 62; Jantzen 1910, pp. 83, 169 (no. 408); Muller 1910, pp. 198-200, ill. on p. 201; Braunschweig 1932, cat. no. 424, p. 42; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 146, p. 111 and pp. 40, 58-59, 66, 100 (under cat. no. 105), 110 (under cat. no. 142), fig. 138; Evers 1941, ill. facing p. 57; Plietzsch 1960, p. 123; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 160, pp. 222-223, fig. 161; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 160, pp. 223-224, fig. 161; Schwartz 1966-1967, pp. 78-79, fig. 4, 6; Braunschweig 1969, inv. no. 424, p. 122, fig. 61; Liedtke 1971, pp. 129, 132-133, 138-139; Braunschweig 1976, cat. no. 424, p. 52, fig. 34; Wheelock 1977, p. 255 (note 37); Nicolaus 1978, p. 70, figs. 61, 64, 65; Bjerre 1979, p. 45; Jantzen 1979, pp. 83, 233 (no. 408); Nicolaus 1979(a), p. 101; Nicolaus 1979(b), p. 103, fig. 184, 187, 188; Kastens 1981, p. 102, ill. on p. 103 (with an incorrect caption); Liedtke 1982, p. 127; Nicolaus 1982, figs. 83a, 83b; Braunschweig 1983, inv. no. 424, pp. 183-184, ill. on p. 183; De Bruijn et al. 1984-1985, p. 132, ill.; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, fig. 17; Utrecht 1985, p. 27 (under cat. nos. 22, 23, 24 and 25); Lammertse 1987, p. 89 (note 14); Ruurs 1987, p. 151; Elkins 1988, p. 264; Ruurs 1988, fig. 24; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 160, p. 282 and pp. 135, 147, 200, 279, 318-319 (note 17), fig. 145; Ruurs 1990, p. 336; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 160, p. 284 and pp. 147, 154, 281, 296, 328 (note 17), fig. 145; Luckhardt 1991, p. 36, ill.; Hamburg 1995-1996, p. 15, ill.; Ruurs 2000, p. 13, fig. 6.

Notes
1
The inscription is taken verbatim from Riegel 1882, p. 430, and Braunschweig 1900, cat. no. 424, p. 308.
2
For the use of tracing and the vestiges of this in the painting, see also Nicolaus 1978, p. 70 and figs. 64 and 65; Nicolaus 1979(a), p. 101; Nicolaus 1979(b), p. 103 and figs. 187, 188 on p. 153; Kastens 1981, p. 102.



3
On the overpaintings, and the incorrect date, see Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 12; Braunschweig 1910, cat. no. 424, p. 62; Jantzen 1910, p. 83; Braunschweig 1932, cat. no. 424, p. 42; Swillens 1935, pp. 58-59, 66, 111; Jantzen 1979, p. 83. The restoration was performed by H. Wenicke.
See Braunschweig 1969, cat. no. 424, p. 122.
4
A photograph of the painting prior to the restoration is in the documentation of the Centraal Museum. See also Nicolaus 1982, p. 99, figs. 83a,b on p. 100.
5
Braunschweig 1983, p. 183, and Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 200.
6
According to Schwartz, Pieter Post, inspired by the 1641 dated painting (cat. no. 22), may have added the couple and the woman may have been applied by in cat. no. 14 in the 1640s. Constantijn Huygens, the probable patron of cat. no. 22, would have determined the iconographic programme. See Schwartz 1966-1967, pp. 78-79, and Wheelock 1977, p. 255 (note 37). See also cat. no. 22.
7
Utrecht 1928, cat. no. 1383, p. 217.
8
This information was provided by Arie de Groot. See HUA, Sint Marie, 349-5 (1634), dated 14 August 1635.

15 View through the east part of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from north to south

July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk, red chalk.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
301 x 400 mm.

Recto middle (on the plinth of the column base): Pieter Saenredam fecit.
Recto lower left (on the plinth of the pier base): den [..] Julij 1636.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.21

This drawing has been substantially reduced at the bottom whereby the date on the plinth of the left pier was mostly lost. Until now, the scant remains of the letters were interpreted as '...juni 1636' (June 1636). This, however, is incorrect. Comparison with Saenredam's handwriting and the dates on his other Utrecht drawings reveals that 'den ..^{en} Julij 1636' (the ..th July 1636) must have been written there. The empty space only affords room for a single digit, the rounded top of which can still just be distinguished: thus a 2, 3, 8 or 9. Given the great similarities with cat. nos. 11 and 17 of 30 June and 3 July respectively, a date of 2 July is highly plausible.

In many respects this drawing is the pendant of the drawing of 30 June (cat. no. 11), which Saenredam drew from the opposite side sitting on the wall bench below the window at the far right, the exact spot is just behind the pier. Now the west half of the nave can be seen with a view at the left into the south transept and at the right into St Thomas' Chapel, also called the Van Lochorst Chapel. The height of the vanishing point is virtually identical (app. 1.20-1.25 m), and here largely determined the perspective (diagonally above it an earlier, too high vanishing point in the window jamb has been crossed out). An important difference is that Saenredam now sat right next to the engaged column, but to see the window at the far right, he would have had to move a half metre to the left. As a consequence of this vantage point, the freestanding column (here too heavily proportioned) is more in the centre of the composition than in cat. no. 11. Another difference is that this time he worked against the light. It is, however, diffuse light: the shadows are cast not by the sun, but by the window surfaces with their varying intensity of light. The shadows are dispersed in different directions and do not stand out sharply.

A pilaster painting also figures here in the foreground: a standing Virgin with the Child on her left arm under a Gothic canopy. The small escutcheon on the right side, with horizontal bars, makes it possible to identify this painting with the representation of the Virgin that Buchelius saw on a pillar in the north aisle, with a depiction of Canon Otto de Boningen as the founder kneeling under the escutcheon.[1] This figure is no longer visible in Saenredam's view, for some of the plasterwork has vanished in just this area. A second sculpted memorial tablet on the wall next to the Van Lochorst Chapel in the background cannot be identified: the depiction is too vague, and Buchelius mentions several memorial tablets in the south aisle.[2]

Saenredam also recorded a number of minor details: the Romanesque foliage ornamentation and the double cable moulding of the column base; the octagonal capitals, primarily found in the north side of the nave, the painted vines in the frets of the vaults,

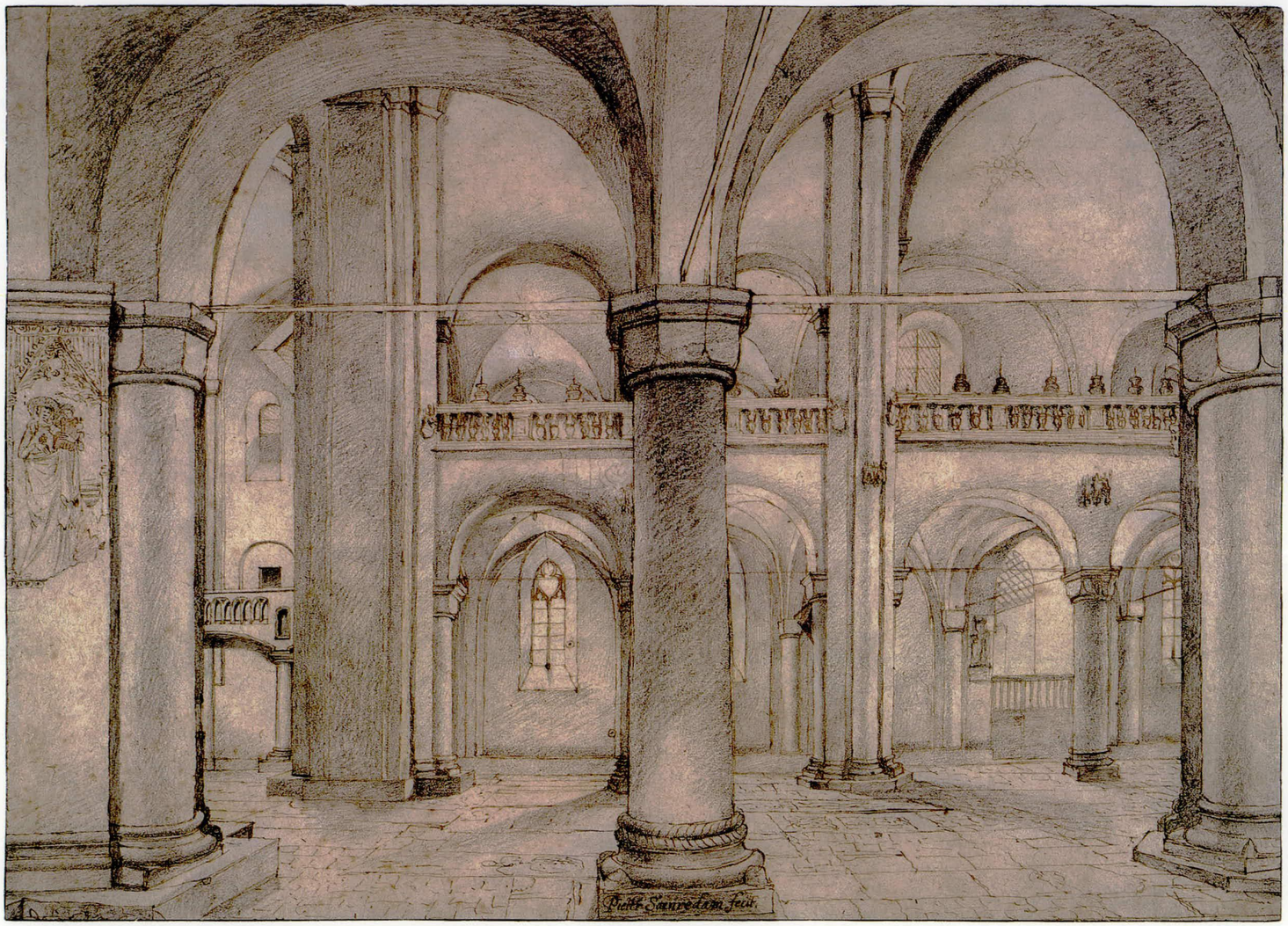
Inscriptions
Verso lower left: No 981. (pen and brown ink)
Verso lower right: (1830) (pencil); 753 (pencil)

Provenance
V. de Stuers collection, The Hague (1877); given by V. de Stuers to Het Utrechts Archief, 1877

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 70, p. 26; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 70, p. 26; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 53, p. 25, fig. 46; Utrecht 1974(a), cat. no. P3, p. 67, ill. on p. 60; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 29, p. 28; Hamburg 1995-1996, cat. no. 4, pp. 16-17, ill.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 753, p. 71; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 12; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 100, pp. 98-99, fig. 139; Kassel 1958, p. 137; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 157, p. 219, fig. 158; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 157, p. 220, fig. 158; Heckmanns 1965, pp. 30-31, 65, fig. 18; Kassel 1969, p. 90; Elkins 1988, pp. 264-265, 272 (note 15), p. 273 (note 17), fig. 9; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 157, p. 281 and pp. 134, 147, 166, fig. 146; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 157, p. 283 and pp. 134, 147, 156, fig. 146.

Notes
1
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 61v.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 60r.


Pieter Saenredam fecit

and the candelabras with candles on the gallery balustrade. Level with this balustrade can be seen the escutcheons on the nave piers, and lower, the back of the Van Amerongen coat of arms in the south aisle. Much, however, has *not* been drawn, such as the painted tapestries which have been omitted but for a few vague indications.

AdG

16 View through the east part of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from north to south

1637

Panel, 40 x 50 cm.
Recto middle left (below the wall painting):
A. 1637 // Saenredam.fecit
Kassel, Gemäldegalerie,
inv. no. GK 427

Saenredam completed both the *View through the east part of the nave of the Mariakerk* and the *View through the transept of the Mariakerk to the southwest* (cat. no. 26) in 1637. They are the first two paintings Saenredam made of the Utrecht churches after his return to Haarlem.

Compared with the drawing of July 1636 that Saenredam took as his point of departure (cat. no. 15), the foreground has been enlarged and the left pilaster with the painting of the Virgin and Child broadened. The decoration of the interior, which in the drawing is rather sober, is reduced even further in the painting. Only the depiction of Mary, the memorial tablet in the south aisle, the candelabras on the balustrade and the Van Amerongen arms are maintained. Saenredam eliminated the tie rods and the canopies and suppressed the sumptuous gold brocade tapestry imitation, which is so striking in Saenredam's other interiors of the Mariakerk. When the panel was restored in 1961, the piers and columns of the south wall turned out to have been partly painted over gold leaf.[1] This is all the more curious, for this phenomenon also occurs in the above-mentioned *View through the transept of the Mariakerk* of the same year.[2] Careful examination of the latter painting established that Saenredam first sketched the cloth imitation, then made the underdrawing for it and elaborated it with gold leaf and red, only to subsequently overpaint it (see cat. no. 26). Depicting the church more austerely than it actually was must have been a deliberate choice in both cases.

The *View through the east part of the nave of the Mariakerk* includes five standing figures, which were probably not by Saenredam himself. A woman and child, earlier seated on the base of the column in the left foreground, were removed during the restoration in 1961.[3]

The provenance of the painting can be traced back to the 18th century. Wilhelm VIII von Hessen-Kassel acquired it in 1738, not from the collection of a German Baron Von Schönborn as Schwartz and Bok maintain but from an anonymous individual.[4] The landgrave had commissioned the Amsterdam art dealer Anthonie Rutgers (1695-1778) to find an architectural picture that could serve as the Protestant counterpart for the Catholic church interior by Hendrick van Steenwijck that had already been in his possession for some time. This *Interior of a five-aisle cathedral* is still in the collection of the Gemäldegalerie in Kassel, and since the 19th century has been attributed to Pieter Neefs the Elder (c. 1578-1656/61), who is thought to have studied with Hendrick van Steenwijck the Elder (c. 1550-1603).[5] In carrying out his commission for Wilhelm VIII, Rutgers stumbled across the Von Schönborn collection, which was to be auctioned in Amsterdam on 16 April 1738.[6] Although the collection contained splendid paintings, he did not find what he was looking for. However, on 7 January 1738, he reported to the landgrave that he had found just the right painting: the *View through the east part of the nave of the Mariakerk,* which Rutgers identified as an interior of the Dom.[7] The so-called Steenwijck is painted on a copper plate measuring

Provenance
Landgrave Wilhelm VIII von Hessen-Kassel collection, Kassel (1738-1760) (via Antonie Rutgers, Amsterdam); Landgrave Friedrich II von Hessen-Kassel collection, Kassel (1760-1785); Landgrave Wilhelm IX (as of 1803 Elector Wilhelm I von Hessen-Kassel) collection, Kassel (1785-1821); Elector Wilhelm II von Hessen-Kassel collection, Kassel (1821-1831); Elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Hessen-Kassel collection, Kassel (1831-1866); Prussian state property (1866-1918); property of the German state, 1918

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 52, fig. 47.

Literature
Kassel 1783, cat. no. 126, p. 126; Hirsching 1786-1792, vol. 5 (1792), p. 216; Kassel 1830, cat. no. 288, p. 48; Parthey 1863-1864, vol. 2 (1864), p. 469; Kassel [c. 1880], cat. no. 288, p. 27; Eisenmann [c. 1885], p. 36 (no. 288); Kassel [c. 1885], cat. no. 288, p. 28; Denison Champlin 1888, p. 100; Kassel 1888, cat. no. 392, p. 248; Woltmann and Woermann 1879-1888, vol. 3 (1888), p. 655; Von Drach 1890, pp. 192-193, 194, 197, 200; Kassel 1894, cat. no. 427, p. 33; Kassel 1897, cat. no. 427, p. 33; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 12; Kassel 1901, cat. no. 427, p. 33; Muller 1902, p. 202; Kassel 1903, cat. no. 427, p. 33; Kassel 1909, cat. no. 427, p. 33; Jantzen 1910, p. 169 (no. 407); Kassel 1910, cat. no. 427, p. 33; Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 547; Kassel 1912, inv. no. 427, p. 43; Kassel 1913, inv. no. 427, p. 60; Kassel 1922, inv. no. 427, p. 43; Gronau 1923, p. 64; Kassel 1924, inv. no. 427, p. 43; Kassel 1929, inv. no. 427, p. 71; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 144, p. 110 and pp. 99 (under cat. no. 100), 109 (under cat. no. 139), fig. 140; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Kassel 1958, cat. no. 427, pp. 137-138 and p. 10; Brinkgreve 1960, pp. 38, 41, fig. 9; Kassel 1961, p. 76, ill. on p. 77; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 156, p. 218 and p. 219, fig. 157; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 156, p. 219 and p. 220, fig. 157; Heckmanns 1965, pp. 30-31, 65 (no. 19), fig. 19; *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon* 1964-1971, vol. 5 (1968), p. 198 (H. Roosen-Runge); Kassel 1969, cat. no. 66, p. 90 and p. 19, ill.; Liedtke 1971, p. 132, pp. 138-139; Bergmann et al. 1976, p. 15; Blau et al. 1976-1978, vol. 7 (1978), p. 2439; Jantzen 1979, p. 232 (no. 407); Liedtke 1982, p. 127; Utrecht 1985, p. 28 (under cat. nos. 29 and 30); Kunst 1986, p. 125; Lammertse 1987, p. 89 (note 14); Elkins 1988, pp. 265, 266 (under fig. 12), 273 (note 16); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 156, p. 281 and pp. 147, 149, 192, 248, 279, 296, 322 (note 6), fig. 147; Ruurs 1990, p. 336; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 156, p. 283 and pp. 147, 190, 247, 281, 304, 331 (note 6), fig. 147; Hamburg 1995-1996, cat. no. 4, pp. 16-17; Kassel 1996, inv. no. GK 427, p. 269 and p. 15, ill. on pl. 193.

Notes
1
See Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 156, p. 219.



40 x 50.2 cm, while the Saenredam is on panel and measures 40 x 50 cm. Rutgers could hardly have done better, and on 18 February, confidently wrote to Wilhelm VIII: 'I again examined the Saenredam: it is a fine work in its genre: nature could not be imitated with greater truth; and I am sure it will hold its own with the best Steenwijck.'[8] On 18 April 1738, he reported that he acquired the painting for the landgrave, initially offered at ƒ 60, for ƒ 50.[9]
The collection of Wilhelm VIII, considered the founder of the Gemäldegalerie in Kassel, remained the property of the landgraves and later electors of Hessen-Kassel until 1866. After the transition of the electorate of Hessen-Kassel to Prussia, the collection was first state property of Prussia and later of Germany.

LMH

2
See also Lammertse 1987, p. 89 (note 14).
3
According to Kassel 1969, cat. no. 66, p. 90. A photograph of the painting prior to the restoration is in the photographic documentation of the Centraal Museum.
4
Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 147 and 247, and Kassel 1996, inv. no. GK 427, p. 269.
5
Pieter Neefs the Elder, *Interior of a five-aisle cathedral*, c. 1640. Copper, 40 x 50.2 cm. Kassel, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. GK 72.
6
Rutgers' letters to Wilhelm VIII are published in Drach 1890. According to his letter of 7 January 1738, Rutgers did look at the Von Schönborn collection but was unable to find an appropriate pendant for the Van Steenwijck. The painting by Saenredam does not show up in the catalogue of the Von Schönborn collection sale in Amsterdam of 16 April 1738. Moreover, no other church interior is mentioned in the catalogue that could apply to the panel by Saenredam. Schwartz and Bok did not consult the catalogue, which is in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, and assume that Hoet 1752, vol. 1, pp. 506-518, does not mention the painting on account of his abridgment of the catalogue. See Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 328 (note 15).
7
Drach 1890, pp. 192-193. The painting is called an *Interior of the Domkerk* in the successive collection catalogues from Kassel 1783, cat. no. 126, p. 126, to Kassel [c. 1885], cat. no. 288, p. 28. Only as of Kassel 1888, cat. no. 392, p. 248, is it called an *Interior of a Romanesque church*.
8
'Aussi j'ai ancore examiné le Saenredam; que je trouve parfaittement beau dans son genre: on ne sauroit imiter la Nature avec plus de Verité; et je suis sure qu'en cela il pourra tenir tète au meilleur Steenwyk.' Drach 1890, p. 194.
9
Drach 1890, p. 193 and p. 200.

17 View of the west gallery of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from north to south

3 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk
Framing line in pen and brown ink
Pale buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis (see p. 297).
300 x 395 mm.

Recto lower right (on the ground): S:^{te} Maryen kerck, binnen uijttrecht.
Recto (under the memorial plaque in the background): den 3 Julij 1636 // P:^{r} Saenredam.
Paris, Frits Lugt collection, Institut Néerlandais

This oblique view and the preceding drawings (cat. nos. 11 and 15) constitute a coherent series in terms of composition and execution. The vanishing point, however, is somewhat higher: about 5 feet, thus about 1.40 metres, and the view through two arches is here only bordered on the left side by a pier. Against the interior of the west façade on the right side is a pilaster, the engaged column and capital of which can just be distinguished. The ragged contour to the left of it is made up of the diagonal pilaster with capital shown from the side, which evidently is missing part of the shaft just above the middle (for the equivalent south wall pilaster compare cat. no. 32).

Through the two arches can be seen the west bay of the nave, the right half of which is taken up by the west gallery, and in the background the two west bays of the south aisle. Below the gallery is the west church door with a Gothic fanlight inside the original Romanesque arch. The window at the right allows us to follow the enlarging and Gothicising of the other lower windows: the top of the originally rounded arch has been broken up to make way for the Gothic pointed arch.
The Romanesque west gallery – the two corner columns with octagonal capitals, and the two more slender intermediary columns with cushion capitals – has a Gothic organ loft with in the middle a projecting oriel, and behind that the angled side of the south organ case with shutter closed. The slanted wooden partition next to this in the gallery of the south aisle is the 'bellows house', the case for the bellows of the organ.
In the south aisle itself we see another two entrances: through the piers at the left is the door to the west Pandhof, or cloister wing, and through the columns at the right the door to the south tower, above which is one of the two consoles supporting the lower moulding of a Renaissance niche, just like that at the north door (see cat. no. 11).

The most striking element of the south wall is the funerary monument and tomb of the painter Jan van Scorel (1495-1562), who was a canon of the Mariakerk from 1528 until his death.[1] Saenredam placed his signature under the central memorial tablet, perhaps not without significance, but this was not an uncommon spot for him to sign his name. In the middle of this memorial was an empty round panel, which had originally contained a painted portrait of Scorel by Anthonie Mor. During Saenredam's time, however, this portrait was with Scorel's descendants and is now in London. [2] The two lower smaller memorial plaques contain texts which are known to us from Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck* of 1604. Scorel was buried at the foot of the monument under a tombstone, some fragments of which have been recovered.
A decorative painting on the nave pier at the left of the monument contains an inscription in the lower edge: 'THOM ap' (in cat. no. 21 amplified to 'APOST'). Here stood a statue of St Thomas, given by Canon Hendrik Beyer around 1530.[3] The Beyer family tomb was located near this pier, possibly under the first tombstone directly next to it or the second one in the row of five tombstones that Saenredam drew between this pier and the one in the

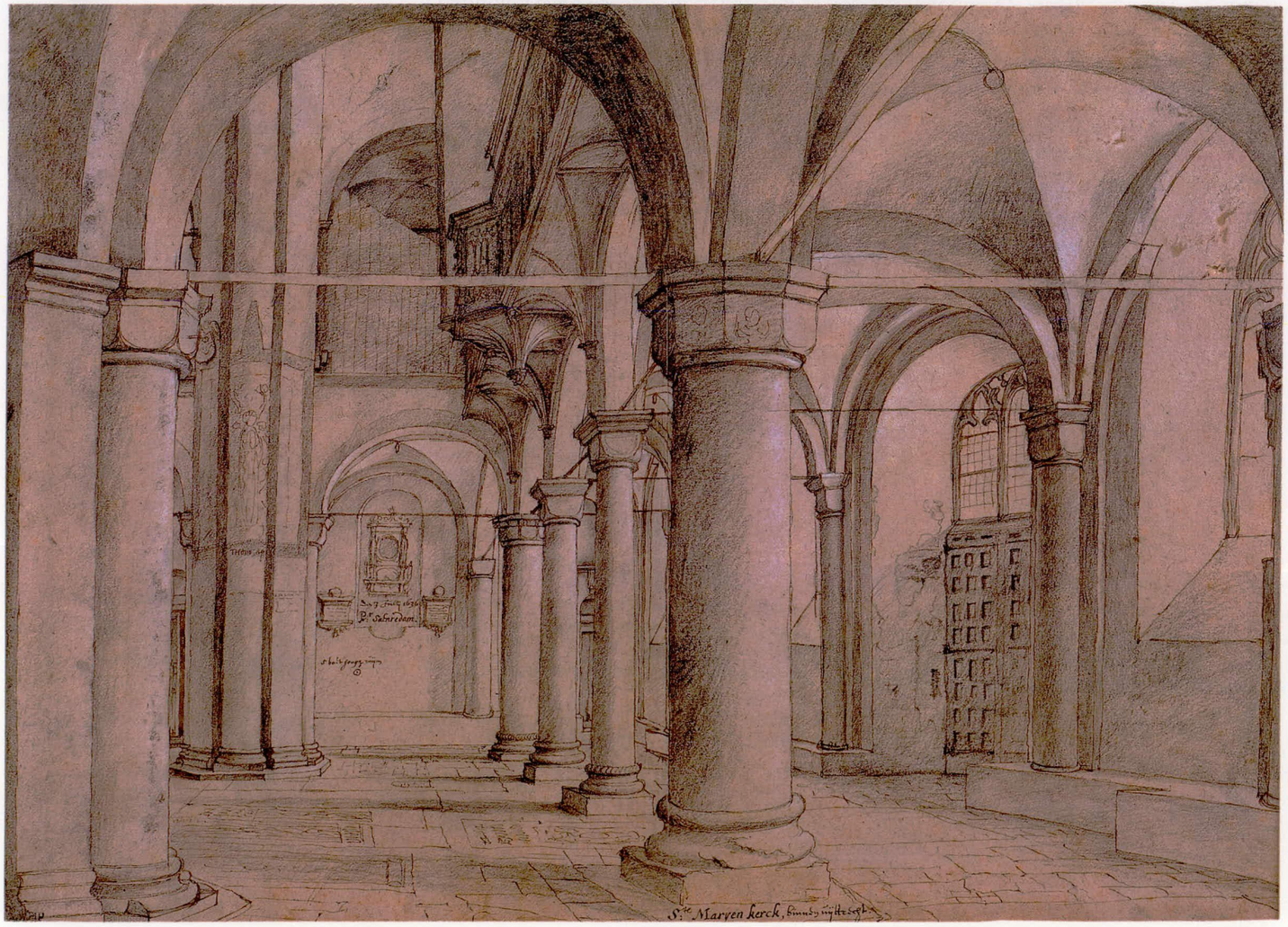
Inscriptions
Recto (above the vanishing point): 5 voet hoogh ruijm (well over 5 feet high)
Recto (under the painting on the pier at the left): THOM ap
Verso lower left: No 979 (pen and brown ink)

Provenance
B. Grahame collection (1878); E. J. Poynter collection, London; sale Sotheby's, London, 25 April 1918, no. 293 (to Boyers, Brown & Philips); Leicester Galleries, London; private collection, London; ? acquired by F. Lugt, year unknown

Exhibitions
Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 84, p. 28; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 54, p. 25, fig. 48.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 12, fig. 17; Utrecht 1907, p. 125; Vermeulen 1920, pp. 190, 194; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 106, p. 100, fig. 141; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 163, p. 225, fig. 164; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 163, p. 226, fig. 164; Haakma Wagenaar 1971(a), p. 29 (note 16); Kubach and Verbeek 1976, vol. 2, pp. 1162 ff.; vol. 3, fig. 558, no. 1; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 58, 85-87, 90, fig. 30; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 27, p. 28; Amsterdam 1986, p. 336, fig. 213b; Defoer and Dirkse 1986, pp. 177-179, fig. 5; Ruurs 1987, p. 107 (note 89); Elkins 1988, p. 272 (notes 13, 15); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 163, p. 282 and pp. 136-137, 149, fig. 148; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 163, pp. 284-285 and pp. 136-137, 149, fig. 148; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, p. 50.

Notes
1
On the tomb and the monument, see Defoer and Dirkse 1986.
2
Anthonie Mor van Dashorst, *Portrait of Jan van Scorel*, 1559. Panel, app. 58 cm (diameter). London, The Society of Antiquaries of London.
3
Calkoen 1916-1917, vol. 2, p. 187; Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 65v; the sculpture dated from around 1530.
4
The arms, also visible in cat. nos. 8 and 10 and there with the colours red on blue (silver), is one of the quarterings on the tombstone, see Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 65v.


Sc.te Marven kerck, binnen nyttesegt.

foreground. The escutcheon at the upper left, with an undulating bar, will have belonged to one of the members of this family.[4] It is not known who the inscription under the painting at the right refers to.

AdG

18 View through the west gallery of the nave of the Mariakerk in Utrecht from north to south

1784

Hendrik Tavenier (1734-1807)

Pen and brownish-grey ink, brush and grey ink, graphite (pen and brown ink inscription only).
Watermark: letters P and A.
592 x 479 mm.

Verso: Gezigt van de Maaria Kerk binne Utregt 1784 // H: Tavenier (Interior view of the Mariakerk in Utrecht 1784) (pen and brownish grey ink)
The Hague, Royal Collections,
inv. no. MCS/221.

Inscriptions
Recto (under the drawing): Maria kerk te Utrecht (pen and brown ink)
Verso: 221 and 103

Provenance
Munnicks van Cleeff collection (1847-1860); sale 1860 (Munnicks van Cleeff coll.); J. L. Beyers collection (1860?-1870); Prince Hendrik collection (1870); Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik collection; Princess Maria of Prussia collection; King Willem III collection; Queen Emma van Waldeck Pyrmont collection; Queen Wilhelmina collection

Literature
Utrecht 1907, p. 124; Swillens 1935, p. 132, no. 4; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 218, p. 276; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 218, p. 284.

This sheet represents one of the five views of the Mariakerk that Hendrik Tavenier made around 1784 of Saenredam's drawings (see cat. no. 9). Like the other four (cat. nos. 9, 20, 28, 30), until now it has traditionally been considered a copy of the original sketch of 1636.[1] However, it is unmistakably a copy of a construction drawing. This is evident from the fact that Tavenier used a ruler and first drew auxiliary lines in pencil to the central vanishing point, as well as from his rendering of the floor in a tile pattern. Another indication is the absence of tie rods between the arches, which do occur in Saenredam's sketch, or a detail such as the organ in the gallery, the left shutter of which is closed in the sketch while here it is open (as in cat. no. 12). The fashionably attired figures are Tavenier's own addition.

The drawing is perspectively virtually perfect and extremely correct with respect to the proportions of the space. Tavenier, incidentally, never actually saw this part of the church himself, for it was torn down in 1711. The correct proportioning means that Saenredam's drawing was very carefully constructed. Given the two other correct copies (cat. nos. 28 and 30), we can deduce that Saenredam's construction drawing must have been just about as large as Tavenier's copy.
This sheet, therefore, is an important document. It proves that Saenredam also used his sketch of 3 July 1636 to prepare an until now unknown panel, and perhaps also actually painted it – a panel approximately the same size as this drawing by Tavenier.

AdG

Note
1
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 218, p. 284.


Maria Kerk te Utrecht

19 View through the transept of the Mariakerk in Utrecht to the southeast

7 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black, white and red chalk, brush and grey ink, brush and watercolour (brown and blue) (pen and black ink the figures only).
Framing line in pen and dark brown ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
315 x 226 mm.

Recto lower left (on the side of the steps, partially cut off): [..]en 7 Julij // Sardam. 1636
Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. H 181

Unlike the other Mariakerk drawings, this sheet is small and on blue paper. The drawing's aesthetic balance is disturbed by the heavy dark grey washes in the foremost areas, and chiefly by the apparently accidental spots and daubs in matte brown watercolour. As odd as they seem, they nonetheless must have been applied by Saenredam himself in an attempt to render weathered or damaged parts of the wall or as more general indications of colour, for some of them recur in his paintings of 1637 (cat. nos. 16 and 26). The figures are not by Saenredam, but rather Simon Fokke (1712-1784), as the latter stated.[1] They are done in black ink, which differs significantly from Saenredam's working method; he always used brown ink.

Saenredam made this drawing in the northwest corner of the transept, sitting on the edge of the wall bench right next to the door of the north portal. He looked just past the two west crossing piers and indicated his 'eye' in the chamfered corner of the addition that housed the stairs to the transept gallery.
This gallery was not part of the original structure, but a later addition – possibly as recent as the 16th century – to allow access to the archive room and the sexton's quarters above the south or Paradise Porch from inside the church. The doorway below – an inner hall (illustrated in cat. no. 25) has been omitted here by Saenredam – affords a view into the spacious entrance hall, which was a favoured burial place for vicars and church personnel. Unfortunately, two partly visible memorial plaques in this hall cannot be identified, nor can the monument right next to the apse of the south transept be identified with certainty. It may be the memorial plaque of Herman van Gouda (d. 1466), which was still present in this part of the church in the 18th century.[2]

The main motif in this drawing is the Renaissance rood screen – the partition between the transept and the choir – provided with a tribune. It was built in 1543-1544 after a design by Jan van Scorel; his armorial bearings were among a series of escutcheons which in Saenredam's drawing are vaguely visible in the moulding of the balustrade. The splendid oak tribune was made by Jan van Oey. The lower half of the rood screen looks more meagre in Saenredam's drawing than it actually was before the Reformation. Only the classically designed door frames remain; the doors themselves were removed and the openings nailed shut with planks, because the choir had been used by the cabinet-makers' guild since 1619. The altar of the Holy Cross originally stood in the middle area between these two doors. Other memorial tablets could be seen in the sides of the rood screen.
Like its counterpart in the north wall, the large lozenge-shaped window in the south wall of the transept contains glass painted in the 16th century, also after a design by Scorel.[3] However, virtually nothing of this was left in Saenredam's time.

AdG

Inscriptions
Verso lower left: o 974. (pen and brown ink; partially cut off)

Comments
The figures were added by Simon Fokke (1712-1784) (see pp. 65-66).

Provenance
Six collection, Amsterdam (1928); sale Frederik Muller, Amsterdam 16-18 October 1928 (Six coll.), no. 454 (to art dealer Beets); F. Koenigs collection, Haarlem (1928); lent by F. Koenigs to the Museum Boymans (1935); D. G. van Beuningen collection (1940-1941); lent by D. G. van Beuningen, 1940-1941; given by D. G. van Beuningen to Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1941

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 13; Utrecht 1907, p. 124; Hoogewerff 1923, p. 89, fig. 63; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 103, p. 99 and pp. 54, 60, fig. 145; Esmeijer 1955, p. 20; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 155, p. 217, fig. 154; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 155, p. 218, fig. 154; Heckmanns 1965, p. 32; De Meyere 1981, p. 3, fig. 56; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 38, p. 30; Kloek, Halsema-Kubes and Baarsen 1986, p. 87; Lammertse 1987, pp. 80, 84, fig. 3; Broos 1989, pp. 47-48, fig. 20; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 155, p. 281 and pp. 142, 149, 152-153, fig. 156; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 155, p. 283 and pp. 142, 149, 151, fig. 156; De Vries 1991, p. 457.

Notes
1
Broos 1989, p. 47.
2
Compare later illustrations of this monument, such as HUA, TA Id 5.7.
3
See Esmeijer 1955, and Utrecht/Douai 1977, cat. no. 40, pp. 105-106.



20 View through the transept of the Mariakerk in Utrecht to the southeast

c. 1784

Hendrik Tavenier (1734-1807)

Pen and black and grey ink, brush and grey ink, graphite (pen and brown ink the inscription only).
Watermark: letters P and A.
582 x 357 mm.

Recto (under the drawing): een gedeelte van de S^{t}: Maria Kerk te Utrecht (a part of the Mariakerk in Utrecht) (pen and brown ink)
The Hague, Royal Collections,
inv. no. MCS/222.

This drawing, one of Hendrik Tavenier's five copies of Saenredam's Mariakerk interiors (see cat. no. 9), depicts the same view as in Saenredam's sketch of 7 July 1636 (cat. no. 19), yet has the layout of a construction drawing.[1] This is clear from the feet measurements along the base line and the auxiliary lines of the tile floor drawn in pencil with a ruler. However, it does not appear to be a faithful copy of a construction drawing by Saenredam, for the proportions of the space are too weak and components such as the consoles of the rood screen tribune too distorted.
In theory, Tavenier could have tried to make his own construction drawing on the basis of Saenredam's sketch of 7 July. However, this would have been quite exceptional, for other copies by Tavenier of Saenredam's sketches maintained the character of the originals. Therefore, Tavenier more likely followed a construction drawing by Saenredam, but had to adjust the format to make it fit his sheet of paper. Reduction of the original dimensions in cat. no. 9 resulted in just such proportional deviations. Tavenier's understanding of Saenredam's method of perspective construction cannot have been very profound though. For instance, in the reduction, the connection between the feet measurements along the base line and the perspective lines of the tile floor has largely been lost. Tavenier was able to locate the vanishing point at the correct height reasonably well, but evidently did not understand (just as little as Fokke in cat. no. 19) that its actual height in the church was only about 4 feet (1.10 m), so that the adult figures under the rood screen are no taller than 1.25 metres.
Should the above hypothesis be correct, then Saenredam most likely painted or at least prepared a now unknown panel from his sketch of 7 July 1636, whose dimensions were larger than those of this drawing by Tavenier.

AdG

Inscriptions
Recto (along the base line measurements in feet): 5 (to) 10, 15, 20, 25, 30

Provenance
Munnicks van Cleeff collection (1847-1860); sale, 1860 (Munnicks van Cleeff coll.); J. L. Beyers collection (1860?-1870); Prince Hendrik collection (1870); Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik collection; Princess Maria of Prussia collection; King Willem III collection; Queen Emma van Waldeck Pyrmont collection; Queen Wilhelmina collection

Literature
Utrecht 1907, p. 124; Swillens 1935, p. 132, no. 4; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 216, p. 275; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 216, p. 283.

Note
1
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 216, p. 283, describes the drawing as a copy of this sketch.


een gedeelte van de S. Maria Kerk te Utrecht

21 The nave and choir of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

9 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and black-brown ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis (see p. 297).
393 x 296 mm.

Recto lower middle: S.te Marijen kerck, // binnen utrecht. den 9 Julij 1636. (The Mariakerk, in Utrecht. 9 July 1636.)
Recto lower right (on the plinth of the pier, cut off): p. Saenr
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. no. RSA 525.

This sheet was discovered in a package of drawings from the estate of David Laing in the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh in 1974.[1] It has suffered significantly on the right side, a strip measuring at least 1 cm was cut off, whereby almost half of the signature is missing.

In the drawing the nave is seen towards the transept and the choir. Unlike cat. no. 8 – in many respects the immediate pendant of this view – the full length of the church is shown. Saenredam was in the far west corner, below the organ gallery, alternately on and just before the wall bench below the window to the south of the west entrance, which can be seen in cat. no. 8. The column at the far left, sketched only in chalk and partially over the pen lines of the nave pier behind it, is the southern one of the two middle supports of the west gallery. The 'eye' is indicated in the southwest crossing pier, at a height that could be estimated at about 1.60 to 1.70 metres, or close to 6 feet. However, the proportions and the perspective are far from accurate. The nave is too wide in relation to the height, and the piers at the left seem drawn from a higher viewpoint – more or less in keeping with the vanishing point indicated – and from somewhat closer range than the corresponding piers on the right side. Consequently, the vault arches at the left spring higher than at the right (an effect reinforced by the crooked frame later drawn around the drawing). The difference is evidently a result of Saenredam's standing before and sitting on the wall bench respectively, changes of viewpoint that will have been caused by the column sketched in chalk, which impeded the view from he wall bench to the left. It led to an inversion in the usual curvilinear perspective.

Saenredam took pains in this sheet to fully depict all of the furnishings. Before the choir we see not only the rood screen – the right half of which is stretched out in width like the choir vault behind it – but also the rood beam that once bore a crucifixion group. In the nave are indicated the painted tapestries, consoles and canopies that were formerly the settings for statues of the apostles; no paintings are denoted above the columns between the piers, though they must have been there. Just below the painting in the foreground at the right, where the statue of St Thomas must have stood, can still be read the letters 'APOST' (see also cat. no. 17). In the arms in the lower right corner of this painting can be discerned the silhouette of an eagle, the armorial bearings of Canon Hendrik Beyer, who donated the statue around 1530. For whom the memorial tablet below was applied is unknown.
The large tombstone at the front of the for the rest very globally sketched floor may cover the tomb of the Beyer family.[2]

Visible on the foremost pier at the lower left is the 'bull relief' also found in cat. nos. 11 and 14. The small arms in the corners of the painted tapestry have not been identified, nor have the escutcheon above and the square shield on the next pier. The escutcheon with linked rings has been mentioned elsewhere, but without a name attached to it.[3] The escutcheon on the northwest crossing pier has a dark cross on a light field, according to the painting of 1641

Inscriptions
Recto (on the pier, under the painting): APOST
Verso lower left: No 978 (pen and brown ink)
Verso: h. 15½ d., br., 11½ (handwriting of C. Ploos van Amstel; L. 3002-04).

Provenance
Ploos van Amstel collection (1800); sale, Amsterdam 3 March 1800 (Ploos van Amstel coll.); J. Helmolt collection, Haarlem (1800-1808); sale December 1808 (J. Helmolt coll.) (to Daams); D. Laing collection, Edinburgh (1879); bequeathed by D. Laing to the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh (1879); lent by the Royal Scottish Academy to the National Gallery of Scotland, 1974

Exhibitions
Edinburgh 1976, cat. no. 74, p. 37 and p. 3, fig. 23; Edinburgh 1979, cat. no. 6, n. p.; Edinburgh/London 1985-1986, no cat. no., n. p.; Washington/Fort Worth 1990-1991, cat. no. 69, p. 154 and p. 15, ill on p. 155.

Literature
Swillens 1935, cat. no. 101, p. 99; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 79; Andrews 1975, pp. 155-158, fig. 1; Andrews 1976, p. 451, fig. 159; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 26; Ruurs 1982, p. 117 (note 5); Edinburgh 1985, vol. 1, pp. 73-74; vol. 2, fig. 485; Lammertse 1987, p. 84; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 149A, p. 280 and pp. 138, 149, fig. 150; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 149A, p. 282 and pp. 138, 149, fig. 150; Beck 1993, p. 376.

Notes
1
Andrews 1975.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 65v.
3
Van Engelen I, p. 178.
4
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 59r, 65r.


Ste
S. Maryen kerck,

(cat. no. 22) in the colours red and silver. These were the armorial bearings of the Pieck family, various members of which were affiliated with the Mariakerk.[4]

AdG

22 The nave and choir of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

29 January 1641

Panel, 121.5 x 95 cm.
Recto lower right (on the pier): Pieter Saenredam, ghemaeckt. // ende voleijndicht den 29 Januarij // int Jaer i64i.
(Pieter Saenredam, made and completed on 29 January in the year 1641)
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 851

The imposing *Nave and choir of the Mariakerk seen to the east* is considered one of Saenredam's most important works. He completed the large panel on 29 January 1641, somewhat more than four and a half years after he sketched the church *in situ* (cat. no. 21). The beholder is confronted with a monumental church space rising up high. Light falls on the upper gallery, and the Gothic choir in the distance is bathed in warm sunlight. The pure gold leaf of the imitation painted tapestries gives sheen to the interior of the Mariakerk, which in other paintings is sometimes so somberly depicted.

The drawing of 9 July 1636, which served as the point of departure for the painting, lacks the grandness that makes the panel so appealing. The nave appears lower and darker and the choir makes a relatively ompressed, almost Romanesque impression. While Saenredam did draw the imitation tapestries, they are scarcely noticeable because they lack colour.
The baldachins hanging before the tapestries and the consoles do not recur in the painting. The candelabras on the balustrade were reduced to three and set further apart. Finally, the column with the cushion capital, which impedes the view of the church in the sketch, is suppressed in the painting.
Infrared reflectography reveals squaring on the ground layer. This approximately 5 x 5 cm squaring was used for the underdrawing in the panel.[1] From this can be deduced that the construction drawing, which has not been preserved, was smaller than the panel.

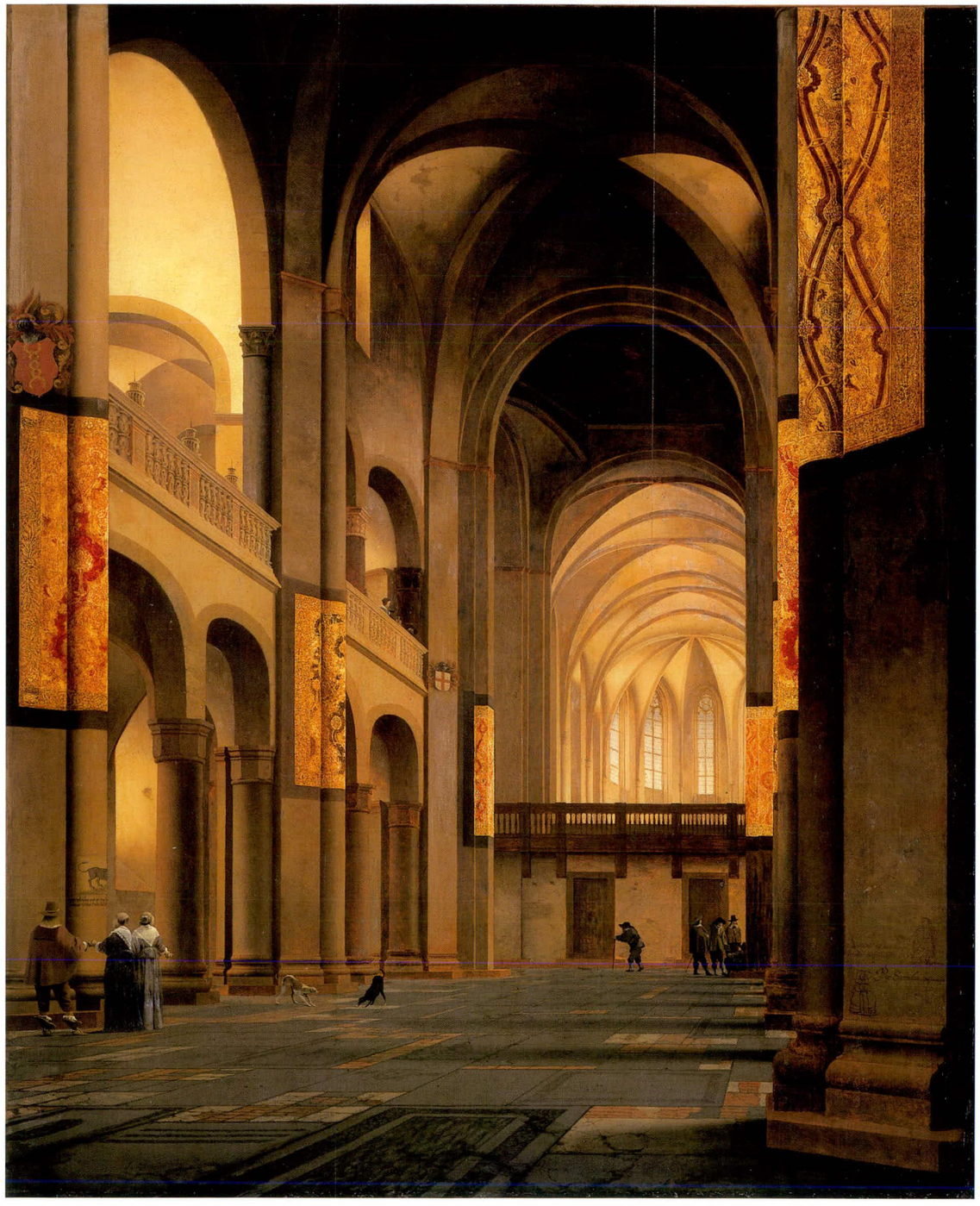
The nave and choir of the Mariakerk is one of the very few paintings by Saenredam whose provenance is virtually certain all the way back to its first owner.[2] The earliest mention is in a sales catalogue of the estate of Susanna Huygens (1637-1725), the only daughter of Constantijn Huygens, of 6 November 1725.[3] The panel is subsequently listed in a 19th-century inventory of the house built in 1633 designed by Jacob van Campen for Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), secretary of the stadholder and friend of many artists, poets, writers and statesmen. The description of the inventory dates from 10 December 1827. At that time, the painting, together with one by Paulus Bor (c. 1601-1669), functioned as overdoors of one of the cabinets.[4] The painting may have been enlarged at the top and left because of its placement above the door. This would have been done after it was offered at auction in 1725, for at that time it measured 121.6 x 95.5 cm.[5] Swillens gave the measurements as 130 x 103.5 cm in 1935, which are surprisingly close to those of Bor's painting *Pharaoh's daughter discovers Moses in the rush basket*.[6] Saenredam's panel was returned to its original dimensions in a restoration in 1936.
Although the provenance as substantiated by facts goes back no further than 1725, it is highly plausible that the painting was present in Huygens' house before then, and that he was indeed its first owner. Gary Schwartz proposes that Huygens was involved with certain iconographic details in the painting.[7] Illustrated on the pier in the left foreground is the 'bull relief', assumed to have been designed by Jan van Scorel (1495-1562).[8] Below it is a two-line Latin poem on the problems that were experienced while laying the foundations of the church: 'accipe posteritas quod per tua [secula narres], taurinis cutibus fundo solidata

Inscriptions
Recto (above the signature): Dit is de S[t]. Mariae kerck, // binnen uijttrecht
(This is the St Mariakerk, in Utrecht)
Recto (on the pier at the left, under the depiction of a bull): accipe posteritas quod per tua [secula narres], taurinis cutibus fundo solidata [collumna est]

Provenance
? painted on commission for C. Huygens, The Hague (1641); ? C. Huygens collection, The Hague (1641-1687); ? C. Huygens and S. Huygens-Rijckaert collection, The Hague (1687-1712); S. Doublet-Huygens collection, Lady of Ste. Anneland, The Hague (1712?-1725); sale The Hague 6 November 1725 (Lady of Ste. Annaland coll.), cat. no. 83, p. 8 (not sold). The painting remained in the house of Constantijn Huygens, The Hague. The house and its contents were sold in The Hague 5 January 1829 to the State and after it was demolished in 1876, the painting was kept in the Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst, The Hague/Amsterdam (1876-1885); transferred to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1885

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 15, p. 12, fig. IX; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 15, p. 11, fig. IX; Utrecht 1948, cat. no. 48, pp. 47-48; Bolsward 1950, cat. no. 50, n. p.; Rome 1956-1957, cat. no. 268, p. 217; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Riegel 1882, vol. 2, p. 431; Obreen 1877/1878-1888/1890, vol. 5 (1882/1883), p. 331 (note 1); Amsterdam 1887, cat. no. 1260, p. 149; Obreen 1887, p. 31; *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen* 1887, no. 273, p. 59; ? Van der Muelen 1888, p. 76; Obreen 1890, p. 75; Obreen 1893, p. 83; Obreen 1898, p. 38; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 3, 11, fig. 15; Amsterdam 1901, cat. no. 1260, p. 147; Muller 1902, p. 201; Amsterdam 1903, cat. no. 2099, p. 235; Amsterdam 1904, cat. no. 2099, p. 276; Amsterdam 1905, cat. no. 2099, p. 293; Amsterdam 1907, cat. no. 2099, p. 235; Amsterdam 1908, cat. no. 2099, p. 235; Jantzen 1909, p. 143; Jantzen 1910, pp. 84, 169 (no. 410), fig. 34; Six 1910, pp. 24-25; Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 547; Amsterdam 1911, cat. no. 2099, p. 327; Amsterdam 1912, cat. no. 2099, p. 235; Weissman 1912, p. 32 and fig. 9; Bremmer 1913/1914-1937/1938, vol. 4 (1916/1917), no. 26, pp. 39-40, ill; Amsterdam 1918, cat. no. 2099, p. 235; Amsterdam 1920, cat. no. 2099, p. 363; Vermeulen 1920, p. 193; Woermann 1920, p. 315; Hoogewerff 1923, p. 90, fig. 62; *Verslag Gemeente Utrecht* 1924, pp. 30, 36; Utrecht 1928, cat. no. 1375, p. 216; Vermeulen 1928-1941, vol. 1 (1928), p. 242 (note 1); *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1929, p. 9; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1931, p. 9; Utrecht 1933, cat. no. 155, p. 65 and p. LVIII, fig. 18; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1934, p. 9; Martin 1935, p. 281, fig. 163; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 151, p. 112 and pp. 12-13, 44, 53-54, 99 (under cat. no. 101), fig. 133; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307; *Verslag Gemeente Utrecht* 1936, p. 21; *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks verzamelingen* 1937, p. 12; Trivas 1938, p. 155; Hoogewerff



[collumna est],' which in translation reads as follows: 'Accept, posterity, that which you may tell through the ages: The column is grounded on the hides of bulls' (see also cat. nos. 10 and 14). In 1649, Huygens wrote a four-line Latin poem as commentary on the inscription under the bull relief. This is translated as follows: 'It matters little, posterity, nor need you tell the ages That this column stands based upon a springlet in the ground. What matters more is that within these columns The Saviour himself edifies souls – not stones – from eternal springs.'[9] According to Schwartz, the Christian message Huygens ascribed the monument is expressed in the painting as well. The couple standing hand in hand before the inscription, draws attention to this in a respectful fashion.[10] It is not certain, incidentally, whether Saenredam provided the figures himself. In the literature they are generally attributed to Pieter Post.[11]

The painting is signed and dated in ochre, black and white in the pier at the right. Saenredam's signature, date and the name of the church are part of a children's drawing scribbled on the wall and done in the same colours as the inscription. Svetlana Alpers suggests that in doing this Saenredam wanted to diminish his role as creator and give priority to the painting as a document.[12] On the other hand, we may have to consider the possibility that Saenredam was simply making a joke.

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1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 168; Van Gelder 1942, p. 13; Ozinga 1949, p. 90; Amsterdam 1951, cat. no. 2099, p. 159; Swillens 1951, p. 41; Steppe 1952, p. 342; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Gudlaugsson 1954, p. 68; Amsterdam 1956, cat. no. 2099, p. 182; Cattaui 1957, p. 245; Van Braam [1958], no. 4639, p. 401; Amsterdam 1960, cat. no. 2099, p. 273; Brinkgreve 1960, p. 38, fig. 12; Plietzsch 1960, p. 122; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 149, pp. 211-213, fig. 150; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 149, pp. 212-213, fig. 150; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1962, pp. 181-182; Halbertsma 1962-1963, p. 269 and fig. 5; Halbertsma 1964, fig. 5; Foucart 1965, under section 21, n. p.; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Schwartz 1966-1967; *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon* 1964-1971, vol. 5 (1968), p. 198 (H. Roosen-Runge); Van Asperen de Boer 1971, p. 30 (note 4); Liedtke 1971, pp. 123 (note 14), 139 (note 52); De Jongh 1973, p. 111; Andrews 1975, pp. 155, 158, fig. 2; De Vries 1975, p. 54 (note 24); Wheelock 1975-1976, p. 178, fig. 11; Amsterdam 1976, inv. no. A 851, pp. 491-492, ill. on p. 491; Andrews 1976, p. 451; Edinburgh 1976, p. 37; Wheelock 1977, pp. 234, 255 (note 37), fig. 54; Amsterdam 1979, n. p.; Edinburgh 1979, under cat. no. 6, n. p.; Jantzen 1979, pp. 84, 233 (no. 410), fig. 34; Connell 1980, pp. 17 (note 2), 19 (note 7); Wright 1980, p. 401; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 26; De Meyere 1981, fig. 55; Liedtke 1982, p. 66 (note 24); Ruurs 1982, p. 97, fig. 1; Alpers 1983, pp. 176-178, 261 (note 3), figs. 120, 121; Braunschweig 1983, p. 183; Hamburg 1983-1984, p. 358; Dibbets and Schwartz 1984, p. 303, ill. on p. 300; Edinburgh 1984, p. 48; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, fig. 26; Ruurs 1985, p. 162; Utrecht 1985, pp. 27-28 (under cat. no. 26); Keyl 1986, p. 58; Basel 1987, p. 232; The Hague 1987, p. 344 (note 20); Jansen 1987, pp. 5-6, fig. 2; Lammertse 1987, pp. 84-88, 89 (note 14), figs. 10-13; Ruurs 1987, pp. 77, 101-102 (note 63), figs. 17-19; Sontag 1987, p. 129, ill. on pp. 130, 131; Strengholt 1987, ill. on p. 70; Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 6; Leerintveld 1988, fig. 41; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 149, p. 280 and pp. 149, 151-152, 153, 192, 200, 204, 279, 297, 322 (note 27), fig. 151; Ruurs 1990, p. 336; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 149, p. 282 and pp. 149, 151, 154, 190, 192, 200, 281, 305, 332 (note 27), fig. 151; Rotterdam 1991, p. 170; Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, p. 25, figs. 13 and 14 on p. 21; Dominicus-Van Soest 1996, p. 5, ill.; Buijsen et al. 1998, p. 77; Van Asperen de Boer 2000, p. 10; Giltaij 2000, p. 33.

Notes

1
For the research, see Van Asperen de Boer 1971, p. 30 (note 4); Ruurs 1982, p. 97, fig. 1; Ruurs 1985, pp. 162 and 163 (note 12); Lammertse 1987, pp. 84-88 and figs. 11, 12 and 13; Ruurs 1987, p. 77 and pp. 101-102 (note 63).

2
Saenredam probably painted *The old town hall of Amsterdam*, 1657. Panel, 64.5 x 83 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on commission for

the city of Amsterdam. In any event, it had been acquired by the burgomasters in 1658. See Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 189-190.

3
Sale The Hague 6 November 1725 (Lady of Ste. Annaland coll.), cat. no. 83, p. 8.

4
Van der Muelen 1888, p. 76. It was not a mantelpiece, as is claimed by others, including Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 3 and 11, Martin 1935, p. 281, Swillens 1935, p. 12, Van Gelder 1942, p. 13, Plietzsch 1960, p. 122, and Van Regeren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 212.

5
Sale The Hague 6 November 1725 (Lady of Ste. Annaland coll.), cat. no. 83, p. 8: 3 feet 10½ inches x 3 feet ½ inch = 121.6 x 95.5 cm.

6
Paulus Bor, *Pharaoh's daughter discovers Moses in the rush basket.* Canvas, 132.5 x 115.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 852. In Van der Muelen 1888, p. 76, as Van Spreeuwen.

7
Schwartz 1966-1967, and Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 149.

8
A fragment of the pilaster with the relief and the inscription is in the Centraal Museum. Utrecht 1928, cat. no. 383, p. 217.

9
For the Latin text see Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 82; see also Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 149.

10
See Schwartz 1966-1967, pp. 78-79, and Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 149.

11
See Gudlaugsson 1954, p. 68, and Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 149, pp. 212-213.

12
See Alpers 1983, fig. 121; Sontag 1987, p. 129; and Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 200-201. In Basel 1987, p. 232, the children's drawing is interpreted as a lack of respect for the church.

23 The south aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

16 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, brush in watercolour (grey, pinkish red, yellow, blue).
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Watermark: crowned escutcheon, quartered, with an oblique fesse, monogram HLB below (see p. 298).
305 x 399 mm.

Recto lower middle (on the tombstone): Ste Marijen kerck Binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower middle (on the plinth of the pier, partly cut off): Den 16^{en} Julij 1636. // Pieter Saenredam fecit
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.18.

This sheet – more refined than Saenredam's earlier Utrecht drawings – affords a view from the south aisle to the transept and both apses on either side of the here barely visible Gothic choir. The vanishing point is indicated in the south apse at a height of 1.10 to 1.20 metres above the church floor. While making this drawing Saenredam was sitting right next to the wall bench in the aisle.
Saenredam paid greater attention here to a consistent application of linear perspective than in the earlier sketches. The principal orthogonals run clearly to the vanishing point. Curvilinear perspective can only be discerned in the pier in the left foreground. Just beyond the shaft of this pier can be seen a corner of the plinth of the northwestern crossing pier. It is in a perspectively incorrect place; it should have been a few centimetres higher, in line with the plinth of the massive northwestern crossing pier in the right half of the sheet. Despite these errors the entire drawing is consistently made from a single vantage point. And, though the proportions are too flat, the columns and piers too squat, the arches and vaults too dominant, the remaining depiction of the space is meticulous and highly detailed.

An interesting architectural detail is the base of the engaged column at the far right: it shows us that originally the wall bench was lower. Also noteworthy is the fact that we can see the front of the diagonal pilaster on which hangs a hatchment.[1] From Saenredam's vantage point this would have been impossible if the pilaster stood at precisely an angle of 45°, as indicated in the construction drawing of the pier cross-section (cat. no. 13c). In reality, the pilaster was turned more towards the aisle. Such a detail makes all the more clear the extent to which Saenredam simplified all manner of irregularities into more workable shapes in his construction drawings.

Saenredam lavished attention on the colours of the pre-Reformation painted decorations. The freestanding column has a painting of Mary in a blue gown standing before a yellow niche with a baldachin-like red vault. Given the inscription below it, it is a memorial tablet, probably identical to that of Canon Hendrik Boetselaer (d. 1361) described by Buchelius in this setting, with the clergyman kneeling before Mary holding the Child.[2] The child and the kneeling figure are just out of sight in the drawing.
The capital of this column is also decorated in colour. On the nave side it displays a type of statue console – with two winged angels flanking an escutcheon – found elsewhere in the church as well. One such console is in the Centraal Museum.[3]
On the massive crossing pier behind this can be seen part of the large painted tapestry that is also visible in cat. nos. 10 and 22, and between the column and the pier – the only view into the choir – the rood screen with the nailed-shut left choir entrance and the rood beam above. Below the ends of the rood screen tribune at the left and right on both eastern crossing piers are painted tapestries, part of the settings for the statues of St Adrian and St Anthony, respectively, that formerly stood here in the 16th century.
On the right side can be seen the remains of an altar in the south apse, also mentioned by

Inscriptions
Verso lower right: 1837 / 1089 (pencil)

Provenance
H. Busserus collection (year unknown); C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 72, p. 26; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 72, p. 26; Washington/New York/Minneapolis/ Boston/ Cleveland 1958-1959, cat. no. 53, pp. 28-29; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 22, p. 54, ill.; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 35, p. 29.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 13, fig. 19; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1089, p. 124; Muller 1910, pp. 201-202; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 108, p. 100 and p. 30, fig. 147; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 150, pp. 213-214, fig. 151; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 150, pp. 213-214, fig. 151; Schulz 1974, p. 77; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 164 (note 62); Ruurs 1982, pp. 108-110, fig. 3; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 58, 82-85, 90, fig. 27; Ruurs 1987, pp. 63-66, 68, 106 (note 82), and p. 153, fig. 10; Rotterdam 1988, p. 138; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 150, p. 280 and pp. 140, 145, fig. 153; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 150, p. 283 and pp. 140, 145, fig. 153; Klinckaert 1996(a), p. 245 (note 6); Dekker et al. 1997, vol. 1, ill. on p. 154; Ruurs 2000, pp. 13, 23, fig. 8.

Notes
1
This is the Van Amerongen hatchment that occurs in cat. nos. 8 and 15.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta,* f. 60r.
3
Utrecht 1997, cat. no. 75, pp. 83-86 and p. 269.
4
Buchelius, *Monumenta*, f. 57v.
5
HUA, TA Id 4.33 and Id 5.10; illustrated in Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, p. 77, fig. 24.
6
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 59v; officially they were called *semiprebendati episcopales*: vicars who each were entitled to the episcopal canon's prebend and related responsibilities.


S.te Marijen kerck Binnen Vtrecht.

Buchelius.[4] In the passage between the aisle and the transept is a sculpted memorial tablet that was there until the demolition of the church, and is known to us from drawings by Cornelis van Hardenbergh of the late 18th century.[5] It was placed in memory of the vicars Hendrik van Vollenhove (d. 1502) and Willem Beyer (d. 1525). Buchelius describes it and the nearby tombstones of both clergymen.[6]
Saenredam himself drew a difficult to identify figure in this passage, a woman (?) in a brown cloak kneeling near the memorial tablet. Because many Catholics lived in the surrounding houses, it is quite feasible that he witnessed just such a scene in the Mariakerk.

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24 The south aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

2 May 1641

Pen and brown ink, graphite, red chalk; ink lines traced.
Verso: blackened.
Bottom half white paper (severely weather-stained), top half rag paper;
watermark: escutcheon with three crowns and the monogram 4 HM (?) as countermark (see p. 300).
727 x 661 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.17.

This construction drawing was made in 1641 after the sketch of 16 July 1636 (cat. no. 23) for the sake of a painting that according to the inscription was completed on 12 April 1647, but which is no longer known. The same inscription informs us that this painting measured 2 feet 8½ inches high and 2 feet 4 inches wide, or about 76.2 x 65 cm. Thus, the drawing was subsequently reduced by about 4 to 5 cm, and this was done at the top, for the holes left by the nails used to secure the drawing to the panel are still visible at the bottom edge.
The blackening of the verso also evidences its use for this panel. The drawing was once larger at the left side as well. The 'legend' affixed at the lower left is the remains of a strip about 11 cm wide that was later cut off of the left side. The surviving fragment was 1 to 1.5 cm from the present edge and somewhat higher than its current position. In addition to the inscription, there are all sorts of lines that can almost be used as a kind of barcode for tracing the original position. The horizon line in the drawing is also visible in this fragment, with the distance point and the annotation '13 voet t'affstant' at the far left. A diagonal line along the right edge is directed towards this distance point and is the continuation of a diagonal that in the drawing is drawn over the floor straight through the plinth of the freestanding column. Another diagonal line in the lower right of the affixed fragment appears to have been aimed at the central vanishing point ('oogh') at the right in the construction drawing.
That the fragment is not a local *addition* to the original drawing meant solely to indicate the distance point, as Ruurs suggests,[1] but must have been part of Saenredam's original layout, can be deduced from the vertical line transecting the horizon line almost 5 cm to the right of the distance point, with the meeting point marked in pen. Saenredam must have initially intended this vertical to serve as the left border of his panel. With this demarcation, the north apse would have been almost entirely visible, as in the drawing of 1636.
But unlike the drawing, the pier at the left would have remained out of sight with the exception of projecting elements such as base and capital. The large arch at the left in front and the transverse arch before it (in the present drawing the last one is entirely out of sight) that spring from this pier, would then come to naught at the edge of the image. Perhaps the resulting composition was not to Saenredam's liking, and he therefore early on shifted the edge of the composition approximately 6 cm to the right; the new meeting point with the horizon line received the same marking as the old one.

The vantage point is virtually identical – only a few decimetres further east – to that in the drawing of 1636. The eye level too is very close: about 4 feet above the church floor. This measurement is not recorded, but may be deduced from the height indications near the vertical red line at the left in the drawing. This and the other lines drawn in red chalk – vertical, horizontal (parallel to the picture plane) or orthogonal – serve as the 'framework' of the construction. From the written measurements it also appears that the freestanding column and the arch resting on it were somewhat higher than their pendants on the west side of the nave (see cat. no. 12). This could be right, for in 1636 Saenredam here drew a

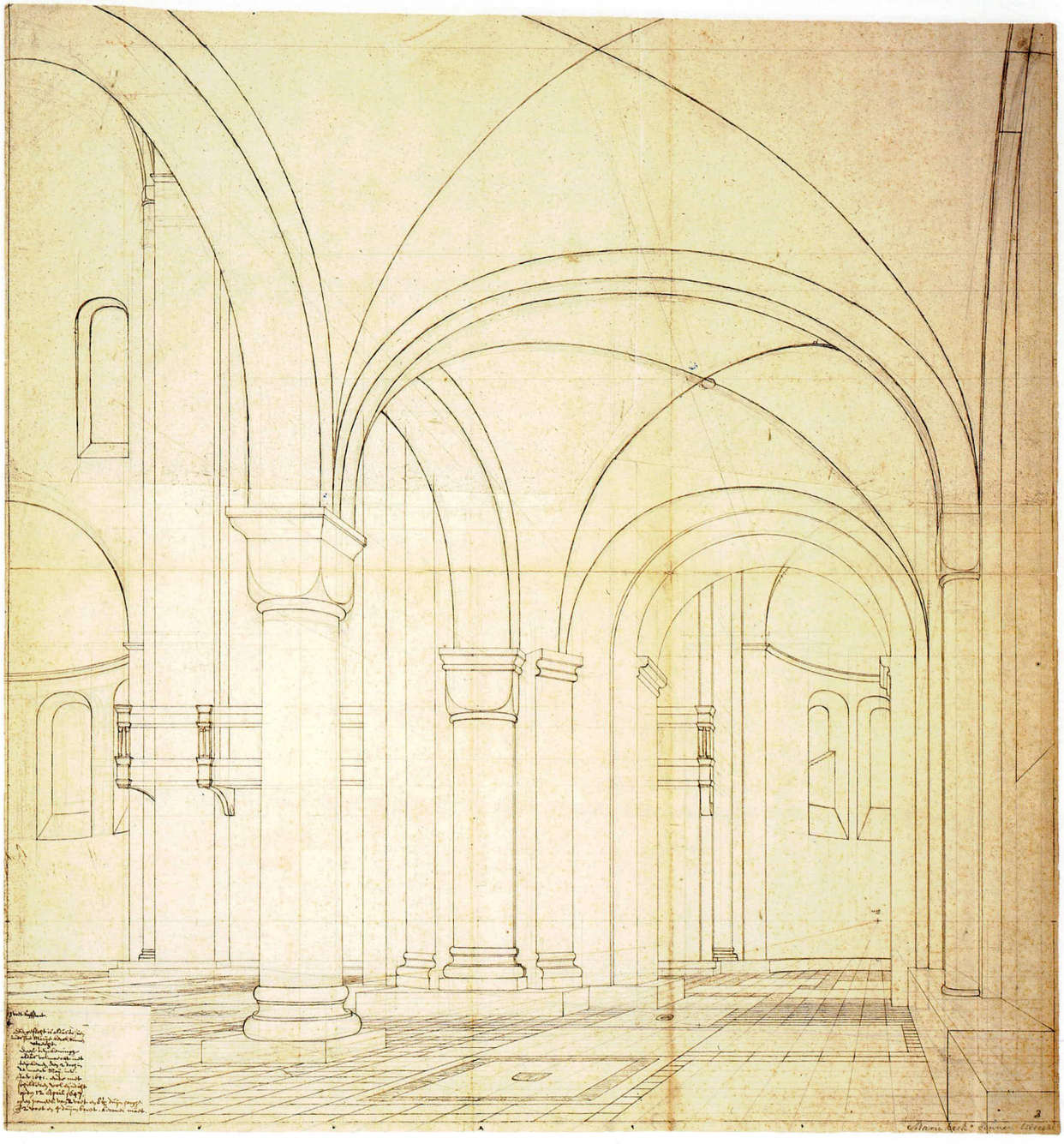
Inscriptions
Recto lower left (affixed legend): Dit gesicht is aldus te sien // inde Sint Marije kerck, binnen // utrecht. // Deese teijckeningh // aldus volmaeckt // met teijckenen, den 2 dach in // de maent Maij, int // Jaer 1641. ende met // schilderen voleijndicht // opden 12 April 1647. // op een paneel van 2 voet en 8½ duijm hoogh. // en(de) 2 voet en 4 duijm breet. kermer maet. (This view can be seen in this way in the St Mariakerk in Utrecht.
This drawing was finished thus, with drawing, on the 2nd day in the month of May, in the year 1641, and completed with painting on 12 April 1647, on a panel 2 feet and 8½ inches high and 2 feet and 4 inches wide, Kennemerland measure.)
Recto (on the same legend, at the distance point): 13 voet t'affstant. (Distance 13 feet.)
Recto right (at the vanishing point): oogh (eye)
Recto left (along a vertical auxiliary line in red chalk some measurements, in feet and inches, from bottom to top): 13-4, 15, 16, 23-3½, 24-5
Recto lower right (by a later hand, in pencil): 2 [or 3] // Mariekerk binnen Utrecht

Provenance
Teylers Stichting collection, Haarlem (before 1822-1877); given by the directors of the Teylers Stichting to Het Utrechts Archief, 1877

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 37, p. 30.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 13; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1091, p. 124; Muller 1910, pp. 201-202; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 152, pp. 112-113 and pp. 44, 66, fig. 148; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 151, p. 214, fig. 152; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 151, pp. 214-215, fig. 152; Schulz 1974, p. 77; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 164 (note 62); Ruurs 1982, pp. 98-101, 105-112, 117-120 (notes 7, 8, 11, 12, 31), fig. 2; Kemp 1986, p. 244 (note 39); Ruurs 1987, cat. no. 16, pp. 153, and pp. 51-58, 63-68, 103-109 (notes 75, 78, 80, 81, 85, 88, 93), fig. 11; Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 17); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 151, p. 280 and pp. 140-141, 145, fig. 154; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 151, p. 283 and pp. 140-141, 145, fig. 154; Haarlem 1997(a), pp. 22-23; Ruurs 2000, pp. 13, 18, 23, fig. 7.

Notes
1
Ruurs 1987, p. 68 and p. 105 (note 78).
2
See the ground plans by H. A. F. A. Gobius (1812/c. 1840) and F. C. E. van Embden (1817); HUA, TA Id 2.4 and Id 2.5.



second plinth under the column base, and according to later information, the arch was here somewhat wider (and therefore presumably higher) than that on the west side.[2]
With these exact measurements Saenredam corrected the overly flat proportions of the sketch of 1636. The result is a greater verticality, to which the upright (rather than oblong) format contributes. However, the top half of the background is now far too vertical. Particularly the northeastern crossing pier visible at the left rises metres too high above the fairly correctly proportioned rood screen. Saenredam must have known this, for in the painting he had completed three months earlier (cat. no. 22) the pier's height is correct. Just as in all the other construction drawings, most of the details are omitted and only the main lines are indicated. The floor, though, is worked out more precisely. The reason for this is that the square floor tiles, all one foot large, played an important role in laying out the construction and measuring out exact positions.

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25 View through the transept of the Mariakerk in Utrecht to the southwest

22 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black, white and red chalk.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark: unknown.
402 x 306 mm.
Recto upper middle (on the vault): Ste Marijen kerck binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower left (on the side of the step): Pieter Saenredam dese geteijcke(n)t (Pieter Saenredam drew this)
Recto (on the floor): Den 22^{en} Julij 1636.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 13863

Like the drawing of 7 July (cat. no. 19) this view is also from the north transept, but from the northeast corner. Saenredam drew the main structure sitting on the bench on the north wall: the large piers, the arches and the cupola of the crossing. He noted the 'eye' on the left pier, to the right of its engaged column.
From this spot Saenredam could see no more than a single arch of the south aisle at the right and the gallery above it; this is confirmed by a very comparable drawing from virtually the same vantage point by Cornelis van Hardenbergh dating from the end of the 18th century.[1] However, by moving about 1½ metres to the southeast and then resuming drawing from the corner of the apse, Saenredam could also incorporate about half of the second arch with the view into the Van Lochorst Chapel; only now a part of the south wall of the transept vanished from sight.
As a result of the changing vantage points the perspective was somewhat distorted: the south transept curves away to the left, and the arches of the south aisle and the gallery there are compressed in order to fit between the two western crossing piers, which themselves are too narrowly proportioned.
Saenredam was unable to find the right shape for the transept vault and the lozenge-shaped window. He also ran into trouble in the rood screen balustrade, which largely concealed this window. He forgot a baluster ('tralij'), as he noted, and with a few chalk lines he indicated how much further the balustrade needed to project.

Nevertheless, the drawing has a wealth of interesting details. Sketchily depicted on the crossing piers and in the adjoining nave are the verses on the church's foundation, the painted tapestries, the statue consoles and the canopies, which we also find in other sketches.
The escutcheon of Cornelia Buth is particularly clearly illustrated (see also cat. nos. 8 and 10). She was probably buried under the tombstone located directly across from this pier, just before the steps of the rood screen.
On the bowed wall of the north apse at the far left can be seen a small strip of a painting that is more fully illustrated elsewhere (see cat. no. 30). Thanks to the arms in the lower corner it can be identified: it is a representation of the Virgin and Child surrounded by angels placed in memory of Dirk van Benthem, provost of the Mariakerk from 1406 to his death in 1415.
The painting dated from the 16th century; Buchelius thought he could even detect the style of Jan van Scorel in it.[2]

Even though the individual tombstones in the floor are sketchily drawn, the pattern of the floor itself is very faithful, as is confirmed by the later drawing by Van Hardenbergh.
The small, narrow tombstone right under Saenredam's signature on the third step at the left can be immediately recognised as that of a child. The deceased is depicted on it, a rarity in the Mariakerk. Buchelius also drew this tombstone and recounts with some reservations the story that it represents a sequel to the legend of the Frisian master mason inscribed on the pier at the right (see cat. no. 10). The boy in question was the son of the master mason, who had

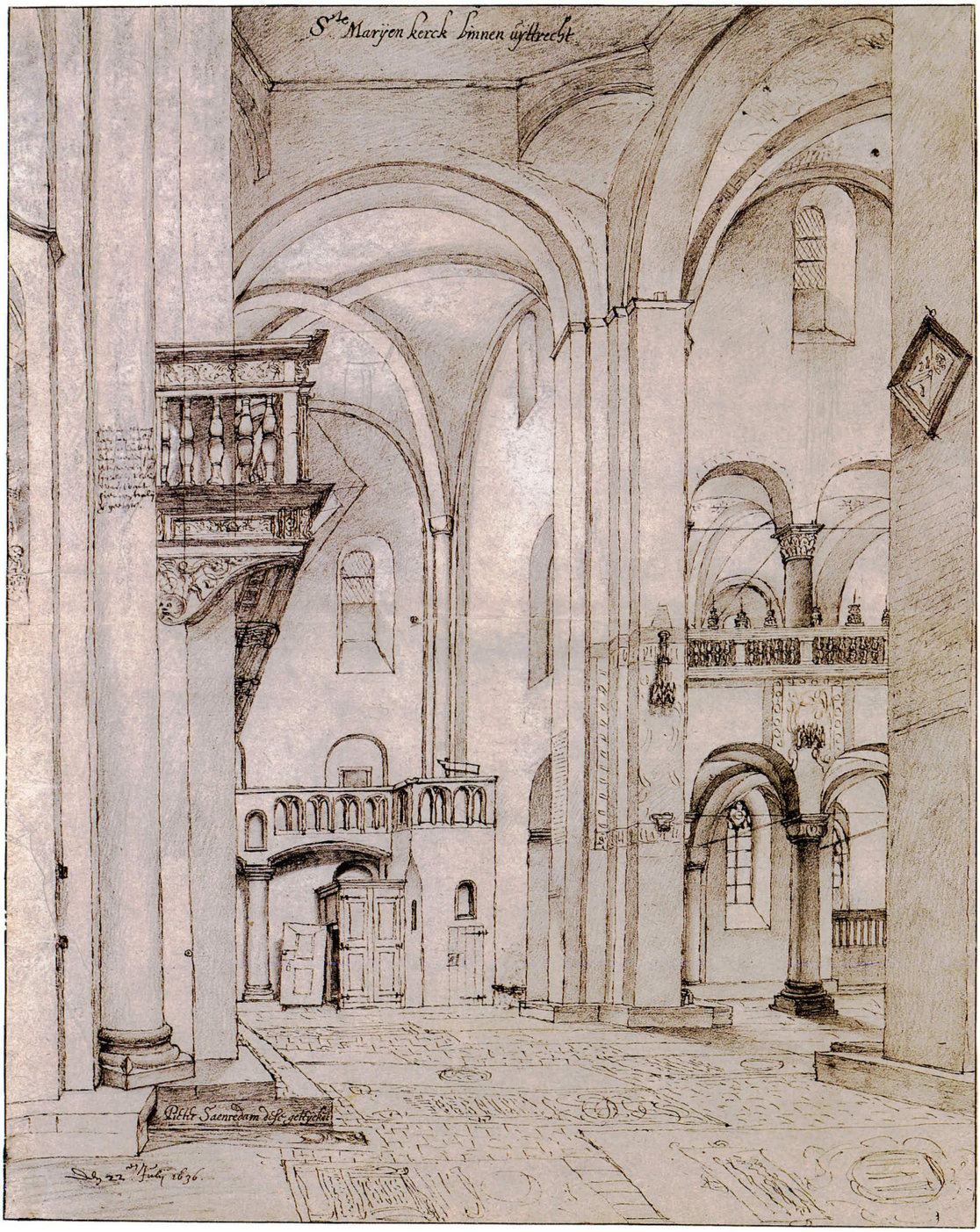
Inscriptions
Recto (on the pier to the left of the rood screen): hier moet noch // een vrij tralij // aen. soo dattet // dan verder sal // wtsteecken en(de) // sijn als in tleeven // was, want // hier een tralij // v(er)geeten is. (Here should be another freestanding baluster so that it [the balustrade] would stick out further, as it was in reality, because a baluster was forgotten here)

Provenance
C. Ploos van Amstel collection; acquired by the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, year unknown

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Hamburg 1995-1996, cat. no. 5, pp. 18-19, ill.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 12-13, fig. 18; Muller 1902, p. 202; Utrecht 1907, p. 125; Vermeulen 1920, p. 190; Gall 1923, pp. 35, 37, fig. 5; Hoogewerff 1923, p. 89, fig. 64a; Berlin 1930, vol. 1, cat. no. 13863, p. 261; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 109, p. 101 and p. 30, fig. 143; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 168; Esmeijer 1955, p. 20; Amsterdam 1960, p. 273; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 154, pp. 216-217, fig. 156; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 154, pp. 217-218, fig. 156; Heckmanns 1965, p. 32; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 58, 76, 90, fig. 25; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 39, p. 30; Kloek, Halsema-Kubes and Baarsen 1986, p. 87; Lammertse 1987, pp. 80, 81, 84, fig. 4; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 154, p. 281 and pp. 142, 149, 152-153, fig. 157; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 154, p. 283 and pp. 142, 149, 151, fig. 157; De Vries 1991, p. 457; Terlingen and Engelbregt 1995, p. 50; Klinckaert 1996(a), p. 245 (note 6).

Notes
1
HUA, TA Id 4.32. Illustrated in Utrecht/Douai 1977, cat. no. 4, p. 60.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 58v.
3
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 58v.
4
Van der Burch 1617, n. p.


S.te Maryen kerck binnen uyttrecht
Pictet Saenredam dese gettyckt
den 22.en July 1636.

revealed to the bishop the secret of the bulls' hides with which the foundations could be reinforced, whereupon he was killed by his enraged father.[3] On behalf of the bishop, the boy was buried in the church's choir at the foot of Bishop Koenraad's tomb, as is mentioned by another source, namely Lambertus van der Burch.[4] The tombstone must have later been moved to the transept, where Buchelius and Saenredam saw it and where it remained until the church was torn down. The tomb of Bishop Koenraad was transferred to the Van Lochorst Chapel when the cabinet-makers' guild occupied the choir in 1619. In this sheet, Saenredam – almost at the end of his drawing campaign in the Mariakerk – depicted a number of places in the church associated with Bishop Koenraad and the foundation and building of the church.

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26 View through the transept of the Mariakerk in Utrecht to the southwest

1637

Panel, 59 x 45 cm.
Recto (under the south side of the crossing vault): Pr Saenredam. pinxit Anno 1637

Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse (on long term loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 858)

Saenredam drew the view through the transept of the Mariakerk to the southwest from the northwest corner on 7 July 1636 (cat. no. 19). He returned on 22 July and drew the view again, now from the northeast (cat. no. 25). The present painting is derived from the drawing of 22 July, but also contains elements from the sketch that Saenredam had made two weeks earlier. For instance, from the first sketch he included the large lozenge-shaped window on the west wall, which is hidden behind the rood screen in the second drawing.
There are a number of notable differences between the drawing of 22 July and the painting. Infrared reflectography reveals that the underdrawing, which displays the initial layout of the painting, is very close to the sketch.[1] However, the relationship between the structural elements does differ, and therefore Saenredam probably transferred his composition to the panel with the help of a construction drawing, which no longer seems to exist. A number of details, including the tie rods, a corner scroll on the base of the northeast crossing pier and the text on the two western crossing piers (in the drawing depicted with horizontal stripes), have been omitted in the underdrawing and in the painting.
The most notable difference is the absence of the rood screen that Jan van Scorel (1495-1562) designed for the Mariakerk in 1543. While Saenredam did sketch the high partition between the choir and nave on 22 July, and even noted that he had forgotten a baluster, it does not occur in the painting. The rood screen is underdrawn, incidentally without the addition of the forgotten baluster. Microscopic investigation makes it clear that Saenredam initially intended to include the rood screen in his painting, but in the end overpainted what he had begun.[2] The same applies to the painted tapestries, which he sketched, underdrew, and even elaborated with gold leaf and red, only to subsequently overpaint them.
Another important difference between the underdrawing and the painting has to do with the wooden enclosed porch in the south wall of the transept. Saenredam underdrew the porch as he had recorded it in his sketch of 22 July. In the painting all that can be seen is the open door in the east wall. The front of the entrance hall has vanished, whereby the wall stands loosely in the space. As a result a direct view of the Paradise Portal is gained, but in incorrect perspective. From this corner, the passageway behind it to the Pandhof was in reality fully and not just partially visible. Saenredam suppressed the baldachins, the corner of the capital of the right engaged column of the south aisle and the hatchment on the southwest crossing pier. The interior is staffaged with numerous figures, all later additions.[3]

The radical changes Saenredam introduced in the course of painting have led to the suggestion that a patron might have exercised influence on the final result.[4] In a number of publications, Gary Schwartz has drawn attention to the fact that *View through the transept of the Mariakerk* could have been owned by Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), secretary to Stadholder Frederik Hendrik.[5] He is most likely basing himself on the *Catalogue raisonné of the works by Pieter Jansz. Saenredam* that accompanied the survey exhibition of 1961, in which it was first suggested that the painting was in Huygens' house in The Hague in 1827, though without mention of any sources.[6] The information will have been taken from the estate inventory of Huygens' house of 1827, which includes 'the interior of the Mariakerk in Utrecht, by P. Saenredam', but without dimensions.[7] This most likely refers to the painting *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk seen to the east* of 1641 (cat. no. 22), assumed to have

Provenance
Calmette collection, Cahors (1875); Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst, The Hague/Amsterdam (1875-1885); transferred to the Rijksmuseum, 1885; on long term loan to the Musée de la Chartreuse, 1992

Exhibitions
Amsterdam 1946, cat. no. 100, p. 18; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Arnhem 1972-1973, cat. no. 48, n. p., ill.; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 58, p. 67, ill.

Literature
Verslagen omtrent 's Rijksverzamelingen, no. 280, p. 60; Amsterdam 1887, cat. no. 1258, p. 149; Obreen 1887, p. 53; Denison Champlin 1888, vol. 4, p. 100; Obreen 1890, p. 75; Obreen 1893, p. 83; Obreen 1898, p. 86; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 13; Amsterdam 1901, cat. no. 1258, p. 147; Amsterdam 1903, cat. no. 2097, p. 235; Amsterdam 1904, cat. no. 2097, p. 276; Amsterdam 1905, cat. no. 2097, p. 292; Amsterdam 1907, cat. no. 2097, p. 235; Amsterdam 1908, cat. no. 2097, p. 235; Jantzen 1910, pp. 83, 169 (no. 406); Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 547; Amsterdam 1911, cat. no. 2097, p. 327; Amsterdam 1912, cat. no. 2097, p. 235; Amsterdam 1918, cat. no. 2097, p. 235; Amsterdam 1920, cat. no. 2097, p. 363; Hoogewerff 1923, pp. 89-90; Amsterdam 1926, cat. no. 2097, p. 172; Amsterdam 1927, cat. no. 2097, p. 170; Koomen 1933, ill. on p. 258; Amsterdam 1934, cat. no. 2097, p. 254; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 145, p. 111 and pp. 30, 54, 101 (under cat. no. 109), 109 (under cat. no. 140), fig. 144; Schmidt-Degener and Schoch 1938, pp. 30-31; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 168; Amsterdam 1948, cat. no. 2097, p. 85; Amsterdam 1951, cat. no. 2097, p. 159; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Amsterdam 1956, cat. no. 2097, p. 182; Van Braam [1958], no. 4638, p. 401; Amsterdam 1960, cat. no. 2097, p. 273; Brinkgreve 1960, p. 38, fig. 10; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 153, pp. 215-216, fig. 155; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 153, pp. 216-217, fig. 155; Heckmanns 1965, pp. 31-33, fig. 20; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 79 (note 21); Amsterdam 1976, inv. no. A 858, p. 491, ill.; Jantzen 1979, pp. 83, 232 (no. 406); Wright 1980, p. 401; Los Angeles/Boston/ New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3); Liedtke 1982, pp. 29, 30, 32, 76, fig. 13; Dibbets and Schwartz 1984, ill. on p. 300; Utrecht 1985, p. 30, under cat. no. 40; Lammertse 1987, pp. 80-84, figs. 1, 5-9; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 153, p. 281 and pp. 142, 152-153, 192, 279, 296, 319 (note 28), fig. 159; Ruurs 1990, p. 336; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 153, p. 283 and pp. 142, 151, 192, 281, 304, 329 (note 28), fig. 159; De Vries 1991, p. 457; Amsterdam 1992, inv. no. A 858, p. 82; Hamburg 1995-1996, p. 19, ill.; Kersten and Lokin 1996, p. 50, fig. 37; Giltaij 2000, p. 33.

Notes
1
The research conducted by Friso Lammertse was completed in 1985. The results are published in Lammertse 1987, pp. 80-84.



been in Huygens' possession. That painting is also included in the 1725 catalogue of the sale of the estate of Susanna (1637-1725), Constantijn Huygens' only daughter. Two other paintings by Saenredam are also mentioned in this catalogue. One has the Domkerk as its subject, the other, called 'A perspective, depicting the interior of a church: by P. Saenredam', measures approximately 75.8 x 56.2 cm and, thus, cannot be identified with the *View through the transept of the Mariakerk* of 1637.[8] No paintings by Saenredam are mentioned in a sale of paintings from Huygens' house in The Hague in 1828.[9]

LMH

2
That the gallery was overpainted by Saenredam was already noted by Swillens 1935, p. 30.
3
See Swillens 1935, p. 54; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 217; Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3).
4
Ruurs 1990, p. 336, suggests that Saenredam may have executed the painting for the anonymous market, and subsequently overpainted the painted tapestries, relics of the church's Catholic past, at the request of a Protestant buyer.
5
Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 79 (note 21), and Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 151, 192. Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 79 (note 21), moreover mentions – without sources – that cat. no. 26 was bought by a private individual in 1827. The fact that Gerard Houckgeest, who became a member of the Hague Guild of St Luke in 1639, and worked for the States General in 1640, knew the painting (see Liedtke 1982, pp. 29 and 32), according to the author eliminates doubt as to whether Huygens ordered or purchased the painting from Saenredam. See Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 329 (note 28).
6
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 217.
7
'het inwendige der Mariakerk te Utrecht, door P. Saanredam'. Van der Muelen 1888, p. 76.
8
'Een Perspectieff, verbeeldende een Kerk van binnen; door P. Saenredam'. Sale The Hague 6 November 1725, cat. nos. 82 (75.8 x 56.2 cm), cat. no. 83 (cat. no. 22 in this catalogue) and cat. no. 97 (the Domkerk).
9
Sale of the paintings from the house of Huygens in The Hague, 22 April-3 May 1828. A copy of the catalogue may be found at the 'Vereniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels' in Amsterdam. In it, 28 paintings from the Huygens House are put up for auction, but no Saenredams are among them.

27 The north aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the west

25 July 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk, bluish green chalk (or bluish green watercolour applied with dry brush), brush and yellow watercolour .
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
399 x 302 mm.

Recto upper middle (on the tie rod): St MARYEN KERCK, BINNEN UYTTRECHT.
Recto lower right (on the floor): Den 25^{e} Julij A^{o} 1636. // P:^{r} Saenredam geteijckent.
(Drawn by Pieter Saenredam, on 25 July in the year 1636.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Id 4.6.

Saenredam sketched his last interior of the Mariakerk on Friday, 25 July 1636. He sat in the north aisle just before the spot where he had sat at the beginning of July when he drew the view through the church to the south (cat. no. 15). Now he gazed directly to the west; the drawing affords a view straight through the aisle, with a few views at the left through the nave into the westernmost bay of the south aisle.

Though shown somewhat too narrow, the interior still makes a relatively convincing impression. Nevertheless, the perspective is far from consistent. The position of the central vanishing point under the lancet window at the right indicates an eye level of about 1.10 meters, or about 4 feet. For the back half of the aisle, this eye level is correct, but more to the front the (engaged) columns and piers are far too low with respect to the horizon; they were evidently drawn from a higher vantage point. Saenredam seems to have begun drawing seated. He next stood up to draw the foreground, and then sat down again to fill in the background in relation to the pillars in the foreground in the left half of the sheet. This could explain why the entire left background is far lower than the right background, suggesting a more limited distance. Other 'mistakes' occur as well. For instance, the foremost vault has *two* crossings (each with a small ring) of intersecting groins. The left one is drawn incorrectly, while the right one is the improved version. The erroneously drawn groins are not rubbed out, but crossed out in pen.

The church is virtually empty, and almost nothing is found of the paintings and funerary monuments that were in fact present. Only in the south aisle at the far left did Saenredam rapidly note a rectangular board or memorial tablet and next to it the console for a Renaissance niche that is also included in the drawing of 3 July (cat. no. 17). Moreover, visible between the piers is a section of the south half of the organ in the west gallery: parts of the organ tribune and the organ case, and at the far left in the south gallery the wooden back wall of the bellows house (compare cat. no. 17). The blue-green, black-rimmed surface – the only place in the drawing where Saenredam applied colour – is a bit of the open south organ shutter (compare cat. no. 18). The interiors of the organ shutters were painted blue, as Saenredam has emphatically indicated with an eye to making paintings. That he could here show the shutters in their actual open state (they are shut in the earlier drawings: cat. nos. 8, 11, 17) is confirmed by the date. According to an old stipulation still in effect in 1636, the Mariakerk's organist was required to play the organ for an hour each Sunday, Tuesday and Friday morning.[1] And, indeed, July 25 was a Friday.

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Inscriptions
Verso lower left: No 976 (pen and brown ink)
Verso upper left: 1834 / 1086 (pencil)

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 69, p. 25; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 69, p. 25; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 135, p. 34; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 196, p. 88; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 33, p. 29.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 14, fig. 20; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1086, p. 123; Gall 1923, p. 35, fig. 4; Vermeulen 1928-1941, vol. 1 (1928), p. 308, fig. 36; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 110, p. 109, fig. 146; Swillens 1937, p. 335; De Jonge [1938], p. 30; Utrecht 1948, p. 48; Utrecht 1952, p. 104; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 165, p. 227, fig. 166; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 165, p. 228, fig. 166; Elkins 1988, p. 272 (note 15); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 165, p. 282 and pp. 144-145, fig. 160; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 165, p. 285 and pp. 144-145, fig. 160; Utrecht 1999, p. 1313; Boersma 2000, p. 64, fig. 13.

Note
1
HUA, St.-Marie, inv. no. 41-3, f. 265r-v, Chapter Resolution 5 October 1593.


St. MARYEN KERCK, BINNEN UYTTRECHT.
Den 25.e July A.o 1636.
P.r Saenredam geteyckent.

28 The north aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the west

c. 1784

Hendrik Tavenier (1734-1807)

Pen and brownish grey ink, brush and grey ink, graphite (pen and brown ink the inscription only).
Watermark: none.
380 x 514 mm.

Recto (below the drawing): Gezigt in de S[t]: Marije Kerk a Utrecht. (View in the Mariakerk in Utrecht) (pen and brown ink)
Recto (on the plinth lower left): H: Tavenier fecit (pen and brownish grey ink)
The Hague, Royal Collections, inv. no. MCS/220

Inscriptions
Recto (under the base line numbering in foot measurements) 1 (to) 14 (graphite)
Verso: (several numbers in pencil)

Provenance
Munnicks van Cleeff collection (1847-1860); sale, 1860 (Munnicks van Cleeff coll.); J. L. Beyers collection (1860?-1870); Prince Hendrik collection (1870); Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik collection; Princess Maria of Prussia collection; King Willem III collection; Queen Emma van Waldeck Pyrmont collection; Queen Wilhelmina collection

Literature
Utrecht 1907, p. 124; Swillens 1935, p. 132, no. 4; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 219, p. 276; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 219, p. 284.

This drawing by Hendrik Tavenier from the series of five interiors of the Mariakerk in the Royal Collections that he made around 1784 (see cat. no. 9), is a copy of Saenredam's now no longer known construction drawing for the painting in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (cat. no. 29), based on the sketch of 25 July 1636 (cat. no. 27). Comparison with the panel makes it clear that the copy is very faithful and life-size. That the Tavenier was done after Saenredam's construction drawing and not the panel is evidenced by the fact that the drawing is somewhat larger than the painting and, thus, shows a bit more on all sides, and especially by the feet measurements along the base line, which are typical of Saenredam's construction drawings. Like cat. no. 30, and in contrast to Tavenier's three other drawings of the Mariakerk, no figures were added here.

Even though the auxiliary lines for the construction are largely omitted, the precision of this copy allows us to compare the interior with that in Saenredam's sketch of 25 July 1636. First, unlike the sketch, Saenredam chose a horizontal format for the construction drawing, whereby less is seen of the vault zone, and rather more of the pier in the foreground. Thanks to this format and because Saenredam corrected the proportions (which were too narrow in the sketch), the north aisle makes a more spacious impression largely corresponding with reality, even though the west window is somewhat too wide and the freestanding column in the foreground substantially too slender. However, Saenredam is less reliable in the view at the left to the southwest corner of the church. In general, it agrees with the drawing of 1636, but that was actually impossible. Saenredam laid out the perspective construction from a vantage point somewhat further back than the one from which he had made the drawing in 1636. This difference in distance, just a few feet, caused the heavy pier in the foreground to shift towards the high rising pier on the opposite side of the nave, whereby the view through these two piers vanished entirely. Evidently, Saenredam only became aware of this when the construction drawing was in a far advanced stage, otherwise he would have immediately chosen a somewhat shorter distance to avoid this undesired effect. The arch opening to the left of the freestanding column would then have been spacious enough for depicting the southwest corner in the right proportions. However, now Saenredam had to introduce an emergency stopgap: compression of all the widths. Also attributable to this is the narrowing of the freestanding column at the front. The perspectival friction thus engendered is barely noticeable; it becomes evident only when trying to imagine the west gallery behind the massif of piers between the nave and north aisle, for instance.
Just like his elaboration of other interiors, Saenredam 'improved' the architecture by omitting the tie rods between the arches, or the Romanesque foliage ornament of the column bases.

AdG


H. Tavenier fecit
Gezigt in de St. Marije Kirk te Utrecht

29 The north aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the west

1641 (?)

Panel, 34.1 x 49.4 cm.
Recto lower middle (remains of a signature).
Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. no. 7972.

The north aisle of the Mariakerk seen to the west is based on the last drawing Saenredam made of the interior of the Mariakerk (cat. no. 27). The sketch, dated 25 July 1636, is vertical. Saenredam reduced the height of the composition by eliminating the space above the two cushion capitals in the foreground, and widening the representation at the left and right, thus enhancing the horizontal picture plane of the painting. The proportions that were too narrow in the drawing are corrected in the painting, so that the window also assumed an entirely different appearance. Amidst nothing but shades of brown, the blue of the organ shutter initially was the only colour accent.
Though also colourful, the figures were added later. Their proportions are too small.[1] With the exception of this staffage, the church is entirely empty. Any references to its furnishings are lacking. As is so often the case, the tie rods which are indeed indicated in the drawing have been suppressed in the painting.
The original construction drawing for the painting is lost, but we know what it must have looked like from the faithful 18th-century copy of it by Hendrik Tavenier (cat. no. 28).

The painting was unknown when P. T. A. Swillens published his monograph on Pieter Saenredam in 1935.[2] It was discovered two years later by the art dealer D. A. Hoogendijk in a private Irish collection. In that same year the panel was acquired by the Centraal Museum with the help of the Vereniging Rembrandt and brought to public attention in an article by Swillens.[3] Mrs C. H. de Jonge, at the time director of the museum, was understandably quite proud of this acquisition. It was the first Saenredam to enter the collection and, moreover, as she stated in an article written on the occasion of the acquisition, it was 'in remarkably good condition'.[4] That this statement unfortunately proved entirely incorrect became clear when the panel was restored for the large survey exhibition of Saenredam's oeuvre held in the museum in 1961. A photograph of the painting taken when the varnish and all of the overpaintings had been removed reveals just how sorry its condition really is.[5] The painting has suffered to such an extent in terms of flaking and paint loss that the reconstruction of some parts of the building – such as the bases of the columns – was problematic during the most recent restoration.[6]

According to the catalogue accompanying the exhibition in 1961, the painting was signed in the plinth at the lower middle 'P. Sae[..]eda[..]' followed by a date interpreted as 1637 or 1641.[7] Since then, c. 1640 has been cited in the literature.[8] While the remains of a signature were indeed discovered during the most recent restoration, nothing more is to be seen of a date.[9] Dendrochronological investigation has established that the painting could only have been painted as of 1639 at the earliest. Accordingly, 1637 as the date of origin has now been eliminated.[10] Should 1641 be correct, the panel dates from the same year as *The nave and choir of the Mariakerk, seen to the east* (cat. no. 22). These two paintings along with the *North aisle seen to the east* of 1651 (cat. no. 31) are the last three interiors of this church that Saenredam painted. The three exteriors date about 20 years later.

LMH

Provenance
Private collection, Ireland (year unknown); art dealer D. A. Hoogendijk & Co., Amsterdam (1937); acquired by the Centraal Museum with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt, 1937

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 22, p. 13 and p. 25; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 22, p. 13 and p. 25; Utrecht 1941, cat. no. 156*, p. 40, fig. 30; Utrecht 1948, cat. no. 49, p. 48; Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 83, p. 22, fig. 27; Utrecht 1958 (no cat.); Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1975-1976(a) (no cat.); Utrecht 1983(a), cat. no. 20, n. p., ill.; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 34, p. 29; Utrecht 1995 (no cat.).

Literature
Swillens 1937, p. 335, ill. on p. 332; *Verslag Gemeente Utrecht* 1937, p. 15; De Jonge [1938]; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1938, p. 9; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1949, p. 9; *Guide Musée Central* 1950, p. 7; Utrecht 1952, cat. no. 240, p. 104 and p. XLIX, fig. 86; Van Braam [1958], no. 4632, p. 400; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 164, pp. 226-227, fig. 165; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 164, pp. 227-228, fig. 165; Foucart 1965, under section 21, n. p.; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 78 (note 20); Houtzager et al. 1967, pp. 258-259; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 52); Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 409b); Blotkamp 1980, p. 23, ill.; Wright 1980, p. 401; Hijmersma 1983, p. 140; Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985, pp. 85, 86, fig. 29; Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 4; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 164, p. 282 and p. 279, fig. 161; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 164, p. 285 and p. 281, fig. 161; De Bruin, De Meyere and De Sitter 1994, fig. 7; Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 559, pp. 1312-1313 and p. 27, ill. on p. 1312; Boersma 2000, pp. 57, 62, 64, 70, figs. 1, 3, 6, 7, 9-12, 16.

Notes
1
According to S. J. Gudlaugsson, the figures were painted by Pieter Post. See Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 79 (note 20). See also Boersma 2000, p. 62 (note 3).
2
Swillens 1935.
3
Swillens 1937, p. 335.
4
De Jonge 1938, p. 30.
5
Boersma 2000, p. 59, fig. 3 and p. 62.
6
Boersma 2000, p. 64.
7
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 164, p. 227-228.
8
Utrecht 1948, cat. no. 49, p. 48; Utrecht 1952, cat. no. 240, p. 104; Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 83, p. 22; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 52).
9
Boersma 2000, p. 57
10
Report by P. Klein dated 12 January 1998 in the documentation of the Centraal Museum. See also Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 559, p. 1312.



30 The north aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

c. 1784

Hendrik Tavenier (1734-1807)

Pen and brownish grey ink, brush and grey ink (pen and brown ink the inscription only).
Watermark: none.
557 x 411 mm.

Recto (below the drawing): Gezigt in de St Marije Kerk, a Utrecht, aan de Noordzijde of de Gang van dien. (View of the Mariakerk, in Utrecht, on the North side or the aisle there) (pen and brown ink)
The Hague, Royal Collections, inv. no. MCS/223.

Provenance
Munnicks van Cleeff collection (1847-1860); sale, 1860 (Munnicks van Cleeff coll.); J. L. Beyers collection (1860?-1870); Prince Hendrik collection (1870); Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik collection; Princess Maria of Prussia collection; King Willem III collection; Queen Emma van Waldeck Pyrmont collection; Queen Wilhelmina collection

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 14; Utrecht 1907, p. 124; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 104, p. 99, fig. 142; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 152, p. 215, fig. 153; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 152, p. 215, fig. 153; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 164 (note 62); Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 17, p. 117 and p. 119, fig. 2.

The original drawing by Saenredam, of which this is a copy by Hendrik Tavenier, is no longer extant. For a long time, Tavenier's sheet was the only known version of this view in the north aisle of the Mariakerk. The panel of this same interior that Saenredam painted in 1651 (cat. no. 31) only surfaced after the major Saenredam exhibition in 1961 closed.
In the literature, Tavenier's drawing is always described as a copy of Saenredam's original sketch of 1636, even after the discovery of the panel.[1] The perspectively worked out floor and the close correspondence of the drawing with the panel, however, leave no doubt that it is a life-size copy of Saenredam's construction drawing, which must have originated between 1636 and 1651. That it cannot be a copy of the painting is evidenced by several actually existing interior details that occur only in the drawing.

At first sight, this interior of the north aisle appears to be the exact mirror image of that of the south aisle (cat. no. 24) of 1641. The vanishing point and distance are, indeed, virtually identical, but upon closer scrutiny great differences come to light. Namely, the space is here shown as far more vertical, and the transverse arches, in cat. no. 24 somewhat suppressed, have become purely semi-circular. Saenredam manipulated reality, for the north aisle was actually somewhat broader and the transverse arches were consequently more suppressed than in the south aisle. Another view, of 1641, in the north aisle to the west (see cat. nos. 28 and 29) does have the correct proportions.
Like the proportions of the aisle, those of the rood screen have also become more vertical, but not those of the apsidiole, however, which is now too low. Noteworthy is the double moulding under the apsidiole vault, which in other views in this part of the Mariakerk both by Saenredam and others is shown as a single moulding.
While the depiction of space in this interior is not reliable, a number of specific details are, including the octagonal column capitals, the double cable moulding of the column base in the foreground, the child's tombstone in the corner between the apsidiole and the rood screen (see cat. no. 25), the rectangular shutter in the wall surface above it, and the here fully depicted painted memorial of Dirk van Benthem (see cat. no. 25). Given these details, Saenredam quite possibly also made a sketch of this view in 1636. Missing, however, is the memorial painting for Otto de Boningen (see cat. no. 15) on the diagonal pilaster in the middle of the drawing. Saenredam might have omitted this painting in his sketch because it was already recorded in detail in another drawing (cat. no. 15).

AdG

Note
1
See Swillens 1935, p. 99, no. 104; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 152, p. 215; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 17, p. 117.


Gezigt in de St. Marije Kirk, te Utrecht, aan de Noordzijde af de Gang van dien.

31 The north aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

1651

Panel, 48.6 x 35.8 cm.
Recto lower right (on the base of the column):
P.r Saenredam fecit. Ao: 1651.
Los Angeles, Mrs Edward W. Carter collection.

The north aisle of the Mariakerk only came to light after the large survey exhibition on Pieter Saenredam held in the Centraal Museum in 1961 had closed. Though it surfaced too late for the Dutch edition of the catalogue, it was included in the English edition.[2]
At the time, the panel was in a private collection in Bloemendaal. Neither the sketch nor the construction drawing for the painting has survived. However, the composition was known then from an 18th-century copy by Hendrik Tavenier of what now appears to be Saenredam's construction drawing (cat. no. 30).[3] Comparing the drawing and the painting one notes that the double moulding under the apse vault was reduced to a single one and that the decoration in the right dead window was omitted. Such simplification vis à vis the construction drawing is typical of Saenredam.
Because the panel is not bevelled on any of the four sides, it is thought to have been reduced. Judging from the drawing this would mean that a strip was sawed off at the left and at the top.[4] If Tavenier, indeed, made a 1:1 copy of Saenredam's original construction drawing, as Arie de Groot posits in the entry for catalogue number 30, it can be assumed that the panel lost 8.3 cm on the left side and 7.1 cm at the top.

When the church interior first came to light and was illustrated in 1961, it had three figures: two elegant gentlemen with a dog at their feet in the middle, and a third figure at the far right behind the column, all added in the 18th century. Brod Gallery in London had the two men and the dog removed in 1976, and the third figure was eliminated sometime later.[5]
Now *The north aisle of the Mariakerk* is one of the rare church interiors by Saenredam utterly devoid of any kind of staffage. Nothing detracts from the pure simplicity of the space and the subtle colour nuances in which it is rendered.

LMH

Provenance
Alcott collection, Rugby (year unknown); W. A. Coats collection, London (1927); sale W. B. Paterson, London [3] January 1927 (W. A. Coats estate), cat. no. 175, p. 17;[1] F. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk (1927); A. C. R. van der Mandele-Vermeer collection, Bloemendaal (1927-1976); sale Sotheby Mak van Waay, Amsterdam 15 November 1976, cat. no. 46, p. 14, ill. on p. 45; Brod Gallery, London (1976-1977); purchased by Mr and Mrs E. W. Carter from Brod Gallery, 1977

Exhibitions
Amsterdam 1938 (not in the cat.); Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, cat. no. 23, pp. 92-97, ill. on p. 93 and ill. without a no.; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 17, pp. 116-119, ill. on p. 116.

Literature
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 152a, p. 216, fig. 153a; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 53); Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 164 (note 62), fig. 12; advertisement Sotheby Mak van Waay 1976, ill.; Guillaumin 1977, p. 140, fig. 2; Walsh 1981, p. 388, fig. 12; Ruurs 1987, p. 100 (note 58); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 152, p. 280 and pp. 134, 149, 232, 279, 299, 322 (note 25), fig. 217; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 152, p. 283 and pp. 134, 149, 228, 281, 308, 332 (note 25), fig. 217; Tauch 1991, p. 3275, ill.; Edinburgh 1992, pp. 144, 175.

Notes
1
The unfindable sales catalogue mentioned in Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982 and Rotterdam 1991, p. 117 (note 3) is most likely the W. B. Paterson catalogue of January 1927. A church interior by Saenredam is mentioned under no. 175, and in the copy of the catalogue in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague is a handwritten note stating that it is a painting of the Mariakerk from 1651.
See also Edinburgh 1992, p. 144.
2
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 152a, p. 216, fig. 153a.
3
To date, it has always been assumed that Tavenier made a copy of the sketch that Saenredam drew on the spot in 1636. The reader is referred to the entry on cat. no. 30 for a discussion of this matter.
4
That the panel is not bevelled is mentioned in Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, cat. no. 23, pp. 92-97, p. 96. On the basis of a comparison with the drawing, the authors assume that the painting was reduced at the left and top, but note that it is impossible to know with certainty when and to what extent the original format was changed. Jeroen Giltaij (Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 17, p. 117) questions whether the panel was in fact reduced. According to him, it is quite plausible that Saenredam decided not to include those specific parts of the sketch in his design for the painting.
5
That Brod had the figures overpainted is confirmed by Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 164 (note 62).


P. Saenredam fecit

32 The window on the west side of the south aisle of the Mariakerk in Utrecht

1640-1650

Panel, 39 x 30 cm.
Unsigned, undated.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 1189.

In 1885, this painting was presented at the Venduhuis in The Hague as a work by Hendrick van Steenwijck.[1] This most likely referred to Steenwijck the Younger (c. 1580-before 1649), for the Elder had already died in 1603. The rather nondescript title 'Interior with fig.; Church' is further specified by the handwritten note 'St Marie in Utrecht'. The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam purchased the painting at the Hague sale for ƒ 46.60.[2] It was included in the *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen* in the year of its acquisition as a possible work by the Utrecht landscape painter Herman Saftleven (1609-1685).[3] No church interiors by Saftleven are known, and in 1887 Abraham Bredius rightly published the painting as being by Pieter Saenredam.[4] This marked the end of the confusion concerning the attribution, which would never have arisen had the painting been signed, like most of Saenredam's other works.
The painting is also not dated. Saenredam's most ambitious views of the Mariakerk are from 1637,1638 and 1641. The smaller panels are usually later, thus a genesis in the 1640s is generally maintained for this painting as well.[5]
No sketch or construction drawing is known, and Swillens doubts whether Saenredam even used one. He assumes that the sketch was transferred directly onto the panel because of the less meticulous perspectival construction.[6]

The painting shows the window on the west side of the south aisle, with a view at the right into the west gallery of the nave. In the corner at the left is the entrance to the tower. Above the tower door is a frame supported by consoles. In the bay before it can be seen the right part of the funerary monument of the painter Jan van Scorel (1495-1562) with one of the two flanking memorial tablets. Scorel was canon of the chapter of St Mary and was therefore buried in this church. The monument itself is in the wall niche and thus out of sight. The monument's exact location is given in the drawing that Saenredam made on 3 July 1636 (cat. no. 17). In it the first chapel of the south aisle is seen from the north.
One of the tombstones in the floor must have been that of Jan van Scorel.
The tombstone, fragments of which have been retrieved, measured app. 200 x 85.5 cm.[7] If Saenredam's depiction of the floor is reliable, the third tombstone in the left row is Scorel's. Not only does it most closely approximate the dimensions just mentioned (app. 7 x 3 tiles of 1 foot = app. 192.5 x 82.5 cm), but of all the stones it is the one closest to the funerary monument.[8]

Below the window are three elderly men, one of whom is seated on the wall bench. Their proportions are correctly rendered. The man in the middle seems to be gesturing in the direction of Scorel's tombstone, which Defoer and Dirkse have interpreted as evidence of special intent on the part of Saenredam. It could be a reference to the transience of earthly fame, the exemplum being Saenredam's renowned colleague Jan van Scorel.[9] The fashionably attired man at the right walking towards the west gallery of the nave is proportionally too large. Further investigation will have to determine whether Saenredam himself painted this figure.

Provenance
A. G. de Visser collection, The Hague (1885); sale Venduhuis der Notarissen, The Hague 3 June 1885 (A. G. de Visser coll.), cat. no. 7, p. 6; purchased by the Rijksmuseum at the sale in The Hague, 1885

Exhibitions
Bolsward 1950, cat. no. 49, n. p.; Bordeaux 1959, cat. no. 121, p. 64, fig. 20; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen 1887, no. 15, p. 55; Amsterdam 1887, cat. no. 1259, p. 149; Obreen 1887, p. 61; Obreen 1890, p. 76; Obreen 1893, p. 84; Obreen 1898, p. 78; Amsterdam 1901, cat. no. 1259, p. 147; Amsterdam 1903, cat. no. 2098, p. 235; Amsterdam 1904, cat. no. 2098, p. 276; Amsterdam 1905, cat. no. 2098, p. 293; Amsterdam 1907, cat. no. 2098, p. 235; Amsterdam 1908, cat. no. 2098, p. 235; Jantzen 1910, pp. 83, 169 (no. 424); Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 547; Amsterdam 1911, cat. no. 2098, p. 327; Amsterdam 1912, cat. no. 2098, p. 235; Bremmer 1913/1914-1937/1938, vol. 2 (1914/1915), no. 66, pp. 99-100, ill.; Amsterdam 1918, cat. no. 2098, p. 235; Amsterdam 1920, cat. no. 2098, p. 363; Amsterdam 1926, cat. no. 2098, p. 172; Amsterdam 1927, cat. no. 2098, p. 170; Amsterdam 1934, cat. no. 2098, p. 254; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 167, p. 116 and pp. 34, 46, 59, 99 (under cat. no. 102), fig. 149; Brinkgreve 1960, p. 38, fig. 11; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 166, pp. 227-228, fig. 167; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 166, pp. 228-229, fig. 167; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Blijstra 1969, ill. on p. 114; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 52); Amsterdam 1976, inv. no. A 1189, p. 492, ill.; Jantzen 1979, pp. 83, 233 (no. 424); Defoer and Dirkse 1986, pp. 179, 193, fig. 6; Ruurs 1987, p. 50; Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 5; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 166, p. 282 and pp. 149, 279, fig. 149; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 166, p. 285 and pp. 149, 281, fig. 149; Boersma 2000, p. 62, fig. 4.

Notes
1
Sale Venduhuis der Notarissen, The Hague 3 June 1885 (A. G. de Visser coll.), cat. no. 7, p. 6. 'Interieur met fig.; Kerk'; 'S. Marie te Utrecht'.
2
The purchase price is mentioned in Amsterdam 1901, cat. no. 1259, p. 147.
3
Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen 1887, no. 15, p. 55.
4
F. D. O. Obreen published the painting in the same year, also as being by Pieter Saenredam. Obreen 1887, p. 61.
5
Swillens 1935, p. 59, dates it to 1645-1650 on the basis of the colour scheme and composition. According to the author, the costumes (hats) also point to a date sometime in those years. Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b) date it to



To date this painting has only been exhibited on three occasions, the last being the large survey exhibition held in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht in 1961.[10] The illumination of this intimate panel is unusually dramatic for Saenredam, and may be the reason for its lack of popularity.[11]

LMH

c. 1640, and Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 52) to the beginning of the 1640s.

6
Swillens 1935, p. 34. See also Ruurs 1987, p. 50.

7
Attributed to Jacob de Nole, probably after a design by Jan van Scorel, *Tombstone of Jan van Scorel*, c. 1560. Namur stone (three fragments). Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent. See Defoer and Dirkse 1986, p. 177.

8
My thanks to Arie de Groot for calculating the dimensions of the tombstones in the painting.

9
Defoer and Dirkse 1986, p. 179.

10
Bolsward 1950, Bordeaux 1959 and Utrecht 1961.

11
See also Swillens 1935, p. 46.

33 View through the nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from south to north

2 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark:
small fleur-de-lis and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
301 x 401 mm.

Recto lower middle: Buijer kerck binnen utrecht.
Recto upper right (on the vault): Pieter Saenredam geteijckent // den 2 Augustij. // A.° 1636. (Drawn by Pieter Saenredam, on 2 August, in the year 1636.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ja 4.3.

The Buurkerk is the oldest and most distinguished of the four Utrecht parish churches. Through repeated rebuilding and expansion of a small 13th-century Gothic cross-basilica, a large and wide, partly five-aisle hall-church arose. The choir was demolished after the Reformation, in 1586.
Saenredam drew this view diagonally through the almost empty nave of the church from the southernmost aisle, between four piers. The vantage point is low, approximately 1 metre above the church floor. It is not entirely equal for the three sections, but the displacement is very minor.[1]
The large angle of view (app. 90°) yields a panoramic effect. The enormous church space can be seen in virtually its full length; the distance between the farthest visible point at the left (the City Council's Chapel to the north of the tower) and the east wall of the transept at the right is no less than 60 metres. The middle section reveals the five-aisle church at its widest, namely approximately 44 metres to the back wall of the Van Nijenrode Chapel, where the vanishing point is located.

Perspectively this may be Saenredam's most fascinating Utrecht drawing. However, it is also the most confusing. Years later, even Saenredam himself was unable to indicate everything clearly. The confusion is caused not only by the slanting of the floor with respect to the piers, but primarily by the powerful compression. The two piers in the foreground dividing the composition into three parts are so slender that the arches intersected on both sides no longer connect, and the arches themselves are also too narrow. The sheet of paper was not wide enough for a correct proportional rendering of the interior: with the same height the paper should have been 40% wider.

Though the interior of the Buurkerk made a rather empty impression in reality, it was not as barren as the drawing suggests, at least not on the east side. The church had been used by the Reformed congregation since 1579. In 1609 the pulpit and benches were moved from the nave to the transept. Saenredam omitted the pier benches that had been erected at the time around the two western crossing piers – both included in the right part of the drawing. The remains of a pier bench from the time before the pulpit was moved can be seen only in the middle part of the nave. Otherwise, no furniture can be discerned.
All that Saenredam recorded are a few chandeliers (17th-century, and a Gothic one in the back at the right), a couple of hatchments, a few vaguely indicated glass paintings, some vault rosettes and a large guild board attached to the pier in the foreground.
This represents but a fraction of the decorations then present, though one should bear in mind that despite the panoramic nature of this drawing quite a few piers, walls and windows remain out of sight.
Various guild boards hung in the church. After the Reformation they had replaced the former guild altars and incorporated biblical texts appropriate to the guild in question. Saenredam's Buurkerk drawings depict a total of two. The board in this drawing is very

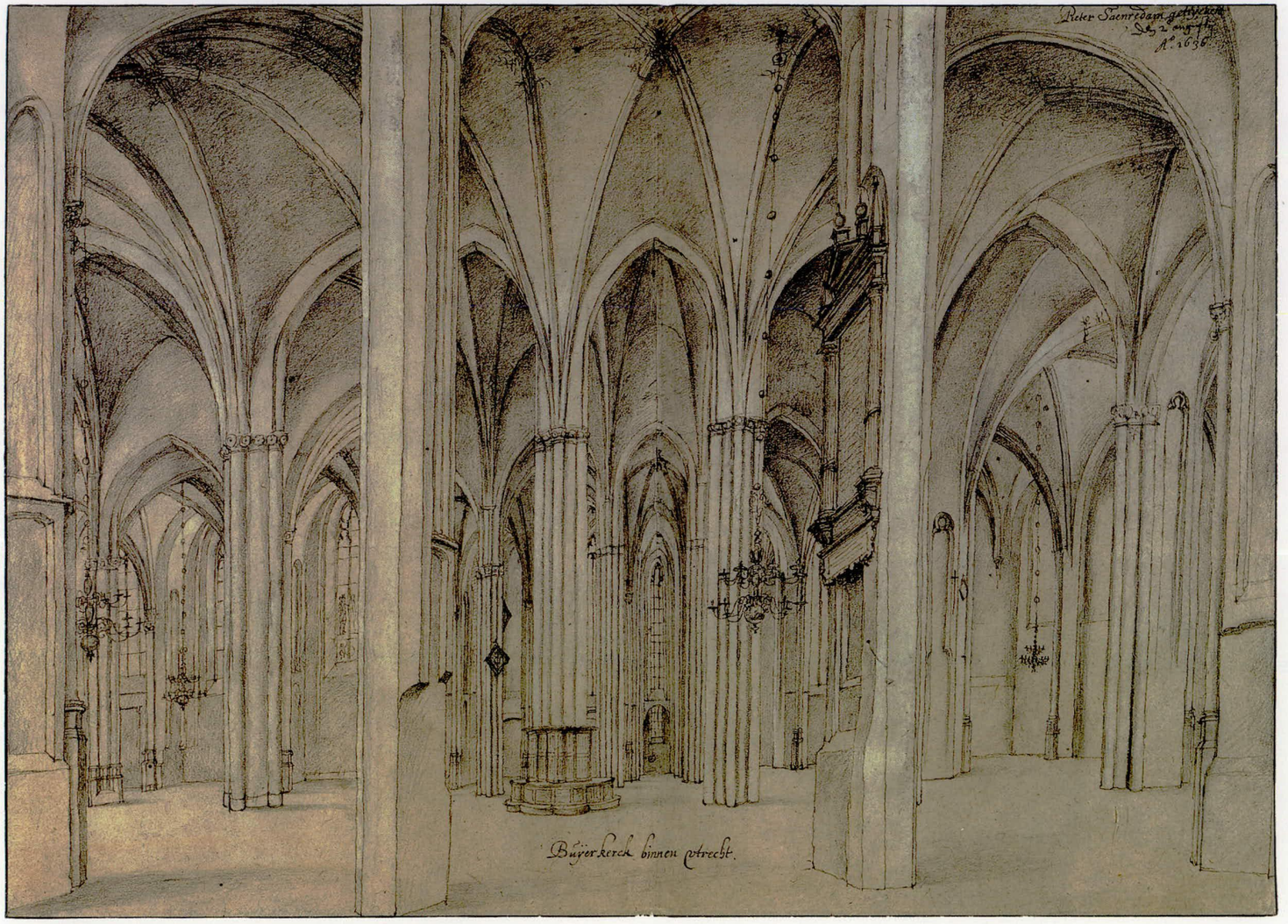
Inscriptions
Verso lower left: no. 956 (pen and brown ink)
Verso lower right: 1937 (pencil)

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 73, p. 26; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 73, p. 26; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 136, p. 34; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 197, p. 88; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 40, p. 22, fig. 37.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 14-15, fig. 21; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1148, p. 130; Vermeulen 1920, pp. 190, 194; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 111, p. 101, fig. 165; Haakma Wagenaar 1936, pp. XIX-XX and pp. 237, 252, 295-296, fig. 117; Rotterdam 1955, p. 53; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 124, p. 183, fig. 127; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 124, p. 183, fig. 127; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 114; Liedtke 1971, p. 127 (note 28), p. 130 (note 37), pp. 138, 139; Haakma Wagenaar [1973], p. 39; Kamerling-van Haersma Buma 1973, ill. on p. 27; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, ill. on p. 30; Th. Haakma Wagenaar 1982, p. 13; Ruurs 1982, p. 120 (note 34); Haakma Wagenaar [1985], p. 179; Ruurs 1987, p. 112 (note 113), pp. 154-155; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 124, p. 275 and pp. 155, 166, 210, 212, fig. 175; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 124, p. 276 and pp. 154-156, 210, 212, fig. 175; Rotterdam 1991, pp. 135-136, fig. 1; Bogaers 1993, ill. on p. 71.

Note
1
Ruurs 1987, p. 112 (note 113), speaks of a few steps to the left and to the right, respectively based on his observation of the Buurkerk. From an analysis of the sight lines with the aid of a ground plan, the displacement seems less to me, and I assume that Saenredam was sitting right against the south wall. Unfortunately, this can no longer be checked on site due to the installation of a museum in the Buurkerk.


Pieter Saenredam getrocken
Den 2 augustij
A°. 1636.
Buÿerkerck binnen vtrecht.

similar, but not identical, to the fish merchants' guild board of 1580 still present in the church.

AdG

34 View through the nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from south to northwest

7 November 1653

Pen and brown ink, graphite, brush and grey ink, lines traced.
Verso blackened.
Framing line in pen and black ink.

Watermark: fleur-de-lis in a crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 297).
432 x 336 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ja 4.4.

In 1653 Saenredam pulled out his Buurkerk drawing of 2 August 1636 (cat. no. 33) and elaborated it in three construction drawings. Two of these are still extant: one of the left and another of the right section, dated 7 and 8 November 1653, respectively (cat. nos. 34 and 37). In turn, the three construction drawings resulted in three paintings in the spring of 1654, only two of which are still known, one of the left and another of the middle section (cat. nos. 35 and 36). Thus, three parts of the interior can be seen in one or two versions, allowing us to study just how Saenredam worked out the perspective in his drawing of 1636. That the original representation led to three independent panels is easily explained. Rendering the two middle piers in the foreground in their correct width would have disturbed the unity of the composition to such an extent that splitting up the scene was unavoidable. In so doing, Saenredam no longer strove to create a unity. Although the construction drawings and the painted panels all have a single collective vanishing point (located in the middle panel), the distance assumed and the scale differ in all three.

This construction drawing depicts the left section of the drawing of 1636 (with the elimination of part of the vaults). It affords a diagonal view from the outermost south aisle through the three-aisle west section of the nave towards the chapels along the north side. The horizon is set approximately 1 metre above the floor, as in the drawing of 1636 and in the painting of the middle section (cat. no. 36). However, unlike that panel, in which the proportions and the perspective are almost perfect, the perspective in this construction drawing is not very successful. The primary reason for this is that Saenredam relied on a ground plan rife with errors. As a result the two chapels in the background are too wide and the entire church space too narrow (whereby the distance point came to be in the middle chapel). Because he attempted to combine this deviating ground plan with the inter ior view in his sketch and, moreover, shifted piers in the right section to achieve a more balanced composition, the perspective became riddled with all sorts of conflicts and contradictions.[1] Saenredam did eliminate some of these inconsistencies in the final painting, for instance the fact that the ribs of the vault do not match up on either side of the middle pier.

AdG

Inscriptions
Recto right (on the pier): dit gedeeltte van [de] // buerkerck binnen // Utrecht // heb ick aldus om te // schilderen voleijndt // met teeckenen op // den 7 November 1653 // ende den 21 // April 1654, heb // ick dese met // schilderen gedaen // op een Paneel van // grote als dese teecke[ning] (I finished drawing this section of [the] Buurkerk in Utrecht in this way on 7 November 1653, in order to paint it, and on 21 April 1654, I finished painting it on a panel as large as this drawing)
Recto (near the distance point at the left): 20 // d'afstant 20 voet (20 // the distance 20 feet)
Verso: 1644 / 1152(?) (pencil)

Comments
The figures and the washes were added later, possibly in the 18th century (see p. 63).

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); purchased by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 14-15; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1150, p. 130; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 192, p. 122 and pp. 44, 57, fig. 166; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 125, pp. 183-184, fig. 128; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 125, pp. 183-184, fig. 128; Liedtke 1971, p. 127 (note 28), pp. 138, 139 (note 53); Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152 (note 15); Ruurs 1987, cat. no. 17, p. 154, and pp. 82, 115 (note 118), fig. 36; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 125, p. 275 and p. 210, fig. 218; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 125, p. 276 and pp. 155, 210, fig. 218; Rotterdam 1991, p. 135 and p. 137, fig. 2 (switched with cat. no. 37).

Note
1
The two nave piers at the far right (one of which is incorrectly depicted with a base) with the springing of the pier-arches, have both been shifted to the centre; otherwise they would have remained hidden behind the pier in the foreground. This shift has been compensated in the middle by narrowing the central pier, whereby the incongruities in the arches and vaults beyond are even more conspicuous.



35 The nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from south to north

21 April 1654

Panel, 40.7 x 33.5 cm.
Recto lower left: Pr. Saenredam.f. // A° 1654.4/21.
Private collection.

The two drawings Pieter Saenredam made of the interior of the Buurkerk (cat. nos. 33 and 38), are among the most spectacular in his oeuvre. Both show a transverse view of the nave at an approximately 90° angle. The drawing of 2 August offers an overview from south to north and that of 16 August presents exactly the opposite view. Saenredam produced three paintings on the basis of the first drawing, two of which have been preserved. Both the composition and date of the third panel are known from an inscription in the construction drawing (cat. no. 37). All three paintings date from 1654. The lost work, which represented the right section of the drawing, dates from 21 March 1654. *The nave of the Buurkerk from south to north* dated 21 April is based on the left part of the drawing. Finally, the painting of 17 June shows the middle section (cat. no. 36). The construction drawing – thanks to which the composition of the missing painting is known – dates from 8 November 1653. One day earlier and a good six months before he completed the painting, Saenredam made a 1:1 drawing for *The nave of the Buurkerk from south to north*. The construction drawing of the middle section of the drawing has been lost.

The construction drawing of 7 November 1653 differs in a number of respects from the sketch of the interior of the Buurkerk that Saenredam made *in situ* in 1636 (see cat. no. 34). In the panel he reintroduced the candelabra in the middle, which he had drawn in 1636 but eliminated in the construction drawing. Several figures were added to the painting at a later point in time. They are absent in both the sketch of 1636 and the construction drawing, and judging from the style are not by Saenredam.[2] At the right two men converse with one another, and in the foreground a barking dog runs from the left towards a woman sitting on the ground and extending her hand in its direction. Formerly, there were two other groups of two figures, one at the left in the back of the church and the other in the middle in front of the pier. They were painted out during the last restoration in 1994.[3]

The painting, which has been in a private collection since 1936, came from the collection of the Scottish sewing thread manufacturer William Allen Coats (1853-1926). The catalogue of the exhibition of Coats's collection of paintings and drawings held in London in 1927 after his death reveals that he owned a total of four paintings ascribed to Pieter Saenredam.[4] *The nave of the Buurkerk* is the only that can be identified with certainty, as it is illustrated in the catalogue of the collection published by William Paterson in 1904. There, as in the catalogue of 1927, it is described as the 'Interior of a Haarlem Cathedral'.[5] Incidentally, Coats also owned Johannes Vermeer's *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary*, which his two sons gave to the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh in his memory.[6]

LMH

Provenance
W. A. Coats collection, Edinburgh (1904-1926); sale W. B. Paterson, London [3] January 1927 (W. A. Coats estate), cat. no. 179, p. 18;[1] art dealer Asscher & Welcker, London (1936); F. H. Fentener van Vlissingen collection, Esch (1936-1965); private collection, 1965

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1938, cat. no. 93, p. 15; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 38, p. 22, fig. 35; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 22, pp. 135-137, ill. on p. 134; Edinburgh 1992, cat. no. 67, p. 144 and p. 162, ill. on p. 144.

Literature
Edinburgh 1904, cat. no. XXXIV, n. p., ill.; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 195, p. 123 and pp. 101, 122, fig. 168; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 123, p. 182, fig. 126; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 123, p. 182, fig. 126; Schulte Nordholt 1961-1962, ill. between p. 488 and 489; Schurr 1970, fig. 2; Liedtke 1971, pp. 130 (note 37), 138, 139 (note 53); Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152; Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3); Ruurs 1987, p. 154; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 123, p. 275 and pp. 166, 210 (under fig. 218), 300, fig. 220; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 123, p. 275 and pp. 154, 210 (under fig. 218), 308, fig. 220.

Notes
1
According to Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 123, p. 182 and Rotterdam 1991, the painting was in the Christie, Manson & Woods sale, London, 4 February 1927, cat. no. 34. However, this was a work by Paulus Potter.
2
See also Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 123, p. 182 and Rotterdam 1991, p. 136.
3
Restored by Mr E. Bekkers in The Hague. Verbal communication from the owner on 4 July 2000.
4
London [3] January 1927, cat. nos. 152, p. 15; 175, p. 17; 181, p. 18.
5
Edinburgh 1904, cat. no. XXXIV, n. p., ill.
6
Johannes Vermeer, *Christ in the house of Martha and Maria*, c. 1655. Canvas, 160 x 142 cm. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. In London [3] January 1927, cat. no. 161, p. 16.



36 The nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from south to north

17 June 1654

Panel, 58.8 x 41.6 cm.
Recto lower right: buer kerck, tot utrecht.
Recto lower right: Pieter Saenredam. // Dit gemaeckt. // A∞ 1654 6/17 (Pieter Saenredam, made this, in the year 1654, 17 June)
Amsterdam, Six collection.

The nave of the Buurkerk from south to north in the Six collection is one of three paintings based on the drawing of the transverse view through the nave of the church (cat. no. 33). It shows the middle section. Like the two other paintings, this one was also made with the aid of a (in this case lost) construction drawing. Hence, no traces can be found in the surface of the panel of a hole for a pin, from which Saenredam would have tied a string in order to check his perspective had he not been working with a construction drawing.[1]

The painting evidences a number of improvements with respect to the drawing of 2 August 1636. The arches have been widened, whereby the proportions of the space more closely approximate reality. The right pier in the foreground, far too narrow in the drawing, has likewise been painted wider. Also noteworthy is the fact that the candelabra – in the drawing hanging at the right in the panel of a vault – is here rendered precisely in the middle attached to the crossing of the ribs, and that the crowning element of the memorial plaque at the far right against the pier has been simplified. The floor of the church, which in the drawing is generally indicated, consists in part of large tombstones in the painting. Moreover, Saenredam introduced three figures in the space.

The painting is both signed and dated. For a long time the date was only partially visible. In his 1935 Saenredam monograph, P. T. A. Swillens mentioned that part of the inscription was scratched away,[2] and the same was noted by Herman J. de Smedt in the catalogue raisonné of 1961.[3] During restoration in 1970, it appeared that the inscription had not been scraped away but painted over.[4] According to the inscription, Saenredam completed the panel on 17 June 1654, two months after finishing *The nave of the Buurkerk from south to north* (cat. no. 35). He will have worked on both paintings at the same time.

In 1807 the panel was in the collection of the Amsterdam poet and art lover Pieter van Winter (1745-1807), director of the Dutch East India Company and a merchant in indigo and painting supplies. Upon his death, his daughter Lucretia (1785-1845) inherited the painting.[5] Via her marriage to Hendrik Six in 1822 it entered the renowned Amsterdam Six collection. In or just before 1822, H. Six purchased a second Saenredam, *The west façade of the Mariakerk in Utrecht* (cat. no. 5), presently in the collection of H. H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza. However, the provenance extends even further back. Already in 1797, the painting was mentioned in the sales catalogue of the collection of Jan Danser Nijman in Amsterdam. Because of its measurements, lot number 255, a 'View of the interior of the Buurkerk in Utrecht, staffaged with figures walking; painted clearly and pleasingly' can only be the painting in the Six collection.[6] The lost 1:1 construction drawing of the interior of the Buurkerk is much smaller, and the three other paintings depicting the interior are also smaller (cat. no. 35) or wider (cat. nos. 39 and 40). The Nijman collection comprised a total of 312 paintings, including works by many famous 17th-century masters.

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Provenance
J. Danser Nijman collection, Amsterdam (1796); sale Ph. van der Schley et al., Amsterdam 16-17 August 1797 (J. Danser Nijman estate), cat. no. 255, p. 54; P. van Winter collection, Amsterdam (1807); L. J. van Winter collection, Amsterdam (1807-1822); H. Six and L. J. Six-van Winter collection, Amsterdam (1822-1845); H. Six collection, Amsterdam (1845-1847); J. P. and P. H. Six collection, Amsterdam (1847-1899); P. H., J. and W. Six collection, Amsterdam (1899-1922); Stichting Six collection, Amsterdam, 1922

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1894, cat. no. 175, p. 65; Amsterdam 1900, cat. no. 130, p. 27; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 16, p. 12, and p. 26 (under cat. no. 73), fig. II; Rotterdam 1955, cat. no. 114, pp. 53-54, fig. 53; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1900, p. 270; Steenhoff 1900-1901, p. 27; Jantzen 1909, pp. 142-143; Jantzen 1910, pp. 78, 83, 169 (no. 419); Swillens 1935, cat. no. 221, pp. 129-130 and pp. 59, 101 (under cat. no. 111), 129 (under cat. no. 220), fig. 169; Plietzsch 1960, p. 120; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 122, pp. 181-182, fig. 129; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 122, pp. 181-182, fig. 129; Liedtke 1971, pp. 130 (note 37), 138, 139 (note 53); Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152; Jantzen 1979, pp. 78, 83, 233 (no. 419); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 122, p. 275 and pp. 166, 193 (under fig. 202), 300, fig. 221; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 122, p. 276 and pp. 154, 155 (under fig. 175), 193 (under fig. 202), 308, fig. 221; Rotterdam 1991, p. 135; Priem 1997, pp. 125, 226 (no. 60).

Notes
1
This became clear during infrared reflectography conducted by J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer and myself on 24 June 1997. Photographs of the entire painting, neg. nos. AB 1854:16-AB 1856:32, are at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.
2
Swillens notes that Mr Six believed he could also distinguish a 2. See Swillens 1935, p. 59 and pp. 129-130.
3
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 181.
4
The restoration took place in 1970 and will have presumably been performed by Mrs E. Mösenbacher. Verbal communication by J. Six on 6 July 2000.
5
In his article on the collection of Lucretia Johanna van Winter, Priem 1997, p. 221, no. 128, incorrectly presumes that the Saenredam in the P. van Winter collection and inherited by Lucretia in 1807 is *The west façade of the Mariakerk in Utrecht* (cat. no. 5). This painting was purchased by her husband, H. Six, around 1822. For the provenance of this painting, see cat. no. 5. The 'church



Saenredam' ('kerk Saaneredam') included in the 1815 valuation report of the paintings that were divided between Lucretia and her sister (see Priem 1997, Appendix III, p. 226, no. 60) must be the Buurkerk still in the Six collection. See also Amsterdam 1900, cat. no. 130, p. 127.

6
'Gezigt van Binnen in de Buurkerk te Utrecht, gestoffeerd met Wandelende Beeldjes; helder en bevallig geschilderd'. Sale Ph. van der Schley et al., Amsterdam 16-17 August 1797, cat. no. 255, p. 54. Dimensions 22 x 16 inches (= 54.4 x 41.7 cm).

37 View through the nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from south to northeast

8 November 1653

Pen and brown ink, graphite, brush and grey ink; contours traced.
Verso blackened.
Framing line in pen and black ink.

Watermark: fleur-de-lis in a crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 297).
421 x 322 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ja 4.7.

Dated one day later than cat. no. 34, this construction drawing is based on the right part of the sketch of 2 August 1636 (cat. no. 33), and has the same omission at the top of a part of the vaults. The painting after this drawing, which according to the inscription was completed on 21 March 1654, is no longer known.
The view presented here extends from the outermost south aisle into the northeast corner of the transept. The vanishing point, well outside the drawing at the left, coincides with the vanishing points of cat. nos. 34, 35 and 36. As in those cases, Saenredam calculated the perspective on the basis of his inaccurate ground plan, but this had fewer consequences here than in cat. no. 34. He maintained a shorter distance, 15 feet (instead of 20), to prevent the narrow vista between the piers at the right from disappearing; as a result, the distance point came to be located on the left pier.

Although perspectively more consistent than cat. no. 34, this drawing nevertheless also presents a rather fictive image of the Buurkerk. Clearly the details Saenredam had at his disposal were not exact enough for him to accurately construct the transept. It is both too shallow and too narrow. Consequently, the vaults begin too high and he included a bit of the north transept window in the north wall that was not visible from his chosen vantage point.

AdG

Inscriptions
Recto right (on pier): dit gedeeltte ofte gesight vande // buur kerck binnen Utrecht, // heb ick aldus geeijndicht mette // pen te teeckenen om alsoo groot // op een paneel geschildert te werden // Int Jaer 1653. den 8. November. // ende dit gedaen met schilderen // op den 21 maert 1654. (I drew this section or view of the Buurkerk in Utrecht with the pen in this way in order to paint it on an equally large panel, in the year 1653, on 8 November, and finished painting it on 21 March 1654.)
Recto middle (near the distance point): affstant 15 v (distance 15 feet)
Verso lower left: 1543 // [....] (pencil)

Comments
The figures and the washes were added later, possibly in the 18th century (see. p. 63).

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief from C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg, 1899

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 14; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1153, p. 130; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 193, p. 122 and p. 44, fig. 167; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 126, pp. 184-185, fig. 130; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 126, pp. 184-185, fig. 130; Liedtke 1971, p. 130 (note 37), pp. 138, 139 (note 53); Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152 (note 15); Ruurs 1987, cat. no. 18, p. 155, and pp. 82, 115 (note 118), fig. 37; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 126, p. 275 and pp. 166, 210, fig. 219; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 126, p. 276 and pp. 154, 155, 210, fig. 219; Rotterdam 1991, p. 135 and p. 137, fig. 2 (switched with cat. no. 34).



38 View through the nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from north to south

16 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
269 x 418 mm.

Recto (on the middle pier): BUIER // KERCK, // binnen // utrecht.
Recto (on the left pier): den 16.en augustij // int Jaer 1636. // p. Saenredam. (On 16 August, in the year 1636, Pieter Saenredam.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ja 4.1.

Saenredam drew this view to the south from the northernmost aisle near the north portal, with the south transept in the left background and the south aisle of the west half of the nave at the right. Saenredam was stationed almost straight across from the spot where he had made his sketch of 2 August (cat. no. 33), where in this drawing a door or a portal is vaguely indicated to the left of the vanishing point. Unlike his drawing of 2 August, Saenredam here divided the composition in two rather than three, with the vanishing point on the pier across from him, as he had done earlier, for example, in the Mariakerk (cat. no. 15) and later in the Dom (cat. no. 51).
Because the field of vision in this drawing is much smaller than in cat. no. 33 and the sheet he worked on proportionally wider, the composition here is more harmonious and less compressed. Only the middle pier in the foreground is too narrow, whereby the arches to its left and right do not appear to join up. Incidentally, the right half was drawn from a somewhat closer standpoint than the left half, thus explaining the somewhat larger scale of the piers and arches at the right.

Further comparison of this drawing with that of 2 August reveals just how selectively Saenredam dealt with interior features and how both sketches complement each other. Escutcheons and candelabras included in one drawing are omitted in the other, even though the piers or spaces where they hang occur in both. The only item to which this does not apply is the guild board in the foreground of cat. no. 33, which can be distinguished here in the distance to the left of the middle pier. A second guild board is depicted in the right half on the wall pier of the southern aisle.
Some of the windows vaguely display stained glass. The one in the left section, above Saenredam's drawing position of 2 August, comprises a shield with two crossed keys within a rich cartouche. Although this motif is also found as a family coat of arms in the Buurkerk,[1] it is best known as the arms of the Chapter of St Peter.[2] The old glass which must have been here east of the south portal, and which Buchelius described around 1615, looked very different.[3] However, in 1622 and later, the five Utrecht chapters presented the Buurkerk five windows with their arms designed by Gerrit van Honthorst.[4] They must have filled the five windows of the southernmost aisle, because the St Peter window, belonging to the third chapter, would then have been located in this spot in keeping with the strict hierarchy of the chapters. That Saenredam took pains to depict this window such that it can be better identified than the other ones, may have to do with the fact that he had seen comparable windows donated by the five chapters in the St Jacobskerk a few days earlier (see cat. no. 41).

AdG

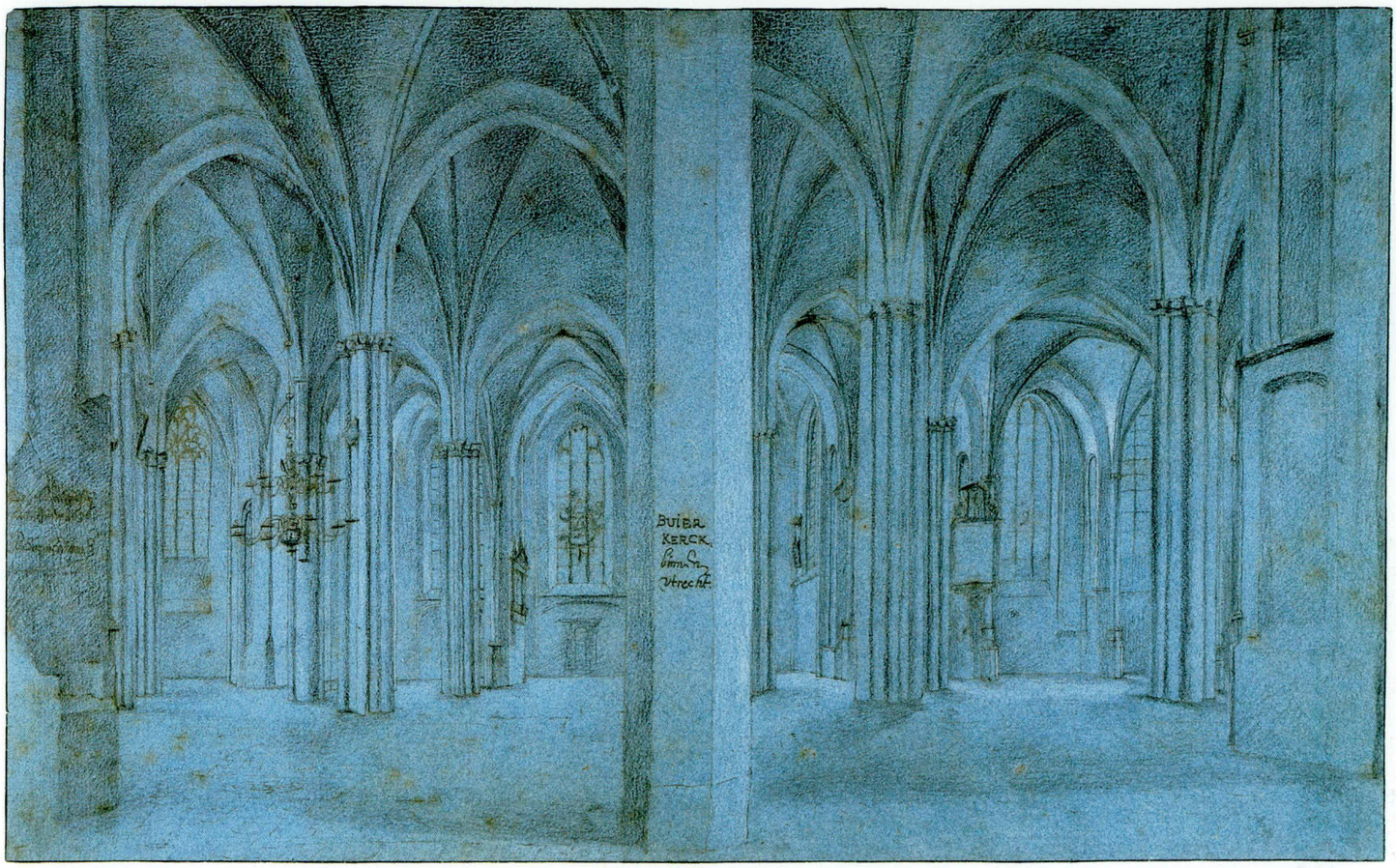
Inscriptions
Verso lower left: 157 (pen and brown ink)
Verso lower right: G34 / 794 (pencil)

Provenance
Unknown.

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 74, p. 26; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 74, p. 26; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Tokyo/Kyoto 1968-1969, cat. no. 120, n. p., ill.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 794, p. 75; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 15, fig. 22; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 115, p. 102, fig. 170; Haakma Wagenaar 1936, p. XX and pp. 242-243, fig. 98; London 1960, p. 380; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 129, p. 187, fig. 124; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 129, p. 187, fig. 124; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Roosen-Runge 1967, pp. 485-486, fig. 11; Liedtke 1971, pp. 125, 126 (note 24), p. 130 (note 37); Nash 1972, caption to fig. 108; Haakma Wagenaar [1973], p. 39; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](b), p. 71; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(d), p. 11; Fuchs 1978, p. 126; Haakma Wagenaar 1981(b), pp. 10, 12 (note 5); Alpers 1983, p. 52, fig. 24; Haakma Wagenaar [1985], p. 168, 183 (note 17); Elkins 1988, p. 272 (note 15); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 129, p. 275 and pp. 155, 166, 198, 199, fig. 174; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 129, p. 277 and pp. 154-156, 198, 199, fig. 174; London 1991, vol. 1, p. 407; Rotterdam 1991, p. 135; London 1995, p. 611; Bangs 1997, pp. 211-212, 214 (note 10:4, 10:17); Bomford 2000, p. 84, fig. 10.

Notes
1
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 103r.
2
Bangs 1997, pp. 211-212 (note 4), interprets it as the arms of Leiden. However, Leiden never presented such a gift to the Buurkerk.
3
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 104v.
4
To date, the literature on the subject mentions only the window presented by the Chapter of Oudmunster; see San Francisco/Baltimore/London 1997-1998, p. 382; Judson and Ekkart 1999, p. 353.


BUIBR
KERCK
Utrecht

39 The nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from north to south

1645

Panel, 58.4 x 49.5 cm.
Recto left: pieter Saenredam. 1645 // dit geschildert na de // buer kerck, van // utrecht.

(Pieter Saenredam, painted this in 1645, after the Buurkerk of Utrecht.)
Fort Worth (Texas), Kimbell Art Museum, inv. no. AP 1986.09.

The nave of the Buurkerk from north to south of 1645 presents the left half of the drawing Saenredam made of the interior of the church on 16 August 1636 (cat. no. 38). The right half is depicted in a painting in the collection of The National Gallery in London (cat. no. 40). In both paintings Saenredam presented the vaults higher than in the drawing, thus adding to the monumentality of the space. Except for a few details, the painting of the left part largely agrees with the drawing. It is signed and dated on the pier at the left, precisely where Saenredam placed his name and date in the drawing. The question remains whether he was responsible for the four figures.[1]

Because the two paintings complement one another so well qua composition and are the same size, Walter Liedtke suggested that they might have been conceived together, and may even have formed a diptych. He formulated this in 1971 as follows: 'Nearly equal in their dimensions and identical in coloring, the two panels form a well-balanced unit when viewed together, and may have been intended as a "diptych" of sorts.'[2]
One cannot help but be struck by the fact that Liedtke considered the colour to be identical. It is precisely the great difference between the two that led Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok to forward them as an example of 'the occasionally dramatic changes which works of art undergo in the course of time.' In the caption of the interiors (illustrated in colour and facing each other) they write that there is no reason to assume, 'least of all in the case of a methodical worker like Saenredam,' that the two paintings differed so greatly from the beginning. 'Yet, today they breathe such a different spirit that, if we did not know better, we would hesitate to assign them to the same artist,' according to the authors. 'The painting in Fort Worth displays chiselled forms and arctic cool colors, while the London Buurkerk has muffled modulations suffused with a warm glow.' The authors blame the 'complete transformations of the aesthetic effect' of the panels on differences in conservation and restoration.[3] Incidentally, Schwartz and Bok ignore the question of which painting is better preserved: the cool, white version from Fort Worth or the warm, brown interior from London.[4]

That the atmospheres of the paintings differ entirely is a fact. But that this has nothing to do with differences in conservation was recently demonstrated by David Bomford at the symposium on the conservation and technique of Saenredam in his lecture 'Two paintings by Saenredam in The National Gallery, London'.[5] Both paintings have been cleaned in recent decades, thus differences in tonality cannot be ascribed to discoloured varnish or overpainting. Moreover, their present state does not differ all that much. According to the condition reports, both paintings are 'slightly worn over.' Hence, the contrasts are not so much the product of dissimilar conservation and restoration histories, but rather due to an entirely different painterly conception.
The panel in Fort Worth has a thin, cool ground that allows the wood grain to show through, while the London painting has a thicker, yellow ground giving it its warm tonality. Pigment analysis has determined that Saenredam primarily used Kassel brown, also referred to as Vandyke brown, in the London painting, while this pigment occurs far less frequently in the

Provenance
Whatman collection (1900); sale Christie, London 16 June 1900 [Mrs Whatman coll.], cat. no. 63, p. 4; L. E. Whatman collection, Maidstone (1937-1952); A. J. Trousdell collection, Meopham (Kent) (1952); private collection, Great Britain (1970); R. Smith collection, Washington (1980); private collection, United States (1986); acquired by the Kimbell Art Museum, 1986

Exhibitions
Canterbury 1937, cat. no. 24, p. 11; Paris 1970, cat. no. 39, p. 22, fig. 34.

Literature
London 1960, p. 380; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 128, pp. 186-187, fig. 123; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 128, pp. 186-187, fig. 123; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Liedtke 1971, pp. 130 (note 37), 131 (note 41), 138 (note 50); Nash 1972, under fig. 108; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152; Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3); Alpers 1983, p. 52, fig. 25; London 1983, p. 94; Paris 1983, p. 121; Hoving 1986, pp. 94-95, ill. on p. 94; Pillsbury and Jordan 1987, p. 773, fig. 7; Sontag 1987, ill. on p. 124; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 128, p. 275 and pp. 166, 199, 299, fig. 210; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 128, p. 277 and pp. 156, 199, 307, fig. 210; Carrier 1991, p. 492; London 1991, vol. 1, p. 407, fig. 100; Rotterdam 1991, p. 135; Langmuir 1994, p. 244; London 1995, p. 611; Bomford 2000, pp. 84, 86-87, fig. 11

Notes
1
According to Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 187 and Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3), the staffage was added later. Further analysis will have to yield a definitive answer about the authenticity of the figures.
2
Liedtke 1971, p. 130 (note 37).
3
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 199, caption to fig. 211.
4
Carrier 1991, p. 492.
5
Bomford 2000.
6
Bomford 2000, pp. 84-87.



Fort Worth panel.[6] The artist consciously chose for a different atmosphere and colour from the outset. Accordingly, even though they represent the same church and are even based on the same drawing, these two interiors cannot be considered as a matching pair, but rather as two independent paintings based on different conceptions.

LMH

40 The nave of the Buurkerk in Utrecht from north to south

1644

Panel, 60.1 x 50.1 cm.
Recto lower right: de buer kerck binnen utrecht // aldus geschildert int Jaer 1644 // van // Pieter Saenredam.

(The Buurkerk in Utrecht, thus painted in the year 1644, by Pieter Saenredam.)
London, The National Gallery, inv. no. 1896.

In Saenredam's drawing of 16 August 1636, the interior of the Buurkerk is divided in half by a pier in the middle foreground (cat. no. 38). His viewpoint is directly across from this. In the two paintings made years later on the basis of the left and right half of the drawing, the vanishing point is thus outside the picture plane. The section to the left of the pier is depicted in *The nave of the Buurkerk from north to south* now in the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth (cat. no. 39), and the right section in the painting with the same title in The National Gallery in London. Saenredam completed the panels one year after each other, the London work in 1644 and the Fort Worth one in 1645. They barely differ qua dimensions. No construction drawing for either painting has been preserved.

The National Gallery painting deviates in a number of respects from the right half of the drawing. The composition was stretched vertically. The height of the vaults is exaggerated, whereby the space no longer seems low and dark, but taller and light filled. While Saenredam often omitted numerous details in his paintings that do occur in the drawings, the opposite appears to be the case here. The floor, in the drawing an unelaborated area, here consists of tiles and tombstones. On the pier in the right foreground has been added an escutcheon with a lion climbing towards the left. To its right is a hatchment half cut off by the edge of the picture, which must have been added when the painting was already framed, as there is an approximately 5 centimetre lacuna between the right edge of the board and the edge of the painting.[1]

In a large niche in the pier we see a representation of Moses with the Tablets of the Law, the two stone tables on which were written the Ten Commandments. The two boys with the dog below this are generally assumed to date from the 17th century, but were not painted by Saenredam himself. In the sales catalogue of 1773, the staffage is given to Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668).[2] In the 19th century these figures were attributed to Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) until Wolfgang Stechow gave them to the Italianate Jan Both (?-1652) in a publication of 1928-1929, which is still considered the most likely attribution.[3] The four figures in the background, including a group of three people dressed in oriental costume, were probably the work of Saenredam himself.[4]

Although Saenredam did not paint the boys in the foreground, with respect to their meaning they are connected with the depiction of Moses, which has always been tacitly assumed to be by Saenredam. The little dog being taught to sit up by one of the boys is interpreted as a metaphor of child rearing. The drawing that the other child has made on the wall is derived from this notion and represents the four children of Aymon astride the legendary horse Bayard.[5] The originally 13th-century French epic poem *Renaut de Montauban* recounts the struggle between Charlemagne and the four sons of Aymon. This folk tale, which was very popular throughout most of Europe until into the 18th century, was published in various Dutch versions in the beginning of the 17th century. Central to the story is the magical horse Bayard, which Renaut, one of the four brothers, tamed at his own peril. Riding this horse, the children manage to escape to the Ardennes and ultimately Gascogne. The animal

Provenance
J. van der Marck collection, Leiden (1773); sale H. de Winter and J. Yver, Amsterdam 25 August 1773 ff., cat. no. 284, pp. 98-99 (to V.d. Berg); ? Rom Pot collection, Rotterdam (1824/1825); Ch. Galli collection, Edinburgh (1824/1825?-1826); sale Edinburgh 17 and 19-21 January 1826 (Ch. Galli coll.), cat. no. 35, p. 6; A. Allan collection, Edinburgh (1866-1896); sale Dowell, Edinburgh 11 January 1896 (A. Allan coll.), cat. no. 39, n. p.; W. B. Paterson collection, Glasgow (1896); A. Kay collection, Glasgow (1896?-1902); given by A. Kay to The National Gallery, 1902

Exhibitions
York 1866, cat. no. 502, p. 84; London 1902, cat. no. 225, p. 54; Birmingham 1950, cat. no. 54, p. 13; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Bredius 1902, p. 117; London 1906(a), inv. no. 1896, p. 218; London 1906(b), inv. no. 1896, p. 523; London 1907, inv. no. 1896, p. 97; Jantzen 1910, p. 169 (no. 411); London 1910, inv. no. 1896, p. 100; London 1911, inv. no. 1896, p. 295; London 1912, inv. no. 1896, p. 100; London 1915, inv. no. 1896, p. 282; London 1920, inv. no. 1896, p. 265; London 1921, inv. no. 1896, p. 274; London 1923-1926, vol. 2 (1925), ill. on p. 159; Holmes 1925, p. 198; Stechow 1928-1929, pp. 183-184 (note 3); London 1929(a), inv. no. 1896, p. 329; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 160, p. 115 and pp. 102, 114, fig. 171; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 306 (W. Stechow); London 1937, ill. on p. 331; Kay 1939, pp. 63-66, ill.; London 1946, inv. no. 1896, p. 329; Stechow 1953, p. 134, ill.; London 1958(a), inv. no. 1896, p. 216; London 1958(b), vol. 2, ill. on p. 310; London 1960, inv. no. 1896, pp. 379-381; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 127, pp. 185-186, fig. 125; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 127, pp. 185-186, fig. 125; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 91 (note 43), fig. 92; *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon* 1964-1971, vol. 5 (1968), p. 198 (H. Roosen-Runge); Clark 1971, pp. 25-26, ill. on p. 26; Liedtke 1971, pp. 130 (note 37), 138 (note 50); Nash 1972, fig. 108; London 1973, inv. no. 1896, p. 655, ill.; Liedtke 1975-1976, p. 152; Wheelock 1975-1976, p. 178; Wheelock 1977, p. 234, fig. 55; Blau et al. 1976-1978, vol. 7 (1978), p. 2439; Kahr 1978, pp. 244, 246, fig. 187; Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 411); Connell 1980, p. 18 (note 3); Liedtke 1982, p. 30, fig. 17; Alpers 1983, p. 52, fig. 26; Bedaux 1983, pp. 64-65, fig. 27; London 1983, p. 94, fig. 41; Paris 1983, p. 121; De Bruijn et al. 1984-1985, p. 136, ill.; London 1986, inv. no. 1896, p. 561, ill.; Basel 1987, p. 232; Pillsbury and Jordan 1987, p. 773; Schama 1987, p. 547, fig. 276; Sontag 1987, p. 129, ill. on p. 128; Schama 1988, pp. 547-548, ill. on p. 547; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 127, p. 275 and pp. 166, 199, 200, 204, 298, 322 (note 22), fig. 211; Bedaux 1990, pp. 150-152, fig. 82; *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1990, vol. 10, ill. on p. 294; Russell 1990, p. 286; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 127, pp. 276-277 and pp. 156, 199, 200, 307, 332 (note 22), fig. 211; Carrier 1991, p. 492; London 1991, vol. 1, inv. no. 1896, pp. 406-408; vol. 2, fig. 334 and fig. 3 on p. 477; Rotterdam 1991, p. 135; Edinburgh 1992, pp. 141, 144, 164, 166, 174;


Pieter Saenredam.

Langmuir 1994, pp. 243-245, ill. on p. 244; London 1995, p. 611, ill.; Brown 1998, p. 207; Bomford 2000, pp. 71, 84, 86-87, fig. 2, 12.

functions as an exemplar of the power of untamed nature, which is reined in through human intervention. Moses with the Ten Commandments adds another layer to the metaphor of upbringing, namely religious instruction or *pietas*.[6] It is fairly unlikely that this image of Moses was actually on view in the church in this place. The site is therefore probably directly connected to the didactic function within the context of the scene.[7] Accordingly, one wonders whether it was actually Saenredam who painted Moses, or whether this was done by Jan Both or another painter, who also added the two boys.

In the beginning of the 19th century, *The nave of the Buurkerk from north to south* found its way into a Scottish private collection and has remained in Great Britain ever since. The painting's last private owner, Arthur Kay (1860-1939) wanted to give it to The National Gallery, but to his utter astonishment it was refused. The Trustees of the museum found the painting's condition to be lacking. To their mind, it had been overly restored and too many large areas overpainted. Kay lamented the Trustees' decision in his memoirs: 'Naturally I was chagrined that a gift, so perfect in every way, could receive such poor and ignorant meeting.' Convinced as he was himself of the painting's good condition, he had the old, discoloured varnish removed, after which he lent the painting to the winter exhibition of Old Masters held in Burlington House in London in 1902.[8] Within 48 hours after the opening, Kay received a telegram from Amsterdam politely requesting him to consider giving the painting to the Dutch State. However, the letter of apology from the director of The National Gallery that he received soon thereafter persuaded him to give the work to the London museum. He did demand, however, that it hang for at least one year in the most appropriate room with other Dutch masters. This one and only condition was honoured ungrudgingly.[9]

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Notes

1
See Neil MacLaren in London 1960, p. 379, and MacLaren and Brown in London 1991, p. 406.

2
Sale H. de Winter and J. Yver, Amsterdam 25 August 1773 ff., cat. no. 284, pp. 98-99.

3
In the sales catalogues Edinburgh 17 and 19-21 January 1826, no. 35, p. 6, and sale Dowell, Edinburgh 11 January 1896, cat. no. 39, n. p., and in the exhibition catalogue York 1866, cat. no. 502, p. 84, the figures are given to Aelbert Cuyp. Stechow was the first to ascribe them to Jan Both. See Stechow 1928-1929, pp. 183-184 (note 3) and Stechow 1953, p. 134.

4
See Neil MacLaren in London 1960, p. 380; Christopher Brown in London 1983, p. 94; London 1991, p. 407; Bomford 2000, p. 86.

5
The representation is first interpreted as such in London 1915, inv. no. 1896, p. 282.

6
The first to forward this interpretation was Bedaux 1983, pp. 64-65, and thereafter without mentioning his source by Schama 1987, p. 547 and Schama 1988, pp. 547-548. Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 91 (note 43) interprets the scene as a contrast between 'the sanctimonious and the simple.' See also Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 200, in which an overview of the various interpretations is given. Here is also found a reference to Schwartz 1966-1967. Children's drawings in a church could be an implicit plea for tolerating 'innocent' church art, such as that by Saenredam. In this interpretation the Orientals in the background serve as a cautionary reminder that 'iconoclastic disdain for images [...] is the mark of the Moslem, a being alienated from God'. Kahr 1978, p. 244, interprets the boy training the dog as obedience to the law, while the boy drawing on the wall is guilty of disobedience. The fact that Saenredam's signature is directly below the representation could be explained as a discrepancy between the natural artistic aptitude of the child and the professional accomplishment through practice of the artist, between *ingenium* and *ars*. See Basel 1987, p. 232. In London 1994, p. 245, the drawing child is seen as a metaphor of 1 Corinthians 13:10-12, in which the difference is pointed out between children and adults, between profane frivolity (the children's drawing) and obedience to Christian doctrine (the church building as house of God).

7
Bedaux 1990, p. 167 (note 44).

8
London 1902, cat. no. 225, p. 54.

9
See Kay 1939, pp. 63-66, and Clark 1971, pp. 25-26.

41 The south aisle of the St Jacobskerk in Utrecht seen to the east

8 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, brush and watercolour (red, blue, yellow), graphite.
Framing line in pen and dark brown ink.
Watermark: crowned escutcheon, quartered (see p. 298).
386 x 510 mm.

Recto lower middle: S.te Jacobs kerck: binnen utrecht.
Recto lower left (on pier): desen den 8.en Augustus. 1636 // van mijn Pieter Saerdam. // geteijckent. (This was drawn by me, Pieter Saenredam, on 8 August 1636.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Jb 3.2.

As a result of numerous alterations and extensions, the Gothic St Jacobskerk is a very irregular hall church. This drawing shows the view from the south aisle looking east and northeast. In the background are the three adjacent choirs, from right to left: the Holy Cross Choir, the High Choir and the Our Lady Choir. Saenredam was positioned almost half way down the south aisle and exactly on its axis. Because of the irregular ground plan and the great width of the Holy Cross Choir, however, the vanishing point was not in the middle of the choir screen, but next to the left choir door, at a height of 6 feet (1.65 m) according to the inscription.[1] For the view through to the Our Lady Choir the vantage point lies half a metre further left. This enabled Saenredam not only to see a little further beyond the pulpit, but also to make the pier on which the pulpit hung significantly narrower without disturbing the joining up of the vaults behind. The narrowing of the pier compensates somewhat for the fact that in reality the church is rather more vertical than in this drawing. But the architectural character of this Late Gothic hall church is excellently portrayed.

Of the four old Utrecht parish churches, the St Jacobskerk ranked second. Here one of the priests, Hubert Duyfhuys (d. 1581), began to preach the Reformation in 1577, and in 1579 the church became wholly Reformed. At that time statues and altars were removed; the rest of the furnishings were retained and new elements were added in subsequent years.[2]
This highly detailed drawing gives a good idea of the furniture and arrangement before and after the Reformation: the old pulpit of c. 1560 – its canopy was added after 1579 – and the surrounding baptistery rail; the benches around the western piers of the crossing whose backs are visible above the baptistery rail; and the screens before the three choirs – the Late Gothic ones on the left and right dating from 1516-1519, and the older middle one, which has Renaissance brass work from 1567. Most of this is still present, although sometimes moved or altered.
On the right, at the corner of the south aisle and the transept, can be seen the small, 15th-century Our Lady organ; it was moved here from the north side around 1614.[3]
The closed organ shutters (rarely played, the instrument was finally sold in 1663/1664) has painted figures, including the Virgin Mary, while the parapet is decorated with carved angels, figures and arms.
In the wall below the organ is the barred window of the cell in which the hermit Alyt Ponciaens spent part of her life before 1492. Next to it is St Andrew's Chapel, founded in 1492, which received a monumental screen in the early 16th century. The quarterings (pedigree) of the Van Eck family, to whom the chapel then belonged, had been painted on its east wall shortly before Saenredam's visit, and can still be seen there.[4]
The boards on the piers differ in kind. The foremost one with a triangular top and carving along the sides is that of the Porters' Guild of 1602.[5] The guild altar devoted to the Virgin Mary was formerly on this pier, and in the board Saenredam noted – this is still discernible – that it had been an altar place ('altaer plaets'). The guild owned several graves in the south

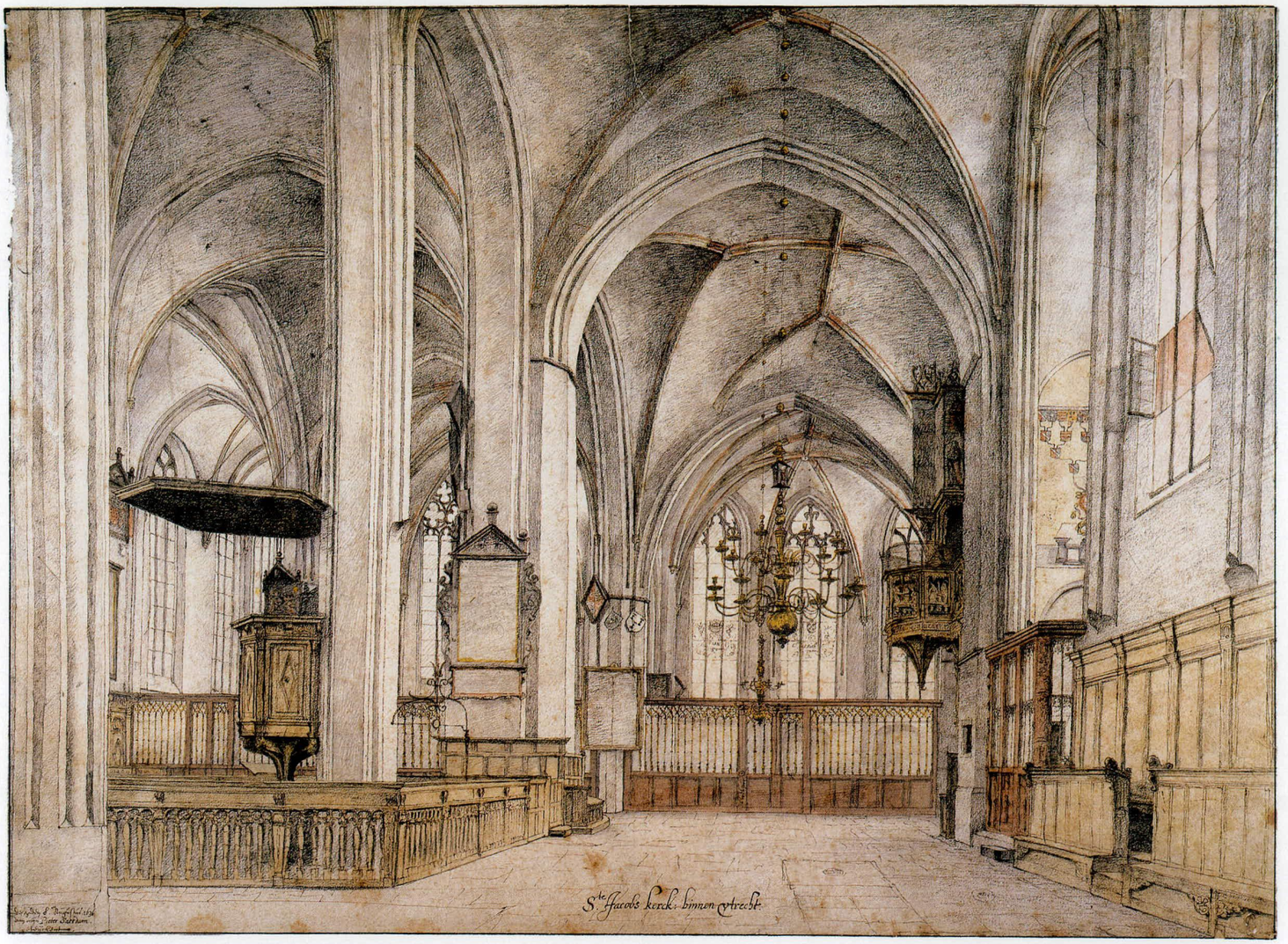
Inscriptions
Recto lower middle (on choir screen, below the vanishing point): 6 voet hoog (6 feet high)
Recto (in the choir windows in the background): S IAN (and) S. Piet.r
Recto (in the board on the third pier on the left, just legible): [...] altaer plaets[..]
Verso lower right: (1977) (pencil)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 79, p. 28; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 79, pp. 27-28; Haarlem 1961, cat. no. 62, p. 169; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1999-2000, cat. no. 96, pp. 247-248 and p. 75, ill. on p. 248.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 814, p. 77 and p. V; Van Riemsdijk 1882, pp. 19, 34, 54, 64 (note 1), 65, 71, 79, ill. facing p. 68; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 15, fig. 23; Weissman 1912, p. 175, fig. 68; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 112, pp. 101-102, fig. 174; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 137, pp. 197-198, fig. 138; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 137, pp. 197-198, fig. 138; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 195; Haakma Wagenaar [1971](b), p. 58; Haakma Wagenaar [1973], pp. 36, 37, 39; W. Haakma Wagenaar 1976, p. 7; Anonymous 1977, pp. 25, 26, ill. on p. 10; Graafhuis and Kool 1977, n. p., ill.; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](a), pp. 47, 57; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](b), pp. 65, 69, 71, 74, 76, 77, fig. 34; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(c), pp. 5, 11, 17; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(d), pp. 1, 6, 9, 11, 14, fig. 1; Wilmer 1980, pp. 9, 46, ill.; Ruurs 1982, p. 119 (note 26); Brouwer 1985, p. 18, fig. 16; Ruurs 1987, p. 107 (note 89); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 137, p. 277 and pp. 158, 166, fig. 178; Vente 1989, pp. 16, 248, 346, fig. 34; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 137, p. 279 and pp. 156, 158, fig. 178; Pegel 1992, ill. on p. 83; Bangs 1997, pp. 13, 204 (note 7:5); Van Bueren 1998, col. 177-178; Van Zanten 1999(b), p. 82.

Notes
1
An earlier vanishing point – later suppressed – is visible on the right door, vertically under the top of the arch over the choir screen,. Measurements in the church, both of this choir screen and of the surviving fragments of the baptistery rail, give an actual height of under 1.50 metres, or less than 5½ feet. Saenredam slightly overestimated the height of the screen. Perhaps he measured the height of the parapet once on the middle choir screen, where it is app. 20 cm higher. This difference, however, is not evident in the drawings.
2
Van Riemsdijk 1882, pp. 68 ff.
3
Van Riemsdijk 1882, p. 54; Vente 1989, pp. 189, 223-224, 247-248.


S.te Jacobs kerck binnen vtrecht

aisle as well as the large chandelier shown here and probably the 16th-century bench against the wall.[6]
Hanging one pier further east is the large 'Law Board' on which the Ten Commandments are written, and which is now in the north aisle of the church.
The other boards are memorials with coats of arms, mostly depicted so sketchily that only a few can be identified. The one furthest to the left, partly intersected by the pulpit's canopy, displays the arms of the Van Isselt family; the two shields above the Law Board bear the arms of (Claes) van Zijl. The graves and memorials of both families were also documented by Buchelius.[7]
The windows in the Holy Cross Choir are identifiable as gifts (c. 1600) by the Utrecht chapters. The middle window has crossed keys in the arms with 'S. Piet.r' (St Peter) below, and the left window a dish with the head of John the Baptist with 'S IAN' (St John) below it. The arms in the right window, given by the St Mary's chapter, are concealed behind the organ gallery. Barely visible here, the windows of the High Choir were given by the Dom and Oudmunster chapters and by the States of Utrecht; that of the States is still present.[8]

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4
Utrecht 1999-2000, cat. no. 96, pp. 247-248.
5
Van Riemsdijk 1882, pp. 34-35. Now in the Centraal Museum, inv. no. 2476A and B. The panel painted with biblical texts originally formed the outside of one of the doors of the altar of the Lightermen's Guild. See Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 757, pp. 1615-1619.
6
Van Riemsdijk 1882, p. 34; according to Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 15, no. 23, this was originally the bench of the custodians of parish charity ('Potmeesters'). The triangular decoration of the chandelier is now in the Centraal Museum Utrecht; Utrecht 1928, cat. no. 1445, p. 229; Utrecht 1997, cat. no. 352, p. 579.
7
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 98r and 100r (Van Isselt), f. 99r (Van Zijl).
8
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 97r; Van Riemsdijk 1882, pp. 78-79; Utrecht 1928, cat. no. 1459, pp. 231-232.

42 View through the choirs of the St Jacobskerk in Utrecht from south to north

12 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
368 x 241 mm.
Recto lower middle: S.te Jacobs kerck. // binnen uijttrecht

Recto lower right: (partly cut off) den 12.en August[....] // tjaer 1636 // P:r Saenredam
(The 12th of August [in] the year 1636, Pieter Saenredam)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Jb 3.1.1.

From the southwest corner of the Holy Cross Choir Saenredam looked straight through the high choir to the Our Lady Choir, with the transept to the left and in the foreground the same choir screen that he had drawn four days earlier from the other side (see cat. no. 41). He indicated the vanishing point on the north wall of the Our Lady Choir, at about the height of the parapet of the screen and a little above the base of the piers, that is between 1.15 and 1.20 metres above the floor.
In contrast to the previous drawing, here the proportions are too vertical, partly because of the sheet's upright format. The piers and arches are so slender that one would never suspect that an entire window is hidden behind the furthest freestanding pier in the Our Lady Choir. In the painting done after this drawing in 1642 (cat. no. 43), the proportions are only partly corrected.

This is the first drawing in Saenredam's Utrecht oeuvre to be done in a choir and it clearly reveals the effects of the Reformation. Previously, the focal point of the church had been the High Choir, where the high altar stood until 1579 (in front of the dark niche on the right); the other choirs formerly contained the altars of the St James and Holy Cross brotherhoods. The three choirs were separated by screens and benches and were richly furnished. In Saenredam's time this had become an open and empty space, seemingly used only for burials. A few years earlier it still had a role in the Reformed liturgy – four times a year Communion was celebrated here. But in 1634 the celebration of Communion was moved to the transept, in front of the choir.[1]
The emptiness of this part of the church, and its use for burials, are accentuated in the drawing. The stained-glass windows, such as those on the right with the arms of the Dom and of the States of Utrecht, are not shown, whereas the gravestones in the floor are, albeit sketchily. Saenredam paid great attention to the memorials. Only a few of the coats of arms can be identified, including one in the shield on the pier on the left (Van Zijl), which is also found in the drawing of 8 August (cat. no. 41). The numbers 1 to 6 beside them (from left to right) indicate that Saenredam also made separate detail drawings, in order to correctly depict their shape and heraldic colours in the painting of 1642. Since the detail drawings are lost, the identification of these arms is based solely on Buchelius's *Monumenta* and other historical sources; they will be discussed in the entry on the painting.

AdG

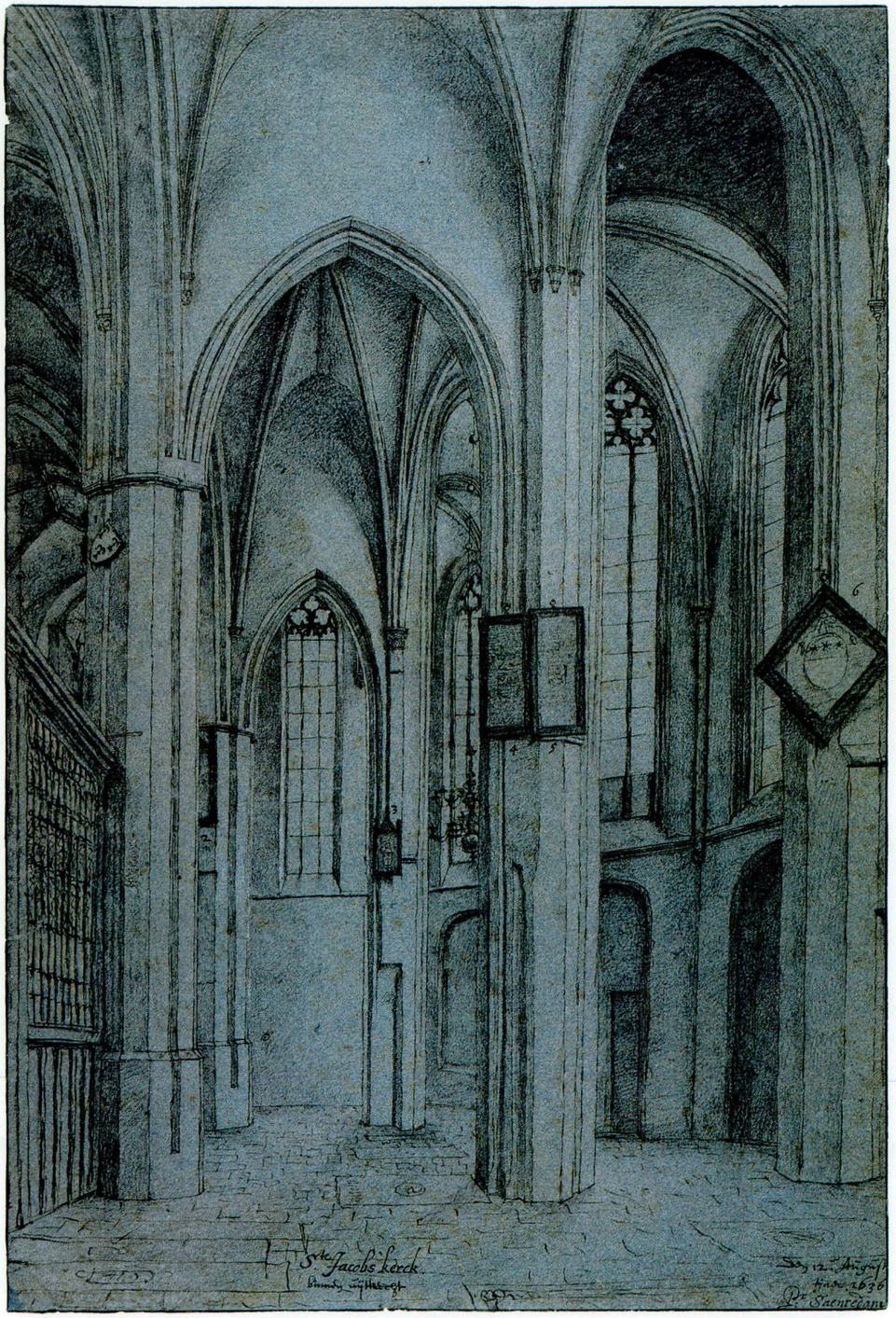
Inscriptions
Recto (beside the escutcheons from left to right the numbers): 1 2 3 4 5 6
Verso lower left: no. 970 (pen and brown ink)
Verso lower right: 1982 / 1173 (pencil)

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 78, p. 27, fig. XXVII; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 78, p. 27, fig. XXVII; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 43, p. 23, fig. 36.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 16, fig. 24; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1173, p. 133; Vermeulen 1920, pp. 190, 194; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 113, p. 102 and p. 65, fig. 172; Munich 1936, p. 235; Munich 1957(b), p. 43; Brinkgreve 1960, pp. 40-41, fig. 15; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 135, p. 195, fig. 136; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 135, p. 195, fig. 136; Munich 1967(b), pp. 78-79; Haakma Wagenaar [1971](b), p. 58; Haakma Wagenaar [1973], pp. 36, 37, 39; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](a), p. 47; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](b), pp. 65, 69, 71, 74, fig. 36; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(c), pp. 5, 17; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(d), pp. 1, 9, fig. 3; Munich 1983, p. 482; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 135, p. 277 and pp. 156, 166, fig. 176; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 135, p. 279 and p. 156, fig. 176.

Note
1
HUA, Kerkeraad Ned. Herv. Gemeente, inv. no. 4, f. 49v-50r, Church Council Resolution, 27 February 1634.


Sᵗᵉ Jacobs kerck
Den 12. August
Haec 1636
Pᵗ Saenredam

43 The choir of the St Jacobskerk in Utrecht

1642

Panel, 55.3 x 45.7 cm.
Recto (on the left escutcheon on the pier in the middle): Pieter Sardam // int Jaer 1642.[1]
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Alte Pinakothek),
inv. no. 6622.

Of Saenredam's three extant drawings of the St Jacobskerk – all showing the interior – it was the second, of 12 August (cat. no. 42) which formed the basis for *The choir of the St Jacobskerk* painted six years later. In the painting, Saenredam somewhat corrected the proportions, which were too vertical in the drawing. The piers are thicker, the arches less narrow and high, and the floor slopes less steeply than in the drawing. Otherwise the painting largely corresponds with the drawing. One hardly notices that the chandelier, which is half visible behind the middle pier in the drawing, is absent in the painting.
The main difference has to do with the treatment of the hatchments. In the drawing they are numbered from 1 to 6 from left to right and only roughly indicated, whereas in the painting they have the correct heraldic colours and information. Saenredam must have painted them after his own now lost detail drawings.
The first coat of arms on the board at the far left, which is also clearly visible in the drawing of the south aisle of 8 August, has not previously been identified. It turns out to be that of (Claes) van Zijl.[2] The second coat of arms from the left, more than half hidden in the drawing behind a pier, is suppressed in the painting. The third was always thought to represent the arms of the Van Quellenborg family, but in fact are those of Johan Canter (d. 5 September 1629).[3] On the two escutcheons hanging side by side on the pier is written 'obiit quarta decem[...] 1628' and 'D.O.M. obiit 19. Junij 1631'. They are in memory of Cornelis van Bijlert (d. 4 December 1628) and Pieter van Merenborch (d. 19 June 1631).[4] In one document Van Bijlert is described as 'innocent', which means that he was mentally handicapped.[5]
Saenredam signed the painting on his escutcheon. The last coat of arms, and the most recent, is that of Maria van Bijlert, who died on 27 January 1636. Saenredam again noted the date of death: 'obiit 27 januari // A° 1636'. It turns out that there was a close family connection between these three. Pieter van Merenborch was married to Wilhelmina van Bijlert, the cousin of Cornelis van Bijlert, who was the brother of Maria van Bijlert.[6]
Saenredam added a man in Oriental dress to what in the drawing is a deserted interior; he is accompanied by a dog and is looking at the Canter arms.[7]

The provenance of the painting can be traced back to the beginning of the 19th century. In 1803 *The choir of the St Jacobskerk* was in the collection of the last prince-bishop of Würzburg. Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok have suggested that it may have been acquired immediately after it was painted by Johann Philipp von Schönborn, who accepted the office of prince-bishop in 1642, the year in which Saenredam finished the work. However, given that from 1746 on members of other families also held this office, the painting could equally have entered the prince-bishop's collection by another route and at a later time.[8]
The earliest reference to the painting is in the catalogue of Schloss Würzburg of 1902. The signature – admittedly in part incorrect – and the date were noted, but it was nevertheless recorded as being by Anthony de Lorme (c. 1600/1610-1673).[9] In 1910 Hans Jantzen also included it in his study of Dutch architectural painting as a work by De Lorme.[10] The fact that De Lorme is sometimes referred to as the Saenredam of Rotterdam somewhat clarifies this attribution.[11] Swillens was the first to identify the

Inscriptions
Recto (on the left escutcheon on the pier in the middle): obiit quarta decem[...] 1628.
Recto (on the right escutcheon on the pier in the middle): D.O.M. // obiit 19. Junij // 1631.
Recto (on the escutcheon to the right): obiit 27. januari // A° 1636.

Provenance
Collection of the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg, Würzburg (1803); property of the State of Bavaria through secularisation (1803); Gemäldegalerie K. Schloss, Würzburg (1902-1933); transferred to the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1933

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 21, p. 13 and p. 27 (under cat. no. 78), fig. III; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 21, p. 13 and p. 27 (under cat. no. 78), fig. III; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 188, p. 85, fig. 6; Milan 1954, cat. no. 140, p. 62, fig. 6; Rome 1954, cat. no. 137, p. 79, fig. 8.

Literature
Würzburg 1902, cat. no. 67, p. 12; Jantzen 1910, p. 163 (no. 230); Swillens 1935, cat. no. 157, p. 114 and p. 102 (under cat. no. 113), fig. 173; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Munich 1936, inv. no. 6622, p. 235; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 463; Perocco 1954, ill. on p. 148; Munich 1957(b), inv. no. 6622, p. 92, fig. 189; London 1960, p. 380; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 134, pp. 193-195, fig. 135; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 134, pp. 194-195, fig. 135; Munich 1962, p. 23, fig. 21; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Munich 1967(b), inv. no. 6622, pp. 78-79 and p. 10, fig. 46; *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon* 1964-1971, vol. 5 (1968), pp. 198-199, ill. on p. 198 (H. Roosen-Runge); Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 52); Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 410a); Helmond/Amersfoort 1982, p. 36, ill.; Munich 1983, pp. 481-482, ill.; Elkins 1988, p. 273 (note 16); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 134, p. 277 and pp. 149, 166, 174, 297, 319 (note 45), fig. 177; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 134, p. 279 and pp. 147, 156, 166, 173, 305, 329 (note 45), fig. 177; London 1991, vol. 1, p. 407; Munich 1998, p. 547, ill.

Notes
1
Munich 1983, p. 481 has a drawing of the signature.
2
Identification by Arie de Groot, see cat. no. 41 (note 7).
3
See among others Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 194 and Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 150-166. Identification of the arms of Johan Canter by Arie de Groot. See Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 100 r; overluidingen Dom 7 September 1629; Burial Register, 28 September 1629. According to Munich 1967, p. 78, the year 1627 is written next to the arms attributed to the Van Quellenborg family.



painting as a Saenredam in his oeuvre catalogue. He linked it to the drawing on which it is based and identified the interior as that of the St Jacobskerk in Utrecht.[12]

LMH

4
According to Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 156, he died on 17 June; the inscription however says 19 June.
5
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 329 (note 45).
6
On the family relationships see Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 156.
7
The figures are very likely original and resemble those in *The nave of the Buurkerk* in the collection of The National Gallery (cat. no. 40). London 1960, p. 380; London 1991, p. 407.
8
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 147.
9
'V. A. Sardam d. J. 1642' in Würzburg 1902, cat. no. 67, p. 12.
10
Jantzen 1910, no. 230 on p. 164. In the reprint Jantzen 1979, cat. no. 410a, p. 233, the painting is indeed identified as by Pieter Saenredam.
11
See Jeroen Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 241.
12
Swillens 1935, cat. no. 157, p. 114. In the same year W. Stechow also included the painting in Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307, as by Saenredam.

44 View through the transept of the St Jacobskerk in Utrecht, from north to south

14 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk, traces of brush and watercolour (red and yellow).
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
271 x 420 mm.

Recto left (on board with text): S.te Jacobs // kerck, // binnen // uijtrecht. // Pieter Saerdam
Recto middle (on south wall): den 14.en august(us) // int Jaer 1636.
Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. H 182.

Two days after drawing the view through the choirs from south to north (cat. no. 42), Saenredam drew this view through the transept from north to south as a pendant, with the choirs and the three choir screens (now seen from the front) on the left, and part of the nave on the right. The vanishing point on the south wall is about the same height above the floor as in the previous drawing. The proportions are fairly accurate. However, the part of the nave on the right, beginning at the two western piers of the crossing, is compressed to about two thirds of the actual size, making the piers alarmingly thin.
The furniture seen in the drawing of 8 August (cat. no. 41) is missing in this right section. However, two chandeliers not seen in that drawing are included here, as are the screens of St Nicholas' Chapel on the right in the background, and St Andrew's Chapel, visible between the two piers of the crossing. The pier furthest away bears an escutcheon with three crowns, probably the arms of the Van Lanscroon family.[1]
Two chandeliers hang in the transept. Its floor consists of many small square tombstones and a few large rectangular ones, which is still characteristic of the church today. The far one is also seen in the drawing of 8 August. The Our Lady organ, shown there from the side, is here depicted frontally, so that the painting on the front is visible; it is an Annunciation, with the angel Gabriel on the left door and the Virgin on the right. Obliquely below the organ is the barred window of the cell of the hermit Alyt Ponciaens.
Saenredam lavished great attention on the choir screens, effectively portraying the difference in style between the Renaissance middle screen and the Late Gothic screens on either side. On the southern pier of the choir hangs the 'Law Board' with the Ten Commandments (see cat. no. 41); on the northern pier, just in front, is a second text board serving as a pendant, which Saenredam used for his own inscription and signature.
This board is probably identical to the one with the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:1-12), which is still in the church, since in size, lettering and content it completely matches the also preserved Law Board.[2]
The memorials on the piers of the choir, several of which recur in the other drawings, are too sketchily depicted to be identified. Only one of the stained-glass windows is shown, a Renaissance window in the Holy Cross Choir. It is probably identical to one that Bartholomeus van Weede and his wife presented to the St Jacobskerk around 1600, which is described by Buchelius.[3]

AdG

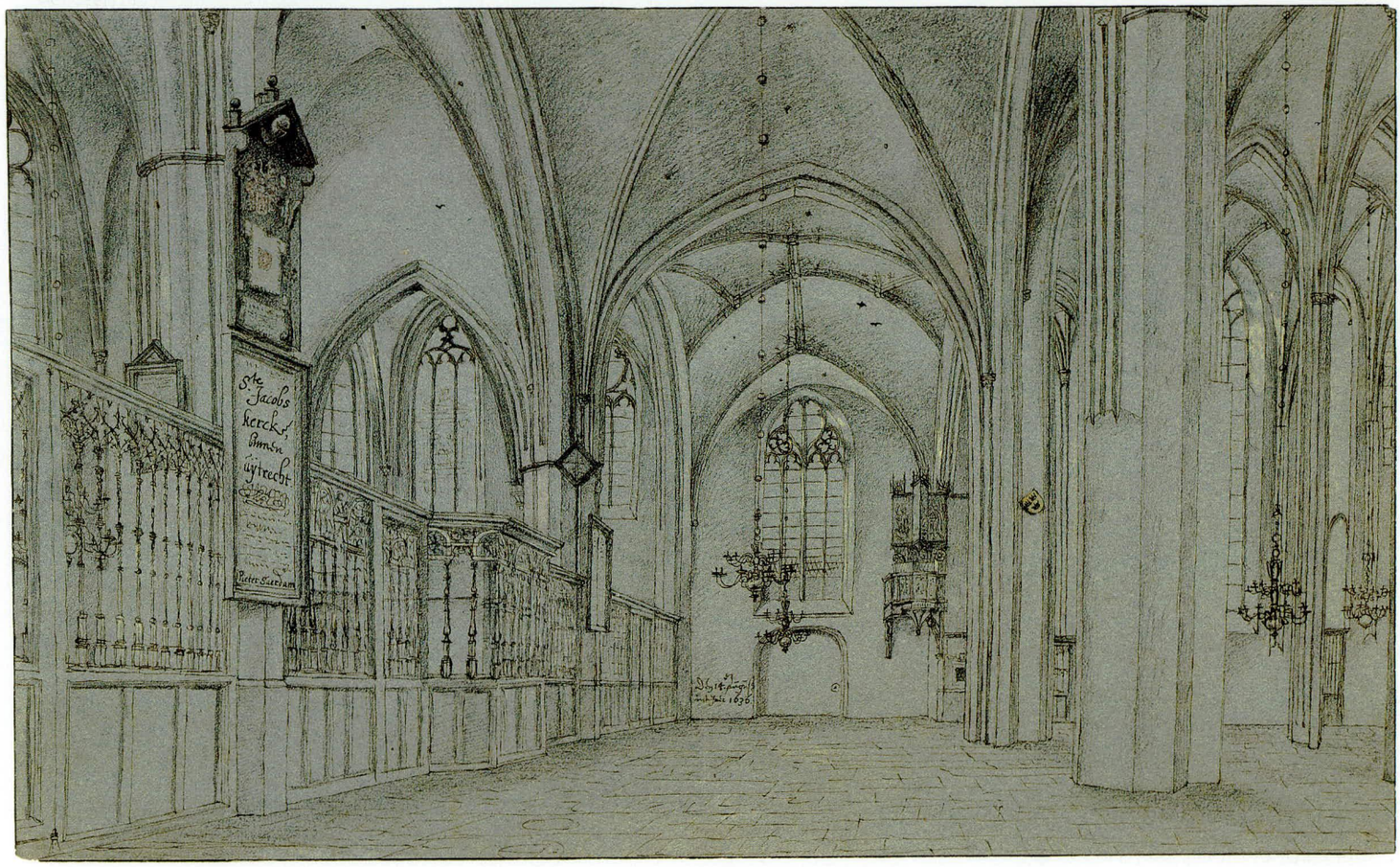
Inscriptions
Verso lower left: No 969(?) (pen and brown ink)

Provenance
Six collection, Amsterdam (1928); sale Frederik Muller, Amsterdam 16-18 October 1928, no. 453 (to art dealer Beets); F. Koenigs collection, Haarlem (1928-1940); lent by F. Koenigs to Museum Boymans (1935-1940); D. G. van Beuningen collection (1940-1941); lent by D. G. van Beuningen (1940-1941); given by D. G. van Beuningen to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1941

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1934, cat. no. 63, p. 13, fig. XXII; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 77, p. 27; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 77, p. 27; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Prague 1966, cat. no. 75, p. 37; Paris 1970, cat. no. 42, p. 23, fig. 42; Tokyo/Kyoto 1968-1969, cat. no. 119, n. p., ill.; Rotterdam 1999 (no cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 16, fig. 24x (addendum); Utrecht 1907, p. 133; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 114, p. 102, fig. 175; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 136, p. 196, fig. 137; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 136, pp. 196-197, fig. 137; Haakma Wagenaar [1971](b), pp. 55, 58, ill. on p. 54; Haakma Wagenaar [1973], pp. 36, 37, 39; Giltaij 1977, p. 27, fig. 2; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](a), p. 57; Haakma Wagenaar [1977](b), pp. 65, 69, 71, 78, fig. 35; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(c), pp. 11, 17; Haakma Wagenaar 1977(d), pp. 1, 6, 9, 11, fig. 2; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 136, p. 277 and pp. 158, 166, fig. 179; Vente 1989, pp. 16, 248, 346; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 136, p. 279 and pp. 156, 158, fig. 179; Van Zanten 1999(b), p. 82 (note 211).

Notes
1
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 98r, gives the shield and gravestone with these arms, though without a name; on f. 96v the same arms with crest on a memorial is given to Adriaan van Lanscroon, d. 12 September 1624 (old style).
2
Also pendants are two other, still present boards relating to Communion. All these boards with text must date from shortly after the Reformation; at least one is an overpainted memorial. Utrecht 1999-2000, pp. 112-113, figs. 100-102.
3
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 97r; Van Riemsdijk 1882, p. 80.


Ste Jacobs
kercks
binnen
uytrecht
Pieter Saerdam

45 The nave of the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht seen to the west

22 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, brush and grey ink, brush and watercolour (red, yellow, brown, green, blue) (black chalk stumped with yellow and blue watercolour) (sporadic traces of graphite).
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Watermark: fleur-de-lis in a crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 297).

383 x 522 mm.
Recto lower middle: S:te Pieters kerck: binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower right (on plinth of column base): den 22.en Augustus 1636 // bij mij Pieter Saenredam (22 August 1636, by me Pieter Saenredam)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ib 4.3.

This drawing presents the view looking down the 11th-century nave of the St Pieterskerk towards the Late Gothic organ. The organ stands in the Romanesque west gallery, which is wedged between the church's two west towers. The notorious hurricane of 1674 destroyed the whole of this western section, including the organ.
The proportions and perspective are fairly correct, although the view of the south aisle is in linear perspective at the top and bottom and in oblique perspective in between. Evident on the right side, moreover, is an effect of curvilinear perspective: the columns and arches there are depicted as being further away – i.e. smaller – than their counterparts on the left side, although they stand two by two at the same distance from the (flat) picture plane.
The 'eye' is under the left arch of the gallery, at the indicated height of 5½ feet (= over 1.50 m). Given that Saenredam was in the habit of sitting while he drew, certainly with such a carefully finished sheet as this one, this height suggests that he sat not on a low stool but in a higher pew. This is even more evident in the following drawing (cat. no. 47).

In Saenredam's day the St Pieterskerk was used by the English-speaking Reformed congregation. However, here nothing is to be seen of the pulpit and pews in the church; only furnishings from before the Reformation are shown.
The most eye-catching feature is the organ, originally built by Peter Gerritsz. between 1471 and 1475, but altered internally and externally in the 16th century.[1] At the left behind the organ can be seen the bellows chest.[2] According to entries in the accounts for 1471/1472 and 1472/1473, the shutters were painted by Gysbert van Heumen: eight scenes on the outside and, here visible, four on the inside.[3] The large upper doors show the Calling of the disciples Peter and Andrew on the left, and the Transfiguration of Christ (with Moses and Elijah) on Mount Tabor, with Peter, John and James in the foreground, on the right.
The lower doors present, in addition to a pattern of gold stars on a red ground, Christ appearing (as a gardener, on the left) to Mary Magdalene in the garden of Gethsemane (on the right).

The board with text and the cannonball hanging under it, attached to the arch over the organ in 1577 or 1578, commemorate the Iconoclastic Fury in Utrecht on 24 to 26 August 1566 (in which, in fact, the St Pieterskerk was spared), and the battle for Vredenburg Castle in December 1576, during which this cannonball struck the church and passed straight through the organ.[4] The Latin lines of verse are translated as follows:[5] '24 August (1566) Hear, posterity, this organ which was silent because of furious desecration; the jealous Spaniard damaged it from Vredenburg with this projectile. 24 December (1577[6]).'
In 1586, when English troops were quartered in the church, the chapter took the precaution of having the organ disassembled and stored with one of the canons; it was put back in place in 1594/1595.[7]

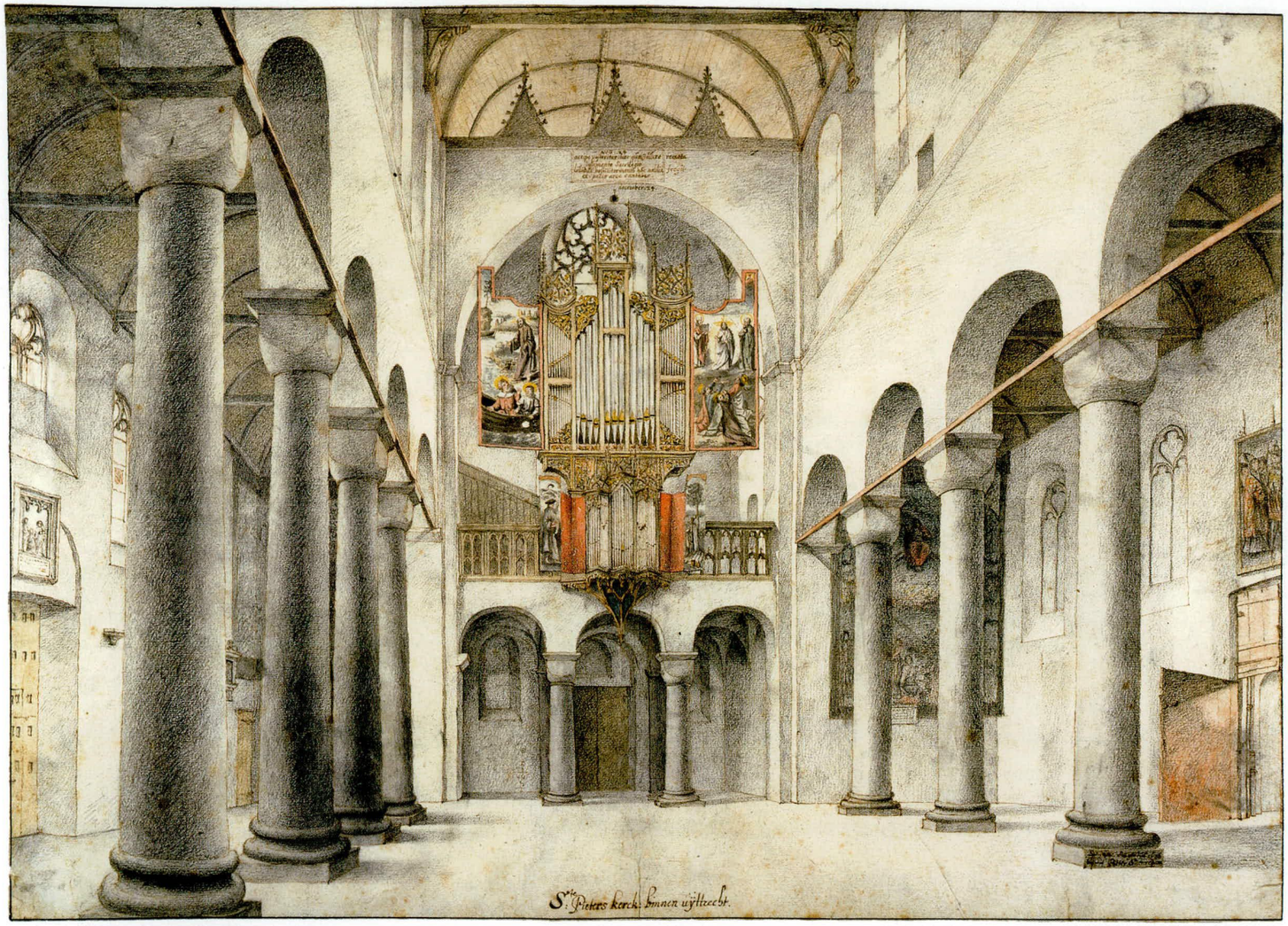
Inscriptions
Recto (below the organ gallery, below the vanishing point): 5½ voet (5½ feet)
Recto (on the text board above the organ): AUG: 24 // accipe posteritas: haec quae Jacuere remota // insaniente Sacrilegio // lividus hostili tormento hoc nablia fregit // ex pacis arce cantaber. // december. 24.
Verso lower left: No 765 (?) (pen and brown ink)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 66, p. 25, fig. XXV; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 66, p. 25, fig. XXV; Dordrecht 1957, cat. no. 124, p. 24, fig. 15 (ill. incorrect); Utrecht/Louvain 1959, cat. no. 40, pp. 80-81; Haarlem 1961, cat. no. 60, p. 168; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 19, p. 53; Utrecht 1974, cat. no. 26, p. 40, ill.; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 40, p. 59, ill.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 688, p. 67 and p. V; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 7-8, fig. 7; Peters [1909], vol. 2, pp. 41, 100, fig. 193; Weissman 1912, p. 31, fig. 5; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 116, pp. 102-103, fig. 154; Vente 1939, p. 116; Parijs 1952, p. 67; Van Akerlaken 1954, pp. 45, 60, 72, fig. 5 on p. 33; Vente 1958, p. 237, fig. 14; Temminck Groll 1959, col. 44, fig. 7; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 175, p. 236, fig. 175; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 175, p. 237, fig. 175; Rotterdam 1962, p. 124; Vallery-Radot 1962, p. 371, ill. on p. 370; Vente 1966, ill. cols. 1189-1190; Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 77 (note 16); Struick 1968, ill. on p. 38; Anonymous [1973], n. p., ill.; Kluyver 1975, p. 121, fig. 16; Vente 1975, p. 27; Utrecht 1975-1976(b), cat. no. 3, ill. on p. 2; Kubach and Verbeek 1976, vol. 3, fig. 561, no. 1; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 19; Ruurs 1982, p. 119 (note 26); Temminck Groll 1982, p. 81; Brouwer 1985, p. 6, fig. 3; Keyl 1986, pp. 51, 67-70, fig. 7; Ruurs 1987, p. 107 (note 89); Temminck Groll 1988, p. 20, fig. 18; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 175, p. 283 and pp. 160, 167, 201, fig. 181; Vente 1989, pp. 131, 245; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 175, p. 286 and pp. 160, 166, 201, fig. 181; Hoekstra 1993, p. 25, ill. on p. 11; Bangs 1997, p. 84; Looyenga 1999, pp. 12-13, fig. 31; Van Zanten 1999(a), pp. 32-33, fig. 31.

Notes
1
Vente 1989, pp. 194, 196 ff.; Looyenga 1999, pp. 12-13. The dates on the organ given in the literature vary considerably. The attribution to Peter Gerritsz. with later alterations is the most plausible.
2
Cf. Keyl 1986, p. 70, who believes that this cannot be the bellows chest; however, I do not find his arguments conclusive.


S.te Pieters kerck: binnen uÿttrecht.

The end walls of the aisles on each side of the west gallery are for the most part covered by black-edged wall paintings that continue around the corner. The northern one shows a Last Judgment, with a memorial beneath it (Vicar Otto van Snellenberch, d. 1464);[8] only a small part of the southern one is visible and all details are omitted. According to Buchelius, what was shown here was 'Mary Magdalene, or St Mary of Egypt, as she lived in the desert and after her death was borne up to heaven by angels.'[9] All this has now disappeared, as has the painting over the north entrance, on the far right, which depicts a bishop and other standing figures and is obviously the left part of a memorial or altarpiece.
The stone memorial above the south entrance on the left is still present, but without the carved figures; it is in memory of Petrus Bloem (d. 1415). The memorial further down the south aisle is that of Canon Simon van Ostende (d. 1449); the upper part was later hacked away.

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3
Vlam and Vente 1965-1980, vol. 2 (1971), p. 204; Vente 1989, p. 131; Keyl 1986, p. 69; Van Zanten 1999(a), pp. 32-33; Van Zanten 1999(b), pp. 80-82.
4
Items in the accounts from 1577/1578 for repairing the instrument and the doors in Vlam and Vente 1965-1980, vol. 2 (1971), pp. 213-214. On the placing of the board and cannonball: Temminck Groll 1982, p. 112 (note 69).
5
This translation differs from that of Van Akerlaken 1954, p. 72 (included in Utrecht 1974, cat. no. 84, p. 88) and that of Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 175, p. 286. There are various readings of the Latin. Saenredam's version is more reliable than Buchelius' (*Diarium*, ed. 1907, p. 68). However, the most persuasive version is given by Herman Saftleven in his drawing of the collapsed west end in 1674 (HUA, TA Ib 3.4). For 'jacuere' (they are broken, collapsed), he reads 'tacuere' (they have kept silent), which for an organ seems more appropriate. Moreover, the red capitals (including a V mistakenly not coloured red) in the first two lines of the chronogram give 1566 when added up, whereas with 'jacuere' it would be 1567. The ingenious theory put forward by Schwartz 1966-1967, p. 77 (note 16), that the Latin text did not actually exist, but was invented by Buchelius for Saenredam's drawing, has proved untenable.
6
Adding up the letters Saftleven coloured red in the last two lines yields 1577.
The bombardment took place in the last days of 1576, but at that time it was still customary to have the new year begin at Christmas.
7
Vlam and Vente 1971, vol. 2, pp. 214-215; Vente 1989, p. 245.
8
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 37r.
9
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 39r.

46 The nave of the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht

1644

Panel, 59 x 111 cm.
Recto middle left: pieter saenredam heeft dit geschildert int Jaer 1644 de ste pieters kerck // binnen utrecht. (Pieter Saenredam painted this in the year 1644, St Pieterskerk, in Utrecht.)

Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 2524.

Three drawings of the interior of the St Pieterskerk by Pieter Saenredam are known. *The nave of the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht* is based on the first, the drawing dating from 22 August 1636 (cat. no. 45). In his only other painted interior Saenredam took considerable liberties as compared with the preparatory study (see cat. no. 48), but this painting relies by and large on the drawing. He changed the cushion capitals in the nave into Tuscan ones, and left out the tie rods as well as the board with text and the cannonball hanging below it above the organ. Also missing from the painting is the memorial tablet, part of which is just visible in the drawing behind the column in the front. Otherwise the architectural details and the furnishings are identical.
The most conspicuous difference lies in the relation of height and width. The painting is much lower and broader than the drawing. The passageway on the right with the open door and the painting above it is depicted almost entirely, while in the drawing only a strip can be seen. On the other hand, the capital of the column in the left foreground of the drawing is completely visible, whereas in the painting it is cut off. The result is unusual in Saenredam's oeuvre because of its breadth. Indeed, whether the format is original is open to doubt.

In 1979-1980 the painting was thoroughly examined by a student work group directed by Ernst van de Wetering. The X-radiographs yielded especially interesting results.[1] The support was made from two horizontal oak planks joined by dowels. X-radiography shows that there are dowels sawn in half all along the top edge of the panel. This indicates that the panel probably originally consisted of three planks, and therefore would have been higher than it is now. The joint was probably made later. Numerous nail holes are visible along the bottom and side edges, which suggested that the planks might have come from a cupboard.
The width of the panel appears to be original. Both side edges are bevelled in the traditional manner.

At the time of the examination the painting had been in the collection of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam for a little over 20 years. It had been shown at exhibitions on two occasions. The first was in 1952, when highlights from D. G. van Beuningen's collection were displayed at the Petit Palais in Paris, and the second in 1961 at the major Saenredam retrospective at the Centraal Museum in Utrecht.[2] A handwritten note in the Centraal Museum's copy of the Paris catalogue put us on the trail of an extensive correspondence that took place in 1948-1949 between Mrs C. H. de Jonge, the director of the museum, and Charles Redelé of Dordrecht, who acted as an intermediary for the Swedish owner of the painting, E. A. Sundblom. The archives also contain copies of letters from Redelé to the Rijksmuseum.[3]
Redelé first writes to the Rijksmuseum, asking if it can identify the church depicted. The history curator, R. van Luttervelt, replies. He considers the painting, which he identifies through a comparison with the drawing as the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht, to be an interesting case. It is unknown and not included in Swillens's oeuvre catalogue of 1935. In his reply Redelé describes how the owner obtained the work: 'Some time ago he bought an antique desk. When it was restored it was found that the back, consisting of a wooden panel,

Provenance
E. A. Sundblom collection, Stockholm (1948); art dealer Neseker, Amsterdam (1951); art dealer Krijnen, place unknown (1951-1952); D. G. van Beuningen collection, Vierhouten (1952-1958); purchased from D. G. van Beuningen, 1958

Exhibitions
Paris 1952, cat. no. 118, p. 67; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Van Braam [1958], no. 4630, p. 400; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 174, pp. 235-236, fig. 174; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 174, p. 236, fig. 174; Rotterdam 1962, inv. no. 2524, p. 124; Vallery-Radot 1962, p. 371; Foucart 1965, under section 21, n. p.; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 52); Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 411a); Wright 1980, p. 401; Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3); Keyl 1986, pp. 67-70, 72, fig. 6; Jansen 1987, p. 20, fig. 14; Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 8; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 174, p. 283 and pp. 160, 167, 232, 298, 322 (note 25), fig. 212; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 174, p. 286 and pp. 160, 166, 232, 307, 332 (note 25), fig. 212; Van Asperen de Boer 2000, pp. 9, 10; Boersma 2000, pp. 62, 64 (note 5), fig. 8.

Notes
1
The research was undertaken by students of the 'Technical Aspects' work group of the University of Amsterdam directed by Ernst van de Wetering in 1979-1980. See the report on the results of the study in the documentation of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam.
2
Paris 1952 and Utrecht 1961.
3
The correspondence from these years is kept in HUA, Archief Centraal Museum, archive no. 419.
4
HUA, Archief Centraal Museum, archive no. 419, inv. no. 59. Copies of the letters to and from the Rijksmuseum dated 18 June 1948; 26 June 1948; 29 June 1948; 10 August 1948; 9 September 1948. The first letter from C. H. de Jonge to Charles Redelé is dated 8 October 1948, letter no. 2141.
5
See the letter from C. H. de Jonge to Redelé dated 8 October 1948. HUA, Archief Centraal Museum, archive no. 419, inv. no. 59, letter no. 2141.
6
HUA, Archief Centraal Museum, archive no. 419, inv. no. 57, letter no. 2328, dated 2 December 1948; letter no. 3127, dated 7 December 1948 and letter no. 1507, dated 23 May 1949.
7
HUA, Archief Centraal Museum, archive no. 419, inv. no. 64, letter no. 1587, dated 20 June 1949.
8
HUA, Archief Centraal Museum, archive no. 419, inv. no. 64, letter no. 2920.



was painted on the inside. This was the painting, a photograph of which we sent to you [...]'. From subsequent letters it becomes apparent that the owner is prepared to sell the painting and that Van Luttervelt refers him to the Centraal Museum in Utrecht.
On 7 October 1948, on her return from leave, C. H. de Jonge receives copies of the letters of A .E. F. van Schendel, at the time curator of paintings at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.[4] The next day she writes as follows to Redelé. 'What you say about the origins of the painting, that it was discovered as the back panel of an "antique desk", leads me to fear that the work will have been radically restored, since a good, intact painting would not be used to make a piece of furniture. This naturally has an adverse effect on the value. Nonetheless, in principle the Centraal Museum would be inclined to purchase the work, but before a decision can be made I would have to have an opportunity to study it here. One pays not only for the name of the artist and the quality of the work but also for its condition, and so a purchase could not be made on the basis of a photograph.[5] After a second request from De Jonge, the painting finally arrives in Utrecht in May 1949, i.e. more than six months later.[6] At the museum the work is subjected to a thorough examination, after which De Jonge presents her findings in a long letter to Sundblom. 'I am really sorry to have to tell you that the picture is almost totally repainted. One can see it easily. Most of the grains of the wood are primed anew and repainted afterwards. For instance, the shadows of the columns, especially on the left are entirely repainted. Of course this gives a fresh impression of the picture, but it is not genuine. In contrast with this fresh paint other parts have almost disappeared, for example, the picture with Christ's Resurrection and some figures, amongst them a bishop, above the entrance door to the right. Equally all the bright and genuine colours are gone on the precious organ, which is so marvellous in colour on the drawing. I will not continue this sad story about a picture that once must have been rather beautiful, though it never have [sic] matched the drawing from which it is more or less a copy. [...] Though the general impression of the picture is such that one thinks to find a marvellous Saenredam, the real state of the picture is poor, as was to be feared after its discovery; so its artistic value is considerably small; there rests only a certain historical value.'[7] She offers 5,000 guilders but receives no response. Sundblom wants to have the painting back to re-examine it himself.[8] Three years later D. G. van Beuningen buys *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* from a dealer for ten times as much.[9]

All this explains a great deal. The painting does, indeed, turn out to have been part of a piece of furniture, though a desk rather than a cupboard. This means that the panel probably was sawn down for this purpose. The original format of the painting would thus have been higher. It also explains the extremely negative description of the work in the catalogue published by the Centraal Museum in 1961 to accompany its Saenredam exhibition: 'It must, however, immediately be mentioned that the central part of this panel has been restored in such a way, with drawing no. 175 as example, that it should be considered as practically new while only the sides were left in their original state.'[10] In a 1984 report in connection with a planned restoration Peter Hermesdorf observed that while the panel was worn, its general condition seemed to him very reasonable.[11] Specifically, the presence of the gilding on the organ was no reason to assume that the central section in particular had been radically restored. It is all too easy to accuse De Jonge of making an incorrect assessment, perhaps in the hope of forcing the price down. After its discovery in 1948 the painting was no doubt thoroughly restored, with far more areas being overpainted than was strictly necessary.

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9
See the purchases book of D. G. van Beuningen in the documentation of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. With thanks to Jeroen Giltaij.
10
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 174, p. 236. In the Rotterdam collection catalogue of 1962 it is also stated that the painting has been thoroughly restored in some places. See Rotterdam 1962, inv. no. 2524, p. 124.
11
Report by p. Hermesdorf dated 2 November 1984 in the documentation of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam. He restored the painting in 1986. See also Jansen 1987, p. 20.

47 The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht seen to the east

27 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, red chalk, white chalk, brush and green and yellow watercolour.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
280 x 384 mm.

Recto middle (on the wall in front of the choir): Ste Pieters kerck, Binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower left (on plinth of column base): Pr Saenredam.
Recto upper right (partly cut off): int Jaer 1636 // den 27.^{en} august.[..] (In the year 1636, on 27 August [..])
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ib 4.2.

From a position several metres in front of the organ Saenredam drew this view of the Romanesque nave and the transept separated from it by a wall and partition, looking towards the choir, which was Gothicised around 1300. At the far left is the door to St Petronilla's Chapel; to the right of the choir, above the wall, is a narrow view of the Dean's Chapel.
The height of the 'eye' is given as 5½ feet, the same as in the drawing of 22 August (cat. no. 45). From this, and from Saenredam's position in front of the organ rather than below it by the first column in the nave, it is clear that he was again working while seated in a pew. Apart from minor shifts, he only changed his position once. He must have moved back at an angle from his original position, because the views of the south aisle on the right are seen from a vantage point slightly further back and higher.[1]
The perspective and proportions are less meticulous than in the drawing of 22 August. The difference in size between the columns on the left and those on the right is considerably accentuated here as the result of curvilinear perspective – the nave is too low and too wide. Consequently, the round arch before the transept is flatter, and the perspective lines of the right wall of the nave are far less steep than they should be. As a result, the whole right side is smaller in scale than the rest of the interior.

Thanks to the compressed proportions, Saenredam was able to fit the entire wall painting below the nave vault into his drawing. Together with the architecture, this painting is the chief subject of the sheet and it is depicted in colour. It shows Bishop Bernold as the founder of four churches, symbolised by the two church models he is holding and the two behind him: the St Pieterskerk, the St Janskerk and the church of the Abbey of St Paul, all in Utrecht, and the St Lebuïnuskerk in Deventer. Bernold is flanked by the apostles Peter (with key) and Andrew (with cross). The date 1490 above Bernold refers to the making of the wall painting, and the date 1603 to a restoration as part of general cleaning and whitewashing of the church in the summer of that year.[2] A drawing by Herman Saftleven reveals that the now lost painting was still intact at the time of the hurricane in 1674.[3]
Formerly at the position of the brick wall separating the crossing or Low Choir (which is over a metre higher), was a rood screen crowned by a crucifixion on the rood beam still visible in Saenredam's drawing. Bernold's grave was in the Low Choir, although it was no longer visible in 1636 – his sarcophagus was found during excavations in 1656. In the middle of the wall, in a straight line below the painting and in front of the grave behind it, was the board with the Latin verses on Bernold and the foundation of the St Pieterskerk, which now hangs in the north aisle. This board was hung in 1603 to replace an older one that had been ruined by troops quartered in the church.[4] Saenredam suppressed the board in this drawing, but included it in the sketch he did a day later from the south aisle (cat. no. 49).
The more easterly High Choir above the crypt was separated from the Low Choir by a wooden partition. Since the Reformation, the High Choir had been used for various secular purposes.

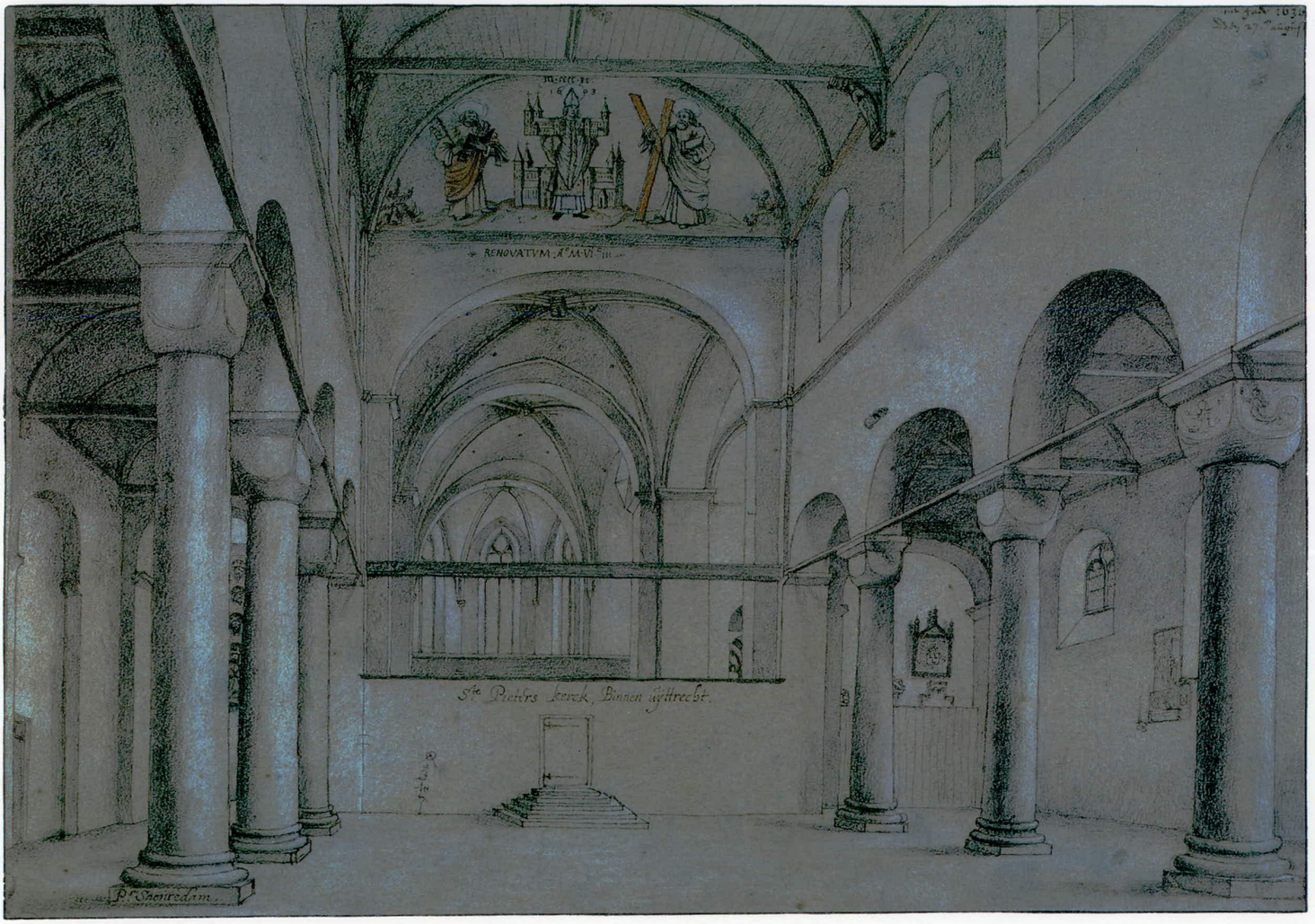
Inscriptions
Recto (on the wall in front of the choir, below the vanishing point): 5½ voet
Recto (above the wall painting in the nave): m.cccc.xc. (below that): 16 .. 03 (below the painting): RENOVATVM. A°. M.VI.^{c} iii
Verso lower left: no 962 (pen and brown ink)
Verso upper centre: 7 (graphite)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.), purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 64, p. 24, fig. XXVI; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 64, p. 24, fig. XXVI; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 137, pp. 34-35; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 198, p. 89; Utrecht 1961 (no cat.); Utrecht 1971, cat. no. 22, p. 39; Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 17, p. 52, ill. on p. 53; Utrecht 1974, cat. no. 27, p. 40, ill. on p. 15; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 38, p. 58, ill., and fig. 13 on p. 30.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 686, p. 66-67 and p. V; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 6-7, fig. 6; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 117, p. 103 and pp. 40-41, 67, fig. 151; Bremmer 1938, fig. 12; Van Akerlaken 1954, pp. 31, 39, 66, fig. 3 on p. 30; Temminck Groll 1959, col. 46, fig. 8; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 172, pp. 233-234 and p. 23, fig. 173; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 172, pp. 233-234 and p. 23, fig. 173; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 37; Brussels 1971, p. 116; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 53); Kamerling-van Haersma Buma 1973, ill. on p. 18; Connell 1980, p. 17 (note 1); Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, ill. on p. 17; Ruurs 1982, p. 119 (note 26); Temminck Groll 1982, pp. 81, 108 (note 63), p. 112; Van Wezel [1982], pp. 104-105, fig. 65; De Bruijn et al. 1984-1985, ill. on p. 131; Van Hulzen 1985, p. 51, ill.; Van den Hoven van Genderen 1987, ill. on p. 18; Ruurs 1987, p. 107 (note 89); Graafhuis and Kronenburg 1988, ill. on p. 7; Van Winter 1988, ill. on p. 15; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 172, p. 283 and pp. 160-161, 167, 229, fig. 182; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 172, p. 286 and pp. 160-161, 166, 229, fig. 182; Rotterdam 1991, pp. 131-133, fig. 1; Hoekstra 1993, p. 25, ill. on p. 11; Stöver 1997, pp. 141-142, fig. 60; Van Ginkel 1998, ill. on p. 15; Hendriks and Forest 2000, pp. 105-108, 116, figs. 2, 14.

Notes
1
This conclusion is based on analysis of the sight lines and repeated observations *in situ*.
2
Painted by Dirk Scay in 1489-1490; the whitewashing of the church in 1603 was undertaken by Herman Jacobsz. van Honthorst. HUA, St. Pieter, inv. no. 191-2, Large Factory Roll 1489/1490; inv. no. 191-7, Large Factory Roll 1602/1603. See also Temminck Groll 1982, p. 112.
3
HUA, TA Ib 3.5.


RENOVATVM A° M·VI° III
Ste Pieters kerck, Binnen uytrecht.
P.r Saenredam

Visible at the left between the columns is a narrow strip of a painting on the east wall of the north transept; it is located at the then closed north side chapel. The drawing of 28 August (cat. no. 49) shows another, larger part of this painting, representing the Tree of Jesse.
On the right are a few memorials; the one in the south aisle is still present, although the carving (of founders and saints) has been entirely hacked away. It commemorates Willem Gerardsz. van Leyden (d. 1457), the 'scholaster' (the canon responsible for the chapter school) of the St Pieterskerk. The accompanying smaller stone next to it on the right, with an escutcheon, is now missing, as is the sconce with candle on the left.
The memorials in the south transept, separated from the south aisle by a wooden partition, cannot be conclusively identified.[5]

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4
Buchelius *Monumenta*, fol. 35v. The new board was painted by Marcel Splintersz.; HUA, St. Pieter, inv. no. 191-7, Large Factory Roll 1602/1603 (bis = 1603/1604).
5
The memorial with three birds as the main arms could be that of Canon Johan del Vael (d. 1603); he was buried in the middle of the nave in front of the choir (Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 38v). The contours of the half visible memorial beneath match those of the surviving memorial to Dean Herman van Rijn (d. 1488), which is believed to have been here (Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 40v) but was later moved to St Petronilla's Chapel.

48 The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht

28 November 1654

Panel, 50 x 72.5 cm.
Recto lower left (on column base): P.r Saenredam. fecit. A° 1654. 11/28

Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, inv. no. 75-339 (on long term loan from the Dutch National Heritage Collection ICN, Rijswijk, inv. no. AB 1898).

The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk is based on Saenredam's drawing of the interior of the church of 27 August 1636 (cat. no. 47). According to the date on it, he finished the painting on 28 November 1654, exactly eighteen years and three months after he had drawn the interior while seated in one of the pews. Ten years earlier Saenredam had painted his only other known painting of the St Pieterskerk (cat. no. 46). In contrast to this older work, which follows the drawing of 22 August very closely, here there are important differences between the drawn and the painted interior. By omitting many architectural and decorative details Saenredam transformed the church into an austere and imposing monument.
The vanishing point remains the same, however. In both drawing and painting it is located to the left of the centre of the choir.[1]

In the drawing the nave is too low and wide to be realistic, whereas in this painting Saenredam has lengthened the columns and narrowed the arches to enhance the monumentality of the space.[2] A major part of the upper section of the drawn composition is not shown in the painting; for instance, the wall painting of Bishop Bernold, flanked by the apostles Peter and Andrew, which is so prominent in the drawing, is absent, giving the painting a more horizontal format. Part of the drawn composition is also missing on the left. The wall at the end of the nave closing off the transept in the drawing has disappeared, as has the wooden partition separating the aisle from the south transept. In the painting there is no difference in level between the nave, the crossing and the choir, which in reality is higher. It is worth noting that less than two years after the completion of the painting the chapter began digging up the choir at the request of the city council in order to make it level with the nave. During this operation, however, the grave of Bishop Bernold was discovered, at which point it was decided to leave the choir as it was. The painting shows the situation intended by the council but never realised.[3]
Other minor alterations, though no less important for the desired effect of simplicity, include the omission of the rood beam and the tie rods. The capital on the right in the foreground is without its sculpture of a mermaid. Also gone are the memorials in the south transept and the monument in the south aisle. When the panel was examined by infrared reflectography in 1998 prior to restoration, it was found that Saenredam had done the underdrawing for the memorial tablet of Willem Gerardsz. van Leyden.[4] This is the only detail of a monument that he incorporated in the painting in the first instance. It would have occupied a dominant position, particularly with the altered perspective, and this may be why he decided not to paint it after all.
The figures of two men were added in the painting, exactly where the drawing shows the wooden partition separating the aisle from the south transept. Given that they stand on the horizontal axis of the perspective, their role in the space is important. They also allow the viewer to get an idea of the proportions of the building.[5] There is no technical or other reason for thinking that they were added to the painting at a later stage.

The provenance of the painting can be traced back to 1928, at which time it was in the collection of J. W. Nienhuys in Bloemendaal. One year earlier, in 1927, the family acquired

Provenance
J. W. Nienhuys collection, Bloemendaal (1928-1940); A. M. Nienhuys-Versteegh collection, Aerdenhout (1948-1966); H. S. Nienhuys collection, Aerdenhout (1966); Dienst 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen collection, The Hague (1966) (since 1997 the Dutch National Heritage Collection ICN, Rijswijk); on loan to the Frans Halsmuseum, 1966

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1932-1933, cat. no. 15, p. 12, fig. VI; Haarlem 1936, cat. no. 36, p. 21; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 18, p. 12; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 18, p. 11; Haarlem 1940, cat. no. 58, p. 8; Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 85, p. 22, and p. 35 (under cat. 137), fig. 31; Haarlem 1961, cat. no. 67, p. 170; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 55, p. 25, fig. 49; Brussels 1971, cat. no. 92, p. 116, ill. on p. 113; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 21, pp. 130-133, ill. on p. 130.

Literature
Koomen 1933, pp. 265, 266; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 198, p. 124 and pp. 35, 44, 67, 103 (under cat. no. 117), 123 (under cat. no. 197), fig. 152; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Bremmer 1938, fig. 5; Van S[on] 1938, ill. on p. 219; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 171, p. 232 and pp. 201, 233, fig. 172; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 171, pp. 232-233 and pp. 200, 233-234, fig. 172; Baard 1966, p. 54b, fig. 3; Haarlem 1969, cat. no. 737, pp. 58, 59, fig. 65; *Verslagen der Rijksverzamelingen* 1969, p. 345; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 53); Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 409a); Connell 1980, p. 17 (note 1); Wright 1980, p. 401; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 171, p. 283 and pp. 161, 167, 232, 300, fig. 242; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 171, p. 286 and pp. 161, 166, 228, 232, 308, fig. 242; The Hague 1992, cat. no. 2292, p. 262, ill.; Hendriks and Forest 2000.

Notes
1
Hendriks and Forest 2000, p. 107 and figs. 3, 4 and 8.
2
See fig. 4 in Hendriks and Forest 2000.
3
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 166.
4
The restoration was carried out at the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem. For a report on the examination during restoration, see Hendriks and Forest 2000. According to a handwritten note in Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 85, p. 22 (Centraal Museum copy) and Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 171, pp. 233 earlier restorations of the painting took place in 1953 and 1961. For the infrared reflectogram assembly of the funerary monument, see Hendriks and Forest 2000, fig. 13. An infrared reflectography study was also carried out by J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer and L. M. Helmus on 24 June 1997.



another painting by Saenredam, the *View of the choir and transept of the Mariakerk from the northeast* (cat. no. 3), which was bought by the Mauritshuis in The Hague in 1966. In the same year H. S. Nienhuys bequeathed *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* to the State on condition that it should be given to the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem on permanent loan.[6] It has been in that collection ever since.

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5
Hendriks and Forest 2000, p. 107.
6
Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 21, p. 131 and verbal communication by Pieter Biesboer dated 26 June 2000.

49 The south aisle of the St Pieterskerk in Utrecht looking east

28 August 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk, red chalk, brush and watercolour (green and yellow).
Framing line in pen and brownish black ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark:
small fleur-de-lis and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
307 x 400 mm.

Recto lower middle (on the tombstone): Ste Pieters kerck, Binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower left (on the plinth of a column base, partly cut off): [..]en 28.^{en} Augustus // int Jaer 1636. // Pr Saenredam.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ib 4.4.

Dated 28 August 1636, this drawing shows the view through the south aisle towards the east and northeast as far as the Dean's Chapel (right), the High Choir (centre) and the north transept (left). As on the previous day (cat. no. 47), Saenredam's position was beside the first pair of western columns, but this time he was sitting lower: the 'eye' is at 4½ rather than 5½ feet, or nearly 1.25 metres above the floor.
In contrast to the drawing of 27 August, the perspective is fairly consistently applied and the architectural proportions are accurately depicted. It looks, however, as if the furniture of the English church, which Saenredam again omitted here, obstructed the view of the bases of the columns in the left background and of the steps in front of the end wall of the transept, since these elements are rather awkwardly proportioned.

The drawing clearly shows how the crossing, or Low Choir, is separated from the south transept by a wall. The wooden partitions in front of the south transept and the High Choir (visible above the western end wall) date from the years after the Reformation, when parts of the church were used for various secular purposes, such as quartering troops, storing grain and teaching anatomy.
On the western end wall is the 'Bernold Board' of 1603 (see cat. no. 47), which is now in the north aisle. Further left can be seen the wall painting in the north transept, the Tree of Jesse with the Virgin Mary flanked by the crowned heads of kings. Part of the left section, not visible here, is shown in the drawing of 27 August. The memorials in the south wall on the far right are not depicted, while the tombstones in the floor are, though too sketchily to allow identification.
The decoration of the capitals of the columns is here given in more detail than in the two previous drawings. The (painted?) cherubs, sirens and other ornaments probably applied in the 16th century were also depicted by Herman Saftleven in 1674; moreover, he portrayed the columns as marbled, as did Cornelis van Hardenbergh at the end of the 18th century.[1] Whether the columns were already marbled in 1636 is impossible to say on the basis of Saenredam's drawing.

AdG

Inscriptions
Recto (on the partition at the right, below the vanishing point): 4½ voet (4½ feet)
Verso lower left: No 964 (pen and brown ink)

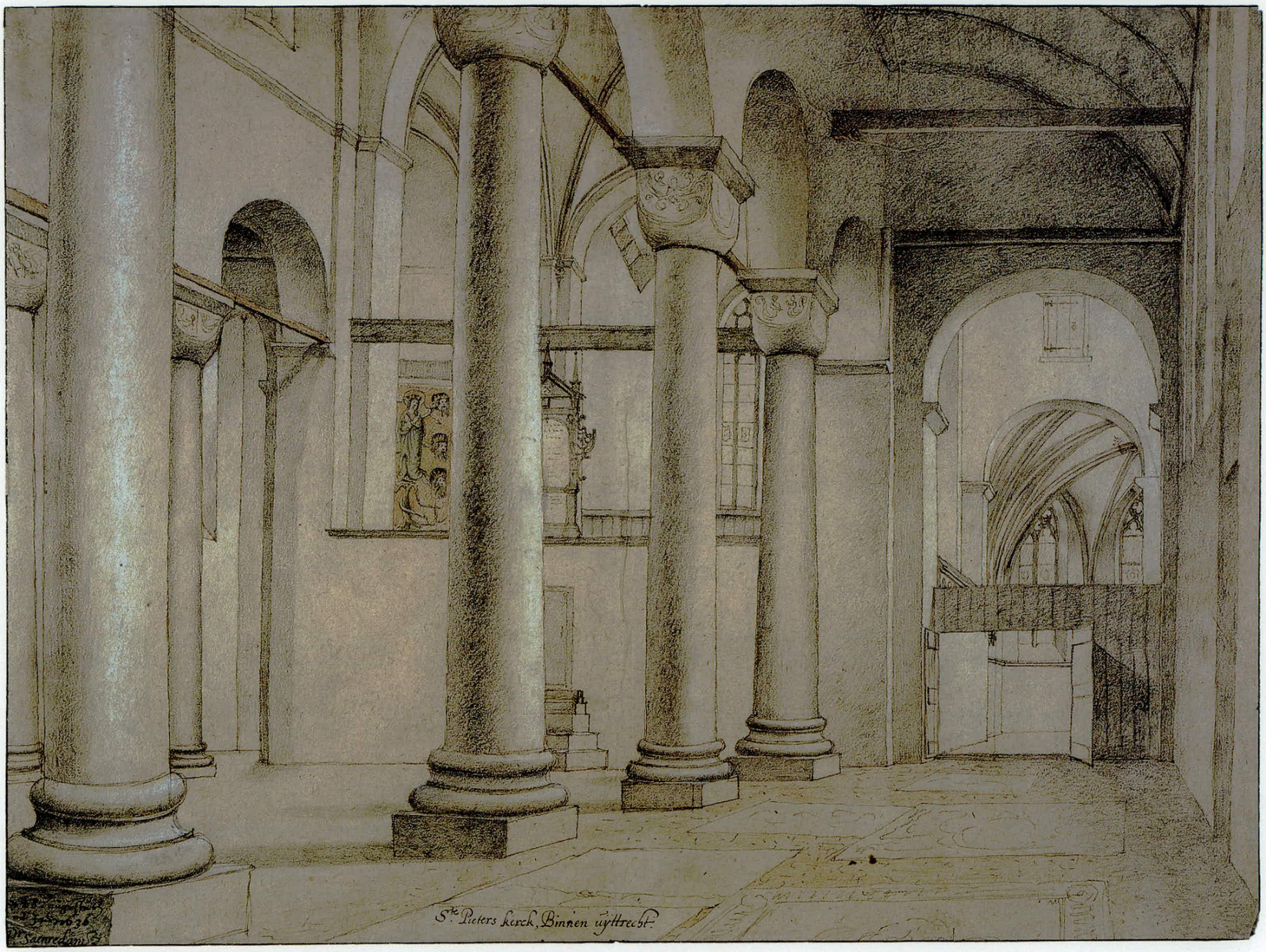
Comments
There is a copy of this drawing by H. Tavenier. Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ib 4.5

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 65, p. 24; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 65, p. 24; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 18, p. 53.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 8, fig. 8; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 991, p. 114; Vermeulen 1920, pp. 190, 194; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 118, p. 103, fig. 153; Van Akerlaken 1954, pp. 39, 66, fig. 4 on p. 32; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 173, pp. 234-235, fig. 176; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 173, p. 235, fig. 176; Ruurs 1982, p. 119 (note 26); Temminck Groll 1982, pp. 81, 93, 97, 108 (note 63), fig. 21; Ruurs 1987, p. 107 (note 89); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 173, p. 283 and pp. 160-161, 167, fig. 183; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 173, p. 286 and pp. 160-161, 166, fig. 183.

Note
1
HUA, TA Ib 3.4 and Ib 4.9 respectively. Similar decorations were also found in the Mariakerk; they can be seen in some of Saenredam's drawings (cat. nos. 11, 17, 23). See also Temminck Groll 1982, p. 110.


Ste. Pieters kerck, Binnen uÿttrecht.

50 The nave and choir of the Dom in Utrecht, seen to the east

3 September 1636

Pen and brown ink, graphite, (traces of red chalk), brush and watercolour (grey, pink, yellow, red, green).
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Watermark: escutcheon with an oblique fesse, above which is a fleur-de-lis and below the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 299).
544 x 422 mm.

Recto lower middle: Den S:^{te} Maertens Doms kerck, binnen uijtrecht.
Recto (on the foot of the third nave pier from the right): Int Jaer 1636 // den 3 september // Pr Saenredam. (In the year 1636, 3 September, Pieter Saenredam.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA He 1.

Depicted in this drawing, one of Saenredam's most monumental sheets, is the most important church in the Northern Netherlands up to the Reformation. Until 1580, the Utrecht Dom, the purest example of French Gothic architecture in the Netherlands, was the cathedral of the (arch)bishopric of Utrecht, to which the lion's share of the present-day Netherlands belonged. After 1580, the Dom was the main church of Reformed Protestant Utrecht. In 1674, the church was struck by a hurricane: its nave collapsed and the enormous space was reduced by half. The drawing is thus not only a work of art, but also a precious document for it is the only depiction affording us a reliable impression of the original space.

For this drawing, dated (Wednesday) 3 September 1636, but on which work must have taken place in the previous days, Saenredam chose a vantage point right next to the north door of the west portal: from there he could see the former cathedral in its full length, about 95 metres back to the ambulatory. The narrow views at the right guide the eye through the double aisles to the south transept. For the view to the left in the north aisle Saenredam moved a bit to the left while drawing in order to incorporate the vault and the wall bench of the fourth (rather than the third) bay. But for the additional detailing of the north wall, he must have returned to his original spot and taken as his model the third aisle bay (from there he could see no further), because as appears from the drawing of 15 September (cat. no. 51) the wall of the fourth bay looked entirely different. Elements from two different vantage points are thus combined in the side view to the left.
The spatial proportions are beautifully conveyed. While, indeed, the piers of the middle nave are too slender on either side (whereby on the right side the entire arcade is somewhat compressed), this only serves to underscore the verticality of the architecture. The stylistic differences between the High Gothic of the choir (13th-14th century) and the Late Gothic of the transept and the nave (15th-16th century), which were limited to details in the triforium gallery and the tall windows above, did not escape Saenredam.
The drawing also portrays the church's unfinished state, with wooden ceilings and the beginnings of the still missing brick vaults in the transept and the nave. This is partly why the nave could not withstand the fury of the hurricane of 1674.

Important remains of the original Catholic layout are evident in the drawing. The most notable are the paintings on the piers of gold brocade tapestries that served as the background for the statues of saints that the canons had placed at their graves, which were located before or next to these piers. Also present then (and now) on the choir piers, though somewhat smaller in size and older (14th century), are similar painted wall hangings, before which statues of the apostles once stood. The choir still contains most of the other remains from the Catholic period. While only a glimpse of them is afforded by the present drawing, we see it in detail in the sheet of 17 September (cat. no. 52). Saenredam only vaguely indicated the stained-glass windows, all still from the Catholic time.

Inscriptions
Verso lower left: No 984 (pen and brown ink);
Verso lower middle: N. 1 (graphite)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 63, p. 24, fig. XXII; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 63, p. 24, fig. XXII; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 139, p. 35; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 200, p. 89; Utrecht/Louvain 1959, cat. no. 45, pp. 81-82; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 36, p. 21, fig. 32; Utrecht 1971, cat. no. 21, p. 39; Utrecht 1974, cat. no. 28, p. 40, ill. on p. 41; Utrecht 1991 (no cat.).

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 562, p. 54 and p. V; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 4, fig. 1; Muller 1906, p. 16 (note 2), fig. IX; Weissman 1912, p. 75, fig. 23; Vermeulen 1920, pp. 182 (note 3), 194; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 120, p. 104 and pp. 40, 47, fig. 157; Bremmer 1938, fig. 13; Ter Kuile [1941], pp. 29, 47; Fockema Andreae, Ter Kuile et al. 1948-1957, vol. 1 (1948), p. 193, fig. 51; Bernt 1957-1958, vol. 2, fig. 514; Brinkgreve 1960, pp. 32-33, fig. 2; Houtzager 1961, ill. on p. 13; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 117, pp. 172-173, fig. 118; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 117, pp. 172-173, fig. 118; Temminck Groll 1961, p. 114; T[emminck] G[roll] 1962, pp. 2-3, 7, fig. 1; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 171, 269, 284, 334, fig. 176; De J[ong] 1965, ill. on p. 110; Graafhuis and Knoester 1967, p. 16, fig. 3; Terwen 1967, pp. 45a-45b, fig. 45; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 125; Kamerling-van Haersma Buma 1973, p. 15, ill. on p. 14; Graafhuis and Knoester [1974], p. 20, fig. 3; Van der Werf 1976, pp. 10-12, ill.; Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 5, fig. 513; Wilmer 1980, p. 42, ill..; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 16; Vroom 1981, pp. 245-246, 580, fig. 26; Ruurs 1982, p. 116 (note 3); Kronenburg 1983, p. 5, fig. 3; Prins-Schimmel 1987, p. 5; Ruurs 1987, p. 98 (note 45); Graafhuis and Kronenburg 1988, p. 16, ill. on p. 10 and 17; Prins-Schimmel 1989, pp. 95, 99; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 117, p. 274 and pp. 130, 161, fig. 184; Ruurs 1990, p. 335; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 117, p. 274 and pp. 130, 161, fig. 184; De Groot 1994, pp. 39, 78, fig. 4; De Groot 1996, pp. 253, 257, fig. XXXIXA; Borst et al. 1997, ill. on p. 6; Huygens 1998, ill. on p. 4; [Stoppelenburg] 1999, ill. on p. 6.

Notes
1
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 12r.
2
'seer ondicht en leck is, sulcks dat men naulycks drooch sitten kan vanwegen den regen'. HUA, Kerkeraad Ned. Herv. Gem., inv. no. 4, f. 59r, Church Council Resolution, 26 March 1635.


Don S.te Maerions Doms kerck binnen Vytrecht

Before the choir is the Protestant arrangement of 1586 and years following: a choir screen (a stone rood screen stood there until 1586) with the pulpit in front of it, the church council benches and the rail of the baptismal enclosure, and various benches in the nave, most of which are very simple.
The coats of arms on the hatchments are not depicted clearly enough to allow for identification, nor are those on the large board on the southeastern crossing pier. This is probably one of the two escutcheons of Emperor Charles V that were documented by Buchelius, the pendant of which hung on the northeast crossing pier, illustrated in Saenredam's drawing of 15 September (cat. no. 51).[1]
The brass candelabras were made in 1613 in connection with the evening services instituted not long before. Those in the choir, transept and nave were paid for by the five chapters, the States of Utrecht and the city. Thus, on the large candelabra at the front are the arms of the chapter of the Mariakerk (an imperial crown). Further on are those of St John, St Peter, the States (in the crossing) and the Dom chapter (in the choir). These brass candelabras were by far the most expensive items in the Dom in 1636, which for the rest made a very sober impression.
The moss green spots on the vaulted arches and piers in the choir could indicate a bad state of repair. The clerestory must have suffered from severe dampness, for in 1635 the church council insisted that the Dom chapter repair the roof, which was 'very open and leaky, to such an extent that one can hardly stay dry because of the rain'.[2]

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51 The nave and transept of the Dom in Utrecht seen from south to north

15 September 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, brush and watercolour (pinkish red, yellow, brown).
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
385 x 525 mm.

Recto lower middle (on the tombstone): S.te Maertens Doms kerck, binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower left: den 15.en September // int Jaer 1636. // Pieter Saenredam geteijckent.
(On 15 September, in the year 1636, drawn [by] Pieter Saenredam.)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA He 22.

From a tall bench in the south transept Saenredam looked through the transept to the north. At the right is the beginning of the choir and a view of the Van Sierck Chapel and at the left part of the nave with a view through and into the northwest nave chapel. The angle of view in this interior is large, more than 90^0; the distance between the far ends of the drawing – calculated in the north aisle of the nave and choir – is about 50 metres, more than half of the total length of the Dom's interior.
This is one of Saenredam's most informative Utrecht drawings. Even though the benches in the nave at the left visible in the previous drawing (cat. no. 50) have here been suppressed, Saenredam lavished attention on the layout of the transept, including the Protestant furniture and several elements from the earlier Catholic past. This drawing constitutes the most important visual witness of these objects, the majority of which no longer exists.

Among the Catholic elements are the painted tapestries on the piers (see cat. no. 50).
On the northeast crossing pier at the right can clearly be seen the difference between the small and somewhat faded painting of the 14th century and the large one with gold brocade imitations of the 15th and 16th century. On the same crossing pier hangs an escutcheon with the arms and the device of Emperor Charles V; the date below, 1546, commemorates the ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece held the Dom in January 1546. Also from this time are the escutcheons of the Knights of the Golden Fleece in the choir, visible near the pulpit.
In the transept window can just be seen part of the stained-glass window that Bishop David of Burgundy gave to the Dom in 1485/1486, in which is depicted the story of David and Goliath, among others.
On the east wall of the transept hangs the organ built by Pieter Jansz. de Swart in 1569-1571. The painting of the shutters, here shown open (the organ was played virtually every day), was only done in 1602, partly as a consequence of the Eighty Years' War. In the top left shutter we see David playing the harp in an architectural setting.[1] In the pentice above the organ are two escutcheons, possibly relating to the Dom chapter.[2]

The Protestant furniture dates from 1586 and the following period.[3] In 1586 the stone rood screen before the High Choir was demolished and replaced by the wooden choir screen with a pulpit in the middle illustrated in the drawing. The low baptistery rail before the pulpit, somewhat later in date, has a lectern in the middle for the reader. Part of the church council benches can still be discerned in the area between the choir screen and baptistery rail.
The large, beautifully decorated bench at the crossing pier in the foreground was made for the military governor of Utrecht, Count Ernst Casimir of Nassau, and his family in 1618-1619. At the time of Saenredam's visit, this position was held by Johan Albrecht, Count of Solms Braunfels (1599-1648), brother-in-law of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik; he and his family resided in the former Episcopal palace, the Bisschopshof, near the Dom Tower. In the background in the north transept is the bench of the Utrecht town council ('Vroedschap').

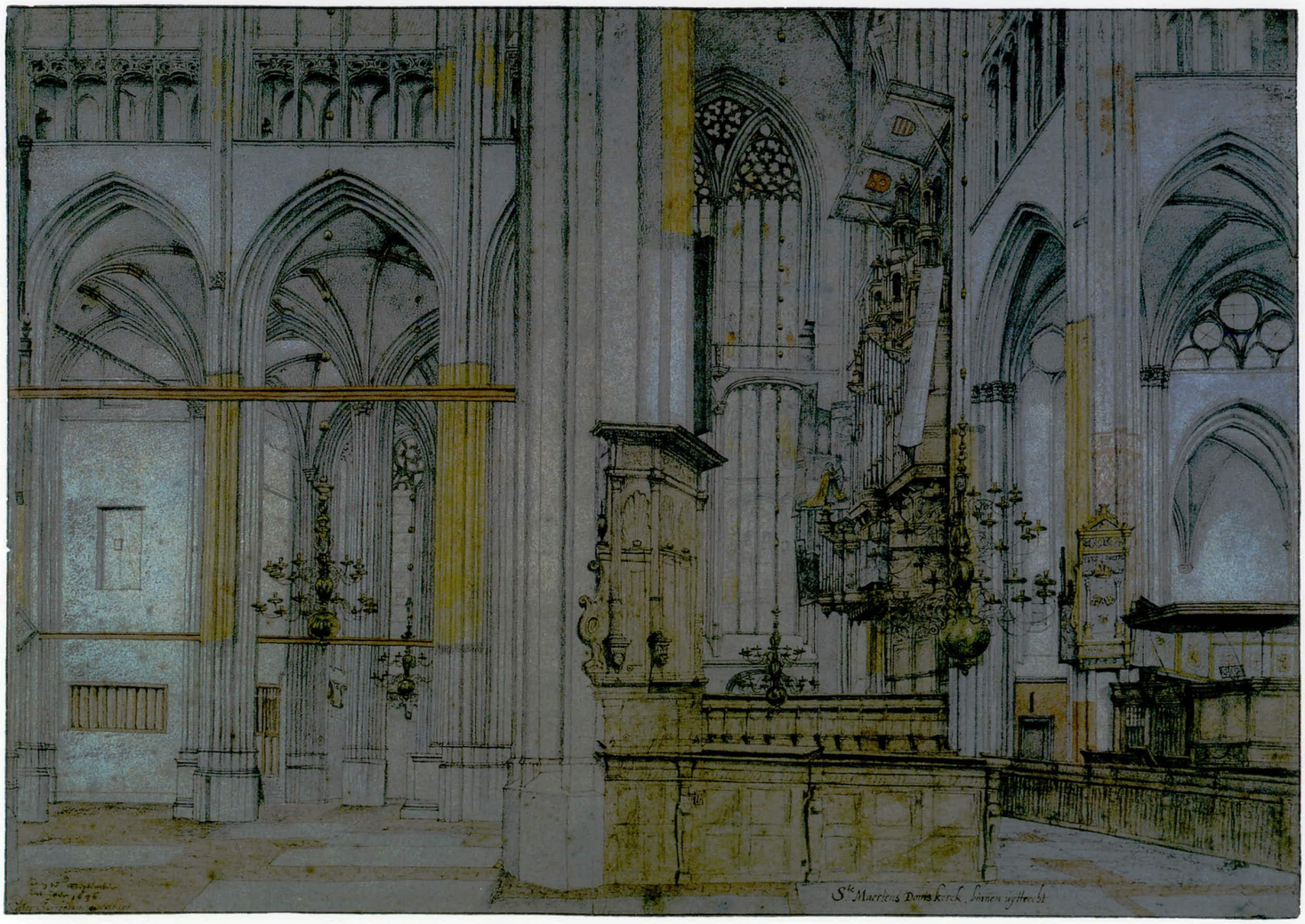
Inscriptions
Recto (on the bottom edge of the main case of the organ): [...] HARP[....] CHOR[....] ET ORGANO (on the escutcheon to the right of it): PLUS OULTRE // 1546
Verso: No 983 (pen and brown ink)
Verso upper middle: 5 (graphite)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 62, p. 24; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 62, p. 24; Washington/New York/Minneapolis/Boston/Cleveland 1958-1959, cat. no. 54, p. 29, ill. on the cover; Haarlem 1961, cat. no. 61, p. 61, fig. 31; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1972, cat. no. 75, p. 74, ill.; Utrecht 1974, cat. no. 29, pp. 40-41, ill. on p. 12.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 566, p. 54 and p. V; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 5, fig. 3; Muller 1906, p. 12 (note 1), p. 16 (note 2), fig. XIV; Wagenaar 1906, ill. facing p. VII; Coster 1909, pp. 214-215, fig. 5; Vermeulen 1920, p. 194; Van Klaveren 1926, p. 14, fig. VII; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 124, p. 105 and pp. 40, 47, fig. 155; Vente 1958, p. 237, fig. 19; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 119, pp. 175-176, fig. 122; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 119, pp. 175-176, fig. 122; Eisler 1964, p. 26, fig. 77; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 171, 269, 271, 273, 311, 333, 354, fig. 240; Graafhuis and Knoester 1967, p. 15, fig. 6; Graafhuis 1974 (a), fig. 3; Graafhuis 1974 (b), ill. on p. 100; Graafhuis and Knoester [1974], p. 18, fig. 6; Vente 1974, p. 1, fig. 1; Temminck Groll 1975, ill. on p. 11; Vente 1975, pp. 31, 33, ill. on p. 9; Utrecht 1975-1976(b), cat. no. 8, ill. on p. 4; Vroom 1981, pp. 580-581, fig. 27; Brouwer 1985, p. 54; Prins-Schimmel 1987, p. 5; Ruurs 1987, p. 98 (note 45); Breij 1988, ill. on p. 26; Graafhuis and Kronenburg 1988, ill. on p. 11; Prins-Schimmel 1989, pp. 95, 99; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 119, p. 274 and pp. 154, 163, fig. 188; Vente 1989, pp. 133, 210, 244, 345-346, fig. 28; Ruurs 1990, p. 335; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 119, p. 274 and pp. 152, 163, fig. 188; Van Dijk and Doornekamp 1992, ill. on the cover; De Groot 1994, pp. 39, 63, 78, fig. 17; Van Biezen 1995, p. 676, ill. on p. 209; Breij and Touburg 1996, p. 15, ill.; De Groot 1996, pp. 253, 255, 257, fig. XL; Bangs 1997, pp. 13, 94; Dekker et al. 1997, vol. 2, p. 378, ill. on p. 289; Van Nieuwkoop 1997, ill. on p. 21; Looyenga 1999, pp. 16, 20, fig. 13; Van Zanten 1999(b), pp. 100, 113, fig. 22.

Notes
1
Painted by Salomon Vredeman de Vries and Adam Willarts. The contract has been preserved; Vente 1975, pp. 33, 63; Van Zanten 1999(b), p. 225, appendix 2.
2
Left: three gold wheels or rings, 2 and 1, on red; right: 8 pieces, red and white. These arms


Ste Maertens Doms kerck, binnen uytrecht

This was part of the stalls (of 1548) of the Oudmunsterkerk near the Dom, which were transferred to the Dom at the end of 1586, shortly before the Oudmunsterkerk was demolished in 1587. A similar bench for the States of Utrecht was found in the south transept; Saenredam must have been sitting in a high bench directly next to it when he made this drawing.
The City and the States financed two of the candelabras that were hung in the Dom in 1613. On the candelabra in front of the town council bench can be discerned the Utrecht city arms, and on the large candelabra in the crossing the arms of the States, the present arms of the province of Utrecht. The candelabra of the chapel of Oudmunster in the south transept is just out of sight at the right, that of St Peter, with two crossed keys on his shield, is visible in the middle nave at the left.
The tombstones in the floor are sketchily indicated and perspectively incorrect, but the pattern in which they lie was recovered just so during the restoration of the interior of the transept undertaken in 1922.[4]

The perspective and the proportions in this drawing display many deviations, particularly in and around the crossing pier in the middle. Saenredam sat directly across from it, but at a far shorter distance than the drawing suggests. To be realistically proportioned, this pier would have to be shown twice as wide and the base twice as heavy, its foot located a few centimetres lower than the bottom edge of the sheet.
The dwindling of the pier and its base result in strong distortions in the governor's bench. In addition, too little space is left behind the pier for the furthest right nave arch, the northwest crossing pier and the left part of the north transept. Consequently, the left and right halves of the drawing do not join up logically, but are crammed together, as it were. Moreover, they differ in scale; although both galleries were equally high, the triforium gallery in the nave is seen in full, while the one in the choir is only partly depicted.
Two vanishing points are marked on the governor's bench – one just above the parapet, the other almost 3 cm above it – and both were used.[5] Saenredam apparently sat on the bench, but stood up now and then to better see various elements. Accordingly, the organ, whose visibility would have been obstructed by the States candelabra, is largely drawn from a higher vantage point.

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constitute the elements of the quartered arms of Doorn, belonmging to the Dom provost, but the Dom chapter had also used the same arms since the 16th century. According to Buchelius, the organ was paid for by the Dom provost Cornelis van Myerop (d. 1572); however, nothing to this effect is found in the accounts of the Dom factory, in which the costs of the organ are noted (Vroom 1981, p. 541). In any case, these are not the family arms of Cornelis van Myerop.

3
De Groot 1996, pp. 257-260.

4
Van Beresteyn 1927.

5
Taking into account the distorted depiction of the governor's bench, the heights of these vanishing points can be estimated, at around 6 and 7½ feet, or about 1.65 and a good 2 metres.

52 The choir of the Dom in Utrecht seen to the east

17 September1636

Pen and brown ink, black, white and red chalk.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark:
small fleur-de-lis and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
381 x 312 mm
Recto lower middle: S.te Maertens Doms kerck, Binnen uijttrecht.

Recto right (on the upper edge of the bench, partly cut off): P.r Saenredam. // Int Jaer [ghe[..] (?, crossed out)] // 1636. // den 17 Septem.[..] (Pieter Saenredam, [drawn?] in the year, 1636, on 17 September)
The Hague, Royal Collections,
inv. no. MSC/189.

With his back against the backside of the choir screen or from one of the benches that must have stood there, Saenredam drew the High Choir of the Dom with views to the ambulatory and the radiating chapels. The central vanishing point is indicated on the funerary monument of Bishop Joris van Egmond; the eye level, given as 6 feet (if that, indeed, is what is written), in reality is only 1.35 metres, a scarce 5 feet, measured from the choir floor in the foreground. Saenredam followed this vanishing point fairly consistently. That the drawing is not perspectively correct is due to the floor of diagonally laid tiles (at the time there were not yet any tombstones in the High Choir), which is not seen in perspective, but from above and only schematically indicated. Furthermore the height of the church is strongly reduced, particularly in the upper windows and the vaults. As a result not only has the space become too low with respect to the width, but the apse vault seems depressed. This compression should be understood as Saenredam's method of getting all of the elements in the space – from the floor to the vault – onto his sheet without the general scale of the depiction becoming too small. The actual proportions of the choir are recorded in the drawing dated two weeks earlier (cat. no. 50).

Saenredam drew the choir as it looked just before it came to be used by the Utrecht Academy for formal occasions, such as graduation ceremonies. In the middle of the apse, formerly the site of the high altar, is a simple choir pulpit used for celebrating Communion and the 'morning sermons' held throughout the week for the Reformed congregation. A few months after Saenredam's visit this pulpit was replaced by a far more representative, academic lectern. Also dating from the Protestant time is the large candelabra in the middle of the space, one of the series hung in the Dom in 1613. It was paid for by the Dom chapter. The little escutcheons on the upper part depict St Martin and the beggar.
The rest of the furniture dates from the Catholic time prior to 1580:[1] at the left and right are the choir stalls of the canons and the lower priests, with on the east side the canopied places for the bishop and the Dom provost and dean; near a pillar in the apse is a spiral staircase from 1507-1508, which gave access to a plateau above the Easter Sepulchre behind the choir pulpit; and somewhat further to the right is the 1549 triumph arch-shaped sepulchral monument of Bishop Joris van Egmond (d. 1559).
The escutcheons above the choir stalls are a reminder of the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece led by Emperor Charles V that took place in Utrecht in January 1546, during which solemn masses were held in the Dom choir. Portraits of the Utrecht bishops had to make way for this series of the armorial bearings. Buchelius also describes this series, from which it becomes evident that although Saenredam sketched the arms on the left side rapidly, he did not do so arbitrarily.[2] Thus, the second escutcheon from the left is the Duke of Saxony's (Saenredam condensed the name), and the fourth Reinoud van Brederode's (Saenredam wrote 'Breroe'), Lord of Vianen and Ameide and Viscount of Utrecht. The board at the far left contains the coat of arms of the Golden Fleece under the imperial crown. Saenredam still saw some of the background decoration for vanished sculptures and other

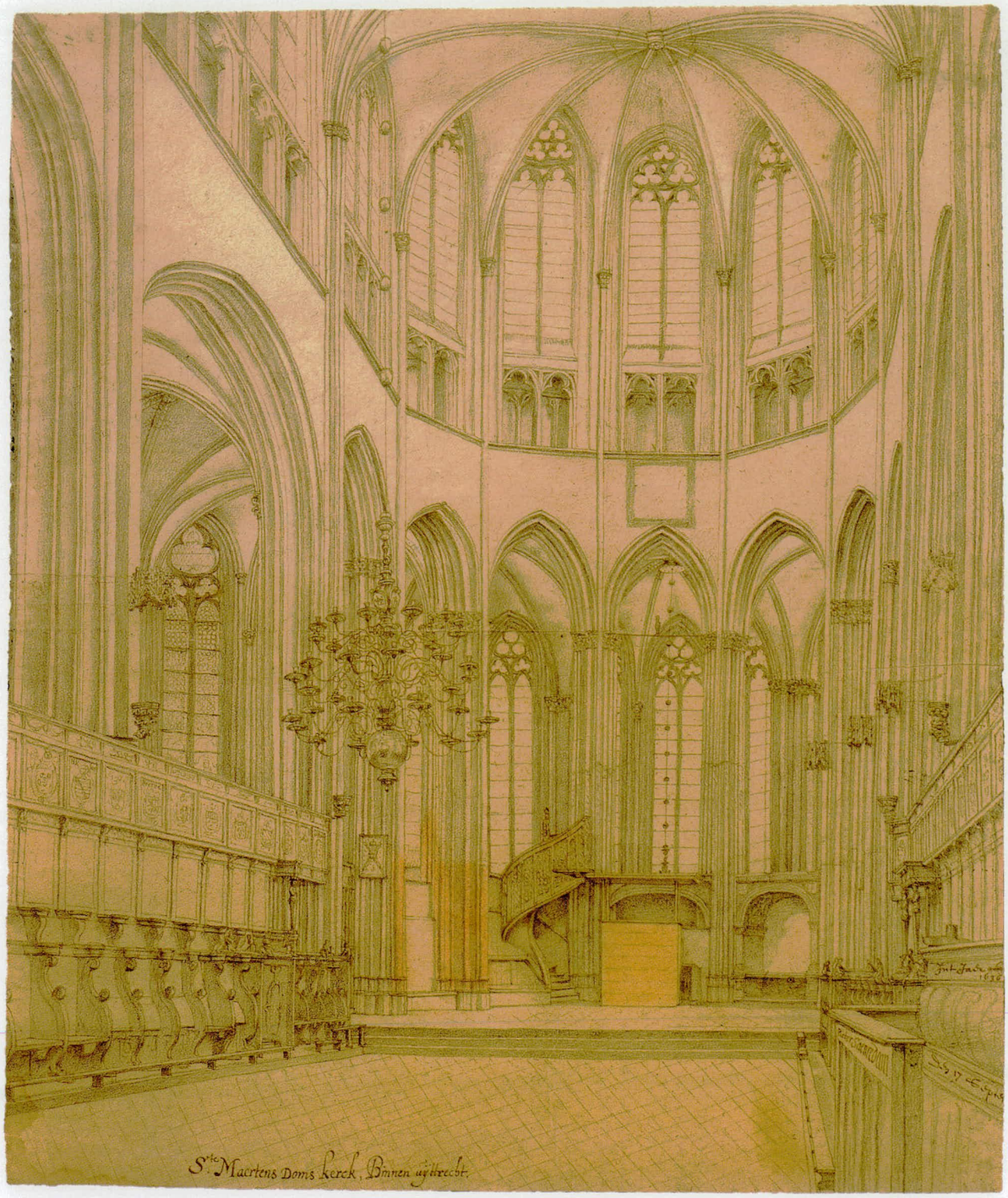
Inscriptions
Recto (on the cenotaph, near the vanishing point): 6 v (?) (6 feet)
Recto (on two of the escutcheons at the left): [....]Sax. (and) Breroe

Provenance
H. Busserus collection (1782); sale, Amsterdam 12 August 1782 (H. Busserus coll.); H. Gartman collection (1782?-1843); sale, Amsterdam 24 April 1843 (H. Gartman coll.); G. Munnicks van Cleeff collection (1847-1860); sale 1860 (G. Munnicks van Cleeff coll.); J. L. Beyers collection (1860?-1870); Prince Hendrik collection (1870); Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik collection; Princess Maria of Prussia collection; King Willem III collection; Queen Emma van Waldeck Pyrmont collection; Queen Wilhelmina collection

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 140, p. 35; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 37, p. 22, fig. 33; Laren/Utrecht 1973, cat. no. 47, p. 21; New York 1979-1980, cat. no. 131, pp. 146-147, fig. 131; The Hague 1996, cat. no. 349, p. 224 and p. 119, fig. 150; Nagasaki 2000, cat. no. 19, p. 114, ill. on p. 84.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, p. 54; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 4-5, fig. 2; Muller 1906, p. 17 (note 5), ill. on p. 16; Utrecht 1907, p. 86; Peters [1909], vol. 2, p. 84, fig. 229; Weissman 1912, p. 69, fig. 21; Vermeulen 1920, pp. 182 (note 3), 194; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 126, p. 106 and p. 47, fig. 156; Witsen Elias 1937, p. 127; Witsen Elias 1949, p. 75; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 118, pp. 173-174, fig. 119; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 118, pp. 173-174, fig. 119; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 171, 351, 352, 359, 360, 370, fig. 325; Becker-Jordens 1973, fig. 7; Ruurs 1982, p. 116 (note 3) and p. 119 (note 26); Kronenburg 1983, p. 1, fig. 1; Barnard and Van Hoogevest 1985, ill. on p. 18; Van Hulzen 1985, p. 23, ill.; Prins-Schimmel 1987, pp. 5, 7; Ruurs 1987, p. 98 (note 45); Breij 1988, ill. on p. 86; Graafhuis and Kronenburg 1988, p. 9, ill. on p. 10; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 96, p. 83, ill.; Barnard and Van Hoogevest 1989, p. 141, fig. 8; Prins-Schimmel 1989, pp. 95, 99; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 118, p. 274 and pp. 130, 158-159, 161, 167, fig. 180; Van der Linden 1990, p. 26 (note 52); Ruurs 1990, p. 335; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 118, p. 274 and pp. 130, 158-159, 161, 166, fig. 180; Staal 1990, pp. 118-119, ill.; De Groot 1994, pp. 39, 46, 54, 59, figs. 5 and 7; Breij and Touburg 1996, p. 12, ill.; De Groot 1996, pp. 253, 255, 257, fig. XXXIXB; Bangs 1997, pp. 13, 79, 203 (note 6:15); Utrecht 1997, pp. 151-153; Schulte 2000, pp. 30, 38, ill. on p. 33.

Notes
1
For more information on this, see De Groot 1994, pp. 41ff. In an anonymous drawing the spiral staircase on the ambulatory side is richly decorated with little columns and arches, pinnacles and foliage scrolls; this carving was the work of Jan van Schayk. Zeist, National


Ste Maertens Doms Kerck, Binnen Utrecht.

Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, inv. no. Th-370.c. Black chalk, brush and brown watercolour, 196 x 259 mm.

2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 12r-13r.

3
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 95, p. 143.

objects, namely the painted tapestries (only their outlines are indicated), the corbels and canopies of the apostle statues (removed in 1580) on the choir piers. He also noted the red colour on the two piers between which the tabernacle was located at the time, and the black square above the middle arch in the apse. This square, until now an unsolved mystery, may have been the frame for the arms of Pope Adrian VI, the Utrecht pope (1522-1523), which was set high in the choir of the Dom to eternalise him. Possibly also hung in this place of honour in 1546 was the board of Charles V, which Saenredam saw on the northeast crossing pier (though this could not have been its original location). A similar placement of such imperial escutcheons is found in Saenredam's 1632 drawing of the choir of the St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch.[3]

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53 The Pandhof of the Dom in Utrecht seen from the west gallery to the east

1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk, brush and green watercolour.
Framing line in pen and brown ink (left side missing).

Pale buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis (see p. 297).
196 x 305 mm.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Hp 25.1.

Inscriptions
Verso below: 184 (pen and brown ink)
Verso middle right: lijst 31 (pencil)

Provenance
Unknown.

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

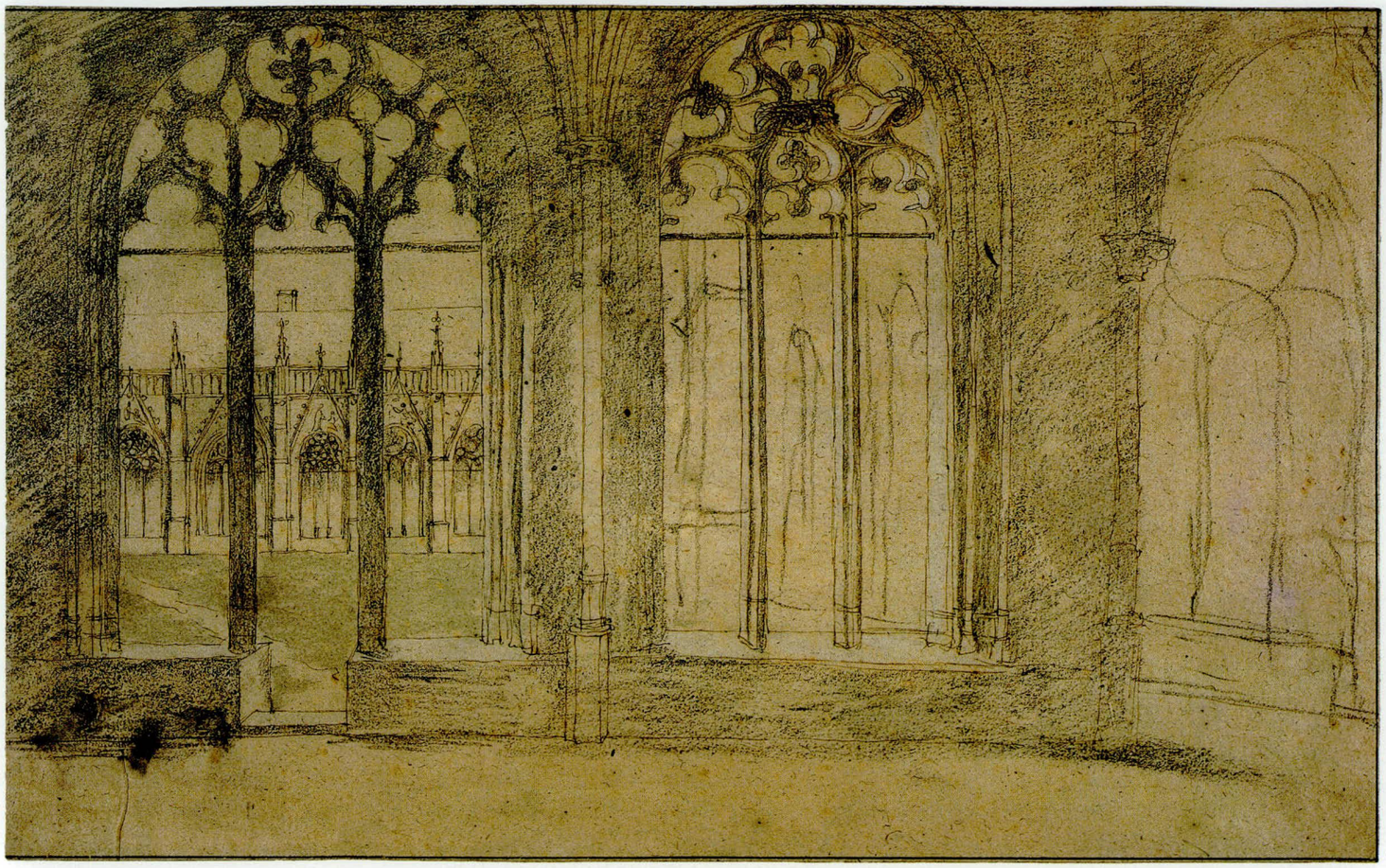
Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 659, p. 64; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 231, p. 284, fig. 221; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 231, pp. 292-293, fig. 221; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 461, 467, fig. 403; [Wilmer] 1999, pp. 11-12, ill.

Though attributed to Saenredam in the past, the authenticity of this drawing was doubted in the oeuvre catalogue of the 1961 Saenredam retrospective, and was subsequently not even mentioned by Schwartz and Bok in 1989.[1] That the drawing is here again ascribed to Saenredam is based, in addition to the drawing style, chiefly on the paper and media, which eliminate any doubt. The paper is identical to that often used by Saenredam (namely in Utrecht), pale buff rag paper, here only half a sheet thus with only one watermark.
The drawing materials and the colouring of only a single part are also characteristic of most of Saenredam's other sketches on this type of paper.

The Pandhof, or cloister, of the Dom was built in the 14th and 15th century; the east and south galleries were older than the west one, from where the drawing was made. The three galleries connected the church and the great and small chapter-houses, the cathedral school, the choristers' house, where the choir boys lived, and other annexes. At the founding of the 'Illustre School' in 1634 (promoted to an academy in 1636), the city lay claim to the great chapter-house and thereby also use of the Pandhof, to which a new entrance was built from the Oudmunsterkerkhof, now Dom Square.
The drawing affords a view from the western gallery to the eastern one, with at the right the roughly sketched beginning of the south gallery giving access to the great chapter-house. Saenredam sat on the wall bench in the bay immediately to the left upon entering via the new entrance. This is a quick sketch: no vanishing point is noted (it should be located on the far right buttress of the Pandhof's east gallery); the perspective is not particularly precise; and the pointed arches of the unglazed three-light frames have been transformed into semi-circular arches. On the other hand, the architecture is very precisely observed, as is clear from the specific differences in size and tracery between the two large three-lights in the foreground. The right window is the famous 'rope window', in which the undulating traceries are knotted together with sculpted ropes. Saenredam portrayed the original window; the present one is a copy.
Carvings representing scenes from the life of St Martin can be seen on the other side of the court – a simple field – in the gablets above the windows of the east gallery. So little of these sculptures were left at the end of the 19th century that they had to be entirely restored. Due to the rapid deterioration of the 19th-century stone, they were again renovated in 1958-1962. The present reliefs display only incidental similarities with the Saenredam's scribbled figures.

AdG

Note
1
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 231, p. 292-293, fig. 221.



54 The Domtoren in Utrecht seen from the west

1636 (?)

Pen and brown ink, watercolour (pink, light blue, green, yellow).
Framing line in pen and black ink.

Watermark: not visible (laid down).
509 x 294 mm.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, inv. no. Vc. 66, fol. 143.

Though considered a genuine Saenredam by Swillens in 1951,[1] the autography of this drawing has been doubted by others.[2] It is neither signed nor dated, the inscription in decorative capitals is not by Saenredam, and the perspective of the house in the foreground at the right also raises questions. Nevertheless, there is much in favour of its authenticity. The representation in itself and its rendering are characteristic of Saenredam. Distorted perspective and sketchy draughtsmanship are found in his other drawings (for example, see cat. nos. 2, 53). Moreover, the drawing records a situation in existence only from 1634 to 1647; thus a dating in September 1636 is entirely feasible. Perhaps it is an authentic Saenredam with an inscription added later in the 17th century.[3] However, it is not the elevation drawing mentioned in cat. no. 56a, as assumed by Swillens, but the sketch from which that drawing was made.

The Dom Tower is seen from the west, not from the Martin's Bridge as is generally assumed, but from a somewhat more distant and higher vantage point, namely the upper storey of the house at 1 Zadelstraat. This house headed the block of houses between the Zadelstraat and the Buur Churchyard (at present there is a shop dating from 1894, which remains inside the earlier eastern building line by a few metres). In 1636, it and the neighbouring house were owned by Cornelis van Royen (d. 1670), a cloth merchant who would become a member of the town council in 1658.[4] From this vantage point, the vanishing point (not indicated) was about halfway up the tower entrance (even though the drawing affords conflicting information about the eye level), and somewhat to the right of its middle axis. Despite the wide angle of view (more than 45° vertically), perspectival foreshortening is avoided to the extent possible, and the proportioning of the tower is virtually identical to that in the drawing of the Maria Churchyard of 18 September (cat. no. 6). The omitted steeple (only the tower-cross and the weather vane are visible) and the vault of the octagonal lantern allows us to see just how wide the angle is from which this part is observed

The Dom Tower, built from 1321 to 1382, is here portrayed in great detail. Above the dark shaded underpass is the arch-covered rectangular window of St Michael's Chapel, with on either side the two arches and the now vanished balustrades of a gallery. The third storey, now accommodating the Egmond Chapel, but at the time incorporating the residence of the tower sexton, also has five arches and a gallery around it. The wide middle arch contains two escutcheons above which is the dial of the old tower clock crowned by a representation of St Martin and the beggar. The church bells hang in the second tower square; above the sounding boards, the pointed roof of the belfry can be seen through the posts of the middle, open pointed arch. The Late Gothic balustrade of the first gallery at the foot of this section, at the height of the ringing room, dates from around 1525. The large, square dial is from 1618, when the Dom chapter ordered a new clock with dials on all four sides of the tower by order of the city. The chapter's arms and the date 1618 fill the corners of the dial.
The third tower section, an open octagon ('lantern') also with a gallery at its base, houses the carillon, which just like the present one (from 1664) was laid out on the west side and is clearly visible in the drawing. In Saenredam's time these bells were played by Jacob van Eyck,

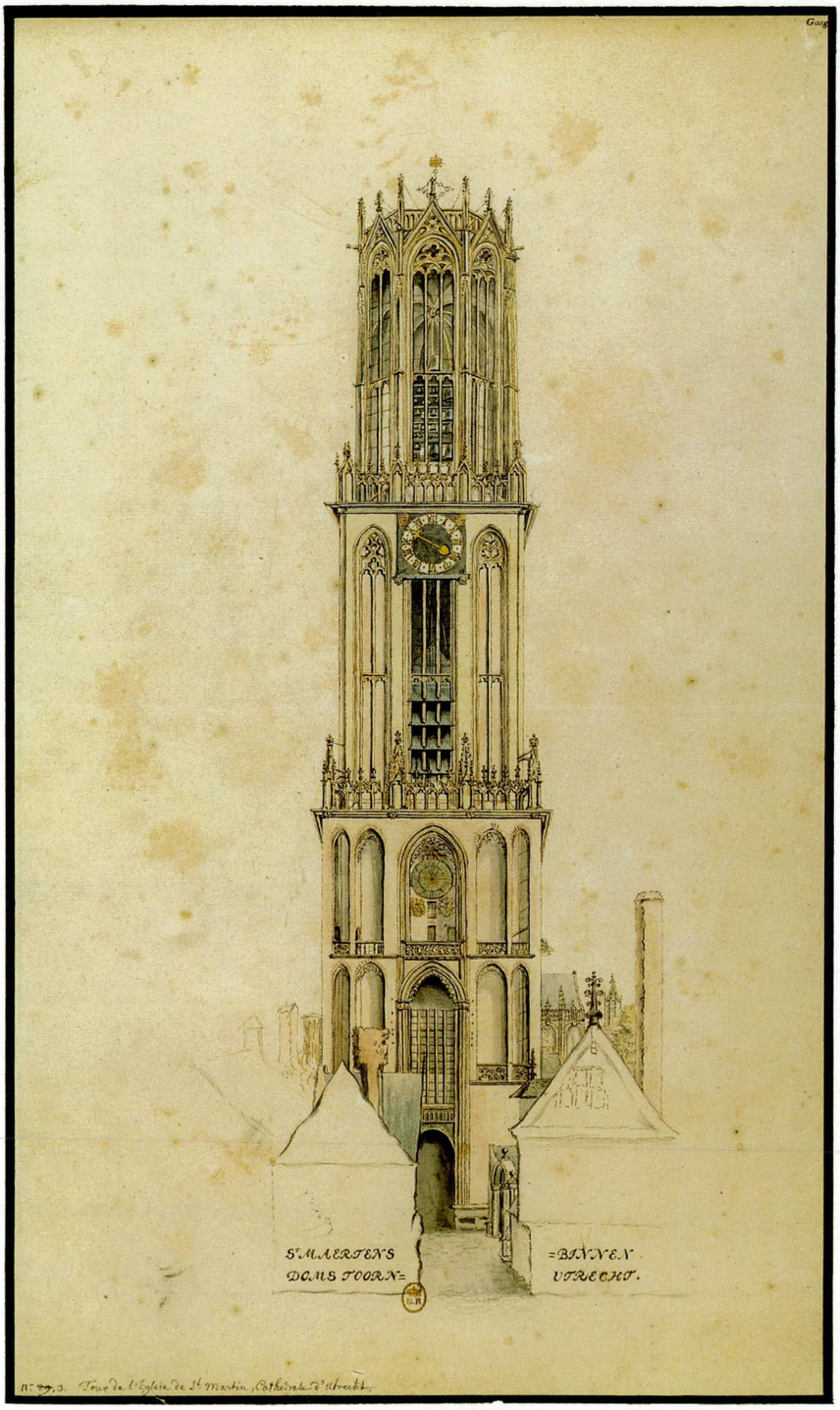
Inscriptions
Recto (on the houses left and right, in 17th-century handwriting, left): St MAERTENS // DOMS TOORN = (and right) = BINNEN // UTRECHT.
Recto (on the square dial lower left and lower right): 16 ... 18
Recto (lower left, in a later hand): n.° [29].3. Tour de l'Eglise de S.t Martin, Cathédrale d'Utrecht.
Recto, upper right: Gaig (collector's mark of F. R. de Gaignières [1642-1715]; L. 1135)

Provenance
De Gaignières collection, Paris; Bibliothèque Royale, 1716

Exhibitions
Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 35, p. 21, fig. 30.

Literature
Paris 1891, vol. 2, cat. no. 6219, p. 297; Hofstede de Groot 1899(b), p. 170; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 123, p. 105 and p. 42; Paris 1936, cat. no. 228, p. 60, fig. LXV; Swillens 1951, pp. 37-42, fig. 1; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 116, pp. 171-172, fig. 117; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 116, pp. 171-172, fig. 117; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 406, 436, 439-441, 451, fig. 392; Roosegaarde Bisschop 1965, pp. 142, 144, fig. 5; Haakma Wagenaar 1975, pp. 16, 52, 57, 65, 73, 76-79, 84, 90, 92, fig. 116; Haakma Wagenaar 1981(a), p. 33, fig. 19; Utrecht 1982, ill. on p. 16 and p. 30; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 116, p. 273 and p. 150, fig. 170; Ruurs 1990, p. 335 (note 8); Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 116, pp. 273-274 and p. 150, fig. 170; Van Santen 1995, ill. on p. 4.

Notes
1
Swillens 1951.
2
Paris 1936, cat. no. 228, p. 60; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 116, pp. 171-172.
3
Compare the lettering of the inscriptions in the large print of the Dom after S. van Lamsweerde, 1660, or in J. van Attevelt's drawing of the St Janskerk, c. 1680; HUA, TA Hd 10.2 and Ic 2.1, respectively.
4
Van Royen bought the house from Arent van Lamsvelt and Maria van Honthorst in 1626, and the adjoining lot in 1629. HUA, conveyances and related property expenses, 10 August 1626; 25 April 1629.
5
This broadening was already mentioned as early as 1643-1644; see De Bruijn 1994, p. 104. The transfer of the house to the city, however, only took place in May 1647; the part remaining after the demolition was sold again a few months later. HUA, conveyances and related property expenses, 18 May and 31 August 1647.


St MAERTENS
DOMS TOORN=
=BINNEN
UTRECHT.

the blind Dom carilloneur from 1625 to 1657. A gallery with balustrades between the triangular window crownings closes off the octagon on the top.

The buildings on either side of the Servetstraat have been rapidly sketched. In the background at the right is the still standing gate that was built in 1634 near the dwelling of the military governor, the former Bisschopshof. The late medieval house before it with the pinnacle-shaped crowning of the wooden façade was demolished in 1647 as part of the widening of the Servetstraat;[5] it was replaced by a narrower house with a brick pilaster façade. The inclusion of these two elements in the drawing thus limits a dating to the period 1634-1647.
The house on the left side later made way for two narrower buildings, which are now united under a single cornice front. The buildings immediately to the left of the tower were just beyond Saenredam's field of vision because of the house (not drawn) on the corner of the Zoutmarkt, and so are only vaguely indicated. This also explains the absence of the north transept of the Dom. The new situation was recorded in a few drawings by Jan de Beijer of 1746, which were made from almost the same vantage point as Saenredam's sketch, but from the street level.[6]

AdG

6
Romers 1969, cat. nos. 695-697, p. 65; illustrated in Utrecht 1987, cat. nos. 81-83. The height of the transept of the Dom in these drawings, moreover, assumes a vantage point further back.

55 Elevations of the Dom Tower in Utrecht, the St Cunera Tower in Rhenen and the Our Lady Tower in Amersfoort

c. 1820

Jacob Constantijn Martens van Sevenhoven (1793-1861) (attributed)

Pen and grey and yellow-brown ink, brush and grey ink, pencil, brush and yellow watercolour. Watermark: St Andrew's cross in a crowned escutcheon and monogram D&C B (Heawood 1950, no. 3268).

610 x 480 mm.
Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. no. 9837.

This architectural drawing was given to the Centraal Museum by A. M. Martens van Sevenhoven in 1946 along with a larger number of sheets by the (amateur) draughtsmen David Johan Martens (1751-1811) and Jacob Constantijn Martens van Sevenhoven (1793-1861). This sheet is attributed to the latter and dated around 1820;[1] incidentally, the watermark in the paper does allow for an earlier dating.[2]
The Utrecht Dom Tower (built between 1321 and 1382), the St Cunera Tower in Rhenen (built between 1492 and 1531) and the Our Lady Tower in Amersfoort (built in the second half of the 15th century) are shown side by side in elevation. The Dom and the Our Lady Towers are seen from the west side, the St Cunera Tower from the north side. These are measurement drawings. The measurements written in or next the Dom and the Our Lady Towers are now very faded; nevertheless, the scales make it possible to generally determine and compare all of the measurements.
Michiel Plomp linked the drawing to Saenredam on the basis of a remark by the draughtsman and engraver Christian Josi (1765-1828). In a discussion of Saenredam's sketch drawings, Josi mentioned 'geometrical drawings' depicting the towers in the five cities of the Province of Utrecht kept at the Renswoude Foundation in Utrecht.[3] Josi's comment raised the question of whether this architectural drawing could be a copy of these.
Although only three towers are shown here, and it is not certain whether the 'geometric drawings' Josi referred to were autograph Saenredams, there is an unmistakable connection with the master. With respect to the Dom Tower, it is entirely plausible that it is a 1:1 copy of the 'elevation drawing' mentioned by Saenredam in the explanation of one of his ground plans of the tower (cat. no. 56a, plan no. 3). That these ground plans and this elevation drawing belong together is clear from the scale, which is virtually identical (elevation drawing 1:196 to 197; ground plans 1:194 to 195), from the reference in the elevation drawing of height only (all of the horizontal dimensions were already in the ground plans), and from the life-size drawn dimension of the Kennemer foot – a unit of measure typically used by Saenredam – with which, according to the caption, everything has been measured. Moreover, the state of the tower (no matter how simplified) is the same as in Saenredam's sketch drawing (cat. no. 54), or in any case that prior to c. 1700, when the Gothic balustrades of the first gallery were (or had already been) replaced with iron fences as a result of the damage inflicted by the hurricane of 1674.

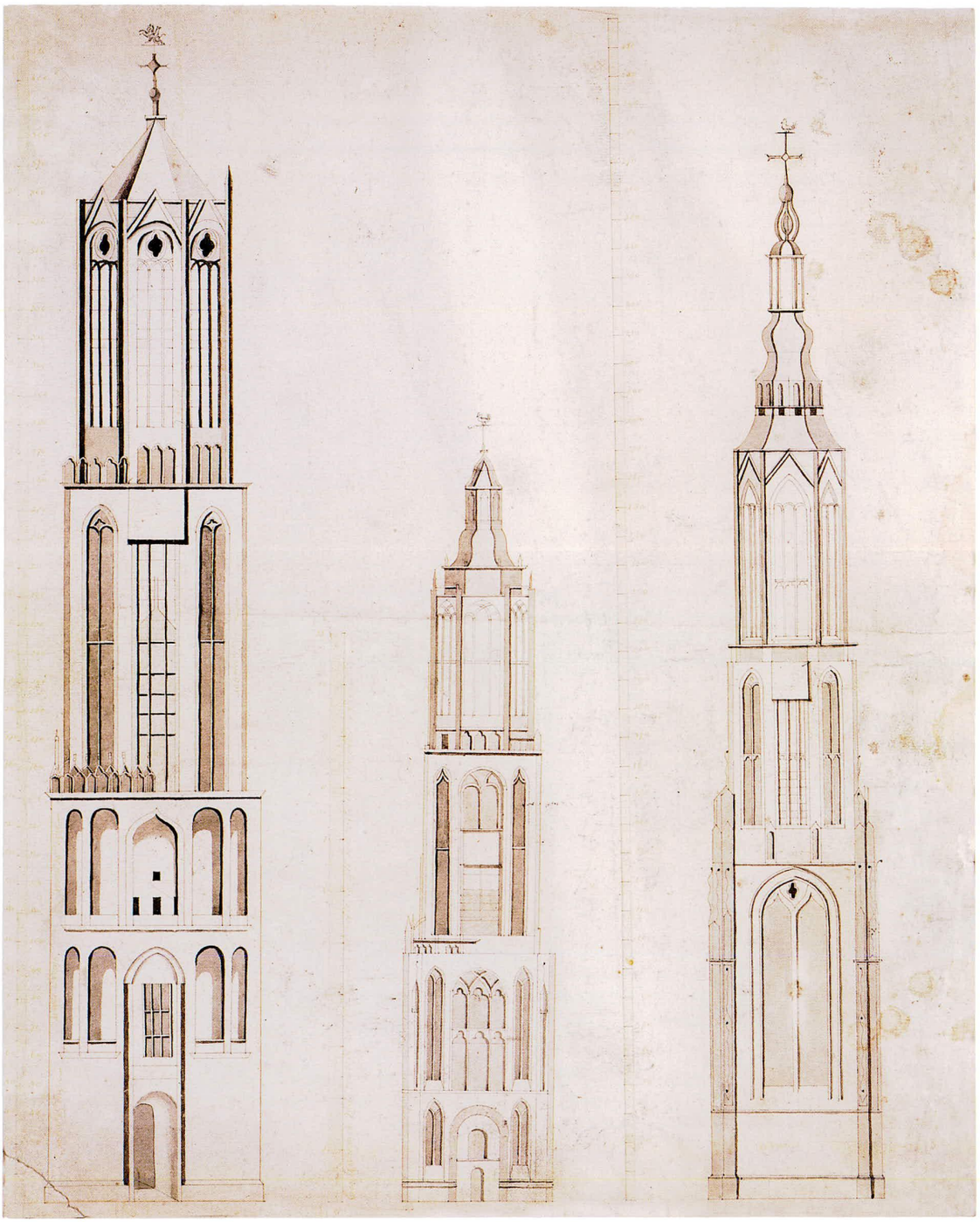
The question arises whether the elevation drawings of the towers of Rhenen and Amersfoort could be based on (now unknown) measurement drawings by Saenredam. This idea gains support from the use of the Kennemer foot scale and the same scale for the three elevations. It is certainly plausible for the Rhenen tower given that Saenredam visited this town in 1644, the St Cunera Tower being one of his main objectives. However, in this drawing the tower is shown in a later state than in Saenredam's sketches of 1644,[4]

Inscriptions
(Along two large scales are marked the number of feet, in units of ten: 10 (mistakenly located on the base line) to 430; along a smaller scale are marked the number of inches 1 to 11, and the text): Een Kennemer voet verdeeld in Elf duymen Met welke lengte van voete deeze in alles is Gemeeten (A Kennemer foot divided into 11 inches, with which foot length everything has been measured)
(Along and in the towers are various measurements, most of which have greatly faded):
Dom Tower: (first main section at the left, from bottom to top): 50 voet 4½ duym / 41 voet 10 duym / 43 voet 10 duym; (right): 140 voet 2½ duym; (second main section at the right): 105 voet 7½ duym; (third main section in the middle): 19 v 6 d / 50 voet; (right): 92 voet 6 duym; (roof and tower cross at the right): 37 v 2 duym / Na het zegge 23 voet (It is said to be 23 feet)
St Cunera Tower: (no measurements)
Our Lady Tower: (in the lower section are a few width measurements, from left to right): 4 / 4 / 41 voete / 4 / 4 (the height measurements written in and along the right side of the tower are now only partially legible)

Provenance
A. M. Martens van Sevenhoven collection, Arnhem (1946); given by A. M. Martens van Sevenhoven to the Centraal Museum, 1946

Literature
Utrecht 1952, cat. no. 620, p. 239.

Notes
1
Utrecht 1928 suppl., no. 1196 1[x]; Utrecht 1952, cat. no. 620, p. 239.
2
Heawood 1950, p. 137, no. 3268, signals it in a piece from around 1769. The Zaandam paper maker Dirk Blauw & Co is known from 1733 to 1827, see Churchill 1935, p. [13].
3
Josi 1821, n. p. (under Pieter Saenredam).
4
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. nos. 104 and 105, pp. 156-158.
5
The tower was subject to radical restorations as of 1682; Deys 1992, pp. 10ff., p. 21.
6
Berends 1974, p. 216; Utrecht 1983(b), cat. no. 10, pp. 51-52.
7
HUA, Rijksarchief Utrecht TA 304. See Kolman et al. 1996, ill. on p. 22; and Dekker et al. 1997, vol. 1, ill. on p. 330. The towers are those of Utrecht, Amersfoort, Rhenen, Montfoort and Wijk bij Duurstede. The scales are in Utrecht and Rhineland feet, the scale is about 1:520 to 1:530. The provenance of this sheet is unknown (Renswoude Foundation?).



as appears from the dome-shaped crowning element (rather than the open pear spire) dating from the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century, which burned in 1897.[5] Accordingly, it cannot be a copy after Saenredam. With respect to the Amersfoort Our Lady Tower, all we know is that the elevation drawing shows this tower in its pre-1804 state, the year in which the spire burned following which it was rebuilt in an altered shape.[6] The spire had burned earlier, in 1651, but was restored to its basic shape, so that the year in which it was depicted in this drawing cannot be determined on that basis. Because absolutely no Amersfoort (sketch) drawings by Saenredam are known (his sketches are generally better preserved than his measurements), there is little likelihood that he made the measurements on which this elevation drawing is based. Moreover, the number of annotated dimensions is far fewer than is usual for Saenredam.

From the above, it may be concluded that the elevation drawing of the Dom Tower must have been made after a drawing by Saenredam, and those of the St Cunera and the Our Lady Towers were based on measurements from a later time, but before 1804.

This conclusion is confirmed by another smaller-scale drawing of the towers of the five Utrecht cities in Het Utrechts Archief dating from the beginning of the 19th century or even the end of the 18th century.[7] In this sheet all of the towers are depicted in their (late) 18th-century state. The Dom Tower displays striking differences with the elevation drawing in the Centraal Museum, while the towers of Amersfoort and Rhenen are virtually identical and deviate only in sequence and scale.

AdG

56a-b Ground plans of the Dom Tower in Utrecht

c. 1636

Two sheets, each with three ground plan measurements

Pen and brown ink, graphite, brush and various shades of brown ink, brush and watercolour (grey, blue, yellow).
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Watermark: a: escutcheon with an oblique fesse, above which is a fleur-de-lis and below the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 299); b: none.
Each 415 x 280 mm.

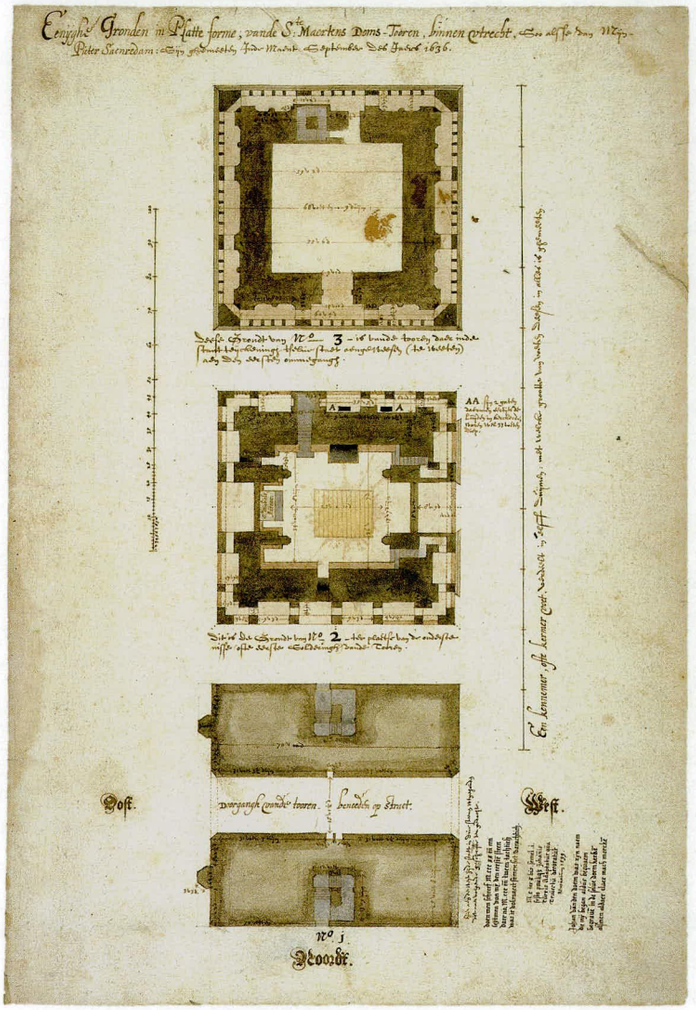
a: recto (above): Eenijghe Gronden in Platte forme; van de S:te Maertens Doms-Tooren, binnen utrecht, Soo alsse van Mijn. // Pieter Saenredam: Sijn ghemeeten Inde Maent September des Jaers 1636. (Several plans of the St Martin's Cathedral Tower in Utrecht, as they were measured by me, Pieter Saenredam, in the month of September in the year 1636.)
b: recto (above): vervolgh vande Gronden; vanden Dom voorss. (continuation of the ground plans; of the afore-mentioned cathedral)
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Hk 1(1).

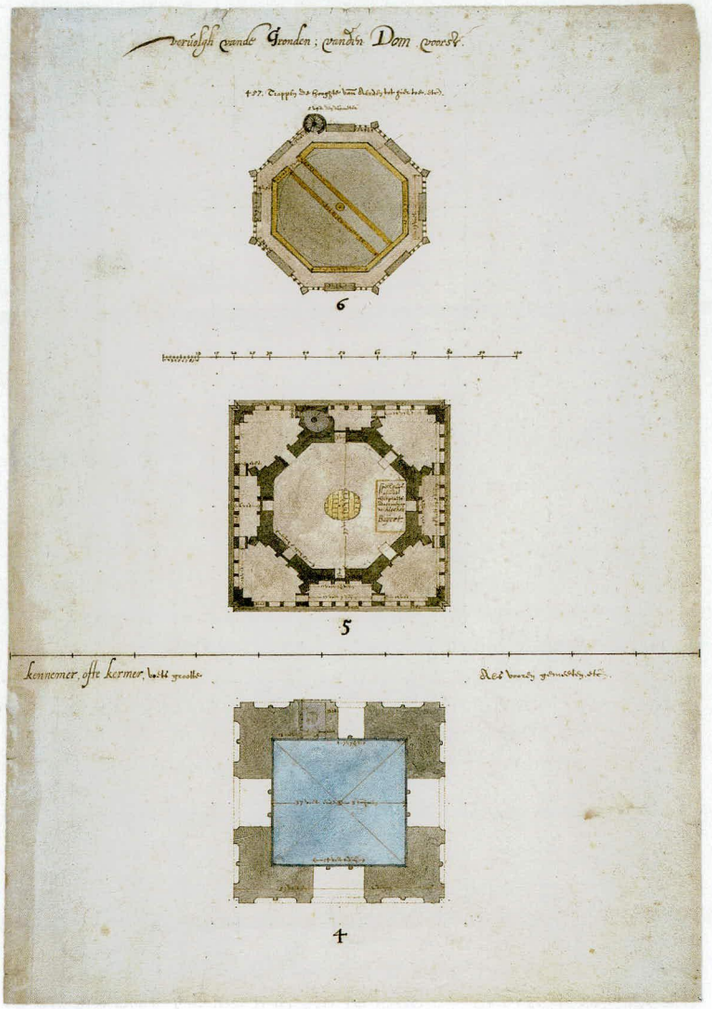
Each of these two sheets has three ground plans of the Dom Tower's various storeys with extensive annotations. The passage in the caption at the top in the first sheet 'as they were *measured* by me, Pieter Saenredam, in September 1636', allows for the possibility that the drawings originated at a later time. These are not the sketches and measurement notes made in the tower, but their elaborations in fair copy very carefully done with a ruler, triangle and compass first in graphite and then traced over in pen and brush. The paper is identical to that of his large interior drawing of the Dom of 3 September (cat. no. 50), suggesting that Saenredam made these drawings back at his lodgings shortly after his visit to the tower.[1]

Saenredam went about documenting the consecutive levels of the tower very systematically. He recorded two ground plans for each of the three main sections – the first and the second tower square and the octagonal lantern – the first of which is always at the foot of the section. The plans numbered 1 and 2 concern the first tower square at street level with the large entrance and the first storey with St Michael's Chapel, respectively. Plans 3 and 4 are of the second square at the level of the first gallery[2] and the storey above with the pointed roof of the belfry, respectively. Plans 5 and 6, finally, are of the octagon at the height of the second gallery and at the foot of the roof at the upper gallery. Equally systematic is the use of colour. All of the ascending walls are grey, the woodwork is yellow-brown, the stone wall benches and balustrades are brown, the stone floors light brown, and all the staircases and steps blue-grey; finally, the roof of the belfry is blue.
On each of the two sheets are two scales. The first one, measuring about 27.5 cm, gives the Kennemer foot measure life-size, which Saenredam used to measure everything. The second one, measuring about 14.1 to 14.2 cm, gives the measurement of 100 feet in the drawing, from which the scale can be calculated at about 1:194 to 195. Moreover, all manner of measurements are written in the plans that Saenredam must have made and recorded out of his own interest, for most were superfluous in making the paintings. The additional explanatory captions – the texts of the memorial tablets in the tower in plan 1, the mention of earlier dungeons in plan 2, the total number of steps in plan 6 – also bespeak Saenredam's architectural and historical curiosity. In plan 3 reference is made to the elevation drawing, of which cat. no. 55 must be a copy.

From the ground plan we can deduce Saenredam's route as he climbed up the tower as well as what he would or would not have seen. As was usual then, but not now, the ascent began

Inscriptions
a:
(vertically at the left is a scale of 100 feet, with the numbers 1 to 10, 15, 20 etc. to 50, 60 etc. to 100); (at the right along a 1:1, life-size foot measurement): Een kennemer, ofte kermer voet, verdeelt in elff duijmen, met welcke grootte van voeten deesen in alles is ghemeeten. (A Kennemerland, or Kermer foot, divided into 11 inches: with which foot length all parts of this were measured.)
Near the ground plans, starting below:
1: (below): N°. 1.; (around, left): Oost.; (below): Noordt.; (right): West.; (in the passage): Doorgangh vande tooren beneeden op straet. (Tower passageway, below on the street); (along the west side): Hier aen de West zijde staet in drie steenen wtgehouden // dit naervolgende geschrifte ter gedachte. (blank line) doen men schreef M.cccxx en(de) een // leijtmen van mij den eerste(n) steen // daer na M.ccc en(de) twe en tachtich // was ic volmaect somen siet warachtich. (blank line) M c ter x bis. semel. i. // festo pauliq(ue) Johan(n)is // Turris Adaptatur qua // Traiectu(m) decoratur. // Renovatum 1599. (blank line) Johan van den doem was zijn naem // die mij began aldus bequaem // begrave(n) in de selve doemkerke(n) / alsmen aldaer claer mach mercke(n). (Here, on the west side, the following memorial inscription is carved into three stones. In 1321 my first stone was laid. After that, in 1382, I was completed as one truly sees. In 1321, on the day of St John, the tower was begun which adorns Utrecht. Restored in 1599. John of the Dom was his name, who very capably began me. [He] is buried in the same cathedral church, as one can clearly see there.)
2: (below): dit is de Grondt van N°- 2 - ter plaetse van de onderste nisse (ofte eerste Solderingh) vande Tooren. (This is the ground plan of no. 2, at the level of the bottom niche, or first floor of the tower); (in the tower space): S.t Michiels // Autaer. (St Michael's Altar); (above, in the gallery, two times A, and at the side): A A. sijn 2 gaten // daermen eertijts de // luijden in kerckerde, // waren wel 33 voeten // diep. (A A are two holes in which formerly people were incarcerated; these holes were as deep as 33 feet.)
3: (below): deese Grondt van N°- 3 - is vande tooren daer inde // stant teijckeningh tselve staet aengeweesen (te weeten) // aen den eersten ommegangh. (This ground plan of no. 3 belongs to the tower, as indicated in the elevation drawing, namely the first gallery.)
b:
(on a scale of 100 feet are the numbers 1 to 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 40 etc. to 100); (on a life-size foot measurement, left): kennemer, ofte kermer, voets grootte (Kennemerland, or Kermer, foot life-size); (right): Als vooren gemeeten etc. (Measured as previously etc.)
Near the ground plans, starting below:
4: (below): 4
5: (below): 5; (in the octagon): speelhuijs // ofte // Sitplaets // daer men op // de klocken // Baijert. (carilloneur's room, or seat, where one can play the bells.)
6: (below): 6; (above): 457. Trappen de hooghte van (den) Aerden tot hier toe etc. (457 Steps from the height of the ground up to here etc.); (below, near the staircase turret): 5 v 4 d den diameter (5 feet 4 inches in diameter)
Numerous measurements are written in the ground plans of both sheets.


Oost.
West.
Noordt.


6
5
4

via the little door and the stairs located behind it on the north side (plan 1 at the bottom). Surprisingly, Saenredam indicated an identical staircase on the south side, which never existed in reality. He must have been misled by the still present door in the south wall that does not give access to a staircase going up but rather down to the cellars under the tower, which he did not inspect. After St Michael's Chapel (plan 2), where he saw the St Michael's Altar, Saenredam continued his climb via the stairs on the south side to the top gallery. Whether he went into the dwelling of the tower sexton – built in the present Egmond Chapel – cannot be determined. In any event, he did not visit the ringing room at the height of the first gallery (plan 3), for in his ground plan this space consists of a 'white spot'. The heavy inner walls built in the 16th century are missing and the dimensions given there are not those of the area inside, but of the gallery outside. The tower sexton was responsible for ringing the swinging bells; the tasks of the carilloneur included the actual maintenance of these bells, which hung one storey higher. Because Saenredam did measure the interior bell chamber level (plan 4), but not the ringing room, and so emphatically indicated the carillon room in the octagon considerably higher up (plan 5), it is probable that the Dom carilloneur, Jacob van Eyck, was his guide in the tower.

AdG

Provenance
Unknown (see note 14, p. 57)

Exhibitions
a and b: Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
a:
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 635, p. 63 and p. VI; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 5-6, fig. 5; Hofstede de Groot 1899(b), p. 170; Haakma Wagenaar 1934, p. 75; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 121, p. 104 and pp. 41-42, fig. 158; Haakma Wagenaar 1938(a), p. 30; Van Campen 1951, pp. 45, 48-52, 55; Swillens 1951, pp. 36-37, 40, fig. 2; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 120, pp. 176-178, fig. 120; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 120, pp. 176-178, fig. 120; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 406, 457; Kamerling-van Haersma Buma 1973, p. 15, ill.; Haakma Wagenaar 1975, pp. 27, 74; Ruurs 1982, pp. 117-118 (note 11); Struick 1982, pp. 18-19, fig. 6 and cover; Ruurs 1987, p. 104 (note 78); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 120, p. 274 and pp. 152-154, fig. 172; Ruurs 1990, p. 335; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 120, pp. 274-275 and pp. 152-153, fig. 172.
b:
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 635, p. 63 and p. VI; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 5-6, fig. 5; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 122, p. 105 and pp. 41-42, fig. 159; Swillens 1951, pp. 36-37, 40, fig. 3; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 121, pp. 178-179, fig. 121; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 121, p. 179, fig. 121; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 406, 447; Haakma Wagenaar 1975, pp. 74, 81; Ruurs 1982, pp. 117-118 (note 11); Struick 1982, fig. 7 and cover; Ruurs 1987, p. 104 (note 78); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 121, p. 274 and pp. 153, 154, fig. 173; Ruurs 1990, p. 335; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 121, p. 275 and pp. 152, 153, fig. 173.

Notes
1
The two sheets have virtually the same dimensions as cat. no. 50. They are evidently from an identical large sheet, for the watermark in sheet *a* is the same as that in cat. no. 50: the position of it in cat. no. 50 also provides an explanation for the fact that a watermark is missing in sheet *b*.
2
Not at the height of the Egmond Chapel, as Van Regteren Altena,[De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 120, p. 178, incorrectly assert.

57 The Dom Tower in Utrecht seen from the Oudegracht with the town hall

15 October 1636

Pen and brown ink, graphite, brush and watercolour (grey, pink, green, blue, yellowish brown).
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Watermark: none.
518 x 386 mm.

Recto left (on the pentice): Int Jaer 1636. den 15.e October. // dese binnen uijtrecht volteijckent. (In the year 1636, on 15 October, this drawing was completed in Utrecht.)
Recto upper left (on the canopy of the portal): Pieter Saenredam fecit
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Hk 1(2).

This large watercolour drawing is one of the last that Saenredam made in Utrecht. The sheet may be counted among the few real city views by him that are known. It portrays the Utrecht city core in the 17th century: the Plaats (the Town Hall Bridge over the Oudegracht) and town hall, with the weighing house in the left foreground and the city hoist in the right foreground; the Fish Market somewhat lower and the Dom Tower rising high in the background. It is a purely architectural view: even though it is mid-afternoon (the dials of the Dom Tower indicate a time close to 3 p.m., the one on the town hall tower closer to 4 p.m., yet the fall of light would seem to indicate the first half of the afternoon), virtually no living creature is to be found. Saenredam focused entirely on the dominating presence of the Dom Tower in the image of Utrecht – here that of the burghers, in contrast to his view of the churchyard of the Mariakerk (cat. no. 6), which sketches a former immunity – and on the differences between the various types of medieval and Renaissance architecture. In this Saenredam distinguishes himself from other draughtsmen and painters who portrayed this same view, such as J. C. Droochsloot several years earlier or Cornelis van Hardenbergh one and a half centuries later.[1] This drawing also differs from Saenredam's other town hall views (Haarlem, 's-Hertogenbosch, Amsterdam), where the town hall itself is the central subject.

In the left foreground Saenredam drew the house called 'Keizerrijk' (Empire), a residence built for Gerrit de Keyser at the beginning of the 15th century with a front façade entirely in stone and crowned with crenels. The house was already used for a variety of purposes by the city in the 15th century and after a hiatus again as of 1614: in Saenredam's time some guilds had their chambers there and the downstairs area served as the weighing house; the sheds and the arched pentice above the double entrance in the middle are connected to these uses. The two open red shutters belong to a window in the right half of the lower front, the pendant of the barred window at the left. A cellar hatch can be discerned beneath both windows. On the façade of the first storey Saenredam saw the statue of a figure in armour below a Gothic baldachin. All of this was lost during the renovations and the lowering of the façade in the 18th century.
Between 'Keizerrijk' and the town hall were another four residences, but because of a dip in the building line they were omitted in the drawing. We do see a part of the roof of the first house, called 'De Ster' (The Star), a medieval structure with a cantilevered wooden façade; the rest is concealed by a fire-resistant partition projecting out on the corner of the first storey of 'Keizerrijk'.
Saenredam saw only the middle and right half of the town hall. The appearance of the Utrecht town hall was rather patchy before the neo-classical renovation in 1824-1826.
The broad right half with the Renaissance pilaster façade above a (later) closed arcade was largely newly built in 1546-1547 on the site of a house called 'Hasenberg' (Hare Mountain), where magistrates ('schepenen') had been gathering since 1343 or shortly thereafter. The tall façade next to it was that of 'Groot Lichtenberg' (Great Light Mountain), which – together

Inscriptions
Verso lower left: 151 (159?) (pen and brown ink?)
Verso lower right: 299 (pencil); 113 (pencil)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 61, p. 24, fig. XXI; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 61, p. 24, fig. XXI; Utrecht 1953(b), cat. no. 143, p. 36; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 203, p. 90, ill. on p. 87; Ghent 1958, cat. no. 14, p. 155; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Tokyo/Kyoto 1968-1969, cat. no. 121, n. p., ill.; Paris 1970, cat. no. 34, p. 21, fig. 31; Amsterdam/Toronto 1977, cat. no. 82, pp. 174-175 and p. 139, ill. on p. 175.

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 113, p. 15 and p. VI; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 5, fig. 4; Muller 1906, p. 19 (note 1), fig. XXVI, no. 3; Peters [1909], vol. 1, fig. 139; Muller 1911, p. 22, 27; Weissman 1912, pp. 67, 177, fig. 20; Van Heukelom 1929, pp. 8, 23, ill. facing p. 1; Fritz 1932, pp. 52-53; Haakma Wagenaar 1934, pp. 75-78; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 131, p. 107, fig. 126; Bremmer 1938, fig. 11; Haakma Wagenaar 1938(a), pp. 29-30, figs. 1 and 2; Heppner 1939, pp. 117, 118, fig. 5; Van Regteren Altena,1948, cat. no. 11, p. XVI and p. VIII; Swillens 1951, pp. 35, 40; Haslinghuis 1956, pp. 69, 123, fig. 39; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 115, pp. 169-171, fig. 116; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 115, pp. 169-171, fig. 116; Haslinghuis and Peeters 1965, pp. 406, 440, 447; Graafhuis and Knoester 1967, fig. 2; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 139; Wagner 1971, p. 27; Graafhuis 1972, fig. 8; Graafhuis and Knoester [1974], fig. 2; Haakma Wagenaar 1975, pp. 76, 88, 89, fig. 3; Haak 1977-1978, pp. 28, 37, fig. 15; Du Croo de Vries 1978, ill. on p. 68; Hoogland 1978, ill. on p. 51; Wilmer 1980, p. 40, ill.; Struick 1982, ill. on the cover; De Bruijn et al. 1984-1985, ill. on p. 244; Dolfin, Kylstra and Penders 1989, vol. A, pp. 134-135, fig. 183; Ross 1989, pp. 37, 48, 49, fig. 1; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 115, p. 273 and pp. 151, 154, fig. 171; Ruurs 1990, p. 335; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 115, p. 273 and pp. 151, 152, fig. 171; Van Hulzen 1991, pp. 25-27, ill.; De Bruijn 1994, fig. 39; Brugman, Buiter and Van Vliet 1995, ill. on p. 38; Huygens 1998, ill. on p. 5; De Bruin et al. 1999, ill. on the cover.

Notes
1
Illustrations in De Meyere 1988, p. 155, fig. 11, and Wilmer 1980, p. 41.
2
Ross 1989, pp. 51ff.
3
Dolfin, Kylstra and Penders 1989, vol. A, pp. 134-136.
4
Van Hulzen 1986, pp. 105-109, ill.



with 'Klein Lichtenberg' (Small Light Mountain) to the left of it and omitted in the drawing – was bought by the city after Charles V became ruler in 1528. The emperor wished to centralise the city government and thus the city council, which traditionally met on the Steenweg, had to be accommodated with the magistrates in a single building. The new building and the renovation of the three houses that took place in 1546-1547 were the responsibility of Willem van Noort, though it is not known whether the Renaissance-style design is entirely his.[2] The main entrance and a balcony for the official proclamations were in the middle section, 'Groot Lichtenberg', which for the rest retained its medieval character. The campanile in the right half was built in 1582 and provided with a small carillon. In the drawing this fragile tower contrasts with the large Dom Tower, which – seen diagonally – makes an even more massive impression than in Saenredam's earlier drawings of the tower (cat. nos. 6, 54). The Dom Tower seems to lean to the west, a 'mistake' by Saenredam that is reinforced by the somewhat crooked cropping of the drawing. Depicted at the foot of the Dom Tower and the adjoining part of the nave are the wooden façades and roofs of the houses on the Fish Market; rising up somewhat further back are a few brick façades belonging to the cathedral's claustral houses. The tallest house with a wooden front rising up before the Dom nave is the present building at 4-5 Vismarkt, whose construction still dates largely from the 15th century though the façade has been entirely altered.[3]

In the right side of the drawing we see the upper section of the city hoist, a polygonal building on the low-lying dock of the Oudegracht, provided with a hoisting mechanism (projecting above the onion-shaped roof in Saenredam's drawing) with which the ships could be loaded and unloaded. Already known in the 15th century, the hoist was a distinctive feature of the Utrecht cityscape until it broke down in 1837.
The house with the stepped gable behind the roof of the city hoist is the first one on the Snippenvlucht, a row of houses along the west side of the Oudegracht that was pulled down in the course of the 17th century. Somewhat further is the house on the corner of the Plaats and the Choorstraat.

Saenredam must have made the drawing from the Barbara- and Laurentiusgasthuis on the Oudegracht near the Ganzenmarkt, originally a hospital and cloister annex, and later an old men and women's home with the men's quarters on the front. It stood where the 'Winkel van Sinkel' (a general store) was built in 1838.[4] The vantage point can be localised near the hospital's right entrance, which approximately agrees with the present right portico. There may have been an intermediate storey from where Saenredam could have made his drawing just behind the lancet windows above and to the side of the entrance door.
Since all of the buildings are crooked with respect to one another, no central vanishing point can be determined in the drawing. However, Saenredam did work with various horizon heights. The horizon in the foreground is about halfway up the sloping shed at the left, namely about 4 metres above street level. This is where the perspective lines of 'Keizerrijk' converge quite purely in a point just below the onion-shaped roof of the city hoist, thanks to auxiliary lines drawn in graphite which are still partly visible. The heavy watercolouring, however, makes it impossible to determine whether Saenredam here initially marked his vanishing point. The horizon in the background is noticeably lower: somewhat under the arches of the ground floor of the town hall estimated at just under 3 metres above street level. This is one of the drawings in which Saenredam combined various viewpoints.

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58 The nave and choir of the St Janskerk in Utrecht seen to the east

15 September 1636

Pen and brown ink, (traces of graphite), brush and grey and brown ink, brush and watercolour (red, yellow, blue).
Watermark: fleur-de-lis in a crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 297).
384 x 495 mm.

Recto below: De S:t Jans kerck: binnen Vtrecht.
Recto (on the base of the foremost pier): Bij mijn Pieter Saenredam. // den 15e September // Int Jaer 1636. (By me Pieter Saenredam, on 15 September, in the year 1636.)
Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 22485.

The St Janskerk is here seen from the northwest corner of the Romanesque nave to the Gothic choir. At the right are narrow views of the southern aisle and the south transept and at the left a view through the northern aisle to St Anthony's Chapel. The perspective appears very precise, even though many of the orthogonals do not converge on the vanishing point to the left on the back of the wide bench in front of the pulpit. St Anthony's Chapel is partly drawn from a somewhat more northerly vantage point. The architectural proportions are well done, only the piers, including the large one in the foreground, are too slender. The two standing men are in no way perspectively proportional and were later additions.

A great contrast exists between the 11th-century nave (and transept) and the choir completed in 1539. The painted bands – imitations of vault ribs – on the barrel-vaulted ceiling of the Romanesque parts nevertheless suggest a unity. These painted bands were recovered during the most recent restoration of the church.[1]
In 1636 the choir still had most of its original stained glass of c. 1540. Saenredam vaguely indicated the glass in three of the choir apse's windows. From Buchelius we know that the middle window contained a scene of the meeting of Mary and Elisabeth (the Visitation), which preceded the Birth of St John the Baptist, the church's patron saint. The flanking windows showed the Baptism of Christ in the River Jordan (left) and the Dance of Salome, which led to the Beheading of St John (right). The latter two windows included portraits of the donors, Emperor Charles V and his sister Mary of Hungary.[2]
As of 1580, the choir had lost all religious function and housed the Utrecht city library – the predecessor of the present University library. In this view, the books are concealed by the Renaissance rood screen separating the choir from the transept. The suggestion of asymmetry evoked by the rood screen is a result of Saenredam's eccentric vantage point and the fact that the choir is so much wider than the nave.[3]
French services had been held in the St Janskerk for the Walloon reformed congregation since the end of the 16th century. We see the pulpit between the two red choir doors, in the area formerly housing the Altar of Mary and the Holy Cross. The simple pulpit stands before a wainscoting with Gothic pinnacles on the corners, and above the sounding board is a Gothic canopy; these elements may have been taken from an older pew and pulpit. A bit of the rail of the baptismal enclosure is visible between the benches in the nave.
The organ was located on the north wall of the nave. In the drawing we see only the bottom of the gallery buttressed by the corbels on which it was placed.

Several of the memorial plaques and escutcheons in the nave can be identified thanks to Buchelius. The large lozenge-shaped board in the foreground contains the arms of Aemilia Baerdesen (d. 1622), daughter of Willem Baerdesen (Bardesius), Lord of Warmenhuizen, Krabbendam, etc. and granddaughter of the well-known Amsterdam burgomaster (in 1578 and variously thereafter) Willem Baerdesen (d. 1601).[4] Four piers further to the east can be seen the still present memorial tablet of Willem Pijl (d. 1591), canon of the St Janskerk and

Inscriptions
Recto (in the choir vault): 1539
Verso lower left: 965 (pen and brown ink)

Comments
The two little figures are most likely an 18th-century addition (see p. 65).

Provenance
E. G. Harzen collection (1863); bequeathed by E. G. Harzen to the Hamburg Kunstverein, 1863

Exhibitions
Hamburg 1920, cat. no. 140, p. 23; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 201, p. 89; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 45, p. 23, fig. 38; Hamburg 1994-1995, cat. no. 107, p. 180 and p. 10, ill. on p. 103.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 8, fig. 9; Utrecht 1907, p. 118; Weissman 1912, pp. 31, 177, fig. 7; *Verslag Museum Boijmans* 1930, p. 3; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 125, p. 105, fig. 160; Rotterdam 1937-1938, p. 12; Amsterdam 1938, p. 13; Van der Boom 1940, pp. 78-79 (note 3); Bernt 1957-1958, vol. 2, fig. 513; Plietzsch 1960, p. 120; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 139, pp. 201-202, fig. 140; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 139, p. 201, fig. 140; Rotterdam 1962, p. 125; Hamburg 1967, cat. no. 69, p. 39, fig. 80; Kubach and Verbeek 1976, vol. 2, p. 1161; vol. 3, fig. 556, no. 3; Van der Werf 1976, ill. on p. 21; Van Hoogevest 1977, p. 8; Van Hoogevest and Van Staveren 1979, pp. 2, 6, ill. on p. 5; Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 5, fig. 512; Haakma Wagenaar 1980, pp. 1-2, 12-15, fig. 1; Anonymous [1981], p. 25, ill. on p. 17; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 22, ill. on p. 21; Graafhuis and Witteveen 1981, ill. on p. 20; Liedtke 1982, p. 90; W. Haakma Wagenaar [1982], pp. 159-160, 169, 171, 173, 174, fig. 103; Van Wezel [1982], pp. 135, 145; Elkins 1988, p. 272 (note 15); Temminck Groll 1988, p. 25, fig. 29; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 139, p. 278 and pp. 162, 167, 203, 204, fig. 186; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 139, p. 280 and pp. 162, 166, 203, 204, fig. 186; Van Vliet 1990, p. 126, ill.; Utrecht 1999, pp. 272, 273 (note 5).

Notes
1
W. Haakma Wagenaar [1982], p. 163, dates these painted bands to the 13th century; however, given the striking visual similarity with the rib pattern of the 16th-century choir vault, a dating in the 16th century is more plausible, at least for the part in the transept.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 44r-v.
3
Manke 1963, pp. 33 (note 1) and 41; Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 36, p. 193.
4
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 48r.
The arms – a gold cross in a green field with a six-pointed gold star in the first and fourth quarter – can still be seen in the oldest Burgomasters' window in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.


De St Jans kerck binnen Utrecht.

the Mariakerk. The other memorial tablets were lost during the renovations of 1658-1659, when six piers were torn down. The depicted hatchments have also vanished. However, in the first three on the beam at the right can be identified the arms of (from right to left) Maria Hamel van Meerwijk (d. 28 October 1635), her husband Gerrit Hamel, lawyer of the States of Utrecht (d. 30 August 1633), and Maria Rodius (d. 31 July 1634), widow of Steven van Rumelaer.[5] The two lozenge-shaped boards above the pulpit contain the arms of the Godin (Godijn) family, who also owned several graves in the St Janskerk.[6]
In St Anthony's Chapel at the left is the (wood-cased) tomb of Provost Dirk van Wassenaer (d. 1465) with his memorial above; these monuments are presently in the south transept. The Van Wassenaer arms are again visible in the top of the window. Because the window and the memorial were drawn from a slightly more northerly vantage point than the tomb, the positions of these elements are shifted in relation to one another, as appears from a comparison with the drawing of the interior of the chapel Saenredam made on 6 October (cat. no. 60).

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5
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 55v. The dates of death are old style.
6
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 47v and 49r. The left board could be that of Philips Godin (d. 27 August 1613), who bought a grave in 1612 for his wife Susanna de Malapert (d. 6 March 1612); the right board with impaled arms (1. Godin; 2. Malapert?) could be related to her.

59 The nave and choir of the St Janskerk with St Anthony's Chapel in Utrecht

1650-1660

Panel, 65.5 x 83.4 cm.
Unsigned, undated.
Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 1766.

The nave and choir of the St Janskerk with St Anthony's Chapel is derived virtually literally from the drawing of the church's interior Saenredam made on 15 September 1636 (cat. no. 58). In the drawing Saenredam indicated the central vanishing point with an encircled dot at the upper far left on the high wooden pew. And, in the painting, a hole where Saenredam pricked the panel with a pin is found in precisely the same place. He used a string attached to the pin to check the correct perspective.
Not only the composition, but also the colours of the drawing and the painting largely correspond. The differences are found in a number of details. Saenredam omitted the wood-cased tomb of Dirk van Wassenaer, which in the drawing is visible at the left in the corner of St Anthony's Chapel. The trusses of the vault are missing in the painting, and Saenredam also left out the painted frames of the arches in the nave; the bases of the piers, dark grey in the drawing, are painted white like the piers. The two male figures, which were added later in the drawing, are missing.[2]

The painting, which was in a German private collection at the beginning of the 20th century, was given to the then Museum Boymans in Rotterdam by three private individuals in 1930. It was the second painting by the master to enter the museum's collection: *The Mariaplaats with the Mariakerk* (cat. no. 7) had been acquired earlier, in 1872. In the annual report, Dirk Hannema expressed his gratitude for the generous gesture. He praised the acquisition as a work in which the painter 'expressed himself more nobly and profoundly as rarely before', and lauded the painting's 'clear, light tone'.[3]
In the meantime, the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen boasts four paintings by Saenredam. *The nave of the St Pieterskerk* (cat. no. 46) was acquired in 1958, and the *View from the aisle of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar into the churchyard* was given in 1936. Of the four paintings only two were selected for the exhibition *Perspectives: Saenredam and the architectural painters of the 17th century* held in Rotterdam in 1991. *The nave and choir of the St Janskerk* was not included. The paleness praised by the director in 1930 had been concealed by very discoloured varnish. After the painting was restored in 1997-1998 its quality turned out to be much better than had been thought. Its condition is excellent, and it has entirely regained its light clearness of tone.[4] It is as though a masterpiece has been added to the museum's collection.

In the past, the absence of a signature occasioned the suggestion that the painting was unfinished.[5] This, however, proved to be unfounded during the restoration. Nowhere does the grey-pink ground show through the paint layer, which is fairly thickly and fluently applied. The brushwork, which per area consistently runs in the same direction, is typical of Saenredam.
Not only is the painting unsigned, it is undated and Plietzsch's statement that it was painted in 1646 must, therefore, be an error.[6] Art historians generally agree that it is a late work. Hannema dates it around 1660, and in his oeuvre catalogue Swillens places its genesis between 1655 and 1665.[7] In the Saenredam catalogue of 1961 the painting is dated c. 1650-1655.[8] Now that the painting has been cleaned, it does, indeed, compare extremely

Inscriptions
Recto middle (in one of the shields of the first bay of the choir): 1539[1]

Provenance
E. Kulenkampff collection, Bremen (1904); art dealer A. Pauli, Amsterdam (1930); given by D. G. van Beuningen, A. J. M. Goudriaan and F. Koenigs to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1930

Exhibitions
Bremen 1904, cat. no. 310, p. 116; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 19, p. 12; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 19, p. 13; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 44, p. 23, fig. 39.

Literature
Pauli 1905, p. 51, fig. 12; Jantzen 1910, p. 169 (no. 425); *Verslag Museum Boijmans* 1930, pp. 2-4; Koomen 1933, pp. 265, 266, ill. on p. 264; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 224, p. 130 and pp. 44, 59-60, 105 (under cat. no. 125), fig. 161; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Rotterdam 1937, cat. no. 400, p. 44; Beerends 1937-1938, ill. on p. 202; Bremmer 1938, fig. 2; Trivas 1938, ill. on p. 155; Heppner 1939, p. 118, fig. 2; Rotterdam 1945, p. 67, ill. on p. 17; Rotterdam 1950, fig. 21; Ebbinge Wubben 1951, no. 400, p. 55, fig. 21; Rotterdam 1954, fig. 31; Meyjes 1957, figs. 20, 21; Van Braam [1958], no. 4637, p. 401, ill.; Rotterdam 1959, p. 38, fig. 49; Van Luttervelt 1960, p. 68; Plietzsch 1960, p. 120, fig. 202; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 138, pp. 199-201, fig. 139; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 138, pp. 199-201, fig. 139; Rotterdam 1962, inv. no. 1766, p. 125; Manke 1963, pp. 33 (note 1), 41, fig. 23; Foucart 1965, under section 21, n. p.; Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 53); Rotterdam 1972, p. 221, ill. on p. 52; Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 425); Wright 1980, p. 401; Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, p. 97 (note 3); Liedtke 1982, p. 90; Jansen 1987, p. 20, fig. 12; Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 10; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 138, p. 278 and pp. 162, 167, 204, 322 (note 25), fig. 214; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 138, p. 280 and pp. 162, 166, 204, 332 (note 25), fig. 214; Utrecht 1999, p. 274 (note 7); Boersma 2000, pp. 57, 64, 70, figs. 2, 5, 14, 15, 17-19; Van Heemstra 2000, p. 96.

Notes
1
The choir was completed in 1539.
2
Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 332 (note 25) note the importance of further research on the paintings without figures in order to determine whether originally included figures were sometimes eliminated during earlier restorations. From the restoration of this painting in 1997-1998 it appears that no figures were present.
3
'zich zoo nobel and verdiept geuit heeft als het hem slechts zelden gegeven was'. *Verslag Museum Boymans* 1930, p. 3.
4
On the restoration see Boersma 2000.



well with later work by Saenredam such as the *The nave and choir of the St Pieterskerk* of 1654 (cat. no. 48), which was also restored in 1997-1998.[9]

The provenance of the painting only extends back to 1904, when it was first shown in an exhibition of paintings from private collections in Bremen.[10] On 15 April 1791, a painting was sold in London described as 'Saenredam, The interior of St. John's Church in Utrecht'.[11] Unfortunately, we cannot determine whether this refers to this painting. In addition to the panel under discussion, at this time one other painting of the St Janskerk is known, depicting only St Anthony's Chapel (cat. no. 61). The description in the sales catalogue is too general to allow any conclusions to be drawn as to the identity of the panel. Moreover, a third painting of the St Janskerk is mentioned in 1780.[12] However, its dimensions exclude the possibility of it being either the St Janskerk in Rotterdam, or the painting of St Anthony's Chapel in the Centraal Museum.

LMH

5
Swillens 1935, p. 60, Ebbinge Wubben 1951, p. 55, and Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 200.
6
Plietzsch 1960, p. 120; see also Van Ginneken 1988, under fig. 10.
7
Hannema in *Verslag Museum Boymans* 1930, p. 3; Swillens 1935, p. 60; Rotterdam 1962, p. 125, as probably a late work; Paris 1970, cat. no. 44, p. 23, as most likely painted between 1650 and 1655. Liedtke dates it to circa 1650-1655. See Liedtke 1971, p. 139 (note 53) and Liedtke 1982, p. 90.
8
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), pp. 199-201.
9
On the restoration see Hendriks and Forest 2000.
10
Bremen 1904, cat. no. 310, p. 116 as 'Halle einer gotisschen Kirche'.
11
Sale Mr Greenwood, London, 15 April 1791, cat. no. 40, p. 7.
12
'Zijnde de Janskerk te Utrecht, daar eenige Beeldjes, de vierkante Wapens, die tegen de Muren hangen, beschouwen, de Vloer, Muuren, Deuren, Glazen and Verwulfsel zijn zo natuurlijk verbeeld, dat men zich zoude verbeelden de waare natuur te beschouwen' (Being the Janskerk in Utrecht, with some people contemplateing the square arms hanging on the walls, and the floor, walls, doors, windows and vaults are [all] so naturally depicted that one could imagine looking at true nature), in sale J. L. Strantwijk, Amsterdam 10 May 1780, cat. no. 226. Panel, 19½ x 16 inches (= app. 50.9 x 41.7 cm).

60 St Anthony's Chapel and the north aisle of the St Janskerk seen to the east

6 October 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and brown ink.
Blue paper; watermark: none.
277 x 414 mm.
Recto left (on step): St Jans kerck.
Binnen Vtrecht.

Recto right (on epitaph): int Jaer 1636. // den 6. october.
Recto lower right (on the base of the pier): P.r Saenredam // geteijckent (Drawn [by] Pieter Saenredam)
Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. H 183.

From the back of the chapel we look to the east, and on the right side – through the two arches – to the southeast across the north aisle and the nave into the choir (left arch) and the south transept (right arch). The rounded arch door with the steps before it in the middle vista is the entrance to the sacristy (the south choir chapel). The benches and hatchments in the nave also recur in the drawing of 15 September (cat. no. 58).
The vanishing point is indicated to the left of the altar. Saenredam consistently followed his vanishing point, thus the perspective appears highly correct. However, the window wall at the left is somewhat compressed for the windows are too close together. Moreover, the proportions of the space are too vertical, in so far as this can still be ascertained, for the chapel was demolished in 1681 to make way for the still extant 'Hoofdwacht' (Main Guardhouse).

The chapel dedicated to St Anthony was built along the north aisle in the 15th century: the arches in the south wall were broken through the original outer wall of the church. In 1450, Dirk van Wassenaer, provost of the St Janskerk, founded the Brotherhood of St Anthony, whose patron saints were St Anthony and St Sebastian, both protectors against the plague.[1] The most important activities consisted of fixed weekly masses on Sunday and the feast days of St Anthony and St Sebastian (17 and 20 January respectively), memorial services for deceased brothers and an annual meal. The masses and memorial services were terminated in 1580, but the brotherhood remained in existence and held its annual meal at least up to 1608, the last year for which we have records to this effect. Members of the brotherhood included prelates and other prominent clergymen of the Utrecht collegiate churches. Following the Reformation these were chiefly those who had remained Catholic, and included Johan van Renesse (1540-1619), dean of the St Janskerk since 1600. He designated St Anthony's Chapel as a burial chapel for himself, his relatives and his ancestors (from the Abcoude van Meerthen and Gaesbeek families) who had been buried in the monastic churches of the Friars Minor and the Carthusians that were demolished after 1580. In the 17th century, one therefore also spoke of the Van Renesse Chapel.

Saenredam's drawing shows the chapel to the choir, with the altar and a Renaissance retable which has lost its painting. The altar bell hangs from a cord high on the south wall. In the left corner is the tomb – enclosed in a protective wooden case and cover – of Dirk van Wassenaer (d. 1465), founder of the brotherhood, with his memorial plaque above, both of which are now in the south transept. Above the altar hangs the lozenge-shaped board with Van Renesse's arms. The board to its right has the arms of the widow of Philips de Monceaux, Margareta van Culemborg (d. 1608), who bought a grave in this chapel in 1606.[2]
The sculpted memorial tablet on the pier at the far right is that of Johan Jacobsz. van Schiedam (d. 1469), canon of the St Janskerk and priest of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar. Johan Jacobsz. is depicted between the churches' patron saints, John the Baptist at the left and St Lawrence at the right, and below the sculpture of the Virgin and Child on a crescent

Inscriptions
Verso lower left: No 967. (pen and dark brown ink)

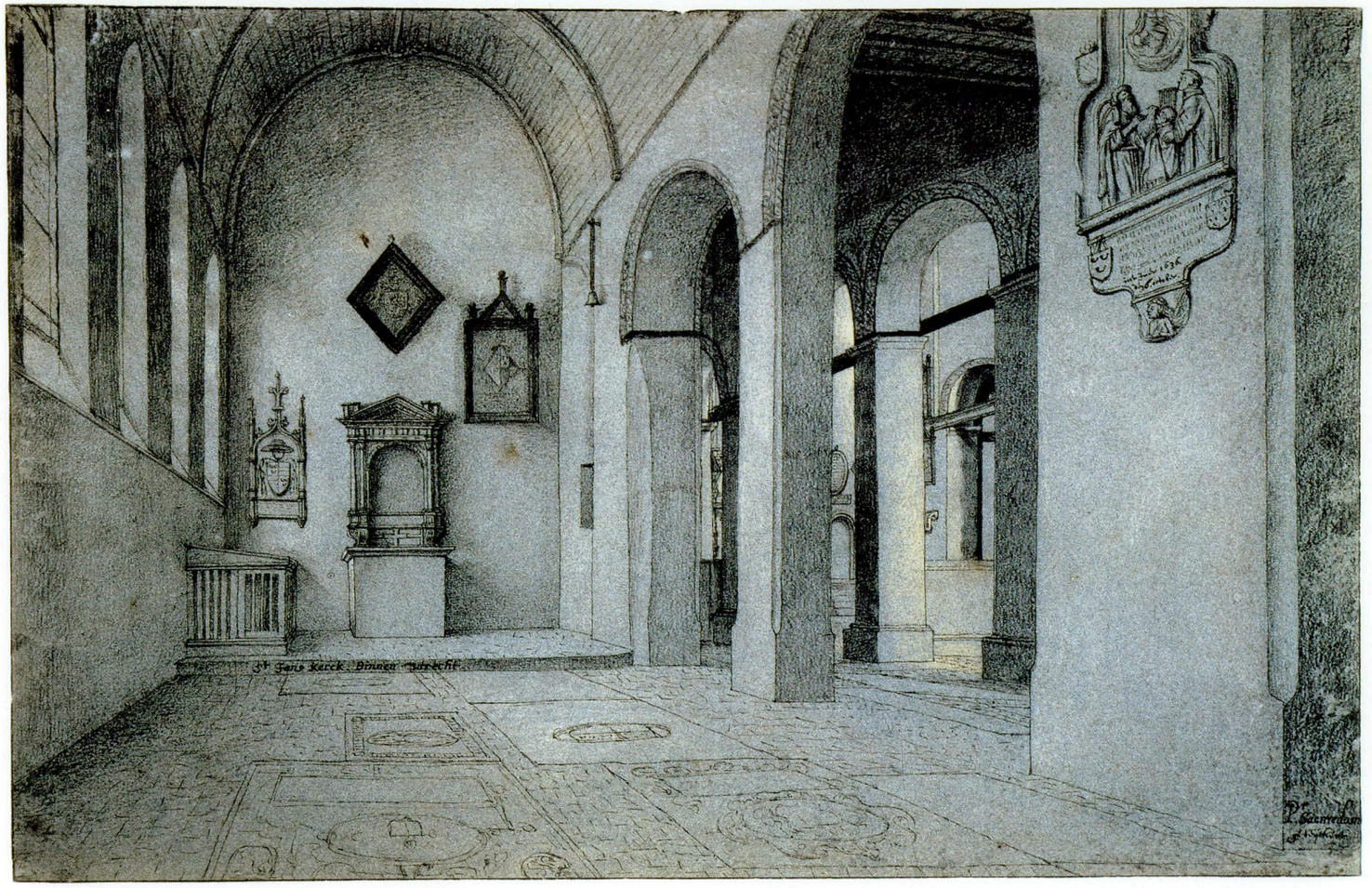
Comments
A copy of this was made by H. Tavenier: HUA, inv. no. TA Ic 3.18

Provenance
Six collection, Amsterdam (1928);
sale Frederik Muller, Amsterdam (Six coll.), 16-18 October 1928, no. 452 (to art dealer Beets); F. Koenigs collection, Haarlem (1928-1940); lent by F. Koenigs to the Museum Boymans (1935-1940);
D. G. van Beuningen collection (1940-1941); lent by D. G. van Beuningen (1940-1941); given by D. G. van Beuningen to Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1941

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1934, cat. no. 64, p. 13, fig. XXIII; Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 76, p. 27; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 76, p. 27; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 47, p. 24, fig. 41; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 84, p. 78, ill.; Rotterdam 1999 (no cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 9, fig. 11; Utrecht 1907, p. 119; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 129, p. 106 and p. 52, fig. 163; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 142, p. 204, fig. 143; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 142, p. 204, fig. 143; Liedtke 1971, pp. 134, 139; Delft 1974-1975, cat. no. 59, n. p.; Connell 1980, pp. 27-29, fig. 9; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, p. 22; Graafhuis and Witteveen 1981, p. 19, ill.; Van Wezel [1982], p. 129; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 142, p. 278 and pp. 162, 167, 202, 204, fig. 185; Gaskell 1990, p. 258 (note 32); Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 142, p. 280 and pp. 162, 166, 202, 204, fig. 185; Ter Molen 1993, p. 104, ill. on p. 105; Hamburg 1994-1995, p. 180; Klinckaert 1996(b), p. 116, fig. 5; Ter Molen 1999, ill. on p. 361; Utrecht 1999, p. 1315 and p. 272; Utrecht 1999-2000, pp. 215, 232 and pp. 234-235, ill.

Notes
1
HUA, Stads Bewaarde Archieven I, inv. no. 155, Foundation Letter 1450. The accounts of the brotherhood are preserved from 1451/1452 to 1607/1608 (inv. no. 156) with large hiatuses. In 1452 Van Wassenaer also founded a chantry on the altar, which received a second one in 1472; HUA, St.-Jan, inv. no. 1187ff.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 50r-51r.
3
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 50v. See also Klinckaert 1996, pp. 116 and 118, fig. 5; Utrecht 1999-2000, cat. no. 87, pp. 233-235.
4
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 50r. The tombstone was found in 1895 under the floor of the Main Guardhouse and is presently in the south aisle.
5
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 51r-53v.
6
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 50v.



7
Centraal Museum, see Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 555, p. 1307.

moon. This memorial tablet no longer exists but can be identified thanks to Buchelius, who in addition to the representation also recorded the inscription and the arms.[3] The large tombstone in the left foreground covers the grave of Johan van Renesse.[4] In Saenredam's drawing nothing is shown of the various extensive memorial boards that Van Renesse devoted to his forefathers in the last ten years of his life, nor of his own board – all mentioned by Buchelius.[5] They may have hung on the blind west wall of the chapel. The nearby window, the sixth westernmost window in the north wall just beyond Saenredam's field of vision, was also decorated with Van Renesse's arms.[6] From a painting by Dominicus Ambrosius Rosemale of the chapel during the demolition in 1681, a view from almost the same vantage point as Saenredam's drawing, it appears that a board with arms (main arms: three crescent moons) then also hung above the memorial tablet at the right.[7]

AdG

61 St Anthony's Chapel in the St Janskerk in Utrecht

1645

Panel, 41.7 x 34 cm.
Recto lower right (on pier): pieter saenredam, dit gemaeckt, // int Jaer 1645. // dit is inde S[t]. Janskerck binnen // aldus te sie[n] tot utrecht.[1]
(Pieter Saenredam made this in the year 1645; this can be seen in this way in the interior of the St Janskerk at Utrecht.)
Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. no. 10390.

Three drawings and two paintings of the interior of the St Janskerk have been preserved. From Saenredam's notes in the drawings he appears to have worked in the church on 15 September, and on 6 and 7 October 1636. The first drawing was the point of departure for *The nave and choir of the St Janskerk with St Anthony's Chapel* (cat. nos. 58 and 59) and the drawing of 6 October (cat. no. 60) was the basis for *The St Anthony's Chapel in the St Janskerk*. The chapel, here the main subject, is also visible in the first-mentioned painting with a view through the nave. This part of the building dates from the 15th century and was on the north aisle of the church until 1681. No painting based on the third and last drawing of the St Janskerk is known. It could be an interior of the St Janskerk that was auctioned in Amsterdam on 10 May 1780, but which has since vanished.[2] According to the inscription, *St Anthony's Chapel* dates from 1645 and is thus somewhat earlier than *The nave and choir of the St Janskerk*, which may have been painted between 1650 and 1660 (see cat. no. 59).

Although the painting largely agrees with the drawing, there are some significant differences, the most striking of which is the altered perspective. In the drawing the proportions of the chapel appear realistic, while in the painting the back wall is depicted as being far smaller. The barrel vault is elongated and recedes to such an extent that a tunnel effect arises. Depth is enhanced because Saenredam changed the oblong format of the drawing into an upright one.[3]
Other dissimilarities concern the layout and furnishing of the space. As in his other paintings, Saenredam suppressed a number of elements in the panel that are found in the drawing. For instance, in the drawing we see the wood encased tomb of Dirk van Wassenaer, the founder of the chapel who died in 1465, to the left of the altar, while this does not appear in the painting. Saenredam also omitted the sculpted memorial tablet of Johan Jacobsz. van Schiedam on the pier at the far right. The altar bell hanging from a cord high on the south wall in the drawing has disappeared and the painted frames of the pier arches are missing. Finally, the beams at the springing of the arches in the nave are suppressed in the painting.
Four figures have been added: a man, woman and child in the chapel, and a single figure wandering in the nave in the direction of the exit.[4] The three in the chapel kneel before the altar on which is a crucifix, among other objects. In other paintings, too, Saenredam included a Catholic scene in the interior of a church that had been used for Protestant worship since the Reformation. For example, *The chapel in the north aisle of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar* also has a Catholic altar with a figure kneeling before it.[5] *The interior of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* contains a Catholic baptism, and *The south ambulatory of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem* has a representation of the Presentation in the Temple.[6] Various hypotheses have been forwarded concerning the addition of these Catholic events to Protestant church interiors. Saenredam only joined the Reformed community on 7 April 1651. Not a single Catholicising element appears in paintings after 1646. This could indicate a choice, and that he revealed his true colours with regard to his religious affiliation in 1651. It is equally possible that Saenredam added Catholic elements at the request of a

Provenance
Sale H. de Leth and D. van Schorrenberg, Amsterdam 26 September 1763, cat. no. 76, p. 7; collection N., place unknown (1765); sale P. van der Eyk, Leiden 1 June 1765 (N. coll.), cat. no. 115, p. 13; A. J. Labouchère collection, Zeist (1924-1949); lent by A. J. Labouchère to the Centraal Museum (1924-1949); acquired from A. J. Labouchère, 1949

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 20, p. 13 and p. 27 (under cat. no. 76); Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 20, p. 13; Utrecht 1941, cat. no. 156, p. 40; Utrecht 1953, cat. no. 84, p. 22, fig. 29; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 189, pp. 85-86; Milan 1954, cat. no. 141, p. 62, fig. 7; Rome 1954, cat. no. 138, p. 79; Ghent 1958, cat. no. 10, p. 154, fig. LXXXIX; Haarlem 1961, cat. no. 66, p. 170; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Vienna 1965, no cat. no., n. p., ill.; Paris 1970, cat. no. 46, pp. 23, 24, fig. 40; Utrecht 1995 (no cat.).

Literature
Verslag Gemeente Utrecht over 1924, p. 36; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1925, p. 7; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1929, p. 9; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1931, p. 9; Utrecht 1933, cat. no. 156, pp. 65-66 and p. LVIII; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1934, p. 9; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 169, p. 117 and pp. 52-53, 57, 106 (under cat. no. 129), fig. 164; Bremmer 1938, fig. 3; *Wegwijzer Centraal Museum* 1938, p. 9; *Verslag Gemeente Utrecht over 1947*, p. 3; *Verslag Gemeente Utrecht over 1949*, p. 15; *Guide Musée Central* 1950, p. 35; Utrecht 1952, cat. no. 239, p. 104 and p. XLIX; Leymarie 1956, ill. on p. 152; Van Braam [1958], no. 4631, p. 400; De Sirmione 1959, p. 1506, ill. on p. 1507; Plietzsch 1960, p. 121, fig. 206; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 141, pp. 203-204, fig. 142; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 141, pp. 203-204, fig. 142; Manke 1963, p. 45 (note 1); Argan 1964, p. 91, ill. on p. 92; Foucart 1965, under section 21, n. p.; Heckmanns 1965, p. 57 (note 74); Houtzager et al. 1967, pp. 258-259 and p. 170, fig. 44, ill. on p. 170; Liedtke 1971, pp. 133-134, 139 and note 53; Blotkamp et al. [1975], p. 18, fig. 14; De Vries 1975, p. 56 (note 60); Jantzen 1979, p. 233 (no. 411b); Connell 1980, pp. 18, 27-29, fig. 8; Wright 1980, p. 401; Centraal Museum Utrecht. Overzicht 1972-1981, p. 45; Liedtke 1982, p. 90; De Bruijn et al. 1984-1985, p. 133, ill..; Keyl 1986, p. 55 (note 6); Van Ginneken 1988, fig. 9; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 141, p. 278 and pp. 162, 167, 204, fig. 213; Gaskell 1990, p. 258 (note 32); Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 141, p. 280 and pp. 162, 166, 204, fig. 213; Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 560, pp. 1314-1315, and pp. 27, 271-274, ill. on p. 273 and p. 1314; Utrecht 1999-2000, pp. 234-235.

Notes
1
According to Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 203, 'binnen aldus te sien tot utrecht' may possibly be by another, later hand. It appears, however, that only 'tot utrecht' is added, or in any case reinforced.



patron. However, nothing certain is known about possible patrons or first owners at whose request Saenredam would have provided such scenes.[7]
In two paintings of the St Odulphuskerk in Assendelft Saenredam included a Reformed pastor addressing a congregation.[8] Perhaps the depiction of a Catholic or a Reformed event should not be awarded as much significance as is usually assumed.

The provenance of *St Anthony's Chapel in the St Janskerk* can be traced back to the 18th century. The painting was offered for sale in Amsterdam on 16 September 1763 and was auctioned in Leiden on 1 June 1765.[9] In 1924 it entered the collection of A. J. Labouchère, who lent it to the Centraal Museum until it was acquired in 1949.
The painting has been restored on several occasions. The panel has a large crack extending the full length of the painting just to the right of middle, and running vertically and somewhat at an angle from the upper left to the lower right. This damage, which might have resulted from a fall, will have been the reason for applying the heavy cradling that was removed by P. F. J. M. Hermesdorf in 1980-1981. According to the scant notes of the restorations of 1947, 1959 and 1961, the panel had long suffered from flaking and subsequent loss of paint.[10]

LMH

2
The painting is described in the sales catalogue as follows: 'Zijnde de Janskerk te Utrecht, daar eenige Beeldjes, de vierkante Wapens, die tegen de Muren hangen, beschouwen, de Vloer, Muuren, Deuren, Glazen and Verwulfsel zijn zo natuurlijk verbeeld, dat men zich zoude verbeelden de waare natuur te beschouwen' (Being the Janskerk in Utrecht, with some people contemplating the square arms hanging on the walls, and the floor, walls, doors, windows and vaults are [all] so naturally depicted that one could imagine looking at true nature); sale J. L. Strantwijk, Amsterdam 10 May 1780, cat. no. 226. Panel, 19½ x 16 inches (= app. 50.9 x 41.7 cm).
3
See also Liedtke 1971, p. 134.
4
Plietszsch 1960, p. 121, assumed that the three figures in the chapel were added by a later hand. However, this did not prove to be the case during the restorations. In the X-radiograph the figures and the dark altar cloth are invisible. Houtzager 1967, p. 170.
5
Pieter Saenredam, *Chapel in the north aisle of the St Laurenskerk in Alkmaar*, 1635. Panel, 45 x 36 cm. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent.
6
Pieter Saenredam, *The interior of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem*, 1633. Panel, 42.8 x 33.6 cm. Glasgow, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; *The south ambulatory of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem*, 1635. Panel, 46 x 35 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.
7
The most extensive account of this subject is given in Connell 1980. According to the author, the Catholic elements indicate a personal religious philosophy on the part of the painter. See also Keyl 1986, p. 55 (note 6); Gaskell 1990, p. 258 (note 32); Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 228-232.
8
Pieter Saenredam, *The choir and nave of the St Odulphuskerk in Assendelft*, 1649. Panel, 50 x 76 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Pieter Saenredam, *North transept and adjoining areas of the choir and nave of the St Odulphuskerk in Assendelft*, undated. Panel, 46 x 64 cm. Turin, Galleria Sabauda.
9
Sale H. de Leth and D. van Schorrenberg, Amsterdam 26 September 1763, cat. no. 76, p. 7: 'De St. Jans Kerk te Utrecht, door P. Zaanredam 16 x 13' (inch= 41.76 x 33.9 cm); sale P. van der Eyk, Leiden 1 June 1765 (N. coll.), cat. no. 115, p. 13: 'De St. Jans Kerk te Utrecht, door P. Zaanredam 16½ x 13½' (inch=42.41 x 34.58 cm).
10
Restorations done in 1947 (H. Schuuring), see *Verslag Gemeente Utrecht over 1947*, p. 3; 1959 (H. Dik); 1961 (H. Dik); 1980-1981 (P. F. J. M. Hermesdorf), see his report dated 15 April 1981 in the documentation of the Centraal Museum.

62 The choir and north side choir of the St Janskerk in Utrecht seen from the north aisle to the east

7 October 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, red chalk, white chalk, brush and watercolour (green-blue and yellow).
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark: small fleur-de-lis (hardly visible due to paper restoration) and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
310 x 378 mm.

Recto left (on the beam above the chapel screen): Pieter Iansz. Saerdam, deese gheteijckent (Pieter Jansz. Saenredam drew this)
Recto (on the rood screen): int Jaer 1636: den 7.en october.
Recto lower left (on tombstone): de S.t Jans kerck, binnen uijttrecht.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA Ic 3.1.

Through the arch in the north aisle opening to the transept is a view of the choir and the north side chapel, both of which were erected in the period 1508-1539. This new Late Gothic choir area was so much larger and wider than the original Romanesque one (whose design closely resembled that of the St Pieterskerk), that the pier between the main choir and the side chapel came to lie across from the north aisle of the nave. Saenredam indicated his 'eye' on the base of this pier about 1 metre above the ground.
As in the previous drawing (cat. no. 60), Saenredam consistently maintained the vanishing point so that the perspective is correct. However, the proportions of the space are somewhat too low, perhaps because of the size of the sheet of paper, for otherwise the piers on either side serving as repoussoirs would have been wider still.

We see the left section of the Renaissance rood screen (without the pews and baptistery rail before it) closing off the main choir, which was out of sight in the drawing of 15 September (cat. no. 58). On the corner of this rood screen next to the Gothic pier is the Romanesque relief of St John the Baptist which as part of the collection of the Centraal Museum is now in the St Nicolaaskerk.[1] On the Gothic pier is a painted tapestry with a board serving as a baldachin at the top and a console with an (illegible) inscription and a coat of arms on the bottom. We do not know what sculpture stood before this painting, or the name of the donor. Neither the lozenge-shaped hatchment next to it, nor the board on the north wall (left) of the transept can be identified with certainty.[2]
The north choir chapel, separated from the transept by a wooden screen with a beam above, was decorated and fitted out as a burial chapel by Thomas van Nykercken, provost of the St Janskerk from 1526 to his death in 1556. He also contributed to the building and decoration of the choir, including the gift of a stained-glass window.[3] In addition, he bequeathed vast sums of money for the sake of the poor. His quartered coat of arms is also painted in the vault of the chapel, and was sketchily indicated by Saenredam.

AdG

Inscriptions
Recto (on the choir vault): 1539
Verso lower left: No 966 (pen and brown ink)
Verso lower right: 1741/1031 (pencil)

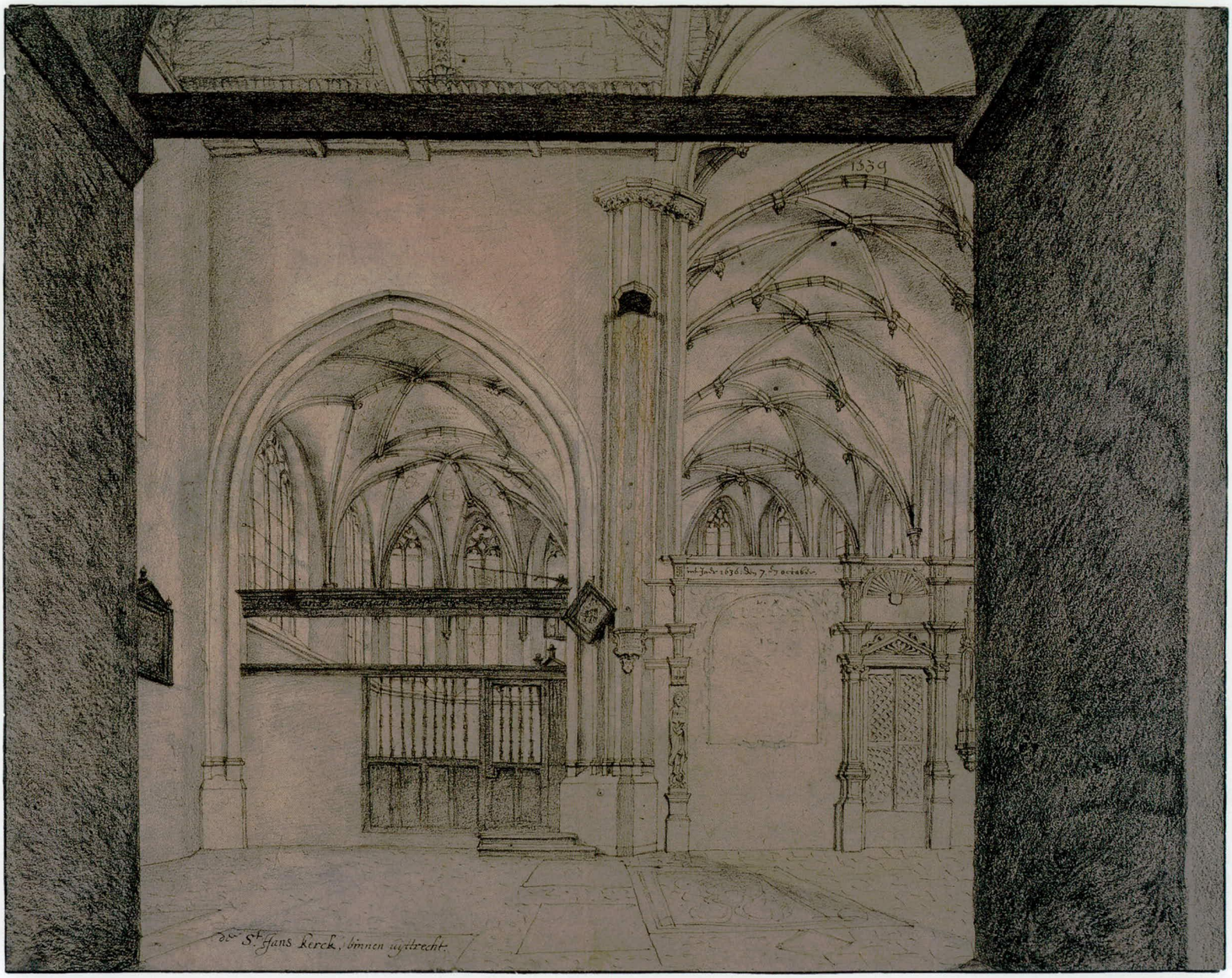
Comments
There is a copy of this by H. Tavenier: HUA, inv. no. TA Ic 3.2.

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 75, p. 27; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 75, p. 27; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Utrecht 1971, cat. no. 23, p. 40; Utrecht 1974(a), cat. no. P7, p. 67; Utrecht 1988, cat. no. 48, p. 62, ill.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 9, fig. 10; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1031, p. 118; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 130, p. 107, fig. 162; Bremmer 1938, fig. 14; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 140, pp. 202-203, fig. 141; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 140, pp. 202-203, fig. 141; Van Hoogevest 1977, p. 8, ill. on p. 9; Van Hoogevest and Van Staveren 1979, p. 2; Haakma Wagenaar 1980, pp. 11-15, fig. 8; W. Haakma Wagenaar [1982], pp. 170-171, fig. 110; Van Wezel [1982], pp. 135, 145; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 140, p. 278 and pp. 162-163, fig. 187; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 140, p. 280 and pp. 162-163, fig. 187; Hamburg 1994-1995, p. 180; Utrecht 1997, p. 45; Utrecht 1999, pp. 272, 273 (note 5).

Notes
1
Utrecht 1997, cat. no. 8, pp. 189-190.
2
Saenredam depicted the arms on the hatchment as a light chevron with dark spots on a dark field. This resembles the arms of Johan de Castro (d. 1580), whose tombstone Buchelius mentions. However, it could also be related to the Scottish army commander-in-chief William Edmond (d. 1606), who is buried in the adjoining Van Nykercken Chapel.
See Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 45v and 46v.
3
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 44v.


1539
Int. Jahr 1636. Den 7. 7 octobr.
Dem St. Jans Kerck, binnen uyttrecht.

63 The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

2 October 1636

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, brush and watercolour (yellow and red), graphite.
Watermark: fleur-de-lis in a crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR (see p. 297).
378 x 507 mm.

Recto lower middle: Ste Catrine kerck, binnen uijttrecht.
Recto lower right (on the base of the column): Pieter Saenredam. // Int Jaer 1636 // den 2.^{en} october
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA La 1.50.

This drawing presents a view of the St Catharinakerk, a monastic church, the construction of which was begun by the Carmelites in 1468. It was taken over in 1529 by the religious and military Order of the Knights of St John, who had to abandon their own monastery for the building of Vredenburg Castle in that same year. The Knights of St John completed the transept and the nave and also enlarged the accompanying cloister buildings, the Catharijneconvent, which also housed a hospital. Heading the Utrecht Knights of St John monastery, or 'commanderij', was the commander who incidentally was also the 'balijer', or supervisor, of a number of subordinate monasteries. Hendrik Barck (Berck) (1534-1602) was appointed supervisor in 1561 and was able to keep the Catharijneconvent more or less afloat during the Reformation. Following his death in 1602, the States of Utrecht assumed its management, and the cloister and all of the Order's possessions were lost. By then, mass has not been celebrated in the church for a long time. After the Reformation the building was chiefly used for secular purposes, for instance billeting troops. However, from 1622 to 1625 the English/Scottish congregation held its services there. In 1635-1636 the building was again furnished as a church, now for the Tuesday morning sermons of the Utrecht Dutch Reformed congregation, which until then had been held in the St Gertrudiskerk. The first sermon was given on Tuesday, 17 June 1636 (old style: 7 June).[1] In no time, use of the St Catharinakerk was intensified, and the Buurkerk's celebration of Communion was moved there on two Sundays in October.[2] Saenredam made his drawings in just this period.

In this drawing we look from a spot near the then west wall of the church through the nave to the choir. At the left and right are views into the aisles and chapels and the two arms of the transept. The 'eye' is denoted in the upper moulding of the baptistery rail at a height of about 1 metre. Although not all of the orthogonals converge smoothly to this vanishing point, certainly not those in the area above the nave, the perspective is convincing. Moreover, the architectural proportions agree fairly well with reality. Nevertheless, there are some deviations. For instance, three bases of columns on the right side are drawn higher with respect to the vanishing point (the horizon) than the other bases. As a result, the columns at the right are shorter than the corresponding columns on the left, even though the latter were further removed from Saenredam, exactly the reverse of what is 'normal' in curvilinear perspective. The column bases themselves are also too high, both at the left and right. All of the deviations are corrected in the painting after this drawing (cat. no. 64).

Only the most elementary of the church's sober new furniture is depicted: the pulpit is centrally placed before the choir screen and inside the baptismal enclosure surrounded by the low rail; they were all made in 1635-1636 and strongly resemble the layout in the Dom. Behind the choir screen, which had replaced the stone rood screen, are choir stalls on either side. A bench in the north transept (visible in cat. no. 65) is here suppressed. Candelabras are absent as they were only acquired in 1649.

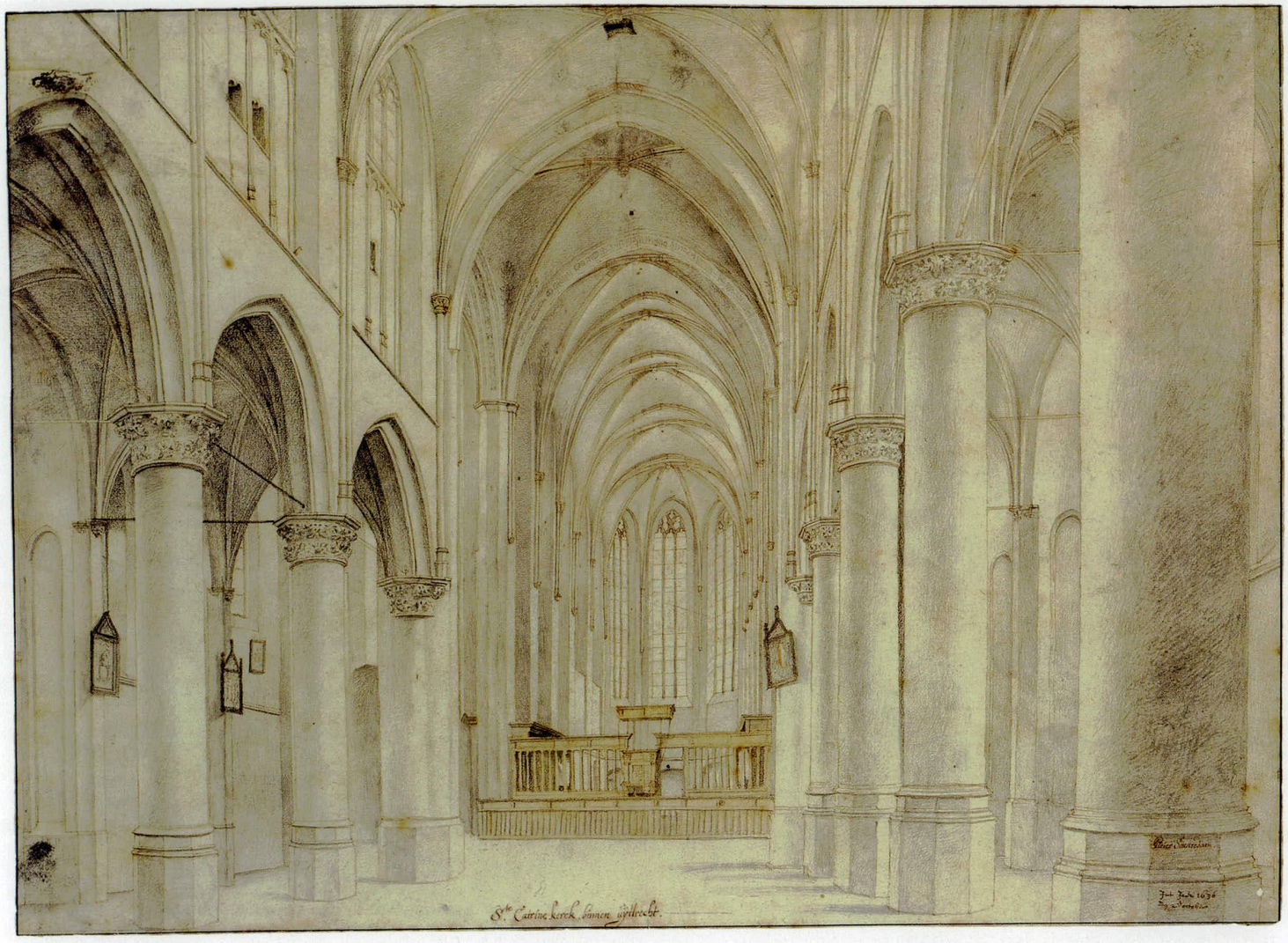
Inscriptions
Verso: (2127) (pencil)

Provenance
J. Tonneman collection, Amsterdam (1754); sale H. de Leth, Amsterdam 21 October 1754 (J. Tonneman coll.); purchased by the City of Utrecht, 1754

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 81, p. 28; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 81, p. 28; Zurich 1953, cat. no. 202, p. 89; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Utrecht 1878, cat. no. 887, p. 83 and p. VI; Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 16, fig. 25; Weissman 1912, p. 177, fig. 69; London 1929(b), p. 42; Holmes et al. 1930, p. 121; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Van Beresteyn 1934, pp. 38-39 and p. 90, fig. 3; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 128, p. 106, fig. 176; Banbury 1950, p. 30; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 31, p. 190, fig. 132; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 131, p. 190, fig. 132; Banbury 1964, p. 38; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 134; Anonymous [1979], ill. on p. 37; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 131, p. 276 and pp. 164, 213, fig. 189; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 131, p. 278 and pp. 164, 213, fig. 189; Bangs 1997, pp. 13, 203 (note 6:15); Van Berk 1999, fig. 6; Van Heemstra 2000, p. 96, fig. 7.

Notes
1
HUA, Kerkeraad Ned. Herv. Gem., inv. no. 4, f. 70r, Church Council Resolution, 2 June 1636.
2
HUA, Kerkeraad Ned. Herv. Gem., inv. no. 4, f. 75r, Church Council Resolution, 22 September 1636. The Sundays in question were 2/12 and 9/19 October.
3
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 86r; Van Engelen I, ground plan on pp. 520-521.
4
Should no boards have been moved after 1636, then according to Van Engelen's ground plan the right one of the two could be that of Johan Littleton (d. 1625), an army captain from England. Yet, his arms do not agree with what is depicted in Saenredam's sketch, namely three pales. Almost identical arms are in fact included by Saenredam in the board on the wall pier at the left (missing in Van Engelen's ground plan). In Buchelius one does find similar arms a number of times, but without any names. Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 86r, 87r; Van Engelen I, pp. 520-521.
5
Buchelius *Monumenta*, ff. 85v-86v. Arnold Barck (1544-1615) was married to Johanna van Culemborg (1551-1618).


Ste. Catrine kerck binnen uytrecht.

On the triumph arch above the choir screen is indicated (though not legibly) the still present Latin text relating that the choir vaulting was completed in 1524. The vaults are decorated with painted vines. In the middle choir window are vague traces of glass painting.
Nothing is seen of the tombstones in the floor of the nave. The hatchments on the north side at the left have been rapidly sketched and can be identified with the help of other sources. The square board on the wall of the north transept is that of Franciscus van de Werve (d. 1604).[3] Identification of the two on the wall piers of the north aisle is less certain.[4]
The board on the southwest crossing pier at the right is that of Requina Barck (d. 1626), wife of Philips Edeler van der Planitz. It was hung near the grave of her father Arnold (Aert) Barck, the younger brother of the last 'balijer', Hendrik Barck.[5] On this pier also hung the hatchments of Arnold's wife and of one of his granddaughters; the latter is found in the undated drawing (cat. no. 66).
Saenredam spotted a dove on the moulding of the triforium above the second arch of the nave at the left, a tiny detail he later also incorporated in the painting.

AdG

64 The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk in Utrecht

1655-1660

Panel, 116.8 x 95.8 cm.
Unsigned, undated.
Upton House, Warwickshire: The Bearstead Collection (The National Trust), inv. no. 128.

Pieter Saenredam worked in the St Catharinakerk in October 1636. Of the three extant drawings of the interior, two are dated (cat. nos. 63 and 65) and the third also undoubtedly dates from the same month (cat. no. 66). The only known painting of this church by Saenredam is based on the drawing of 2 October (cat. no. 63). The panel was bought by the English collector Walter Samuel Viscount Bearsted in 1929 and has since not been seen in the Netherlands.[2] In 1948 the painting along with the entire contents of Upton House in Banbury, where it had hung for years, was given by the owner to The National Trust.

The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk is one of Saenredam's larger panels. The oblong format of the drawing was transformed into an upright one for the painting. The vanishing point, in the drawing indicated as an encircled dot in the top moulding of the baptistery rail, in the painting is somewhat more to the right in the same moulding. We can see the tiny hole from the pin to which Saenredam attached a string to check the perspective.[3] The choir in the drawing is virtually in the middle of the picture plane. By eliminating the column at the far right in the foreground, thereby losing the view into the aisle, the choir is shifted to the right of centre in the painting. Saenredam corrected the proportions of the space, which were not entirely accurate in the drawing.

Although the painting is not signed, its attribution to Saenredam has never been doubted by the experts. The existence of the signed preparatory drawing, which had been acquired by the City of Utrecht already in the mid-18th century, as well as the painting's style have always pointed in the direction of Saenredam. The earliest mention of the painting, however, dates prior to the acquisition of the drawing. In his catalogue of paintings sold at public sales, Gerard Hoet mentions 'The St Catharinakerk in Utrecht by Saenredam, with figures by Van Nickele' auctioned in Haarlem on 28 April 1711.[4] The painting came from the collection of the alderman Johan Steyn. It was again offered for sale in Haarlem on 29 March 1775 as: 'The St Catharinakerk in Utrecht seen from inside, excellently painted by Saenredam and with figures by Van Nickele'.[5] Although neither sales catalogue records the dimensions, the painting must be the one from Banbury. Both catalogues note that the staffage was done by Isaak van Nickele (c. 1633-1703; active in Haarlem), who is thought to have been a pupil of Saenredam.[6] The figures depicted in the painting wear clothing dating from the period after 1665, the year of Saenredam's death, and on stylistic grounds could very well be partly by Van Nickele.[7] The style of the hats of the men conversing at the right in the painting became fashionable around 1665-1670. This also applies to the coiffure of the woman in the middle of the group at the far left, and to the long wig of the minister in the pulpit. Also dating from this period are the squared toes of the shoes worn by the figures.[8] Moreover, during the restoration of the painting conducted at the Hamilton Kerr Institute in Cambridge in 1997-1998, it appeared that the figures were painted some time after the church interior had been completed.[9]
Infrared reflectography of the painting in connection with the restoration revealed that other figures had originally been planned for the painting, which are now no longer visible. They were probably painted by Saenredam himself and later removed. There was a group of

Provenance
Johan Steyn collection, Haarlem (1711); sale Haarlem 28 April 1711 (J. Steyn coll.), cat. no. 14 (see Hoet and Terwesten 1752-1770, vol. 1 (1752), p. 141); sale V. van der Vinne, Haarlem 29 March 1775, cat. no. 86, p. 7; sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris 9 February 1928, cat. no. 46, p. 15;[1] art dealer W. E. Duits, London/Amsterdam (1928); art dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam (1928 and/or 1929); W. S. Viscount Bearsted collection, Banbury (1929-1948); given by W. S. Viscount Bearsted to The National Trust, 1948

Exhibitions
London 1929(b), cat. no. 72, p. 42; Manchester 1929, cat. no. 44, p. 26; London 1938, cat. no. 153, p. 74; London 1955, cat. no. 24, pp. 11-12.

Literature
Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 237; Holmes et al. 1930, pp. XXIV, 121; Koomen 1933, p. 265; Utrecht 1933, p. LVIII; Van Beresteyn 1934, p. 39, fig. 5; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 222, p. 130 and pp. 53, 61-62, 106, 137 (no. 3), fig. 177; Thieme and Becker 1907-1950, vol. 29 (1935), p. 307 (W. Stechow); Anonymous 1938, ill. on p. 56; Banbury 1950, cat. no. 128, p. 30; Gudlaugsson 1954, p. 66 (note 15); Sutton 1955, p. 871; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 130, pp. 188-190, fig. 131; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 130, pp. 188-190, fig. 131; Banbury 1964, cat. no. 128, pp. 38-39, fig. IIIa; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 130, p. 276 and pp. 149, 164, 167, 236, 242, 319 (note 18), 322 (note 23), fig. 222; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 130, p. 278 and pp. 147, 164, 166, 236, 240, 328 (note 18), 332 (note 23), fig. 222; Rotterdam 1991, p. 269; Bomford 2000, p. 74; Van Heemstra 2000; Van Heemstra and Marchant 2000.

Notes
1
Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 189, mention under the provenance a sale at 'Hôtel Drouot, Paris 1928, cat. no. 717', without a date. The sale is not included in the filing cards of Hofstede de Groot at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD) in The Hague. Given that Hofstede de Groot evaluated the painting for W. E. Duits in March 1928 (see the filing cards), after which it was sold via Goudstikker to Viscount Bearsted, the sale in question will have taken place in the first three months of 1928. The Drouot sales catalogues from this period with old master paintings kept at the RKD, however, do not by far have that many number of lots. This reference could be to an anonymous church interior listed in one of these catalogues which qua subject, dimensions, support and dating agrees almost completely with the St Catharinakerk by Saenredam.
2
The lion's share of his collection of paintings was exhibited in the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1955. See London 1955. See also the catalogue of his collection, Banbury 1950 and Banbury 1964.



three figures to the left of centre in line with the two men conversing at the right, and two adults could be seen before the baptistery rail at the far right. The group of three was removed and subsequently overpainted. The two figures near the pulpit were depicted in greater detail. Saenredam did not remove these figures, but did overpaint them.[10] The same process of positioning and removing figures can also be observed in Saenredam's *Interior of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem*, now in The National Gallery in London.[11] It, too, first included figures, which were later painted out.[12]
The fact that Van Nickele provided the figures for the painting and the absence of a signature by Saenredam prompted the suggestion that the painting was unfinished due to the painter's death and was later completed by Van Nickele.[13] However, *The nave and choir of the St Catharinakerk* is not the only unsigned painting in Saenredam's oeuvre, and there are other instances of church interiors with staffage done by others in his lifetime and after. This also applies to Saenredam's drawings. In addition to Isaak van Nickele, Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), his pupil Richard Brakenburg (1650-1702) and Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668) are mentioned as having added figures to works by Saenredam.[14] On stylistic grounds, Sturla Gudlaugsson suggested that Pieter Post (1608-1669) collaborated on the paintings from the 1630s and 40s.[15]

Dendrochronological investigation of the undated painting has established that the four planks constituting the panel are from four different trees, with felling dates between 1634 and 1659.[16] On stylistic grounds the painting is dated to the second half of the 1650s.

LMH

3
Van Heemstra 2000, p. 96 and fig. 8.
4
'De Sinte Catharina Kerk tot Uytregt van Saanredam, door van Nikkelen gestoffeert'. Hoet and Terwesten 1752-1770, vol. 1 (1752), p. 141. Swillens 1935, p. 53 and p. 137, no. 3, identified the painting with Hoet's reference.
5
'De St. Catrine Kerk te Utrecht van binnen te zien, uitmuntend geschilderd door *Zaanredam* and gestoffeerd door *van Nikkele*'. Sale V. van der Vinne, Haarlem 29 March 1775, cat. no. 86, p. 7.
6
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 236, and Rotterdam 1991, pp. 267 and 269.
7
Van Heemstra 2000, p. 102, notes that close comparison makes it clear that the figures are not all by the same hand. This would mean that not only Van Nickele, but one or more other painters contributed to the staffage.
8
See Swillens 1935, pp. 61-62; London 1938, cat. no. 153, p. 74; Banbury 1950, cat. no. 128, p. 30; London 1955, cat. no. 24, p. 11; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 189; Banbury 1964, p. 38; Van Heemstra 2000, p. 102.
9
For a report on the restoration see Van Heemstra 2000, and Van Heemstra and Marchant 2000.
10
See Van Heemstra 2000, pp. 100-103 and figs. 8 and 10.
11
Pieter Saenredam, *Interior of the St Bavokerk in Haarlem*, 1636-1637. Panel, 59.5 x 81.7 cm. London, The National Gallery.
12
See Bomford 2000, pp. 81-84 and figs. 7, 8 and 9.
13
Swillens 1935, p. 61; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), p. 189; Van Heemstra 2000, p. 102.
14
See among others Swillens 1935, p. 53, and Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 195.
15
Gudlaugsson 1954, pp. 66-69.
16
The dendrochronological investigation was conducted by Ian Tyers at Sheffield University. See Van Heemstra 2000, p. 91 and note 6.

65 The north aisle and choir, transept and south aisle of the St Catharinakerk in Utrecht seen to the east

20 October 1636

Pen and brown ink, black and white chalk.
Framing line in pen and dark brown ink.
Pale buff rag paper; watermark; small fleur-de-lis and countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W (see p. 297).
305 x 401 mm.

Recto lower middle: S.te Catrijne kerck, binnen uijttrecht.
Recto (on the tombstone): int Jaer 1636. // Pieter Saenredam. // DEN 20.en OCTOBER.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA La 1.51.

Saenredam sketched this view to the east and southeast from a position in the north aisle near the middle one of the five side chapels. Because the vanishing point – above the seat of the bench at the left in the north transept – is so eccentric and the aisle so narrow, the oblique views into the choir, transept and south aisle constitute the main elements in this sheet, more so than is the case in the drawings of the Mariakerk or St Pieterskerk made from a comparable vantage point (cat. nos. 23, 27, 49). Also far wider than in those drawings is the angle of view through to the other aisle – here at the far right – with respect to the main visual orientation along the east-west axis. This angle runs from 50° to more than 60°. Accordingly, the right section is drawn in a diagonal view and thus is smaller in scale than the north aisle. Should Saenredam have made a construction drawing from this sketch (which is not known), he would have had to omit the entire right part to avoid extreme distortion. Saenredam also modified the architectural proportions. The columns and piers have become far more slender, so that the entire middle section of the drawing is narrower and all of the proportions more vertical. Other spatial relationships lend the space greater monumentality than is the case in reality.

Just as in the drawing of 2 October (cat. no. 63), here too are depicted the Protestant furnishings of 1635-1636: the choir screen, the rail of the baptismal enclosure and the pulpit in between. Because of the column before it, only two corners of the pulpit's canopy are visible. Given the Late Gothic linenfold ornamentation on the panelled front, the benches at the left and right against the transept walls, each with four seats, are much older. They appear to be choir stalls, perhaps the parts of the benches originally lining the back wall of the rood screen at right angle to the benches visible in Saenredam's drawing just behind the new choir screen.[1] Visible in the narrow view to the right of the foremost column is the bench on the south wall of the south transept from which Saenredam drew his third interior (cat. no. 66).
The most important furnishing in this drawing is the organ, which must have been built by Pieter Jansz. de Swart around 1560. Little is known about this no longer extant instrument. A beheading scene can be discerned on the closed shutter, perhaps David and Goliath, but equally possibly the Beheading of St John the Baptist, a popular theme with the Knights of St John (compare cat. no. 66).[2]
The details of many other elements in the interior cannot be distinguished, such as the escutcheons and the painting in the window of the south aisle. The position of these escutcheons in this drawing agrees only partly with that in the sheet of 2 October. Only one of the tombstones in the church is here indicated: Saenredam used it to sign his name.

AdG

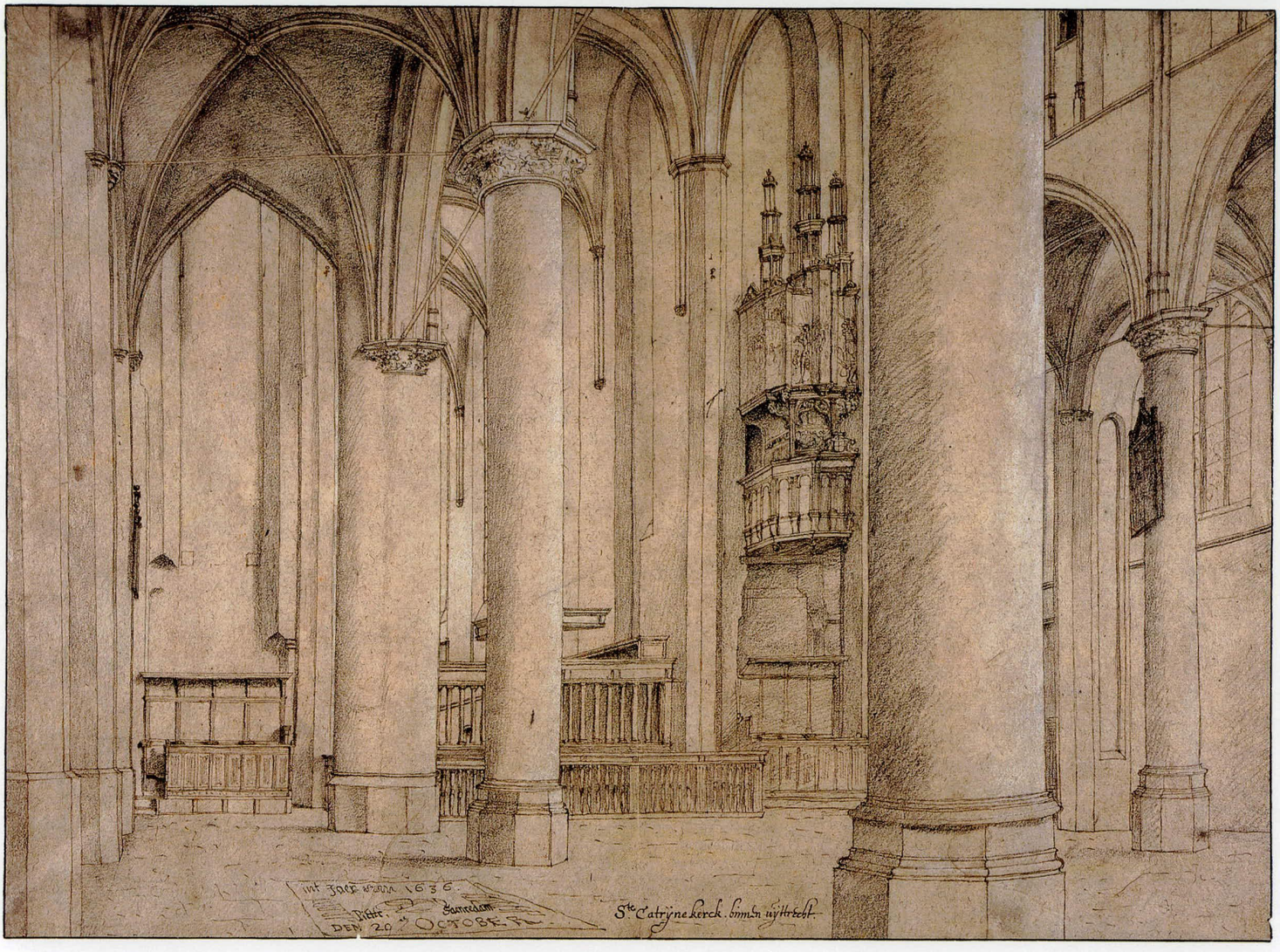
Inscriptions
Verso lower left: no. 960. (pen and brown ink)
Verso: 2130 / 1248 (pencil)

Provenance
C. M. Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg collection, Driebergen (1899); acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1899

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 80, p. 28; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 80, p. 28; Haarlem 1961, cat. no. 59, p. 167, fig. 30; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.).

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), pp. 16-17, fig. 26; *Verslag gemeente-verzamelingen* 1899, pp. 25, 67; Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1248, p. 141; Van Beresteyn 1934, pp. 38-39 and p. 90, fig. 2; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 133, p. 107, fig. 178; Vente 1958, p. 237, fig. 18; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 132, p. 191, fig. 133; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 132, pp. 190-191, fig. 133; Utrecht 1975-1976(b), cat. no. 7, ill. on p. 3; Bangs 1985, pp. 10-11, fig. 8; Brouwer 1985, p. 18, fig. 17; Elkins 1988, p. 272 (note 15); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 132, p. 276 and p. 165, fig. 190; Vente 1989, pp. 16, 210, fig. 33; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 132, p. 278 and p. 165, fig. 190; Van Biezen 1995, p. 661, ill. on p. 206; Bangs 1997, pp. 13, 93-94, 203 (note 6:15), fig. 93.

Notes
1
A comparable situation is depicted in Saenredam's drawing of the St Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch (1632), in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Lyon. See Koldeweij 1987; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 95A, p. 268-269; p. 86, fig. 90.
2
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 16, no. 26.


int Jaer van 1636
Pietter Saenredam
DEN 20 OCTOBER
Ste Catrijne kerck. binnen uyttrecht.

66 View through the transept of the St Catharinakerk in Utrecht from south to north

1636 (?)

Pen and brown ink, black chalk, brush and watercolour (blue, red, green and yellow), graphite.
Framing line in pen and black ink.
Watermark: cartouche with a hunting horn above the monogram AB (see p. 299).
303 x 393 mm.

Recto (in the right foreground): De S:te Catryne kerck, // binnen – uijttrecht.
Recto (on the foremost column): P: Saenredam.
Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, inv. no. TA La 1.52.

This drawing was once larger at the bottom, so much so that the pier base in the foreground was probably entirely visible. This base would have included the – now missing – date. However, there is absolutely no doubt that the drawing was made in October 1636, perhaps at the same time as the sketch of 20 October (cat. no. 65), of which this sheet is the pendant. The column in the left background is the same as the one entirely in the foreground in the sketch of 20 October. Just along this column in each drawing can be seen the spot from where the other drawing was made.

For this drawing, Saenredam must have sat on the bench against the south wall of the transept, visible in the drawing of 20 October. This is indicated by the eye level of 6 feet (or 1.65 m) written on the opposite north wall. From there, he could study the structure of the wall of the basilical nave and the aisleless choir with the transept in between, and depict it with more or less correct proportions. All of the furnishings have been eliminated, and only two hatchments hang in the otherwise empty interior. However, Saenredam did include the decoration supporting the architecture, such as painting in the vaults and the stained-glass windows.
The window in the north transept even occupies a central position in the drawing and is shown in greater detail than is usual for Saenredam in such an interior view. This window was donated by Bishop Joris van Egmond (d. 1559) around 1539.[1] Saenredam's interest in it will have been related to the fact that the Haarlem St Bavokerk had also received a – far larger – window from this same bishop and with the same main representation, namely the bishop kneeling behind a prie-dieu before a group including God the Father and Christ on the cross. The bishop is flanked at the left by St Martin and at the right by St John the Baptist. Somewhat lower is Van Egmond's patron saint, St George on horseback killing the dragon. The sides and entire upper half of the window are filled with armorial bearings, including Van Egmond's 16 quartered arms. According to Buchelius, who also drew these 16 arms, the window had suffered seriously from neglect.[2] Some restoration probably took place before Saenredam's visit about 20 years later, for one of the escutcheons omitted in Buchelius was drawn by Saenredam.[3] Nonetheless, the window in Saenredam's depiction evidences some mutilation: various panes of glass are set in a (heraldically) incorrect place, and the upper section makes a very sloppy impression.
Of the two choir windows only the one at the left can be identified in any way. At the top there seems to be a representation of the Beheading of St John the Baptist, and below is the donor kneeling before two saints.[4] Of the escutcheons lower down, the one at the left below the donor figure is missing. However, the two surviving arms – in the middle the cross of the Order of the Knights of St John and at the right an anchor cross – make it clear that Hendrik Barck (1534-1602), 'balijer', or supervisor, since 1561, was the donor of this window.[5] His grave was also in the choir.

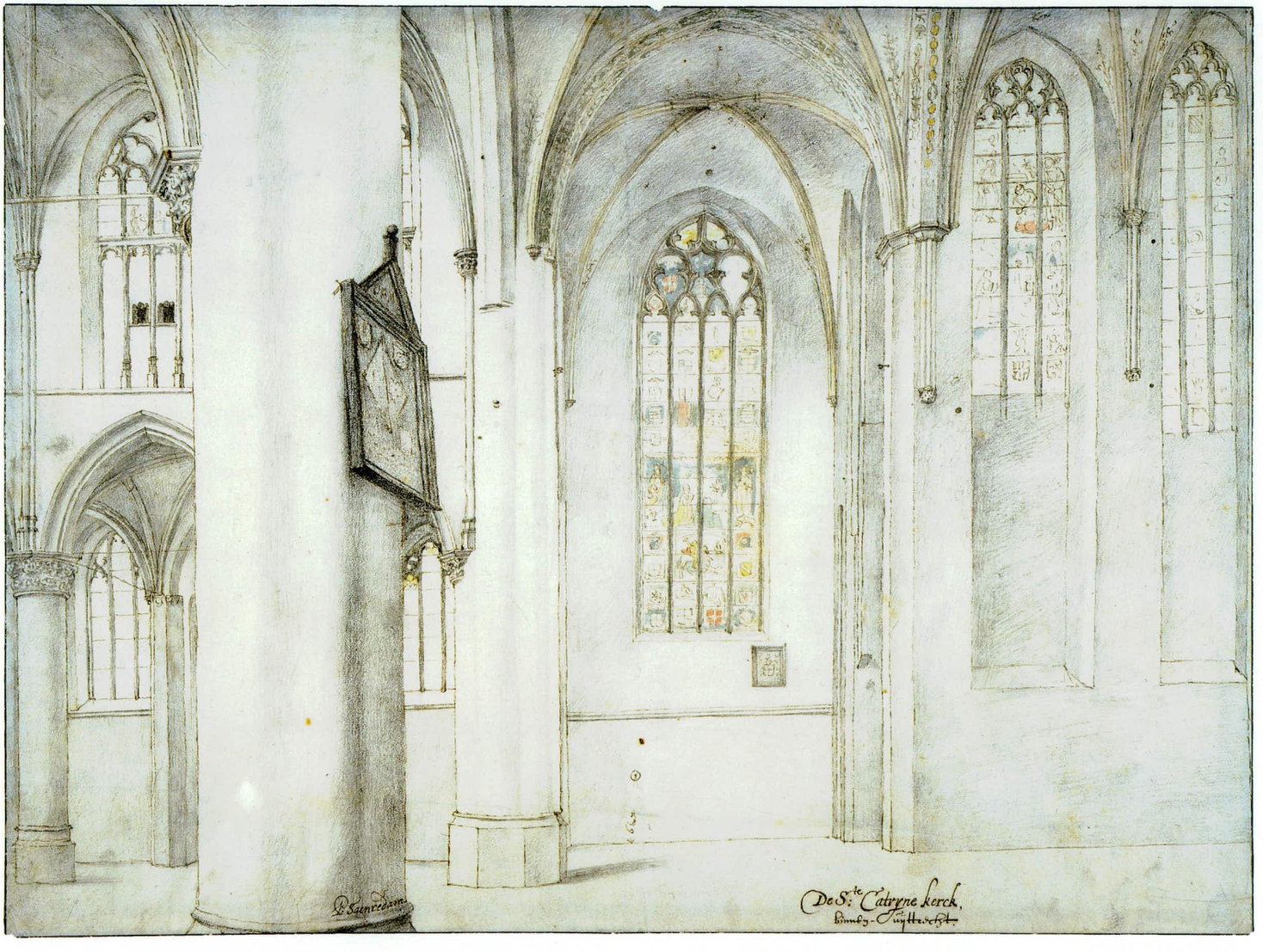
Inscriptions
Recto (on the north wall of the transept, under the vanishing point): 6 voet (6 feet)
Verso: 2132 / 1250 (pencil)

Provenance
Acquired by Het Utrechts Archief, 1900

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 82, p. 28; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 82, p. 28; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Paris 1970, cat. no. 41, p. 22, fig. 37.

Literature
Hofstede de Groot 1899(a), p. 17, fig. 26x (addendum); Utrecht 1907, cat. no. 1250, p. 141; Van Beresteyn 1934, pp. 38-39 and p. 91, fig. 4; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 132, p. 107, fig. 179; Van der Boom 1940, pp. 81-82 (note 2); Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 133, p. 192, fig. 134; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 133, p. 192, fig. 134; Struick 1968, ill. on p. 181; Snoep et al. [1975], p. 14 and fig. 6; Connell 1980, p. 17 (note 1); Ruurs 1982, p. 119 (note 26); Van Tongerloo 1984, pp. 3-5, ill.; Ruurs 1987, p. 107 (note 89); Elkins 1988, p. 272 (note 15); Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 133, p. 276 and pp. 165, 167, fig. 191; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 133, p. 278 and pp. 165, 166, fig. 191.

Notes
1
Van Tongerloo 1984, pp. 3-5.
2
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 87r.
3
Namely the arms of the Duke of Cleves, directly above the left saint.
4
Compare the window with this same subject in the St Janskerk in Gouda (window 19), given in 1570 by Hendrik van Zwolle, commander-in-chief of the Order of the Knights of St John in Haarlem. On this, see Van Winter 1971, pp. 278-279.
5
For other objects related to Hendrik Barck with his arms, i.e. a rose (Barck) and an anchor cross (Bentinck), see Dirkse 1986.
6
Buchelius *Monumenta*, f. 86v, includes this hatchment with no explanation.
The identification is taken from Van Engelen I, pp. 520-521.


De S.te Catryne kerck.

The hatchment in the foreground, with the arms of Van der Planitz and Barck in the impaled lozenge-shaped shield and in the two top quarters, was placed in memory of Rembolda, a daughter of Philips Edeler van der Planitz and Requina Barck, relatives of Hendrik Barck (see cat. no. 63).[6] The square board in the background below Van Egmond's window is that of Franciscus van de Werve (d. 1604), also illustrated in the drawing of 2 October (cat. no. 63).

AdG

67 Portrait of Jan Jansz. van Ermelo

23 October 1636

Black and red chalk.
Watermark unknown.
260 x 157 mm (passe-partout cutout)
Recto top: De koster van de Sinte Marije kerck, Jan gheh [crossed out] Jansz. gheheeten, 1636 // geteijckent den 23 october dito naer tleeven

(The sexton of the St Mariakerk, named Jan Jansz., drawn from life on 23 October)
Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. no. I.2734.

This fascinating portrait dated 23 October 1636 is Saenredam's last-known drawing of his Utrecht sojourn. The sitter is Jan Jansz. van Ermelo, sexton of the Mariakerk from 1618 to 1640. He looks at us straight on, dignified and lacking any pretension or artifice. The background is empty and his chair is sketchily indicated. Only the face and hat are worked up in detail. The face is done in red chalk, the rest in black chalk.

Jan Jansz. was the retainer of Lambertus van der Burch (1542-1617), dean of the Mariakerk as of 1578, and a confirmed Catholic. Upon Van der Burch's express request, shortly before his death in 1617 the chapter awarded the sextonship of the Mariakerk to Jan Jansz. when this office would become free, which was in the beginning of1618. The above strongly suggests that Jan Jansz. had also remained true to the Catholic faith.
The sexton had many tasks, from cleaning the various rooms (chapter-house, office, and library) and acquiring various sundries (candles, brooms), to ringing the bell at funerals or serving as the chapter's messenger. However, when Saenredam limned his likeness, Jan Jansz. no longer or hardly performed these chores himself. His successor had been appointed in 1635, and he assumed most of the sexton's duties as early as 1636, even though Jan Jansz. still formally retained his office. By then he probably already suffered from the infirmity in his leg, which the surgeon treated in the course of the following years. The fact that he is shown sitting in an armchair will not have been coincidental.
In May 1637, Jan Jansz., who until then had lived in the room above the Paradise Porch, was sent by the chapter to lodge with a widow in one of the houses on the south side of the choir. She cared for him throughout his illness until his death. Jan Jansz. passed away in May of 1640 'naming the Chapter of St Mary as his heir'.[2] According to his wishes, he was buried in the Pandhof of the church, for which he had invested part of his savings as early as 1628. The interest from this would thenceforth be used for the poor.

Portraits are such a rarity in Saenredam's oeuvre that this likeness is evidence of something quite unusual. It is probably an expression of sympathy or friendship. Saenredam worked non-stop in the Mariakerk during the first six weeks of his stay and surely will have developed a special bond with the sexton. He might have made the portrait for him in gratitude for his help, or conversely, for himself as a memento.[3] In any case, this last Utrecht drawing seems to have been a token of farewell to an esteemed host.
We know of one other comparable portrait drawing by Saenredam, the *Portrait of a man* in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris, which was identified by Jeroen Giltaij in 1975. Even though it is only half as high, this sheet displays many similarities with the drawing on view here, such as the frontality and unadorned quality of the sitter, the empty background and the use of red and black chalk.[4] It is dated around 1640, thus not much later than the *Portrait of Jan Jansz. van Ermelo*. Saenredam must also have produced a few portrait drawings some years earlier, which we know only through the prints after them made by Jan van de Velde in 1629 and 1631.[5] Compositionally (oval format, half-length with hands) they resemble Saenredam's portrait drawing of Johannes Petri Junius, preacher in Assendelft and 's-Hertogenbosch, which recently

Inscriptions
Recto upper right (not by Saenredam): Par Jacob Roman, Petry Jacoby filius, P. J. Roman[1]

Provenance
A. Fiorini collection, Kassel; W. and V. Klinkhardt collection, Leipzig (1914); given by W. and V. Klinkhardt to the Museum der bildenden Künste, 1914

Exhibitions
Rotterdam 1937-1938, cat. no. 33, p. 16; Amsterdam 1938, cat. no. 33, p. 16; Utrecht 1961 (oeuvre cat.); Budapest 1969, cat. no. 124, p. 26, fig. 11; Paris 1970, cat. no. 60, p. 27.

Literature
Voss 1915, fig. 154; London 1915-1932, vol. 4 (1931), p. 44; Swillens 1935, cat. no. 134, pp. 107-108 and pp. 55, 66, fig. 23; Bremmer 1938, fig. 10; Bernt 1957-1958, vol. 2, fig. 511; Plietzsch 1960, p. 122; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(a), cat. no. 205, p. 268, fig. 206; Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961(b), cat. no. 205, p. 276, fig. 206; Giltaij 1977, pp. 26-28, fig. 1; Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 5, fig. 510; Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981, pp. 26-27; Utrecht 1985, cat. no. 47, p. 33; The Hague 1987, pp. 338, 340, fig. 2; Schwartz and Bok 1989, cat. no. 205, p. 290 and pp. 134, 168, 296, 318 (note 10:1), fig. 182; Bok 1990, p. 71, fig. 10; Leipzig 1990, cat. no. 53, n. p., ill. ; Schwartz and Bok 1990, cat. no. 205, p. 296 and pp. 134, 168, 304, 328 (note 10:1), fig. 192; De Hond 1999, p. 193, fig. 3.

Notes
1
The later inscription was traditionally associated with the Haarlem printer Adriaen Roman – for whom Saenredam had worked in 1628 – or his son Pieter. However, as suggested by Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok, the names are closer to three generations of sculptors and architects, Pieter Roman (c. 1607-1670), Jacob Roman (1640-1716) and Pieter Jacobsz. Roman (dates unknown). Evidently, the drawing somehow came into their possession. Oddly enough though, at the time it was thought to have been by Jacob Roman. Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 328 (note 10:1).
2
'nalatende het Capittel van St. Marien tot erffgenaem'. HUA, Burial Register, 8 June 1640.
3
The nature and execution of Saenredam's annotations make the latter option somewhat more logical.
4
Pieter Saenredam, *Portrait of an unknown man*. Black and red chalk, 115 x 105 mm. Paris, Frits Lugt collection, Institut Néerlandais.
5
See Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 47, figs. 43-47.
6
Pieter Saenredam, *Portrait of Johannes Junius*, 5 July 1632. Pen and black chalk, 205 x 149 mm. Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen. See De Hond 1999.


De koster van de Sinte Marÿe kerck, Jan Jans gegeeten. 1636.
geteÿchent den 23 october dito naer theenen
Par Jacob Roman
Petrij Jacobij filius
P J Roman

surfaced in Dresden.[6] In style and technique, however, the portrait of Junius is rather different from the sheet shown here.

It is striking just how related in terms of technique and execution the *Portrait of Jan Jansz. van Ermelo* is to Saenredam's composition drawings made in the church. Most are also in chalk and many evidence robust hatching in the sections considered less important, while main elements are worked out in great detail though without ever becoming dull. Just as in the architectural drawings, the artist succeeded in depicting convincingly the various volumes by means of subtle indications of light and shade.

AdG and MP

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Exhibitions and catalogues

Amsterdam 1854, *Catalogus tentoonstelling van voorwerpen van kunst en nijverheid uit vroegeren tijd, in het gebouw der maatschappij: 'Arti et Amacitiae' te Amsterdam*, exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Arti et Amicitiae).
Amsterdam 1887, *Catalogus van het Rijks-Museum van Schilderijen* (A. Bredius), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1900, *Catalogus der verzameling schilderijen en familieportretten van de heeren jhr. P. H. Six van Vromade, jhr. dr. J. Six en jhr. W. Six*, exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum).
Amsterdam 1903, *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1904, *Catalogue des tableaux, miniatures, pastels, dessins encadrés. etc. du Musée de l'État à Amsterdam* (B.W.F. van Riemsdijk), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1907, *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1908, *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
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Amsterdam 1920, *Katalog der Gemälde, Miniaturen, Pastelle, Eingerahmten Zeichnungen u.s.w. im Reichsmuseum zu Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1926, *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk and D. C. Röell), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1927, *Catalogue of the Pictures, Miniatures, Pastels, Framed Drawings, etc. in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk and D. C. Röell), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1934, *Catalogus der schilderijen, pastels, miniaturen, aquarellen, tentoongesteld in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam* (B. W. F. van Riemsdijk and D. C. Röell), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1938, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam 1597-1665* (D. Hannema), exhib. cat.

Amsterdam (Museum Fodor).
Amsterdam 1946, *Weerzien der meesters in het Rijksmuseum*, exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1948, *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen*, coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1951, *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen, pastels en aquarellen* (J. Bruyn and J. L. Cleveringa), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1956, *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen, pastels en aquarellen* (J. Bruyn et al.), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1960, *Catalogue of Paintings* (J. L. Cleveringa et al.), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1973, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum* (J. Leeuwenberg and W. Halsema-Kubes), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1976, *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. A Completely Illustrated Catalogue* (P. J. J. van Thiel et al.), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1979, *Alleen kijken naar teksten op schilderijen*, brochure exhib. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1986, *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm. Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580* (ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W. Th. Kloek), exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) (see also: Kloek, Halsema-Kubes and Baarsen 1986).
Amterdam 1992, *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. A Completely Illustrated Catalogue. First Supplement: 1976-1991* (P. J. J. van Thiel et al.), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 1995, *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw* (no cat.), Amsterdam (Koninklijk Paleis) (see: Huisken, Ottenheym and Schwartz 1995).
Amsterdam 1998, *Dutch Drawings of the 17th Century in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Artists Born between 1580 and 1600* (M. Schapelhouman and P. Schatborn), coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), 2 parts.
Amsterdam 2000(a), *De glorie van de Gouden Eeuw. Nederlandse kunst uit de 17de eeuw. Schilderijen, beeldhouwkunst en kunstnijverheid* (J. Kiers and F. Tissink), exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam 2000(b), *De glorie van de Gouden Eeuw. Nederlandse kunst uit de 17de eeuw. Tekeningen en prenten* (E. Runia), exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum).
Amsterdam/Toronto 1977, *Opkomst en bloei van het Noordnederlandse stadsgezicht in de 17de eeuw / The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and Its Sources* (B. Bakker et al.), exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Amsterdams Historisch Museum) / Toronto (Art Gallery of Ontario).
Arnhem 1972-1973, *Verborgen schilderijen uit het Rijksmuseum in het Arnhems Museum* (P. Janssen and J. R. de Groot), exhib. cat. Arnhem (Arnhems Museum).
Banbury 1950, *Catalogue of Pictures & Porcelain at Upton House, Banbury* (ed. M. C. Viscount Bearsted), coll. cat. Banbury (Upton House), London (The National Trust)
Banbury 1964, *The Bearsted Collection: Pictures*, coll. cat. Banbury (Upton House).
Basle 1987, *Im lichte Hollands. Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein und aus schweizer Besitz* (P. ten Doesschate-Chu), exhib. cat. Basle (Kunstmuseum).
Berlin 1930, *Die Niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen* (E. Bock and J. Rosenberg), coll. cat. Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett), 2 volumes.
Bolsward 1950, *Catalogus van de tentoonstelling van 17de eeuwse kunstschatten uit het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, exhib. cat. Bolsward (Town hall).
Bordeaux 1959, *La découverte de la lumière des Primitifs aux Impressionnistes* (G. Martin-Méry), exhib. cat. Bordeaux (Musée de Bordeaux).
Braunschweig 1868, *Verzeichniss der Gemäldesammlung des herzoglichen Museums in Braunschweig*, coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzogliches Museum).
Braunschweig 1883, *Führer durch die Sammlungen*, coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzogliches Museum).
Braunschweig 1891, *Führer durch die Sammlungen*, coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzogliches Museum).
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Braunschweig 1900, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichniss der Gemälde-Sammlung* (H. Riegel), coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzogliches Museum).
Braunschweig 1910, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung im Herzogl. Museum zu Braunschweig* (E. Flechsig), coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzogliches Museum).
Braunschweig 1932, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum zu Braunschweig* (I. V. Fink), coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum)
Braunschweig 1969, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde* (G. Adriani), coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum).
Braunschweig 1976, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde vor 1800* (R. Klessmann), coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum).
Braunschweig 1978, *Gemälde im Licht der Naturwissenschaft* (no cat.), Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) (see Nicolaus 1978)
Braunschweig 1983, *Die holländischen Gemälde* (R. Klessmann), coll. cat. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum).
Bremen 1904, *Katalog der Ausstellung historischer Gemälde aus bremischem Privatbesitz in der Kunsthalle* (G. Pauli), exhib. cat. Bremen (Kunsthalle).
Brussels 1935, *Cinq siècles d'art. Exposition Universelle et Internationale* (A. Houtart et al.), exhib. cat. Brussels (Palais des Beaux Arts), 3 parts.
Brussels 1946, *De Hollandsche schilderkunst van Jeroen Bosch tot Rembrandt* (introd. A. van Schendel), exhib. cat. Brussels (Palais des Beaux Arts).
Brussels 1961, *Hollandse tekeningen uit de gouden eeuw. Keuze uit openbare en partikuliere Nederlandse verzamelingen* (K. G. Boon et al., introd. F. Lugt), exhib. cat. Brussels (Albert I Library).
Brussels 1971, *Rembrandt en zijn tijd* (H. R. Hoetink et al.), exhib. cat. Brussels (Palais des Beaux Arts).
Budapest 1969, *Mesterrajzok a Lipcsei Képzömüvészeti Múzeumból* [Meisterzeichnungen aus dem Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig] (K.-H. Mehnert), exhib. cat. Budapest (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum).
Castagnola-Lugano 1986, *Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Catalogue Raisonné of the Exhibited Works of Art* (ed. G. Borghero), coll. cat. Castagnola-Lugano (Thyssen-Bornemisza collection) (French and German editions in 1987).
Castagnola-Lugano 1989, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Painting* (I. Gaskell), coll. cat. Castagnola-Lugano (Thyssen-Bornemisza collection).
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Delft 1952-1953, *Kersttentoonstelling. Nederlandse meesters uit particulier bezit*, exhib. cat. Delft (Prinsenhof).
Delft 1974-1975, *Delftsche deurzigten. Tentoonstelling naar aanleiding van het werk van Gerard Houckgeest ca. 1600-1661*, exhib. cat. Delft (Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof).
Den Bosch 1990, *In Buscoducis. Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch. De cultuur van de late middeleeuwen en renaissance* (compil. A. M. Koldeweij), exhib. cat. Den Bosch (Noordbrabants Museum), 2 parts (catalogue, essays).
Dordrecht 1957, *Mens en muziek. Nederlandse meesters uit vijf eeuwen* (introd. L. J. Bol), exhib. cat. Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum).
Edinburgh 1904, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures of the French, Dutch, British and Other Schools Belonging to W. A. Coats*, coll. cat. Edinburgh (coll. W. A. Coats).
Edinburgh 1976, *Old Master Drawings from the David Laing Bequest* (introd. K. Andrews), exhib. cat. Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland).
Edinburgh 1979, *Drawings by Architects*, brochure Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland).
Edinburgh 1984, *Dutch Church Painters. Saenredam's 'Great Church at Haarlem' in Context* (H. Macandrew), exhib. cat. Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland).
Edinburgh 1985, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (K. Andrews), coll. cat. Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland), 2 parts.
Edinburgh 1992, *Dutch Art and Scotland. A Reflection of Taste* (J. Lloyd Williams), exhib. cat. Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland).
Edinburgh/London 1985-1986, *Some Netherlandish Drawings from the National Gallery of Scotland*, exhib. cat. (brochure) Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland) /

London (Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox Ltd).
Ghent 1958, *De gouden eeuw der grote steden* (introd. H. van Werveke), exhib. cat. Ghent (Sint-Pietersabdij).
Haarlem 1904, *Catalogue raisonné des dessins des écoles française et hollandaise* (H. J. Scholten), coll. cat. Haarlem (Teyler Museum).
Haarlem 1936, *Tentoonstelling van oude kunst*, exhib. cat. Haarlem (Frans Halsmuseum).
Haarlem 1940, *Wintertentoonstelling van oude kunst uit particulier bezit*, exhib. cat. Haarlem (Frans Halsmuseum).
Haarlem 1961, *Nederlandse orgelpracht* (ed. J. F. Obermayr et al.), exhib. cat. Haarlem (Vishal).
Haarlem 1969, *Frans Halsmusem Haarlem* (introd. H. P. Baard), coll. cat. Haarlem (Frans Halsmuseum).
Haarlem [1978], *200 jaar verzamelen. Hoogtepunten der tekenkunst* (J. H. van Borssum Buisman), exhib. cat. Haarlem (Teyler Museum).
Haarlem 1997 (a), *The Dutch Drawings in the Teyler Museum. Volume 2: Artists Born between 1575 and 1630* (M. C. Plomp), coll. cat. Haarlem (Teyler Museum).
Haarlem 1997 (b), *Meesterlijk getekend. Nederlandse tekeningen uit de 17de eeuw / Master Drawings of the Golden Age* (L. Schwartz), cat. brochure for exhib. Haarlem (Teyler Museum).
Hamburg 1892, *Wissenschaftliches Verzeichnis der Aelteren Gemälde der Galerie Weber in Hamburg* (K. Woermann), coll. cat. Hamburg (Galerie Weber).
Hamburg 1907, *Wissenschaftliches Verzeichnis der Aelteren Gemälde der Galerie Weber in Hamburg* (K. Woermann), coll. cat. Hamburg (Galerie Weber) (2nd, expanded ed. of Hamburg 1892).
Hamburg 1918, *Katalog der alten Meister* (G. Pauli), coll. cat. Hamburg (Kunsthalle).
Hamburg 1920, *Ausstellung von Zeichnungen alter Meister aus der Sammlungen der Kunsthalle zu Hamburg*, exhib. cat. Hamburg (Kunstverein in Hamburg).
Hamburg 1921, *Katalog der alten Meister* (G. Pauli), coll. cat. Hamburg (Kunsthalle) (2nd, expanded ed. of Hamburg 1918).
Hamburg 1930, *Katalog der alten Meister* (G. Pauli), coll. cat. Hamburg (Kunsthalle) (3rd, expanded ed. of Hamburg 1918).
Hamburg 1956, *Katalog der alten Meister der hamburger Kusthalle* (G. Pauli and A. Hentzen), coll. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle) (4th, expanded ed. of Hamburg 1918).
Hamburg 1961, *Holländische Zeichnungen der Rembrandt-Zeit, ausgewählt aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen in den Niederlanden* (K.G. Boon et al., introd. F. Lugt), exhib. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle).
Hamburg 1966, *Katalog der alten Meister der hamburger Kunsthalle* (D. Roskamp), coll. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle) (5th, expanded ed. of Hamburg 1918).
Hamburg 1967, *Hundert Meisterzeichnungen aus der Hamburger Kunsthalle 1500-1800* (W. Stubbe), coll. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle).
Hamburg 1983-1984, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst* (ed. W. Hofmann), exhib. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle)
Hamburg 1989, *Hamburger Kunsthalle* (ed. J. E. Howoldt), coll. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle) (2nd expanded ed., 1st ed. 1985).
Hamburg 1994, *Hamburger Kunsthalle* (ed. H. R. Leppien and D. Lutz), coll. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle).
Hamburg 1994-1995, *Rembrandt und sein Jahrhundert. Niederländische Zeichnungen in der Hamburger Kunsthalle* (E. Schaar et al.), exhib. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle).
Hamburg 1995-1996, *Im Blickfeld: Holländische Kirchenbilder* (H. R. Leppien and K. Müller), exhib. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle).
Helmond/Amersfoort 1982, *Herman Heyenbrock, schilder van de arbeid* (ed. J. C. T. M. van Laarhoven), exhib. cat. Helmond (Gemeentemuseum) / Amersfoort (Museum Flehite).
Kassel 1783, *Verzeichniss der Hochfuerstlich-Hessischen Gemaehlde-Sammlung in Cassel* (S. Causid), coll. cat. Kassel (Hochfürstlich-Hessischen Gemäldesammlung).
Kassel 1830, *Verzeichniss der kurfürstlichen Gemälde-Sammlung* (E. F. F. Robert), coll. cat. Kassel (Kurfürstliche Gemäldesammlung).
Kassel [c. 1880], *Verzeichniss der in dem Lokale der Neuen Gemälde-Gallerie zu Cassel befindlichen Bilder* (Aubel and O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel [c. 1885], *Verzeichniss der in der Königl. Gemälde-Gallerie zu Cassel befindlichen Bilder*(Aubel and O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Gemäldegalerie)
Kassel 1888, *Katalog der königlichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1894, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Galerie).
Kassel 1897, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Galerie).
Kassel 1901, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Galerie).
Kassel 1903, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Galerie).
Kassel 1909, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Galerie).
Kassel 1910, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel* (O. Eisenmann), coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Galerie).
Kassel 1912, *Königliche Gemäldegalerie zu Cassel. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1913, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Cassel*, coll. cat. Kassel (Königliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1922, *Staatliche Gemäldegalerie zu Cassel. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1924, *Staatliche Gemäldegalerie zu Cassel. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1929, *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel* (introd.. G. Gronau), coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1958, *Katalog der staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel* (H. Vogel), coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1961, *45 Gemälde der Kasseler Galerie* (H. Vogel), coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie)
Kassel 1969, *Die Gemäldegalerie der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel* (E. Herzog), coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie).
Kassel 1996, *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. Gesamtkatalog* (B. Schnackenburg), coll. cat. Kassel (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie).
Laren/Utrecht 1973, *Zicht rond Gooi en Sticht. Tekeningen en aquarellen uit het bezit van Hare Majesteit de Koningin* (L. J. van der Klooster, F. H. C. Weijtens et al.), exhib. cat. Laren (Singer Museum) / Utrecht (Rijksarchief).
Leipzig 1990, *Meisterzeichnungen. Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig* (D. Gleisberg and K.-H. Mehnert), coll. cat. Leipzig (Museum der bildenden Künste).
London 1902, *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters Including a Special Collection of Paintings and Drawings by Claude. Winter Exhibition*, exhib. cat. London (Royal Academy of Arts).
London 1910, *The National Gallery. Illustrated Catalogue* (E. J. Poynter), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1911, *An Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1912, *The National Gallery. Illustrated Catalogue* (E. J. Poynter), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1915-1932, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (A. M. Hind et al.), coll. cat. London (British Museum), 5 volumes.
London 1921, *Catalogue of the Pictures*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1925-1926, *Illustrations to the catalogue*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery), 3 volumes.
London 1927, *Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings Being the Entire Collection of the Late W. A. Coats*, exhib. cat. London (Galleries of the Royal Society of British Artists).
London 1929(a), *Catalogue*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1929(b), *Exhibition of Dutch Art 1450-1900* (H. Schneider et al.), exhib. cat. London (Royal Academy of Arts) (see also Holmes et al. 1930).
London 1937, *Illustrations Continental Schools (excluding Italian)*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1946, *Catalogue*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1955, *The Bearsted Collection from Upton House, Banbury*, exhib. cat. London (The Whitechapel Art Gallery).
London 1958, *Summary Catalogue*, coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1960, *The Dutch School* (N. MacLaren), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).

London 1973, *Illustrated General Catalogue* (ed. C. Gould), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1983, *The National Gallery Schools of Painting. Dutch Paintings* (Chr. Brown), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1986, *Illustrated General Catalogue* (A. Braham et al.), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
London 1988, *Old Master Paintings from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection* (D. Ekserdjian), exhib. cat. London (Royal Academy of Arts).
London 1991, *The Dutch School 1600-1900* (N. MacLaren and Chr. Brown), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery), 2 volumes.
London 1995, *Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (Chr. Baker and T. Henry), coll. cat. London (The National Gallery).
Los Angeles/Boston/New York 1981-1982, *A Mirror of Nature. Dutch Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter* (J. Walsh and C. P. Schneider), exhib. cat. Los Angeles (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) / Boston (Museum of Fine Arts) / New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
Madrid 1987-1988, *Maestros antiguos de la coleccion Thyssen-Bornemisza*, exhib. cat. Madrid (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando).
Madrid 1992, *Old Masters. Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum* (J. M. Pita Andrade and M. del Mar Borobia Guerrero), coll. cat. Madrid (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza).
Milan 1954, *Mostra di pittura olandese del Seicento* (introd. A. B. de Vries), exhib. cat. Milan (Palazzo Reale).
Moscow/Leningrad 1987, *Shedevrui Zapadnoevropeiskoi Zhivopisi XIV-XVIII vv., iz Sobraniya Tissen-Bornemisa*, exhib. cat. Moscow (Pushkin Museum) / Leningrad (Hermitage).
Munich 1936, *Ältere Pinakothek München. Amtlicher Katalog*, coll. cat. Munich (Ältere Pinakothek).
Munich 1957 (a), *Die Alte Pinakothek München. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Bilder*, coll. cat. Munich (Alte Pinakothek).
Munich 1957 (b), *Die Alte Pinakothek München. Meisterwerke der europäischen Malerei* (E. Buchner), coll. cat. Munich (Alte Pinakothek).
Munich 1962, *Die Alte Pinakothek in München* (K. Martin), coll. cat. Munich (Alte Pinakothek).
Munich 1967, *Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (introd. H. Soehner), coll. cat. Munich (Alte Pinakothek).
Munich 1983, *Alte Pinakothek München. Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden*, coll. cat. Munich (Alte Pinakothek).
Munich 1998, *Die Alte Pinakothek. Sammlungsgeschichte, Bau und Bilder* (R. an der Heiden), coll. cat. Munich (Alte Pinakothek).
Nagasaki 2000, *Royal collection of the Queen of Netherlands – Prince Willem V, his person and court* (B. Woelderink, T. Rosa de Carvalho, M. Loonstra et al.), exhib. cat. Nagasaki (Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum).
New Brunswick/Cleveland 1982-1983, *Dürer to Cezanne: Northern European Drawings from the Ashmolean Museum*, exhib. cat. New Brunswick (The Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum) / Cleveland (The Cleveland Museum of Art).
New York 1979-1980, *William & Mary and Their House* (cat. by A. W. Vliegenthart, F. Stampfle et al.), exhib. cat. New York (The Pierpont Morgan Library).
New York/Chicago 1989, *From Michelangelo to Rembrandt. Master Drawings from the Teyler Museum* (C. S. Ackley et al.), exhib. cat. New York (The Pierpont Morgan Library) / Chicago (The Art Institute of Chicago).
Paris 1891, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux départements des estampes et des manuscrits* (H. Bouchot), coll. cat. Paris (Bibliothèque nationale), 2 volumes.
Paris 1936, *Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord* (F. Lugt and J. Vallery-Radot), coll. cat. Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes).
Paris [1950-1951], *Le paysage hollandais au XVIIe siècle* (introd. A. B. de Vries), exhib. cat. Paris (Orangerie des Tuileries).
Paris 1952, *Chefs d'oeuvre de la collection D.G. van Beuningen* (D. Hannema), exhib. cat. Paris (Petit Palais).
Paris 1970, *Saenredam 1597-1665. Peintre des églises* (F. Lugt and C. van Hasselt), exhib. cat. Paris (Institut Néerlandais).
Paris 1983, *Reflets du siècle d'or. Tableaux hollandais du dix-septième siècle* (S. Nihom-Nijstad), coll. cat. Paris (Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais).
Paris/Amsterdam 1990, *Aquarelles hollandaises du XVIIIe siècle*, exhib. cat. Paris (Institut Néerlandais) / Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Zwolle 1990.
Paris/Hamburg 1985-1986, *Renaissance et Maniérisme dans les Ecoles du Nord. Dessins des collections de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, exhib. cat. Paris (Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts) / Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle)
Phoenix/Kansas City/The Hague 1998-1999, *Copper as Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575-1775*, exhib. cat. Phoenix (Phoenix Art Museum) / Kansas City (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art) / The Hague (Mauritshuis).
Pommersfelden 1857, *Katalog der gräflich Schönborn'schen Bilder-Gallerie zu Pommersfelden*, coll. cat. Pommersfelden (collection Von Schönborn).
Prague 1966, *Tri stoleti nizozemské kresby 1400-1700. Van Eyck, Bosch, Rubens, Rembrandt* (Introd. H. R. Hoetink), exhib. cat. Praag (Národní Galerie).
Rome 1954, *Mostra di pittura olandese del Seicento* (introd. A. B. de Vries), exhib. cat. Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni).
Rome 1956-1957, *Il Seicento europeo. Realismo classicismo barocco* (L. Salerno and A. Marabottini), exhib. cat. Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni).
Rotterdam 1877, *Beschrijving der schilderijen in het museum te Rotterdam gesticht door mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
Rotterdam 1880, *Beschrijving der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken in het museum te Rotterdam gesticht door mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
Rotterdam 1883, *Beschrijving der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken in het museum te Rotterdam gesticht door mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
Rotterdam 1916, *Catalogus der schilderijen en teekeningen tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (F. Schmidt-Degener), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans)
Rotterdam 1921, *Catalogus der schilderijen en teekeningen tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1925, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1927, *Catalogus der schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (F. Schmidt-Degener and D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1928, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1932-1933, *Catalogus van de kersttentoonstelling in het Museum Boymans*, exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1934, *Nederlandsche teekeningen uit de 15de, 16de en 17de eeuw. Verzameling F. Koenigs*, exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1937, *Museum Boymans. Beknopte catalogus schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken. / Concise catalogue paintings and sculptures* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1937-1938, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam 1597-1665* (D. Hannema), exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1945, *Museum Boymans Rotterdam. Heropening 1945. Afbeeldingen oude meesters*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1950, *Afbeeldingen*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1954, *Afbeeldingen schilderijen beeldhouwwerken*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1955, *Kunstschatten uit Nederlandse verzamelingen* (E. Haverkamp Begemann and B.R.M. de Neeve), Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).
Rotterdam 1959, *Afbeeldingen schilderijen*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).
Rotterdam 1962, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Catalogus schilderijen tot 1800*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).
Rotterdam 1972, *Old Paintings 1400-1900. Illustrations*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).
Rotterdam 1988, *De tekeningen van Rembrandt en zijn school in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* (J. Giltaij), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).
Rotterdam 1991, *Perspectiven. Saenredam en de architectuurschilders van de 17e eeuw/ Perspectives: Saenredam and the Architectural Painters of the 17th Century* (J. Giltaij and

G. Jansen), exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).
Rotterdam 1999, *150 Jaar Boijmans Van Beuningen* (no cat.), Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) (see: Ter Molen 1999).
San Francisco/Baltimore/London 1997-1998, *Masters of Light. Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (J. A. Spicer and L. Federle Orr), exhib. cat. San Francisco (Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco) / Baltimore (The Walters Art Gallery) / London (The National Gallery).
Schaffhausen 1949, *Rembrandt und seine Zeit* (texts by L. Reidemeister and G. Jedlicka), exhib. cat. Schaffhausen (Museum zu Allerheiligen).
Stuttgart 1988-1989, *Meisterwerke der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza. Gemälde des 14.-18. Jahrhunderts* (A. Boesten-Stengel et al.), exhib. cat. Stuttgart (Staatsgalerie).
The Hague 1968, *Beknopte catalogus van de schilderijen beeldhouwwerken en miniaturen. Mauritshuis* (L. de Vries), coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis)
The Hague 1970, *1945-1970. Vijfentwintig jaar aanwinsten Mauritshuis*, coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis).
The Hague 1977, *Mauritshuis. The Royal Cabinet of Paintings. Illustrated General Catalogue*, coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis).
The Hague 1985, *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis* (ed. H. R. Hoetink), coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis).
The Hague 1987, *Meesterwerken in het Mauritshuis* (B. Broos), coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis).
The Hague 1988, *Mauritshuis 's-Gravenhage. Gids van het koninklijk kabinet van schilderijen / Mauritshuis The Hague. Guide to the Royal Cabinet of Paintings* (B. Broos), coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis)
The Hague 1992, *Old Master Paintings. An Illustrated Summary Catalogue* (E. de Heer et al.), coll. cat. The Hague (Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst).
The Hague 1993, *Mauritshuis. Illustrated General Catalogue* (N. Sluijter-Seijffert et al.), coll. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis)
The Hague 1996, *Uit Koninklijk Bezit. Honderd jaar Koninklijk Huisarchief: de verzamelingen van de Oranjes* (M. Loonstra et al.), exhib. cat. The Hague (Het Paleis).
Tokyo/Kyoto 1968-1969, *The Age of Rembrandt. Dutch Paintings and Drawings of the 17th Century*, exhib. cat. Tokyo (The National Museum of Western Art) / Kyoto (Municipal Museum).
Utrecht 1878, *Catalogus van den Topographischen Atlas der stad Utrecht* (S. Muller), coll. cat. Utrecht (Gemeente-archief).
Utrecht 1894, *Catalogus der tentoonstelling van oude schilderkunst te Utrecht* (S. Muller), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Gebouw voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen).
Utrecht 1907, *Supplement op den catalogus van den Topographischen Atlas der stad Utrecht* (S. Muller), coll. cat. Utrecht (Gemeente-archief).
Utrecht 1928, *Catalogus van het Historisch Museum der stad* (C. H. de Jonge et al.), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1933, *Catalogus der schilderijen* (C. H. de Jonge), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1941,*Catalogus van schilderijen der Utrechtsche School*, exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1948, *Utrecht's kunst in opkomst en bloei 650-1650* (C. H. de Jonge and D. P. R. A. Bouvy), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1952, *Catalogus der schilderijen* (C. H. de Jonge), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1953, *Nederlandse architectuurschilders 1600-1900* (text H. Jantzen), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1958, *Jubileumtentoonstelling 'Vereniging Rembrandt'* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1961, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum) (see Van Regteren Altena, [De Smedt] and Swillens 1961a and b).
Utrecht 1971, *Utrecht en zijn bisschoppen. Het geestelijk en wereldlijk gezag van de bisschoppen van Utrecht tot 1528 en hun verhouding tot de stad Utrecht* (M. P. van Buijtenen and J. E. A. L. Struick), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Rijksarchief en Gemeentelijk Archief).
Utrecht 1972, *Van Willibrord tot Wereldraad. Enige aspecten van het geestelijk leven in Utrecht door de eeuwen heen* (H. A. Avakian et al.), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum).
Utrecht 1974 (a), *Samuel Muller, gemeentearchivaris van Utrecht 1874-1918*, exhib. cat. Utrecht (Gemeentelijk Archief).
Utrecht 1974 (b), *1 Augustus 1674. De Dom in puin. Herman Saftleven tekent de stormschade in de stad Utrecht* (A. Graafhuis and D. P. Snoep), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1975, *Het Catharijneconvent. Monument met toekomst* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum) (see Snoep et al. [1975]).
Utrecht 1975-1976 (a), *Ruimte en perspektief* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum) (see Blotkamp et al. [1975]).
Utrecht 1975-1976 (b), *De orgelmakers Bätz. Honderd jaar Utrechtse orgelbouw*, cat. list exhib. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1981, *Utrecht en zijn middeleeuwse kerken* (no cat.), Utrecht (Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent) (see Engelbregt, Terlingen et al. 1981).
Utrecht 1982, *De Dom van Utrecht. Hart van Nederland* (A. F. E. Kipp et al.), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Domtoren).
Utrecht 1983 (a), *Honderd jaar Vereniging Rembrandt* (W. Godschalk), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1983 (b), *Het kleine bouwen. Vier eeuwen maquettes in Nederland* (R. W. Tieskens, D. P. Snoep and G. W. C. van Wezel), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1985, *Een kerk van papier. De geschiedenis van de voormalige Mariakerk te Utrecht* (H. M. Haverkate, C. J. van der Peet and C. C. S. Wilmer), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst) (see also Haverkate and Van der Peet 1985).
Utrecht 1987, *Jan de Beijer in Utrecht. Stadsgezichten van een bekende tekenaar uit de 18de eeuw* (C. C. S. Wilmer), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst).
Utrecht 1988, *Utrecht. Een hemel op aarde* (M. van Vlierden), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent).
Utrecht 1991, *Martin Visser, verzameld werk* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1995, *De keuze van Simon Levie* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1997, *De verzamelingen van het Centraal Museum Utrecht. 3. Beeldhouwkunst tot 1850* (J. Klinckaert), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).
Utrecht 1999, *De verzamelingen van het Centraal Museum Utrecht. 5. Schilderkunst tot 1850* (L. M. Helmus), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum), 2 parts.
Utrecht 1999-2000, *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late middeleeuwen* (T. van Bueren, with essays by W. C. M. Wüstefeld et al.), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Museum Catharijneconvent).
Utrecht/Douai 1977, *Jan van Scorel in Utrecht. Altaarstukken en schilderijen omstreeks 1540. Documenten. Technisch onderzoek* (J. A. L. de Meyere, D. P. Snoep et al.), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum) / Douai (Musée de la Chartreuse).
Utrecht/Louvain 1959, *Herdenkingstentoonstelling Paus Adrianus VI [1459-1959]* (texts R. Post, R. van der Sloot, J. W. C. van Campen et al.), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum) / Louvain (Town hall).
Vancouver 1958, *The Changing Landscape of Holland. An Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings of the Netherlands from 1600 to 1900*, exhib. cat. Vancouver (The Fine Arts Gallery, University of British Columbia).
Vienna 1965, *Das niederländische Architekturbild* (M. Poch-Kalous), brochure exhib. Vienna (Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste).
Washington/Fort Worth 1990-1991, *Old Master Drawings from the National Gallery of Scotland* (H. Macandrew), exhib. cat. Washington (National Gallery of Art) / Fort Worth (Kimbell Art Museum).
Washington/New York/Minneapolis/Boston/Cleveland/Chicago 1958-1959, *Dutch Drawings. Masterpieces of Five Centuries* (J. Q. van Regteren Altena), exhib. cat. Washington (National Gallery of Art) / New York (The Pierpont Morgan Library) / Minneapolis (Minneapolis Institute of Arts) / Boston (Museum of Fine Arts) / Cleveland (Cleveland Museum of Art) / Chicago (Art Institute of Chicago).
Washington/The Hague 1995-1996, *Johannes Vermeer*, Washington (National Gallery of Art) / The Hague (Mauritshuis).
Würzburg 1902, *Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie im K. Schlosse zu Würzburg*, coll. cat. Würzburg (K. Schloss, Gemäldegalerie).
York 1866, *Official Catalogue of the Yorkshire Fine Art & Industrial Exhibition*, exhib. cat. York (Fine Art Gallery).
Zurich 1953, *Holländer des 17. Jahrhunderts* (text M. E. Houtzager), exhib. cat. Zurich (Kunsthaus).

Supplement

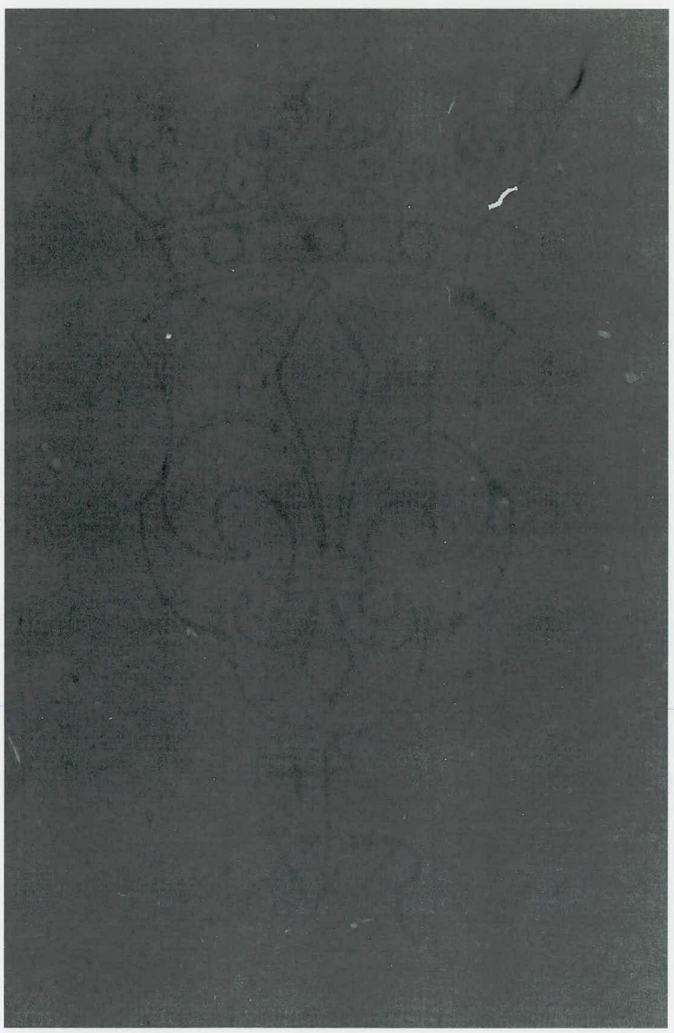
The watermarks in the paper that Pieter Saenredam used for his drawings were photographed by Harry van Hugten at Het Utrechts Archief on 16 June 2000, with the aid of X-ray equipment specially developed by him for this purpose. Ria Bonten of Het Utrechts Archief was in attendance. A complete set of the photographs is kept at Het Utrechts Archief. The watermarks are here reproduced life size. The blue paper has no watermark.

Small fleur-de-lis and sometimes a countermark with the numbers 4 and 1 above a W
Cat. nos. 11, 15, 17, 21, 27, 33, 49, 52, 53, 62 and 65



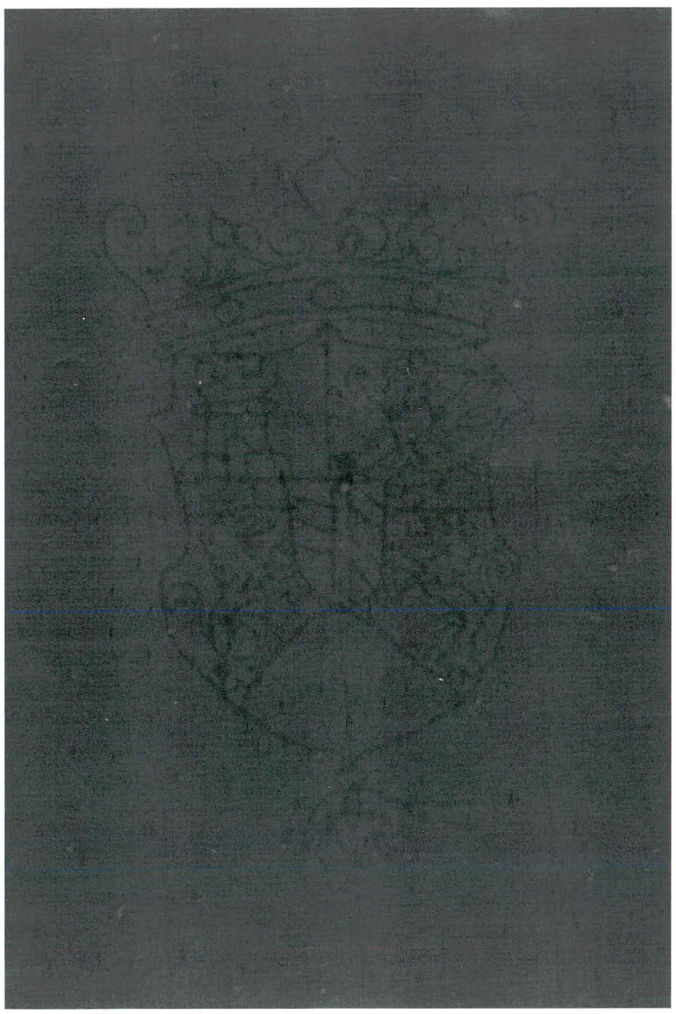
Cat. no. 53

Fleur-de-lis in a crowned escutcheon, above the number 4 and the letters WR
Cat. nos. 6, 34, 37, 45, 58 and 63



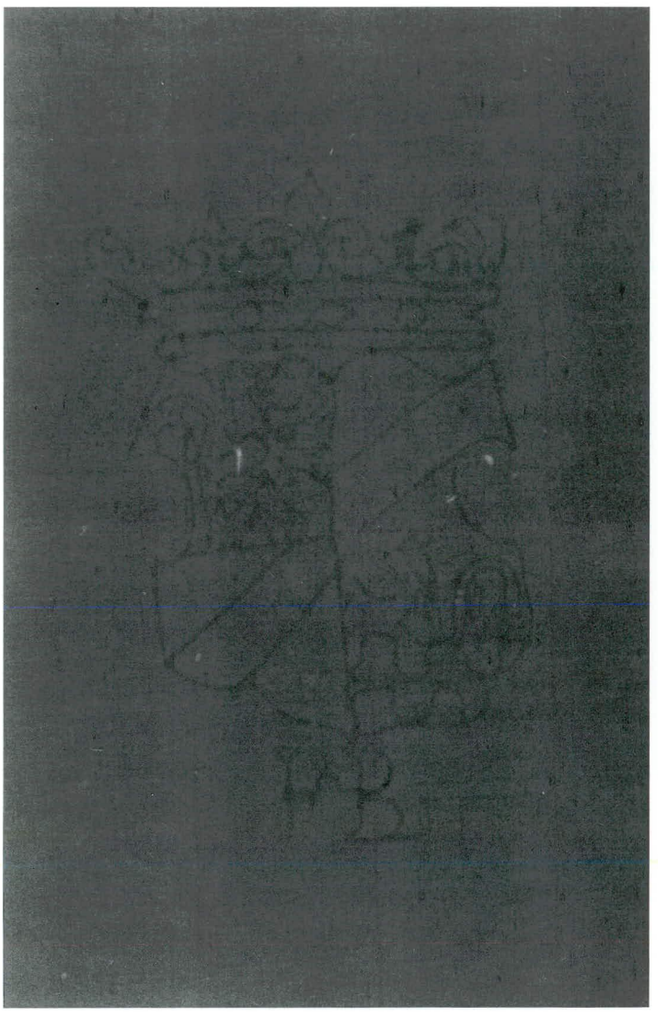
Cat. no. 58

Crowned escutcheon, quartered
Cat. nos. 2, 8 and 41



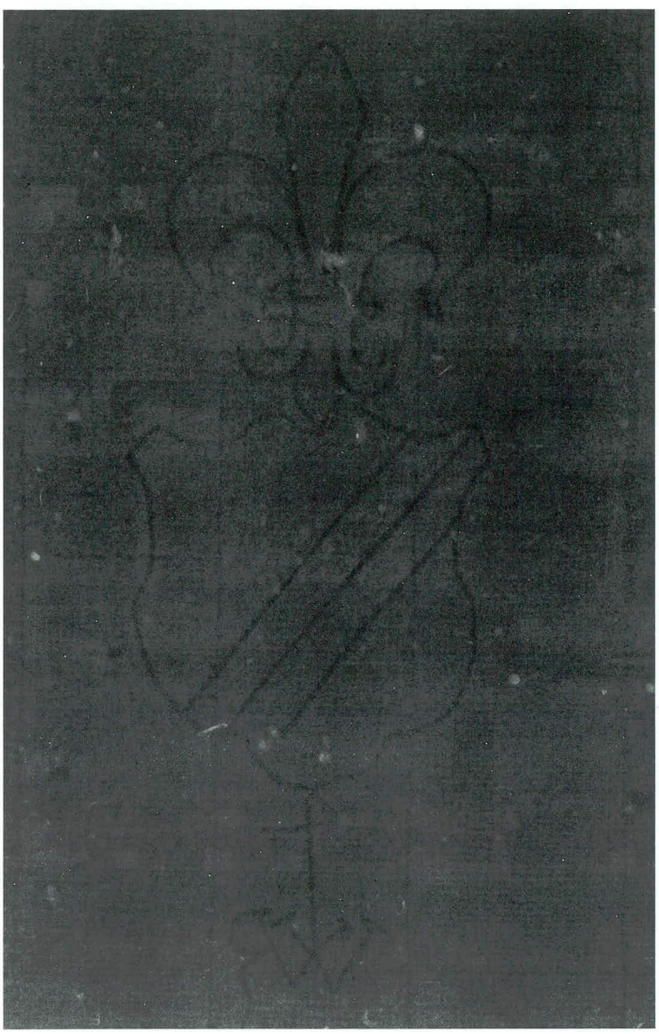
Cat. no. 2

Crowned escutcheon, quartered, with an oblique fesse, monogram HLB below
Cat. nos. 4 and 23



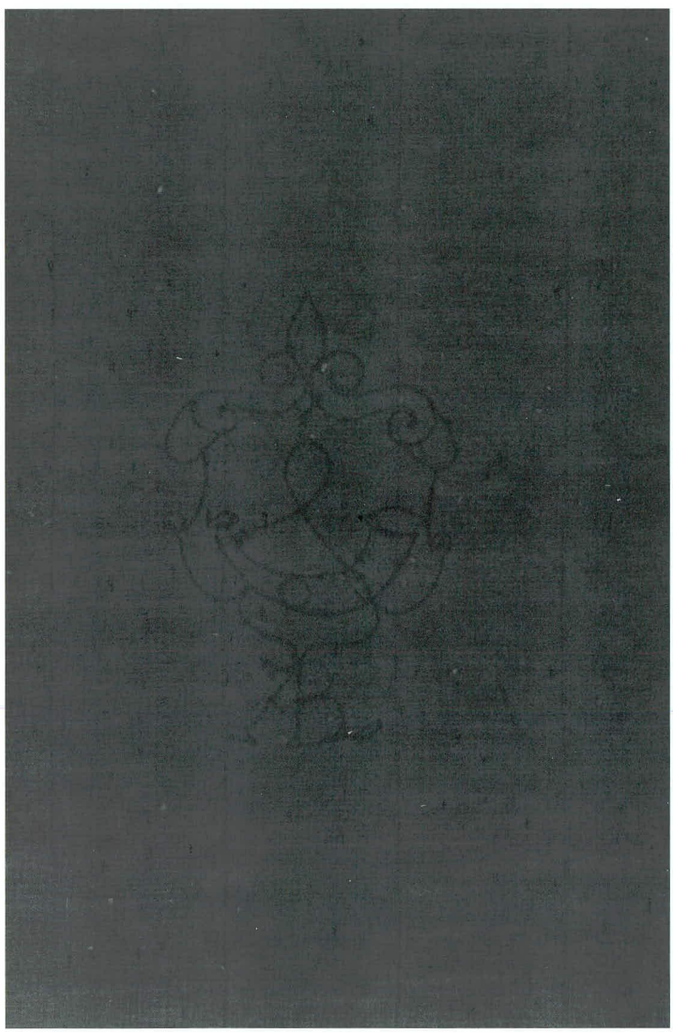
Cat. no. 4

Escutcheon with an oblique fesse, above which is a fleur-de-lis and below the number 4 and the letters WR
Cat. nos. 50 and 56a



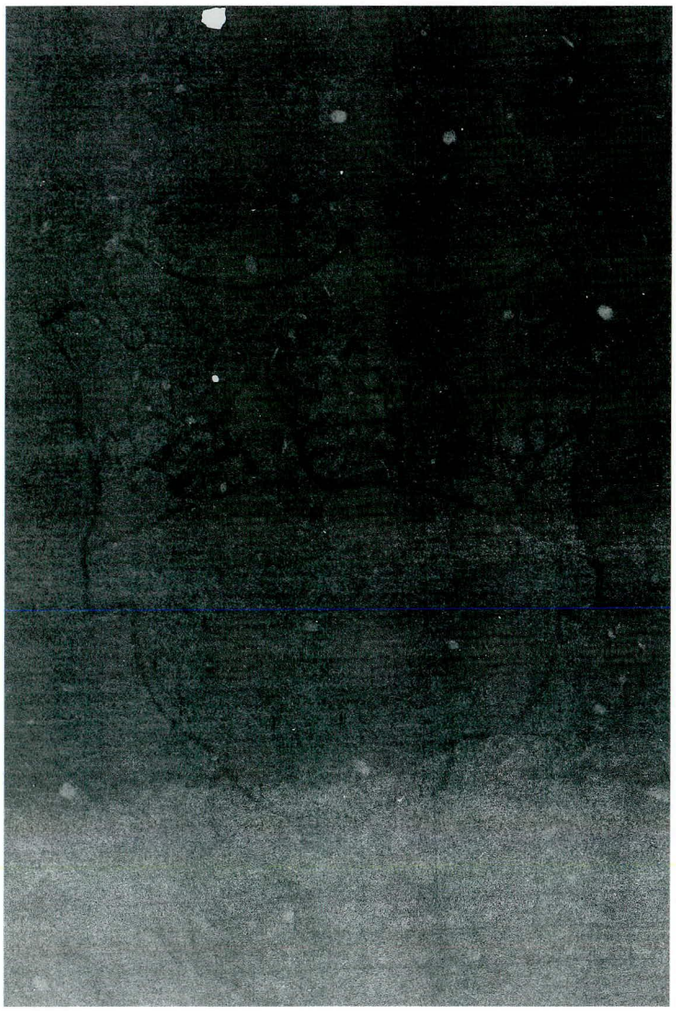
Cat. no. 56a

Escutcheon with a hunting horn, above the monogram AB
Cat. no. 66



Cat. no. 66

Escutcheon with three crowns and the monogram 4 HM (?) as countermark
Cat. no. 24



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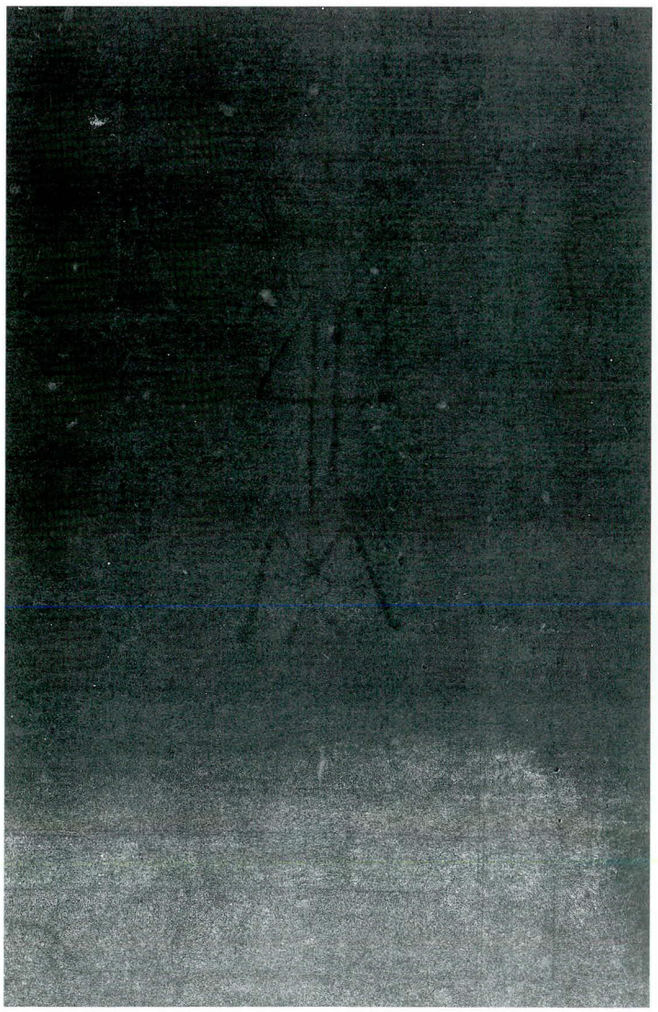

Cat. no. 24

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Utrecht, Centraal Museum: cat. nos. 29, 55, 61

© 2000 The authors, Centraal Museum, Utrecht

Published by:
Centraal Museum
Postbus 2106
3500 GC Utrecht
tel. + 31 (0)30-2362362
fax + 31 (0)30-2332006
www.centraalmuseum.nl

ISBN 90-73285-75-5

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Authors:
Introduction: Liesbeth M. Helmus
Essays: Arie de Groot, Geraldine van Heemstra and Michiel C. Plomp
Catalogue: Arie de Groot and Liesbeth M. Helmus

Edited by:
Liesbeth M. Helmus

We gratefully acknowledge:
Ellen Altona (photo documentation, Centraal Museum, Utrecht)
Marten Jan Bok, Utrecht
Ria Bonten (Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht)
Peter Don (National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist)
Milou Halbesma (publicity Centraal Museum, Utrecht)
Harry van Hugten, Hilversum (x-radiographs of the watermarks)
Paul van Kooij (documentation of the paintings, Centraal Museum, Utrecht)
Winfried Kraakman (assistance in documenting the paintings, Centraal Museum, Utrecht)
Lydia van Oosten (project coordinator Centraal Museum, Utrecht)
Gary Schwartz, Maarssen
Erik Tigelaar (Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht)
Philip van Tijn, Amsterdam
Ton van der Wal (National Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings, Zeist)
Tolien Wilmer (Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht)

Index:
Dorine Duyster, Amsterdam

Translation:
Jennifer Kilian and Katy Kist, Amsterdam, with the assistance of John Rudge

Text editing:
Dorine Duyster, Amsterdam

Design:
Wim Crouwel, Amsterdam

Layout:
Vormgeversmaatschap Harsta, Crouwel. BNO, Almelo

Lithography:
Drukkerij Rosbeek BV, Nuth

Paper:
170 grams Hello matte

Printed by:
Drukkerij Rosbeek BV, Nuth

Bound by:
Stokkink's boekbinderij, Amsterdam

This publication and the exhibition were in part made possible by:

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VSB FONDS

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STICHTING K.F. HEIN FONDS

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